

Levelling down: The medium term local economic impact of coronavirus

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There has been a considerable amount of research conducted into the short-term economic implications of coronavirus but very little on which areas and groups will be impacted beyond 2020 and how. This paper analyses which industries, places and groups face the greatest economic risk over the medium-term period (2020-2023).

KEY POINTS

- Different sectors will face different levels of disruption. Employment in those sectors is unevenly distributed by geography and demography, so some locations and some groups of people face much greater economic risks than others.
- The places that face the greatest impact from the downturn are largely in the more affluent South East and London:

Top 10 highest impact areas (NUTS3)

- Camden and City of London
- Kingston and Chelsea and Hammersmith and Fulham
- Lambeth
- East Lancashire
- Hounslow and Richmond upon Thames
- Ealing
- Tower Hamlets
- Westminster
- Swindon
- West Essex

- However, an area's recovery from disruption will depend on local resilience and pre-crisis levels of economic output and employment. Taking that into account, the places with most to fear from the downturn are elsewhere:

Top 10 severely impacted areas with the highest pre-crisis unemployment (NUTS3)

- Kingston upon Hull, City of
- Bradford
- Walsall
- Manchester
- Peterborough
- Lambeth
- Thurrock
- Brent
- Redbridge and Waltham Forest
- Sandwell

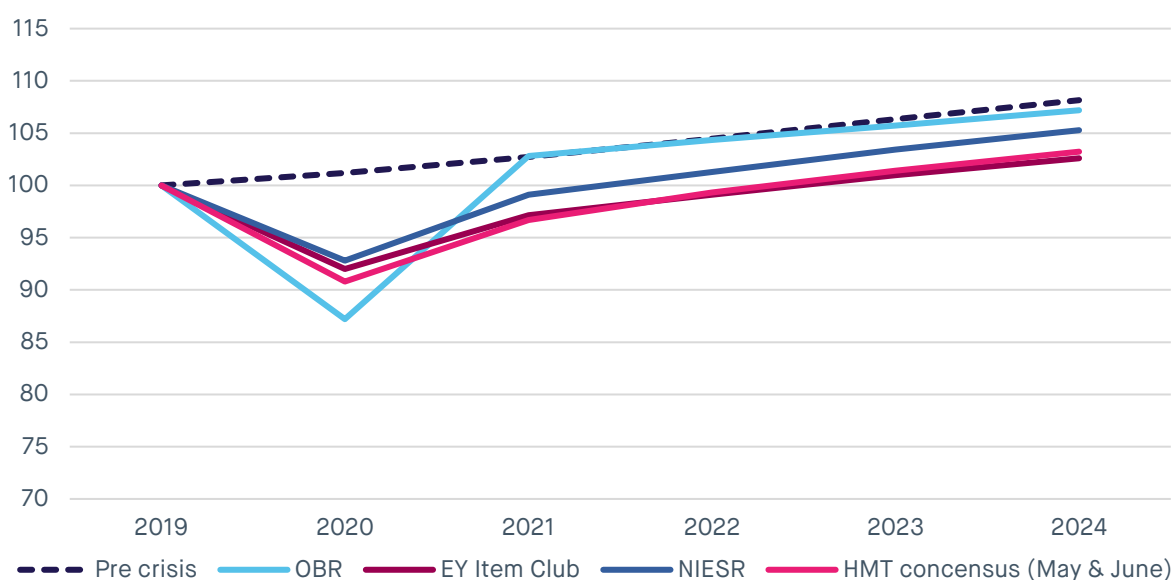
Context

On March 23rd 2020, the UK Government imposed extensive emergency measures to prevent the spread of COVID-19. Measures included closing schools, universities, restaurants, pubs, leisure facilities and many other “non-essential” businesses. Lockdown created an immediate disruption to the UK economy, and it is clear that we now face a severe recession. There has been a substantial amount of research conducted on the impact of coronavirus on the UK economy, industries and places in the short-term. There has been less analysis of the potential medium-term impacts, especially below the level of national aggregates. This paper aims to help fill that gap.

Medium-term economic impact ⁱ

It is apparent that the UK is in the midst of a deep recession. However, there is disagreement over the extent to which the UK economy will “bounce back”. As time passes, most economic forecasts have become less optimistic about the extent to which the recovery will be ‘V’ shaped.

Figure 1: Medium term forecast of UK GDP (index) by organisation, 2019=100



Source: SMF analysis of HMT, OBR, EY & NIESR (2020)

Our view is that the UK economy will take on a sluggish ‘U’ shaped recovery. The possibility of a returning surge of coronavirus, enforced social distancing measures and a withdrawal of the Government’s fiscal response will likely exacerbate common recession-induced behaviour changes, such as reduced consumer confidence and spending. Survey data is beginning to show these effects; in April consumer confidence fell to its lowest level since January 2012 while consumer spending is projected to fall by 9.5% in 2020.^{1 2}

Unemployment

Forecasts predict unemployment to more than double from 3.8% in 2019 to 7.9% in 2020.³ This represents an increase in unemployment of nearly 1.5 million workers, since 7.9% unemployment is equivalent to nearly 2.9 million people out of work. By way of historic

ⁱ Britain is due to leave the European Union during this time period – however, Brexit will have its own impact on the UK economy and no assumption of that effect is included in this analysis.

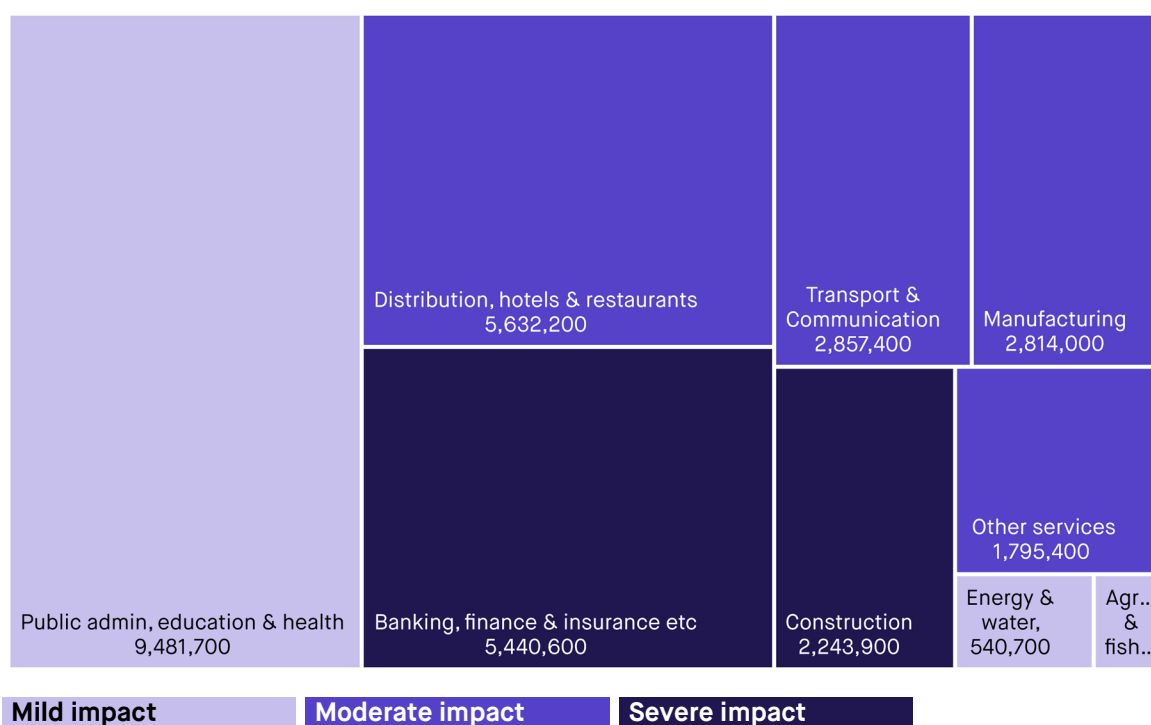
comparison, UK unemployment peaked at 8.1% in 2011 following the 2008/09 recession and then took seven years to recover to 4.1% in 2018.⁴

The consensus of recent forecasts suggests that unemployment will not recover to previous levels until after 2023. A delayed economic recovery may allow the unemployed to drift further from the labour force – over time, they may lose skills and consequently return to lower-paying jobs. Evidence from the global financial crisis found that workers who were permanently separated from employment suffered losses in monthly earnings from 2%-12%.⁵

Industries

While the national economy faces significant downturns and sluggish growth, not all industries will be impacted equally. Previous SMF researchⁱⁱ highlights the severity with which broad industries will likely be affected over the medium term by the economic implications of coronavirus. This analysis uses a relative impact scale ('mild', 'moderate' and 'severe') – as illustrated in Figure 2. On this basis, more than two thirds of UK jobs are in sectors that face a moderate or severe impact from coronavirus in the medium term – from 2020-23.

Figure 2: Broad industry impact of coronavirus by contribution to UK jobs (2020-2023)



Source: SMF analysis assumptions & ONS (2019)

The meaning of this analysis is that people employed in industries facing severe negative impacts (i.e.: banking, finance & insurance etc. and construction) are at greater risk of unemployment and reductions in wages and hours than workers in mildly impacted industries (i.e.: public admin, education & health, energy & water and agriculture & fishing).

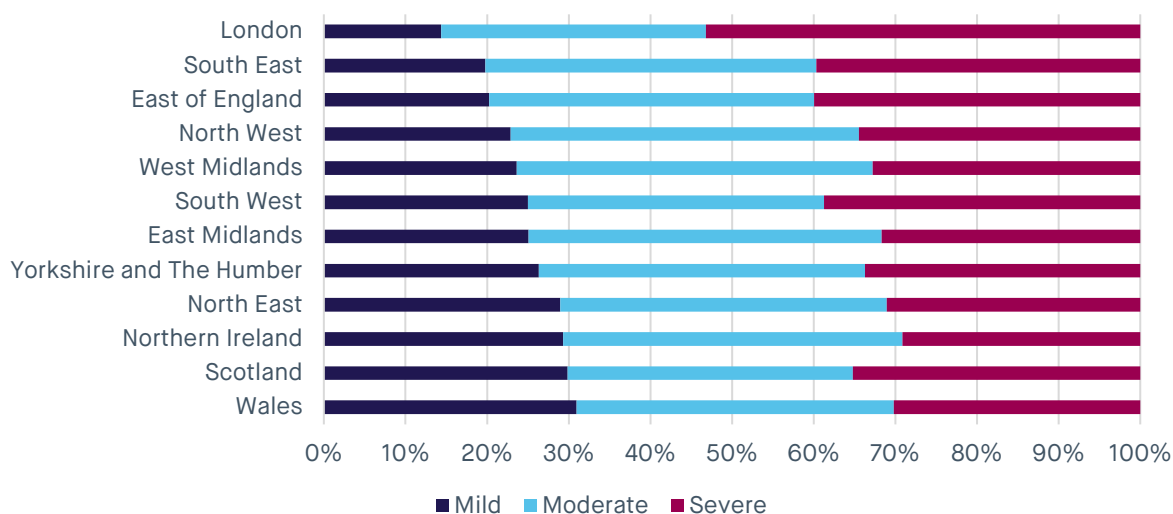
ⁱⁱ See the SMF’s publication “Assessing the economic implications of coronavirus and Brexit” published in May 2020 for more details and methodology.

Which parts of the country are impacted the most?

The industrial make-up of regions and local areas will influence the severity with which jobs are impacted. This varies quite widely.

In London, 72% of jobs are in industries that face either a moderate (38%) or severe (34%) impact. In Wales and the North East of England, 62% of jobs are in those categories. London’s economy has the greatest reliance on jobs in high-impact sectors, at 34%. In the North East of England, 20% of jobs are in severe-impact sectors. In the East Midlands, the figure is 21%.

Figure 3: Proportion of employment by industrial coronavirus impact by region and nation (2020-2023)



Source: SMF analysis & ONS

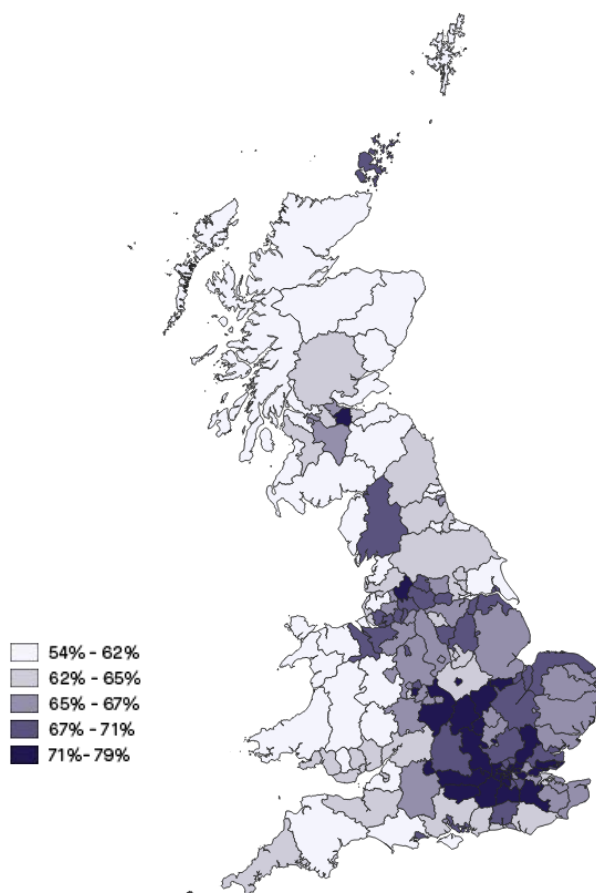
However, this region-level analysis masks local nuances, as can be seen in Figure 4. At the NUTS3 level of analysis, which covers areas equal to two or three local authority territories, we see that in some places, more than three quarters of jobs are in sectors facing severe or moderate impacts from the coronavirus recession. A full list of areas by proportion of jobs in medium and severely impacted sectors is in the Appendix.

| 10 highest impacted areas | 10 lowest impacted areas |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Camden and City of London (79% of jobs) Kingston and Chelsea and Hammersmith and Fulham (79%) Lambeth (78%) East Lancashire (78%) Hounslow and Richmond upon Thames (76%) Ealing (75%) Tower Hamlets (75%) Westminster (74%) Swindon (74%) West Essex (74%) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Isle of Anglesey (54% of jobs) South Ayrshire (57%) Conwy and Denbighshire (57%) Gwynedd (58%) Na h-Eileanan Siar (58%) Aberdeen City and Aberdeenshire (58%) Powys (58%) Lochaber, Skye and Lochalsh, Arran and Cumbrae and Argyll and Bute (59%) West Cumbria (59%) South West Wales (59%) |

Source: SMF analysis of NOMIS data (2020)

Note: Percentage figure relates to proportion of jobs in moderate or severely impacted sector

Figure 4: Proportion of jobs facing a moderate or severe impact



Source: SMF analysis of NOMIS data (2020)

Note: Comparative data does not exist for Northern Ireland hence its exclusion

Areas facing the most severe coronavirus-related impact on jobs are predominantly in London and the South East. However, local labour forces in North West (East Lancashire) and South West (Swindon) are also among those that will be most severely impacted. Evidently, the severity of impact differs across regions – Table 1 presents the most impacted area in each region.

Table 1: NUTS3 area where jobs are most impacted by region

| Region | NUTS3 area most impacted (% of jobs in sectors facing moderate/severe impact) |
|------------------------|--|
| North East | Sunderland (65%) |
| North West | East Lancashire (78%) |
| Yorkshire & the Humber | Calderdale and Kirklees (70%) |
| East Midlands | Leicester (72%) / West Northamptonshire (72%) |
| West Midlands | Warwickshire (73%) |
| East of England | Thurrock (74%) / West Essex (74%) |
| London | Camden & City of London (79%) / Kensington & Chelsea, Hammersmith & Fulham (79%) |
| South East | Berkshire (73%) |
| South West | Swindon (74%) |
| Wales | Flintshire and Wrexham (68%) |
| Scotland | West Lothian (71%) |

Source: SMF analysis & ONS

Note: Comparative data does not exist for Northern Ireland hence its exclusion

Despite sharing the most severe ranking for their respective regions, the reality of the impact seen in these areas will be characterised by their individual industrial make-up.

East Lancashire will likely be affected by cumulative moderate or severe hits to different industries which collectively comprise the majority of the local labour force, such as distribution, hotels & restaurants (30,700 – 21% of total jobs), manufacturing (23,300 – 16%), and banking, finance & insurance etc (20,100 – 14%). By contrast, Kensington & Chelsea and Hammersmith & Fulham will likely see a more singular and substantial hit from the banking, finance & insurance etc industry sector, which makes up 35% (56,700) of local jobs.

Resilience

Thus far our analysis has not accounted for the *resilience* of local economies to withstand and recover from economic shocks. Pre-existing levels of unemployment can provide insight into how local job markets may recover from coronavirus-related hits. The financial crisis was more than 10 years ago and yet some industries have still not returned to their pre-crisis output levels, with consequences for employment in places where those industries are concentrated.⁶

Areas that we expect to experience a mild coronavirus-related economic hit averaged a pre-crisis (2019) unemployment rate of 3.8% - in line with the national average. By contrast, the pre-crisis rate was 4.1% in moderate or severely impacted areas. Over half (56%) of areas facing moderate or severe negative impacts entered the crisis with an unemployment rate above the national level. The ten areas with the highest pre-crisis unemployment rate are listed below. Going into the coronavirus crisis with such levels of unemployment suggests local economies that were relatively slow to recover from the last shock may well be slow again this time.

10 severely impacted areas with the highest pre-crisis unemployment

- Kingston upon Hull, City of
- Bradford
- Walsall
- Manchester
- Peterborough
- Lambeth
- Thurrock
- Brent
- Redbridge and Waltham Forest
- Sandwell

Areas of Yorkshire & the Humber as well as London are likely to see severe impact on jobs in a local economy where unemployment was already high. These findings suggest that the coronavirus crisis could exacerbate inequalities (loss of skills and potential earnings) for workers in already sluggish labour markets.

Case study: Resilience and recovery

Lambeth

Prior to coronavirus, Lambeth had an unemployment rate of 6%, 1.5 times the national average (3.8%) in 2019 and the sixth highest of areas facing the most severe coronavirus-related impact on jobs.

Areas of London have the biggest reliance on the banking, finance & insurance etc broad industry for local jobs. Lambeth ranks sixth both in the country and in the capital for its share of jobs in this industry grouping (34% or 46,500). Additionally, banking, finance & insurance etc. make up the biggest share of Lambeth's labour force, followed by public administration, education & health with 21% (28,200) and transport & communication with 15% (29,300). Consequently, it is likely that the economic impact of coronavirus in Lambeth will be characterised by a singular, severe hit to a core broad industry upon which the local labour force relies.

However, following the global financial crisis unemployment in Lambeth reached a peak of nearly 12% in 2011 but recovered to pre-crisis levels by 2013 – two years prior to the national recovery trend. It is possible that there may be greater economic resilience in Lambeth to overcome labour market shocks, relative to the UK as a whole.

Kingston upon Hull, City of

Pre-crisis unemployment in Kingston upon Hull stood at 7.6% - twice the national average and the highest of the severely impacted areas we identify.

Nearly three quarters (73% - 81,700) of workers are employed in moderately or severely impacted industries such as manufacturing (21,200), banking, finance & insurance (13,800), distribution, hotels and restaurants (26,700) and construction (7,800). While nearly 30% (36,000) of jobs in Kingston upon Hull will likely be protected by the public admin, education & health industries. The economic impact to the area is therefore likely to be characterised by cumulative, predominantly moderate underperformance in many industries, as opposed to a substantial downturn in one core industry. Consequently, local leaders may find stimulus and investment interventions difficult to target.

Looking back, the rate of unemployment in Kingston upon Hull peaked at 16% in 2012 – the highest in the countryⁱⁱⁱ and twice the national average (~8%) at the time. It took seven years (from 2008 to 2015) for the local unemployment rate to return to pre-recession levels both nationally and in Kingston upon Hull. This suggests that the area may see more sustained joblessness and a more sluggish recovery from coronavirus than places such as Lambeth.

ⁱⁱⁱ By NUTS3.

Who works in these industries and places?

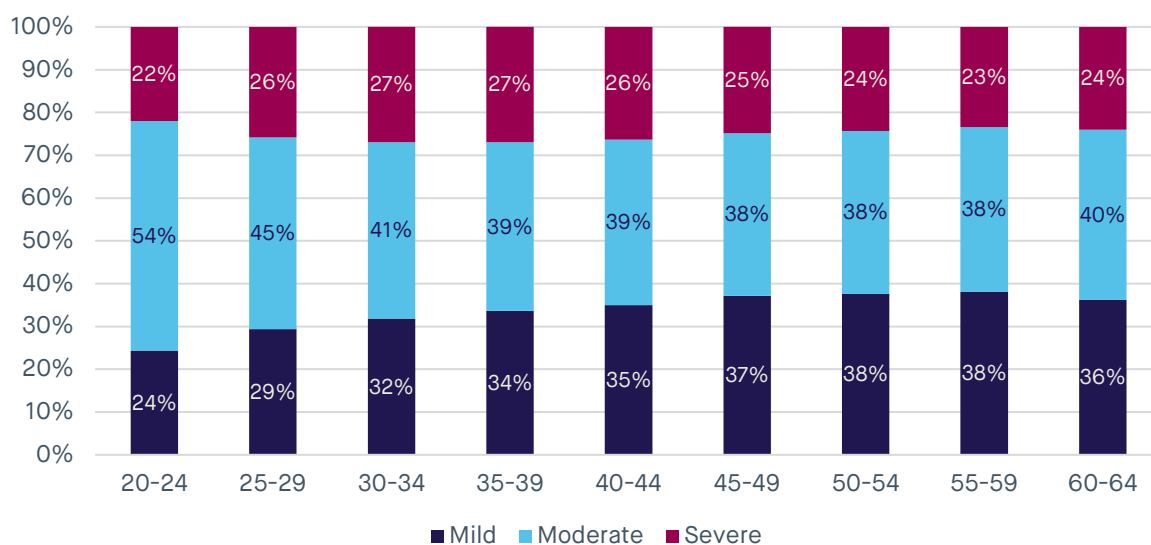
We have shown how the impact is likely to vary by industry and place – in order to fully develop robust policy responses, it is important to understand more about the people who work in these industries.

Age

We know that the long term scarring effects of unemployment can be more severe for young people. There is a wealth of evidence that shows periods of unemployment whilst young can lead to subsequent lower pay, higher unemployment and reduced life chances.⁷ Research by the Resolution Foundation has shown that young people are the most likely to experience reductions in employment during lockdown, one third of 18 to 24 year olds (excluding students) have been furloughed or lost their job, compared to one in six prime-age adults.⁸

Our analysis focuses on the medium term impact of coronavirus (2021 to 2023) and therefore the age profile of those affected may vary compared to the current groups of concern. We have conducted an analysis of the age profile of those working in different industries, focusing on how these may be impacted in the medium term. (This analysis focuses on those currently in employment and does not include those who will be entering the labour market after finishing formal education in the later months of 2020. This group of young individuals will likely be impacted into 2021 and beyond.)

Figure 5: Proportion of workers in each industry impact category by age



Source: SMF analysis of Annual Population Survey (2020)

Those aged 20 to 24 are the least likely to work in industries facing a mild impact from coronavirus: only 24% are in mildly impacted industries. On the other hand, almost four in ten (38%) of those aged 50 to 59 are in mildly impacted industries. Meanwhile more than half (54%) of those aged 20 to 24 are employed in industries likely to experience a moderate impact, compared to 38% of those aged between 45 and 59.

Those working in an industry that is deemed likely to face a severe impact from coronavirus will ultimately face the harshest of changes in their economic situation. The proportion working in severely impacted industries is almost consistent across age groups, only varying by five percentage points. The age group with the highest proportion (27%) of workers in severely impacted industries is those aged 30 to 34.

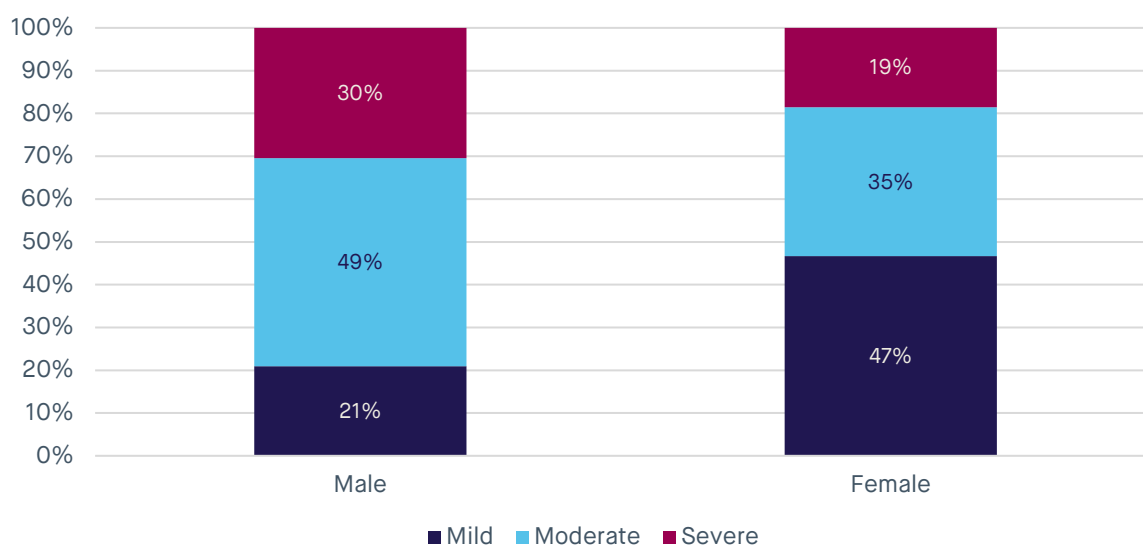
Across the UK, the median age of a worker in the severely impacted industries is 41 – this varies to some degree depending on the region in which they work. Perhaps unsurprisingly London has the lowest median age for workers in severely impacted sectors: 38. In contrast, the South East of England has the highest median age of workers in severely impacted sectors at 44. There are six regions with median ages above the UK average of 41. These are the North East of England, Yorkshire & the Humber, East Midlands, West Midlands, East of England, and the South East.

Gender

Research by the Institute for Fiscal Studies has shown that women are more likely to be key workers: around 60% of key workers are women, compared to 43% of all workers. More than one third (35%) of female workers are key workers. This is particularly apparent in social care and education where the vast majority of the workforce are women.⁹ Key workers have been able to weather the immediate economic downturn and may be well-placed to endure the medium-term downturn.

Our analysis shows that almost half (47%) of women work in industries that will face only a mild impact in the medium term. Only 19% of women work in severely impacted industries. By contrast, only 21% of men work in mild-impact sectors. Almost half of men (49%) work in industries facing a moderate impact and one in three (30%) work in industries likely to face a severe impact.

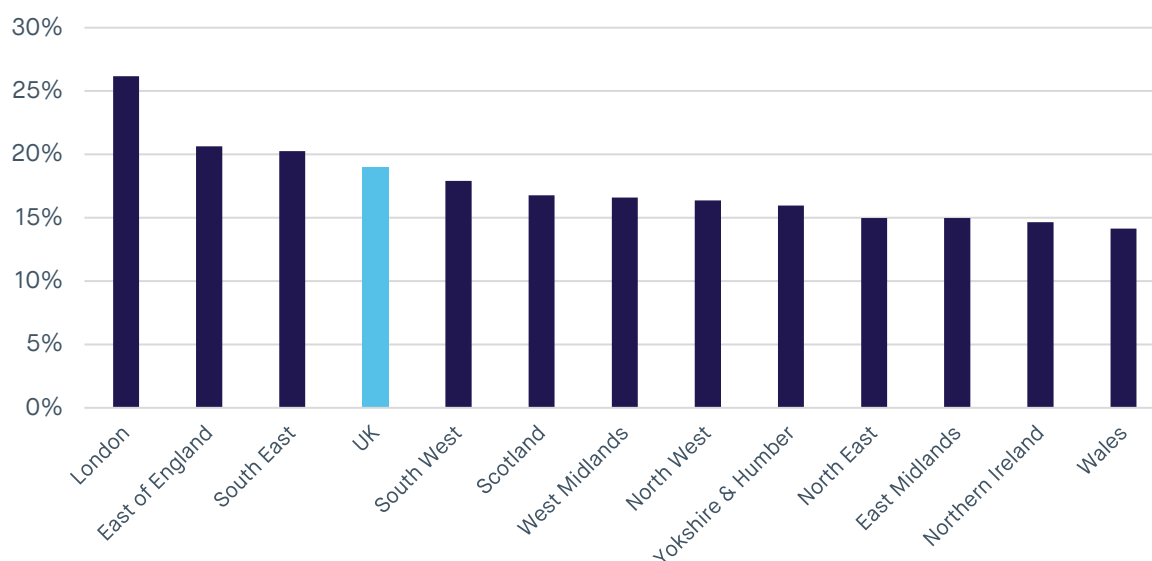
Figure 6: Proportion of workers in each industry impact category by gender



Source: SMF analysis of Annual Population Survey (2020)

The proportion of women who work in sectors likely to face a severe impact varies across the country. It is clear that the UK average (19%) is inflated due to the proportion of women who work in severely impacted industries in London and surrounding regions. Only three regions have figures above the UK average. These are seen in Figure 7, which shows that in the North East and East Midlands, only 15% of working women are employed in sectors facing the most severe disruption from the coronavirus shock; in Wales, the figure is just 14%.

Figure 7: Proportion of women working in severely impacted sectors by region



Source: SMF analysis of Annual Population Survey (2020)

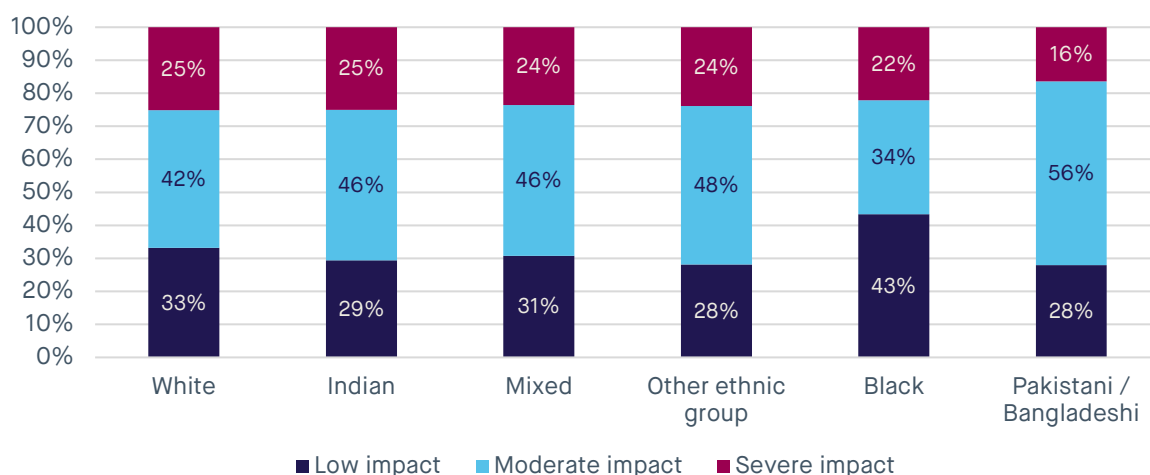
This variance highlights the importance of designing policy for people and places and not relying on high level data when making important policy changes.

It is also important not to see this data in isolation. Coronavirus brings new challenges and opportunities for working women, particularly working mothers: growing evidence suggests that disruptions to children’s formal education imposes burdens that fall disproportionately on mothers. It must also be remembered that however the crisis affects them, female workers went into that crisis in a disadvantaged position relative to male peers, being more likely to suffer from a parenthood pay penalty and inflexible working and endured slow or no pay growth and career progression.

Ethnicity

Partly reflecting the overall demographics of the UK population, the majority of key workers are White.¹⁰ Yet our analysis also demonstrates that those from White and Indian ethnicities are the most likely to work in industries expected to face a severe impact from coronavirus. It is apparent from Figure 8 that those from a Black background are the most likely to work in mildly impacted industries (43%). This compares to less than three in ten of those from the Pakistani/Bangladeshi, Indian and Other ethnic groups.

Figure 8: Proportion of workers in each industry impact category by ethnicity



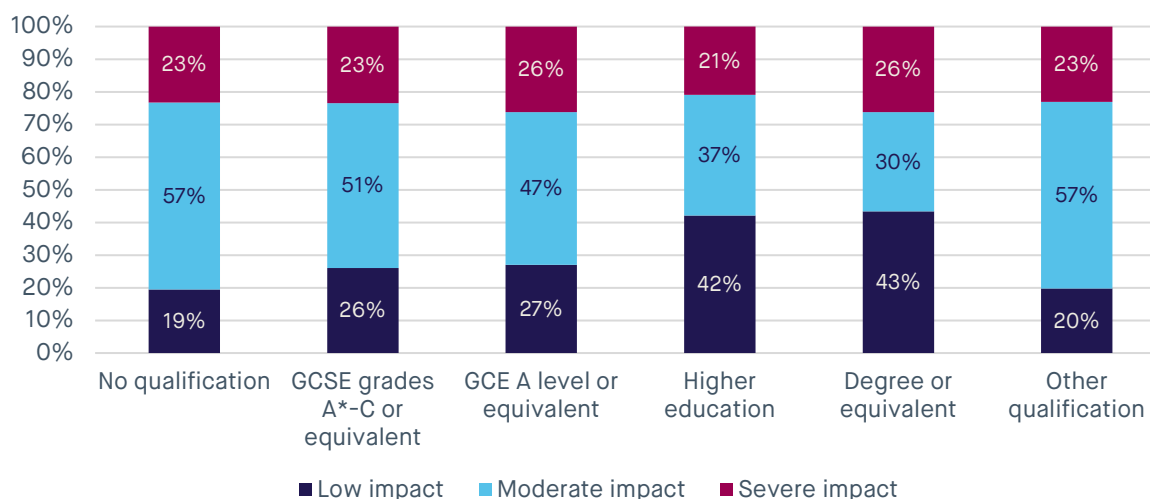
Source: NOMIS, Annual Population Survey (2020)

Due to sample sizes it is not possible to focus on how the proportion of people working in each industry category varies by ethnicity and region. We can however conclude that a larger proportion of all ethnicities are likely to work in severely impacted industries in London.

Skills level

As industries decline and unemployment increases it is essential that government understands the demographics of those who will require support. One aspect of this is the level of skills / qualifications the individual holds. The Government committed to a range of policies to better support the acquisition of skills and training in their 2019 manifesto. Our analysis shows a complex picture regarding the skills profile of those at risk of being severely impacted by coronavirus.

Figure 9: Proportion of workers in each industry impact category by highest qualification

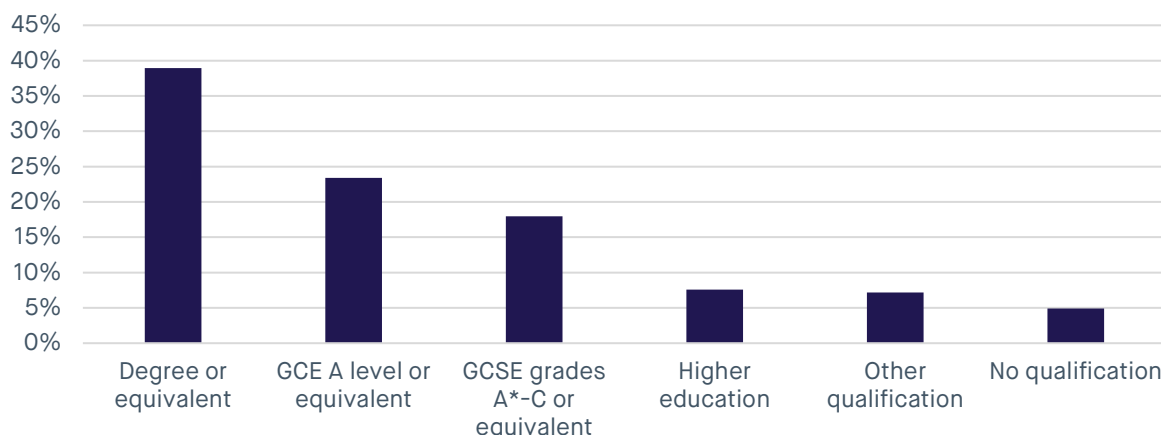


Source: SMF analysis of Annual Population Survey (2020)

Those with A-levels or equivalent or a Degree or equivalent are the two groups most likely to work in industries deemed to face a severe impact (26% for both). However, those with a degree are also the most likely to work in industries deemed to be of low impact (43%).

Figure 10 below breaks down the group of workers employed in high-impact sectors by qualification. The biggest group in this at-risk category are the degree-educated, who make up almost one in four of the workers at highest risk of disruption.

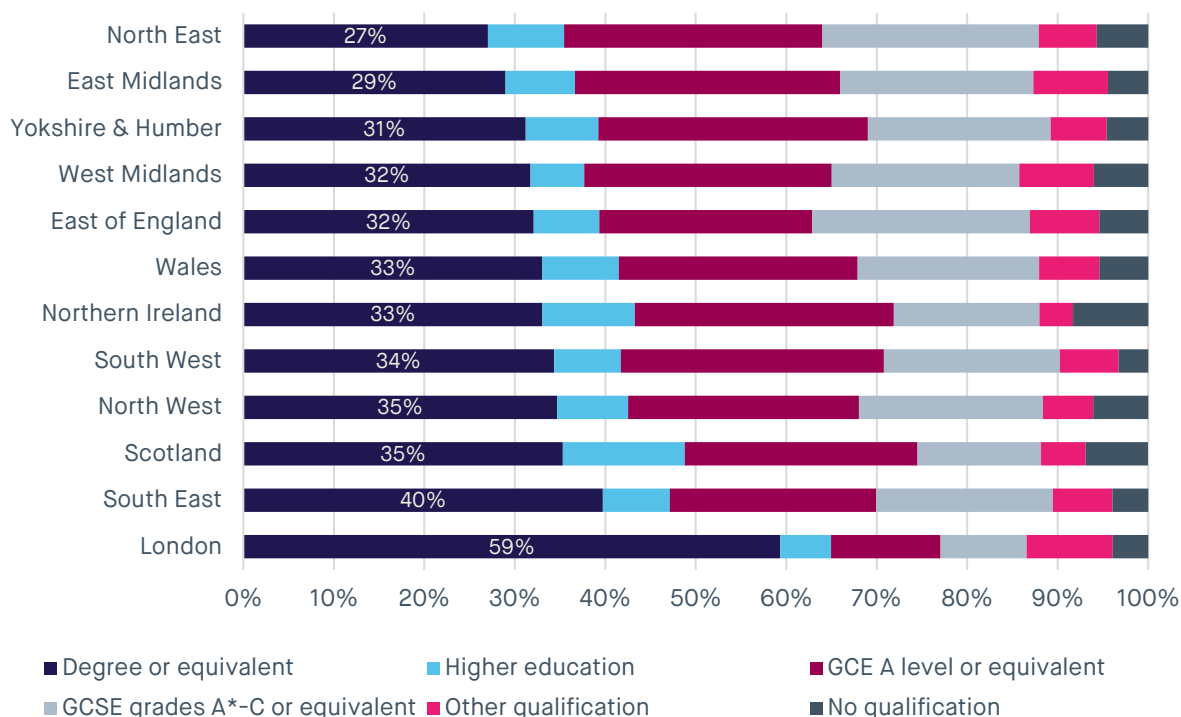
Figure 10: Highest qualification held by those working in industries likely to face a severe impact



Source: SMF analysis of Annual Population Survey (2020)
 Note: Excludes "Do not know"

The qualification profile by impact is likely to be different across local areas of the UK, due to the underlying demographics of their population and the industry contributing to its categorisation as severely impacted. The North East of England has the lowest proportion of workers deemed to work in industries facing a severe impact who hold a degree: just 27%. Meanwhile, of all the London workers in the high-impact category, 59% are graduates.

Figure 11: Highest qualification held by those working in industries likely to face a severe impact by region



Source: SMF analysis of Annual Population Survey (2020)
 Note: Excludes "Do not know"

Concluding comments

This analysis aims to inform policymakers about the medium-term prospects of local areas and groups in the wake of the coronavirus economic shock. It has highlighted the importance of understanding the pre-existing economic conditions as well as understanding more about the people who work in these areas.

It also demonstrates the need to be careful about national-level and even regional-level data: such aggregates can conceal as much as they reveal. Finally, this analysis should act as a corrective to those who seek to construct political narratives about the likely economic experience of groups and places, telling stories about particular people or places who will suffer most. Such neat narratives are not easy to reconcile with the complex picture revealed in our analysis. Simplicity may be politically convenient, but evidence is rarely simple.

APPENDIX

For a searchable version of this index, please visit www.smf.co.uk/publications/levelling-down

| NUTS3 area | Region | Proportion of jobs in moderate & severe |
|---|-----------------|---|
| Camden and City of London | London | 79% |
| Kensington & Chelsea and Hammersmith & Fulham | London | 79% |
| Lambeth | London | 78% |
| East Lancashire | North West | 78% |
| Hounslow and Richmond upon Thames | London | 76% |
| Ealing | London | 75% |
| Tower Hamlets | London | 75% |
| Westminster | London | 74% |
| Swindon | South West | 74% |
| West Essex | East of England | 74% |
| Thurrock | East of England | 74% |
| Haringey and Islington | London | 73% |
| Luton | East of England | 73% |
| Hackney and Newham | London | 73% |
| Berkshire | South East | 73% |
| Harrow and Hillingdon | London | 73% |
| Warwickshire | West Midlands | 73% |
| Wandsworth | London | 73% |
| Leicester | East Midlands | 72% |
| West Northamptonshire | East Midlands | 72% |
| West Kent | South East | 72% |
| West Surrey | South East | 72% |
| East Surrey | South East | 72% |
| Redbridge and Waltham Forest | London | 72% |
| West Lothian | Scotland | 71% |
| North Northamptonshire | East Midlands | 71% |
| Buckinghamshire CC | South East | 71% |
| Sandwell | West Midlands | 71% |
| Merton, Kingston upon Thames and Sutton | London | 71% |
| Bexley and Greenwich | London | 71% |
| Milton Keynes | South East | 71% |
| Essex Thames Gateway | East of England | 71% |
| North Hampshire | South East | 71% |
| Peterborough | East of England | 71% |
| East Cumbria | North West | 71% |
| Southend-on-Sea | East of England | 70% |
| Bournemouth and Poole | South West | 70% |
| Hertfordshire | East of England | 70% |

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----|
| Calderdale and Kirklees | Yorkshire & the Humber | 70% |
| Heart of Essex | East of England | 69% |
| East Derbyshire | East Midlands | 69% |
| North Nottinghamshire | East Midlands | 69% |
| Manchester | North West | 69% |
| Greater Manchester South West | North West | 69% |
| Wakefield | Yorkshire & the Humber | 69% |
| Brent | London | 69% |
| Warrington | North West | 69% |
| Bromley | London | 69% |
| South Hampshire | South East | 69% |
| Kingston upon Hull, City of | Yorkshire & the Humber | 68% |
| Stoke-on-Trent | West Midlands | 68% |
| Cambridgeshire CC | East of England | 68% |
| Walsall | West Midlands | 68% |
| Flintshire and Wrexham | Wales | 68% |
| Bradford | Yorkshire & the Humber | 68% |
| North and North East Lincolnshire | Yorkshire & the Humber | 68% |
| Croydon | London | 68% |
| Enfield | London | 68% |
| Barnet | London | 68% |
| North and West Norfolk | East of England | 68% |
| Greater Manchester North East | North West | 68% |
| Orkney Islands | Scotland | 68% |
| Portsmouth | South East | 68% |
| West Sussex (North East) | South East | 68% |
| Cheshire West and Chester | North West | 67% |
| East Merseyside | North West | 67% |
| Oxfordshire | South East | 67% |
| Wolverhampton | West Midlands | 67% |
| Staffordshire CC | West Midlands | 67% |
| Central Bedfordshire | East of England | 67% |
| Cheshire East | North West | 67% |
| Derby | East Midlands | 67% |
| Falkirk | Scotland | 67% |
| Mid Kent | South East | 67% |
| Lewisham and Southwark | London | 67% |
| Leeds | Yorkshire & the Humber | 67% |
| Solihull | West Midlands | 67% |
| Birmingham | West Midlands | 67% |
| Greater Manchester North West | North West | 67% |
| Kent Thames Gateway | South East | 67% |
| Barking & Dagenham and Havering | London | 67% |
| Worcestershire | West Midlands | 66% |

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----|
| Bedford | East of England | 66% |
| Barnsley, Doncaster and Rotherham | Yorkshire & the Humber | 66% |
| Suffolk | East of England | 66% |
| Telford and Wrekin | West Midlands | 66% |
| Coventry | West Midlands | 66% |
| South and West Derbyshire | East Midlands | 66% |
| Southampton | South East | 66% |
| Norwich and East Norfolk | East of England | 66% |
| Brighton and Hove | South East | 66% |
| Essex Haven Gateway | East of England | 65% |
| Blackburn with Darwen | North West | 65% |
| East Kent | South East | 65% |
| Lincolnshire | East Midlands | 65% |
| Wiltshire | South West | 65% |
| Greater Manchester South East | North West | 65% |
| Glasgow City | Scotland | 65% |
| Sunderland | North East | 65% |
| South Lanarkshire | Scotland | 65% |
| Breckland and South Norfolk | East of England | 65% |
| Somerset | South West | 65% |
| North Lanarkshire | Scotland | 65% |
| Medway | South East | 65% |
| Swansea | Wales | 65% |
| Gloucestershire | South West | 65% |
| Monmouthshire and Newport | Wales | 65% |
| Torbay | South West | 65% |
| Liverpool | North West | 64% |
| Dudley | West Midlands | 64% |
| Cornwall and Isles of Scilly | South West | 64% |
| Edinburgh, City of | Scotland | 64% |
| Leicestershire CC and Rutland | East Midlands | 64% |
| Central Hampshire | South East | 64% |
| Durham CC | North East | 64% |
| Sefton | North West | 64% |
| North Yorkshire CC | Yorkshire & the Humber | 64% |
| East Sussex CC | South East | 64% |
| Northumberland | North East | 64% |
| Nottingham | East Midlands | 64% |
| Bristol, City of | South West | 63% |
| York | Yorkshire & the Humber | 63% |
| Perth & Kinross and Stirling | Scotland | 63% |
| Sheffield | Yorkshire & the Humber | 63% |
| South Nottinghamshire | East Midlands | 63% |
| Cardiff and Vale of Glamorgan | Wales | 63% |

| | | |
|--|------------------------|-----|
| Blackpool | North West | 63% |
| Gwent Valleys | Wales | 63% |
| Hartlepool and Stockton-on-Tees | North East | 63% |
| East Ayrshire and North Ayrshire mainland | Scotland | 63% |
| Plymouth | South West | 63% |
| Bridgend and Neath Port Talbot | Wales | 63% |
| West Sussex (South West) | South East | 63% |
| Mid Lancashire | North West | 62% |
| Bath and North East Somerset, North Somerset and South Gloucestershire | South West | 62% |
| Isle of Wight | South East | 62% |
| Devon CC | South West | 62% |
| Chorley and West Lancashire | North West | 62% |
| Tyneside | North East | 62% |
| Clackmannanshire and Fife | Scotland | 62% |
| Inverness & Nairn and Moray, Badenoch & Strathspey | Scotland | 62% |
| East Lothian and Midlothian | Scotland | 62% |
| Herefordshire, County of | West Midlands | 62% |
| Scottish Borders | Scotland | 61% |
| Shropshire CC | West Midlands | 61% |
| Darlington | North East | 61% |
| East Riding of Yorkshire | Yorkshire & the Humber | 61% |
| Inverclyde, East Renfrewshire and Renfrewshire | Scotland | 61% |
| Shetland Islands | Scotland | 61% |
| South Teesside | North East | 61% |
| Dorset CC | South West | 60% |
| Wirral | North West | 60% |
| East Dunbartonshire, West Dunbartonshire and Helensburgh & Lomond | Scotland | 60% |
| Dumfries & Galloway | Scotland | 60% |
| Angus and Dundee City | Scotland | 60% |
| Central Valleys | Wales | 60% |
| Lancaster and Wyre | North West | 59% |
| Caithness & Sutherland and Ross & Cromarty | Scotland | 59% |
| South West Wales | Wales | 59% |
| West Cumbria | North West | 59% |
| Lochaber, Skye & Lochalsh, Arran & Cumbrae and Argyll & Bute | Scotland | 59% |
| Powys | Wales | 58% |
| Aberdeen City and Aberdeenshire | Scotland | 58% |
| Na h-Eileanan Siar (Western Isles) | Scotland | 58% |
| Gwynedd | Wales | 58% |
| Conwy and Denbighshire | Wales | 57% |
| South Ayrshire | Scotland | 57% |
| Isle of Anglesey | Wales | 54% |

ENDNOTES

¹ <https://yougov.co.uk/topics/economy/articles-reports/2020/06/01/consumer-confidence-remains-bleak-despite-small-im>

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⁴ International Monetary Fund, *World Economic Outlook* (2020)

⁵ Institute for Government, *Bailout for business after coronavirus* (2020)

⁶ Office for National Statistics, *The 2008 recession 10 years on* (2018)

⁷ <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/multiple-scarring-effects-of-youth-unemployment/>

⁸ Resolution Foundation, *Young workers in the coronavirus crisis* (2020)

⁹ Institute for Fiscal studies, *Differences between key workers* (2020)

¹⁰ Institute for Fiscal studies, *Differences between key workers* (2020)