# C19 National Foresight Group: Intelligence Briefing Paper 21
## Data Trends and Covid Marshals
**01/10/20**

Paper prepared by Dr Stacey Stewart, Adam Potter, Dr Lucy Justice, edited and synthesised by Rich Pickford and Dr Rowena Hill
Nottingham Trent University

This briefing synthesizes data with systematic findings from across academic subjects. This evidence of empirical data and academic insight contributes to our existing knowledge on who is most likely to be experiencing adversity in our communities.

## Contents

## Context

A data review is undertaken by academics at Nottingham Trent University every week to inform the C19 National Foresight Group. Evidence related to Covid-19 psychological, social and economic trends are reviewed to inform, frame and prioritise discussions at national and local strategic decision-making level (LAs and LRFs). The C19 National Foresight Group synthesise data trends and academic findings across disciplines, with evidence of existing vulnerabilities and inequalities to start to build existing and emerging risk or adversity profiles of impacts from Covid-19.

## Who is this for?

This is most useful for **national thought leaders, local strategic decision-makers, intel cells and those involved in populating the MAIC**.

**Focussed theme this week**: This week we are focussing on the evidence that younger adults have contributed to a greater extent to viral transmission than other age groups, preparing the messaging and advice for festive celebrations ahead in the coming months in to 2021.

**Academic Synthesis**

Gathered from systematic literature reviews, rapid reviews, webpages, academic articles, pre-prints, academic expertise.

**N.B.** This is not a literature review, but a review of the broad area (balanced with Covid-19 specific literature) to see what topics lie within the area to inform future work. Predominantly based on systematic literature reviews and rapid reviews, this is to indicate the size of the literature review should we wish to commission one. Carried out by Adam Potter, Dr Stacey Stewart, and Rich Pickford, with revisions and edits by Dr Rowena Hill, NTU. Please contact us if you require a list of sources consulted to develop your own literature review. Our purpose is to provide an overview of the academic and research foresight on the developing areas of latent and emergent needs in the community.

# YouGov Mood
## 29 September 2020

The percentage of people reporting feeling happy continues to drop for most groups, with notable exceptions being those in Scotland and Wales who see 10% and 5% increases respectively.

Boredom also continues to drop for most groups, although young adults (18-24 years) seem to be plateauing at around 42%.
Feeling lonely appears to be plateauing for most groups with young adults (18-24 years) reporting the highest levels of all groups at around 35%.
Feeling scared continues to rise steadily for most groups with young adults (18-24 years) showing a 10% increase over the last two weeks. Similarly feeling stressed continues to rise for most groups with some groups (males, females, 25-49 years) showing the highest levels of stress since around mid-March.
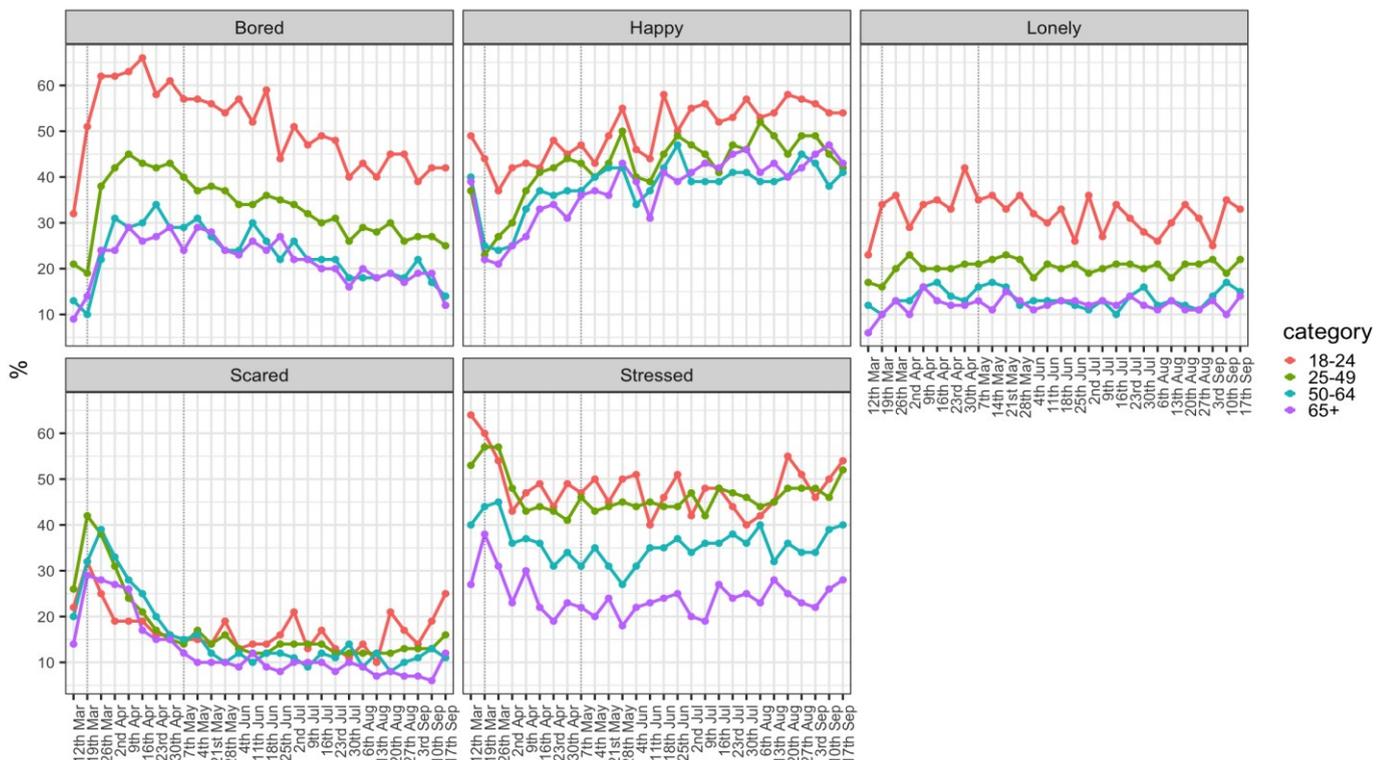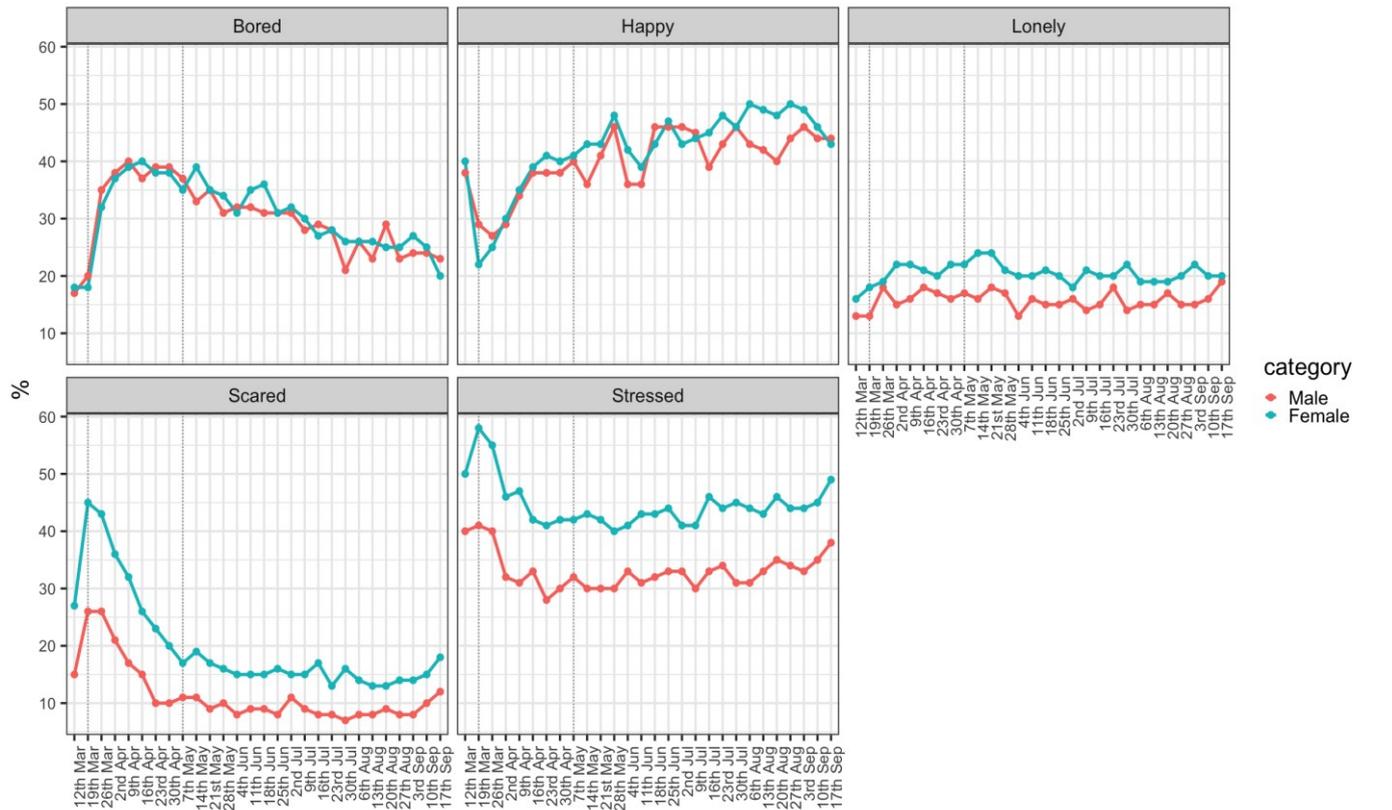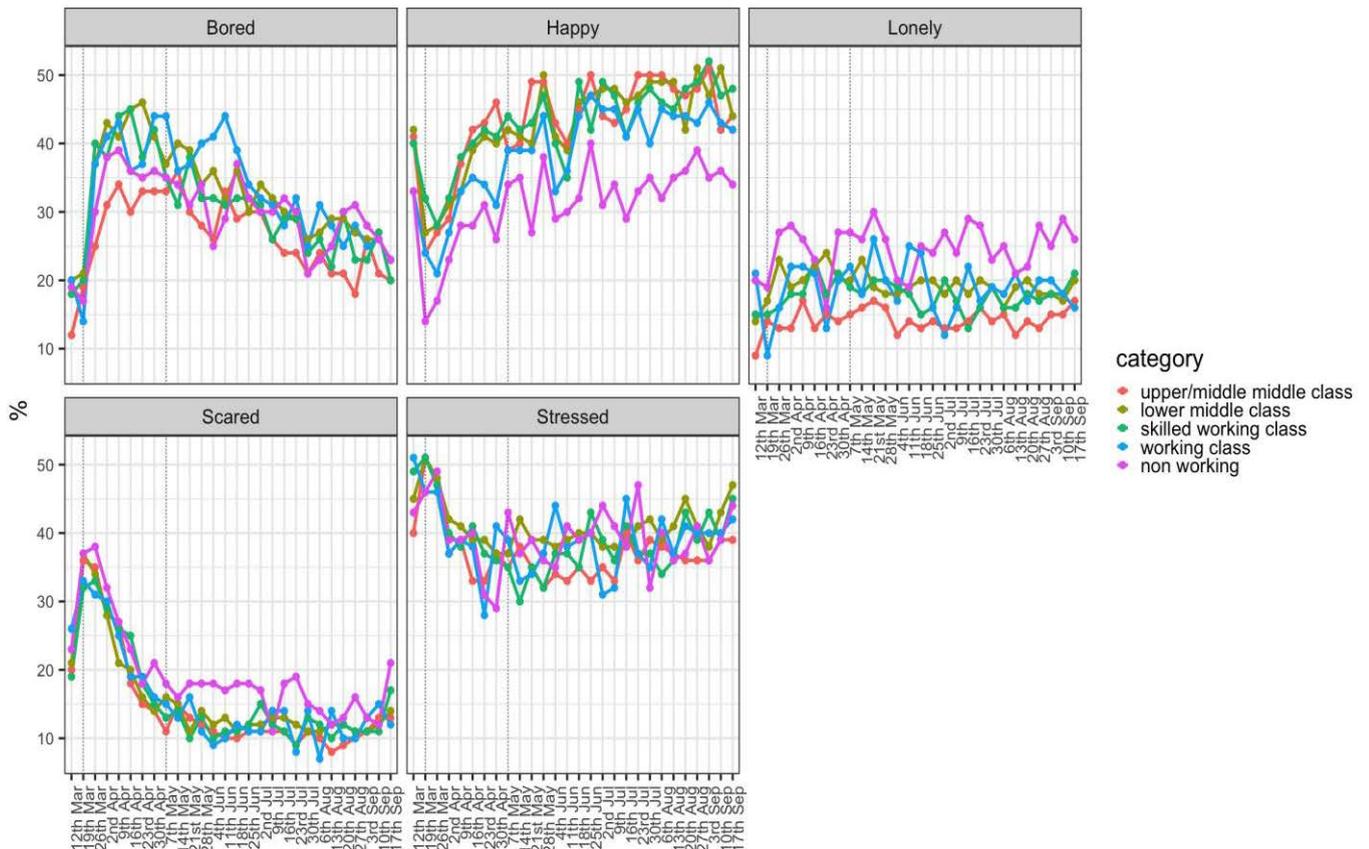
# Covid Secure Marshals

## Context

As England moves in to the second wave of Covid-19, Covid Marshals have been introduced. This role has been identified as the responsibility of Local Authorities; however the uptake has (to the time of writing) been differential. One consideration of the Covid Marshals is the change and development their introduction poses to the relationship between the public, the Covid Marshals and the police. Given this challenge this paper considers previous learning to inform what the unintended consequences of this introduction might be.

It currently remains unclear the specific role, powers and authority Covid secure marshals (CSM) will have within UK society. Many news outlets have reported on the Prime Ministers address and follow up communication from departments such as the MHGLG. It is deduced - from this information, not specific government guidance – that CSM will:

- Not have any power to enforce laws or regulations or give fines. If they find themselves in difficulty or need to escalate the situation, they will need to call the police who are able to issue fines.
- Ensure social distancing, by approaching groups of 6+, sharing hand sanitiser and facemasks, explaining current measures, answering questions and issuing advice.
- Ensure business and areas are complying by;
    o conducting temperature checks,
    o monitoring numbers in food and smoking areas,
    o ensuring signage is visible, appropriate and correctly positioned
    o checking hand sanitiser bottles
    o clearing sites
    o managing queues (Express, 2020; BBC, 2020)

Additionally, searchers for Covid Marshals (CM) highlights roles contracted by private businesses which set out the job descriptions of similar roles. Many job adverts for CSM show that they are expected to take on dual roles; as cleaners and CSM, or as safety marshals. Many of the roles require CSM to patrol locations – business or educational premises – making detailed notes of issues and reporting violations to a manager (total jobs, 2020).

We use the definition 'Covid Marshals' in this paper as the term 'secure' has been debated extensively. This is because places cannot be made 'secure' from Covid-19, only mitigated, reduced or compliant to Covid-guidance. The risk of Covid-19 cannot be removed and therefore the use of the term 'secure' is believed to be misleading and creating a narrative of safety and assurance that cannot be given.

As CM do not have powers of enforcement, when working outside of an individual business/establishment, they may face difficulties engaging with the public or achieving meaningful/necessary/effective behaviour change. This means already known difficulties between people in positions of authority with little power (such as PPO/PCSO's, ticket wardens, door supervisors, neighbourhood watch etc.) must be considered, to try to understand what may happen with CM who do not have powers of enforcement.

## Deterrence

Deterrence appears to be one of the main roles of CM – to give people advice and deter people from breaking the rules set by the government and local councils.

Quackenbush (2011) explains that deterrence is the use of a threat of punishment (explicit or not) by one party in an attempt to convince another party to maintain the status quo, or deter people from committing crime and reduce the probability and/or level of offending in society. It is a general phenomenon that is not limited to any particular time or space.

Wright (2010) explains that deterrence can occur in two ways; the first - by increasing the certainty of punishment, potential offenders may be deterred by the risk of apprehension (increase presence/patrols), the second – the severity of punishment may influence behaviour if potential offenders weigh the consequence of their actions and conclude that the risk is too severe (increase fines). Wright (2010) explains that this work is based on assumptions that humans are rational actors who consider their behaviour before deciding to commit a crime, which is not always the case as many people are under the influence of drugs or alcohol when committing a crime. Additionally, relating to the first way for deterrence to occur, there is no 100% certainty that a person will be apprehended for a crime. Young offenders interviewed as part of Pamment's (2009) study said that they knew they could push the behaviour boundary in the presence of PCSO's and did not stop or change their behaviour until police attended the scene. **Relating this to CM, the general population know that CM have no power or authority to enforce and so the risk of apprehension continues to lie with the police, rather than the CM. Depending on response times, the situations discussed by the young offenders when engaging with PCSO's could then occur – showing verbal or physical abuse to the CMs or leaving before the police arrive. This places the CM not only at risk of physical and emotional harm, but also at risk of Covid-19.**

Quackenbush (2011) explains that deterrence *theory* argues that, in order to deter attacks, a state must persuade potential attackers three things –

1. That it has an effective enforcement capability,

2. That it could impose unacceptable costs on an attacker,

3. That the threat would be carried out if needed.

**Relating this to CM and Covid-19, the effective enforcement capability would be the use of police, who would then implement number 2 (and 3)- a fine. As such, the CM is rendered powerless, as the 'attacker' knows the CM has no power/enforcement ability of the fine.**

## Reassurance policing

Herrington and Millie (2006) explain that reassurance was the style of policing designed to deliver enhanced neighbourhood security, rather than an outcome in and of itself; it was needed as there was a disparity between crime rates dropping, but the population still fearing crime and considering it to be rising. Herrington and Millie (2006) report that the HMIC's vision for bridging the reassurance gap identified three requirements for policing;

1. Visibility: the level, profile and impact of police resources deployed within local communities
2. Accessibility: the ease with which the public can obtain appropriate police information, access services or make contact with staff
3. Familiarity: the extent to which police personnel know, and are known by, local communities.

Whilst reassurance policing is now familiar to a police officer's role, it is accepted that providing and offering reassurance is a positive approach. Edgehill (2020) explain that reassurance policing is closely allied to community/neighbourhood policing.

**Each of the requirements laid out by Herrington and Millie (2006) fit with and compliment the PCSO/encouraging compliance approaches detailed below; having a presence and forming relationships.**

## Unintended consequences

In 2017/18, data from 41 of the 43 forces showed that there were 256 self-reported assaults on PCSOs in England and Wales (excludes the British Transport Police) (https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/7264 03/hosb1118-assaults.pdf).

Specifically, in relation to coronavirus, on the 23rd of August in London a man was attacked and knocked unconscious for moving away from someone who was not wearing a mask; it is unknown if the person

moving away challenged the person without a mask or if it was simply due to him moving. This is particularly concerning in relation to CSM, who potentially would have approached and tried to engage that individual.

## Roles and Approaches

### Door Supervisors

Within the UK, door supervisors must obtain a qualification/training in door supervision that is recognised by the Security Industry Authority (SIA) before they are able to obtain a licence. This qualification consists of four modules and three exams, and it takes at least four days. One advert for a CSM in Reading states that the candidate must have the above qualification/licence (SIA) to apply for the role, and the employer will fund CSCS training and card if the candidate does not have one. Additionally, the advert states that the CM's role will be to enforce Covid-19 measures. **When reflecting on who is applying for a CM role, this indicates that CM are more akin to door supervisors and their approaches, than someone who is working on a community engagement/encouragement basis. This highlights the importance of understanding a door supervisors' role and approach.**

#### American door supervisors

In seeking to understand how door supervisors do their jobs, Monk-Turner (et al, 2011) attended the door supervisors place of work (eight pubs and bars) and observed how frequently they checked patron's ID. All the door supervisors observed were male, 5/8 door supervisors worked alone, 3/8 worked in pairs. They explain that 7/8 door supervisors "presented themselves in a position of authority by dressing in all black"; this was not a uniform. They explain that how the door supervisors dressed, their position at the door and their demeanour allowed others to easily identify the door supervisor and their role at the bar. labelling this as projecting authority, or a spirit of a commanding presence. **This suggests that the dress of Covid Marshals is important to consider.**

The door supervisors behaviour was noted; some took their jobs seriously and others were perceived to not take them seriously – evidenced by their use of mobile phones, having conversations with other staff, being distracted (and therefore others entered without being ID'd), left their post at the door to warm up inside etc. **this suggests behaviour and conduct is important to consider.**

Through this analysis, it is argued that door supervisors have three emergent roles; customer relations, state law management and establishment rule enforcer.

1. As a customer relations person, they present as a formidable presence yet they engage patrons in a friendly manner; they were never observed to be rude to the customer.
2. As a state law management person, door supervisors were seen to be properly identifying customers to ID, and so fulfilling their role.
3. In the role of establishment rule enforcer, door supervisors ensured patron met the dress code. Customers were asked to remove items of clothing such as hats or turned away if too casual. This role was performed in a non-antagonistic way and often customers removed items without question or fight. If customers were not happy, the door supervisor requested they paid a fee to enter the bar that others had not had to pay – to dissuade them from entering.

This recommends that good practice and implementation came when door supervisors worked in pairs, had breaks, and checked ID of everyone rather than using their own judgement.

**Recommendations: appropriate dress, demeanour may impact how CMs are received by the public, and it may be beneficial for CMs to work in pairs.**

#### Dutch Door supervisors

Liempt and Aalst (2015) explore the role of door supervisors in policing the public spaces of nightlife districts. Importantly, they distinguish between public and private spaces – private being within the home, where families live, and public being outside of this. Public space refers to physical places such as cities, streets, pavements, parks and squares – anywhere accessible to the public. It is conceptualised as a place that is inclusionary and accessible, where strangers can meet and people of all backgrounds can congregate, a site for interaction, encounter and connection. This space is often

kept safe through methods of public – not private – surveillance; as door supervisors work for private companies rather than the state, this is seen as a private surveillance. Public policing is primarily offender-orientated, whilst private policing is property orientated; this means police are equipped with more coercive powers than are not usually available to other citizens, whilst door supervisors maintain control of a private space.

## Soft enforcement by park wardens in National Parks

Pendleton (1998) considered the 'low key' enforcement approach used within Canadian National parks. Soft enforcement/ low key enforcement encourages compliance through informal methods of education, prevention and community relations; it encourages a positive experience by avoiding formal tactics associated with traditional police strategies. They suggest a four-part model of soft enforcement wardens enforce without taking legal action. The four parts include;

1. **Encouraging compliance**; ensuring the visitor has an enjoyable experience and *willing* complies with the regulations and laws. This was achieved through prominent and consistent signage – not just paper signs, but people patrolling in uniforms. For visitors to see that, they are aware of the expectations and that there is someone present monitoring. Additionally, being present means wardens can bring topics up casually or check in with people, this is received softly rather than harshly. The tone of interactions are warm, friendly and informative. This establishes the warden as friend, helper, problem solver and trusted professional expert. The warden also approaches a problem – a family parked in a camper where they should not be – casually and friendly, asking what time dinner is. He learns the family's frustration of not having a place to go, radios to one place he knows who confirms they have space, and resolves the problem in this way, before it turns into a situation. Visitors then voluntarily comply with the regulations. **This is similar to the PCSO approach of making relationships and finding solutions, rather than a harder approach.**
2. **Bluffing for compliance**; for protection of park and/or visitor experience. Visitor enjoyment not priority – behaviour change was expected - compliance was based on the promise of harder enforcement if they did not comply. This particular role did not come with any authority, but the visitor did not know this, hence it being a bluff. Local residents knew the wardens did not have authority and so they ignored the bluff. To commit to the bluff, these parks had marked cars, with emergency lights, uniforms and notebook to visibly record names and details – some even wrote tickets they knew would not go anywhere. These interventions were for specific behaviours, and often at a high level; they were often done as examples to deter others.
a. Not all interactions were negative; often the threat of enforcement was suggested as an option that would not be exercised to give the violator a break; the goal was to solicit appreciation from the violator that would lead to positive feelings which underlie voluntary compliance.
3. **Avoiding the expectation of compliance**; the goal is to avoid a potential enforcement situation and underpinned by the belief that it is not part of the warden's role. These particular wardens overlooked obvious violations and informed other more 'enforcement orientated' wardens of the violation.
4. **Bargaining for compliance**; this approach has little regard for the enjoyment of the visitor/violator as the goal is to protect the park and is described as undercover enforcement that was looking to catch people out. There was limited signage, intervention was high and direct contact resulted in a confrontation designed to solicit a contract for future compliance (e.g. removing and holding a water cooler until campers came back and agreed to secure them in future).

**It may not be possible to draw fully applicable comparisons from this approach, as some of the wardens have the opportunity to enforce a hard approach if deemed necessary; some (but not all) wardens still hold legitimate power. Approach one - encouraging compliance - appears to be an appropriate method for CMs to consider and use. This is because it does not centre on enforcement but still addresses the issue (unlike approach 3), and the majority of the UK**

population will know CMs have no power to enforce. Additionally, approach 4 will likely have little impact as there is nothing a CM can withhold. Approach one is also about presence, which links with the PCSO findings that presence – not necessarily intervention – can deter non-compliance.

## Public Protection Officers (PPO'S)

PPO's work within an area to build relationships and links with their community. Whilst PPO's manage anti-social behaviour and are able to issue Fixed Penalty Notices for littering, Community Protection Notices for individuals and businesses, and powers in relation to fly posting and graffiti, their focus remains on helping and supporting people. They maintain a link between police and the neighbour, by being around to approach and check in on people and businesses; by physically being there, people may report or raise something they would not have called in for. **Although CMs differ from PPO's as they do not hold any power, it appears they also follow different models; PPO's seek to build relationship to empower their community, whereas the CMs role is currently described as enforcing rules.**

## Police Community Support Officers

Similar to what is currently known about CMs, PCSO's are community based and their primary role is to be a visible and uniformed presence in the community, promoting relationships. They are expected to help address and resolve issues and concerns which may or may not be crime related. PCSO's gather information and intelligence from the community they work in, which feed into police investigations. PCSO's utilise conflict management techniques – no physical tactics – using appropriate communication to de-escalate situations. One particular role of a PCSO is to develop close working relationships with key groups in their area to tackle issues such as low-level youth offending and anti-social behaviour.

When first introduced, PCSO's had a cold reception, which (Pamment, 2009) linked to the confusion of identity due to the similarity of their uniforms. Linked to their lack of power, PCSO's have been criticised for their lack of powers. Further they discuss how the negative press of PCSO's has affected how well they have been received by the neighbours and communities they are working within. Research asked young offenders what they thought of PCSO's, the results were dominated by participants discussing the impotence of the role and undermining its credibility, as well as having the same power as the public. The lack of power PCSO's had was argued to suggest that PCSO's did not deter their behaviour – participants said they were not afraid of PCSO's, they could not do anything to them and they would continue with their behaviour until the police arrived because PCSO's could not do anything. **This demonstrates how, although PCSO's are supposed to tackle and manage anti-social behaviour and low-level youth offending, the lack of legitimate power does not enable them to achieve this.**

PCSO's, whilst not police officers, have legitimate power granted through legislation. PCSO's can, for example, issue fixed penalty notices for a number of issues; have the power to require name and address for a number of issues; require persons to surrender alcohol, tobacco or drugs; enter and search premises to save life or limb or prevent serious damage; amongst other acts. **This suggests that whilst PCSO's are not always in a position to enforce, they are still viewed by many people in society as someone who holds power and authority. PCSO's, and door supervisors use de- escalation techniques to prevent situations escalating into aggression, and it appears to be an appropriate recommendation for CM to be trained in this way.**

**The PCSO's role of developing relationships with key groups is also a valuable approach for CMs; understanding the reasoning and issues for local people not engaging in covid-mitigating behaviours to find appropriate means of resolving this problem. This would be one benefit of the CMs being managed by each Local Authority. That said, some academics suggest that depicting PCSO's as passive peacemakers is contradicted by the practicalities of the role which is inherently confrontational – this may also be true for CMs.**

McCarthy (2012) discusses how a masculine model of policing is associated with coercive crime fighting tasks and is often contrasted with a more **co-operative, problem-solving and compassionate mode of police work** that creates a legitimate structure for a wide variety of police officers. The latter model increases trust and cooperation in communities and engages with community crime prevention strategies. **The basis of this model links with the PCSO role of developing relationships and**

**engaging key groups to identify and resolve issues; this may be another useful model to explore for the CMs.**

Ariel, Weinborn and Sherman (2016) undertook a randomized controlled trial into whether increasing PCSO visits and time spent at hotspots lessened crime. They found that more proactive patrols predicted less crime across the hotspots, whilst more reactive PCSO time predicted more crimes across control hot spots. Crime in the surrounding area of hotspots showed a diffusion of benefits rather than displacement, showing further positive results from increased visiting frequency and duration. **They conclude that the soft power of unarmed paraprofessionals can be beneficial, and that it is the frequency of visits that makes the biggest difference, rather than the duration of the visit**.

### Scotland's community wardens

Scotland created the Community Warden Scheme to provide a uniformed, semi-official police presence within the community. Community safety in Scotland is about protecting people's rights to live in confidence and without fear for their own or other people's safety (Brown, 2015). Community wardens (CW) are employees of the local council – not members of the police as such, but they are regarded as extended policing family. CW work in high risk areas that are prone to crime and ASB, and they do collaborate with the police, however, the CW regard themselves as the 'eyes and ears' of the *community*. CW see themselves as mediators and community negotiators who are positioned to address community problems. This role had difficulties at first, but CW now feel that they tend to be trusted by the community and receive intel about local crime issues that police do not (O'Neill and Fyfe, 2016).

This differs from PCSO's in England and Wales who are part of the public police; they are hired, trained and paid by the local police force. PCSOs are also community safety officials and were created to provide a visible policing presence through patrols and community engagement work. Whilst PCSO's know they are not police officers, they cannot claim to be 'of' the community and – in contrast to the role of the CW- they are the eyes and ears of the *police*, not the community. Whilst some PCSO's feel they receive intel police would not, there continues to be an ongoing struggle for PCSO's to be accepted as legitimate members of community policing teams (O'Neill and Fyfe, 2016).

**The differences in approach of the CW and PCSO's relates to the CMs due to those loyalties – to the community or to the police – and how this then shapes the work that the CW/PCSO undertakes and the approach they use. CMs are not employed by the police and they do not have authority, so it would be beneficial to consider the CW approach further.**

## Recommendations

It has been shown that PCSO who do not have authority and power, and park wardens who do not have authority and power, are ignored by those who are aware of this fact. PCSO's have been put in dangerous positions where they are taunted, faced with aggression and even attacked by the public when waiting for actual police to attend. Considering this alongside deterrence theory, it is the threat of enforcement that often truly deters that person – this continues to place the CM in a vulnerable position, as with PCSO's, they may have to wait a long time for police back up.

The unintended consequences of attempting to enforce regulations with no authority or power can be serious and severe. It therefore must be questioned whether, in their current role description, CM will be an effective use of resources.

If CM's are the way forward, there are a number of recommendations to increase their effectiveness:

- As seen by PCSO, park wardens and reassurance policing, having clear signage that shares expectations, a continual bodily presence can work as a deterrent.
- Approaching individuals/groups from a kind, informal position that seeks to form a friendly relationship has received positive results for PPO, PCSO and park wardens
- As seen by door supervisors, smart clothing that demonstrates authority and their clear role is noticed by individuals. This needs to be considered in terms of promoting community engagement.
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Each of these recommendations lead to less of a focus on 'enforcing' and more of a focus on 'encouraging'; CM's being hubs of knowledge who share information with people, modelling the desired behaviour, being welcoming, engaging and supportive – as seen by Park Wardens in Canada and Community Wardens in Scotland. Additionally, being continually present rather than attending the scene to resolve an incident could lessen confrontation, and could prevent the rule breaking occurring, for instance diverting people towards one-way systems or separating groups before they sit in an area.

As discussed within the introduction, job adverts suggest CM's are expected to take on dual roles such as cleaning and safety, and report back to managers when they see a violation. This process of monitoring and reporting may function in education establishments or places of work, as consequences can be implemented, however, the same does not apply to public spaces – the only consequence is calling the police, which leads to the issues discussed earlier.

Additionally, the way the job advert is written impacts who will apply for the job; with one job advert sharing the requirement to have SIA licence- used by door supervisors, and others stating that the CM must 'report students that infringe the rules', the implication is that the role is about monitoring and enforcement rather than community engagement and encouragement. Additionally, the need for a SIA licence suggests there could be confrontation in the role, which also opposes the supportive approach that this report suggests. It is therefore also a recommendation that a clear decision on the approach of CM is decided, so that clear messaging can also be shared about the role. This will influence who applies and how the role develops.

## What we do in this analysis, how and why (caution when interpreting)

A data review is undertaken by academics at Nottingham Trent University every week to inform the C19 National Foresight Group. Data related to Covid-19 UK social and economic trends is reviewed to inform, guide and help prioritise discussions at national and local decision-making level (LRFs). The C19 National Foresight Group are keen to ensure that the data included has been ethically governed and structured to adhere to open access, data protection and GDPR regulations and principles. For example, the data is to be manipulated in an ethical manner, and the content and context is to be fit for purpose in terms of the audience and decision timeframe in question.

**Activity Completed**

The following findings are based on a review of multiple data sources exploring Social, Economic, Psychological, Community aspects of Covid-19 in the UK. These could include:

- ONS: covers wellbeing, perceived financial precarity, objective indicators of UK economy, household financial pressures, perceived impact on work life
- OfCom: Public perceptions of information to help manage Covid-19, perceptions of preparedness and action
- ONS: Deaths from Covid-19
- Gov UK: Relevant contextual information
- Census and geographical data: Geographical/location specifics
- IMD: Socio economic trends associated with spread or primary/secondary impacts
- LG Inform: Population, social, demographic, lifestyle and health data
- You Gov: Public mood
- NTU's own analysis of open source data (lead by Lucy Justice and Sally Andrews)
- Other academic survey work published within the last week

**Limitations for Consideration**: The National Foresight Group have been keen to quality assure the data assumptions, including the equity and representation of participants.

**Internet use data indicates representational issues in older adults**

Almost all of the data sets draw from online surveys. With this in mind the statistics behind online access were explored. The following is to be considered in the assumptions taken from the data sets.

The table below shows the estimated number of people who have never used the internet. The data are drawn from ONS 2019 Internet users:

**Table 1: estimated number of people who have never used the internet**

| Age | Estimated number of people who have never used internet | Age | Estimated number of people who have never used internet |
|---|---|---|---|
| 16-24 | 20,000 | 55-64 | 389,000 |
| 25-34 | 28,000 | 65-74 | 869,000 |
| 35-44 | 46,000 | 75+ | 2,482,000 |
| 45-54 | 158,000 | Equality Act Disabled Not Equality Act Disabled | 2,336,000 1,657,000 |

Table 1 shows that caution should be applied when considering the inferences made in the rest of the document as older adults could be underrepresented in the samples. The estimated numbers of those that have never used the internet begins to increase around age group category 35-44, the subsequent age categories increase by approximately twice as many non-users as the age category that precedes it. The numbers of 'over 75s' (2,482,000) for example not using the internet equates to almost a million more than the total of the other age group categories (1,510,000).

The interpretation of data should also consider the proportion of people known to be disabled by government agencies who do and do not meet the Act's criteria. These numbers make up 3,993,000 of the population, so this should be considered in the representativeness of the data.

END.

**Contact us:** If you have any questions about this output please email: C19foresight@ntu.ac.uk
Corresponding editing author Dr Rowena Hill is seconded full time to provide academic representation on the C19 National Foresight Group, and works at Nottingham Trent University.