

Exploration of unemployment in Wales by settlement type for small areas

Introduction

This paper reports an exploratory piece of analysis using unemployment data from the Census of Population, 2011. The Census data are used to examine the distribution of unemployment within Wales. The analysis summarises comparisons of the distribution of unemployment:

- at Output Area (OA) and Lower Super Output Area (LSOA) level
- across a broad settlement size and context classification

The intention is to consider the strengths and weaknesses of the OA and LSOA data and what implications these may have for what data analyses are appropriate. Also to look at whether there are systematic differences between the settlement categories and whether these change depending on the scale of analysis.

The paper is a first contribution to this debate. While it highlights several key findings it is not the final definitive statement on these matters.

Key Findings

- For analysing unemployment data by settlement type, it is not clear that OA level data is necessarily better than LSOA level data.
 - There are potential data quality issues for very small areas (Output Areas). In the case of unemployment analysis, these raise questions about whether the differences observed between OA and LSOA level data are real, random fluctuations or a product of those data quality issues.
 - The numbers of unemployed people at OA level can be very small and potentially unreliable e.g. more than half the OAs contained fewer than 10 unemployed people. A single household of two unemployed adults moving could have a significant impact on an OAs unemployment rate.
- Overall there is little systematic difference in the picture of unemployment by settlement size and context if the scale of analysis is changed from LSOA to OA.
 - There is a higher level of variation (i.e. more extremes) at OA level – though this must be considered alongside quality issues and the small numbers involved.
 - There are individual areas in the rural areas that have locally high unemployment rates. However, this is both relatively and absolutely less than for the more urban areas
 - The change from LSOA to OA scale does not particularly change the pattern of unemployment in the more rural areas. There is as much, or even more, change in the more urban areas.

- The broad picture at both LSOA and OA is:
 - The more rural areas tend to have lower unemployment rates.
 - They also tend to have relatively few areas with very high unemployment rates compared to the more urban areas.
 - There are still significant numbers of unemployed people in rural areas.

The paper focuses on an analysis of the distribution of unemployment in Wales at OA and LSOA level. Some of the issues relating to usefulness of analysis at a very small level will be relevant to other data variables or data sources, though this cannot be generalised. However a key conclusion from this work is that any assumption that analysis at a smaller level is always better than analysis at a higher level needs to be challenged – taking into account data quality and other issues surrounding the use of smaller areas.

Unemployment data from Census of Population 2011

The data for these analyses are taken from published results from the 2011 Census of Population. The published figures report the employment status for people aged 16 to 74. All calculations of unemployed numbers and rates will exclude people under the statutory school age and people aged at least 75. The following categories are used:

- In work – employees and the self employed.
- Unemployed – not in work but available and looking for work.
- Economically Inactive – not in work and either not available or not looking for work. Includes retired people, students, the long term sick or disabled and people looking after home or family.

Together those in work and unemployed are known as “economically active”. The unemployment rate is expressed as a share of economically active people.

The measure of unemployment used in the Census is not related to whether people claim benefits or not.

Statistical geography

For analysis of data at a local level this paper uses two National Statistics statistical geographies. These geographies were defined for the 2011 Census of Population.

- Output Areas (OA) – areas with around 300 people each at Census 2011. In Wales there are just over 10,000 Output Areas.
- Lower Super Output Areas (LSOA) - areas with around 1,600 people each at Census 2011. In Wales there are just over 1,900 Lower Super Output Areas.

The LSOA are built up of OA. Generally LSOA will contain from 4 to 8 OA. The areas can be added up to give local authority results.

To show the difference in scale of OA and LSOA, Table 1 counts the areas by the number of unemployed people in an area. This is given as a reminder that, while there are many good reasons to want to work with the more locally specific data, there is a price to pay in terms of the volatility of the results for individual areas.

Table 1**OA and LSOA by number of unemployed people in an area**

	Number of areas		Share	
	OA	LSOA	OA	LSOA
Under 5	1,947	0	19.4%	0.0%
5 to 9	3,913	3	39.0%	0.2%
10 to 14	2,335	23	23.3%	1.2%
15 to 19	1,066	71	10.6%	3.7%
20 to 24	500	127	5.0%	6.7%
25 to 29	172	180	1.7%	9.4%
30 to 34	57	182	0.6%	9.5%
35 to 39	24	172	0.2%	9.0%
40 to 44	16	152	0.2%	8.0%
45 to 49	1	148	-	7.8%
50 to 54	3	141	-	7.4%
55 to 59	0	123	0.0%	6.4%
60 to 64	1	108	-	5.7%
65 to 69	0	89	0.0%	4.7%
70 to 74	1	83	-	4.3%
75 to 79	0	60	0.0%	3.1%
80 to 84	0	53	0.0%	2.8%
85 to 89	0	38	0.0%	2.0%
90 to 94	0	43	0.0%	2.3%
95 to 99	0	25	0.0%	1.3%
At least 100	0	88	0.0%	4.6%
Total	10,036	1,909	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Census of Population, 2011

Table 1, which shows that a fifth of all Output Areas in Wales contained fewer than 5 unemployed people and more than half the OAs contained fewer than 10 unemployed people at the time of the 2011 Census, is key to understanding why using the lower geographical scale may not always be the best thing to do. The other tables in this bulletin need to be considered in the light of the very small number of unemployed people that are found in a single OA. If an OA has, say, five unemployed people in it then a single household of two unemployed adults moving into the area would have a significant impact on the unemployment rate.

Data Quality issues

In using any data about small areas it is important to understand the issues that affect the data at that level and there are a number of such issues that should be taken into account when using the Census of Population data on unemployment for Output Areas:

- A small number of households do not respond to the Census. There are measures in place to account for those households but this does include some imputation of results for these households.
- Census results are recorded for an individual's "usual address". This usual address is how individuals are allocated to the output areas. In some instances there may be people with complex living patterns e.g. students, those with a second address for work purposes, where there may be some question over what the most appropriate allocation of output area is for the analysis being undertaken.
- The Census is a self completion form and the employment status for some people may be mis-stated.
- In an area where very few people have a particular characteristic there may be a risk of disclosing information about individuals. In these areas results can be adjusted slightly for disclosure control.

Sources of error in any data collection can include mis-reporting, mis-allocation to an area, non-response and processes for handling that non-response and possible processing errors¹. Huge effort goes into the Census programme to minimise any such errors, but they will not all be eliminated. However, as the Census attempts to capture information about all households it is not subject to sampling error in the same way that a smaller survey would be and therefore it provides, in many ways, a best case scenario for the use of OA level data.

At the OA level the numbers of people are much lower than for LSOA. If there are few people in an area then any errors can have a large proportionate effect. This raises the key question about whether the extra geographical precision of the OA level data compared to the LSOA level compensate for the lower accuracy of the OA level data? In practical terms, if we see differences between OA and LSOA level estimates is there any reason to prefer the OA level?

Throughout this paper these issues will be referred to as we try and assess if the Census unemployment results remain "good enough" at the OA level.

Rural classification

Part of the purpose of this paper is to see if there are significant differences between unemployment in rural and urban areas and if this relationship changes at the OA and LSOA levels. Therefore we require a rural classification. Defining urban and rural areas is not a precise science. There are many plausible and feasible ways to do it. Different classifications will be preferred for different purposes. As background for this the "Statistical Focus on Rural Wales" has a useful chapter on "rural definitions and how to choose between them". Although now dated in terms of the available classifications this is still a useful summary of the principles involved. See link in "references".

For this paper we combine elements of the National Statistics Urban-Rural classification² with the statistical Built Up Area classification³ from ONS

¹ For a further explanation about the types of errors that could occur see Annex 1

² <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/geography/products/area-classifications/2011-rural-urban/index.html>

There is potential confusion because some local authorities in Wales have the same name as settlements (Cardiff, Swansea, Newport, Wrexham and Bridgend) however the areas are not the same. The boundaries of the 'settlement' represent the built environment and do not respect administrative boundaries. This paper is not concerned with local authorities and all references are to the settlements unless specifically mentioned.

The Built Up Areas are a way of defining "settlements" which were created for the 2011 Census. They are constructed from contiguous areas of built up (developed) land (residential, commercial, industrial, infrastructural). Parcels of developed land are identified and where the gap between two parcels is less than 200m, they are amalgamated. This is known as 'chain linking'. There are 427 built-up areas in Wales.

This chain linking can have a marked effect. For example the Built Up Area of Cardiff extends out to include the separate contiguous areas of Penarth, Pontypridd and Caerphilly.

Not all OAs or LSOAs are included in an identified Built Up Area. Some will be villages and smaller settlements that fall below the limit of detection for the Built Up Areas. Such areas will be assumed to be in the smallest size category.

2011 Census data for Built-Up Areas are produced by aggregating the statistics for one or more whole Output Area (OA) (on a best-fit basis) to form the total estimate. Each OA is either in a single Built Up Area or not in any. Published information from ONS identifies this for each OA. At the LSOA level it is possible for an LSOA to contain OAs in more than one Built Up Area. To allocate an LSOA to a Built Up Area thus needs a best fit for those areas with multiple settlements.

The following settlement size groups are used in this paper.

- At least 100,000 people
- 25,000 to 99,999 people
- 10,000 to 24,999 people
- 2,000 to 9,999 people
- Under 2,000 people (including those in areas without a named Built Up Area)

As well as the overall size of a settlement we also want to consider the context in which the settlement lies. Whether it is close to other settlements or is more dispersed. The National Statistics classification divides Wales and England into three contexts; conurbations, sparse setting and others. There are no settlements in Wales that are classed as conurbations, so for Wales the settlements are categorised as being in the "sparsest" or "less sparse" contexts. In practical terms we can think of this as the difference between "accessible" and "remote" areas.

The classification used in this paper combines the size groups with the context. Note that in the sparsest context there are no settlements with more than 25,000 people.

There are three Built Up Areas with a population of at least 100,000 people in Wales. These are, in size order, Cardiff, Newport and Swansea. In all three cases the Built Up Area extends well beyond the traditional city boundaries as described above.

³ ONS document: 2011 Built-up Areas - Methodology and Guidance. In the 2001 Census these areas were referred to as 'urban areas'

In the sparsest context there are four towns of at least 10,000 people. These are Holyhead, Newtown, Aberystwyth and Carmarthen. Aberystwyth is the largest with a usual resident population of around 18,000. Whether these towns should be treated as “urban” or “rural” is ambiguous because of their highly unusual geography. In some ways they are towns like others of a similar size. However, their separation from other large population centres and their importance within the local area in some circumstances it may be more appropriate to think of them as “rural”. In the following analysis and in the settlement classification considered appropriate for Wales these four towns are included as ‘rural’.

The settlement classification is shown in Map1 and Table 2. The two figures should be read in combination. The large land areas, but small number of people, in the more sparsely populated OA can give a false impression of which categories contain the most people. However, used together a balanced picture is presented.

Taken together the chart and table show the relative scale of the various settlement types. The balance between the larger and small places is important. Over half the people in Wales live in larger settlements of at least 25,000 people. However, just under a third live in smaller settlements of fewer than 10,000 people and nearly 20 per cent in settlements of under 2,000.

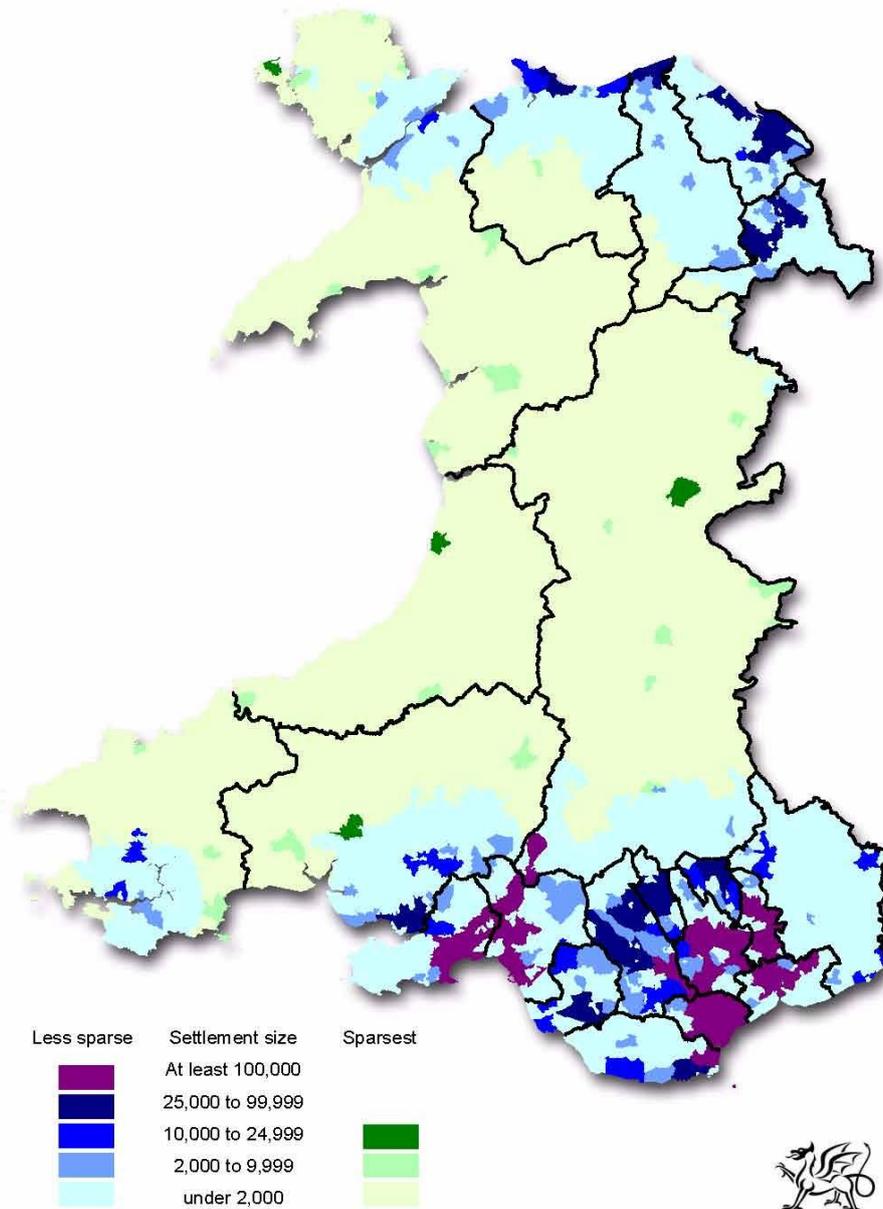
Table 2

People and land in Wales by settlement classification at OA level

	People (’000)	Area (sq km)	Share of Wales		Persons per sq km
			People	Land	
Less sparse context					
At least 100,000	1,054	689	34.4%	3.3%	1,530
25,000 to 99,999	600	568	19.6%	2.7%	1,057
10,000 to 24,999	346	379	11.3%	1.8%	913
2,000 to 9,999	337	679	11.0%	3.3%	496
Under 2,000	302	5,874	9.9%	28.3%	51
Total	2,639	8,189	86.2%	39.4%	322
Sparsest context					
10,000 to 24,999	57	64	1.9%	0.3%	900
2,000 to 9,999	90	286	2.9%	1.4%	314
Under 2,000	277	12,242	9.0%	58.9%	23
Total	424	12,591	13.8%	60.6%	34
Wales					
At least 100,000	1,054	689	34.4%	3.3%	1,530
25,000 to 99,999	600	568	19.6%	2.7%	1,057
10,000 to 24,999	403	443	13.2%	2.1%	911
2,000 to 9,999	427	965	13.9%	4.6%	442
Under 2,000	579	18,115	18.9%	87.2%	32
Total	3,063	20,780	100.0%	100.0%	147

Source: Census of Population, 2011 with Built Up Areas and National Statistics rural classification

MAP 1 Settlement classification for Wales at OA level, 2011



Source: Knowledge and Analytical Services

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Unemployed people in a settlement category

The first step is to consider the number of unemployed people in each settlement category and the average unemployment rate. Table 3 shows this for the Output Area level. The table shows for each settlement category:

- People of all ages (“Total”)
- People aged 16 to 74 who are economically active – that is in work, self employed or unemployed (“Active”).
- People aged 16 to 74 who are unemployed (“Unemp”)
- Average unemployment rate – unemployed people divided by economically active people (“Unemp rate”).

The number of people and the share of the Wales total are shown for the first three items show above.

Table 3

Unemployment by classification of settlements at OA level

	People ('000)			Unemp rate	Share of Wales total		
	Unemp	Active	Total		Unemp	Active	Total
Less sparse context							
At least 100,000	36	476	1,054	7.5%	37%	34%	34%
25,000 to 99,999	22	276	600	7.9%	22%	20%	20%
10,000 to 24,999	11	154	346	7.4%	12%	11%	11%
2,000 to 9,999	11	155	337	7.0%	11%	11%	11%
Under 2,000	7	146	302	4.8%	7%	10%	10%
Total	87	1,207	2,639	7.2%	90%	86%	86%
Sparsiest context							
10,000 to 24,999	2	23	57	7.9%	2%	2%	2%
2,000 to 9,999	3	40	90	6.6%	3%	3%	3%
Under 2,000	6	133	277	4.2%	6%	9%	9%
Total	10	196	424	5.1%	10%	14%	14%
Wales							
At least 100,000	36	476	1,054	7.5%	37%	34%	34%
25,000 to 99,999	22	276	600	7.9%	22%	20%	20%
10,000 to 24,999	13	177	403	7.5%	14%	13%	13%
2,000 to 9,999	14	195	427	6.9%	14%	14%	14%
Under 2,000	13	278	579	4.5%	13%	20%	19%
Total	97	1,403	3,063	6.9%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Census of Population, 2011 with Built Up Areas and National Statistics rural classification

Table 3 looks at unemployment in three important ways.

- The simple counts.
- The unemployment rate.
- The share of the Wales total.

Having the three measures together allows a fuller picture of unemployment to be painted than any single measure on its own. This is a good reminder that any one measure on its own is incomplete.

These measures all look at the group of settlements as a whole. They show the total number of unemployed people in a group or the average unemployment rate for a group, for example. What they do not show is how areas vary within a group. That question will be addressed in a later section.

The category of settlements of under 2,000 people stands out as different from the others. The average unemployment rate is lower for these settlements than the Wales average and the other settlement sizes. The settlements of at least 2,000 people have reasonably consistent unemployment rates in the range from 7 to 8 per cent. The smallest settlements have an average rate of 4.5 per cent. The smallest settlements in the sparsest content have a slightly lower average unemployment rate than those in the less sparse context.

If unemployment rates were consistent across different types of areas of Wales we might expect 19 per cent of the unemployed people to be in the smallest settlements but they actually have 13 per cent. Whilst this is lower than expected, this still means there are 13,000 unemployed people in these settlements. Particularly in the sparsest context, the impact of unemployment may be more in these areas because of problems accessing the job market and the usual range of support services.

Table 4 extends this idea of considering the “expected” number of unemployed people in an area. Assume that every settlement type has the Wales average unemployment rate. The table shows both the actual and expected number of unemployed people and the difference between them. Again, the table considers each settlement size band as a group.

Table 4**Unemployed people by settlement classification at OA level**

	Unemployed people ('000)			Relative diff	Unemp rate
	Actual	Expect	Diff		
Less sparse context					
At least 100,000	35.6	32.8	2.8	8%	7.5%
25,000 to 99,999	21.7	19.0	2.7	14%	7.9%
10,000 to 24,999	11.4	10.6	0.8	8%	7.4%
2,000 to 9,999	10.9	10.7	0.2	2%	6.9%
Under 2,000	7.1	10.1	-3.0	-30%	4.8%
Total	86.7	83.2	3.5	4%	7.2%
Sparsest context					
10,000 to 24,999	1.8	1.6	0.2	14%	7.8%
2,000 to 9,999	2.7	2.8	-0.1	-5%	6.4%
Under 2,000	5.5	9.1	-3.6	-40%	4.1%
Total	10.0	13.5	-3.5	-26%	5.1%
Wales					
At least 100,000	35.6	32.8	2.8	8%	7.5%
25,000 to 99,999	21.7	19.0	2.7	14%	7.9%
10,000 to 24,999	13.2	12.2	1.0	8%	7.5%
2,000 to 9,999	13.5	13.4	0.1	1%	6.8%
Under 2,000	12.6	19.2	-6.6	-34%	4.5%
Total	96.7	96.7	0.0	0%	6.9%

Source: Census of Population, 2011 with

Built Up Areas and National Statistics rural classification

"Expect" uses the Wales average unemployment rate of 6.9%

"Diff" is the actual minus the expected value

"Relative diff" is "diff" as a share of the expected value

The differences are generally small in terms of the number of unemployed people. However, the relative differences can be quite large. This raises practical questions of what the impact of this might be in terms either of how it effects people in the area or on the provision of services. Is the relative small difference in the number of unemployed people a key driver or is it more the percentage increase or decrease in unemployment?

Range of unemployment rates within a settlement category

The previous tables have looked at the settlement size bands as individual units. In this section we start to look at the variation within a size band.

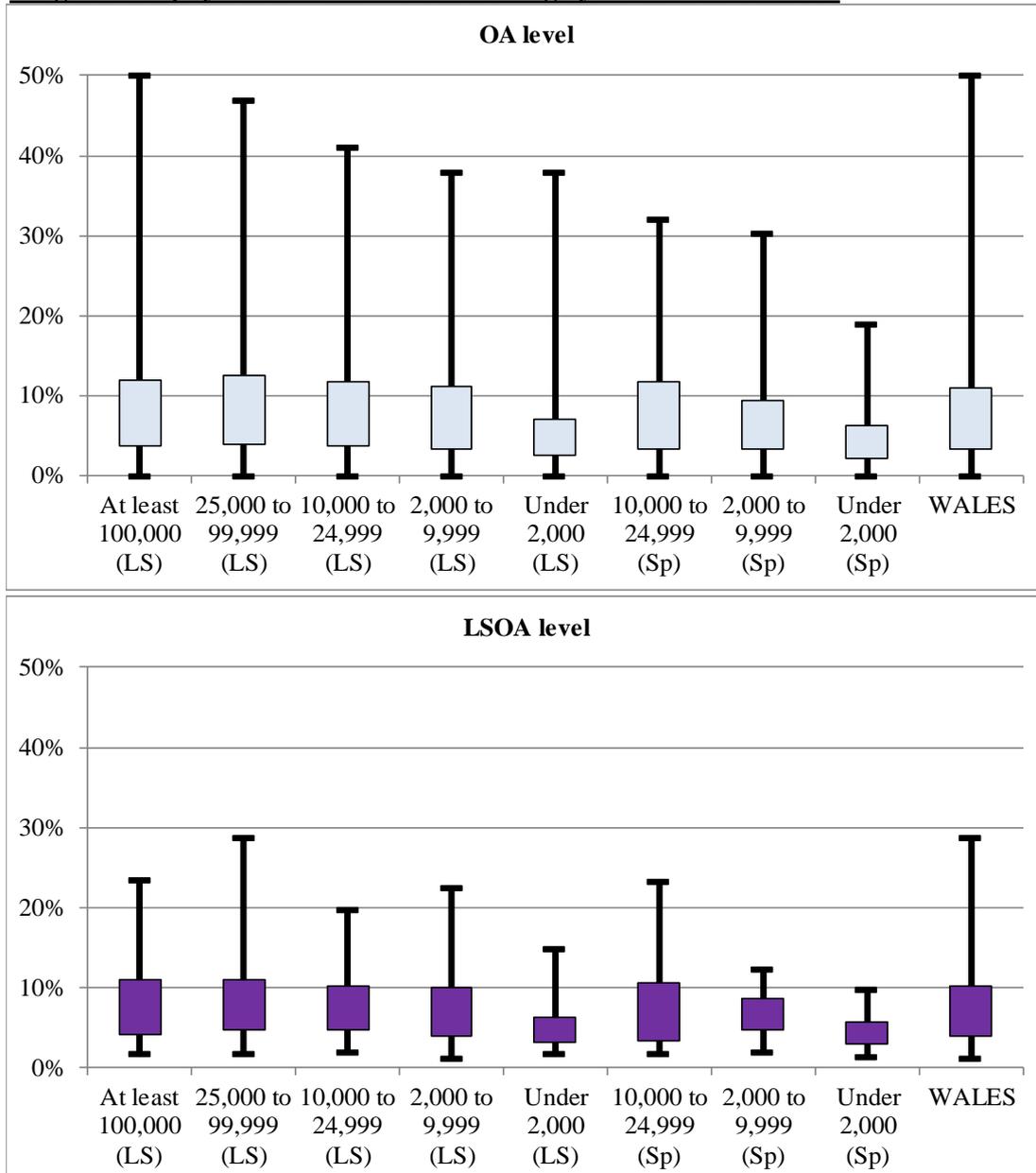
Chart 1 examines the range of unemployment rates occurring in a settlement size band. The chart uses both the OA and LSOA level. The vertical line runs from the

minimum to the maximum unemployment rate for a size band. In any band 60 per cent of the areas (OA or LSOA) lie within the coloured box. There are 20 per cent of the LSOA above the box and 20 per cent below. Table 5 presents the detailed figures.

The chart makes the higher variation at the OA level clear. Given the small number of unemployed people in almost all OA this is not surprising. If there are small errors or misallocations for an individual OA then these can have a significant effect on the unemployment rate of that OA. This relates back to the data quality issues discussed earlier.

Chart 1

Range of unemployment rates in a settlement category at OA and LSOA level



Source: Census of Population, 2011 with Built Up Areas and National Statistics rural classification

In the chart (LS) refers to the less sparse context and (Sp) to the sparsest context

Table 5**Range of unemployment rates in a settlement category at OA and LSOA level**

	<u>Minimum</u>	<u>Lower 10%</u>	<u>Lower 20%</u>	<u>Upper 20%</u>	<u>Upper 10%</u>	<u>Maximum</u>
OA level						
At least 100,000 (LS)	0.0%	2.6%	3.6%	12.0%	15.5%	50.0%
25,000 to 99,999 (LS)	0.0%	2.7%	3.9%	12.4%	16.1%	46.9%
10,000 to 24,999 (LS)	0.0%	2.7%	3.7%	11.6%	14.6%	41.0%
2,000 to 9,999 (LS)	0.0%	2.5%	3.3%	11.1%	14.7%	37.9%
Under 2,000 (LS)	0.0%	1.7%	2.5%	7.0%	9.2%	38.0%
10,000 to 24,999 (Sp)	0.0%	2.0%	3.3%	11.6%	16.4%	32.1%
2,000 to 9,999 (Sp)	0.0%	2.1%	3.3%	9.4%	12.1%	30.3%
Under 2,000 (Sp)	0.0%	1.4%	2.1%	6.2%	7.9%	19.0%
WALES	0.0%	2.3%	3.3%	10.9%	14.4%	50.0%
LSOA level						
At least 100,000 (LS)	1.8%	3.4%	4.2%	11.0%	13.7%	23.4%
25,000 to 99,999 (LS)	1.7%	3.9%	4.7%	11.0%	13.1%	28.7%
10,000 to 24,999 (LS)	1.9%	3.9%	4.6%	10.2%	12.7%	19.7%
2,000 to 9,999 (LS)	1.1%	3.2%	3.9%	10.0%	12.4%	22.5%
Under 2,000 (LS)	1.7%	2.7%	3.1%	6.2%	7.5%	14.9%
10,000 to 24,999 (Sp)	1.8%	3.2%	3.4%	10.6%	14.1%	23.3%
2,000 to 9,999 (Sp)	1.9%	4.1%	4.6%	8.6%	10.1%	12.4%
Under 2,000 (Sp)	1.3%	2.4%	3.0%	5.7%	6.4%	9.8%
WALES	1.1%	3.2%	3.9%	10.0%	12.5%	28.7%

Source: Census of Population, 2011 with Built Up Areas and National Statistics rural classification

Unemployment rate quintiles

For further analysis we will concentrate on the unemployment rate quintiles for Wales. At the Wales level the areas are ranked by the unemployment rate. We split the areas in five groups with as near as possible the same number of areas in them.

For this paper we will name the groups

- Highest – with the highest unemployment rates
- High
- Medium
- Low
- Lowest – with the lowest unemployment rates

Different ways of building the quintiles are possible. For example, instead of splitting in groups with equal number of areas we could have groups with (broadly) equal numbers of unemployed people. However, for simplicity this paper sticks with the traditional equal number of areas approach.

The lower and upper boundaries of the unemployment quintiles at OA and LSOA level are shown in Table 6. The table also shows the number of unemployed people in each category and the share of the Wales total unemployed. Note that the boundary of the lowest quintile will correspond to the “lower 20%” value in Chart 1 and Table 5 while the highest boundary will correspond with the “upper 20%”.

Table 6
Unemployment rate quintiles at OA and LSOA level

	Unemployment rate		Number of areas	Unemployed people	
	Min	Max		Working	Unemp
OA					
Highest	15.8%	15.8%	2,007	37	38%
High	8.8%	9.8%	2,007	23	24%
Medium	6.0%	6.6%	2,007	17	18%
Low	5.0%	4.6%	2,007	12	13%
Lowest	0.5%	2.7%	2,008	7	7%
Total	0.5%	15.8%	10,036	97	100%
LSOA					
Highest	10.1%	28.7%	381	32	33%
High	7.3%	10.1%	382	23	24%
Medium	5.4%	7.3%	382	18	19%
Low	3.9%	5.4%	382	14	14%
Lowest	1.1%	3.9%	382	10	10%
Total	1.1%	28.7%	1,909	97	100%

Source: Census of Population, 2011

For the LSOA level data this shows that the range of unemployment rates in the lower four quintiles is quite uniform at around 2 percentage points. However, the highest quintile has a much larger range from around 10 per cent to 29 per cent. The picture is similar for the OA, but the ranges for each quintile are not quite so uniform. At the OA level for the 20 per cent of OA with the highest unemployment rates the values range from just under 11 per cent to 50 per cent.

The practical implication of this is that if an area increases or decreases its unemployment rate by a single percentage point then it can move a long way up or down the rankings if it started outside the highest quintile. However, in the highest quintile such a change would probably have only a small effect on the rank of the area.

Another practical concern from this table is the share of the unemployed people that fall into each quintile. Since the quintiles are based on equal numbers of areas split by unemployment rates, there are more unemployed people in the highest quintile than in any other. However, note that the highest quintile does not contain most of the unemployed people in Wales. At the OA level it has 38 per cent of the total and 33 per cent at LSOA level.

The majority of the unemployed people in Wales live in areas that are outside the highest quintile for unemployment rate. This means that they are in the region where small changes in the rate can mean a large change in ranking. This has implications in thinking about the balance between local area interventions and general interventions for all unemployed people in Wales.

Maps 2 and 3 show the distribution of the unemployment quintiles across Wales at OA and LSOA levels. The maps are intended to show how the distribution of unemployment changes between the OA and LSOA level. They show where the areas of high or low unemployment occur at both scales.

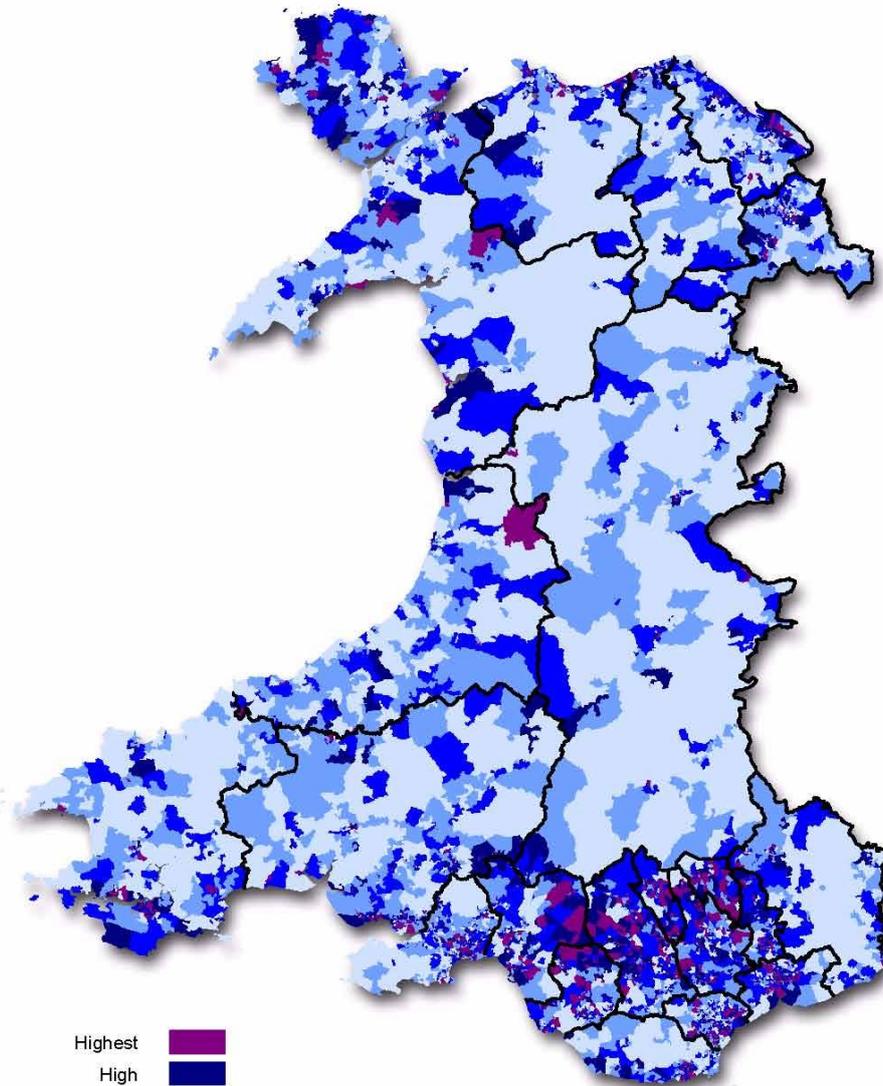
Overall the two maps do seem to be picking up largely the same pattern, though, of course, there are differences. A problem with such maps is that it is so much easier to see differences in the smallest settlements (where the individual areas have large land areas) than in the larger settlements where the land areas are typically small (see Table 2). For example it is very difficult to see what is happening in the settlement of Cardiff but easy for the local authority of Powys.

For example, the OA map (Map 2) clearly shows an OA on the Powys/Ceredigion border in the highest OA quintile. This is the area around Ponterwyd (OA code W00002902 in LSOA W01000543). It shows up clearly because it includes a large area of nearly empty land, including the summit of Pumlumon. The OA identified had fourteen unemployed people recorded by the 2011 Census with an unemployment rate of nearly 13 per cent. The other OA in the LSOA all have unemployment rates below 5 per cent - well below the Wales average of 6.7 per cent. The LSOA as a whole has an unemployment rate of just over 4 per cent.

This raises another question. Is it important that there is a minor hot spot for unemployment in this area which contains around 300 people, especially when most of its neighbours are in the lower unemployment rate quintile? From table 1 we might expect around 10-15 unemployed people in the area.

The greater variation at the OA compared to LSOA level is clear in maps as it was in Chart 1. Again this leads to the theme running through this paper about whether the data quality issues for the lower level geography outweigh any advantages from using OA level data.

MAP 2 Unemployment quintiles at the Output Area level, 2011



Source: Knowledge and Analytical Services

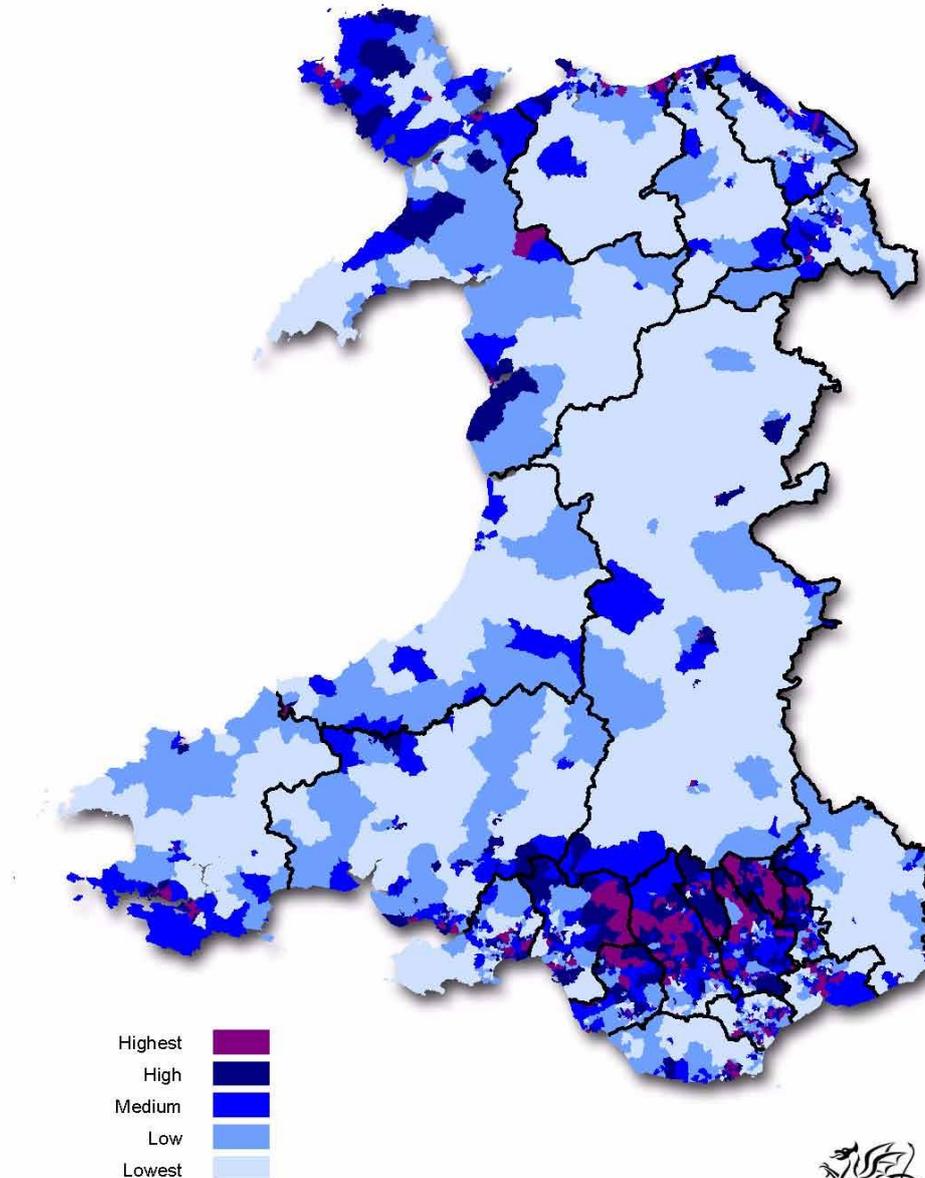
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082.14-15
Cartographics, FCS

MAP 3 Unemployment quintiles at LSOA level, 2011



Source: Knowledge and Analytical Services

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Cartographics, FCS

Unemployment quintiles by settlement category at OA and LSOA level

The next step is to examine the distribution of these unemployment quintiles across the settlement categories. Table 7 shows this distribution for the OA and LSOA levels. For each settlement category the table shows the share of the areas in that group that fall into each of the quintiles. If the distribution was entirely uniform each of these values would be 20 per cent. Therefore it is the differences from 20 per cent

for the individual entries that are interesting. In the table the settlements of 10,000 to 24,999 people in the less sparse and sparsest context have been combined because of the small size of the latter. All settlements of at least 25,000 people are in the less sparse context.

Table 7

Share of areas in a quintile at OA and LSOA level by settlement category

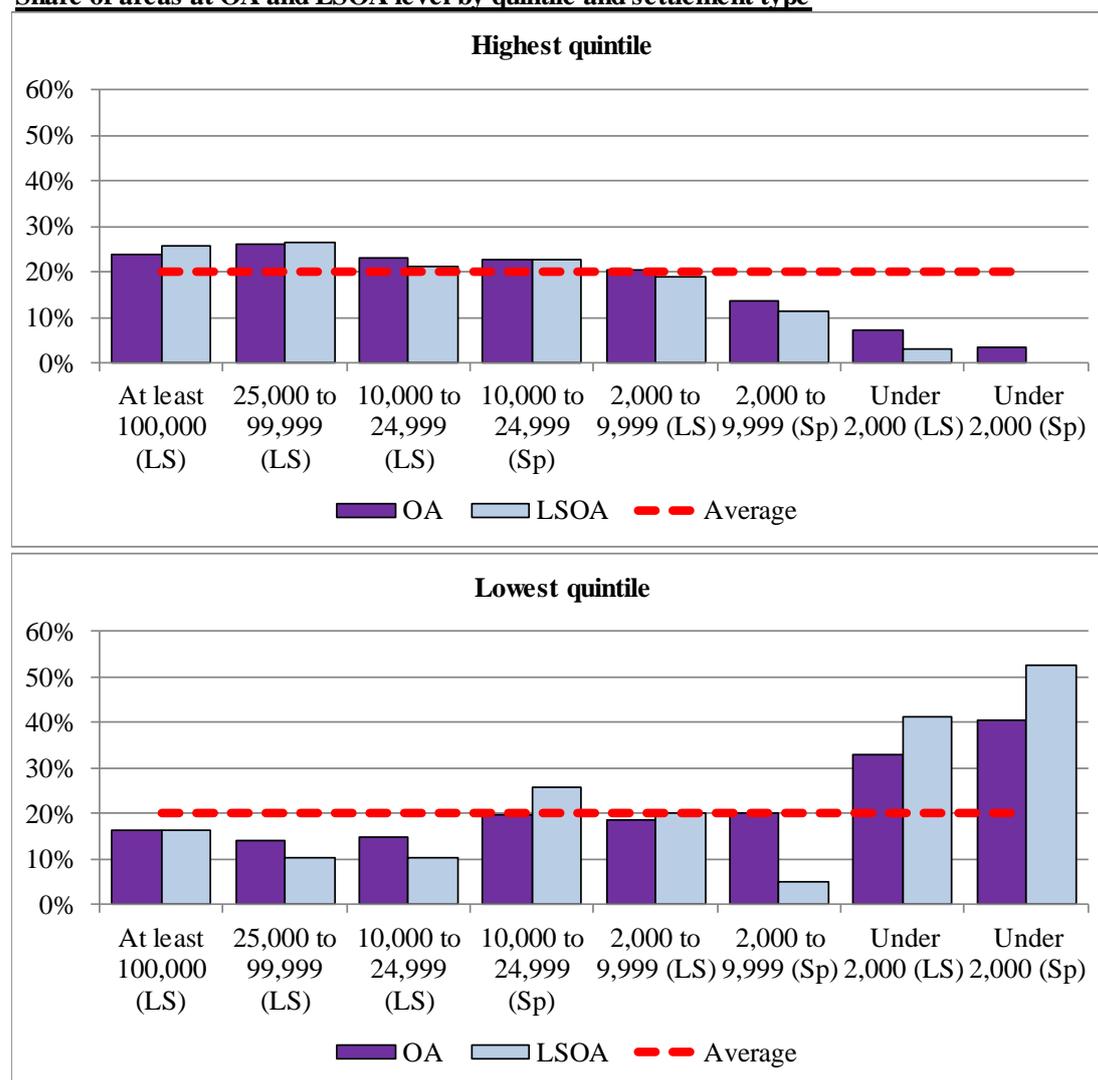
	Quintile					Total (=100%)
	Highest	High	Medium	Low	Lowest	
At least 100,000						
OA	23.8%	21.2%	20.1%	18.5%	16.4%	3,404
LSOA	25.8%	19.8%	19.2%	18.6%	16.5%	666
25,000 to 99,999						
OA	26.0%	23.7%	19.3%	17.0%	14.0%	1,981
LSOA	26.4%	26.4%	20.2%	16.5%	10.5%	382
10,000 to 24,999						
OA	23.0%	23.3%	19.1%	19.0%	15.5%	1,324
LSOA	21.5%	24.7%	22.3%	19.1%	12.4%	251
2,000 to 9,999 - less sparse						
OA	20.7%	21.0%	20.7%	19.0%	18.7%	1,113
LSOA	18.9%	23.9%	18.9%	18.0%	20.3%	222
2,000 to 9,999 - sparsest						
OA	13.8%	22.9%	24.8%	18.5%	20.1%	319
LSOA	11.5%	16.4%	27.9%	39.3%	4.9%	61
Under 2,000 - less sparse						
OA	7.4%	11.1%	20.6%	27.8%	33.1%	978
LSOA	3.1%	9.8%	19.0%	27.0%	41.1%	163
Under 2,000 - sparsest						
OA	3.4%	9.8%	19.5%	26.8%	40.5%	917
LSOA	0.0%	4.9%	18.9%	23.8%	52.4%	164

Source: Census of Population, 2011 with Built Up Areas and National Statistics rural classification
For the larger settlements the results combine less sparse and sparsest context

Chart 2 summarises these results for the highest and lowest quintiles.

Chart 2

Share of areas at OA and LSOA level by quintile and settlement type



Source: Census of Population, 2011 with Built Up Areas and National Statistics rural classification

LS - less sparse context

Sp - Sparsest context

The table and chart show that there are differences between the settlement categories. However, the differences are generally consistent between the OA and LSOA levels. The higher share in the lowest quintile for the smallest settlements is present at both scales. The share in the lowest quintile is higher for the smallest settlements in the sparsest context – the more remote areas.

At the LSOA level the share of areas in the highest quintile broadly increases with settlement size. The share in the lowest quintile decreases with settlement size, again with the lowest share in the settlements between 25,000 and 100,000. The pattern is more irregular at the OA level. However, the largest two settlement size groups still have the highest share of OA in the highest quintile and the smallest size group has the highest share in the lowest quintile.

It is striking that there is much more of a difference between OA and LSOA levels for the *lowest* rather than the *highest* quintiles. For unemployment, the table confirms the picture given by the average unemployment rates for a settlement category. The

larger settlements tend to have more unemployment and the more rural areas less. Notice however, that it also confirms the wide mix of results. Examples of particularly high rates in rural areas and low rates in urban ones can be found.

There is a slight systematic difference between the OA and LSOA levels for the more rural areas. Their share of areas in the higher quintiles is slightly increased and in the lower slightly decreased. However, the scale is not great and needs to be considered alongside the question of whether the OA or LSOA paint the more reliable picture.

A simple split between urban and rural areas may be necessary in order to summarise the complex distribution. However, the table confirms just how wide the variation is within a category.

Matching OA and LSOA unemployment rates

For every OA in Wales we can find which unemployment rate quintile it is in. We can also find which quintile the LSOA of which the OA is part is in. Obviously all the OA in an LSOA will be in the same LSOA quintile. Table 8 shows the cross tabulation of the OA and LSOA quintiles.

Table 8
OA by unemployment rate quintile at OA and LSOA level, 2011

Quintile for LSOA	Quintile for OA					Total
	Highest	High	Medium	Low	Lowest	
Output Areas						
Highest	1,272	442	177	55	23	1,969
High	524	741	465	205	96	2,031
Medium	167	554	603	489	238	2,051
Low	42	225	528	698	527	2,020
Lowest	2	45	234	560	1,124	1,965
Total	2,007	2,007	2,007	2,007	2,008	10,036

Source: Census of Population, 2011

The diagonal cells (in a box) of this matrix are where the OA and LSOA are in the same quintile. The lower left cells (in orange) are where the OA is in a lower quintile than the LSOA. The upper right cells (in blue) are where the OA is in a higher quintile than the LSOA.

The table shows that all the combinations occur for some OA. There are 23 that are in the lowest OA quintile and the highest LSOA quintile and 2 that go from highest OA quintile to lowest LSOA quintile. However, these extremes are not representative.

Table 9 summarises the results from Table 8. The colour coding of Table 8 shows how the categories in Table 9 are constructed.

- 2+ Lower – OA has a lower unemployment rate than the LSOA it is in and the gap is at least two quintiles (Medium to Highest, for example)
- 1 Lower – OA has a lower unemployment rate than the LSOA it is in and the gap is one quintile (Medium to High, for example)
- Same – OA and LSOA are in the same quintile
- 1 Higher – OA has a higher unemployment rate than the LSOA it is in and the gap is one quintile (Medium to Low, for example)

- 2+ higher - OA has a higher unemployment rate than the LSOA it is in and the gap is at least two quintiles (Medium to Lowest, for example)

Table 9

Summary comparison of OA quintile with LSOA quintile

	OA	Share
2+ Lower	794	8%
1 Lower	1,923	19%
Same	4,438	44%
1 Higher	2,166	22%
2+ higher	715	7%
Total	10,036	100%

Source: Census of Population, 2011

Overall less than half the OA fall into the same quintile as the LSOA they are in. However, around 85 per cent either stay the same or move by a single quintile. Roughly the same number of OA (7-8%) move at least two quintiles higher or lower.

Table 10 shows the share of OA in a settlement category that falls in these summary bands. The table also shows the total number of OA in a settlement category.

Table 10**Share of OA by settlement class and difference in OA and LSOA quintiles**

	Difference between OA and LSOA quintile					Total (=100%)
	2+ higher	1 Higher	Same	1 Lower	2+ Lower	
Less sparse context						
At least 100,000	6%	20%	47%	19%	8%	3,404
25,000 to 99,999	5%	20%	44%	21%	10%	1,981
10,000 to 24,999	7%	21%	42%	20%	10%	1,138
2,000 to 9,999	7%	24%	42%	19%	8%	1,113
Under 2,000	11%	25%	42%	16%	6%	978
Total	6%	21%	44%	20%	8%	8,614
Sparsest context						
10,000 to 24,999	8%	21%	44%	18%	9%	186
2,000 to 9,999	12%	21%	37%	23%	8%	319
Under 2,000	11%	25%	46%	14%	4%	917
Total	11%	23%	44%	16%	5%	1,422
Wales						
At least 100,000	6%	20%	47%	19%	8%	3,404
25,000 to 99,999	5%	20%	44%	21%	10%	1,981
10,000 to 24,999	7%	21%	42%	20%	10%	1,324
2,000 to 9,999	8%	23%	41%	20%	8%	1,432
Under 2,000	11%	25%	44%	15%	5%	1,895
Total	7%	22%	44%	19%	8%	10,036

Source: Census of Population, 2011 with Built Up Areas and National Statistics rural classification

The table shows that there is a small tendency for the more rural areas to move into higher quintiles at the OA rather than LSOA level. The scale of the change is not great and the table shows that there is variation across all the categories.

This returns to the question of whether the differences between OA and LSOA are improvements or just increases in the amount of noise and random fluctuation.

Areas in the highest quintile at OA or LSOA level

We are often particularly interested in the areas with the highest unemployment rates - the "hotspots". An OA might be in the highest quintile for both OA and LSOA, for one but not the other, or for neither. Table 11 shows the share of OA in a settlement type that fall into these categories.

The areas of interest are where an OA is in the highest quintile at one scale but not the other. The matched areas, either in the highest quintile at both scales or neither scale, are of less interest as they seem to be more securely identified.

Table 11**Share OA in a settlement class by whether the OA is in OA or LSOA highest quintile**

Settlement classification	OA in highest unemployment quintile				Total (=100%)
	Both	OA only	LSOA only	Neither	
Less sparse context					
At least 100,000	17%	7%	9%	68%	3,404
25,000 to 99,999	16%	10%	10%	64%	1,981
10,000 to 24,999	14%	10%	8%	69%	1,138
2,000 to 9,999	12%	8%	7%	72%	1,113
Under 2,000	3%	4%	2%	91%	978
Total	14%	8%	8%	70%	8,614
Sparsest context					
10,000 to 24,999	15%	8%	7%	70%	186
2,000 to 9,999	5%	8%	5%	82%	319
Under 2,000	-	3%	none	97%	917
Total	3%	5%	2%	90%	1,422
Wales					
At least 100,000	17%	7%	9%	68%	3,404
25,000 to 99,999	16%	10%	10%	64%	1,981
10,000 to 24,999	14%	9%	8%	69%	1,324
2,000 to 9,999	11%	8%	7%	74%	1,432
Under 2,000	2%	4%	1%	94%	1,895
Total	13%	7%	7%	73%	10,036

Source: Census of Population, 2011 with Built Up Areas and National Statistics rural classification

Overall the table shows that 7 per cent of the OA are in the highest quintile at the OA level but not at the LSOA level. The smallest settlements have the lowest share of OA in this category. The highest share is for the settlements between 25,000 and 99,999 people, rather than the largest category.

A partial explanation of this may be that the Heads of the Valleys area, which is generally considered to be an area of high deprivation, has several of the settlements in this size band, but none in the largest group.

Notice for the smaller settlements that there is an imbalance between the share of OA in the highest quintile for OA level only compared to LSOA level only. The share in OA only highest quintile is higher than that for LSOA only. By contrast these two categories are relatively balanced for the larger settlements.

Mismatches between OA and LSOA

In this section we consider the mismatches between the highest quintiles at the OA and LSOA level. Establishing how common it is for an OA in the highest quintile *not* to be in an LSOA in the highest quintile. Table 12 divides LSOA into those that are in the highest quintile and the rest. For those outside the highest quintile we split the LSOA into those with none, one or two or more OA in the highest OA quintile.

Table 12**LSOA inside and outside the highest quintile**

	LSOA in highest	OA in highest quintile			Total
		2 or more	One	None	
Number of LSOA					
Highest	381	0	0	0	381
High	0	153	184	45	382
Medium	0	19	129	234	382
Low	0	2	38	342	382
Lowest	0	0	2	380	382
Total	381	174	353	1,001	1,909
Share of quintile					
Highest	100%	none	none	none	100%
High	none	40%	48%	12%	100%
Medium	none	5%	34%	61%	100%
Low	none	1%	10%	90%	100%
Lowest	none	none	1%	99%	100%
Total	20%	9%	18%	52%	100%

Source: Census 2011

Table 12 shows that OA in the highest quintile are not confined to LSOA in the highest quintile. They can occur anywhere in Wales. However, they are much more common in those LSOA with relatively high unemployment rates. From the set of 764 LSOA in the low and lowest quintiles there are 2 that have more than a single OA in the highest quintile and 40 with a single highest quintile OA. By contrast in the high LSOA quintile 45 out of 382 LSOA have no OA in the highest OA quintile.

Table 13 extends the previous table by considering also the settlement categories. For brevity, the table shows the share of the LSOA in a settlement category that is either in the highest LSOA quintile or outside it. Those LSOA outside the highest quintile are split by the number of OA in them that are in the OA level highest quintile.

The Table confirms the relatively low unemployment rates at either OA or LSOA for the smallest settlements. Instead of the expected 20 per cent of LSOA in the highest LSOA quintile the smallest settlements have 2 per cent. An additional 4 per cent are outside the highest LSOA quintile but have 2 or more OA in the highest OA quintile and a further 13 per cent have a single OA in the highest quintile. This leaves just over 80 per cent of the LSOA that are outside the highest LSOA quintile and have no OA in the highest OA quintile.

The larger settlements categories are more mixed. The share of LSOA in a category outside the LSOA highest quintile and with no OA in the highest OA quintile varies between 40 and 52 per cent. Similarly the shares with one or two or more in the highest OA quintile are higher than for the smallest settlements.

This shows that while there is change because of the change of scale it is not particularly a small settlement (or rural) phenomenon. It can happen across the settlement types and tends to happen more in the larger settlements.

Table 13**Share of LSOA inside and the highest quintile by settlement type**

Settlement category	LSOA in highest	OA in highest quintile			Total (=100%)
		2 or more	One	None	
Less sparse context					
At least 100,000	26%	8%	16%	50%	666
25,000 to 99,999	26%	13%	21%	40%	382
10,000 to 24,999	21%	12%	26%	41%	216
2,000 to 9,999	19%	11%	19%	51%	222
Under 2,000	3%	5%	15%	77%	163
Total	22%	10%	19%	49%	1,649
Sparsest context					
10,000 to 24,999	23%	11%	14%	51%	35
2,000 to 9,999	11%	8%	26%	54%	61
Under 2,000	none	3%	12%	85%	164
Total	6%	5%	16%	73%	260
Wales					
At least 100,000	26%	8%	16%	50%	666
25,000 to 99,999	26%	13%	21%	40%	382
10,000 to 24,999	22%	12%	24%	42%	251
2,000 to 9,999	17%	10%	21%	52%	283
Under 2,000	2%	4%	13%	81%	327
Total	20%	9%	18%	52%	1,909

Source: Census of Population, 2011 with Built Up Areas and National Statistics rural classification

Extreme mismatches

To illustrate what is happening with the mismatches it may be useful to consider some specific examples in detail. These examples are picked as extreme cases rather than as a representative sample. They are helpful in demonstrating the extremes of what can happen, but should not be taken as being typical.

Table 14 considers 4 LSOA with low unemployment rates. The first two LSOA are in the lowest LSOA quintile but have an OA in the highest OA quintile. The second two are in the lowest two LSOA quintiles but have two OA each in the highest OA quintile. These are the only LSOA with these characteristics. Not shown in the table are an additional 38 LSOA in the lowest quintile with a single OA in the highest OA quintile.

At the other end of the scale, Table 15 shows LSOA in the highest LSOA quintile that have only a single OA in the highest OA quintile. There are 13 LSOA meeting this description. Table 15 is a selection of these to show a mix of larger and smaller settlements.

Table 14

LSOA with generally low unemployment but outlying OA

<u>Codes</u>	Usual residents	Economically active aged 16 to 74			Unemp rate
		In work	Unemployed	Total	
W01000618 - Solva and Brawdy (under 2,000 sparsest)					
W00003321	237	93	12	105	11.4%
W00003318	392	195	9	204	4.4%
W00003320	238	94	4	98	4.1%
W00003322	155	75	3	78	3.8%
W00003319	620	427	6	433	1.4%
W00003323	235	90	1	91	1.1%
Total	1,877	974	35	1,009	3.5%
W01000106 - Porthmadog and Morfa Bychan (2,000 to 9,999 sparsest)					
W00000540	169	71	10	81	12.3%
W00000541	316	142	6	148	4.1%
W00000542	240	98	4	102	3.9%
W00000544	303	125	4	129	3.1%
W00000543	233	101	2	103	1.9%
W00000538	178	69	1	70	1.4%
W00000539	293	127	0	127	0.0%
Total	1,732	733	27	760	3.6%
W01000351 - Wrexham (25,000 to 99,999 less sparse)					
W00001886	245	94	15	109	13.8%
W00001884	297	105	14	119	11.8%
W00001889	298	151	11	162	6.8%
W00001890	148	94	4	98	4.1%
W00001885	308	174	6	180	3.3%
W00001887	234	108	3	111	2.7%
W00001891	195	99	2	101	2.0%
W00001888	450	243	4	247	1.6%
Total	2,175	1,068	59	1,127	5.2%
W01001885 - Cardiff (at least 100,000 less sparse)					
W00009713	388	117	19	136	14.0%
W00010179	153	50	7	57	12.3%
W00009676	276	82	10	92	10.9%
W00009711	359	209	7	216	3.2%
W00010183	294	171	5	176	2.8%
W00010207	306	172	3	175	1.7%
W00010155	241	153	2	155	1.3%
Total	2,017	954	53	1,007	5.3%

Source: Census 2011

Table 15**LSOA in highest unemployment quintile but only 1 OA in highest quintile**

Codes	Usual residents	Economically active aged 16 to 74			Unemp rate
		In work	Unemployed	Total	
W01001942 - Cardiff					
W00008803	293	94	32	126	25.4%
W00008804	353	157	18	175	10.3%
W00008807	456	230	26	256	10.2%
W00010124	253	118	9	127	7.1%
Total	1,355	599	85	684	12.4%
W01001015 - Maesteg					
W00005382	310	82	26	108	24.1%
W00005370	292	107	13	120	10.8%
W00005381	297	127	13	140	9.3%
W00005379	280	94	8	102	7.8%
W00005373	296	130	10	140	7.1%
Total	1,475	540	70	610	11.5%
W01000043 - Valley					
W00000220	387	139	26	165	15.8%
W00000221	270	92	10	102	9.8%
W00000222	257	109	10	119	8.4%
W00000226	303	131	11	142	7.7%
Total	1,217	471	57	528	10.8%
W01001042 - Pontycymer (2,000 to 9,999 less sparse)					
W00005531	355	137	24	161	14.9%
W00005525	268	99	12	111	10.8%
W00005524	370	157	18	175	10.3%
W00005527	345	166	13	179	7.3%
Total	1,338	559	67	626	10.7%
W01001358 - Pen Twyn, Caerphilly (under 2,000 less sparse)					
W00007122	326	109	20	129	15.5%
W00007121	238	84	14	98	14.3%
W00007120	355	94	15	109	13.8%
W00007104	324	149	21	170	12.4%
W00007118	297	120	4	124	3.2%
Total	1,540	556	74	630	11.7%

Source: Census 2011

The tables show a few examples where there is an outlying OA in an LSOA. These extremes are not common. The key question posed by the two tables is how do we interpret individual OA that are out of step with the LSOA that they are in? What is the importance of an isolated OA in the highest quintile in an area of generally relatively low unemployment compared to one in an area of generally high unemployment? This question is particularly important given the small number of people involved, meaning that the analysis is at risk from the sort of minor misspecifications that can happen with any data source.

The LSOA level results are not immune to these problems, particularly for areas with lower unemployment rates. However, the larger size of the LSOA gives a measure of protection against the minor misallocations when we want to find areas with particularly high unemployment rates.

Conclusions from this analysis

The paper has shown an exploratory analysis of the distribution of unemployment in Wales as measured in the 2011 Census of Population. It compares the distribution of unemployment at the OA and LSOA level.

Within settlement groups, settlements or LSOA we can identify changes between the LSOA and OA level. Places that have very high unemployment at one scale may not do so at the other. However, the overall impression is very much one of consistency. The overall picture of the distribution of unemployment is quite consistent at OA and LSOA level. It does not identify large scale and systematic differences.

Particularly the general picture of rural areas having generally lower unemployment rates is consistent at OA and LSOA level – and extends to the local authority level as well. We can identify some examples of rural areas that have relatively high unemployment rates when examined at OA, but not LSOA, level. This is also true, and involves more OA and LSOA, for the more urban areas.

The key issue in deciding which level of analysis is appropriate is data quality. The quality of the data at OA level will, almost inevitably, be worse than the LSOA level. Therefore, for what reason would we assume that the OA level estimates were to be preferred?

In the specific example of the analysis of Census unemployment data we have noted the general similarity of the distribution at OA and LSOA level. It does suggest that the differences are as likely to be from random noise as they are to be genuine.

In this case the general data quality issues that need to be considered for all OA level analysis combine with the results of the analysis that suggest the patterns are much the same anyway. It is therefore, not clear that for analysing unemployment data by settlement type that OA level data is necessarily better than LSOA level data. In fact, it could be argued that LSOA level analysis could be preferred as being more robust.

Wider conclusions

The analysis in this paper focusses on a single issue. Therefore, it is not a definitive statement. However, it does raise some key issues about the use of OA level data that have general relevance.

A key conclusion from this work is that we need to challenge the *assumption* that analysis at a smaller level is always better than analysis at a higher level. Under some

circumstances it may be so. However, there are enough data quality and other issues surrounding the use of smaller areas to make it important that the assumption is tested.

On balance there are advantages and disadvantages of using different levels of data.

The great advantage of working with high level aggregates – say local authority level – is that the results are based on large amounts of data and will be robust. They give a robust picture of the variation *between* categories.

What is lost is a sense of the variation *within* categories. This is a sensible driver to want to examine smaller geographical areas.

The goal should be to assess what the appropriate level of data is for various types of analysis. This gives a justification for the choices rather than just assuming that smaller (or bigger) is better.

This makes more work for the analyst, of course. However, the payback is that the results are more appropriate for the users, within the limitations of the data.

References and further information

References for the following:

National Statistics Area and Rural-Urban classifications, Office for National Statistics

<http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/geography/products/area-classifications/index.html>

Built Up Areas, Office for National Statistics

<http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/geography/beginner-s-guide/census/built-up-areas---built-up-area-sub-divisions/index.html>

Statistical Focus on Rural Wales

<http://wales.gov.uk/statistics-and-research/statistical-focus-rural-wales/?lang=en>

Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation 2014: A guide to analysing deprivation in rural areas

<http://wales.gov.uk/statistics-and-research/welsh-index-multiple-deprivation/?lang=en>

For further information on this work, rural definitions or rural deprivation, please contact.

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There is always a trade off between the precision of the local geography and the quality and accuracy of the estimates. There is thus always a decision to make about what level of analysis is appropriate. How far can we go before the estimates stop being “good enough” to use? This is not a simple question answered by looking at a single quality measure. However, there are some key issues that always need to be considered.

- Number of people in an area. If there are few people in an area then any errors can have a large proportionate effect. This is particularly true when rates are calculated with the multiplicative effect of errors in both denominator and numerator.
- Misallocation of people to an area. This may arise from mistakes in an address or problems with postcodes, for example. Also from problems trying to allocate complicated cases to a single area. The smaller an area is the closer everyone in the area is to a boundary, making misallocation more likely.
- Miss-response of people in an area. With any response there is a chance that the question might be misunderstood and miss answered. This may be simple error, confusion over what the question means, or trying to force a complex reality into the simple question framework.
- Non-response. For a non-response we do not have the true data but have to estimate. This is similar to when we have to estimate the values from those not selected in a sample to give population estimates. If the non-respondents are a random selection from the population, then non-response is simply a matter of reducing the effective sample size. However, if particular groups, or regions, are more likely to respond than others then a bias is introduced.
- Processing errors in the data. For the Census a number of processes need to be run to produce the final estimates at LSOA, OA or whatever level. Individuals are allocated to their “usual residence”. There are a number of special populations such as armed forces, prisoners, people living in communal establishments and students for which this is not always straightforward. Students, in 2011 were allocated to their term time address. Where households have not responded to the Census values are imputed for the missing households. Finally where there are small numbers of people with particular characteristics in an area there are disclosure control techniques applied to prevent identification of individuals. Survey design. With the Census the intention is to cover the whole population. The issue is with how well domestic households can be identified. The vast majority are simple. However, there are more complicated cases where a dwelling is part domestic and part commercial and so on, some of which may be miss-specified.
- Sampling error. This is not an issue for the Census because it attempts to cover all households. However, it is mention because in most other application it will be crucial. In very simple terms the sampling error from a survey decreases as the number of respondents increases. The practical implication that survey error will be higher for OA than LSOA level estimates.

Each of the bullets above may produce some people who are not allocated correctly. With a source like the Census huge effort has gone into minimising the errors. However, it is not possible to ensure that there are zero errors. Other sources, particularly those that are sample based , will usually have more issues with the data quality. Thus the Census in many ways provides a best case scenario for the use of OA level data.

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