Levelling down: The medium term local economic impact of coronavirus

BRIEFING PAPER

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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

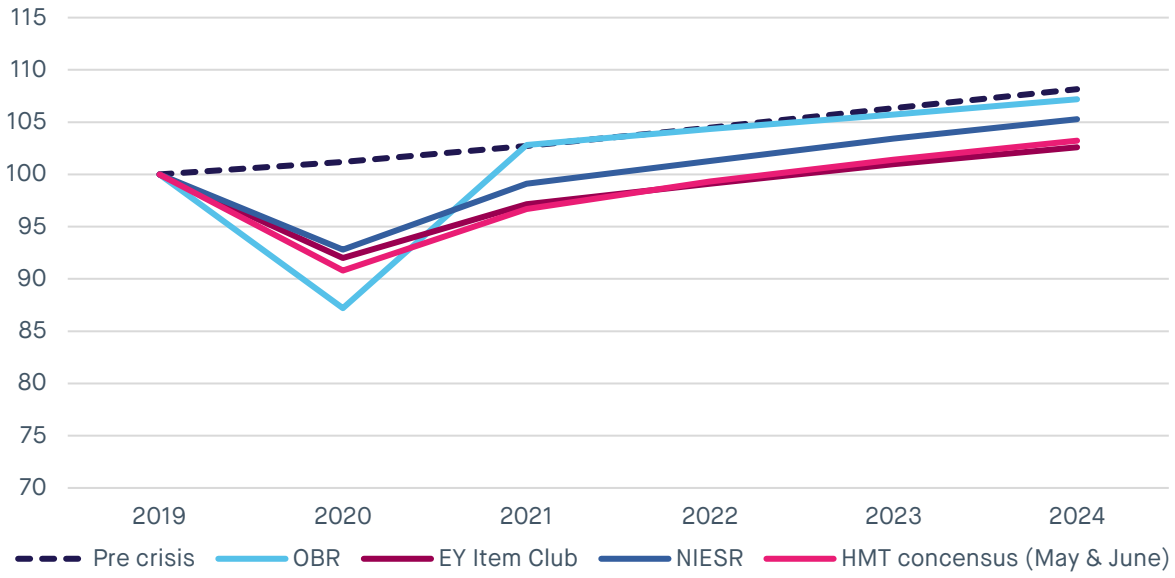
Context

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.

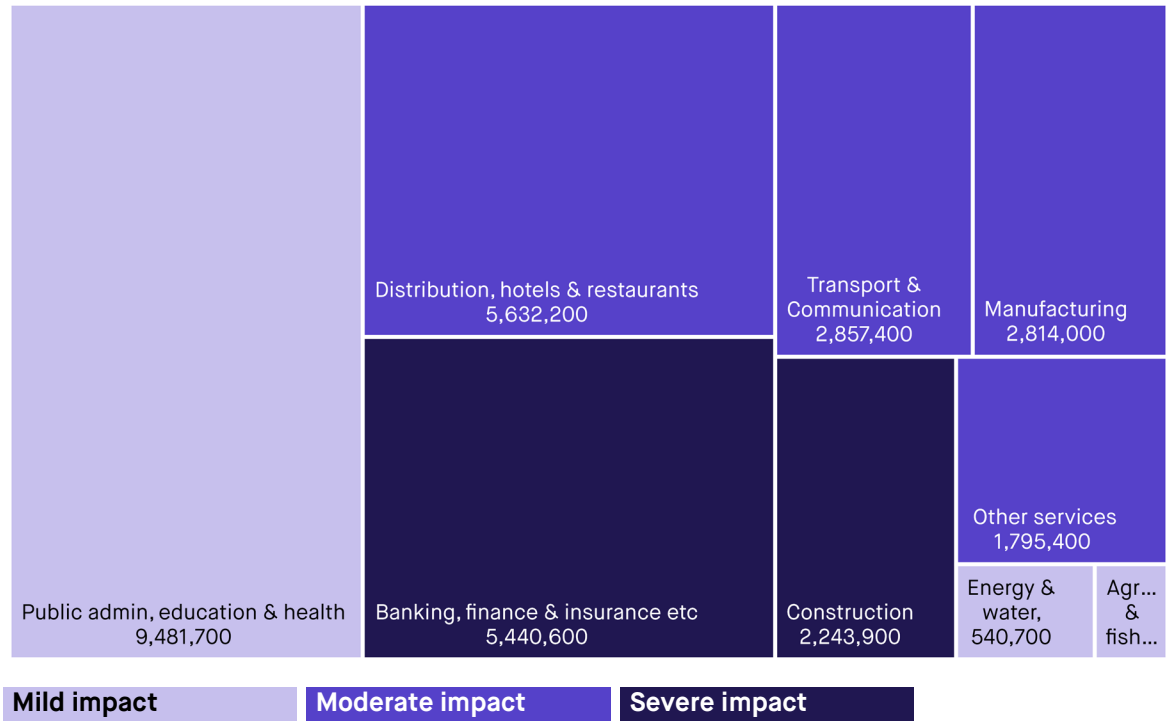
comparison, UK unemployment peaked at 8.1% in 2011 following the 2008/09 recession and then took seven years to recover to 4.1% in 2018.[4]

The consensus of recent forecasts suggests that unemployment will not recover to pre-virus 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 research[ii] 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).

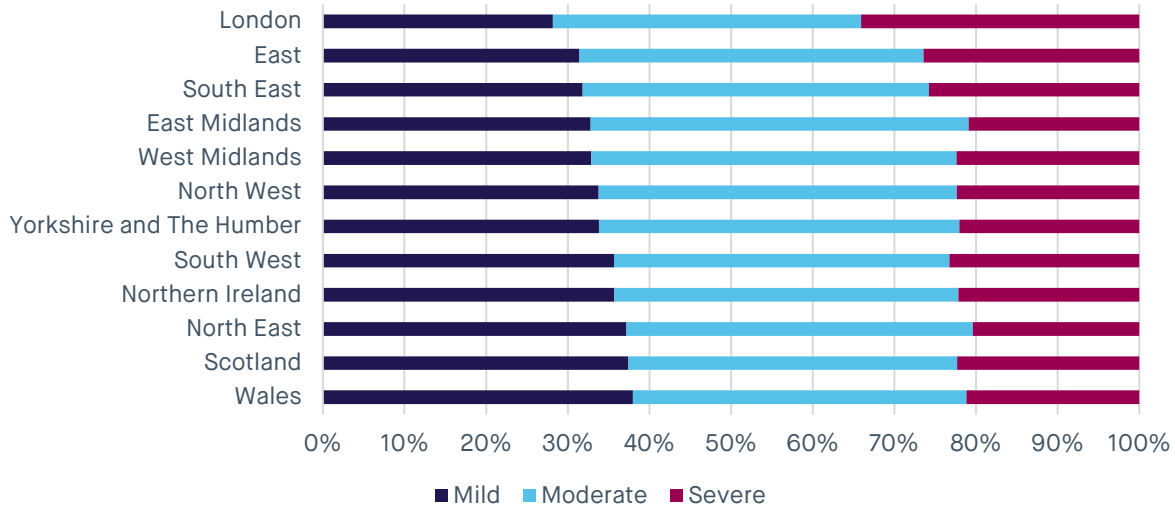
[ii] See the SMF's publication "Assessing the economic implications of coronavirus and Brexit" published in May 2020 for more details and methodology.

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

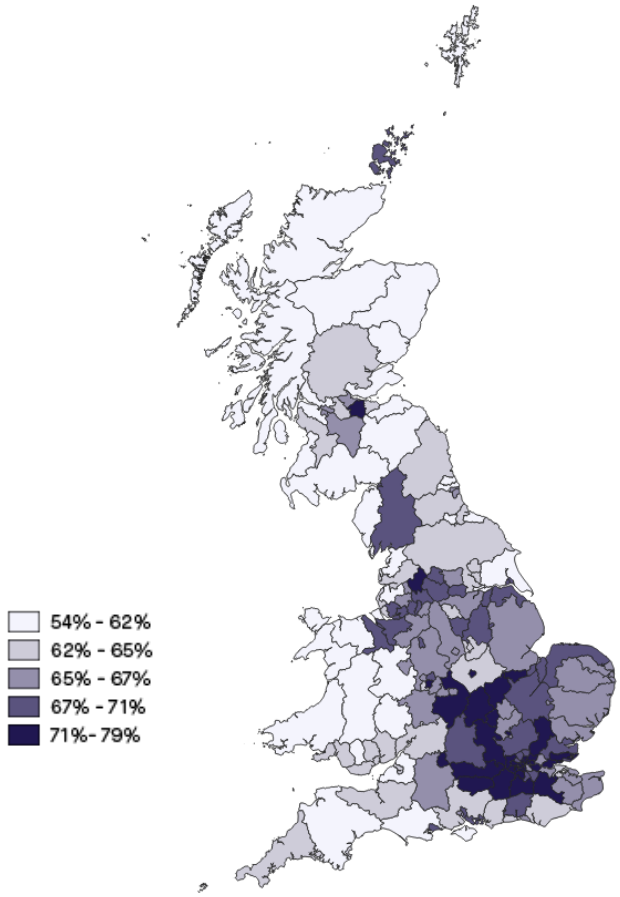
- Camden and City of London (79% of jobs)
- Kingston and Chelsea and Hammersmith and Fulham (79%)
- Lambeth (78%)
- East Lancashire (78%)
- Hounslow and Richmond upon Thames (76%)
- Ealing (75%)
- Tower Hamlets (75%)
- Westminster (74%)
- Swindon (74%)
- West Essex (74%)

10 lowest impacted areas

- 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 country[iii] 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?

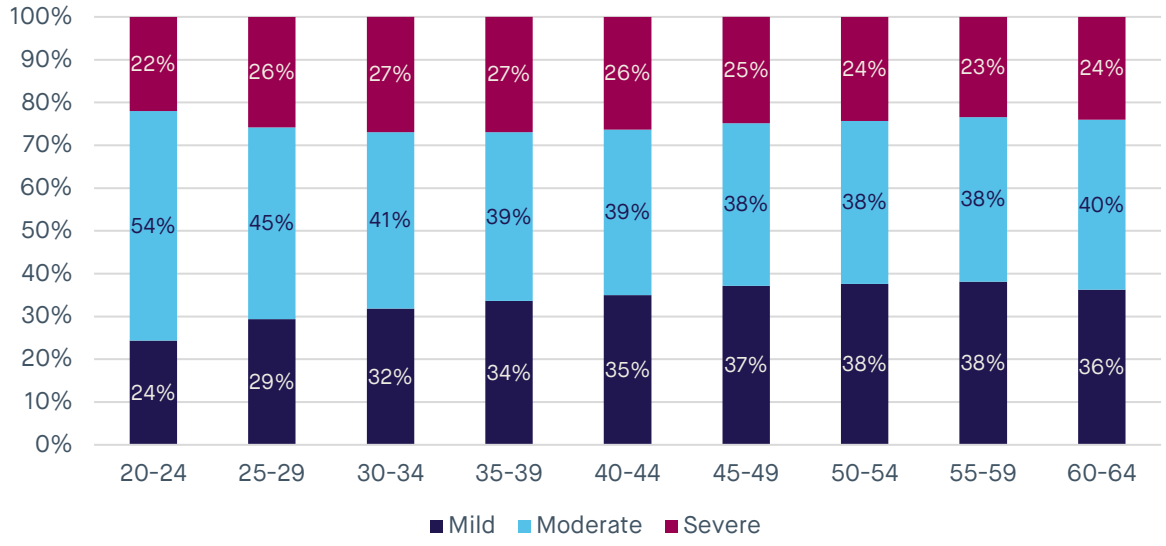
We have shown how the impact is likely to vary by industry and place – in order to fully develop robust policy responses, it is important to understand more about the people who work in these industries.

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.

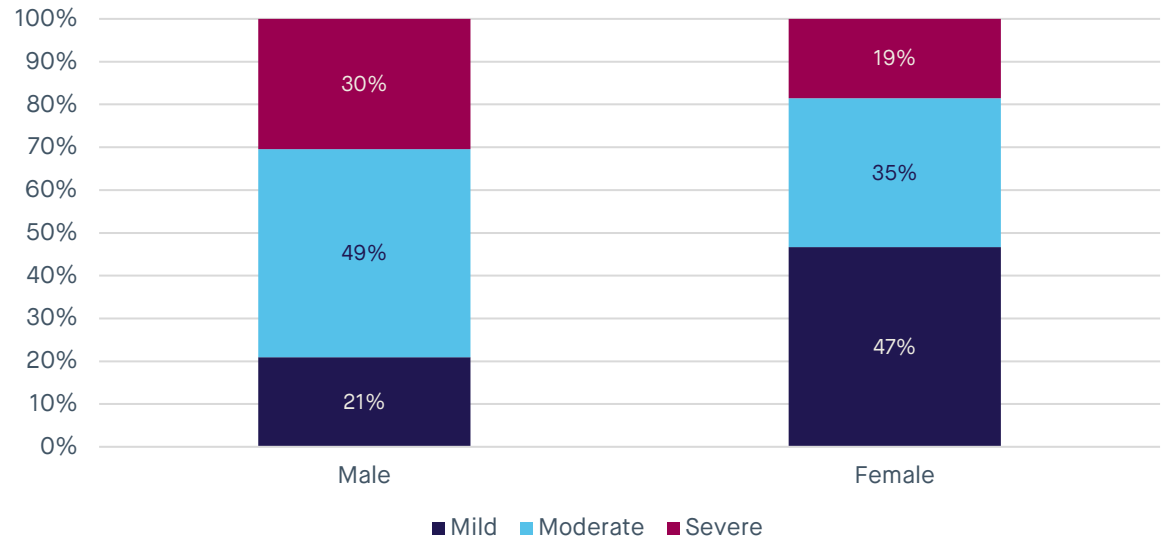
Across the UK, the median age of a worker in the severely impacted industries is 41 – this varies to some degree depending on the region in which they work. Perhaps unsurprisingly London has the lowest median age for workers in severely impacted sectors: 38. In contrast, the South East of England has 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.

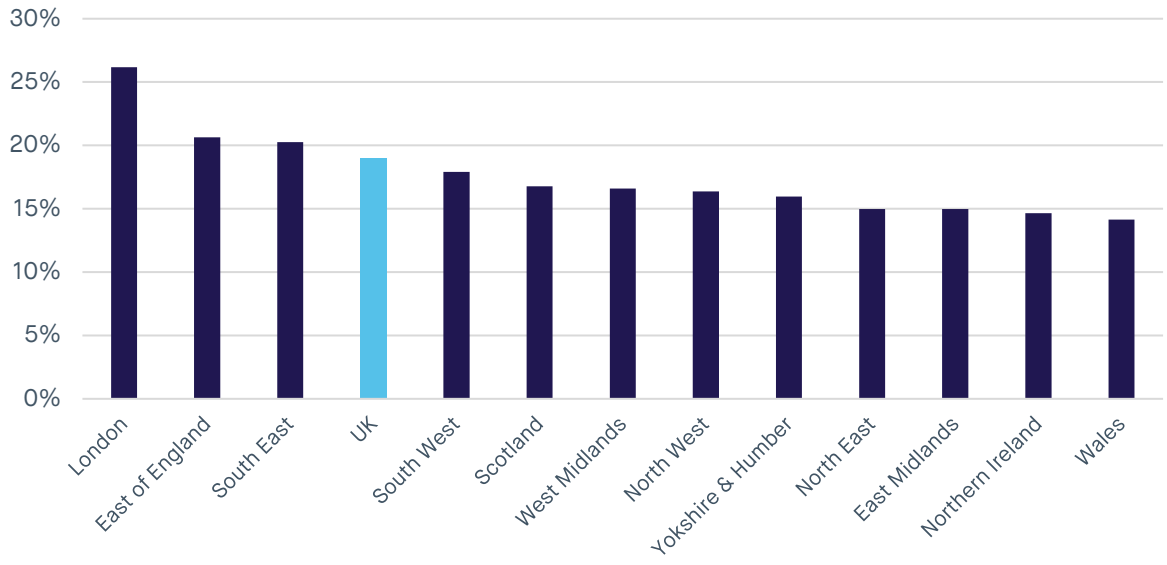
Figure 6: Proportion of workers in each industry impact category by gender



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 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)

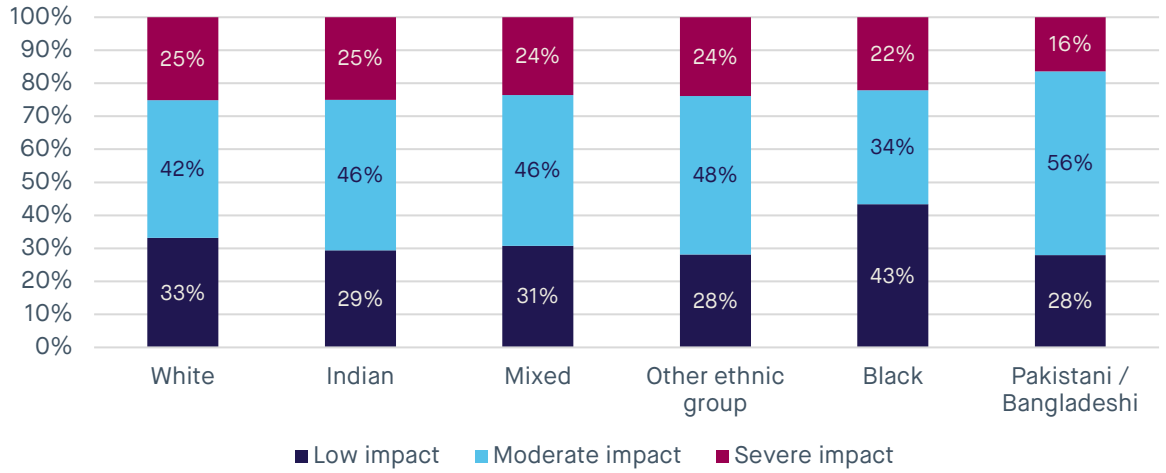
This variance highlights the importance of designing policy for people and places and not relying on high level data when making important policy changes.

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



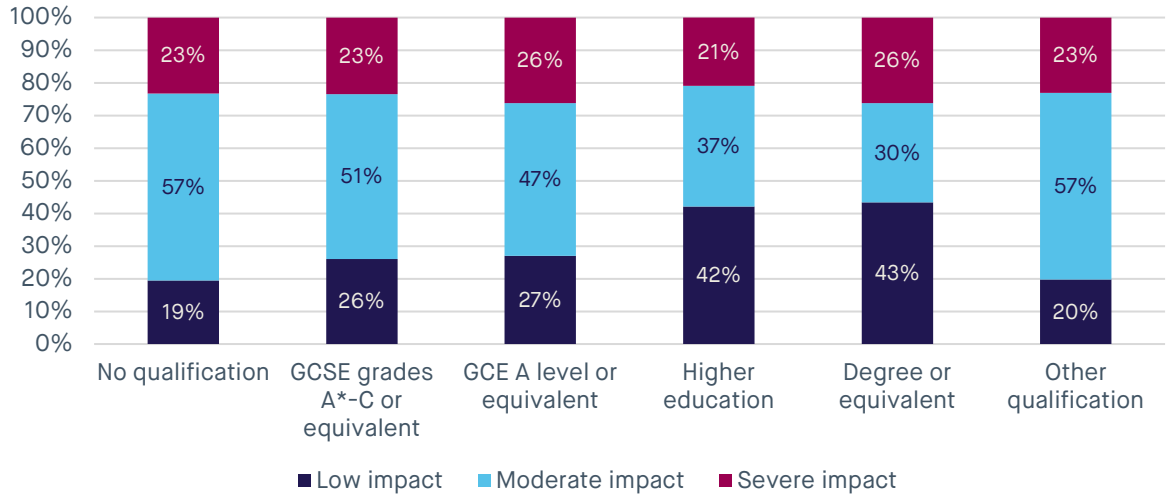
Source: NOMIS, Annual Population Survey (2020)

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

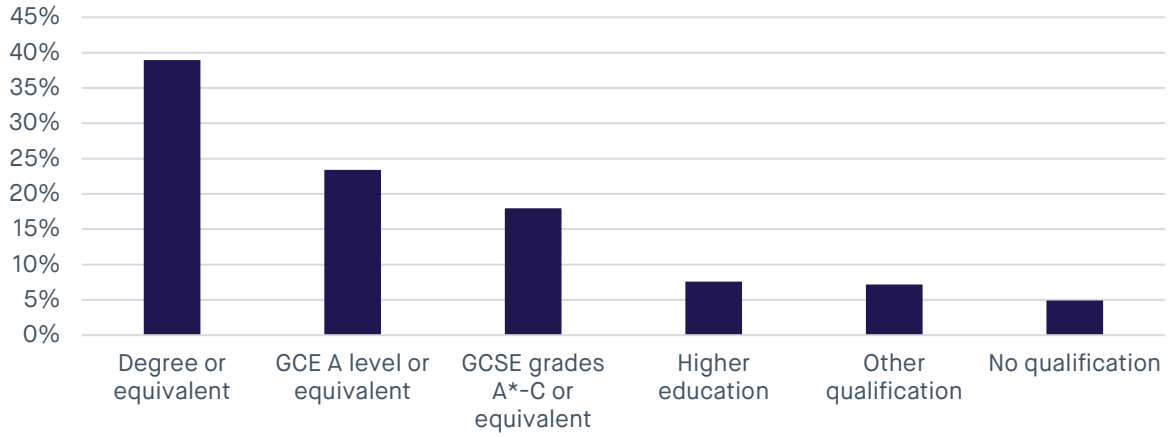


Source: SMF analysis of Annual Population Survey (2020)

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.

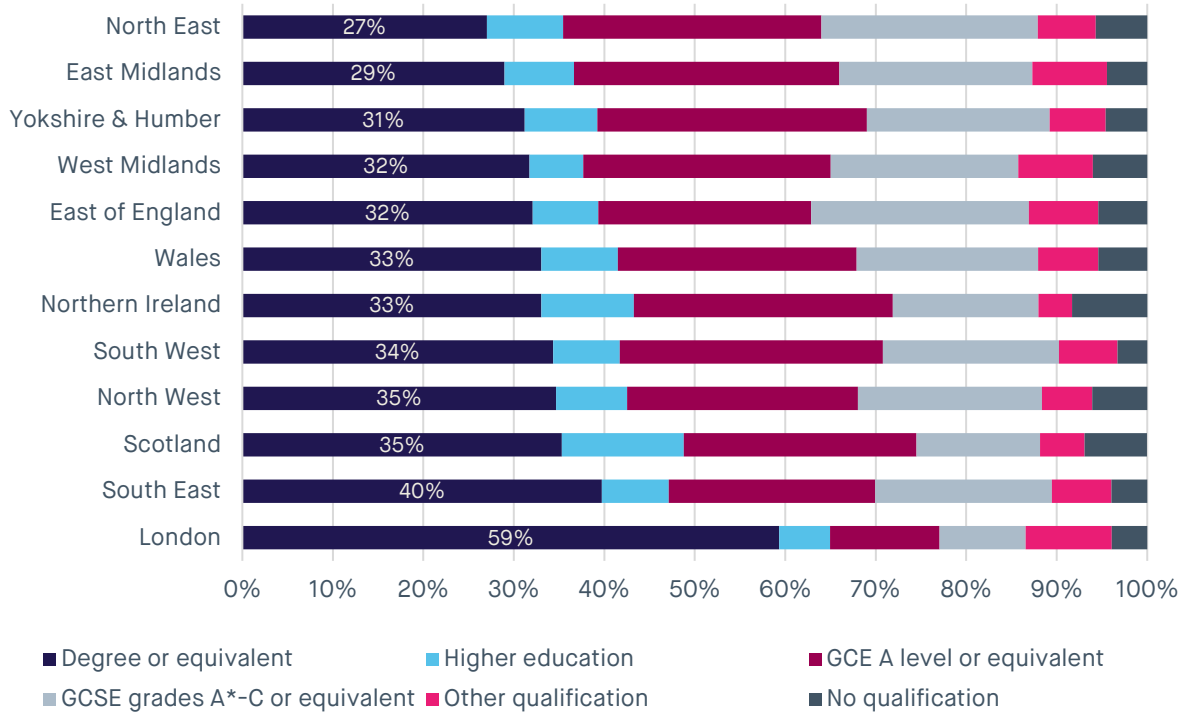
Figure 10: Highest qualification held by those working in industries likely to face a severe impact



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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[3] HM Treasury, *Forecasts for the UK economy: a comparison of independent forecasts June* (2020)

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[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)

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