

Changing Populations

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Health and societal equity in a time of crisis



Covid-19 infections hit densely populated and deprived areas hardest



The global battle against coronavirus







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Welcome

Hello and welcome to this edition of Changing Populations.

Since our last newsletter published in early 2020, we have seen a seismic shift in our way of life. This, of course, is as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic. Nonetheless, we have remained active in our research, with many of the issues we investigate now more pressing than ever.



In this edition, we will take a look at some new and existing research projects highlighting the societal impact of Covid-19. These span from how caring duties have changed during the crisis, to how rural and remote communities could be hit harder by the spread of the virus.

In the midst of the pandemic, it has been easy to forget about Brexit. Our research still continues in this area, with a team dedicated to examining the attitudes and behaviours of migrants following the Brexit vote. In this edition, you can read about their thoughts on healthcare in a post-Brexit world.

Early in 2020, I responded to the newly published Marmot health equity review. In it, Professor Sir Michael Marmot concluded that overall life expectancy has stalled and is declining for the poorest women. Health inequalities have widened and health has deteriorated across England. These findings were concerning even before the pandemic. The economic and societal implications of Brexit, lockdownliving and a healthcare crisis now make these findings even more alarming. It is our responsibility as social and economic scientists to continue studying the effects on people's lives, making sure that our findings and recommendations are taken seriously by the government. Otherwise we will see inequalities, health and otherwise, growing ever more rapidly, with the repercussions seen for generations to come. You can read my full response to the review on page 4.

Circumstances are, of course, changing very quickly at the moment so, to keep you updated on our latest Covid-19 research and responses, we have created a dedicated section on the CPC website. You can find it at: www.cpc.ac.uk/research_programme/covid-19

I hope you will find it interesting to get a deeper insight into our research activities in this edition of the newsletter. Do get in touch with us if you have any questions or comments: cpc@southampton.ac.uk

Professor Jane Falkingham OBE CPC Director

Health and societal equity in a time of crisis

Professor Sir Michael Marmot led the launch of 'Health equity in England: The Marmot review 10 years on' on 25 February 2020. Released just before the extent of the Covid-19 pandemic was realised, the report provides a vital backdrop to understanding the issues facing society as we move through and out of social distancing, while also facing a health and care crisis.

The report confirmed that in the years leading up to the Covid-19 pandemic, overall life expectancy had stalled and is declining for the poorest women. Health inequalities have widened and health has deteriorated across England.

In his introduction to the review, Professor Sir Marmot said: "Put simply, if health has stopped improving it is a sign that society has stopped improving."

The review, undertaken by Professor Sir Marmot at the Institute of Health Equity, UCL, is a follow-up to 'Fair Society Healthy Lives, the Marmot Review' published in 2010. The original report analysed the causes of health inequalities in England and what needed to be done to address them. This latest review was commissioned by The Health Foundation to explore what has happened to tackle them in the decade since the first investigation.

In what has been described as a damning assessment of social and health policies in England over the last decade, the report authors called for immediate action to "level up population health", citing that "government policies focusing on individual behaviour change without addressing social circumstances don't reduce inequalities."

In the report's recommendations, the authors call for "a reordering of national priorities. Making wellbeing rather than straightforward economic performance the central goal of policy will create a better society with better health and greater health equity."



Professor Jane Falkingham OBE, Professor of Demography and International Social Policy and Director of the ESRC Centre for Population Change, has responded to the review's findings in light of the Covid-19 crisis:

"I studied the follow-up Marmot review on health equity in England with great interest. The reported stalling of life expectancy, widening health inequalities, and declines in life expectancy for some groups, are a sobering read.

The report is a clear 'call to action', and this is especially true now we are facing the biggest health and societal crisis we will have seen in a lifetime through the Covid-19 pandemic. Our research partners, the Office for National Statistics (ONS), have already reported that those living in the poorest parts of England and Wales have been dying at twice the rate of those in the richest areas. While it can be easy to focus on the role of the NHS and our health services when it comes to life expectancy and healthy lives, we must not neglect to address the complex influences of broader social policy on society and communities. This neglect in recent years is why we are now seeing so many health inequalities across the UK. These will likely be worsened by the complexities of facing a pandemic unless swift action is taken.

Mortality is the crudest measure of health in any society. Healthy longer lives do not merely come from medical input. They happen because of improvements in how people live and how our societies develop. When assessing how to improve life expectancy, we must take a life-course perspective, investing in social policy that supports people across the whole of their lives.

How we study society

At the ESRC Centre for Population Change, we take a broad approach to studying how changes in society affect our lives from birth until death. Alongside their usual economic and social research remit, our researchers are now investigating the economic and societal impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Early years and life opportunities

For example, the welcome recommendation in the Marmot review to 'Give every child the best start in life' not only means investing in improved education (which is critical) but also investing in families. This means spending on services to help mothers, fathers and carers to provide a safe, stable and healthy environment in which children can grow up. The pandemic we are facing has seen access to vital services, such as schools, diminished and this will be detrimental to many families. Sacha Deshmukh, Executive Director of Unicef UK, has expressed fears that "continued [school] closures are likely to widen inequality gaps, with the poorest and most vulnerable children expected to suffer 'learning loss' and have lower education attainment. This will have far reaching implications for their futures."

CPC's work on cohabitation and separation has found that there is a pattern of disadvantage associated with children born outside of marriage. We have extended this research to take into account people's relationship and childbearing choices concerning education, the labour market and housing. Education, income and economic uncertainty impact the age when people leave home, buy or rent houses, get married, live together, separate, have children, and indeed if people choose to have children at all.

All of these factors work together to create very different life experiences, aspirations and feelings of control over one's own life among children and young people across the UK. CPC member David Bell, has stressed that "recessions blight young people's prospects for decades", so monitoring the long-term effects of Covid-19 on all of these life milestones will be an integral part of our future work.

Responsibilities in mid- and later-life

In mid-life to later-life, many of us are now providing care for our parents, grandparents and grandchildren.

Throughout the Covid-19 lockdown, many people have had to combine these roles with childcare, working from home or having to isolate from those they care for to protect them from infection. We already know that these unpaid caring responsibilities have a knock-on effect on our employment, finances, physical and mental health. In recent years there has been a lack of help and support for the people taking on these roles.



The requirement for some sectors of the workforce to work at home during the pandemic has meant that employers and employees have been given a 'trial run' in new ways of working. This has provided an opportunity to assess how we will work in the future. What will this mean for work-life balance and 'good' employment conditions, particularly in mid- and later life? What can the government do to support those with caring responsibilities better in the future?

Through our research examining health differences across different ethnic

groups, we are also learning about the diverse economic and cultural needs of the older population. From this, we have learnt that a one-size-fits-all approach will not be sufficient. This is particularly true during the current crisis where ONS data have shown that older people and Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) communities have, so far, been more badly affected. BAME elders are more likely to have multiple health conditions, meaning that they are more at risk from Covid-19. This risk is elevated further by the fact that some groups, such as Bangladeshi elders, are more likely to live in housing with younger members of their family who may work in high risk front-line occupations. We urgently need to develop health policies which take into account differences in social and economic resources between different ethnic groups.

Relations between the generations Our research has already found that it is vital to strengthen the relationships between different generations to reduce the public health burden. But now it is crucial that we find a way for all generations to work together if we are to find a way to live as a functioning society ahead of a Covid-19 vaccine or treatment. Our work continues to examine how parents and adult children care for each other; what it is like to be a carer and how this affects paid work; and how younger and older people live together. Are adult children more likely to care for their older parents if they have received some support from them earlier in life? Are parents with better-educated children healthier? We must understand how all of these societal factors, alongside personal and community relationships, work together to contribute to more robust and longer lives.

Taking action

With this in mind, and now viewing these priorities in light of the Covid-19 pandemic, it is clear to me that the government must take note of social sciences research and how society is changing. Progress, economic and otherwise, is dependent on a healthy population. The implications for society going backwards are too great to ignore, not just in terms of life expectancy, but among the social, economic and wellbeing indicators that influence life expectancy.

I urge the government to respond on these terms, shaping policy that is holistic in embracing the complex, interwoven societal structures that have led to a stalling/decline of life expectancy.

In response to the Marmot review, the government proposed there is "still much more to do." I agree, and now that task is even greater than anyone could have imagined at the beginning of 2020. Still, it will take a bold government to look broader and deeper to heed the findings of the social sciences community, and to make the changes that are desperately needed for individuals, families and communities to thrive. This will never be more vital than how we navigate a societal recovery from the Covid-19 pandemic in the months and years ahead."

Read the full report

Health equity in England: The Marmot review 10 Years on

Does our household type put us at more risk from the effects of Covid-19?

Lack of access to outdoor space, overcrowding, precarious finances and insecure employment can cause households to be more vulnerable to the effects of Covid-19. New research by CPC members Dr Júlia Mikolai, Dr Katherine Keenan and Professor Hill Kulu has found that certain types of households are particularly at risk of both short and long-term socio-economic or health problems which could be made worse by the virus.

he study examined Understanding Society data collected from around 19,500 households making up a cross-section of UK society. They used multiple household-level indicators and principal components analysis to examine different levels of household vulnerabilities: health, employment, housing, financial and digital.

The team found that working-age households are more likely to face financial, housing and employment uncertainties. Retirement-age households are more vulnerable when it comes to health and access to modern technology.

They also found that there are arealevel differences in the distribution of vulnerabilities across the UK. Households in London and Scotland are more vulnerable to digital and housing risks than other regions of the UK. Northern Irish households are more likely to be vulnerable to precarious financial situations.

Dr Keenan believes the findings, which imply that the short and long-term consequences of the Covid-19 crisis are likely to vary by household type, can be used to create targeted policies: "Policy measures should consider how vulnerabilities cluster together across different household types, and how the Covid-19 pandemic may exacerbate already existing societal inequalities." Dr Mikolai added: "Taken together, the findings suggest that policy measures which aim to mitigate the adverse effects of Covid-19 shouldn't only consider individuals' health vulnerabilities. They also need to factor in household structure and household-level disadvantages, such as poor housing conditions, economic insecurity, and limited access to modern technologies."

Further reading

Household level health and socioeconomic vulnerabilities and the COVID-19 crisis: An analysis from the UK (SocArXiv)

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Caring in the time of Covid-19

CPC research has found that becoming an unpaid carer for family or friends can be damaging to employment and earnings. It can also be bad for physical and mental health, depending on who one cares for and for how many hours per week. For carers, being able to socialise and have some respite from their caring responsibilities can help to alleviate the physical and mental health effects that often come with unpaid caring. However, in the face of the Covid-19 pandemic and the country's uncertain periods of lockdown, what will this mean for unpaid carers?

s our population ages, it is increasingly common for people, particularly in mid-life, to be providing informal care for family or friends. Informal care is care that is provided without any payment. Carers Trust statistics show that, currently in the UK, one in ten people (around 7 million) are providing informal care. This is predicted to rise to over 10 million by 2030.

An April 2020 Carers UK survey into the experiences of over 5,000 current and former carers has found that "the coronavirus crisis is having a profound impact on carers' lives. Many of those who responded were providing very high levels of care, or juggling care in complex lives. They are those most in need. Not only are many providing more care than before, they are suffering financially and are worried about the future".

CPC research carried out by Professor Athina Vlachantoni, Dr Zhixin Frank Feng, Dr Ning Wang, Professor Maria Evandrou and Professor Jane Falkingham, found that informal carers often face precarious situations when it comes to employment and being financially stable. They frequently have to reduce their working hours or give up work completely. Their physical and mental health could be at risk as a result of their circumstances. This. in turn, can adversely affect the health of those they are caring for. However, if they are able to be socially active, or have access to respite services, then this can have a protective effect on their mental health and quality of life.

The pandemic crisis is therefore creating what some have referred to as a perfect storm for informal carers and those they care for. Providing care may prevent carers from engaging in paid work, while the risk of infection may affect the way they provide care. They may now also face additional caring responsibilities towards other people in the household, such as young children. Not being in a position to socialise or access local support or respite services outside the home could add further challenges for carers.

Professor Vlachantoni comments: "We hope that the UK government heeds the important findings and recommendations in the recent Carers UK report. Informal carers in the UK have faced difficulties for some years, and we hope that this crisis will highlight their plight to policymakers. As recommended by Carers UK, it is important that they get more support during and after the pandemic crisis, with increased Carer's Allowance, access to food and supplies, and protective equipment where needed. Now more than ever we need the UK government to make changes to support the 7 million people in unpaid caring roles."

She continues: "One positive outcome of the Covid-19 pandemic is the introduction of greater flexibility in working from home, although this also comes with challenges for many workers. Our research findings have shown that providing more flexible working hours and enhancing paid care leave in the workplace could be pivotal for mid-life carers who currently work or who wish to combine caring with paid work. Our hope is that the government and employers will learn from this experience and incorporate these lessons into making a more inclusive workplace for all.

"Employers can also help support employees going through negative life



events. This could be through greater flexibility in leave policies or the provision of free psychological counselling services during times of pressure.

"Looking to the future, with the number of informal carers set to rise, it will be vital for the government and employers to recognise the vital role carers play within society and support them accordingly."

Further reading

Informal caring in mid-life and its economic consequences (CPC Policy Briefing 46)

Social participation and health outcomes among carers in Great Britain (CPC Policy Briefing 47)

Who cares? Continuity and change in the prevalence of caring, and characteristics of informal carers, in England and Wales 2001- 2011 (CPC Working Paper 68)

Caring behind closed doors: Forgotten families in the coronavirus outbreak (Carers UK)

Coronavirus spells trouble for millions of couples as study finds unemployment damages relationships

Spells of unemployment can damage romantic relationships in both the short- and long- term, and are particularly disruptive for women, a recent study has found.

The research, undertaken by CPC members Professor Brienna Perelli-Harris and Dr Niels Blom, has highlighted how the current economic crisis caused by Covid-19 could have long-reaching implications for millions of couples and families.

Using British longitudinal data (UKHLS) the research team have uncovered the gendered nature of relationships and employment within British couples. Women appear to be more affected by their (male) partners' unemployment. Problems within relationships mount-up when men are unemployed and, even when men become re-employed, women often still feel less happy about their relationships. Indeed, long spells of unemployment can cause serious problems for relationships, even leading to break-ups.

Dr Blom commented: "Although attitudes have changed in recent decades it seems that, in the UK, people continue to see men in the 'breadwinning' role. This could explain why men's unemployment experiences affect women's relationship quality but not vice versa."

This is particularly worrying now, as the jobs market looks bleak. Research by CPC member Professor David Bell, with Professor David Blanchflower, has found that the UK faces a 'horrendous' impact on jobs from the Covid-19 crisis. In their National Institute of Economic and Social Research (NIESR) paper, they discuss how, with one in five workers furloughed or on the dole because of coronavirus, the economic collapse is happening 20 times faster than during the financial crash of 2008/09.

Early evidence suggests that the UK labour market is "experiencing an unprecedented fall in demand that will have an immediate, negative effect on the experience of those already in the labour market, those seeking to join it, and their households" explains Professor Bell.

In further research co-authored by CPC PhD student, John Houghton, we can see how coastal and ex-

industrial towns are the most economically vulnerable due to shut-down. These areas have the highest proportion of workers in the industries most affected by closures, such as tourism and retail. The full report, by The Centre for Towns and the University of Southampton, has been examining the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic on our towns and cities.

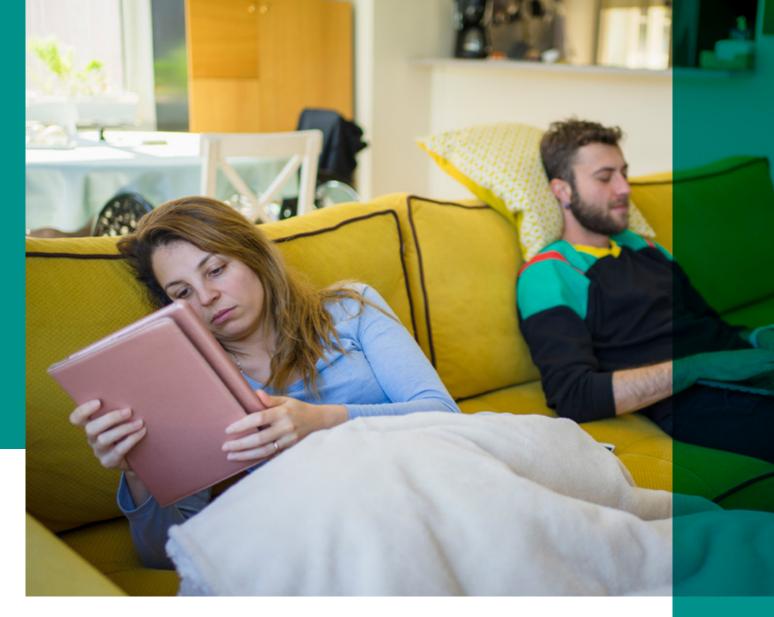
These studies underline the damaging consequences of precarious work situations due to the ongoing pandemic.

Reports such as 'Covid-19 and our towns' may be helpful for policymakers in showing areas that are more susceptible to job losses and precarious employment. These areas may see more instances of relationship and family breakdown which could, in turn, affect whole communities.

Dr Blom continues: "Identifying times when couples are especially susceptible to economic hardship is extremely important for informing policies. For example, the government's Troubled Families Programme, which aims to reduce the strain faced by vulnerable families, already recognises the impact of unemployment. However, these programmes should not only offer relationship support to the unemployed, but also their partners, guiding them through the period of unemployment and subsequent re-employment.

"As we go forward during and after the Covid-19 crisis, it will be vital for the government and other rehabilitation services to recognise the strain on relationships as a result of unemployment, and devise aid policies accordingly."

Dr Blom and Professor Perelli-Harris used the Understanding Society: UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS) for their research project. The UKHLS is an annual household panel survey which began in 2009 with approximately 40,000 households in the UK. Participants are followed over a long period of time, giving a long-term perspective on people's lives. The



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survey allows researchers to explore how life in the UK is changing and what stays the same over many years. Everyone in a participating household is interviewed to see how different generations experience life in the UK. Understanding Society recently launched a monthly web survey on the experiences and reactions of the UK population to the Covid-19 pandemic. Researchers will be able to link the data from this web survey to answers respondents have given in previous (and future) waves of the annual Understanding Society survey.

Professor Perelli-Harris commented: "The launch of the Understanding Society Covid-19 survey is very exciting for us as researchers. It will allow us to examine the effects of the crisis on UK households and relationships and we, in turn, can provide policy recommendations based on our research. I look forward to being able to add to my existing work in this area, and continue to provide findings which will help us navigate through the pandemic and beyond."

Further reading

Unemployment harms couples' relationship happiness (CPC Policy Briefing 49)

How partnerships have changed in the UK over the last 30 years (CPC Policy Briefing 50)

Unemployment and relationship happiness in the United Kingdom (CPC Working Paper 93)

Here's what an unravelling economy could do to couples – new study (The Conversation)

US and UK labour markets before and during the Covid-19 crash (National Institute Economic Review)

Covid-19 and our towns (The Centre for Towns)

Covid-19 infections hit densely populated and deprived areas hardest

CPC members Professor Hill Kulu and Peter Dorey have been using geographical units to explore Covid-19 infection rates in Great Britain. They have found that between 5-6% of Britain's population had been infected with Covid-19 by the end of April. Here, we take a look at the communities that have been most affected so far, and those that could be in danger without careful public health planning measures.



hen we compare the countries of Great Britain, England has had higher infection rates than Scotland and Wales. In London, more than 10% of the population may have been infected. Overall, the research has found that infection rates were highest in urban regions and lowest in small towns and rural areas.

The research team's estimates of the cumulative infection rate are based on the Covid-19 deaths reported by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and National Records of Scotland (NRS) up to mid-May.

Further statistical analysis has shown that virus infection rates were higher in more densely populated areas and areas with greater levels of deprivation. The results suggest that the people most affected by the spread of coronavirus in March and April were from lower socioeconomic groups in urban areas, including those with minority backgrounds.

Professor Kulu said: "Our analysis showed that, by the end of April, 5-6% of Britain's population had been infected by Covid-19. This rate may have been slightly smaller or larger but, unless our current knowledge on death rates from Covid-19 are seriously inaccurate, the infection rate is very unlikely to be less than 3% or more than 12%. Clearly, we are far from achieving the rapid 'herd immunity' as some have hoped. The good news is that, because coronavirus is not widely spread, and the number of active cases has declined during the lockdown, its suppression and control is possible with various public health measures before a cure and / or a vaccine become available."

He continued: "We know that the virus has hit people from lower socioeconomic and ethnic minority backgrounds in the cities hardest. This is potentially due to the nature of their employment; many are in occupations exposed to the virus, such as transport and sales workers. It is important to ensure that our key workers, in whichever sector they work, are properly protected."

Peter Dorey said: "Our analysis showed that there are some areas in London where the cumulative infection rate was between 15% and 20%. In contrast, some remote and rural locations have not yet seen any infections. Looking ahead, it is important to ensure that, after easing the lockdown, the coronavirus should not spread rapidly from the cities to rural areas and small towns with older populations. "Our earlier research has shown that the effects of Covid-19 spreading widely across the UK, for example in a possible second wave, could be devastating to remote and rural communities with elderly populations and minority languages and cultures."

Their previous study showed that death rates from Covid-19 could be between 50% and 80% higher in rural communities and remote small towns.

Examining how population age and location could affect regional Covid-19 death rates in the UK, they discovered significant differences in the projected death rates between the constituent countries of the UK, between its regions and within regions. This is mainly due to older and younger people living in different areas. With small towns and rural areas generally comprised of older communities, there could be heavy population losses if the virus spreads widely.

Studies have already shown that countries with older populations will likely see higher hospitalisation and mortality (death) rates than those with young people during the Covid-19 pandemic. Population age structure varies across countries, but even more so within countries' regions. A previous CPC study by Sabater et al. shows a substantial separation between young and old age groups in where they live in the UK. This 'spatial segregation' between young and old may limit the spread of the virus. However, it is also clear that it will make some communities more vulnerable to coronavirus than others.

Geographically, people at high risk and vulnerable communities are concentrated in large areas of South-West England, coastal communities of East and South-East England, Central and North Wales, Northern England, Southern Scotland and North-West Scotland (Highlands). Within urban regions, there are also 'pockets' of projected high death rates.

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Professor Kulu said: "If the pandemic is to last a long time and the virus continues to spread, remote small towns and rural communities could be at risk because of their older populations. Remote locations may offer protection from Covid-19 but, if the virus spreads to these communities, the effects will be devastating.

"The Covid-19 pandemic may also have long-term socio-cultural effects. The Welsh, Gaelic- and Cornish-speaking communities with relatively older populations are likely to experience heavy population losses if the virus spreads further." He continued: "The results of our study can be used by policy-makers to identify areas where people are at high risk because of their characteristics, for example, old age and poor health. They can use the findings to reduce the transmission of the virus to these communities. This information could also be used by the NHS to plan resource allocation.

"In considering protective measures for during the pandemic crisis and beyond, particularly when it comes to relaxing social distancing measures, policy-makers should be aware of these age- and geographic-related differences in fatality rates. Their strategies should be adjusted accordingly to protect the most vulnerable and to ensure the future of at-risk communities."

Further reading

Covid-19 in remote and rural communities (CPC Policy Briefing 51)

The contribution of age structure to the number of deaths from Covid-19 in the UK by geographical units (medRxiv)

Infection rates from Covid-19 in Great Britain by geographical units: A model-based estimation from mortality data (SocArXiv)

(Un)Affordable housing and the residential separation of age groups (CPC Policy Briefing 45)



The global battle against coronavirus

CPC Associate, Professor Sabu Padmadas, has been monitoring the global response to Covid-19 in his role as Founding Co-Director of The India Centre for Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development at the University of Southampton. Here, he talks about the importance of international collaboration in the fight against this new pandemic.

In my role as Professor of Demography and Global Health, I am committed to solving complex population and health challenges that contemporary societies face. Covid-19 is a highly contagious novel strain of severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus. It is spreading rapidly across the globe, and the virus is susceptible to genetic mutation as it is transmitted to a new host. So far, we do not have any effective antiviral or immunomodulatory therapies for treating Covid-19 patients.

While the majority of those who develop severe complications or die of Covid-19 are older people with underlying health conditions, recent data show that nonelderly populations are also vulnerable. More generally, frontline health workers are significantly more at risk of contracting the virus.

Equally concerning are the increased risks among ethnic minorities, including south Asians who have different diet and lifestyle behaviours, cultural practices and broader family networks. The evidence gathered so far highlights that one in three Covid-19 patients are from ethnic minority groups, which needs urgent attention.

One in five NHS staff are from an ethnic minority group and, of these, 50% are of South Asian origin. Non-communicable and chronic diseases are also highly prevalent among ethnic communities. They are more likely to have cancers, chronic obstructive pulmonary diseases, cardiovascular diseases and chronic conditions such as diabetes, hypertension and high cholesterol levels. These conditions intensify infection risks and the need for critical care. We do not have any systematic evidence to conclude whether ethnic communities of first or second generation, with previous exposure to bacterial, viral and parasitic infections such as tuberculosis and malaria, have a better immune response against coronavirus.

We also need to share experiences globally and learn from each other. Kerala, a demographically advanced and densely populated state in India with roughly half the size of the UK population, offers an excellent example of responding early and containing the spread of Covid-19. Without any extensive testing, such as in South Korea, the state proactively took steps to coordinate effective law enforcement, provision of essential services, public health promotion and lockdown measures.

It will be important for economically developed countries to extend their unconditional support to poorer nations at the very early stages of Covid-19 to ensure they have the capacity and capability to tackle this pandemic. To continue economic activities will require global level efforts to ensure that no country is left behind in the battle against coronavirus.

Evidence available, so far, suggests that lockdown, isolation and social distancing measures are becoming effective in controlling the spread of infections. These measures help lower the quantity of the viral particles transmitted, suppress the viral load and reduce the severity of the infection. More scientific research is needed to ascertain the association between exposure and viral load. It is also important to continue testing and tracking. We must accelerate public health promotion and ensure personal protection, especially for the frontline health workforce and key workers. As we race against time post-Covid-19, wearing face masks will likely be part of the new normal, at least over the next 12 months, to prevent both infections and air pollution.

Meanwhile, we must continue with robust data collection, research, and treatment and vaccine development. Public health surveillance and primary care systems should continue efforts to systematically monitor seasonal flu outbreaks, at least until the end of the next winter season. We cannot rule out a second or even third wave of Covid-19. Given the scale and extent of the outbreak, Covid-19 also has the potential to become endemic in our physical environment.

Now is the time for us to work internationally to share best practice and novel thinking. It is not just our global health, but our global societies that depend on it."

The India Centre for Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development at the University of Southampton aims to deliver evidence-based solutions and opportunities for policy change, inclusive economic growth, technology and sustainable development for India. Its Executive Director is Professor Jane Falkingham OBE. Find out more at: www.southampton.ac.uk/indiacentre

Experiences of Brexit: Healthcare worries

Recent CPC research has found that, post-Brexit, migrants in the UK are worried about their health, fearing the deterioration of NHS services, losing access to European healthcare, or facing the higher costs of private care.



ver the last few years, healthcare has been prominent in Brexit debates. Migrants have featured either as a necessary NHS workforce or as over-users of NHS services, seen as both resourceful and resource-draining.

The latest findings from CPC researchers Dr Giuseppe Troccoli, Professor Athina Vlachantoni, Professor Derek McGhee and Dr Chris Moreh show how migrants are concerned for the future of the NHS and the quality and access to services post-Brexit. They also offer a perspective on the complexity and diversity of migrants' current medical practices beyond the NHS and within European healthcare.

The research team created an online survey, which is part of a wider project on the healthcare practices of Poles in the UK, the biggest first-generation migrant group in the country. On the one hand, the survey respondents were worried about the deterioration of public healthcare directly related to Brexit, such as European staff leaving the UK, possible privatisation of services, or further cuts to health expenditure. On the other, the survey has highlighted migrants' worries about existing medical practices outside the NHS, such as losing access to European healthcare, higher costs of private care in the UK, and difficulty in accessing healthcare in their country of origin.

Dr Troccoli comments: "Our findings offer a unique perspective of migrants' worries for their access to high quality healthcare services in a post-Brexit world. These fears will now be exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic which has seen immense strain placed on health services and healthcare workers. It has also seen international travel restricted which could stop access to healthcare in migrants' home countries.

"The longer term impacts from Brexit and the Covid-19 pandemic on healthcare services in the UK remain to be seen, but our research shows that migrants in the UK are already bracing for tougher times ahead, and are worried about what this could mean for their health. Going forward, it will be important for the government to take these concerns seriously and ensure that migrants in the UK are not 'left-behind' when it comes to healthcare."

Furthering their work on migrants' experiences of Brexit, the research team are currently focusing on migrants caring for family with, or themselves affected by, a long-term health condition. The aim is to gain further insights into transnational practices by interviewing those who are particularly touched by the current changes in mobility and healthcare provision.

Further reading

'Polish migrants' experiences of Brexit: anticipating new social divides' (CPC Policy Briefing 48)

EU migrants' attitudes to UK healthcare (CPC Policy Briefing 41)

Britain's NHS is not that great, say EU migrants (The Conversation)

Developing robust migration scenarios during turbulent times



The first meeting of the Horizon 2020 project Quantifying Migration Scenarios for Better Policy (QuantMig) took place on 19-20 February 2020 in Brussels. Funded by the European Commission, QuantMig aims to produce comprehensive, multi-perspective and robust quantitative migration scenarios to support various areas of European migration policy.

The kick-off meeting involved consortium member representatives, the international partner, members of the Project Advisory Board, as well as the European Commission representative. It was hosted by the UK Research Office on the first day, and by the Brussels office of the Max Planck Society on the second. The programme included a presentation of the project and its overall objectives, discussions of the research plan, project administration and management, dissemination activities, and specific operational plans for the project's first year.

The study is led by CPC member Professor Jakub Bijak from the University of Southampton, who also jointly coordinates CPC's 'Integrated demographic estimation and forecasting' strand.

Commenting on the project, Professor Bijak said: "QuantMig is an exciting opportunity to develop methods for setting migration scenarios based on the most recent developments in quantitative migration studies. In such projects, it is all the more important to have the right interdisciplinary team and genuine interest from scenario users, both of which this project is lucky to have. The timing is also ideal, with recent events highlighting the unpredictability of migration and the need for designing robust tools for managing it. The current changes of migration due to the Covid-19 pandemic is a case in point: we don't know by how much migration will reduce this year, and also whether it will recover to previous levels and, if so, how quickly."

The QuantMig work programme includes 12 innovative work packages, looking at the migration concepts, drivers, and data as building blocks for future scenarios of migration into, within and out of Europe. The work on the project started on 1 February 2020, and is expected to be completed by the end of January 2023. More details on the project and specific activities are available from the project website www.guantmig.eu and Twitter @QuantMig

Further reading

How can Europe better prepare for future migration movements? (Population Europe Policy Brief)

Professor Bijak talks about the QuantMig project on YouTube (Public Policy Southampton)

Researcher spotlight

Francesco Rampazzo

is an ESRC-funded PhD student in Social Statistics and Demography at the University of Southampton, and a Doctoral Fellow at the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research (MPIDR). His main area of research explores the use of digital traces data combined with traditional data sources to estimate migration. He is supervised by



Professor Jakub Bijak at the University of Southampton, Professor Agnese Vitali at the University of Trento, Ingmar Weber at the Qatar Computing Research Institute, and Professor Emilio Zagheni at MPIDR.

"It might be unusual, but I found Agnese Vitali, my first PhD supervisor, through Twitter. When I was still studying for my Demography MA at Stockholm University, I saw Agnese's tweets about PhD studies at the University of Southampton. I knew Agnese's research for her interests in the 'transition to adulthood', but also because she was exploring the use of Twitter data in demographic research. She introduced me to Jakub Bijak, who has taught me a lot during my time in Southampton.

My PhD research is about the use of digital traces data in combination with more traditional data sources. In my PhD thesis, I am trying to combine Facebook Advertising Platform data with survey data from the Labour Force Survey to estimate stock of migrants in the UK. I am using a model, the Integrated Model of European Migration, which was previously designed by CPC researchers. I have benefited a lot from conversations with CPC members, both within the Family Demography and Modelling groups. It has been really interesting to discuss my research ideas with people that are knowledgeable about Bayesian methodologies like Dr Jason Hilton. Being affiliated with the Digital and Computational Demography Laboratory at the MPIDR has also helped me in shaping my PhD research.

At the moment, as well as writing my PhD thesis, I am part of a Covid-19 project based at the MPIDR. The project is led by Daniela Perrotta and André Grow. Since March 2020, we have been conducting surveys on Facebook in eight countries including the UK. Online surveys on social media provide timely data, and through poststratification techniques we can provide approximately representative results. The research focuses on behavioural changes related to the Covid-19 pandemic. Additional information on these studies can be found below. From the autumn, I will start working at the Leverhulme Centre for Demographic Science at the University of Oxford. I will be taking on the role of Career Development Fellow in Marketing and Consumer Demography based at the Saïd Business School. I am really excited to continue my research in digital and computational demography."

Behaviors and attitudes in response to the COVID-19 pandemic: Insights from a cross-national Facebook survey (medRxiv) The differential impact of physical distancing strategies on social contacts relevant for the spread of COVID-19 (medRxiv)

Stephanie Thiehoff is

an ESRC-funded PhD student in Social Statistics and Demography at the University of Southampton. Her work examines the role of spatial diffusion for changes in fertility and family formation patterns. Her supervisors are Dr Andrew Hinde and CPC member Professor Brienna Perelli-Harris at the University of Southampton, as well as



Dr Agnese Vitali at the University of Trento.

"Space is an important factor when analysing the diffusion of new demographic behaviour. My PhD thesis examines the role of space for understanding fertility and family formation behaviour during the first and second demographic transition in England and Wales, as well as Germany.

Being trained as a demographer as well as a historian, I find that reflecting on past demographic behaviour often helps us to understand current demographic trends and patterns better. Recent trends in non-marital childbearing show a rise all over Europe, with Scandinavia being considered forerunners of this behaviour. But often only national averages are considered. In one chapter of my PhD thesis, I show not just non-marital childbearing in Germany itself, but also how the associations with its correlates differ across time as well as space in the past twenty years.

For England and Wales, the first results of my analysis suggest that spatial diffusion mechanisms contributed to the decline in fertility around 1900. I have also found that they contributed to the substantial increase in non-marital fertility in recent decades. Whereas mostly working-class areas, including London, seemed to be the forerunners of childbearing outside of marriage in the 1980s, London is now the place in England and Wales with the highest share of births within marriage. Small-scale geographical data have allowed me to uncover and explain these differences hidden in the "big picture". Being aware of those spatial differences is vital for being able to implement supportive family policies.

During my postgraduate studies in demography at Southampton, I had the chance to be trained by researchers from CPC's fertility and family strand. Here, I acquired my knowledge of demographic theories and methods, as well as quantitative techniques. I was inspired to pursue my current research in family demography combined with historical demography.

To facilitate networking between early career demographers, I helped start the Association for Young Historical Demographers (www.younghistoricaldemographers.com) together with other likeminded young scholars from across Europe.

Now, being part of CPC's fertility and family strand offers me an exciting chance to work with leading population researchers and develop a professional network for my future career."

Call for Input: EAPS PhD Network

A network which aims to strengthen research and networking opportunities for PhD scholars across Europe has recently been established and supported by the European Association for Population Studies (EAPS). The organisers aim to tie together current initiatives, and respond to the needs of its members, under one overarching network for Europe. They will do this by:

- Promoting existing initiatives for PhD students like PopFest and Young Demographers to members.
- Providing a forum where new PhD initiatives can develop.
- Providing a central information point (e.g. courses, job opportunities, conferences) for students.
- Organising student events at the EPC conferences.
- Creating a database of the network members to facilitate networking and support between them.
- Responding to Covid-19 event cancellations by providing online platforms for PhD students to present and receive feedback on their work from their peers.

Francesco Rampazzo, CPC and University of Southampton PhD Student and Doctoral Fellow at the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research, is on the steering group for this new network.

Francesco hopes the network will help PhD students access the different initiatives which already receive EAPS support: "There are many different initiatives for PhD students from conferences to training. However, there isn't an easy way to find them all. We want to put everything on the same page to be accessible to everyone."

The organisers are asking for your input by filling out a short survey (9 tick box questions).

If you have any questions or suggestions please send an email to one of the members of the steering committee as listed on the website.

New starters



Dr Bernice Kuang joined the University of Southampton as a Research Fellow. She is working on the research project 'Understanding recent fertility trends in the UK' within CPC's fertility and family strand.

PhD congratulations



Congratulations to **Armine Ghazaryan** who passed her viva on 20 February. Her PhD title was 'Aspects of inequalities: Natives and immigrants in the UK', supervised by Professors Jackie Wahba and Corrado Giulietti.

Facts, figures and news

News round-up

January 2020

Brienna Perelli-Harris was the Chair and one of the organisers of the 'Second international seminar on new and emerging family forms around the world', Manila, Philippines. Niels Blom also presented a paper at the workshop.

Jakub Bijak led a workshop on 'Modelling migration and decisions' to share findings from the Bayesian Agent-based Population Studies project, with a focus on migration data, decisions, model construction and analysis, Southampton.

Hill Kulu gave an introductory seminar on the 'Partnership and fertility patterns among immigrants and their descendants in Europe', Edinburgh.

David Bell and Elaine Douglas were invited to Downing Street to meet with William Warr, health adviser to Prime Minister Boris Johnson, to discuss arrangements for social care in Scotland compared with England.

Jane Falkingham, Jackie Wahba, Athina Vlachantoni, Teresa McGowan, Corrado Giulietti and Giuseppe Troccoli met with members of DEFRA to discuss drivers of migration, Southampton.

Brienna Perelli-Harris featured in an Understanding Society 'research snapshot' video, discussing her research using Understanding Society data on partnership formation and cohabiting.

Nicholas Campisi, Hill Kulu, Júlia Mikolai, Sebastian Klüsener and Mikko Myrskylä had their article 'Spatial variation in fertility across Europe: Patterns and determinants' published in Population, Space and Place.

Athina Vlachantoni was interviewed by Public Policy Southampton, featuring in a video reflecting on her experience engaging with policymakers.

Jackie Wahba, in her role as Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) member, contributed to the latest MAC report on 'A points-based system and salary thresholds for immigration'.

February 2020

Karel Neels, University of Antwerp, gave a joint CPC/PHRG seminar on 'The effects of increasing enrolment in education and variation in economic context on aggregate trends in order-specific fertility in Belgium, 1960-2000' at the University of St Andrews. Brienna Perelli-Harris and Natalia Permyakova gave a seminar on 'Fertility recuperation in a very low fertility society: Political and economic attitudes, technology and second births in Ukraine' at the School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography, University of Oxford.

Ann Berrington gave a CPC brown bag seminar at Ladywell House, Edinburgh.

Following the launch of the Quantifying Migration Scenarios for Better Policy (QuantMig) project on 2 February, Jakub Bijak, Peter Smith and Jackie Wahba hosted a CPC seminar to mark its inauguration at the University of Southampton.

Anne Gasteen presented her work with Elaine Douglas and David Bell on 'Linking longitudinal studies of ageing with administrative data' at the British & Irish Longitudinal Studies of Ageing (BILS) meeting, University of Manchester.

Traute Meyer was a discussant at a research seminar on 'Pension reforms and life course inequalities: Insights from research' at the Finnish Centre for Pensions.

David Bell was a speaker at the 'Regional policy in Scotland after Brexit conference' organised by the Scottish government in partnership with the Regional Studies Association, European Policies Research Centre and ESRC Centre on Constitutional Change. He presented on 'Spatial inequality, measurement and regional policy'.

Min Qin attended the launch event of the new ILCUK report on 'The 100 year family', London.

David Bell presented on 'Taxation and government spending in Scotland' to Scotland's Citizens' Assembly. He was also mentioned in an article about the event 'Citizens' Assembly to get crash course in finance' in Third Force News.

Jakub Bijak, Peter Smith and Jackie Wahba convened the QuantMig project kick-off meeting, Brussels.

In a joint CPC/PHRG seminar, Juho Härkönen of the European University Institute presented on 'Age at parental separation & children's school outcomes in Sweden: A sibling difference analysis', University of St Andrews. Niels Blom presented on 'Partner relationship quality in the UK and abroad: unemployment causes and family consequences' at ISER, University of Essex.

Rory Coulter, Sait Bayrakdar and Ann Berrington had their article 'Longitudinal life course perspectives on housing inequality in young adulthood' published in Geography Compass.

The article 'Remain, leave, or return? Mothers' location continuity after separation in Belgium' by Christine Schnor and Júlia Mikolai was published in Demographic Research.

Jane Falkingham responded to the report 'Health equity in England: The Marmot review 10 years on'.

An article on Maria Evandrou's work on the Kenyan Cash Transfers Program entitled 'Investing in the future through older generations' was included in the University of Southampton Staff Matters magazine.

Luc Arrondel, Hector Calvo-Pardo, Chryssi Giannitsarou and Michael Haliassos had their paper 'Informative social interactions' published as part of the Institute for Monetary and Financial Stability working paper series.

March 2020

Stephanie Thiehoff presented on 'Reflecting on the past: Long-term spatial persistence of fertility behaviour from the first to the second demographic transition in England and Wales' as part of the Fertility and Reproduction seminars at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Oxford.

In the same seminar series, Nicholas Campisi presented on 'A spatial approach to European fertility trends'.

Diederik Boertien gave a CPC webinar on 'Partnering behaviour and economic inequality in the UK from a comparative perspective'. It was the first CPC seminar to be held via Zoom, hosted by the CPC St Andrews team.

Sabu Padmadas gave a talk on 'Why Covid-19 has potential to become a global pandemic', University of Southampton.

Adele Lebano and Lynn Jamieson's paper on 'Childbearing in Italy and Spain: Postponement narratives' was published in Population Development Review. Jane Falkingham, Maria Evandrou and Athina Vlachantoni joined 150 academics and practitioners to call for the WHO to prioritise the needs of older people in its response to the Covid-19 pandemic, The BMJ.

The University of Southampton's global ranking for Statistics & Operational Research rose 11 places to 37th in the latest QS World University Rankings by Subject for 2020.

Jakub Bijak's QuantMig project was mentioned in an article on University of Southampton research, Staff Matters.

Alison Bowes' research was mentioned in an article on 'Parliamentary reception highlights University's role in empowering communities', University of Stirling.

Sarah Carter, Amos Channon and Ann Berrington had their article 'Socioeconomic risk factors for labour induction in the United Kingdom' published in BMC Pregnancy and Childbirth.

Contributing a chapter to the report 'An independent Scotland in the EU: Issues for accession', David Bell wrote about 'The Economics of the Scotland-rUK Border', Scottish Centre on European Relations.

We published CPC Working Paper 93 on 'Unemployment and relationship happiness in the United Kingdom' by Niels Blom and Brienna Perelli-Harris.

April 2020

Jackie Wahba had a meeting with the ONS GSS Migration Expert Group.

John Houghton's research, conducted for the Centre for Towns and University of Southampton, on the towns most economically at risk from the Coronavirus pandemic was tabled as an Early Day Motion at the House of Commons.

Jane Falkingham and Athina Vlachantoni gave a webinar on 'Skills for understanding ageing in a globalised world' as part of the government of Kerala ASAP webinar series.

Roselinde van der Wiel, University of Groningen, gave a CPC webinar on 'Migration for co-residence in Denmark: the role of family ties and family complexity'.

Dr Giammarco Alderotti, University of Florence, gave a CPC webinar on 'Better health, higher fertility? Exploring the relationship between migrants' health and fertility intentions in Italy'.

Maria Evandrou features in the book 'The Evolution of British Gerontology' by Miriam Barnard, Mo Ray and Jackie Reynolds, Policy Press. We published CPC Policy Briefings 49 'Unemployment harms couples' relationship happiness' by Niels Blom and Brienna Perelli-Harris, and 50 'How partnerships have changed in the UK over the last 30 years' by Shih-Yi Chao, Niels Blom, Brienna Perelli-Harris and Ann Berrington.

Joanne Ellison, Erengul Dodd and Jonathan Forster had their article 'Forecasting of cohort fertility under a hierarchical Bayesian approach' published in the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society Series A.

Hill Kulu and Peter Dorey's research 'The contribution of age structure to the number of deaths from Covid-19 in the UK by geographical units' was published in medRxiv.

John Houghton's research with Ian Warren, Will Jennings and Mark Gregory was published as a report 'The effect of the Covid-19 pandemic on our towns and cities' by The Centre for Towns.

David Blanchflower and David Bell's paper 'US and UK labour markets before and during the Covid-19 crash' was published in the National Institute Economic Review.

May 2020

We published CPC Working Paper 94 'Is there a "bar" for relationship quality? Examining the association between relationship happiness, economic conditions, and family transitions in the UK' by Brienna Perelli-Harris and Niels Blom.

Belinda Hewitt, University of Queensland, gave a CPC seminar on 'Time pressure and mothers' health and well-being during the preschool years'.

Ridhi Kashyap, University of Oxford, gave a CPC webinar on 'Can the digital revolution promote gender equality?'.

Maria Evandrou, Jane Falkingham, Frank Feng and Athina Vlachantoni responded to ONS data on ethnic groups at higher risk of Covid-19, highlighting the urgent need to develop health policies that support BAME elders and their families.

Peter Smith and the CPC modelling team held a virtual meeting with ONS on how Bayesian methods might perform better for estimations than current methods during the Covid-19 pandemic.

We published CPC Policy Briefing 51 'Covid-19 in remote and rural communities'.

Shih-Yi Chao and Jennifer Glass had their article 'Parental happiness and social policy in Asia' published in Asian Population Studies. Heini Väisänen was one of the authors of 'Women's self-reported experiences using misoprostol obtained from drug sellers: a prospective cohort study in Lagos State, Nigeria' published in BMJ Open.

Júlia Mikolai, Katherine Keenan and Hill Kulu's article 'Household level health and socio-economic vulnerabilities and the COVID-19 crisis: An analysis from the UK' was published on SocArXiv.

Jakub Bijak and Mathias Czaika wrote the first QuantMig project briefing on 'How can Europe better prepare for future migration movements?', Population Europe Policy Brief.

Francesco Rampazzo was one of the authors on the articles 'Behaviors and attitudes in response to the COVID-19 pandemic: Insights from a cross-national Facebook survey' and 'The differential impact of physical distancing strategies on social contacts relevant for the spread of COVID-19', medRxiv.

David Bell, David Henderson and Elizabeth Lemmon wrote the report 'Deaths in Scottish care homes and COVID-19' for the International Long Term Care Policy Network.

Hill Kulu and Peter Dorey published their article 'Infection rates from Covid-19 in Great Britain by geographical units: A model-based estimation from mortality data', SocArXiv.

Upcoming events:

22 May – 25 July 'How to get to 100 And enjoy it' at the Digital Southampton Science and Engineering Festival (SOTSEF)

18 June CPC webinar with Alina Pelikh, UCL

3 July CPC webinar with Alyce Raybould, LSHTM

For further details and full CPC events calendar, please visit www.cpc.ac.uk/ activities/full_events_calendar

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PARTICIPATED IN **10** CPC SEMINARS AND WEBINARS

MENTIONED IN **103** NEWS AND MEDIA OUTLETS



PUBLICATIONS





CPC media highlights 2020

January

Research by Albert Sabater, Elspeth Graham and Nissa Finney was mentioned in the article 'The gap between young and old has turned Britain into a dysfunctional family', The Guardian.

David Bell was mentioned in the article 'I thought I had hit the age of peak happiness. How wrong I was', The Guardian.

Hill Kulu and Tina Hannemann had their article 'Do birds of a feather really flock together?' published in N.IUSSP.

February

David Bell was quoted in The Express articles: 'Sturgeon shamed: Scottish fishermen lash out over 'colossal betrayal' if SNP plot succeeds'; 'Scotland cash grab: Boris set for Brexit showdown with Sturgeon over £2.1bn EU funds'; and 'SNP shamed over Sturgeon plot to 'put shackles on' and hand UK fisheries BACK to Brussels'. He was also featured in 'Independent Scotland would have "border checks" with UK, warns expert', The Scotsman.

March

David Bell appeared on BBC Politics Scotland (from 14 minutes) discussing the upcoming budget.

David Bell was quoted in the article 'Can Scotland offer Boris Johnson a model for social care reform?', Financial Times.

Niels Blom and Belinda Hewitt had their article 'Most couples are less satisfied when the woman earns more' published in The Conversation.

David Bell wrote about 'Coronavirus and the UK economy' for the University of Stirling's public policy blog. Brienna Perelli-Harris was featured in the article 'Is marriage over?', Aeon.

April

David Bell and David Blanchflower wrote an article 'Forget 'recession': this is a depression' for The Guardian. David Bell was also quoted in the article 'Coronavirus in Scotland: Outlook for jobs market is 'horrendous", The Herald.

Brienna Perelli-Harris was quoted in the article 'The coronavirus recovery could pit the old and young against each other' in Slate.

Hill Kulu and Peter Dorey's research featured in the articles: 'Remote and rural communities could be hit hardest by Covid-19', University of St Andrews; 'Heavy coronavirus death toll predicted in Gaelic and rural communities infected', The Courier; 'Coronavirus: Warning rural Scotland could suffer 'devastating' higher death rate', The Herald; and 'Coronavirus: Scotland may suffer more than England', The Times.

John Houghton's research with Ian Warren, Will Jennings and Mark Gregory was used in the articles 'Coronavirus: The towns most economically at risk from coronavirus pandemic', Sky News, and 'COVID19 lockdown hits coastal communities the hardest', University of Southampton.

Мау

Júlia Mikolai, Katherine Keenan and Hill Kulu's findings on 'Household factors may exacerbate Covid-19 health risks' was used in articles published by The Courier, Evening Express, Evening Telegraph, Sunday Post, Medical Xpress and The Herald. Hill Kulu and Peter Dorey's research was used in the article 'Remote and rural communities could be hit hardest by Covid-19: Study', India Blooms. Their research on 'More than 5% of Britons have had Covid-19' was used in articles published by Deadline, The Courier, The Telegraph, and the Evening Telegraph. They also featured on Kingdom FM, and in articles in The Scottsman, The Scottish Daily Mail, Daily Record and Sunday Mail, and The Courier and Advertiser.

David Bell was quoted in the articles 'Scotland's care homes death toll likely to be 'significantly' higher than official figures show', The Telegraph; 'Scotland not behind curve as Sturgeon claims, coronavirus figures show', The Times; and 'Coronavirus crisis has put the independence question firmly 'back on' — but which way will it swing opinion?' in The Press and Journal, and Aberdeen Evening Express. With David Blanchflower, he also wrote the article 'We must act now to shield young people from the economic scarring of Covid-19', The Guardian.

Brienna Perelli-Harris and Niels Blom wrote the article 'Here's what an unravelling economy could do to couples – new study' for The Conversation. The article was also published by the University of Southampton, Understanding Society, Qrius, MIL-OSI Global, Yahoo News and The Print.

For all the latest CPC news and comment, visit our 'Centre for Population Change in the news' page on **Scoop.it!**



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