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Policy Report Series

Townscapes

5. South West

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Foreword by Michael Kenny

The declining economic fortunes of many towns, and the chasm that divides the experiences and outlooks of many of their inhabitants from the metropolitan centres where wealth and power have become concentrated, are issues of growing interest in political life and public policy.

In the UK, the preponderance of support for Brexit among town-dwellers, and the countervailing values of many young urbanites, has sparked a deep debate about how and why towns are locked out of the circuits of growth in the modern economy, and how the inequalities associated with economic geography can be more effectively tackled.

The *Townscapes* project launched at the Bennett Institute brings together a variety of different data sources to offer a deeper analysis of how towns are faring across the regions and nations of Britain. It aims to step away from the generalisations and dogmas that infuse much of the contemporary policy debate and offer instead a more finely grained picture of how different towns relate to their wider regions and nations, as well as to their nearest cities. It showcases the merits of a more granular and regionally rooted perspective for our understanding of geographical inequalities and the kinds of policy needed to address them.

Analysts at the Bennett Institute have pulled together a variety of different data sources - from the ONS, Ordnance Survey and National Records of Scotland - and created new indicators to measure the relative economic performance of towns, and compile a picture of changes in levels of public service provision. Specifically we have compiled an **Improvement Index** for all towns, which measures relative changes across a basket of economic and demographic indicators, and separate **Public Services Indices**, which supply a picture of changes to service provision in areas like health, education, transport and infrastructure.[1]

On the basis of these findings, we argue that policy makers need to consider multiple town categorisations, to get beneath the broad groupings that have become so dominant in this debate such as 'university', 'coastal', or 'post-industrial' towns. Instead we adopt a more useful data-driven typology developed by the ONS (2019) to contrast the fortunes of 'working', 'partially residential' and 'residential' towns in different parts of the country, and explore the crucial importance for many towns of their geographical distance from large urban centres.

These reports bust some of the prevalent myths about towns and their fortunes since the recession of 2007-08, and lead us towards a better appreciation of the very different circumstances and factors which affect the lives and opportunities of those who live in them. In addition to the insight and evidence which each supplies, we point policy-makers to ideas and proposals that are tailored to the regional and national circumstances which are pertinent to the townscapes of modern Britain.

Professor Michael Kenny
Director of the Bennett Institute, Cambridge University

1. These measures are developed drawing on the work of Pike et al (2016) and Jennings and Stoker (2019).

South West - Key Findings

- Towns in the South West are particularly vulnerable to an economic downturn in the wake of the Covid-19 crisis. Five out of ten towns in Britain with the most employment in hospitality and tourism industries are found in this region. It would be badly impacted by a Summer with a significantly diminished number of tourists.
- Only 15% of towns in the South West are residential in character; the vast majority of them provide a relatively large number of jobs for local residents.
- Eight out of the ten most deprived towns in the South West are situated on, or near, the coastline, and the other two are rural towns in Cornwall.
- Compared to towns in other British regions, the South West's towns provide a higher number of public services *per capita*, including nursery schools, post boxes, bus stops and health-related services.
- Since 2011, the South West has fared the best of any English region in terms of changes in the numbers of public services provided in towns.
- Towns in the South West are 21% less likely to have a train station compared to towns in the rest of Britain.

Introduction

The South West's townscape is extremely diverse. The region is home to a number of coastal towns that are poorly connected to nearby conurbations. It also has a number of places with historic ties to the Forest of Dean Coalfield, several larger University towns, rural market towns that are mainly residential in character, and several that are dependent on the large cities of the region. This diversity is matched by very different levels of deprivation among these places. And these differences are quite spatially concentrated. Towns along the M42 Corridor have a very different socio-economic geography to those located in the counties of Dorset, Cornwall or Devon.

The South West has more than 20 coastal towns. Industries associated with coastal areas such as shipbuilding, mining and tourism have all struggled in recent years, and these places have acute needs (Doward, 2018; O'Connor, 2017; Select Committee on Regenerating Seaside Towns and Communities, 2019). An analysis of the household deprivation rate in the South West indicates that many coastal towns face especially acute difficulties. **Eight out of the ten most deprived towns in the South West are situated on, or near, the coast. Meanwhile the two that are not -- Bodmin and Redruth -- are both rural towns in Cornwall.** Comparatively, the north of the region has some very affluent towns, including Portishead, Yatton and Nailsea. All are situated in a small cluster just outside Bristol. There is a marked geographical divide in the region between its more affluent and deprived places.

Most towns in the South West have experienced very typical levels of change to public service provision for British towns. Very few have had steep increases or falls in the number of services within them. **However, Paignton/Torquay[2] is a notable outlier in this regard. It has the greatest decline of the number of services it provides of any British town**. But, more generally, the South West provides services at a higher rate than the British average in several respects. **Compared to towns in other regions, the South West's have more nursery schools, post boxes, bus stops and health-related services in them.** And many of these settlements have a distinctive public transport offer. **Towns in the South West are over 20% less likely to have a train station but have over 20 more bus stops than other places in Britain.**

Overall, towns in the region are relatively prosperous, and have a record of greater **economic improvement than elsewhere.** A recent report by the Centre for Towns (2018) indicates that towns in the region have had the largest increases in houses built since the 1980s. But there are some stark inequalities within the region too.

Image, above: Weymouth, Dorset

2. In the built-up area boundaries we use, Paignton and Torquay are combined due to their proximity and data is provided for both towns together.

Economic Performance

The dispersed, unequal and rural character of these places makes an overarching policy framework for this region an unlikely proposition. One familiar strategy is to boost investment in infrastructure and business development in its larger urban economies. Advocates hope that its benefits will "trickle out" to populations in nearby towns, and focus on the need for the nearby population to access new opportunities that are created (see Rodriguez-Pose, 2017; Porter, 2018). Those arguing for this approach point to the relatively affluent towns surrounding Bristol as exemplars (Centre for Cities, 2018).

But the poorer, left-behind rural areas of Cornwall and Devon are unlikely to benefit from this kind of 'agglomerationist' approach. They need micro-level interventions tailored to specific town and community needs.

The South West has two sub-regions within it that have their own devolution deals: the West of England Combined Authority and Cornwall. Cornwall's devolution deal was the first rural devolution deal to be agreed in England and the only one to be organised on a county-wide basis. Cornwall Council's (2019) impact assessment set out how it has utilised its transport powers to start developing a 'One Public Transport System' – the first integrated public transport system allowing multi-modal journeys with smart ticketing in a rural region.

Whether this model is replicable elsewhere is the subject of some debate (Hardy, 2016). New Economy (2016), for instance, suggests that Cornwall's situation is unique due to its strong local identity and clear sense of strategic direction. The Local Government Association (2019), on the other hand, argues for further devolution to rural areas. The English devolution agenda has for the most part omitted predominantly rural places, addressing only those that are connected to a nearby metropolitan hub. An evaluation of whether Cornish devolution has benefitted towns within its borders is therefore of much wider relevance.

Towns in the South West region have experienced, on average, more economic improvement than elsewhere. Figure 1 shows that they are largely clustered around the British average, with only a couple of the 74 towns standing out for having experienced a marked improvement or decline.

The Improvement Index

- The Improvement Index is a measure of town improvement or decline, relative to the average for British towns.
- The index reports changes in five indicators: population levels, youth population (15-19 year old %), education (NVQ Level 3+ %), business counts and employment levels (%).
- Changes are measured between the two censuses of 2001 and 2011, although business counts changes are measured between 2010 and 2016.
- Changes for each of the five indicators are standardised and summed to create the index.
- This is a revised version of an index developed by Pike et al. (2016) and Jennings & Stoker (2019) but is applied here at the Built-Up Area (BUA) geographic scale.

Economic Performance

Figure 1:
Improvement or Decline in South West Towns and Distance from City

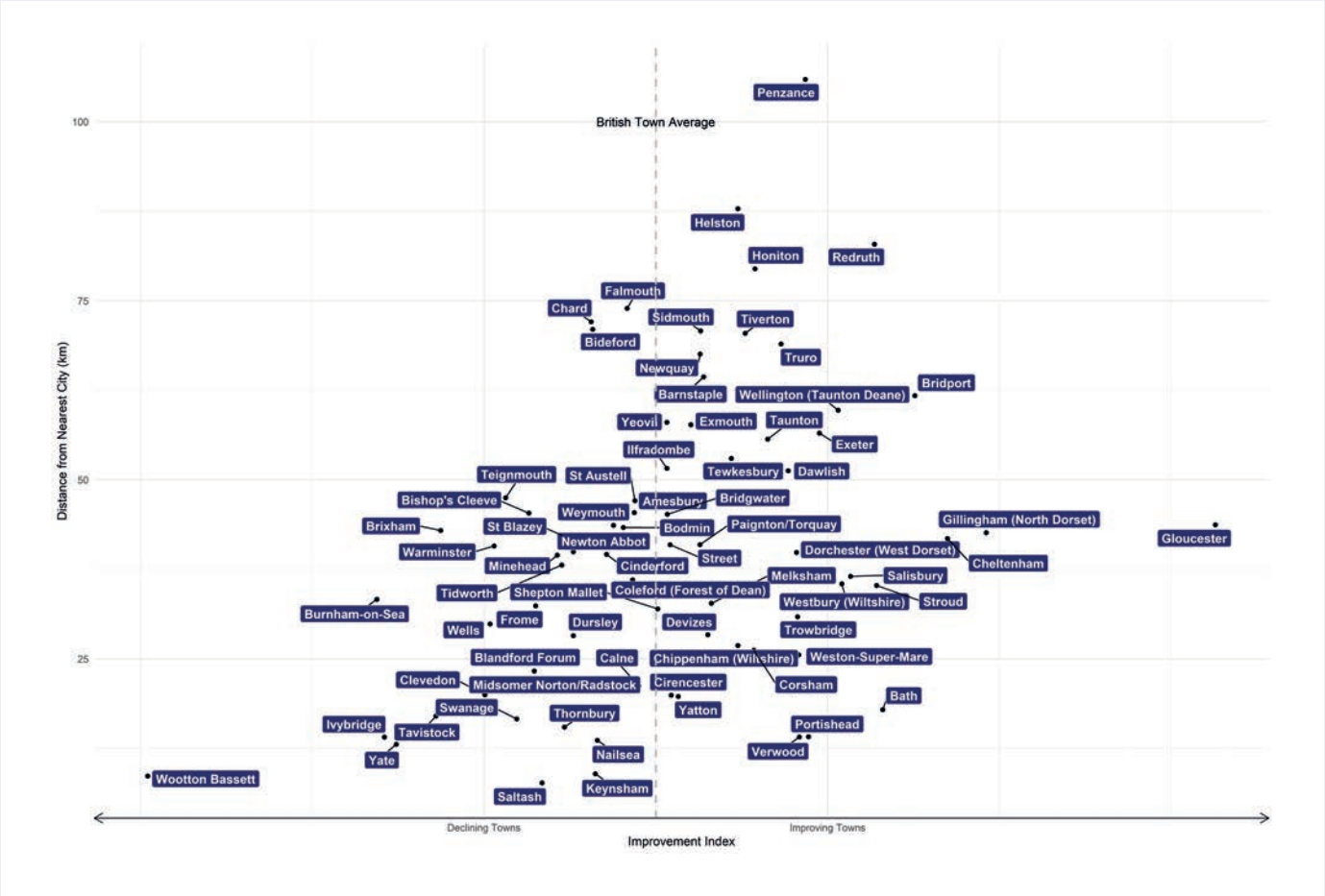

Figure 1.
Notes: Towns are any Built-Up Area with an estimated 2016 population of 10,000-175,000. 'Distance from Nearest City' measures the straight-line distance between geographic centres of a town and its nearest city.
Source: Census 2011; Office for National Statistics – UK Business: Activity, Size and Location; Built-up Areas Boundaries, V2; Scotland's Census 2011.

Economic Performance

The most rapidly improving towns in the South West are larger places like Gloucester, Cheltenham and Stroud, as well as the university towns of Exeter and Bath. Gloucester has had a comparatively large increase in its population and business numbers in the last decade. As well as its strength in aerospace engineering, it has a varied industrial makeup, with finance, insurance, energy and other technology businesses setting up in the town. Meanwhile, Cheltenham has also had a large increase in business count. The 'sticky' nature of these towns' economies, with large and varied industrial strengths, means that they are in a good position to entice new companies to locate within them. Horizon Nuclear Power, for instance, set up its headquarters in Gloucester's business park in 2009. And Superdry has had its main office in Cheltenham since 1985. A recent report from Nesta (2017) found that Gloucester's local authority had productivity levels four times higher than West Somerset's.

Exeter and Bath have very similar scores in the *Improvement Index.* Both have had above average growth in their youth population, business counts and population change in the last decade. However, both have also performed quite poorly in terms of their overall employment rates.

Our *Improvement Index* tends to favour larger conurbations which have the capacity for larger increases in population or business numbers. This makes the decline of Yate, in Gloucestershire, somewhat surprising given its size. Its location between Bristol and Birmingham means that the population has grown steadily to over 30,000, but poor performance in employment and education outcomes makes it one of the worst performing towns in the whole of the South West. Despite its proximity to Bristol, it appears to be gaining little from its connectivity to the city.

Royal Wootton Bassett is the most declining town in the entire region. It is the third worst in Britain for changes to educational attainment. Sitting a few kilometres outside Swindon, it too has not benefitted from the success of its nearby conurbation.

Figure 1 also shows the distance of the region's towns from nearby cities.[3] It paints a picture of great geographical variety, with towns just as likely to be 60 km as 20 km from a nearby city. Penzance stands out as the most isolated town, along with several others in Cornwall and Devon. It should be noted that a simple distance measure may well understate the isolation of places like Ilfracombe.

Image, above: Wootton Bassett former town hall

3. 'Distance from Nearest City' measures the straight-line distance between geographic centres of a town and its nearest city.

Economic Performance

Figure 2:
Public Services in South West Towns: Changes and Per Capita Provision

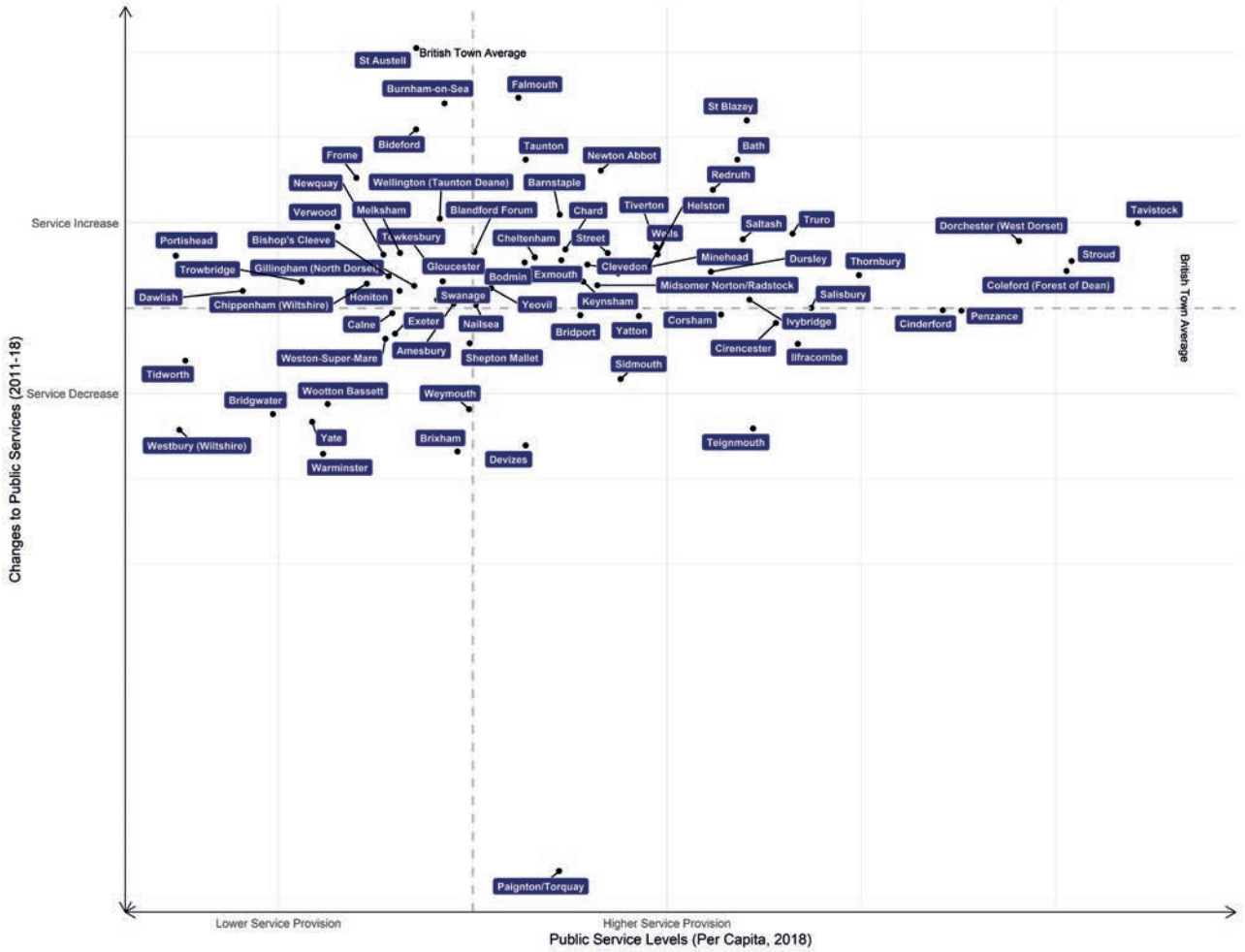

Figure 2.
Source: Census 2011, Office for National Statistics – Mid-Year Population Estimates; Built-up Areas Boundaries, V2; UK Business: Activity, Size and Location, Ordnance Survey – Points of Interest (© Crown copyright and database rights 2019 Ordnance Survey (100025252)); Scotland's Census 2011. National Records of Scotland – Mid-Year Population estimates.

Economic Performance

The South West has the second highest average score in *public service levels* for any British region – being lower only than Wales[4]. This per capita measurement favours small, compact towns and may highlight the large number of smaller settlements in the region. Coleford, a town with a high level of public service provision per head, stands out as having the most bus stops per capita of any town in Britain[5]. Meanwhile, the worst scoring town for public service provision, Westbury, is one of five towns in Britain that does not have a GP surgery within its borders.

Public Service Indices

- The public service indices are measures designed to capture the relative density of, and changes to, public service provision in, British towns.
- There are two separate measures:
  1. 'Public Service Levels' reports the per capita number of: GPs, schools, nursery schools, bus stops, community halls, post boxes and health services.
  2. 'Changes to Public Services' counts changes in the numbers of GPs, schools, nursery schools, bus stops, community halls, police stations and health services between 2011 and 2018.
- For both measures, each indicator is standardised and summed to create an index score.
- These measures cannot indicate the quality of public service provision, nor the accessibility, as such a high score is not necessarily better than a low score.

4. The Public Service Index is a measurement intended to indicate the relative level of overall public services per person. It aggregates standardised levels of: GPs, schools, nursery schools, bus stops, community halls, post boxes and health providers per person. 'Health providers' includes all establishments that provide some health service. Such as: all types of hospitals, GPs, specialist care, pharmacies, opticians and physiotherapists etc. The Public Service Index cannot measure the quality, nor the accessability, of services. You can find all of our code used in this report available at https://github.com/BenGoodair/Townscapes.
5. It may be the case that the number of services in a town does not represent the amount of provision as we have no means for measuring the size, funding or demand for these services.

Economic Performance

Figure 3:
Job Density and Population Size

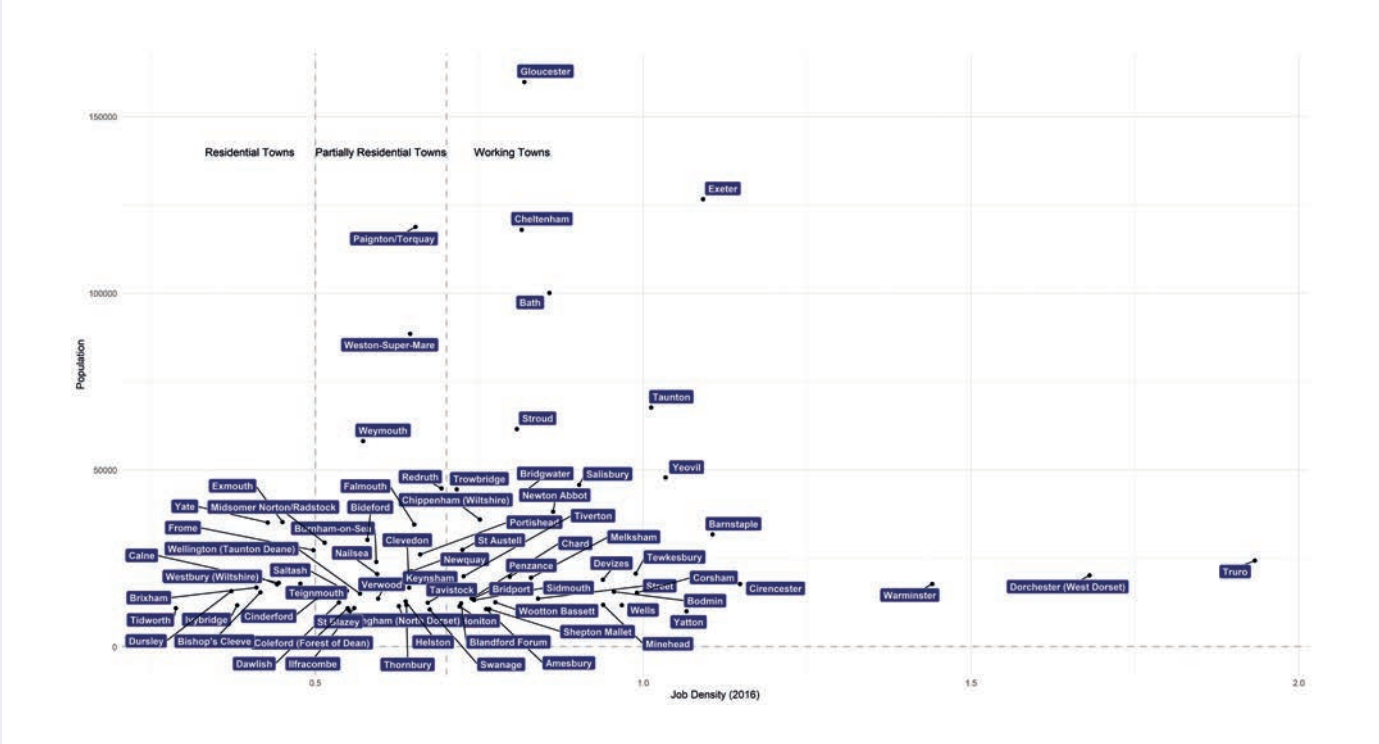

Figure 3.
Notes: Job density, as measured here, does not include self-employment.
Source: Census 2011, Office for National Statistics – Business Register and Employment Survey; Mid-Year Population Estimates; Scotland's Census, 2011; National Records of Scotland – Mid-Year Population Estimates.

Economic Performance

Paignton/Torquay is the worst performing town in the whole of Britain in terms of the disappearance of public services. Between 2011 and 2018 it lost 95 bus stops and 51 health service providers. The town also had a reported five fewer GPs, six fewer nursery schools/ after school clubs and two fewer police stations by the end of this period. But overall the region is the best performing English region for changes to public service numbers in towns, with only Scotland having a better average score.[6]

Figure 3 builds on research undertaken by the ONS (2019) which reveals that many towns in England and Wales are largely 'residential' in nature, with different characteristics and functions to 'working' towns[7]. One of the stand-out features of towns in this region is that very few are classified as residential. – only **15% in total.** The three most residential towns – Tidworth, Dursley and Ivybridge - are all very small places in rural settings. But most conurbations in the South West are actually working towns. **Truro's 1.96 jobs per resident is the highest of any town in Britain**. The town is a source of much of Cornwall's commercial and leisure activity but has relatively few local residents.

Image, above: *Torquay, Devon*

6. It may be the case that the number of services in a town does not represent the amount of provision as we have no means for measuring the size, funding or demand for these services.
7. Distinction between working, partially residential and residential towns is made based on the 'job density' in a town. Job density is total employment in a town divided by its estimated population. This typology was created by the ONS (2019) to express the different functions of towns.

Economic Performance

Figure 4:
Deprivation in South West Towns: Percentage of Households with many levels (severe) or at least one level of deprivation

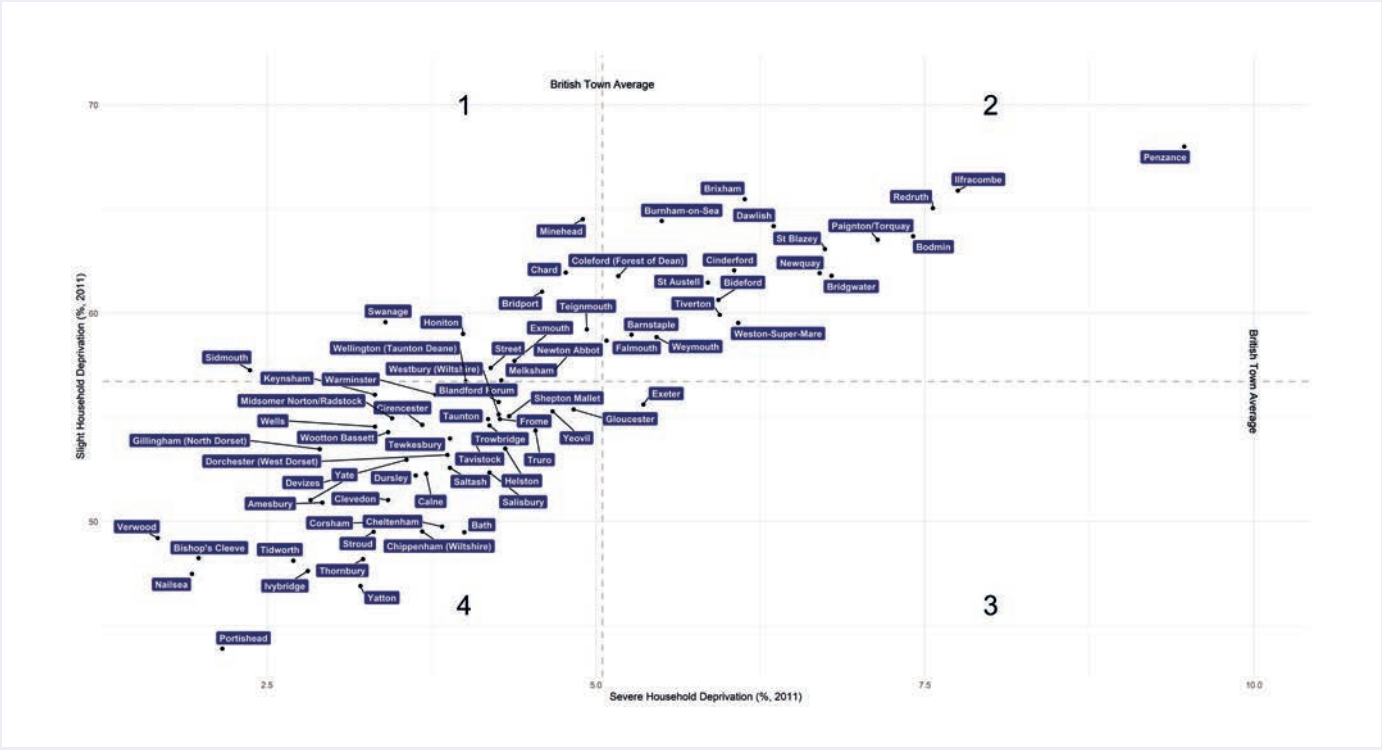

Figure 4.
Notes: Slight deprivation is counted as any household that contains at least one of the following: an unemployed/ long-term sick member; no member with at least level 2 qualifications; a member with 'bad or very bad' health; no central heating or is overcrowded/ shared. Severe deprivation is measured as any household with at least three of these forms of deprivation.
Source: Census 2011

Economic Performance

The figure has four labelled quadrants. In quadrant 4 there are 41 towns which have below average levels of both severe and slight household deprivation. Over half of the towns in the South West can be characterised as relatively affluent. In quadrant 3 there is just one town -- Exeter. Exeter has lower levels of households experiencing 'slight deprivation' than the British average, but it has above average rates of severely deprived households – homes where the people experience many different forms of poverty. Compared to the average for towns in Britain more households in Exeter experience zero forms of deprivation, however, the deprivation that exists within the town is much more likely to be severe. This unusual mix of affluent and severely deprived residents presents a considerable challenge for it.

Quadrant 2 contains 20 towns in the South West and these have higher-than-average levels of slight and severe deprivation. There are many places in this quadrant that have considerably higher levels of deprivation than the British average, such as Penzance, Ilfracombe and Redruth**.** Finally, quadrant 1 contains towns such as Swanage, Minehead and Bridport. These are generally less affluent than average in that they have higher numbers of residents who are in some way deprived. However, the deprivation in the town is less severe than in many other places.

Figure 5:
Recent changes to Deprivation in the South West's Most Deprived towns

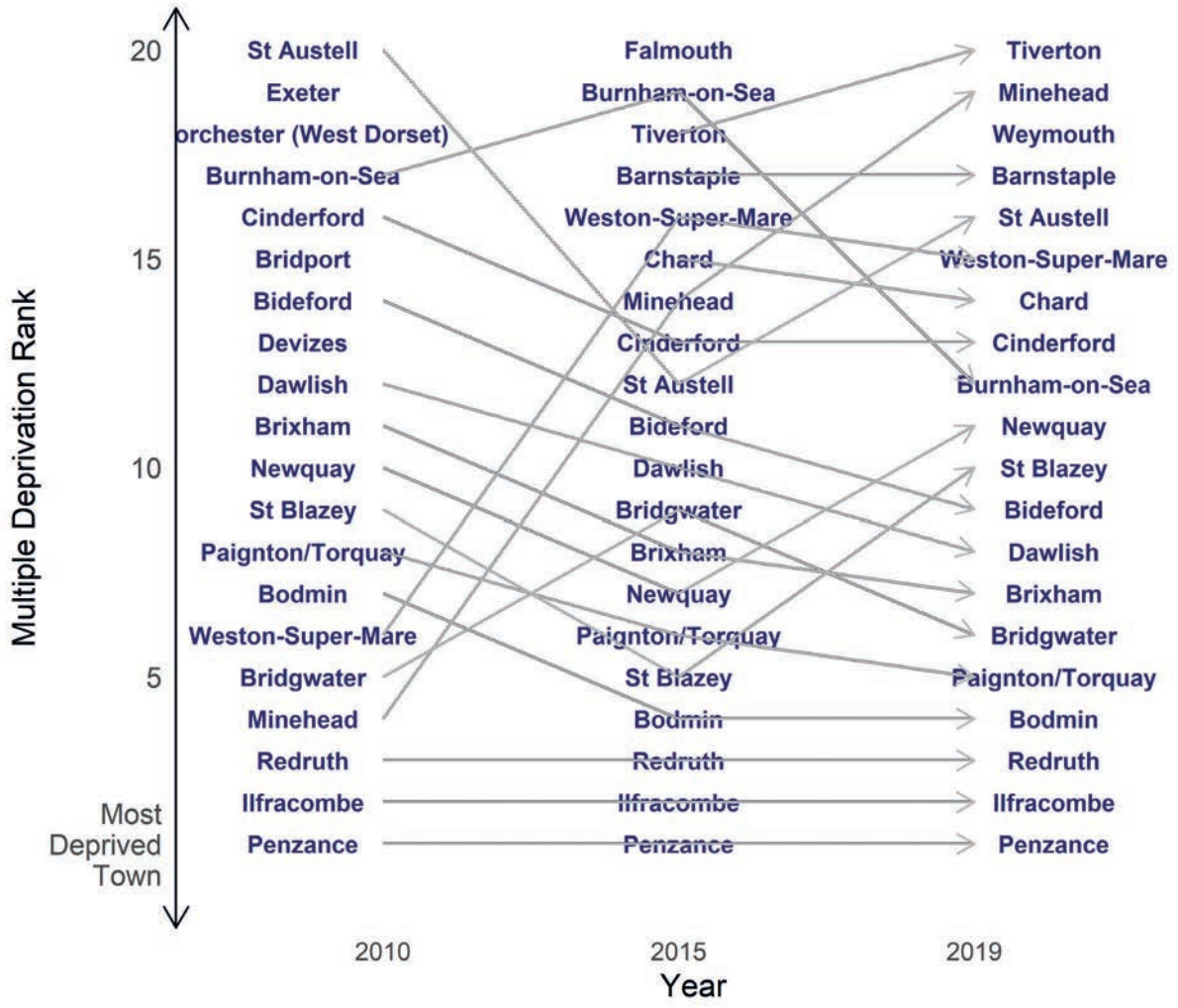

Figure 5.
Notes. Deprivation rankings are constructed from the Index of Multiple Deprivation. Built up from LSOA to BUA using ONS best-fit lookups. Population-weighted averages from the small-scale geographies are taken for each town. Changes to the methods of creating the index occur between the years and are therefore measuring slightly different aspects of deprivation which may explain some movement in rankings.
Source. MHCLG -English Indices of Deprivation 2019 - LSOA Level.

Economic Performance

Figures 5 and 6 report changes to a more recent measure of deprivation produced by the Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government. The rankings in 2010, 2015 and 2019 show that some towns' relative deprivation levels have shifted quite dramatically, while others have remained constant. From the rankings in figure 5 we can see that, in 2019, many of the most deprived towns in the South West are located on the coast. Penzance, Ilfracombe and Paignton/Torquay have been amongst the most deprived towns since 2010. This graph also indicates that certain towns have risen or fallen steeply in these deprivation rankings. The bottom ten towns have been mostly consistent over the last ten years. However, in 2019, Bideford slipped into the bottom ten, whilst Newquay moved out of the bottom cluster.

Meanwhile the least deprived areas in figure 6 are more likely to be situated to the north of the region - surrounding Bristol, Bath, Cheltenham and Gloucester. Towns surrounding Bristol like Portishead, Yatton and Nailsea appear particularly affluent. But we should be careful in using statistical averages for a region like this, as this may well hide some of the pockets of deprivation within it.

Image, above: *Ilfracombe under snow*

Figure 6:
Recent changes to Deprivation in the South West's Least Deprived towns

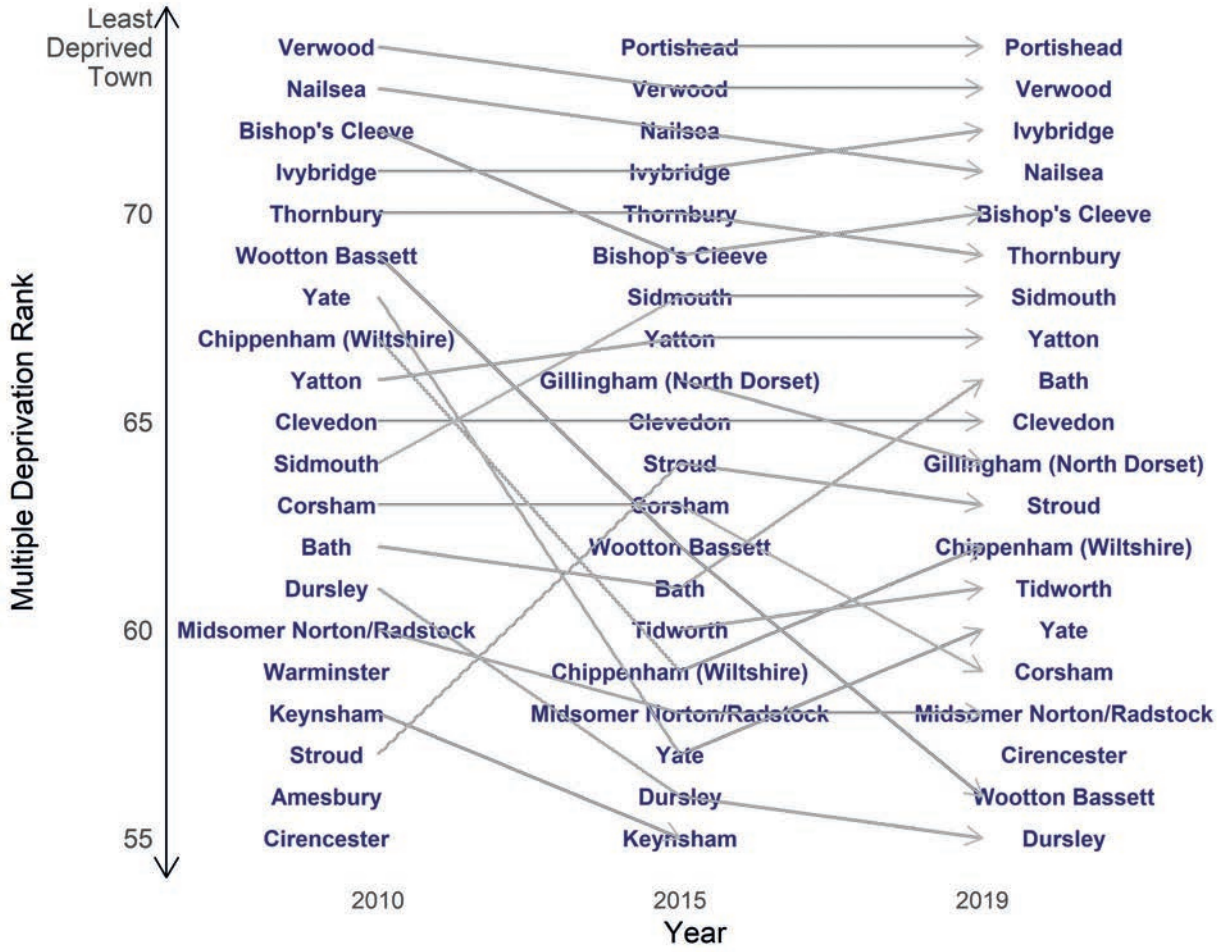

Figure 6.
Notes. Deprivation rankings are constructed from the Index of Multiple Deprivation. Built up from LSOA to BUA using ONS best-fit lookups. Population-weighted averages from the small-scale geographies are taken for each town. Changes to the methods in creating the index occur between the years and are therefore measuring slightly different aspects of deprivation which may explain some movement in rankings.
Source. MHCLG -English Indices of Deprivation 2019 - LSOA Level.

Economic Performance

Figure 7:
Index of Town Improvement

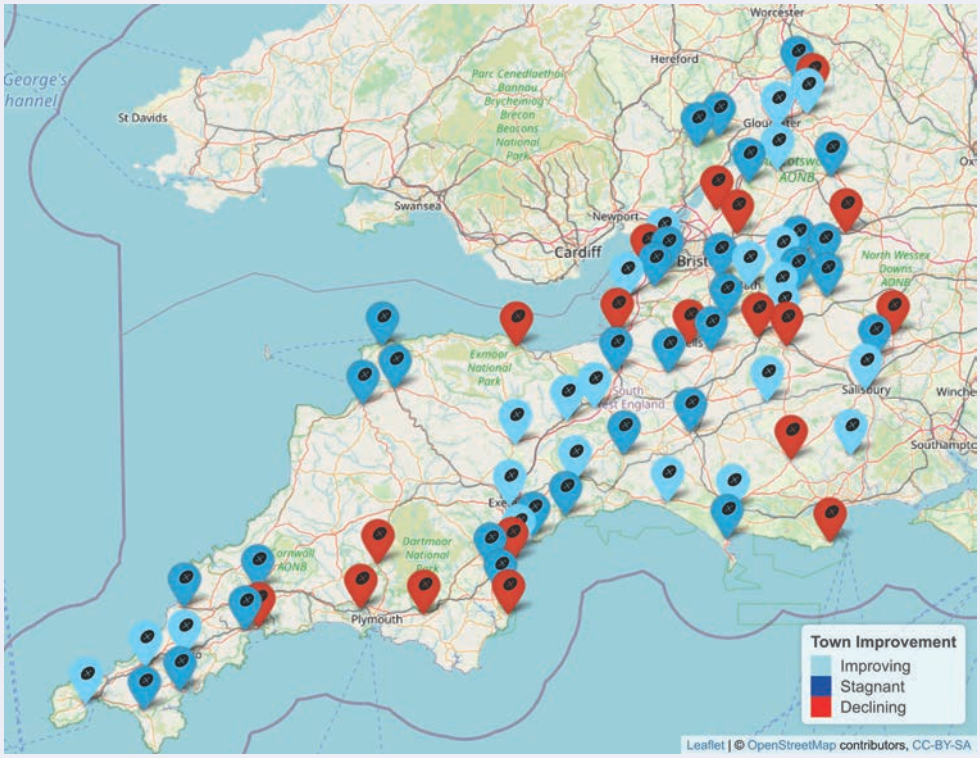

Figure 7.
Notes: These relative indices are aggregates of standardised measures. Light Blue markers have an Improvement Index score > 1, red markers have a total of <1.

Source: Census 2011; Scotland's Census, 2011; Office for National Statistics – UK Business: Activity, Size and Location; Built-up Areas Boundaries, V2.

Figure 7 shows the spatial distribution of towns in the region and maps how they are improving or declining according to our *Improvement Index.* Several of the most deprived Cornish towns are improving on these measures: Penzance and Redruth have had large increases in their employment rates in the last decade.

Figure 8:
Public Service Levels

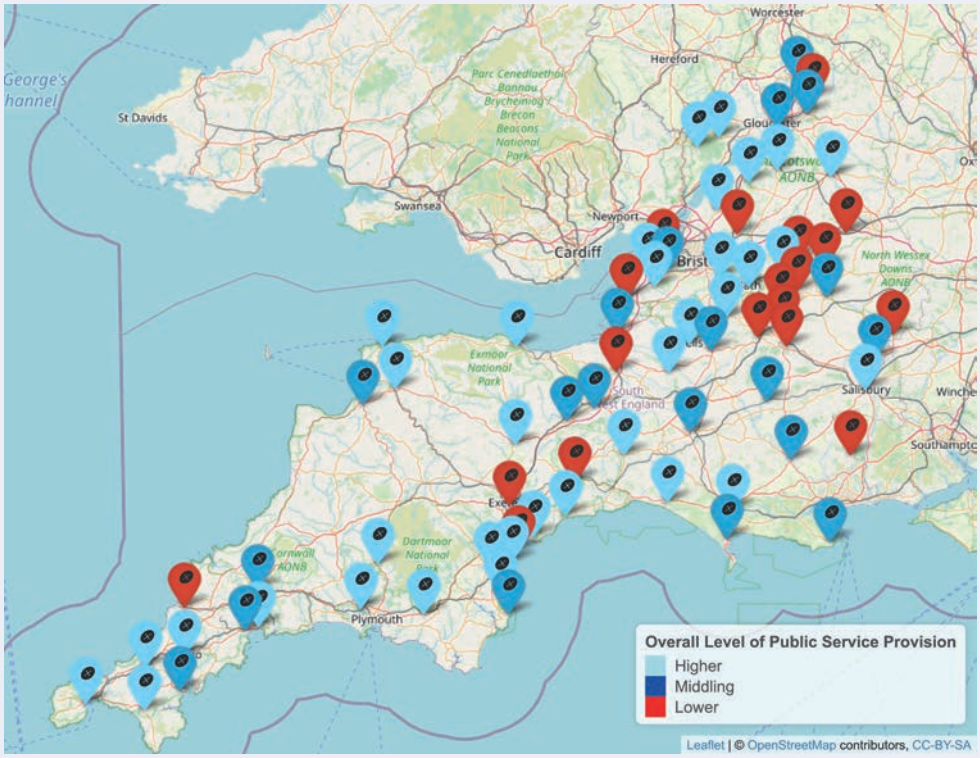

Figure 8.
Notes: These relative indices are aggregates of standardised measures. Light blue markers have a total score > 1, red markers have a total of <1.

Source: Office for National Statistics – Mid Year Population Estimates; Built-up Areas Boundaries, V2; Ordnance Survey – Points of Interest (© Crown copyright and database rights 2019 Ordnance Survey (100025252)); National Records of Scotland – Mid-Year Population Estimates.

Figure 8 shows that many towns in the South West have relatively high levels of public services. The notable exception is a cluster of towns in Wiltshire that appear to have fewer public service providers per head than most other towns.

Economic Performance

Figure 9:
Changes to Public Service Levels

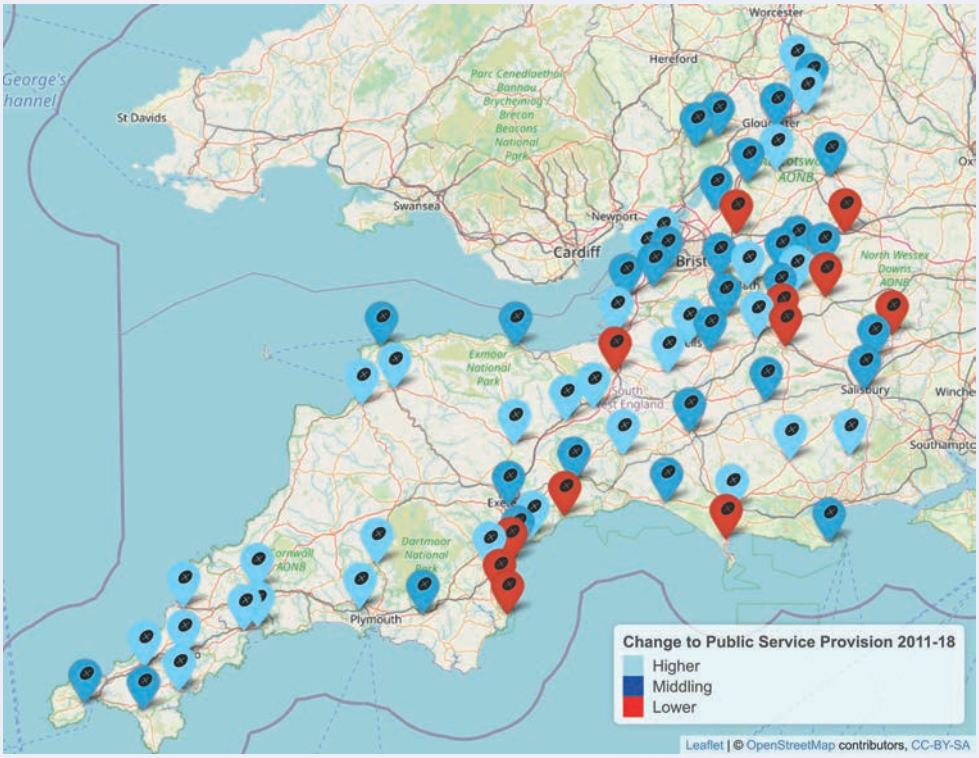

Figure 9.
Notes: These relative indices are aggregates of standardised measures. Light blue markers have a total score > 1, red markers have a total of <1.

Source: Office for National Statistics – Mid Year Population Estimates; Built-up Areas Boundaries, V2; Ordnance Survey – Points of Interest (© Crown copyright and database rights 2019 Ordnance Survey (100025252)); National Records of Scotland – Mid-Year Population Estimates.

Figure 9 shows that changes to the numbers of public service providers in South Western towns have matched or excelled the British average. This seems particularly to be the case in Cornwall, where no towns have done significantly worse than average on this score.

Economic Performance

Figure 10:
Residential vs Working Towns

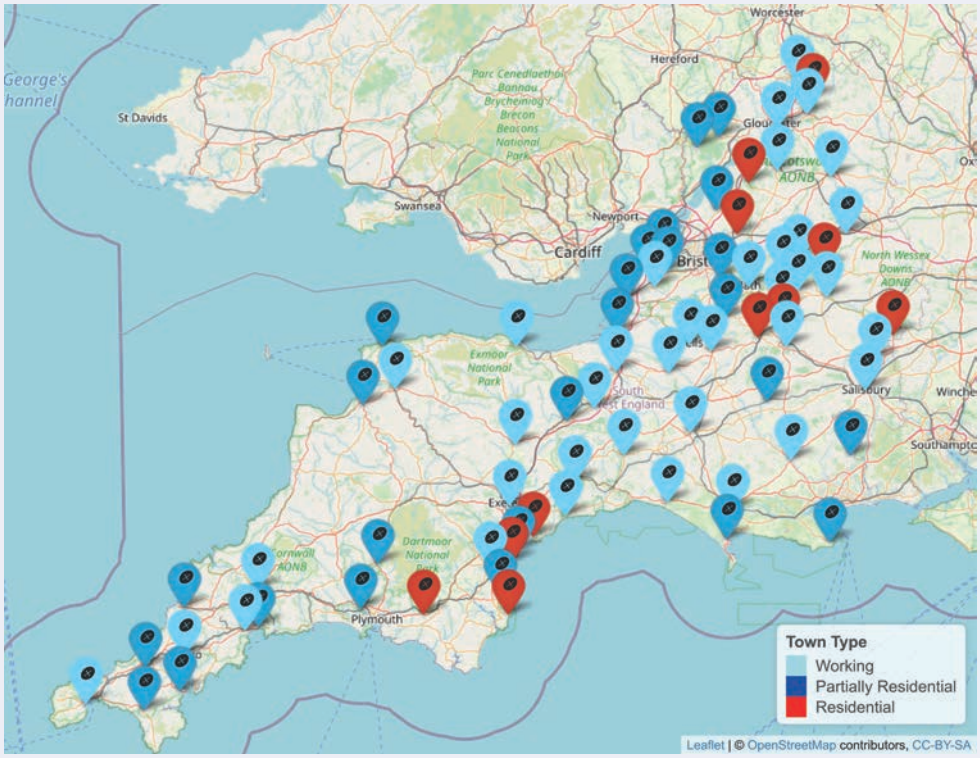

Figure 10.
Notes: 'Residential towns' are all towns with fewer than 0.5 jobs per resident, 'working towns' have greater than 0.7 jobs per resident.

Source: Census 2011; Scotland's Census, 2011; National Records of Scotland, Mid-Year Population Estimates; Office for National Statistics – Business Register and Employment Survey; Mid-Year Population Estimates.

Figure 10 highlights that very few towns in the South West are residential in nature. The vast majority of towns – especially the most rural – perform some kind of economic function. With much higher town-based employment than elsewhere, the local economy may be far more important to the needs of town dwellers in the South West than other parts of Britain. Whereas more urbanised regions rely on commuting out of towns to work, many people in the South West do not travel so far to where they are employed.

There are a cluster of towns that perform poorly across a range of our measures. When looking at the towns with above average deprivation, declining economies and low levels of public service provision, there are five towns that stand out: Brixham, Burnham-on-Sea, Weymouth, St Austell and Bideford. These are not necessarily the poorest towns in the region but places that have poor performance in various different ways. Of these towns only St Austell would be considered a 'working town' due to its high number of jobs in the town centre. And all of them are located on or near the seaside. These places are also all relatively isolated in terms of their distance from a major city.

Public Service Provision

Despite the region's higher-than-average numbers of public services, their overall numbers, here and elsewhere in Britain, have fallen for many of its towns. And, given how many small towns there are here, this can significantly reduce people's access to key services.

In Dawlish the closure of Lanherne Nursery School following an inadequate Ofsted report halved its nursery provision (Ofsted, 2019). Meanwhile, Dawlish also had one of the 34 police stations across Devon and Cornwall that have been closed in the last five years (ITV News, 2015). In Par/St Blazey, the only library in the town is currently open for just 14 hours per week, and is now moving location to ensure its survival (Cornish Times, 2018). Residents of Bodmin had their library relocated in 2017 (Cornwall Reports, 2017) to a venue outside the town. The move also left the town centre with a vacant building which had homed a public library since 1900. Since then, a crowd-funded campaign has re-opened the old library as a community arts centre (intoBodmin, 2019).

Emergency services have also been relocated to save money. Closures and mergers of fire stations in Redruth and Keynsham have left them without a fire station (The Week In, 2015; Pirate FM, 2015). Truro's authorities came up with an innovative solution as the town's fire and ambulance services now share the same building (Johnstone, 2016). These examples represent a broader pattern of services moving out of town centres to cheaper, out-of-town sites. For small towns like Bodmin, this represents a difficult challenge, one often taken up by volunteers and campaigners, as old buildings in central locations fall vacant.

However, service closures and reforms affect larger towns too. **In 2017 the Torquay/ Paignton town area reported 116 fewer bus stops than the previous year**. A large shake-up by Stagecoach cut various bus routes in Torbay and left some residents isolated (Henderson, 2017). Protests, petitions and campaigns were organised to save these routes (ITV News, 2017). In the same year, the company Local Link also cut several services. These were taken on by Torbay Community Development Trust which prevented even more damage to the area's bus provision (Baker, 2018).

Figure 11 compares estimated average public service provision for towns in the South West with the rest of Britain. **Based on current levels of provision, a town in the South West is likely to have more nursery schools, post boxes, bus stops and health-related services than counterparts elsewhere.** A town in the South West will on average have six more health services, five more post boxes and 29 more bus stops than others.

Image, above: *The Old Library, Bodmin*

Figure 11:
Services in South West Towns compared to the rest of Britain

Figure 11.
Notes: OLS regression controlling for: area, population, deprivation rate, the improvement index, job density and distance from nearest city. *p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.001.
Source: Census 2011, Office for National Statistics – Business Register and Employment Survey; UK Business: Activity, Size and Location; Built-up Areas Boundaries, V2; Mid-Year Population Estimates; Scotland's Census, 2011; National Records of Scotland – Mid-Year Population Estimates; Ordnance survey – Points of Interest (© Crown copyright and database rights 2019 Ordnance Survey (100025252)).

Public Service Provision

Figures 12 and 13 show that towns in the South West have an unusual mix of public transport provision. An **average town in the region will have 29 more bus stops than other towns. And a town there is on average 21% less likely to have a train station.** The South West has more rural, independent towns which are economically self-reliant and largely resilient. The dependence on buses reflects the numbers of people who travel within their own conurbation. As figure 12 shows, the presence of a train station is positively related to *the improvement index* score of a town. The sparse provision of rail services in the South West represents a major threat to other towns there.

Figure 12:
Bus Stops in South West Towns compared to the rest of Britain

Figure 12.
Notes: OLS regression controlling for: area, population, deprivation rate, the improvement index, job density and distance from nearest city. *p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.001.
Source: Census 2011, Office for National Statistics – Business Register and Employment Survey; UK Business: Activity, Size and Location; Built-up Areas Boundaries, V2; Mid-Year Population Estimates; Scotland's Census, 2011; National Records of Scotland – Mid-Year Population Estimates; Ordnance survey – Points of Interest (© Crown copyright and database rights 2019 Ordnance Survey (100025252)).

Figure 13:
Predicted Probability of a Train Station

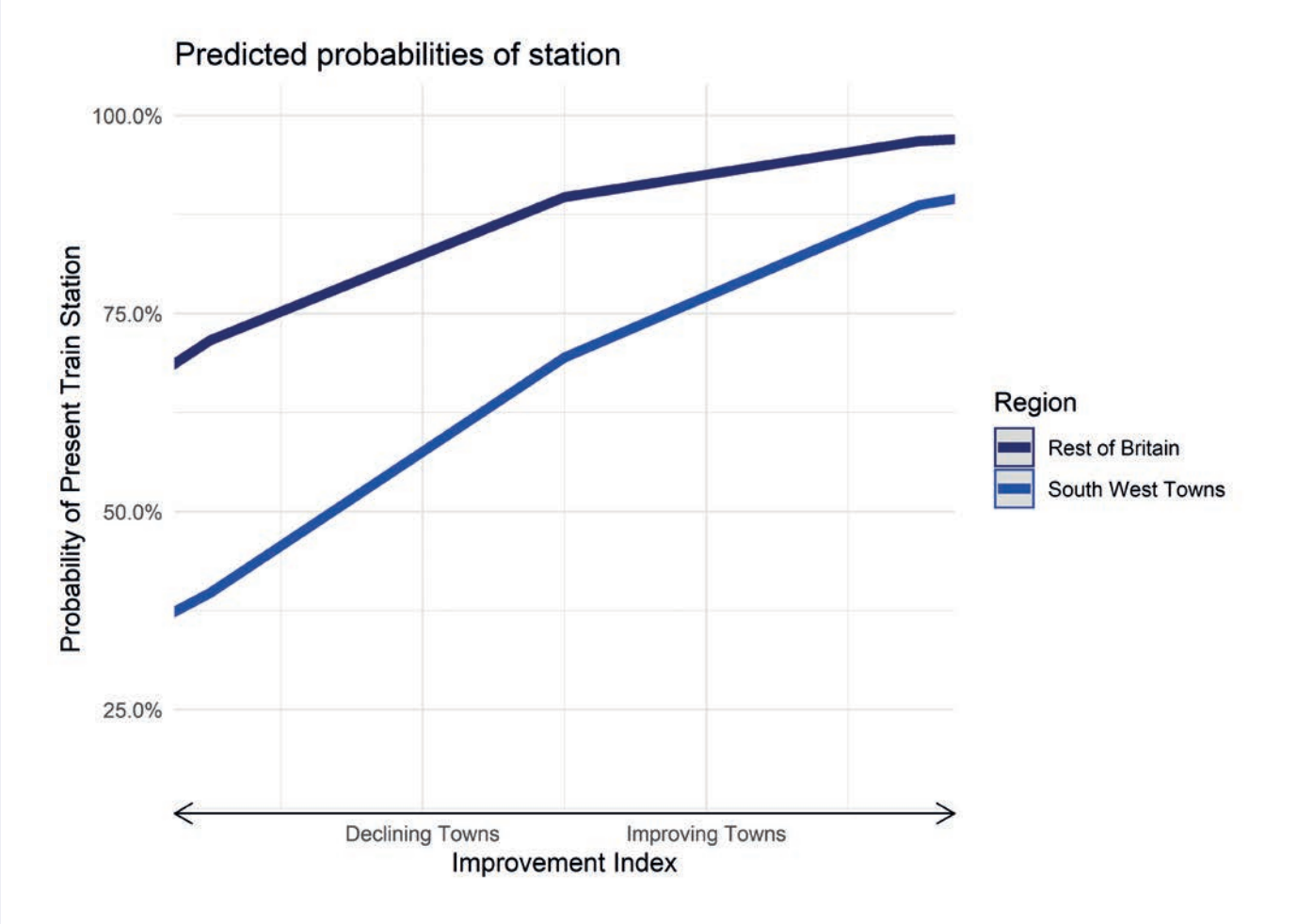

Figure 13.
Notes: Logistic regression controlling for: area, population size, distance from nearest city, job density and Improvement Index.
Source: Census 2011, Office for National Statistics – Business Register and Employment Survey; UK Business: Activity, Size and Location; Built-up Areas Boundaries, V2; Mid-Year Population Estimates; Scotland's Census, 2011; National Records of Scotland – Mid-Year Population Estimates; Ordnance survey – Points of Interest (© Crown copyright and database rights 2019 Ordnance Survey (100025252)).

Covid-19 in the South West

The full impact of Covid-19 on this region is as yet hard to assess. Drawing upon ONS (2020) data on deaths from Covid-related causes between March and May 2020, we have mapped out some of the towns worst affected by the virus. Most towns here have had fewer per capita deaths from Covid-related causes than elsewhere in Britain. However, the worst town in Britain for Covid related deaths is Wootton Bassett in Wiltshire. Furthermore, the town with the highest absolute number of Covid deaths anywhere in Britain is Gloucester, with a reported 195 fatalities.

One of the most important features of the local economy is the importance to it of the hospitality and tourism industries. **Five out the ten towns in Britain with the most employment in hospitality and tourism industries are found in the South West**[8]**.** There are some towns in the South West, including Swanage and Newquay, for which food, drink, accommodation and tour services make up a third of their local employment. These industries are likely to be hit hard by the impacts of necessary social distancing during COVID-19, but not every town is as reliant as others on tourism. A recent report by the Resolution Foundation

Figure 14:
Covid-19 Deaths between March and May

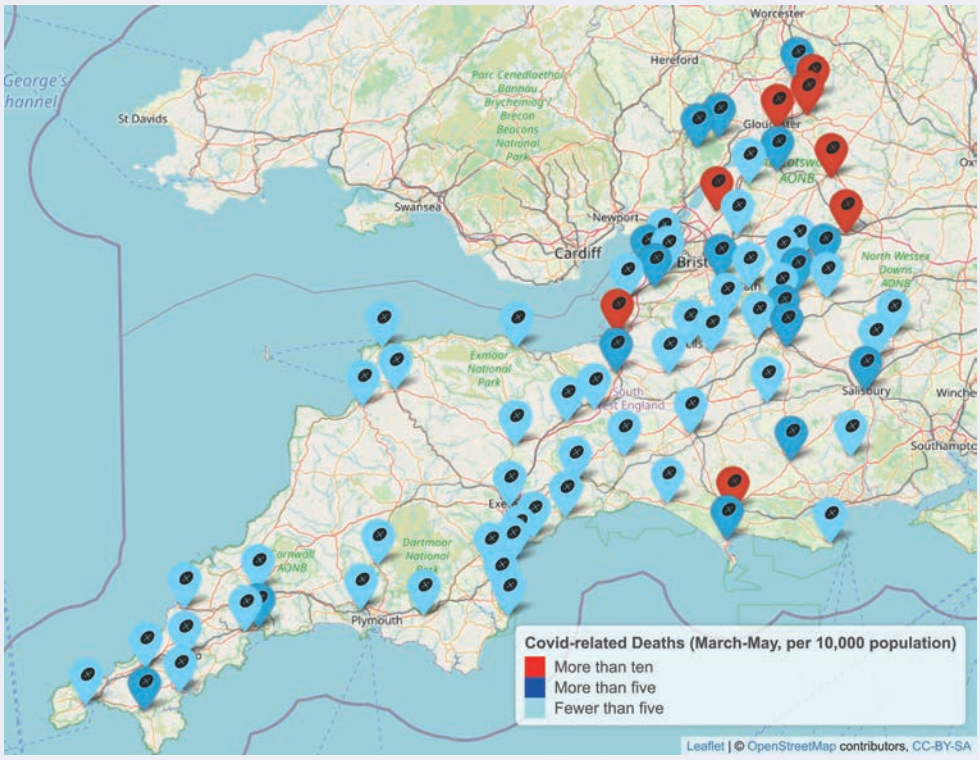

Figure 14.
Source. ONS - Deaths involving COVID-19 by local area and deprivation.

8. We calculate the percentage of total employment in 'food and beverage service activities'; 'accommodation' and 'travel agency, tour operator and other reservation service and related activities'. For more in depth analysis of tourism industry employment in coastal towns see Beatty, Fothergill and Gore (2014).

(2020) showed that the South West had the highest rates of furloughed workers and of job losses since the virus began to spread in the whole of Britain. **The winding down of the furlough scheme will be a worrying prospect for many workers and businesses in the South West that have relied heavily on this support during the pandemic.**

As figure 15 shows, towns dependent on tourism are rarely affluent, with many of them being among the most deprived places in the region. Brixham, Minehead and Ilfracombe are notable for being both relatively deprived and highly reliant on hospitality services for employment. While it remains unclear what the long-term economic impact of COVID-19 will be, policymakers should be thinking about support for towns with a large number of workers who rely on the hospitality and tourism industries – especially those with pre-existing high levels of deprivation.

Figure 15:
Hospitality and Tourism industries in South West Towns compared to elsewhere in Britain

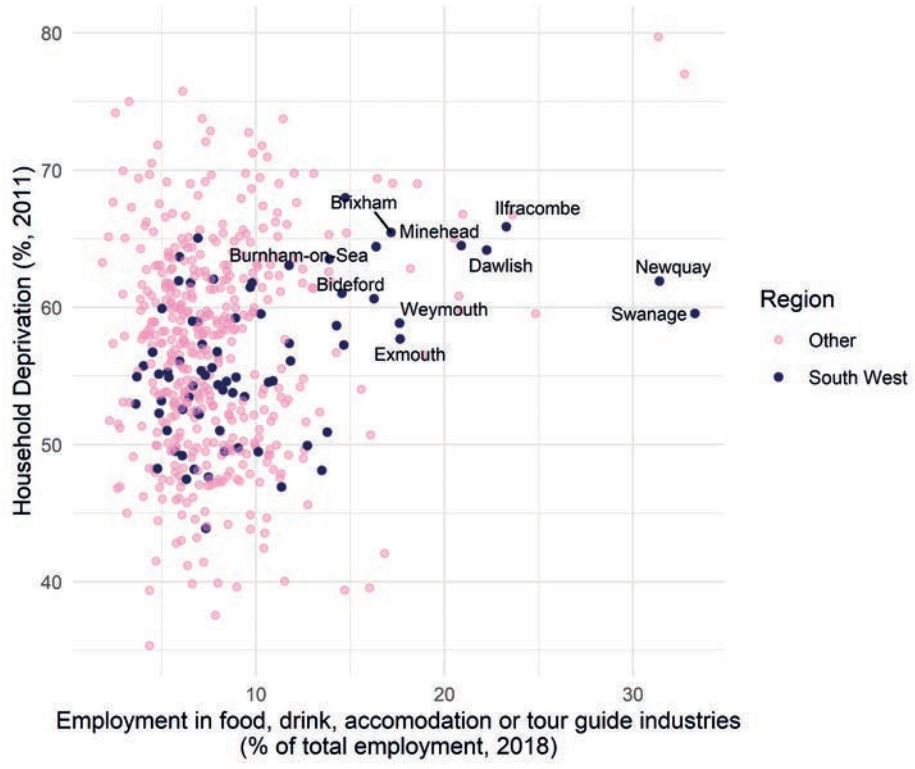

Figure 15.
Notes: Household deprivation is counted as any household that contains at least one of the following: an unemployed/ long-term sick member; no member with at least level 2 qualifications; a member with 'bad or very bad' health; no central heating or is overcrowded/ shared. percentage of total employment in 'food and beverage service activities'; 'accommodation' and 'travel agency, tour operator and other reservation service and related activities'. Built-up area estimates are reached using ONS look-up tables from MSOA-scale data.

Source: Census 2011; BRES 2018

Overview and Implications

The South West region is very distinctive in terms of the low proportion of 'residential towns' within its borders. There are large rural areas in which the largest economic hub will be a town centre, rather than a city. Places like Truro have almost twice as many employed workers as residents. As well as residential towns, there is a cluster of towns which rely heavily on hospitality industries for their local employment. These places also have more household deprivation than most and are highly vulnerable to the economic impacts of COVID-19.

Levels of public service provision in its towns compare well with the British average. More health providers, nursery schools, post boxes and bus stops are all signs that residents in the South West have many accessible services within their town boundaries. Meanwhile the distinct character of its rural towns is reflected in its public transport provision. There are fewer train stations than elsewhere, but more bus stops.

Overview and Implications

The two areas with devolution deals in the South West – the West of England Combined Authority (WECA) and Cornwall – cover very different 'townscapes'. Cornish towns are amongst the most deprived in the country, while those in the WECA are among the most affluent. And this suggests the need to think much harder about devolution for sub-regions that do not conform to the more urbanised character of city-regions where combined authorities have generally been introduced.

One of the most striking findings of our analysis is the sharp economic divide that persists within the region. Most of the deprived towns are in rural areas and some of these are coastal. Statistical averages of the whole region can obscure our understanding of the variable levels of wellbeing experienced by people within their respective communities. 'Levelling-up' policies that are designed to boost the economies of poorer conurbations need to be informed by a good understanding of the different needs and positions of these places, and this requires a more granular geographical understanding.

Key Findings from our South West Townscapes Survey:

- Towns in the South West are especially vulnerable to an economic downturn as a result of Covid-19. Five out the ten towns in Britain with the most employment in hospitality and tourism industries are found in the South West.

- Only 15% of towns in the South West are residential in character; the vast majority have a relatively large amount of employment for local people.

- Eight out of the ten most deprived towns in the South West are situated on the coast. The other two are rural towns in Cornwall.

- Compared to towns in other regions, the South West's towns have more nursery schools, post boxes, bus stops and health-related services.

- The South West has seen the biggest improvement in the number of public services provided in its towns of any part of Britain since 2011.

- Towns in the South West are 21% less likely to have a train station compared to the rest of Britain. The most declining towns in this area fare far worse in this respect.

Descriptive Statistics and Regression Tables

Table 1:
Descriptive Statistics

Town	Population	Distance from City (Km)	Land area (Km²)	Household Deprivation (%)	Job Density
Amesbury	10726	45.42	4.99	50.91	0.76
Barnstaple	31819	64.36	8.69	58.97	1.11
Bath	100143	17.89	24.24	49.49	0.86
Bideford	30285	71.01	8.70	60.64	0.58
Bishop's Cleeve	15419	45.35	4.44	48.25	0.42
Blandford Forum	12323	23.29	2.79	55.74	0.72
Bodmin	15601	43.33	4.56	63.69	0.96
Bridgwater	43782	45.18	11.25	61.80	0.82
Bridport	13651	61.74	4.86	61.03	0.74
Brixham	16796	42.91	4.25	65.47	0.41
Burnham-on-Sea	24036	33.30	7.75	64.43	0.59
Calne	18126	21.22	4.01	52.30	0.44
Chard	13722	72.06	3.70	61.95	0.74
Cheltenham	118004	41.79	28.87	49.76	0.81
Chippenham (Wiltshire)	36016	26.84	8.96	49.53	0.75
Cinderford	13768	39.58	4.73	62.05	0.50
Cirencester	17795	19.92	4.45	54.64	1.15
Clevedon	21175	19.96	5.05	51.03	0.64
Coleford (Forest of Dean)	10937	36.01	4.18	61.78	0.55
Corsham	15325	26.20	5.58	49.94	0.99
Dawlish	12564	51.25	3.10	64.18	0.54
Devizes	19006	28.37	5.28	52.97	0.94
Dorchester (West Dorset)	20254	39.85	4.92	53.20	1.68
Dursley	15776	28.24	4.44	52.21	0.37
Exeter	126639	56.53	28.49	55.62	1.09
Exmouth	35311	57.70	8.57	57.71	0.45
Falmouth	34621	73.94	8.55	58.68	0.65
Frome	27350	32.39	6.34	54.92	0.50
Gillingham (North Dorset)	11538	42.61	3.06	53.48	0.63
Gloucester	159798	43.72	40.36	55.38	0.82
Helston	12859	87.85	5.10	53.50	0.64
Honiton	11478	79.47	3.21	59.01	0.72
Ilfracombe	10990	51.61	2.69	65.88	0.56
Ivybridge	11766	14.06	2.75	47.63	0.38
Keynsham	16739	8.94	3.97	56.09	0.64
Melksham	19569	32.76	5.39	56.78	0.83

Descriptive Statistics and Regression Tables

Midsomer Norton/Radstock	29456	21.67	7.82	54.96	0.51
Minehead	11908	39.48	4.19	64.51	0.94
Nailsea	20592	13.63	7.38	47.49	0.59
Newquay	21392	67.55	5.56	61.92	0.65
Newton Abbot	38237	39.95	9.91	57.30	0.86
Paignton/Torquay	118821	40.94	31.47	63.53	0.65
Penzance	19855	105.92	4.63	68.00	0.80
Portishead	26156	14.11	6.14	43.90	0.66
Redruth	44838	82.88	13.61	65.05	0.69
Salisbury	45824	36.52	11.28	52.35	0.90
Saltash	15830	7.67	3.83	52.58	0.55
Shepton Mallet	10685	31.97	3.08	55.06	0.77
Sidmouth	13221	70.79	4.98	57.27	0.74
St Austell	27458	47.09	7.82	61.47	0.72
St Blazey	10326	42.25	3.92	63.08	0.55
Street	13638	40.92	3.81	57.38	0.84
Stroud	61628	35.24	24.69	49.51	0.81
Swanage	10572	16.61	3.42	59.57	0.67
Taunton	67717	55.67	17.85	54.92	1.01
Tavistock	12485	17.00	3.88	53.78	0.67
Teignmouth	17865	47.47	4.90	59.23	0.48
Tewkesbury	20731	52.99	6.23	53.99	0.99
Thornbury	11860	15.46	3.03	48.20	0.64
Tidworth	10943	38.10	2.91	48.12	0.29
Tiverton	19975	70.47	5.48	59.92	0.73
Trowbridge	44567	30.87	10.98	54.61	0.72
Truro	24403	68.96	7.33	54.37	1.93
Verwood	13650	14.08	4.34	49.21	0.60
Warminster	17797	40.76	5.41	56.09	1.44
Wellington (Taunton Deane)	15069	59.71	3.60	56.73	0.57
Wells	11796	29.87	3.50	54.56	0.97
Westbury (Wiltshire)	17711	35.47	5.25	55.14	0.44
Weston-Super-Mare	88548	25.56	19.30	59.53	0.64
Weymouth	58228	43.63	14.46	58.85	0.57
Wootton Bassett	12604	8.63	2.83	54.29	0.77
Yate	35170	13.04	9.46	51.03	0.43
Yatton	10056	19.73	3.43	46.91	1.07
Yeovil	47919	58.02	12.57	55.29	1.03

Table 1
Source: Census 2011, Office for National Statistics – Business Register and Employment Survey; Built-up Areas Boundaries, V2; Mid-Year Population Estimates

Descriptive Statistics and Regression Tables

Table 2a:
Public Services

Town	Nurseries	Community Halls	Post Boxes	Schools	Health Services	Further Education Colleges	Bus Stops
Amesbury	1	4	11	4	20	0	65
Barnstaple	9	12	51	11	65	1	188
Bath	33	46	157	30	222	2	627
Bideford	7	9	56	7	61	0	156
Bishop's Cleeve	7	4	17	4	21	0	76
Blandford Forum	4	1	15	4	32	0	70
Bodmin	4	3	25	5	36	1	105
Bridgwater	16	6	46	14	62	1	200
Bridport	5	2	28	3	41	0	90
Brixham	2	3	31	5	33	1	134
Burnham-on-Sea	6	9	31	6	49	0	164
Calne	8	2	21	6	28	0	78
Chard	6	3	19	4	32	0	46
Cheltenham	45	30	134	33	281	3	695
Chippenham (Wiltshire)	14	4	43	12	79	1	147
Cinderford	5	4	26	5	29	0	141
Cirencester	8	4	29	4	59	0	100
Clevedon	8	7	37	6	54	0	103
Coleford (Forest of Dean)	5	4	19	5	19	1	129
Corsham	7	6	24	6	25	0	99
Dawlish	1	3	20	3	27	2	64
Devizes	7	5	30	6	36	0	86
Dorchester (West Dorset)	7	7	36	6	97	0	106
Dursley	4	7	25	6	24	0	117
Exeter	36	26	146	33	277	6	691
Exmouth	10	9	49	9	84	0	247
Falmouth	9	10	53	9	67	0	245
Frome	9	6	31	10	56	0	121
Gillingham (North Dorset)	3	2	15	4	18	0	66
Gloucester	61	42	151	57	283	3	743
Helston	5	4	22	4	28	0	70
Honiton	3	1	22	3	33	1	50
Ilfracombe	4	5	28	3	24	0	73
Ivybridge	5	5	14	5	27	0	62
Keynsham	2	4	20	8	42	0	84
Melksham	5	5	28	5	33	0	109

Descriptive Statistics and Regression Tables

Midsomer Norton/Radstock	9	12	29	15	48	1	141
Minehead	3	4	22	4	38	1	57
Nailsea	6	5	22	9	37	0	110
Newquay	7	1	37	6	48	2	116
Newton Abbot	15	10	55	15	81	1	208
Paignton/ Torquay	33	22	216	34	277	2	755
Penzance	5	6	36	10	57	1	143
Portishead	9	2	31	7	32	0	137
Redruth	12	21	63	16	92	3	283
Salisbury	13	12	74	20	124	3	342
Saltash	6	8	26	5	31	1	109
Shepton Mallet	2	2	18	4	22	0	46
Sidmouth	3	4	33	2	42	0	58
St Austell	6	5	46	8	59	1	163
St Blazey	4	3	21	3	16	0	81
Street	7	3	18	5	24	1	78
Stroud	28	20	112	33	155	5	577
Swanage	2	1	27	3	22	0	56
Taunton	22	19	77	21	170	3	425
Tavistock	8	4	29	5	47	0	64
Teignmouth	3	4	39	5	50	0	82
Tewkesbury	6	7	17	10	38	0	91
Thornbury	3	4	14	7	31	0	70
Tidworth	2	2	15	3	7	0	47
Tiverton	7	10	29	7	38	1	126
Trowbridge	16	11	37	17	67	1	214
Truro	10	3	46	9	87	2	192
Verwood	5	4	13	4	18	0	58
Warminster	2	4	28	8	34	1	81
Wellington (Taunton Deane)	7	3	17	5	32	0	51
Wells	5	2	19	5	37	0	58
Westbury (Wiltshire)	6	4	21	6	21	0	78
Weston-Super-Mare	20	17	107	25	204	3	486
Weymouth	14	18	88	16	114	2	285
Wootton Bassett	4	1	13	5	23	0	49
Yate	10	6	33	14	58	0	143
Yatton	5	4	11	4	15	0	40
Yeovil	19	6	60	15	85	3	340

Table 2a
Source: Ordnance survey – Points of Interest (© Crown copyright and database rights 2019 Ordnance Survey (100025252))

Descriptive Statistics and Regression Tables

Table 2b:
Public Services

Town	Mental Health	Hospitals	Train Stations	GPs	Job Centres	Fire Stations	Police Stations	Libraries
Amesbury	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	1
Barnstaple	0	1	1	3	2	1	1	1
Bath	11	5	2	19	1	1	1	4
Bideford	1	1	0	3	1	2	0	3
Bishop's Cleeve	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	1
Blandford Forum	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	1
Bodmin	4	1	0	2	1	1	1	0
Bridgwater	5	2	1	5	2	1	0	3
Bridport	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
Brixham	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	1
Burnham-on-Sea	2	1	1	2	0	1	1	1
Calne	1	0	0	3	0	1	0	1
Chard	1	1	0	3	0	1	1	1
Cheltenham	15	3	2	18	1	1	1	5
Chippenham (Wiltshire)	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	2
Cinderford	2	0	0	3	1	1	0	1
Cirencester	4	1	0	4	1	1	1	1
Clevedon	1	1	0	2	1	1	1	1
Coleford (Forest of Dean)	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	1
Corsham	3	0	0	2	0	1	0	2
Dawlish	0	1	2	1	0	1	0	1
Devizes	2	1	0	3	1	1	0	1
Dorchester (West Dorset)	7	2	2	5	0	1	1	1
Dursley	1	0	0	3	0	1	0	1
Exeter	24	5	8	19	1	3	2	7
Exmouth	1	2	1	6	0	1	0	1
Falmouth	1	1	4	5	1	1	0	2
Frome	3	1	1	2	1	1	0	2
Gillingham (North Dorset)	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	1
Gloucester	13	3	1	24	2	2	2	8
Helston	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	1
Honiton	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
Ilfracombe	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Ivybridge	3	0	0	2	0	1	0	1
Keynsham	2	0	1	4	0	0	0	2
Melksham	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
Midsomer Norton/Radstock	2	1	0	5	0	2	0	2

Descriptive Statistics and Regression Tables

Minehead	2	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
Nailsea	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	1
Newquay	2	1	1	2	1	1	0	1
Newton Abbot	1	1	1	5	2	1	0	3
Paignton/Torquay	5	3	3	18	1	2	1	3
Penzance	2	1	1	5	1	1	0	2
Portishead	1	0	0	2	0	1	1	1
Redruth	1	1	2	9	1	0	1	3
Salisbury	5	1	1	9	1	1	1	1
Saltash	2	1	1	2	0	1	0	0
Shepton Mallet	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	1
Sidmouth	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	1
St Austell	2	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
St Blazey	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
Street	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	1
Stroud	13	2	2	10	1	2	1	5
Swanage	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
Taunton	16	2	1	8	1	1	1	2
Tavistock	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	1
Teignmouth	3	1	1	6	0	1	0	1
Tewkesbury	2	1	1	2	0	1	1	1
Thornbury	2	2	0	3	1	1	0	1
Tidworth	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1
Tiverton	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	1
Trowbridge	4	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
Truro	5	2	1	2	1	0	2	3
Verwood	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	1
Warminster	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
Wellington (Taunton Deane)	2	1	0	2	0	1	1	1
Wells	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
Westbury (Wiltshire)	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1
Weston-Super-Mare	11	1	2	13	1	1	1	3
Weymouth	3	2	1	10	1	1	0	4
Wootton Bassett	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1
Yate	1	0	1	5	2	1	1	2
Yatton	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	2
Yeovil	4	1	1	7	1	1	0	1

Table 2b
Source: Ordnance survey – Points of Interest (© Crown copyright and database rights 2019 Ordnance Survey (100025252))

Descriptive Statistics and Regression Tables

Table 3:
Improvement Index Statistics

Town	Employment Rate Change (2001-2011)	Youth Population Change (2001-2011)	Business Count Change (2010-2016)	Population Change (2001-2011)	Further Education Qualification Rate Change (2001-2011)
Amesbury	0.09	0.93	50	1817	2.95
Barnstaple	2.44	0.63	25	1903	5.07
Bath	-1.93	1.30	620	5016	0.87
Bideford	2.76	-0.61	100	2495	5.82
Bishop's Cleeve	-0.62	0.14	85	1077	5.46
Blandford Forum	1.51	-0.02	0	1238	4.13
Bodmin	3.26	0.20	0	1855	2.63
Bridgwater	1.71	0.53	55	3885	1.26
Bridport	3.79	0.34	55	821	19.32
Brixham	1.02	-0.50	55	-764	5.75
Burnham-on-Sea	1.21	-0.10	40	1073	-5.22
Calne	-0.49	0.68	70	3485	3.51
Chard	1.77	0.47	30	1066	2.24
Cheltenham	2.19	0.11	680	5719	3.74
Chippenham (Wiltshire)	-1.43	1.44	205	2611	3.32
Cinderford	-0.93	-0.05	90	869	13.20
Cirencester	-2.20	1.16	140	999	7.70
Clevedon	0.04	-0.07	85	-676	6.06
Coleford (Forest of Dean)	-0.45	0.03	-35	16	17.51
Corsham	1.25	0.78	85	1914	8.24
Dawlish	3.04	0.53	15	342	12.91
Devizes	2.41	0.12	55	3442	6.71
Dorchester (West Dorset)	1.84	0.41	150	2889	9.79
Dursley	0.13	0.12	10	765	9.13
Exeter	0.89	0.68	475	6697	-3.41
Exmouth	4.78	-0.13	115	1460	4.37
Falmouth	0.24	0.74	65	1888	3.36
Frome	1.20	-0.29	135	1589	3.54
Gillingham (North Dorset)	4.13	0.55	140	2611	16.03
Gloucester	1.25	0.42	810	14000	2.90
Helston	3.37	0.55	80	1449	5.35
Honiton	3.96	0.80	40	270	5.72
Ilfracombe	2.66	0.73	15	669	3.67
Ivybridge	-1.45	-0.15	50	-205	3.87
Keynsham	0.71	0.51	70	108	5.27

Descriptive Statistics and Regression Tables

Melksham	-0.94	0.72	90	1548	11.72
Midsomer Norton/Radstock	-0.20	0.23	75	1625	7.55
Minehead	3.94	-0.90	-5	127	10.04
Nailsea	-0.29	-0.30	255	-583	11.85
Newquay	3.03	-0.22	110	886	10.99
Newton Abbot	3.51	0.04	60	659	0.91
Paignton/Torquay	1.56	0.25	270	2017	4.31
Penzance	4.82	0.35	0	-123	12.71
Portishead	2.61	-0.36	300	4913	8.68
Redruth	5.15	0.08	180	2866	9.40
Salisbury	1.83	0.41	385	2007	9.10
Saltash	0.33	-0.48	60	1482	9.76
Shepton Mallet	3.96	0.85	5	1234	-1.77
Sidmouth	4.34	0.14	25	462	7.48
St Austell	2.13	0.14	25	3098	3.90
St Blazey	1.93	0.25	50	241	2.92
Street	1.22	0.38	50	986	9.05
Stroud	1.43	0.59	300	2757	10.77
Swanage	4.36	-0.95	25	-523	7.30
Taunton	2.87	0.10	135	3959	6.89
Tavistock	0.22	-0.64	35	1262	5.67
Teignmouth	3.59	-0.36	45	336	1.01
Tewkesbury	-0.75	0.21	105	2938	14.42
Thornbury	-3.16	0.73	65	-156	10.84
Tidworth	-1.81	0.32	25	3603	5.87
Tiverton	2.17	-0.01	0	2714	13.50
Trowbridge	-0.22	0.40	170	6628	7.87
Truro	4.30	-0.01	20	2121	11.35
Verwood	3.16	0.68	0	1171	10.96
Warminster	-0.88	0.28	125	113	3.25
Wellington (Taunton Deane)	2.16	0.88	115	1342	10.84
Wells	3.55	0.08	40	118	-3.42
Westbury (Wiltshire)	0.37	0.76	100	3651	12.80
Weston-Super-Mare	1.27	0.09	480	6233	0.48
Weymouth	0.72	0.16	120	1664	5.71
Wootton Bassett	-2.39	1.02	35	428	-20.57
Yate	-3.17	0.76	105	-581	-0.47
Yatton	-0.72	0.50	85	97	13.67
Yeovil	0.74	0.55	130	3741	1.73

Table 3
Source: Census 2011, Census 2001, Office for National Statistics – Business Register and Employment Survey; UK Business: Activity, Size and Location; Built-up Areas Boundaries, V2; Mid-Year Population Estimates

Descriptive Statistics and Regression Tables

Regression Tables
Table 4:

OLS Public Services

	Health Services			Bus Stops			Nurseries			Schools			GPs			Post Boxes		
Predictors	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*
Intercept	18.62	5.14 – 32.10	**0.007**	-93.61	-132.78 – -54.44	**<0.001**	7.47	5.09 – 9.86	**<0.001**	-1.32	-3.55 – 0.92	0.249	-3.17	-4.56 – -1.78	**<0.001**	11.64	2.08 – 21.20	**0.017**
Improvement Index	-0.40	-1.19 – 0.39	0.325	-2.20	-4.50 – 0.11	0.062	0.03	-0.11 – 0.17	0.698	-0.10	-0.23 – 0.03	0.127	-0.08	-0.16 – 0.00	0.062	-0.18	-0.74 – 0.38	0.534
Distance from City	0.25	0.16 – 0.34	**<0.001**	0.25	-0.00 – 0.50	0.054	0.01	-0.01 – 0.03	0.188	-0.02	-0.03 – -0.00	**0.019**	-0.00	-0.01 – 0.01	0.544	0.16	0.10 – 0.22	**<0.001**
Population	0.00	0.00 – 0.00	**<0.001**	0.00	0.00 – 0.00	**<0.001**	0.00	0.00 – 0.00	**<0.001**	0.00	0.00 – 0.00	**<0.001**	0.00	0.00 – 0.00	**<0.001**	0.00	0.00 – 0.00	**<0.001**
Land Area	-1.39	-2.05 – -0.73	**<0.001**	10.49	8.58 – 12.41	**<0.001**	-0.03	-0.15 – 0.09	0.597	0.20	0.09 – 0.31	**<0.001**	0.07	0.00 – 0.13	0.060	0.30	-0.16 – 0.77	0.203
Household Deprivation	-0.57	-0.80 – -0.35	**<0.001**	1.30	0.66 – 1.95	**<0.001**	-0.15	-0.19 – -0.12	**<0.001**	0.03	-0.00 – 0.07	0.068	0.05	0.03 – 0.08	**<0.001**	-0.22	-0.38 – -0.07	**0.006**
South West Dummy	6.36	1.85 – 10.87	**0.006**	28.28	15.18 – 41.38	**<0.001**	0.82	0.02 – 1.61	**0.046**	-0.55	-1.30 – 0.19	0.147	0.16	-0.30 – 0.63	0.496	5.43	2.23 – 8.62	**0.001**
Job Density	15.54	9.50 – 21.58	**<0.001**	-2.10	-19.65 – 15.45	0.814	1.29	0.22 – 2.35	**0.019**	1.16	0.16 – 2.16	**0.024**	-0.32	-0.94 – 0.30	0.311	1.13	-3.16 – 5.41	0.607
Observations	516			516			516			516			516			516		
R^2 / adjusted R^2	0.910 / 0.908			0.912 / 0.911			0.903 / 0.902			0.928 / 0.927			0.889 / 0.888			0.872 / 0.870		

Table 4
Source: Census 2011, Office for National Statistics – Business Register and Employment Survey; UK Business: Activity, Size and Location; Built-up Areas Boundaries, V2; Mid-Year Population Estimates; Ordnance survey – Points of Interest (© Crown copyright and database rights 2019 Ordnance Survey (100025252)); Scotland's Census, 2011; National Records of Scotland – Mid-Year Population Estimates;.

Table 5:

Logistic Regression of Public Services availability

	Mental Health Practitioners			Hospital			Job Centre			Train Station			Further Education College			Police Station		
Predictors	*Odds Ratios*	*CI*	*p*	*Odds Ratios*	*CI*	*p*	*Odds Ratios*	*CI*	*p*	*Odds Ratios*	*CI*	*p*	*Odds Ratios*	*CI*	*p*	*Odds Ratios*	*CI*	*p*
Intercept	4.24	0.69 – 25.97	0.118	0.03	0.00 – 0.21	**<0.001**	0.00	0.00 – 0.00	**<0.001**	0.31	0.05 – 2.10	0.231	0.00	0.00 – 0.03	**<0.001**	0.14	0.02 – 0.89	**0.037**
Improvement Index	0.97	0.86 – 1.09	0.573	0.96	0.84 – 1.08	0.478	0.98	0.86 – 1.13	0.813	1.28	1.13 – 1.46	**<0.001**	0.96	0.85 – 1.08	0.523	1.05	0.93 – 1.18	0.438
Distance from City	1.01	1.00 – 1.03	**0.022**	1.05	1.03 – 1.07	**<0.001**	1.02	1.00 – 1.03	**0.024**	1.02	1.01 – 1.03	**0.004**	1.02	1.01 – 1.03	**0.002**	1.01	1.00 – 1.02	0.214
Population	1.00	1.00 – 1.00	**<0.001**	1.00	1.00 – 1.00	**<0.001**	1.00	1.00 – 1.00	**<0.001**	1.00	1.00 – 1.00	**<0.001**	1.00	1.00 – 1.00	**<0.001**	1.00	1.00 – 1.00	0.893
Land Area	0.97	0.85 – 1.11	0.708	0.92	0.80 – 1.05	0.195	0.99	0.83 – 1.19	0.942	0.99	0.85 – 1.15	0.906	0.92	0.82 – 1.03	0.133	1.12	0.97 – 1.30	0.130
Household Deprivation	0.94	0.91 – 0.97	**<0.001**	0.98	0.95 – 1.01	0.142	1.12	1.08 – 1.16	**<0.001**	0.98	0.95 – 1.02	0.329	1.03	1.00 – 1.07	**0.035**	1.01	0.98 – 1.04	0.452
South West Dummy	1.53	0.81 – 2.90	0.190	1.51	0.77 – 2.96	0.231	0.92	0.47 – 1.81	0.813	0.26	0.14 – 0.51	**<0.001**	0.86	0.46 – 1.60	0.629	0.26	0.15 – 0.48	**<0.001**
Job Density	2.79	1.22 – 6.41	**0.015**	20.25	7.56 – 54.25	**<0.001**	14.12	5.34 – 37.33	**<0.001**	2.93	1.26 – 6.81	**0.012**	4.64	2.05 – 10.48	**<0.001**	6.05	2.46 – 14.86	**<0.001**
Observations	516			516			516			516			516			516		
Tjur's R^2	0.230			0.398			0.439			0.283			0.331			0.184		

Table 5.
Source: Census 2011, Office for National Statistics – Business Register and Employment Survey; UK Business: Activity, Size and Location; Built-up Areas Boundaries, V2; Mid-Year Population Estimates; Ordnance survey – Points of Interest (© Crown copyright and database rights 2019 Ordnance Survey (100025252)); Scotland's Census, 2011; National Records of Scotland – Mid-Year Population Estimates;.

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