## AN ANALYSIS OF CORONAVIRUS RESTRICTIONS IN RELATION TO D HELD BACK COMMUNITIES

# NO HOLDING BACK



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An analysis of coronavirus restrictions in relation to held back communities

#### Foreword

In this report we argue that Boris Johnson has treated held back communities in northern England as second-class citizens. His decision to keep tough restrictions for the north for longer while neglecting to place London in tier three shows that he has no regard for the difficulties faced by our constituents. Placing London in tier two will ultimately cost unnecessary lives and prolong this second wave. With tier restrictions commencing on 3<sup>rd</sup> December, Boris Johnson had a chance to show he had learned from his blatant discrimination in trying to foist 67% furlough on Northern England while pivoting to 80% furlough when the lockdown was extended to the South of England. Not only did he fail, but he repeated that discrimination again leaving us in no doubt of his disregard for held back communities. Like ours.

Jon Trickett MP

Ian Lavery MP

Cllr Laura Smith

1<sup>st</sup> December 2020

#### Introduction

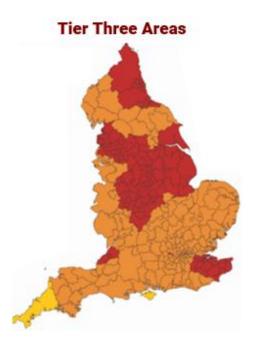


Fig 1: England's tiering levels from December 3<sup>rd</sup>

On Thursday 26<sup>th</sup> November, Boris Johnson announced the tier restriction levels for England in relation to containing the second wave of the Coronavirus pandemic.<sup>1</sup> Much of northern England was placed in tier three while London, and most other parts of southern England, excluding Kent, was placed in tier two. The government said they based this decision on the following five criteria (shown below)

Decisions will primarily be made on these five indicators

1 Case detection rates in all age groups
2 Case detection rates in the over 60s
3 The rate at which cases are rising or falling
4 Positivity rate (the number of positive cases detected as a percentage of tests taken)
5 Pressure on the NHS, including current and projected occupancy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Prime Minister's statement on coronavirus (COVID-19): 26 November 2020 <a href="https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/prime-ministers-statement-on-coronavirus-covid-19-26-november-2020">https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/prime-ministers-statement-on-coronavirus-covid-19-26-november-2020</a>

Figure 2: Criteria used to decide tier levels<sup>2</sup>

Put simply, the government measured the following five things in deciding tiers

- Infection rates
- Especially among over 60s
- Are rising or falling
- Positivity rate
- CV19 Bed Occupancy

This paper assesses the reasons and merits of that decision. It asks whether London was held to the same criteria as the north of England and particularly left behind communities. Are infection levels lower in London? Is the virus under control there? Are hospitalisations stable in London? And is the infection level stable among the over sixty age group deemed most at risk of death from the virus? The evidence we use to answer this question is the accompanying briefings and situation report Downing Street published to underpin their decision that day. If levels have changed since, please bear in mind the previous point. The paper adds two more criteria for examining what level a region or authority should be placed in. First, by examining testing levels in London to assess whether the data being used is comparable to that used to place most of northern England in tier three. And also looking at the health outcomes for poorer people and ethnic minorities to judge whether health outcomes were factored into the decision making.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Press conference slides, No. 10 Downing Street, Thursday 26<sup>th</sup> November, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/938969/2020-11-26\_COVID-19\_Press\_Conference\_Slides.pdf

#### **Executive Summary**

This decision, after the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December, to place London in tier two, whilst placing areas like Manchester, Yorkshire and Humber, and the North East of England in tier three is flawed. Infections in London are on the rise, especially among those aged sixty and over, the infection positivity rate is rising, as is the level of CV19 hospitalisations. Coronavirus is growing in London, and despite the much lower levels of testing in the capital city, it is recording 16,000 infections a week.

- London's infection rate is rising.
- Much of northern England's infection rate is falling.
- The spike of London's hospitalisations shows no evidence it is crushing the curve, in fact all evidence is that it continues to grow.
- That infection levels in southern England more generally are on the rise, especially
  the South East of England whose authorities now occupy many of the top forty most
  infected places.
- That London has the lowest testing level of any region in England and if its testing levels matched Yorkshire or the North East that it would show London as having the greatest number of infections of any region over the last week
- Areas in London such as Havering & Redbridge have higher infection levels than
   Wakefield which is in tier three
- Areas in London such as Bexley, Dagenham, Hackney, Havering & Redbridge have infection levels higher than Northumberland which has been placed in tier three
- ONS show CV19 mortality impacts poor communities & Black and Asian communities worse. Thus, the decision to keep London out of tier three will cause many unnecessary deaths in London.
- Lives of poorer communities in London and ethnic minorities are being placed second in consideration to the financial capital, The City of London.

Part One: What is the Government's defence of its tiering decisions?

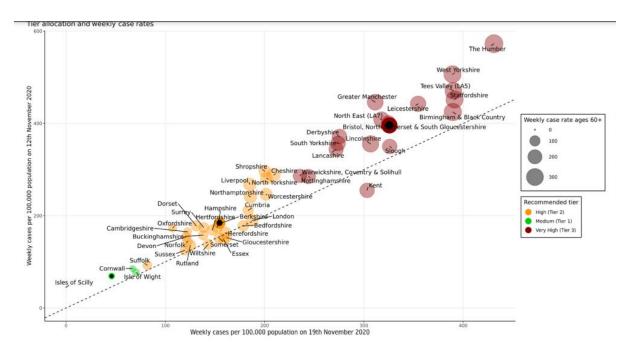


Fig 3: Weekly Cases of CV19 infections per 100,000 for those aged 60+

The government's justification for their tiering decisions is the above graph, published on 26<sup>th</sup> November.<sup>3</sup> The government says that the weekly case rates for those aged over 60 should be the key deciding factor in deciding which Tier to place each authority into. The data is for the 19<sup>th</sup> November infection rate level. One Tory MP proudly boasted that 'the data' provided all the justification that was needed.<sup>4</sup> First, it is important to accept that this does broadly correlate to the tier decisions they have reached. It is quite possible that this is how they arrived at their decision.

There is some room for scepticism, however. The infection rate above is a single snapshot from 7 days before tiers were announced. As we shall see, later, many local authorities within the names you see above have much higher infection rates than those in tier three. The names on the graph above are not local authorities, parliamentary constituencies or even regions. The placed depicted above are a selection of counties, cities or twinned areas. Coventry & Solihull, for example, is a particularly arbitrary selection. There

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/938964/Coronavirus\_England\_briefing\_26\_November.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> https://twitter.com/NeilDotObrien/status/1332034654174654471

is no logic offered for these groupings. As we shall see later, when you look at the infection data on a local authority level it paints a different picture. The age threshold choice is also significant. The figure of 60 requires further justification. Health outcomes do worsen by age but this becomes more pronounced over the age of 70. Nevertheless, data for London will show that infections in over 60s are rising faster there now than any other region. Also health outcomes are closely related to co-morbidities and disabilities – not just age. As we shall see later, health outcomes are also linked to ethnicity and the level of deprivation suffered. In addition, all the evidence from the second wave shows that the infection rate works its way up the age spectrum. Just because infection rates might be lower among the over 60s now tells us very little. What matters more to future trends is infection rates more generally and specifically if infection rates are growing among the young. Indeed, the very report the above diagram is from states clearly that infection rates are growing most quickly among the young. And the same report confirms that infections are on the rise mostly in the south of England and in decline mostly in the north of England. In summation, it looks like the government have found one barometer where their decisions on tiering have an element of logic, but this comes at the expense of ignoring a lot of other barometers which say the opposite. The report below outlines some of those other barometers and reaches the conclusion that the decision to place large areas of London in Tier 2 is an error that will cost lives.

Part Two: Infections are rising in London and the South East & mostly falling in the North

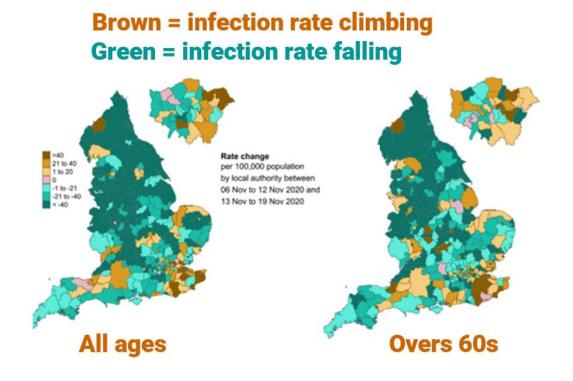


Figure 4: Rate change in CV19 infection rates in the most recent week

The government's own situation report shows quite clearly that the coronavirus infection rate is falling sharply in the North of England and is climbing in large parts of London and the South East. It shows this to be the case even among the over 60s age group that the government cited in their diagram on page 2 as their justification for the tiers. Put simply, the government wilfully designated the South East of England and London Tier 2 in certain knowledge that it is there where the cases are now rising. This requires further examination. It's noteworthy that some of the northern England areas showing a rise in infections are also kept in tier two. There is little infection that the government have used any of the current infection trends in their decision making.

Part Three: Held Back Communities are the hardest hit by the second wave and lockdown restrictions

#### Held Back Communities are hit hardest by Coronavirus & Lockdown restrictions

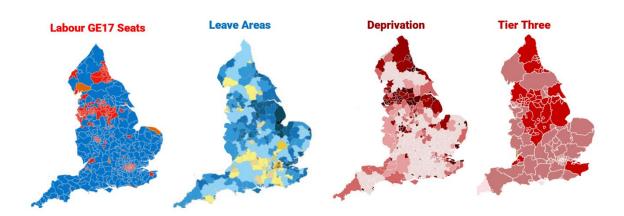


Figure 5: A compilation of maps of England included to give the reader an idea of the profile of the regions in the various tiers.

The maps above, figure 5, were compiled for illustrative purposes only. We accept that correlation is by no means evidence of causation. Figure 5 has been included to prompt discussion. The common theme from above is that the communities No Holding Back is most keen on amplifying in our campaigning have been adversely affected by CV19 and the restrictions imposed. The areas placed in tier 3, prima facie, tend to be poorer deprived constituencies. Yorkshire & the Humber has high levels of deprivation as does Northumberland and the North East in general. It is noticeable that these are the areas in tier 3. It is also noteworthy to find Kent in tier 3 and for pockets of deprivation to be noticeable on the map too. London, of course, suffers some of the most appalling levels of poverty & we are concerned that several of their areas should be in tier 3. Specifically, it is very concerning that Barking & Dagenham, Harlow, Havering, Redbridge, Bexley & Newham, Tower Hamlets, Redditch, Hackney, Ealing, Enfield, Brent, Bromsgrove, Harrow, Croydon, Barnet Hounslow & Hillingdon all remain in tier 2 despite high levels of infection. We know poorer communities and ethnic minorities have worse health outcomes for CV19. It is reckless to abandon these communities in London to rising infection levels. More on this point later.

For now, it caused us to ask the question, why? Why is London in tier 2? The government are on record as saying they are keen to strike the balance between the economy and health. Whilst we argue that this is a false choice, health is wealth, it is worth pondering

whether it is that consideration that is keeping London in tier 2? Regardless of what the answer is, it is evidence that held back communities who voted to leave the EU and voted Labour in 2017 are those suffering the most severe restrictions. We don't think this correlation is causal, nor are we arguing that the Tories are deliberately targeting Labour areas. After all, many of those red 2017 seats have now switched to blue. Equally, Labour control many seats in London, and it remains in tier 2. No, instead what we are asking you to consider is whether the economic considerations of deprived left behind communities are being overlooked or deemed less important than the country's financial centre. The City of London. This was certainly the argument the Metro Mayor for Manchester was putting forward on 20<sup>th</sup> October when the government were reluctant to even agree to 67% of furlough pay for workers, never mind the 80% figure that was announced the moment London went into lockdown. The increased rate of furlough payment when London went into lockdown does certainly point to a hierarchy of regions which the government deem worthy of economic support. We ask whether that same bias shown in furlough considerations is now being reflected once more in consideration of tier restrictions.

## Part Four: Hospitalisation rates are rising in Tier 2 areas but stabilising in Tier 3 areas

It is argued that one of the key considerations of the government in deciding lockdown levels is a desire to avoid overwhelming the NHS. This is a noble goal, and certainly the lockdown of March 2020, although belated, ultimately saved the NHS from collapse. Below, we argue that London's hospitalisation levels are still rising and certainly show no sign of flatlining or declining. Contrary, it is in Yorkshire & Humber and the North East of England where hospitalisation levels are stabilising. This, once more, causes one to question the wisdom of keeping London in Tier 2.

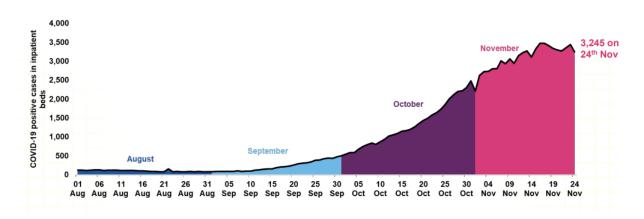


Figure 6: Hospitalisation levels of CV19 in-patients in Yorkshire, Humber & the North East of England

The above graph shows that hospitalisation levels have been stabilising in Yorkshire & Humber and the North East of England for 3 weeks. Added to the knowledge that infection levels are now declining markedly in the north of England it would appear that the risks of NHS capacity being exceeded in these regions are waning. This, of course, does not preclude a third wave, nor indeed does the chart measure hospitalisation from normal winter admissions such as influenza which are expected to pose the same pressures on the NHS that we have seen in recent years. The NHS faces its toughest winter to date regardless of whether or not CV19 hospitalisations stabilise or not. It is not sufficient to flatten a curve, one has to crush it. For that reason, tier three is appropriate for northern England at this time.

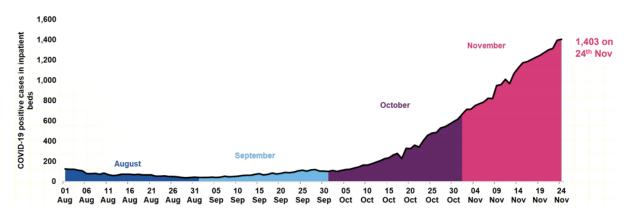


Figure 7: Hospitalisation levels of CV19 in patients in the South East of England

The South East of England shows a very different picture. In fact, during lockdown hospitalisations from CV19 patients more than doubled, and continue to grow. The epicentre of the virus is now shifting to the South of England. In light of this, prioritising the North of England for tier 3 restrictions, whilst keeping London in tier 2, is illogical.

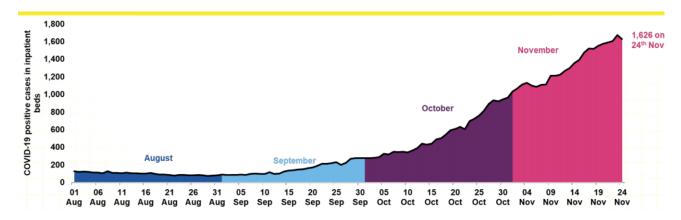


Figure 8: Hospitalisation levels of CV19 in patients in London

London CV19 hospitalisation levels have also increased during lockdown, rising by more 60%. It is too soon to say that levels are stabilising and increased infection rates among the over 60s in London, addressed above, would indicate that hospitalisations in London will continue to grow. The trajectory of London CV19 hospitalisations is certainly in marked contrast to Yorkshire & Humber and the North East. In view of this, it is surprising that London remains in tier 2.

Part Five: Testing levels are lowest in London & disguise higher numbers of infected

#### Coronavirus: England Briefing 26th November

	Individuals tested per day per 100,000 population (7 day moving average)		Percentage individuals test positive (weekly)		Case rate per 100,000 population (weekly)		Case rate per 100,000 population aged 60 years and over (weekly)		Case rate per 100,000 population aged 17-21 year olds (weekly)		Confirmed cases in previous 7 days
East Midlands	425	4	10%	4	275	4	225	4	317	1	13297
East of England	386	1	6%	₩.	141	1	89	₩.	221	4	9149
London	328	4	9%		187	4	143		272	4	16799
North East	453	4	12%	T	336	4	265	T	366	4	8974
North West	557	4	8%	4	255	4	201	4	259	4	18698
South East	421	1	6%	4	170	4	119	4	244	4	15177
South West	428	1	6%	4	164	4	101	4	274	4	9206
West Midlands	461	1	11%	4	317	4	244	4	377	4	18825
Yorkshire and Humber	441	4	12%	4	339	4	266	4	366	4	18629
England	440	1	8%	4	230	4	173	4	293	4	129610

Figure 9: Coronavirus briefing, 26<sup>th</sup> November

It is noticeable from the chart above that London is carrying out fewer tests per 100,000 inhabitants than any other region. Markedly so. For example, the North West of England is carrying out 70% more tests than London. Yorkshire & Humber is carrying out 34% more tests & the North East of England is carrying out 38% more tests. If London tested at the same rate is Yorkshire & Humber or the North West, then the infection rate if it held constant means that several thousand more infections would be detected. Of course, increased testing can lower the infection rate, but few would dispute that it would still record enough infections to make London the region with the most infections in England. By keeping the rate at just 328 per 100,000, London has managed to come only 4<sup>th</sup> in the most numerously infected regions, disguising its real place as first.

The chart above also tells us that London is now the only region where the infection rate of those testing positive is rising. 9% and climbing. It also confirms that London is the only region where the infection rate in the over 60s in rising. Given that London is now the main source of increased infections it is remarkable that the government decided not to place it in Tier 3.

Part Six: Clear Bias Evident in Local Authority Tiering

<b>9</b> @a	avds 🗲	7 days	1 Day	Added	Added			Added	Added		Total
Rank	Local Authority	per 100k	Chng	Today	25th Nov	24th Nov	23rd Nov	22nd Nov	21st Nov	20th Nov	Cases
	England Misc.			+111	+78	+125	+61	+75	+141	+143	18,426
1	Swale	599.0	<b>↑</b> 3.3	+119	+198	+67	+139	+131	+163	+82	3,937
2	Thanet	505.2	₩ 25.4	+114	+110	+61	+91	+128	+105	+108	3,652
3	Medway	482.8	<b>1</b> 20.8	+216	+214	+143	+192	+199	+217	+164	5,304
4	Boston	454.6		+64	+72	+24	+26	+57	+46	+30	1,830
5	Oadby and Wigston	429.7	<b>1</b> 22.8	+41	+41	+26	+32	+42	+37	+26	2,365
6	Dudley	410.1	₩ 22.7	+177	+206	+71	+209	+133	+281	+242	9,958
7	Gravesham	409.6	₩ 2.8	+69	+75	+35	+55	+62	+82	+60	2,204
8	Stoke-on-Trent	391.2	₩ 32.8	+165	+147	+104	+122	+134	+158	+173	8,792
9	Sandwell	387.3	₩ 22.8	+172	+178	+78	+147	+186	+211	+300	11,844
10	Kingston upon Hull, City of	385.3	₩ 40.8	+154	+164	+57	+120	+133	+177	+196	10,032
11	Leicester	374.6	₩ 0.6	+182	+201	+124	+186	+163	+335	+136	17,042
12	East Lindsey	371.8	₩ 35.3	+96	+51	+18	+68	+87	+91	+116	3,271
13	Lincoln	365.6	<b>1</b> 4.0	+50	+97	+13	+42	+35	+80	+46	2,825
14	Wolverhampton	349.0	₩ 7.6	+112	+125	+70	+101	+155	+139	+217	7,698
15	East Staffordshire	345.7	₩ 10.9	+43	+57	+33	+51	+65	+103	+62	3,412
16	Newcastle-under-Lyme	343.0	₩ 46.4	+52	+56	+46	+82	+60	+62	+86	4,270
17	Slough	333.7	₩ 10.7	+69	+113	+24	+69	+104	+73	+47	3,617
18	Rochdale	331.4	₩ 5.4	+146	+108	+62	+96	+83	+113	+129	12,346
19	Walsall	328.6	₩ 9.8	+146	+129	+77	+101	+151	+162	+172	9,004
20	Burnley	328.4	<b>12.4</b>	+45	+40	+28	+23	+38	+57	+61	4,457
21	Oldham	324.7	₩ 28.3	+62	+133	+72	+91	+114	+115	+183	14,497
22	North East Lincolnshire	324.6	₩ 26.9	+69	+72	+40	+45	+84	+109	+99	4,993
23	Hartlepool	324.6	<b>↑</b> 5.3	+48	+33	+25	+30	+31	+59	+78	3,787
24	Dover	323.4	<b>↑</b> 5.1	+63	+80	+33	+47	+77	+40	+42	1,991
25	Hyndburn	323.3	₩ 56.8	+29	+35	+28	+36	+32	+39	+63	3,700
26	Birmingham	322.2	₩ 16.8	+575	+523	+216	+450	+637	+558	+720	38,766
27	Redbridge	320.4	₩ 7.2	+134	+143	+100	+165	+170	+166	+100	6,980
28	Kirklees	318.6	₩ 33.4	+153	+212	+120	+205	+148	+240	+323	18,550
29	Maidstone	314.9	<b>1</b> 27.4	+91	+75	+54	+71	+87	+91	+72	2,549
30	Tamworth	311.6	₩ 23.5	+26	+32	+17	+49	+25	+48	+42	2,106
31	Havering	311.3	₩ 27.4	+78	+130	+84	+108	+169	+121	+118	6,041
32	Pendle	307.2	<b>↑</b> 1.1	+38	+50	+24	+38	+42	+40	+51	4,597
33	Bradford	304.2	₩ 36.7	+213	+264	+152	+176	+208	+279	+350	28,396
34	Rossendale	302.2	<b>15.4</b>	+39	+30	+25	+23	+26	+16	+57	3,166
35	Stafford	298.7	₩ 30.6	+51	+52	+39	+75	+46	+57	+90	3,741
36	Blackburn with Darwen	297.3	₩ 27.4	+62	+66	+53	+48	+59	+60	+97	9,379
37	South Tyneside	296.7	₩ 14.6	+61	+51	+49	+62	+57	+69	+99	5,549
38	South Staffordshire	295.3	₩ 22.2	+36	+58	+23	+57	+39	+56	+63	3,421
39	Bolsover	292.9	<b>↑</b> 7.4	+29	+27	+15	+24	+45	+45	+51	2,417
40	Wakefield	291.4	₩ 21.8	+129	+128	+128	+143	+131	+143	+213	13,179

Figure 10: Coronavirus infection rates per 100,000 by local authority over a seven day period

Some London Local Authorities are placed in Tier 2 despite having higher infection rates per 100,000 than Manchester, Wakefield & Northumberland who are all placed in Tier 3. Thank you to @AVDS for compiling the analysis, which is accurate to 27<sup>th</sup> November 2020, 2.30pm.<sup>5</sup>

- Manchester is ranked 77<sup>th</sup> of the worst affected and is in Tier 3. Barking & Dagenham, Harlow, Havering, Redbridge, Bexley & Newham, however, are all ranked higher than Manchester, yet they are in Tier 2.
- Wakefield is ranked 40<sup>th</sup>, and correctly in Tier 3, but you can see that Havering &
   Redbridge in London are both ranked higher but remain in Tier 2.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> https://twitter.com/avds/status/1332027922455162884

Northumberland is ranked 101<sup>st</sup> and in placed in Tier 3 restriction. Barking & Dagenham, Harlow, Havering, Redbridge, Bexley & Newham, Tower Hamlets, Redditch, however, are all ranked higher in terms of infections per 100,000 citizens yet they are placed in the lower Tier 2.

The point above is perhaps our most important one. Areas in tier 3 have lower infection levels than some areas of London that are in tier 2. From Wednesday, in these London authorities, people will be free to attend pubs, gyms, restaurants & cafes. This is an unthinkable risk to take with the health of London's citizens, especially front-line workers & poorer communities including those subjected to structural racism.

Part Seven: Deprivation & ethnicity as factors in the health outcomes for CV19 patients.

### The coronavirus (COVID-19) has had a proportionally higher impact on the most deprived areas of England

Age-standardised mortality rates, all deaths and deaths involving the coronavirus (COVID-19), Index of Multiple Deprivation, England, deaths occurring between 1 March and 31 May 2020

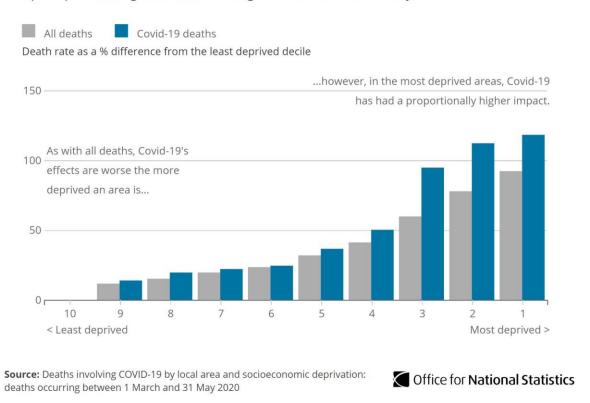
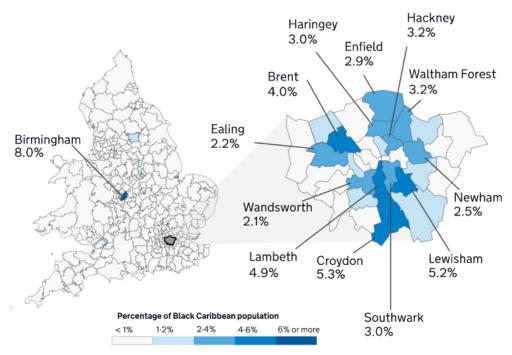


Figure 11: Deaths from CV19 by deprivation decile

According to the ONS "The mortality rate of deaths involving COVID19 in the most deprived areas of England was more than double that in the least deprived areas:

- most deprived: 128.3 deaths per 100,000 population
- least deprived: 58.8 deaths per 100,000 population<sup>6</sup>

Coronavirus spots inequality & pounces on it, using it as a conduit to infect and kill more. Nowhere is this truer than when looking at racism. Structural racism in the UK has worsened the impact of Coronavirus on ethnic minorities. This is particularly true when looking at Black Caribbean. ONS found that females of Black Caribbean ethnic background had the highest rate of death involving COVID-19, 2.0 times higher than females of White ethnic background. It also found that males of Black African ethnic background had the highest rate of death involving COVID-19, 2.7 times higher than males of White ethnic background.



Source: Census of England and Wales, 2011

Figure 11

2

Figure 12: proportion the population that is of Black Caribbean heritage

This report wishes to make the point that by keeping London in tier 2 and allowing the virus to grow and the infection rate to rise the government are placing deprived communities and ethnic minorities lives at risk. The ethnicities most at risk of dying from CV19 live in the areas

<sup>7</sup> 

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/deaths/articles/updatingethniccontrastsindeathsinvolvingthecoronaviruscovid19englandandwales/deathsoccurring2marchto28july2020$ 

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where the government has lowered the tier to 2. It is as if the government have concluded that the City of London's economy matters more than the well being of its citizens.

#### Conclusions

London's infection levels are climbing, especially among its over 60s. It's hospital levels from CV19 patients is also on the rise. Despite low testing, it's week on week levels show a marked increase in infection levels. We have shown that parts of London have worse infection levels than some held back communities who have been placed in a higher tier level. Give the worse health outcomes for more deprived communities, especially ethnic minorities, it is clear the government is putting the perceived wealth of the nation against the health of its citizens. This is a false choice. Health is wealth. The best thing the government can do for the economy is have blanket tier four restrictions for the entire country until the curve has been crushed.

The manner in which the government implemented its furlough system also provided a clue into its disregard for the North of England. 67% furlough for northerners, jumping to 80% when Londoners were included was blatant discrimination for all to see. We think that same bias is influencing the decision to keep London on lower restriction levels. This is a decision that will cost lives, especially those in London already suffering from structural racism and poverty.

Held back communities will have watched the government's decision making. They will have seen the double standards in the implementation of restrictions and it the awarding of furlough payments. The promises to level up the north were quickly set to the side when the first hurdles arose. This government has shown it cannot be trusted to act in the interests of the northern working class people.