THE REAL LEVEL OF UNEMPLOYMENT 2007

Christina Beatty, Steve Fothergill, Tony Gore and Ryan Powell

Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research
Sheffield Hallam University

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Key points

- This report provides a new assessment of the scale of unemployment across Britain. It considers not only the men and women included in the official 'claimant count' but also the very large numbers diverted onto other benefits or out of the benefits system altogether.

- An alternative set of 'real unemployment' figures is presented for every district. The figures draw on several official sources. The estimates also involve comparisons with what has already been achieved in terms of jobs and benefit numbers in some parts of the country.

- For Britain as a whole, in January 2007, the new figures point to 2.6 million unemployed, compared to just over 0.9 million on the claimant count. The difference is attributable to an estimated 1.7 million 'hidden unemployed'.

- The largest single group of hidden unemployed – around 1.0 million – are men and women who have been diverted onto incapacity benefits. They account for rather more than a third of the working-age adults on these benefits.

- The other major group of hidden unemployed are those who are looking for work and available for work but not claiming either unemployment or incapacity benefits.

- Whereas parts of southern England appear to have reached full employment, the real level of unemployment in extensive parts of northern industrial Britain still exceeds 10 per cent of the working age population.

- Since 1997 the real level of unemployment is estimated to have fallen by just under 600,000, in contrast to the fall in claimant unemployment of 850,000. Virtually all this reduction in real unemployment occurred between 1997 and 2002.

- The biggest reductions in real unemployment have occurred in some of the areas where unemployment was previously highest – though unemployment in most of these places still remains well above the national average.

- The large fall in claimant unemployment, coupled with the relative invisibility of unemployment on incapacity benefits or off benefits altogether, has created the misleading impression that the unemployment problem is fading away.

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Introduction

'Unemployment' in contemporary Britain extends far beyond just the men and women who claim unemployment benefits. The claimant unemployed are just the most visible group. The many thousands who have been diverted away from claimant unemployment onto other benefits, or out of the benefits system altogether, need to be added in order to provide an overall picture.

This report assesses the real level of unemployment across Britain's regions and districts. It is the third in a series, following similar studies in 1997[1] and 2002[2]. Ten years ago, at the time of our first study, unemployment was still a key political issue and so was talk of 'hidden unemployment', since virtually no-one placed much weight on the official figures being produced in the last years of the Conservative government. Our first report appeared just before the 1997 general election. The then Shadow Chancellor, Gordon Brown, must have thought it made sense because his office asked if we could circulate it to all Labour candidates.

It is particularly appropriate therefore to return to the same subject in 2007, after ten years of Labour government. We have deployed essentially the same methods as in the earlier studies, with a number of modest refinements. The central question however remains the same: *what is the real level of unemployment*? And how does it vary across the country? We are also able to make comparisons with our previous estimates and examine just how much has really changed under Labour.

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[1] C Beatty, S Fothergill, T Gore and A Herrington (1997) *The Real Level of Unemployment*, CRESR, Sheffield Hallam University

[2] C Beatty, S Fothergill, T Gore and A Green (2002) *The Real Level of Unemployment 2002*, CRESR, Sheffield Hallam University

Two official measures, and their shortcomings

An acute observer of statistics will be aware that there are two official measures of unemployment in the UK. Both have failings.

Claimant count

The claimant count is the measure of unemployment with the longest history, and the one that continues to be most widely quoted. The claimant count is the number of people claiming unemployment-related benefits – mainly Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA) but also a few who do not qualify for JSA and instead only receive National Insurance credits for unemployment. The claimant count has a number of advantages: it is available monthly, it is very up-to-date (the figures are only four weeks old when they are released) and it provides information for small areas such as districts and wards.

No-one argues that the claimant count fails to measure exactly what it sets out to measure – the number on unemployment benefits. It is also a complete count, not a sample survey, so the figures are extremely reliable. The trouble is that the number of people claiming unemployment benefits falls well short of the totality of the unemployment problem.

One issue is that the claimant count is heavily dependent on social security rules. The tighter the rules (ie the more restrictive the access to benefit) the lower the claimant count, and during the Conservative years in particular the rules governing access to unemployment benefits were tightened considerably. More importantly, Jobseeker's Allowance is only one of the benefits available to support jobless individuals – the other main ones are Incapacity Benefit and Income Support. Depending on the detailed rules and payment rates, there is the potential for diversions from claimant unemployment onto both these other benefits. In the UK context, what in practice has happened is that there has been a major diversion from unemployment onto incapacity benefits.

The point is that for well over a decade it has been entirely uncontroversial to observe that the claimant count understates the true level of unemployment. The trouble is that this has not stopped many uninformed commentators – and quite a few who should know better – continuing to quote the claimant count as if it were a reasonably accurate guide to the level of unemployment.

ILO unemployment

The alternative official measure of unemployment is the International Labour Organisation (ILO) measure. This counts anyone who:

- Is out of work
- And is available to start work in the next two weeks
- And has looked for work in the last four weeks

The ILO unemployment figures are derived from the Labour Force Survey, which is a large sample survey of households across the country. ILO unemployment data becomes available more slowly than the claimant count (about three months in arrears). Also, because it is based on a sample survey no figures are available for small areas (such as wards and some whole districts) and even the data that is published for districts is subject to an important margin of error. This perpetuates reliance on the claimant count at the local level.

Since 1997 the government's preferred measure of unemployment has been the ILO measure, despite the fact that in recent years this has generated unemployment figures more than half a million higher than the claimant count.

Many of these additional ILO unemployed are ineligible to receive Jobseeker's Allowance because they have insufficient NI credits to entitle them to the 'contribution-based' version and because they are disqualified from the means-tested 'income-based' version of JSA by virtue of household income or savings. They could in theory still sign on to receive NI credits for unemployment (and thereby still count

as claimant unemployed) but they don't bother because there is no immediate financial incentive to do so.

Particularly large numbers of women fall into this group of ILO unemployed who are excluded from the claimant count. Although they may be available for work and looking for work, if they have been out of a job for some while (often the case with women with children) and if they have a partner in work, their partner's income will disqualify them from income-based JSA. Likewise, a lone parent who has become available for work and is looking for work will often still be claiming Income Support rather than JSA. In addition, there are men and women who qualify as ILO unemployed who left their last job voluntarily or who were dismissed for misconduct, all of whom are automatically disqualified from JSA for a period.

In theory the ILO measure of unemployment is independent of benefit rules, thereby getting around the great failing of the claimant count. It is based on individuals' actual labour market behaviour, not on what benefits they are receiving. In practice however, labour market behaviour and thereby the extent to which individuals meet the ILO criteria is not independent of the benefit system. In particular, if the benefit that an individual claims (such as Incapacity Benefit or Income Support) does not require them to look for work, and if they think there is no suitable work available for them, they will generally give up looking and thereby drop out of the ILO unemployment figures. In these circumstances their unemployment will be recorded by neither of the official measures.

If, as DWP officials insist, only those people who meet the ILO criteria should really be counted as 'unemployed' there is indeed no need to look any further. However, this ignores what has been happening in the real world. The specific benefits that non-employed men and women claim do affect whether they choose to look for work. A more inclusive view needs to take account of the fact that some unemployed men and women do give up looking for work and do fail to meet the stringent ILO unemployment criteria. A more inclusive view also needs to take account of the fact that some of the more generous benefits for the non-employed, to which some men and women will inevitably gravitate, involve little or no requirement to stay in touch

with the labour market. The net effect is that the ILO measure of unemployment badly understates the full extent of the problem.

The diversion to incapacity benefits

The largest distortion to both official measures of unemployment concerns the diversion of men and women onto incapacity benefits. This is now the subject of substantial academic literature[3].

Incapacity benefits are paid to non-employed men and women who are deemed too ill or disabled to be required to look for work. This differentiates them from JSA claimants, who all have to demonstrate that they are looking for work. Just over half the total claiming incapacity benefits receive Incapacity Benefit (IB) itself. IB is not means-tested, except in the case of post-2001 claimants with significant income from a personal or company pension. The sick and disabled with insufficient National Insurance (NI) credits to access Incapacity Benefit itself mostly receive means-tested Income Support with a disability premium[4]. A further group of longer-standing claimants with a high level of disability and poor NI credits receive Severe Disablement Allowance.

Incapacity claimants[5] are a substantial group but only in the last two or three years, as government attention has finally turned to IB reform, has the scale of the group

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[3] See in particular:
C Beatty and S Fothergill (2005) 'The diversion from 'unemployment' to 'sickness' across British regions and districts' *Regional Studies*, vol 39, pp 837-854
P Alcock, C Beatty, S Fothergill, R Macmillan and S Yeandle (2003) *Work to Welfare: how men become detached from the labour market*, CUP, Cambridge
B Bell and J Smith (2004) *Health, Disability Insurance and Labour Force Participation*, Working paper no. 218, Bank of England, London
R MacKay (1999) 'Work and nonwork: a more difficult labour market', *Environment and Planning A*, vol 31, pp 487-502
D Webster (2002) 'Unemployment: how official statistics distort analysis and policy, and why' *Radical Statistics*, vol 79/80, pp 96-127.
[4] These are sometimes referred to as 'NI credits only' IB claimants
[5] 'Incapacity claimants' refers to the sum total of working age men and women in receipt of Incapacity Benefit, NI credits for incapacity, or Severe Disablement Allowance. This definition excludes claimants of disability benefits who are in work or above state pension age.

begun to seep into public consciousness. In all, incapacity claimants account for 2.7m non-employed adults of working age. This is three times more than the number of claimant unemployed. It is also nearly three times more than the number of lone parents claiming Income Support. Across Britain as a whole, incapacity claimants are by some margin the largest group of working-age benefit claimants. Moreover, their numbers are nearly four times greater than a generation ago and it seems impossible to explain the increase in health terms alone, especially at a time when general standards of health have slowly been improving, albeit with the smallest improvements among the most disadvantaged groups. It is not possible to claim incapacity benefits and unemployment benefits at the same time, so anyone out-of-work on incapacity benefits will automatically be excluded from the claimant unemployment figures.

For the jobless who suffer from health problems or disabilities, the differential in benefit payment rates creates an incentive to claim IB rather than JSA. The basic rates of Incapacity Benefit are a few pounds higher than the equivalent for Jobseeker's Allowance, but the principal difference is in the extent of means testing. For all JSA claimants, benefit payments are means tested after six months, and for many claimants it is means tested from day one. In contrast, Incapacity Benefit is not means tested for the majority of claimants, as we noted, and even means-tested Income Support with a disability premium is worth more than Income Support on its own. In addition, being an IB claimant involves a great deal less hassle: you don't have to sign on every fortnight, and you don't have to prove that you are looking for work. IB claimants also don't get drawn into compulsory New Deal programmes.

Thus, for example, a long-term unemployed man in his fifties with a wife in work and a small pension from a former employer will not generally be entitled to means-tested JSA. In essence, his wife's earnings and his pension reduce or eliminate his JSA entitlement. But if he has sufficient NI credits to be entitled to Incapacity Benefit (which most men with a work history will have) he will receive a weekly sum irrespective of his wife's earnings or in most circumstances of his pension as well.

Of course, not all the unemployed can simply opt to claim incapacity benefits. They have to demonstrate a requisite degree of ill health or disability. The gatekeepers determining access to incapacity benefits are medical practitioners – in the first instance the claimant's own GP, but for claims beyond six months doctors working on behalf of the government agency Jobcentre Plus. In theory, to qualify for incapacity benefits a person must be unfit for work. In practice, the test applied by Jobcentre Plus, known as the Personal Capability Assessment, assesses ability to undertake certain basic physical tasks rather than an inability to do all kinds of work in all circumstances. Many older unemployed people have picked up injuries over the course of their working life, and there is the effect of simply getting older. On top of this, mental health problems such as stress, depression and drug and alcohol abuse are quite widespread. In practice, therefore, many of the unemployed with health problems or disabilities are able to claim IB rather than JSA. In doing so, they drop out of the claimant unemployment figures.

What we are arguing is that the very large numbers claiming incapacity benefits hides unemployment. We are not suggesting that a substantial proportion of incapacity claims are somehow fraudulent. Rather, the point is that ill health or disability is not always an insuperable obstacle to employment, and that at least a proportion of the present-day 2.7m incapacity claimants could reasonably be expected to have been in work in a genuinely fully employed economy.

Britain's coalfields provide perhaps the clearest example. In the days when large numbers of mines were still working the coalfields always had above average levels of incapacity, partly reflecting the impact on health of the coal industry itself. However, it was only when the closures began in earnest in the 1980s that the numbers on incapacity benefits really began to take off. In a 1996 study[6] we asked why claimant unemployment was no higher in the coalfields than before the closures began. What we found was that the principal labour market adjustment in response to job loss had been a large withdrawal of men into 'economic inactivity', which in

[6] C Beatty and S Fothergill (1996) 'Labour market adjustment in areas of chronic industrial decline: the case of the UK coalfields' *Regional Studies*, vol 30, pp 637-650.

turn reflected a huge surge in incapacity numbers. Repeating the exercise in 2005[7], we found that the job loss from the coal industry still cast a long shadow. Subsequent job growth in the coalfields had brought claimant unemployment down but the number of incapacity claimants still remained extraordinarily high. Job growth had clearly impacted on those closest to the labour market – the JSA unemployed – but had largely failed to reach those who had become more detached on incapacity benefits. Given that IB claimants tend to be an older group, with fewer formal qualifications as well as ill health, this was perhaps not surprising. In all, in 2004 a third of a million men and women of working age in the English and Welsh coalfields were out of the labour market on incapacity benefits.

The coalfields illustrate a more general process and one that is central to understanding the role of incapacity benefits. IB claimants are not evenly spread around the country, but are disproportionately concentrated in the older industrial areas of the North, Scotland and Wales.

Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate this point. These maps show the share of working-age adults claiming incapacity benefits in each district in August 2006. The claimant figures are from the Department of Work and Pensions and are based on a 100% count, so they can be relied on as accurate. They show that there are exceptional concentrations of incapacity claimants in places such as South Wales, Merseyside, North East England and Clydeside. In many districts in these parts of the country, incapacity claimants account for more than 10 per cent of the entire population of 16-59/64 year olds. What these areas have in common is that they all experienced large-scale job losses in the 1980s and 90s, especially from traditional industries. Conversely, in nearly all of the south and east outside London the proportion claiming incapacity benefits is well below 5 per cent. This pattern is exactly what could be expected as a result of the diversion of men and women onto incapacity benefits in areas where jobs have been harder to find.

[7] C Beatty, S Fothergill and R Powell (2005) *Twenty Years On: has the economy of the UK coalfields recovered?*, CRESR, Sheffield Hallam University (and forthcoming in Environment and Planning A).

To underline this point, Table 1 lists the top 20 districts in terms of the share of working age adults claiming incapacity benefits. The list is virtually a roll call of older industrial Britain. Merthyr Tydfil in South Wales tops the list, closely followed by Easington in County Durham. Both of these are former coalmining areas. Not a single London borough, and no other district south of a line from the Wash to the Severn, falls within the top 20.

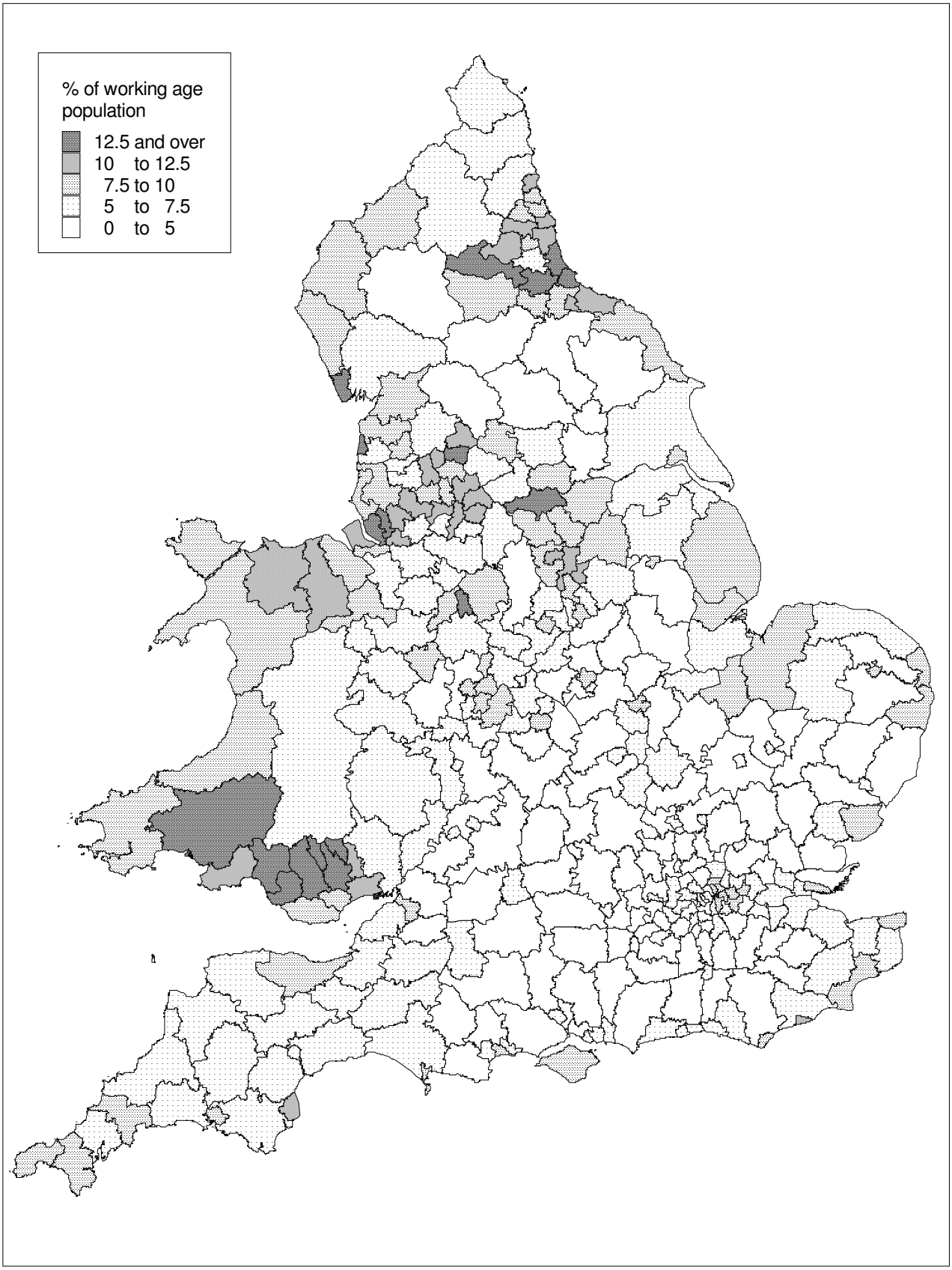
Table 1 : Incapacity claimant rate, top 20 GB districts, August 2006

		% of working age
1.	Merthyr Tydfil	18.9
2.	Easington	18.8
3.	Blaenau Gwent	17.9
4.	Neath Port Talbot	16.3
5.	Rhondda Cynon Taff	15.8
6.	Caerphilly	15.5
7.	Glasgow	15.2
8.	Knowsley	14.2
9.	Barrow in Furness	13.6
10.	Liverpool	13.5
11.	Inverclyde	13.5
12.	Bridgend	13.4
13.	Hartlepool	13.3
14.	Blackpool	13.1
15.	Carmarthenshire	13.0
16.	Barnsley	12.8
17.	Wear Valley	12.8
18.	North Lanarkshire	12.7
19.	Burnley	12.7
20.	Sedgefield	12.7

Sources : DWP, ONS

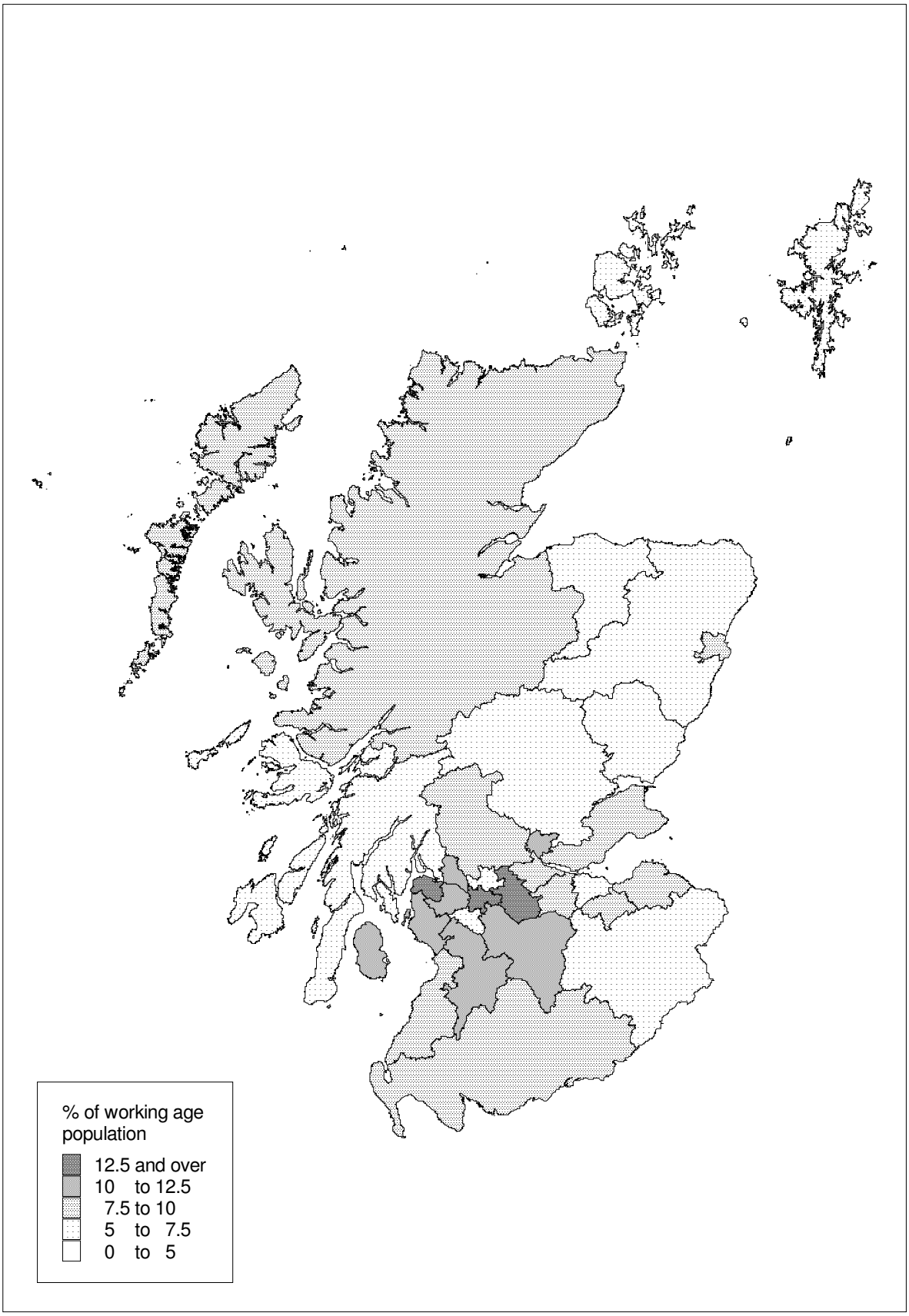
Figures refer to Incapacity Benefit, NI credits for incapacity and Severe Disablement Allowance

Figure 1: Incapacity claimants, England and Wales, August 2006



Data Sources: DWP
Digital Boundary Source: Geoplan

Figure 2: Incapacity claimants, Scotland, August 2006



Data Sources: DWP
Digital Boundary Source: Geoplan

Measuring 'real unemployment'

Different measures of unemployment usually try to measure slightly different things, and the accuracy with which they do so varies. Our measure of 'real unemployment' is no exception. The Appendix to the report considers the issues affecting our estimates, including potential omissions, overlap between the categories of unemployed and measurement issues.

The crucial point is that our measure of real unemployment includes *all those who could reasonably be expected to have been in employment in a genuinely fully employed economy*. This is wider than either the claimant count (based on solely on benefit receipt) or the ILO measure (which includes only active job seekers). We set out to count all those who could reasonably be considered to be unemployed, regardless of whether they claim unemployment benefits or look for work.

In practical terms, we define the 'real level of unemployment' as the sum of three elements:

- The claimant unemployed
- The additional ILO unemployed
- The hidden unemployed among incapacity claimants

This definition differs a little from the one used in our 1997 and 2002 reports, as the Appendix explains. However, the core remains the same and we have revised the 1997 and 2002 estimates used here to place them on exactly the same basis as the 2007 estimates and thus allow reliable comparisons through time.

The first element – claimant unemployment – is straightforward. Reliable figures for every district are published monthly by the Office for National Statistics from Jobcentre Plus records.

The second element – the additional ILO unemployed – is conceptually straightforward but reliable measurement is complicated by the fact that the data

comes from a sample survey. The Office for National Statistics publishes ILO unemployment estimates for districts though not comprehensively, excluding many areas where the sample is particularly small. However, the published district figures are subject to an important margin of error, are prone to erratic fluctuations from year to year and do not always bear much relationship to the more robust (though narrower) claimant count. Our view is therefore that the ILO unemployment figures for individual districts are unreliable and instead we have used regional data in the calculations. Our estimates take account of the additional unemployed by making a flat-rate percentage addition to each district's claimant unemployment figure based on the difference, by sex, between claimant and ILO unemployment rates in each region. This is the same procedure as in the 2002 report.

The third element – the hidden unemployed among incapacity claimants – is unavoidably more difficult to measure. In the 2002 report we used a sophisticated benchmarking approach to measure this element of unemployment and the same method has been deployed in producing the 2007 figures. For each district, a 'benchmark' IB claimant rate has been generated that reflects:

- The proportion of men and women presently claiming incapacity benefits in fully employed parts of south east England. This is intended to reflect what has already been shown to be achievable in parts of Britain where the demand for labour is very strong.

- The underlying deviation in rates of incapacitating ill health between each district and the level in this fully employed part of south east England. Here we use historic figures, before the data became contaminated by the diversion from unemployment.

The sum of these components generates a benchmark figure for each district that represents the 'full employment IB claimant rate'. Excesses over this benchmark are deemed to be a form of hidden unemployment. The calculation has been carried out separately for men and for women.

The precise data sources and methods used in this calculation are explained in the Appendix to the present report. A worked example in Table 2, for men in Sheffield, will help clarify the method. This shows that in August 2006, 15,600 non-employed men of working age were incapacity claimants, representing 9.0 per cent of the male working age population of the city. At the same time, the corresponding rate in the fully-employed parts of south east England was 4.3 per cent. Sheffield has however always had a rather higher level of incapacitating ill health than this fully-employed part of the South. We estimate that this adds a further 1.6 per cent to the city's full employment IB claimant rate, which therefore comes in at 5.9 per cent. The difference between this benchmark and the actual level of IB claims – 3.1 per cent, or 5,400 men – is our estimate of hidden unemployment among this group of men in Sheffield. In effect, we estimate that just over a third of the city's stock of male incapacity claimants should be regarded as hidden unemployed.

Table 2 : Estimation of hidden unemployment on incapacity benefits : a worked example for men in Sheffield

	no.	% working age
Male incapacity claimants, August 2006	15,600	9.0
BENCHMARK		
(1) Male incapacity claimant rate in fully-employed parts of South	7,400	4.3
(2) Excess incapacitating ill health or disability over fully-employed South	2,800	1.6
'Full employment IB claimant rate' for Sheffield	10,200	5.9
Hidden unemployment (Actual minus benchmark)	5,400	3.1

Sources : DWP and authors' estimates (see Appendix)

Figures 3 and 4 show our estimates of hidden unemployment among incapacity claimants in each district in August 2006. The figures mapped here combine men and women, and are expressed as a percentage of the total working age population (ie 16-59/64 year olds) in each district. There is a substantial part of southern England where the figures suggest there is little or no hidden unemployment among incapacity claimants. Some parts of northern England also fall into this category. But there is a smaller group of districts, mostly in the older industrial areas of the North, Scotland and Wales where the estimated hidden unemployment among incapacity claimants is particularly high. At the extreme, we estimate that 12 per cent of working age adults in Easington in County Durham, and 10 per cent in Merthyr Tydfil in South Wales, fall into this group.

As a general rule, the districts where the overall IB claimant rate is highest are also the ones where the estimated hidden unemployment among IB claimants is greatest. This applies even after having taken account of the higher underlying level of incapacitating ill health in these places.

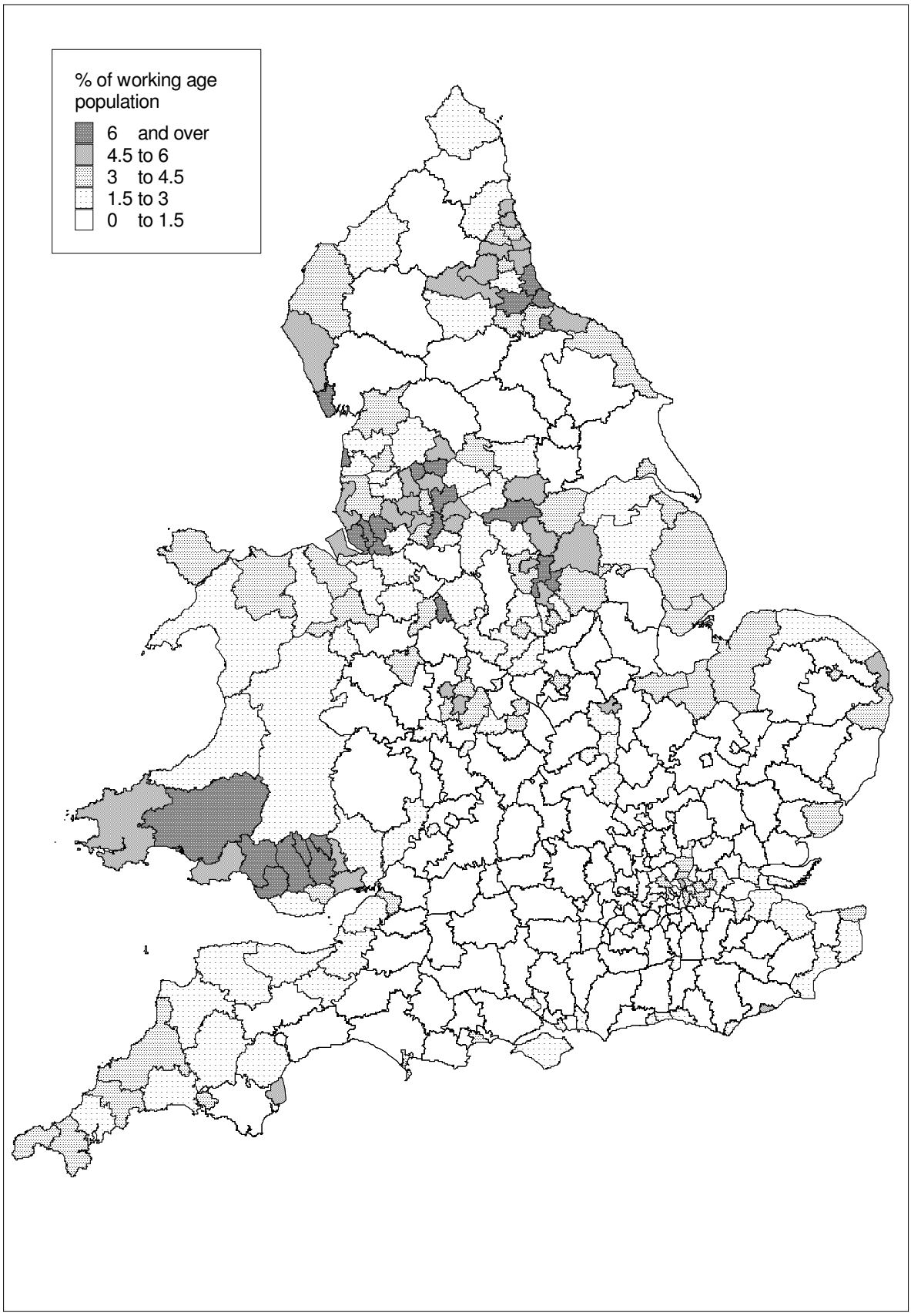
Unemployment: the true picture

Table 3 shows our estimates of the real level of unemployment in January 2007 for Great Britain as a whole.

In January 2007 the claimant count measure of unemployment stood at just below 940,000. Approaching three-quarters of these claimants were men. In contrast, we estimate that the real level of unemployment was 2.6 million – nearly three times as much. This represents an unemployment rate, expressed as a proportion of the working age population, of 7.2 per cent[8].

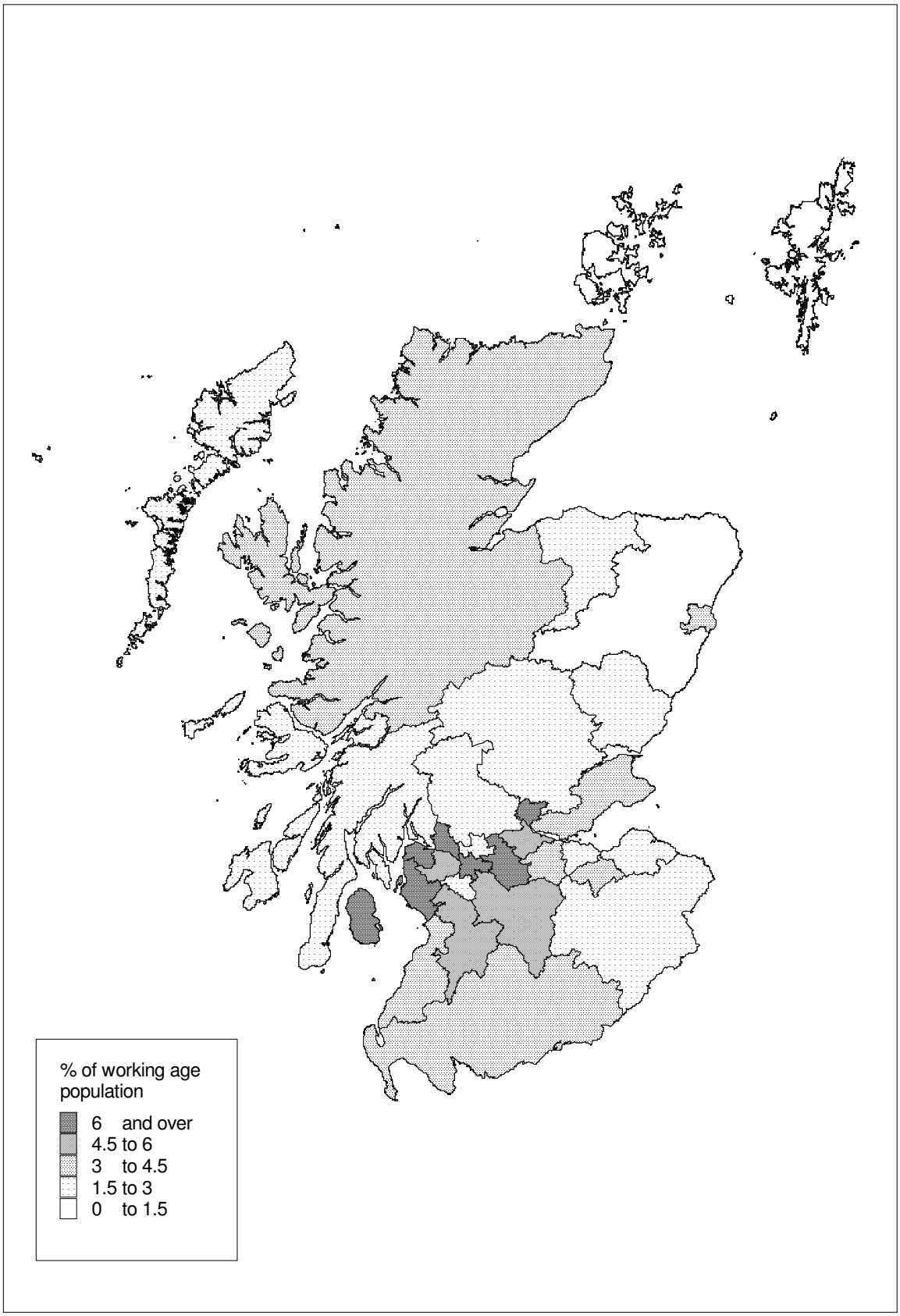
[8] Important note: The unemployment rates used throughout the present report are expressed as a percentage of the working age (19-59/64) population, whereas the 1997 and 2002 reports used the (substantially smaller) economically active population as the denominator. This change is in line with the new practice of the Office for National Statistics. The effect is to lower all the unemployment rates in the present 2007 report and the unemployment rates quoted here cannot therefore be compared with those in the two earlier reports.

Figure 3: Estimated hidden unemployment among incapacity claimants, England and Wales, August 2006



Data Sources: DWP and authors' estimates
Digital Boundary Source: Geoplan

Figure 4: Estimated hidden unemployment among incapacity claimants, Scotland, August 2006



Data Sources: DWP and authors' estimates
Digital Boundary Source: Geoplan

Table 3 : The real level of unemployment, Great Britain, January 2007

				% of working age		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Claimant count	691,000	247,000	939,000	3.7	1.4	2.6
Additional ILO unemployed	228,000	422,000	650,000	1.2	2.4	1.8
Hidden unemployed on IB	560,000	450,000	1,010,000	3.0	2.6	2.9
REAL UNEMPLOYMENT	1,480,000	1,120,000	2,600,000	7.9	6.4	7.2

Sources : ONS and authors' estimates (see Appendix)

The additional ILO unemployed account for 650,000. Although this represents a large addition to the claimant count it is important to remember that the inclusion of these men and women among the ranks of the unemployed is uncontroversial: as we noted, officially at least the ILO figures are the government's preferred measure of unemployment. Moreover, the scale of the disparity between the claimant and ILO figures has been apparent for some years. Nearly two-thirds of the additional ILO unemployed are women.

We estimate that just over 1m more unemployed are hidden on incapacity benefits. Our figures indicate that 560,000 of these are men and 450,000 women. These are huge numbers, and in total this group of unemployed outnumber the claimant unemployed. However, these hidden unemployed actually represent fewer than 40 per cent of the headline total of incapacity claimants. In effect, we estimate that even in the context of full employment across the whole country, 1.7m of the headline total of 2.7m incapacity claimants would remain incapacity claimants. It is worth noting here that our estimate of 1m hidden unemployed on incapacity benefits matches

exactly the government's own declared target reduction in the number of incapacity claimants by 2016[9].

Table 4 : GB districts with the highest and lowest real unemployment January 2007

		% of working age
HIGHEST		
1.	Easington	16.0
2.	Blaenau Gwent	15.9
3.	Merthyr Tydfil	15.3
4.	Knowsley	14.9
5.	Liverpool	14.5
6.	Hartlepool	14.4
7.	Glasgow	14.0
8.	Middlesbrough	13.8
9.	Neath Port Talbot	13.6
10.	Barrow in Furness	13.4
11.	Inverclyde	13.0
12.	Caerphilly	12.9
13.	West Dunbartonshire	12.9
14.	Hackney	12.7
15.	Blackpool	12.5
16.	Great Yarmouth	12.2
17.	Stoke on Trent	12.1
18.	Birmingham	11.9
19.	Halton	11.9
20.	South Tyneside	11.9
LOWEST		
402.	Hart	2.7
403.	Cotswold	2.7
404.	Eden	2.7
405.	Uttlesford	2.7
406.	South Cambridgeshire	2.7
407.	East Dorset	2.6
408.	Kennet	2.5

Source : Authors' estimates (see Appendix)

[9] Department for Work and Pensions (2006) *A New Deal for Welfare: empowering people to work,* DWP, London.

Table 4 shows the districts with the highest and lowest estimated real levels of unemployment. Easington in County Durham tops this list at 16 per cent of the working age population, closely followed by Blaenau Gwent and Merthyr Tydfil in South Wales. These are all former coalmining areas. Three substantial urban areas – Liverpool, Glasgow and Middlesbrough – also come within the top ten. In general, the list of districts with the highest unemployment is dominated by older industrial areas in Scotland, Wales, the North and West Midlands. The exceptions are two seaside towns (Blackpool and Great Yarmouth) and a single London borough (Hackney). At the other end of the scale, the districts with the lowest unemployment are nearly all in rural parts of southern England.

Table 5 shows the estimated real level of unemployment by region and compares the figures with the claimant count. What is notable here is that the claimant count is low in all regions and that the differences between regions are small – less than two percentage points separates the highest and lowest regions (the North East and South East respectively). Shifting to real unemployment not only increases the overall level of unemployment but also substantially widens the gap between regions - on the real unemployment measure, unemployment in the North East is five percentage points higher than in the South East.

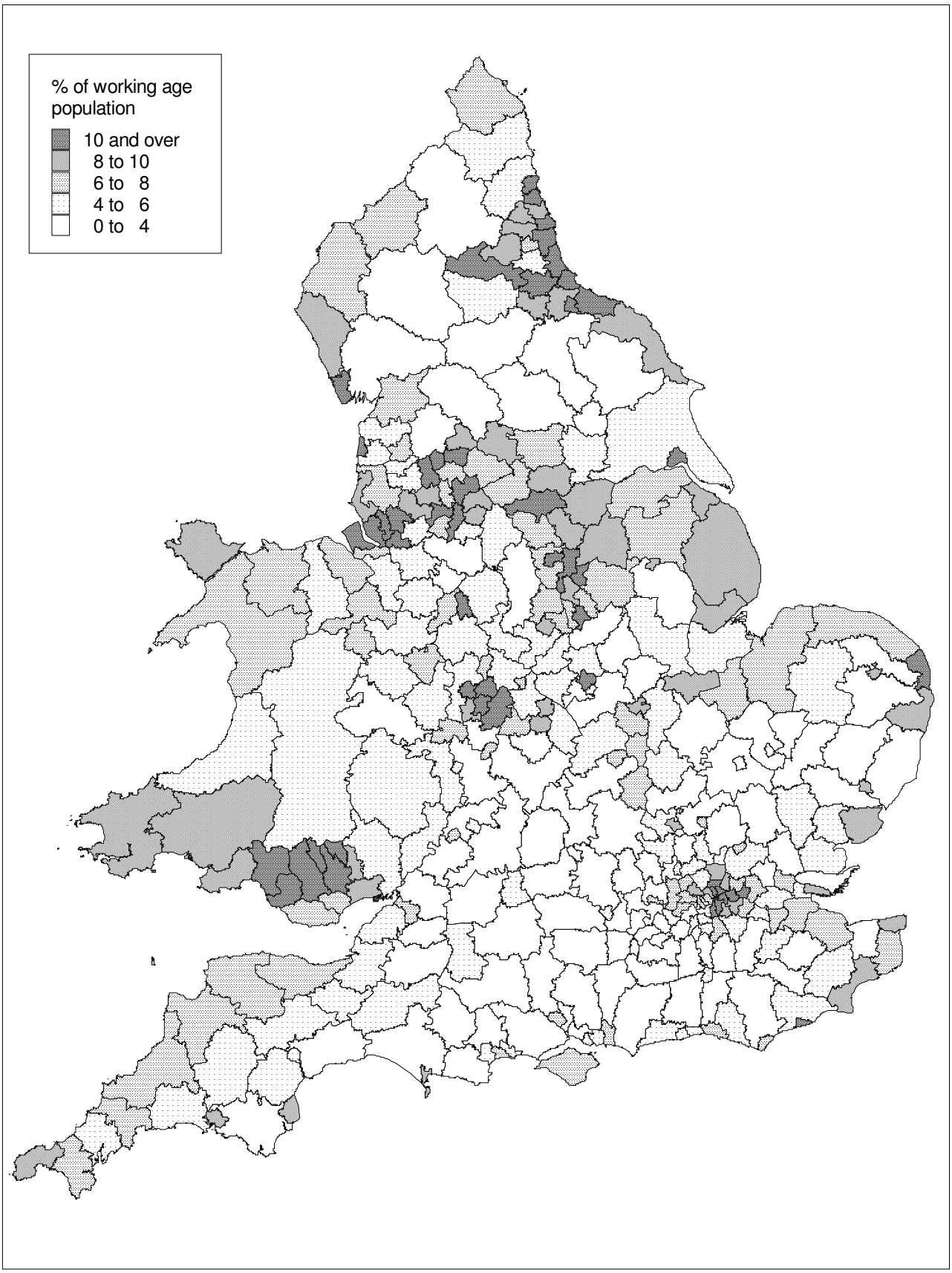
Figures 5 and 6 map the estimates of real unemployment by district. These illustrate the extent to which continuing high unemployment is predominantly (though not quite exclusively) a characteristic of the older industrial areas of northern and western Britain. Even on the real unemployment measure, there is little to shift the impression that large parts of southern and eastern England outside London are effectively operating at or close to full employment. Some parts of northern England, such as rural North Yorkshire, also fall into this category. Within all regions there are high and low unemployment areas. Nevertheless, in places such as the Welsh Valleys, Clydeside, Merseyside and the industrial North East, the estimates suggest that unemployment remains substantial.

Table 5 : Unemployment by region, January 2007

	% of working age	
	Claimant count	**Real unemployment**
North East	3.5	9.6
North West	2.9	8.9
Wales	2.5	8.9
Scotland	2.8	8.4
West Midlands	3.4	8.1
London	3.2	7.9
Yorkshire and the Humber	2.9	7.4
East Midlands	2.4	7.0
Eastern	2.0	5.2
South West	1.7	5.2
South East	1.6	4.6
GREAT BRITAIN	2.6	7.2

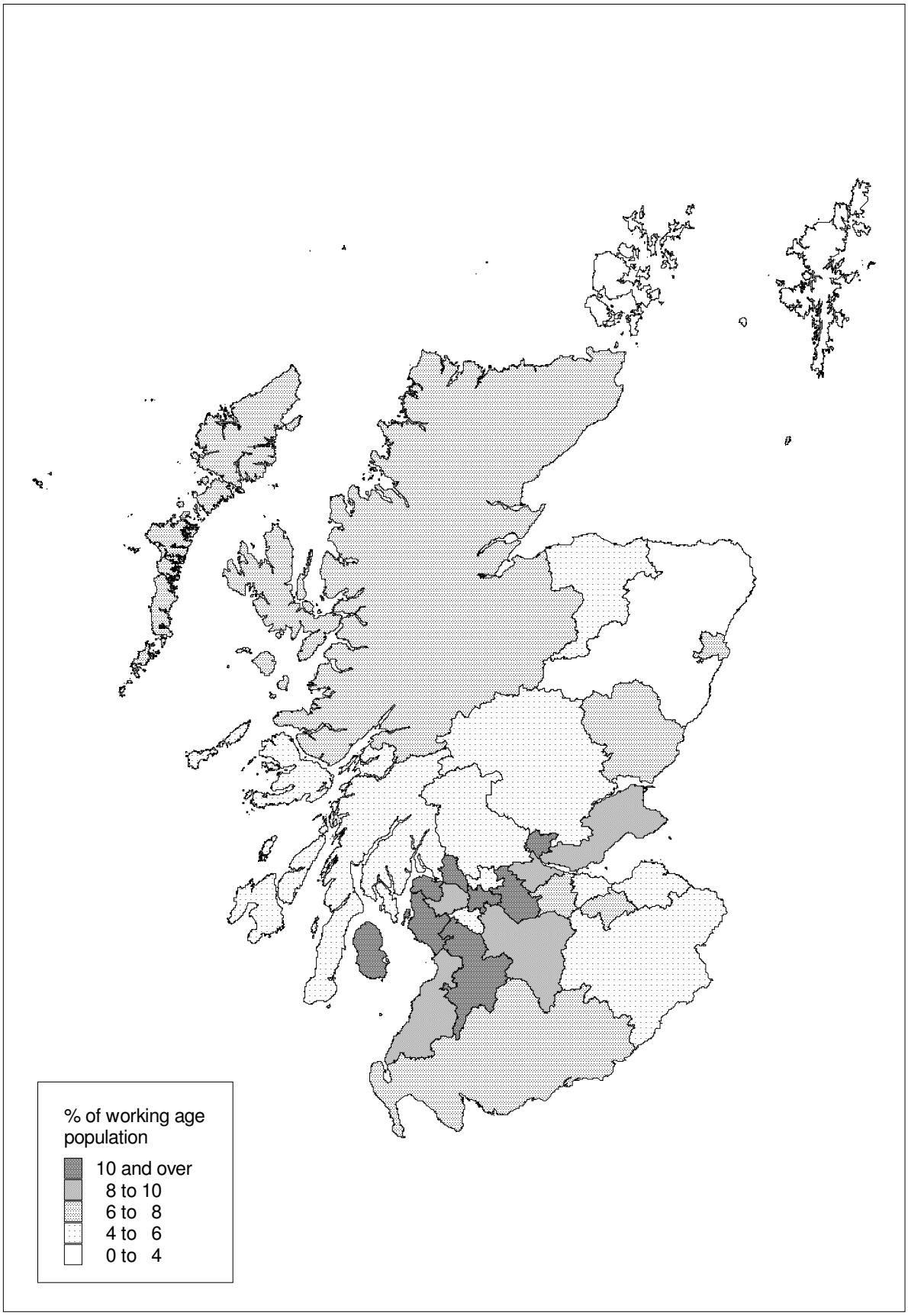
Sources : ONS and authors' estimates (see Appendix)

Figure 5: Estimated real unemployment, England and Wales, January 2007



Data Sources: see Appendix
Digital Boundary Source: Geoplan

Figure 6: Estimated real unemployment, Scotland, January 2007



Data Sources: see Appendix
Digital Boundary Source: Geoplan

The change in unemployment since 1997

Our first estimates of the real level of unemployment were for January 1997[10], just four months before the present Labour government was elected. It is therefore particularly interesting to look back over the changes between January 1997 and January 2007 since in many respects this is an assessment of what has happened to unemployment under Labour. Our methods of estimating the real level of unemployment have evolved since 1997 (the Appendix describes the detailed changes) so in order to look back over the last decade we have re-calculated the 1997 estimates, and the intervening 2002 estimates, to place them on exactly the same basis as the new 2007 figures.

Table 6 shows the change in unemployment between January 1997 and January 2007. The first line in this table – the reduction in the claimant count – is well known. Claimant unemployment across Britain is now some 900,000 lower than in 1997, or approximately half its 1997 level. Around 80 per cent of this reduction has been among men. The 2007 headline figure of less than 1m claimant unemployed contrasts starkly with the 3m reached in the mid 1980s and early 1990s. The Labour government rightly trumpets this reduction in claimant unemployment as one of its more notable achievements.

Table 6 : Change in unemployment, Great Britain, 1997-2007

	Male	**Female**	**Total**
Claimant count	-716,000	-182,000	-898,000
Additional ILO unemployed	+221,000	+112,000	+333,000
Hidden unemployed on IB	-90,000	+80,000	-10,000
REAL UNEMPLOYMENT	-580,000	+10,000	-570,000

Sources : ONS and authors' estimates (see Appendix)

[10] C Beatty, S Fothergill, T Gore and A Herrington (1997) op cit.

But the rest of Table 6 casts a less favourable light on Labour's achievement. The gap between ILO unemployment and the claimant count has grown, adding a further third of a million to any wider measure of unemployment. Although women make up a large share of the additional ILO unemployed, two-thirds of the growth in this group since 1997 has been among men. Likewise, Labour seems to have so far made few in-roads into the stock of hidden unemployed on incapacity benefits. Our estimates of the scale of this form of hidden unemployment reveal barely any change between 1997 and 2007, though there has been a modest shift in the numbers from men to women. To a great extent, this reflects Labour's failure to reduce the headline total of incapacity claimants except by more than a few thousand since 2003.

Overall, we estimate that the real level of unemployment has fallen by just 570,000 between 1997 and 2007, and the whole of this reduction has been among men, with no evidence of any reduction at all among women. This is still a worthwhile achievement, but it actually represents just an 18 per cent reduction in the estimated real level of unemployment compared to 1997.

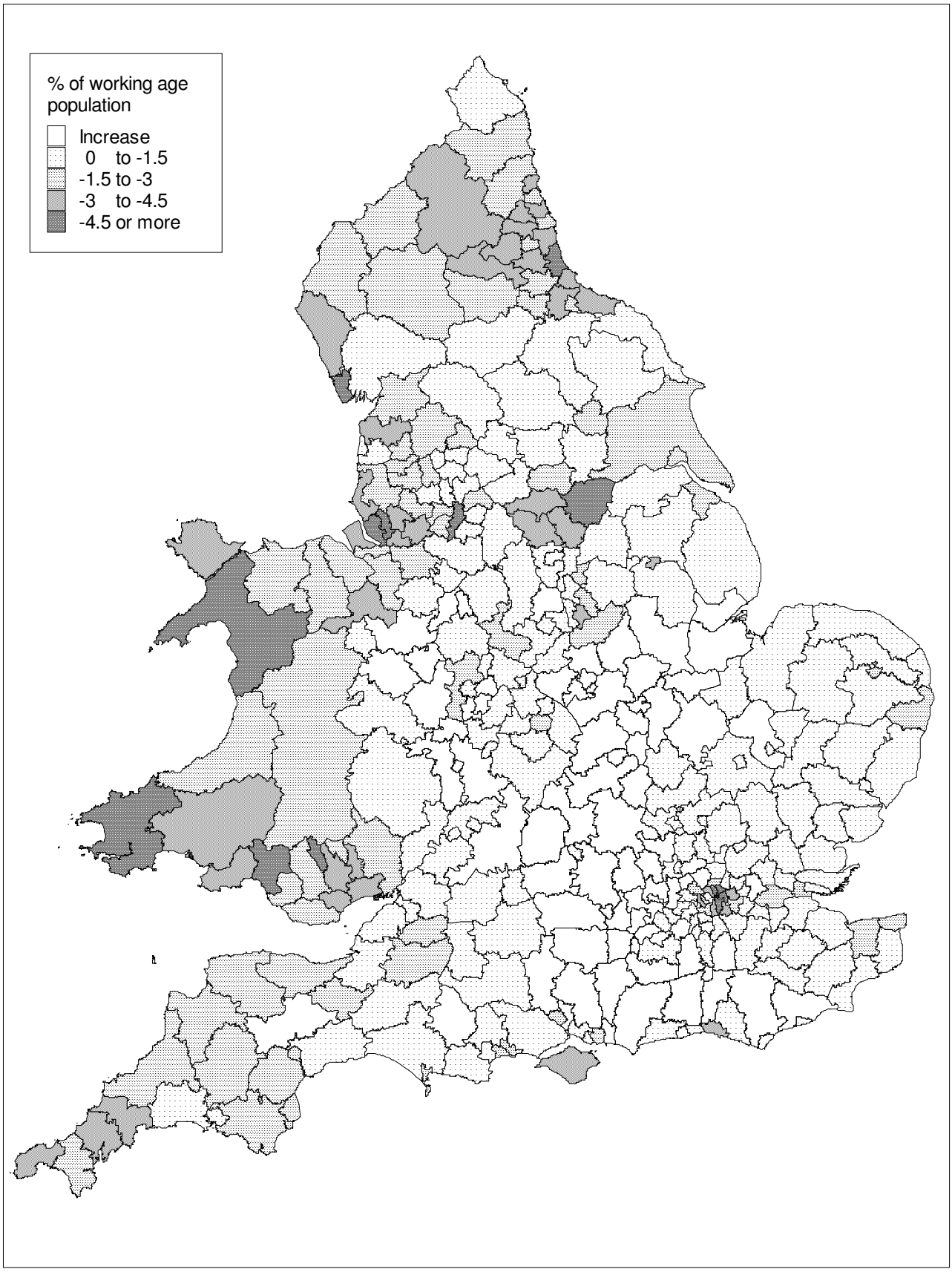
Furthermore, as Table 7 shows, virtually the whole of the reduction in real unemployment occurred between 1997 and 2002 – in other words, in and around Labour's first term. This should come as no surprise to most labour market observers because for most of the present decade the claimant count has become stuck at just below 1m whereas the gap between claimant and ILO unemployment has continued to grow. The positive news for Labour is that we estimate that hidden unemployment among incapacity claimants fell by 140,000 between 2002 and 2007, offsetting the increase during the previous five years.

Table 7 : Change in total unemployment by period, Great Britain

	1997-2002	**2002-07**
Claimant count	-854,000	-44,000
Additional ILO unemployed	+155,000	+178,000
Hidden unemployed on IB	+130,000	-140,000
REAL UNEMPLOYMENT	-560,000	-10,000

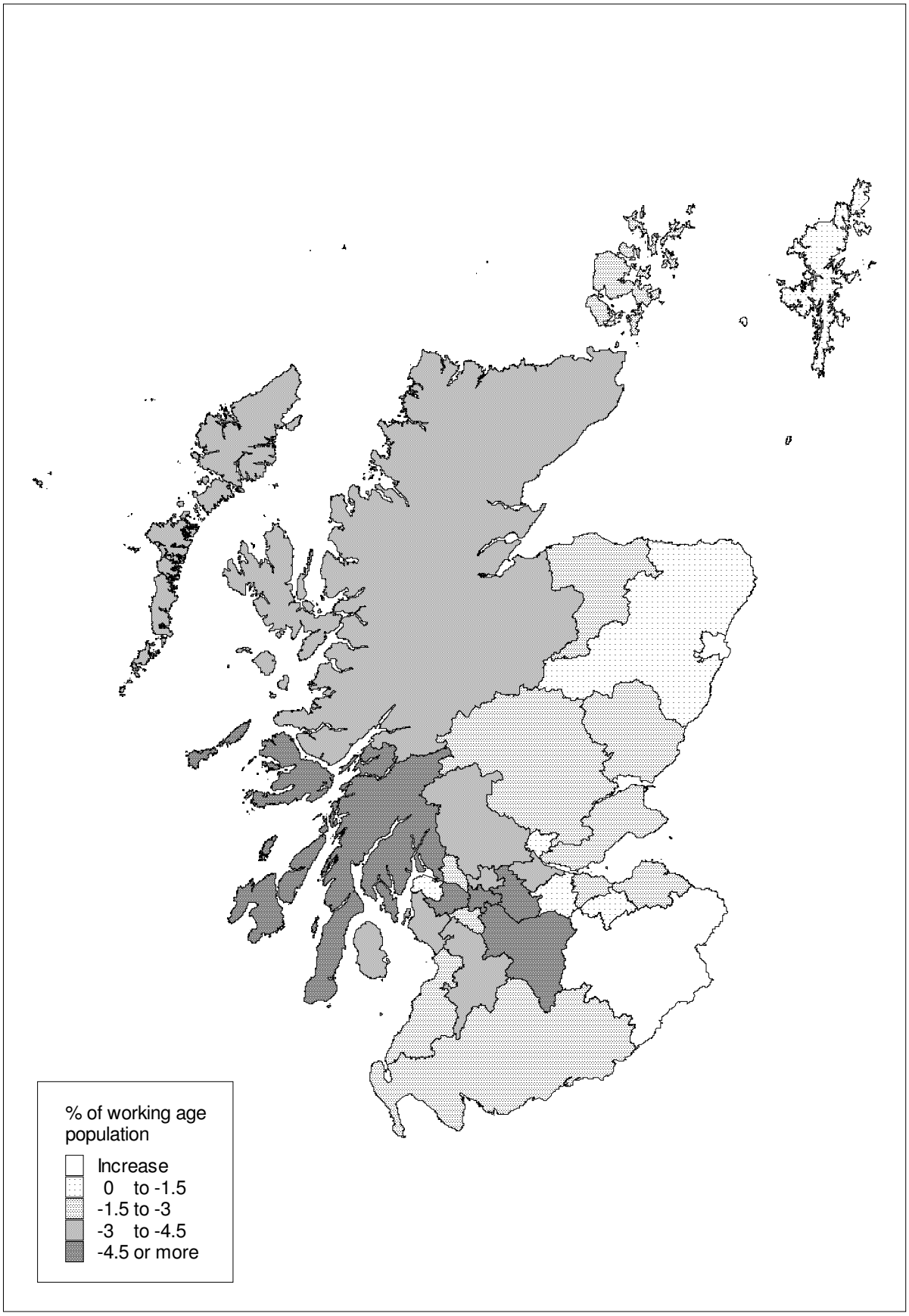
Sources : ONS and authors' estimates (see Appendix)

Figure 7: Change in real unemployment, England and Wales, 1997-2007



Data Sources: see Appendix
Digital Boundary Source: Geoplan

Figure 8: Change in real unemployment, Scotland, 1997-2007



Data Sources: see Appendix
Digital Boundary Source: Geoplan

Figures 7 and 8 show the change in estimated real unemployment by district. The pattern is complex, reflecting local as well as national trends. As a general rule, however, the largest reductions have occurred in some of the districts where real unemployment was highest back in 1997, particularly the older industrial districts of the North, Scotland and Wales. Real unemployment still remains high in most of these places, but the changes since 1997 suggest that the gaps between the 'best' and 'worst' parts of the country are narrowing. Labour can therefore take pride in this aspect of its record. However, even in 1997 large parts of southern England were already close to full employment so there was little realistic prospect that unemployment would be reduced much further in many of these places. It was perhaps inevitable that if national unemployment was to fall after 1997, the largest reductions would have to occur in the places where unemployment was highest.

Unemployment in a booming economy?

In 1997, after two severe recessions during the Conservative years, it was not difficult for Labour politicians and economic commentators to believe that the real level of unemployment was far in excess of the official figures. Yet replicating essentially the same calculations in 2007 comes up with two apparently startling observations:

- The real level of unemployment in 2007 is actually around 2.6 million

- The real level of unemployment has only fallen by around a fifth since 1997

Neither of these observations sits easily alongside the popular perception of the contemporary UK labour market, which is that the economy is not far from full employment, that labour shortages are widespread, and that migrants from other countries have been needed to plug the gaps. Is there really still large-scale unemployment in an apparently booming economy?

The long period of economic growth that the UK economy has enjoyed since emerging from the recession of the early 1990s is real enough. The number of men and women of working age in employment is up by around 2 million since 1997. Unemployment, in contrast, has fallen by only 0.9m on the claimant count and 0.6m on our wider measure of real unemployment. The difference is accounted for by additional labour supply from other sources. Rising labour force participation by women – a long-established trend – and especially by women with young children, is part of the explanation, and the trend towards earlier retirement seems for the moment to have been reversed. International in-migration, especially since EU enlargement in 2004, also accounts for part of the gap. The economy has therefore been able to expand without mopping up most of the unemployed.

The surge in migrants from the EU, especially Poland, appears to have occurred not so much because there are no unemployed to fill job vacancies but rather because the migrants are better able or more willing to fill the jobs that are available. To a great extent this is because after two decades in which there was widespread slack in the UK labour market, unemployment (on JSA or IB) has mostly come to rest with the groups least able to compete for jobs – the poorly qualified, the least healthy, and those approaching pension age. In contrast, in-migrants are often young, fit, well motivated, have more qualifications than the job requires, and are willing to take work at low rates of pay since this is more than they would earn at home. Unsurprisingly, it is therefore the migrants who are best placed to fill job vacancies. Moreover, although reliable figures are hard to come by, it is the parts of Britain where the labour market is tightest (such as London and the South East) that seem to have been the greatest magnet for migrants.

The particular nature of Incapacity Benefit has added a further twist. As we explained, there are powerful incentives for the unemployed to claim Incapacity Benefit rather than Jobseeker's Allowance, provided of course that they can demonstrate the requisite degree of ill health or disability. However, claiming incapacity benefits is often a one-way ticket. Once on IB there is no requirement to look for work and most people do not do so. There are even fears that to look for work would bring into question the validity of an incapacity claim by demonstrating an

ability to work. As the duration on IB grows, the attractiveness to potential employers declines. So even though job loss may have been the initial cause of an Incapacity Benefit claim, job creation does not automatically trigger a move back into work. It is not surprising, therefore, that more than a decade of economic growth has brought down the numbers of JSA unemployed (who are required to stay in touch with the labour market) but largely failed to dent the numbers on incapacity benefits.

Claimant unemployment has always been the most visible and most politically sensitive form of unemployment. These are the men and women who are not only out of work but also in receipt of benefit specifically because of their unemployment. These days, they are also under considerable pressure from jobcentres to look for work. In contrast, the additional ILO unemployed are often off benefit altogether, supported financially by other household members. The hidden unemployed on incapacity benefits are the least visible of all, since they are not even conventionally labelled as unemployed. As claimant unemployment has fallen much faster than other forms of unemployment, the impression has therefore inevitably taken root that the unemployment problem is fading away.

The impression of falling unemployment has been reinforced by three other factors. One is that Labour' record is often compared not with the level of claimant unemployment it actually inherited – 1.6m in May 1997 – but with the much higher level of claimant unemployment, around 3m, that characterised many of the preceding Conservative years.

A second factor is that the biggest reductions in unemployment have been among *men*. Men account for more than three-quarters of the fall in the claimant count since 1997, and indeed for all the estimated reduction in real unemployment. The out-of-work male, in search of a full-time job and a 'family wage', often still remains the stereotypical image of an unemployed person. Young unemployed males, too, are frequently seen as the prime source of crime and social disorder. By contrast, women's unemployment has traditionally been less visible, hidden away in the home and often off benefit. That the biggest reductions in unemployment among men have also occurred in the parts of the North, Scotland and Wales where male joblessness

was so endemic before 1997 has only added to the impression that the unemployment problem is on the wane.

A third factor reinforcing the impression of falling unemployment is the new, more benign role of government schemes. In the 1980s and early 1990s they were widely seen as just a way of hiding unemployment. They are now a normal entry point to the labour market for many young people, with stronger elements of real training and job prospects rather than just make-work.

The modest fall in real unemployment since 1997 therefore to some extent understates the true scale of Labour's achievement. Joblessness has fallen, and it has fallen most in some of the places where it was once highest. Above all, perhaps, there has been no return to unemployment on the scale of the Conservative years.

Nevertheless, the surge in incapacity numbers still remains the principal way in which the labour markets of older industrial Britain have adapted to the major job losses of the 1980s and 90s. In these places, labour supply came into balance with lower labour demand not by out-migration or by the creation of conventional unemployment on a vast scale but by the withdrawal of enormous numbers of men and women from the labour market onto incapacity benefits. It is hard to dispute that at the time this increase occurred it was anything other than a form of hidden unemployment.

Economic recovery has brought claimant unemployment in these places down but so far left incapacity numbers largely untouched. That there has been a sustained period of job growth, and that so many on incapacity benefits have given up looking for work, does not make the hidden unemployment among these claimants any less real. In a genuinely fully-employed economy, like that in parts of southern England, the incapacity numbers in Britain's older industrial areas would unquestionably be far lower.

Acknowledgements

This report is the result of independent academic research, drawing on insights and findings from previous and on-going projects by the authors, in particular a number of projects over the last decade and a half funded by the Economic and Social Research Council. The authors would like to thank Mike Foden and Carol Goodale for their practical help with the present report.

APPENDIX

Statistical methods and sources

WORKING AGE POPULATION

In the present report all unemployment rates are expressed as a percentage of the working age population. The previous reports in 1997 and 2002 used the economically active population of working age as the denominator. The change is consistent with the new practice adopted by the Office for National Statistics and typically has the effect of lowering the quoted unemployment rates by around a quarter.

The working age population is also required at several intermediate steps in the calculations.

Data specification and sources:

(1) Mid-year population estimates by sex by district for 2005 (most recent available at the time of writing), National Statistics from Nomis website: www.nomisweb.co.uk

(2) Population by age and sex, by district for 2001, from the Census of Population, National Statistics (from Nomis website)

The mid-year population estimates are available for 15-64 (men) and 15-59 (women). These are adjusted to 16-64 and 16-59 on the basis of the proportion of 15 year olds in each district in 2001.

CLAIMANT COUNT

Data specification and source:

(1) Claimant unemployment numbers by sex by district for January 2007, National Statistics (from Nomis website)

ADDITIONAL ILO UNEMPLOYED

Data specification and sources:

(1) ILO unemployment rates by sex for each region for Nov 2006 – Jan 2007, from ONS, from the Labour Force Survey, National Statistics website: www.statistics.gov.uk

The claimant unemployment rate for the region is deducted from the ILO rate to identify additional ILO unemployment. This flat-rate percentage figure, by sex, is converted into absolute numbers for each district using the population of working age.

HIDDEN UNEMPLOYED ON INCAPACITY BENEFITS

Data specification and sources:

(1) Number of IB and SDA claimants of working age (including NI credits-only claimants) by sex by district, August 2006, DWP Information Directorate: Work and Pensions Longitudinal Study (WPLS). The figures are a 100 per cent count of claimants.

(2) 'Permanently sick' aged 16+, by sex by district, from the 1981 Census of Population, ONS

(3) Working age population by sex by district 1981, from the Census of Population, ONS

DWP incapacity claimant numbers are converted into rates using the 2005 working age population as denominator. The 1981 sickness figures are also converted into rates using 1981 working age population.

For each district the 'full employment' benchmark comprises two elements:

- The 2006 sickness claimant rate in seven counties in southern England where the economy is at or close to full employment. The counties are Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Hampshire (minus Portsmouth and Southampton), Hertfordshire, Oxfordshire, Surrey and West Sussex.

- The percentage point deviation in the rate of permanent sickness in each district in 1981 from the average rate of permanent sickness in these seven counties in 1981.

The hidden unemployment rate is the difference between this benchmark and the incapacity claimant rate in each district in August 2006. Negative values are treated as zero. The rate is converted into absolute numbers using the 2005 working age population figures.

In a small number of mainly rural districts the data on permanent sickness in 1981 is inflated by the location of large psychiatric institutions, which have virtually all subsequently closed. To adjust for this distortion, in the districts where according to the 1981 Census of Population the proportion of the working age population (men or women) living in such institutions exceeded one percent, the excess is deducted from the 1981 permanent sickness data for the district.

BOUNDARY CHANGES

There were important changes to district boundaries in 1996, especially in Scotland and Wales, and in a few cases in 1997 and 1998. All the figures presented in this report are based on the new boundaries. Where 1981 data is unavailable on the new boundaries the figures used are population-weighted averages of constituent districts or part-districts.

1997 and 2002 ESTIMATES OF REAL UNEMPLOYMENT

To provide comparability, the previous estimates of real unemployment for January 1997 and January 2002 have been re-calculated on exactly the same basis as the January 2007 figures.

Reliability of the estimates

Competing sets of unemployment figures do not all try to measure the same thing. The definition of real unemployment used here counts *those who might reasonably be expected to have been in work in a fully-employed economy*. They are counted whether or not they happen to be active job seekers or claimants of unemployment-related benefits.

The figures presented in the present report are *estimates*. They are based on a particular definition of unemployment and on specific methods and data sources.

Revised definition

The definition of 'real unemployment' in the present report is slightly narrower than the one used in the 1997 and 2002 reports. On this occasion, two groups have been excluded:

- Men and women on government schemes
- Hidden unemployed among early retirees

In the 1997 report we took the view that everyone on government schemes should be counted among the unemployed. This was reasonable at a time when such schemes were widely regarded as just a diversion from recorded unemployment. The effect was to add 400,000 to the 1997 estimates of real unemployment. By 2002 the role of government schemes had changed, with many now acting as a normal, training-based route into employment. We therefore included only those on government schemes who did not have a contract of employment. This added 80,000 to the 2002 estimates. Since 2002 the role of government schemes has further evolved, and we have therefore chosen to omit the whole of this group from the present estimates.

In 1997 and 2002 we took the view that some of the 'early retired' should be included with the unemployed, in that they would probably have been in work in a fully employed economy. This added 100,000 to the estimates of real unemployment in 1997 and 120,000 in 2002. However, the size of this group is very difficult to estimate and there are potential overlaps with Incapacity Benefit claimants.

Other potential omissions

The real unemployment figures do not include all those who might in the long run be drawn into employment.

In particular, the figures exclude many women looking after children or home on a full-time basis. Whilst the active jobseekers among women in this position are included in the estimates, there is a further group among these women who might like to work but do not think there are appropriate opportunities available, especially jobs that fit around their domestic responsibilities. The experience of the UK economy over recent decades has been that it is possible to bring many of this group into employment. Their inclusion would further inflate the estimates of real unemployment.

Overlap between categories

Under social security rules, it is not possible to claim unemployment benefits and incapacity benefits at the same time. These elements of our real unemployment estimates are therefore mutually exclusive.

There is however a modest overlap between the 'additional ILO unemployed' and the 'hidden unemployed on incapacity benefits'. Labour Force Survey (LFS) data shows that just under 3 per cent of incapacity claimants meet the ILO unemployment criteria (looking for work, available for work etc). This is equivalent to around 80,000 men and women across Britain as a whole. Their exclusion would reduce estimated real unemployment by 0.2 per cent.

Conversely, there are significant numbers of claimant unemployed who fail to meet the ILO criteria. The LFS data for 2006 suggests that only 490,000 of the ILO unemployed claim unemployment-related benefits, whereas claimant unemployment is nearly twice that figure. On the other hand, the LFS is known to under-record benefit claimants. In the real unemployment estimates, all the claimant unemployed are deducted in calculating the 'additional ILO unemployed'. In theory, the claimant unemployed who fail to meet the ILO criteria could be added to the estimates.

Measurement issues

There is a margin of error in all the estimates of real unemployment. One complication is that not all the base data is for January 2007. Another is that the

unreliability of LFS data at the district scale requires the use of regional figures to calculate additional ILO unemployment.

The most significant issue concerns the reliability of the benchmarking procedure for estimating hidden unemployment among incapacity claimants. The benchmark is relatively sophisticated: for each district it attempts to reflect not only what has been shown to be possible in fully-employed parts of the country but also underlying local variations in incapacitating ill health. The resulting estimates (for previous years) have also been cross-checked against estimates derived by alternative methods, including comparisons with survey data. These comparisons are reported in full elsewhere[11]. The conclusion is that the benchmarking procedure generates estimates for Britain as a whole that are broadly comparable with those derived by other methods.

In particular, the 2002 report compared the estimated number of hidden unemployed on incapacity benefits (for GB as a whole) with the number of economically inactive adults of working age who had a work-limiting health problem or disability but said they would like a job, from the Labour Force Survey. The two figures were 1.15m and 1.13m respectively. Repeating the same exercise using LFS data for July-September 2006 (to correspond to the August 2006 incapacity benefits data) generates a figure of 0.91m, compared to the hidden unemployment estimate of 1.01m.

The benchmarking method followed here is the approach most likely to generate robust estimates at the district scale. The adjustment for underlying differences in the extent of incapacitating ill health is based on data from the early 1980s, before the figures became badly contaminated by the diversion from unemployment, but on many socio-economic indicators the pattern of inequality across Britain has changed only modestly in the intervening years.

Comparison with other estimates

The Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion (CESI) publishes two alternative estimates of unemployment in their journal *Working Brief*[12], though not for districts. The first, 'broad unemployment', includes the ILO unemployed plus the economically inactive who want to work and are available to start. This points to a UK figure of 2.3m for the three months to January 2007. The second, 'labour market slack', includes the ILO unemployed, those on government schemes, the economically inactive who want to work and the full-time equivalent of under-employment by those who are working part-time because they cannot get a full-time job. This points to a UK figure of 4.3m for the three months to January 2007. Both estimates are based on Labour Force Survey data.

Both CESI measures differ in concept from 'real unemployment' as defined in the present report. 'Labour market slack', in particular, is in principle a much wider measure. The real unemployment estimate for Great Britain in January 2007 is 2.6m.

[11] C Beatty and S Fothergill (2005) op cit
[12] Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion (monthly) *Working Brief*, CESI, London.

Alternative measures of unemployment by region, January 2007

	Claimant Count			Claimant Count (%)		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Eastern	49,515	19,525	69,040	2.8	1.2	2.0
South East	59,239	22,476	81,715	2.3	0.9	1.6
London	112,280	47,524	159,804	4.3	2.0	3.2
South West	36,699	14,264	50,963	2.3	1.0	1.7
West Midlands	83,907	28,910	112,817	4.9	1.8	3.4
East Midlands	46,811	17,483	64,294	3.4	1.4	2.4
Yorkshire and the Humber	68,020	22,372	90,392	4.2	1.5	2.9
North West	91,598	29,260	120,858	4.2	1.4	2.9
North East	41,997	12,703	54,700	5.1	1.7	3.5
Wales	34,116	11,303	45,419	3.7	1.3	2.5
Scotland	67,005	21,618	88,623	4.1	1.4	2.8
Great Britain	691,187	247,438	938,625	3.7	1.4	2.6

	Real Unemployment			Real Unemployment (%)		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Eastern	94,000	82,000	176,000	5.3	5.1	5.2
South East	140,000	89,000	229,000	5.3	3.7	4.6
London	224,000	176,000	400,000	8.6	7.2	7.9
South West	88,000	70,000	158,000	5.5	4.8	5.2
West Midlands	158,000	108,000	266,000	9.2	6.9	8.1
East Midlands	98,000	88,000	186,000	7.1	6.9	7.0
Yorkshire and the Humber	140,000	92,000	232,000	8.6	6.1	7.4
North West	215,000	162,000	377,000	9.9	7.9	8.9
North East	90,000	63,000	152,000	11.0	8.2	9.6
Wales	84,000	75,000	159,000	9.1	8.7	8.9
Scotland	149,000	119,000	268,000	9.1	7.7	8.4
Great Britain	1,480,000	1,124,000	2,603,000	7.9	6.4	7.2

Unemployment rates are expressed as a percentage of working age population

Alternative measures of unemployment by district, January 2007

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
SOUTH EAST									
Berkshire									
Bracknell Forest	1.5	0.6	1.0	4.1	2.8	3.4	1,500	1,000	2,500
Reading	3.1	1.2	2.2	6.1	4.2	5.2	3,200	1,900	5,100
Slough	3.9	1.8	2.9	8.4	6.0	7.3	3,400	2,200	5,600
West Berkshire	1.5	0.6	1.1	3.5	2.6	3.1	1,700	1,100	2,800
Windsor and Maidenhead	1.7	0.7	1.2	3.8	2.8	3.3	1,700	1,100	2,800
Wokingham	1.1	0.4	0.7	3.1	2.4	2.8	1,600	1,100	2,700
Buckinghamshire									
Aylesbury Vale	1.4	0.6	1.0	3.4	2.6	3.0	1,900	1,300	3,200
Chiltern	1.7	0.5	1.1	3.9	2.6	3.3	1,100	700	1,700
Milton Keynes	3.1	1.3	2.3	6.5	5.7	6.1	4,900	3,800	8,800
South Buckinghamshire	1.2	0.6	0.9	3.2	2.7	3.0	600	500	1,100
Wycombe	2.2	0.8	1.5	4.5	3.0	3.8	2,300	1,500	3,700
East Sussex									
Brighton and Hove	4.2	1.8	3.0	9.4	4.9	7.2	8,300	4,000	12,300
Eastbourne	4.2	1.5	2.9	9.5	5.2	7.4	2,500	1,300	3,800
Hastings	5.7	2.1	4.0	14.6	7.9	11.3	3,800	1,900	5,700
Lewes	2.4	1.0	1.7	5.8	3.6	4.8	1,600	900	2,500
Rother	2.7	1.2	2.0	6.5	4.4	5.5	1,500	900	2,400
Wealden	1.3	0.6	0.9	3.3	2.6	3.0	1,300	1,000	2,300

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Hampshire									
Basingstoke and Deane	1.6	0.7	1.2	3.7	3.1	3.4	1,900	1,500	3,400
East Hampshire	1.3	0.6	1.0	3.3	2.6	3.0	1,200	900	2,000
Eastleigh	1.7	0.8	1.3	4.1	3.5	3.8	1,500	1,200	2,800
Fareham	1.7	0.7	1.2	3.7	2.8	3.2	1,300	900	2,100
Gosport	2.3	0.9	1.7	6.1	4.6	5.4	1,500	1,000	2,500
Hart	0.9	0.4	0.7	2.9	2.5	2.7	900	600	1,500
Havant	3.3	1.3	2.3	8.0	5.5	6.8	2,700	1,800	4,500
New Forest	1.4	0.7	1.0	3.6	3.2	3.4	1,800	1,500	3,300
Portsmouth	3.5	1.3	2.5	7.3	4.6	6.0	4,800	2,700	7,500
Rushmoor	1.9	0.8	1.4	4.3	3.6	4.0	1,300	1,000	2,300
Southampton	3.3	1.2	2.3	7.7	5.1	6.5	6,200	3,500	9,700
Test Valley	1.2	0.7	0.9	3.2	2.9	3.1	1,100	1,000	2,100
Winchester	1.4	0.5	1.0	3.5	2.6	3.0	1,300	800	2,100
Isle of Wight	4.1	1.9	3.1	9.6	5.9	7.8	4,000	2,200	6,300
Kent									
Ashford	2.1	0.9	1.5	5.1	3.9	4.5	1,700	1,200	3,000
Canterbury	2.4	1.0	1.7	4.7	3.0	3.9	2,100	1,300	3,400
Dartford	2.6	1.2	1.9	5.9	3.6	4.8	1,700	900	2,600
Dover	4.0	1.4	2.8	9.1	5.4	7.3	2,900	1,600	4,500
Gravesham	3.6	1.8	2.7	8.1	5.9	7.0	2,400	1,600	4,100
Maidstone	2.0	0.9	1.5	4.4	3.1	3.8	2,000	1,300	3,300
Medway Towns	3.8	1.6	2.8	7.7	5.4	6.6	6,300	4,200	10,500
Sevenoaks	1.5	0.7	1.1	3.9	3.1	3.5	1,300	1,000	2,300
Shepway	4.6	1.7	3.2	10.7	5.6	8.2	3,200	1,600	4,800
Swale	3.6	1.7	2.7	8.8	5.9	7.4	3,600	2,200	5,700
Thanet	5.4	1.8	3.6	12.2	6.4	9.3	4,500	2,300	6,700
Tonbridge and Malling	1.6	0.7	1.2	4.7	3.4	4.1	1,700	1,100	2,800
Tunbridge Wells	1.5	0.5	1.0	4.1	2.7	3.4	1,400	800	2,200

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Oxfordshire									
Cherwell	1.6	0.7	1.2	3.8	3.7	3.8	1,700	1,500	3,200
Oxford	2.2	0.8	1.6	4.4	2.8	3.7	2,500	1,500	3,900
South Oxfordshire	1.2	0.5	0.9	3.3	2.5	2.9	1,300	900	2,300
Vale of White Horse	1.1	0.5	0.8	3.1	2.5	2.8	1,200	800	2,000
West Oxfordshire	1.0	0.4	0.7	3.0	2.4	2.8	900	700	1,600
Surrey									
Elmbridge	1.0	0.4	0.7	3.0	2.4	2.8	1,300	1,000	2,200
Epsom and Ewell	1.3	0.6	1.0	4.0	3.3	3.7	900	700	1,500
Guildford	1.4	0.5	1.0	3.4	2.5	3.0	1,500	1,000	2,600
Mole Valley	1.1	0.4	0.8	3.1	2.5	2.8	800	600	1,300
Reigate and Banstead	1.2	0.5	0.9	3.4	2.9	3.2	1,400	1,100	2,500
Runnymede	1.4	0.6	1.0	3.4	2.6	3.0	900	600	1,500
Spelthorne	1.9	0.7	1.3	3.9	2.8	3.4	1,100	700	1,800
Surrey Heath	1.2	0.6	0.9	3.2	2.6	2.9	800	600	1,500
Tandridge	1.1	0.5	0.8	3.2	2.8	3.0	800	600	1,400
Waverley	1.0	0.4	0.7	3.1	2.4	2.8	1,100	800	1,900
Woking	1.6	0.6	1.1	3.6	2.6	3.1	1,100	700	1,800
West Sussex									
Adur	2.1	0.9	1.6	5.7	4.6	5.2	1,000	700	1,700
Arun	2.4	1.1	1.8	6.3	4.1	5.3	2,600	1,500	4,100
Chichester	1.9	0.8	1.3	3.9	2.8	3.4	1,200	800	2,100
Crawley	2.2	0.9	1.6	5.9	5.1	5.5	1,900	1,500	3,400
Horsham	1.4	0.7	1.1	3.5	2.7	3.1	1,300	1,000	2,300
Mid Sussex	1.1	0.5	0.8	3.2	2.5	2.9	1,300	900	2,200
Worthing	2.2	0.8	1.5	6.6	3.4	5.1	1,900	900	2,800

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
EASTERN									
Bedfordshire									
Luton	4.7	2.1	3.5	9.2	7.0	8.2	5,600	3,900	9,500
Mid Bedfordshire	1.4	0.7	1.1	2.6	3.3	2.9	1,100	1,300	2,400
Bedford	3.5	1.4	2.5	6.1	5.4	5.8	3,100	2,400	5,500
South Bedfordshire	2.2	1.1	1.7	4.5	4.6	4.6	1,700	1,600	3,300
Essex									
Basildon	3.3	1.3	2.3	7.3	6.6	7.0	3,800	3,300	7,200
Braintree	2.2	1.0	1.6	3.7	4.9	4.3	1,700	2,000	3,700
Brentwood	1.3	0.6	1.0	2.5	3.1	2.8	500	600	1,200
Castle Point	2.0	1.0	1.5	4.4	5.2	4.8	1,200	1,300	2,500
Chelmsford	2.0	1.0	1.5	3.2	3.5	3.3	1,700	1,700	3,400
Colchester	2.3	1.1	1.7	4.2	4.5	4.4	2,300	2,200	4,500
Epping Forest	2.3	1.3	1.8	4.2	4.6	4.4	1,600	1,700	3,300
Harlow	4.3	1.9	3.1	8.1	7.1	7.6	2,000	1,700	3,700
Maldon	2.1	1.1	1.6	4.1	4.7	4.4	800	800	1,600
Rochford	1.8	0.7	1.2	3.6	3.9	3.7	900	900	1,700
Southend on Sea	4.9	1.8	3.4	9.5	6.7	8.1	4,600	3,000	7,700
Tendring	4.1	1.7	2.9	9.3	7.0	8.2	3,600	2,500	6,100
Thurrock	3.6	1.6	2.6	5.6	5.0	5.3	2,700	2,300	4,900
Uttlesford	1.3	0.5	0.9	2.4	3.0	2.7	600	600	1,200
Hertfordshire									
Broxbourne	2.4	1.2	1.8	4.9	5.5	5.2	1,300	1,400	2,800
Dacorum	2.6	1.2	1.9	4.3	4.4	4.3	1,900	1,800	3,700
East Hertfordshire	1.3	0.7	1.0	2.5	3.2	2.8	1,100	1,300	2,300
Hertsmere	2.2	1.0	1.6	4.8	5.0	4.9	1,400	1,400	2,800
North Hertfordshire	1.9	0.9	1.4	3.5	3.6	3.5	1,300	1,300	2,600

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Hertfordshire (cont'd)									
St Albans	1.4	0.6	1.0	2.5	3.1	2.8	1,100	1,200	2,300
Stevenage	3.4	1.3	2.4	6.7	5.5	6.1	1,700	1,300	3,000
Three Rivers	1.6	0.6	1.1	2.8	3.1	3.0	700	800	1,500
Watford	2.7	1.1	1.9	5.3	4.6	5.0	1,400	1,100	2,600
Welwyn Hatfield	2.4	1.0	1.7	4.8	4.5	4.7	1,500	1,400	2,900
Cambridgeshire									
Cambridge	2.2	0.9	1.6	3.4	3.4	3.4	1,600	1,400	3,100
East Cambridgeshire	1.8	0.8	1.3	2.9	3.8	3.4	700	900	1,600
Fenland	3.2	1.7	2.5	7.1	8.1	7.6	1,900	2,000	3,800
Huntingdonshire	1.9	0.9	1.4	3.4	4.3	3.8	1,800	2,100	3,900
Peterborough	4.6	1.8	3.2	8.9	7.7	8.3	4,600	3,700	8,300
South Cambridgeshire	1.2	0.5	0.9	2.4	3.0	2.7	1,100	1,200	2,300
Norfolk									
Breckland	2.7	1.3	2.0	5.0	5.3	5.1	2,000	1,800	3,800
Broadland	1.9	0.7	1.3	3.6	4.2	3.9	1,300	1,400	2,800
Great Yarmouth	7.5	3.2	5.4	13.8	10.4	12.2	3,900	2,700	6,600
King's Lynn and West Norfolk	3.0	1.4	2.2	7.6	7.0	7.3	3,200	2,700	5,900
North Norfolk	3.1	1.4	2.3	7.2	6.0	6.6	2,100	1,500	3,600
Norwich	5.3	1.7	3.6	10.3	7.5	9.0	4,600	3,000	7,600
South Norfolk	2.1	0.9	1.5	3.7	3.9	3.8	1,300	1,300	2,600

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Suffolk									
Babergh	1.9	0.8	1.4	3.1	3.4	3.2	800	800	1,600
Forest Heath	1.3	0.8	1.1	2.5	3.7	3.0	600	700	1,200
Ipswich	5.0	1.8	3.4	9.0	6.9	8.0	3,400	2,400	5,800
Mid Suffolk	1.6	0.8	1.2	2.7	3.9	3.3	800	1,000	1,800
St Edmundsbury	2.2	1.0	1.6	3.3	4.2	3.7	1,100	1,200	2,300
Suffolk Coastal	1.9	0.8	1.3	3.0	3.3	3.1	1,100	1,100	2,100
Waveney	5.5	2.2	3.9	9.9	8.0	9.0	3,300	2,500	5,800
LONDON									
Inner London									
Camden	4.0	1.8	3.0	9.3	7.2	8.3	7,900	5,800	13,700
Hackney	7.9	3.3	5.6	15.4	10.1	12.7	10,700	7,000	17,700
Hammersmith and Fulham	4.1	1.9	3.0	8.3	6.9	7.6	5,600	4,300	9,900
Haringey	7.0	3.1	5.1	13.1	10.1	11.6	10,600	7,500	18,100
Islington	5.8	2.8	4.3	13.1	10.4	11.8	8,800	6,800	15,500
Kensington and Chelsea	2.3	1.2	1.8	5.4	5.2	5.3	3,900	3,600	7,500
Lambeth	6.2	2.9	4.6	11.4	8.8	10.2	11,700	7,900	19,600
Lewisham	5.9	2.5	4.2	10.9	8.6	9.7	9,400	6,900	16,300
Newham	6.8	2.8	4.9	12.6	9.5	11.1	10,700	7,300	18,000
Southwark	5.9	2.7	4.4	11.1	8.9	10.1	10,500	7,600	18,100
Tower Hamlets	8.0	3.1	5.7	13.3	8.4	11.0	10,400	5,900	16,200
Wandsworth	3.3	1.4	2.3	5.4	5.0	5.2	5,500	5,100	10,700
Westminster	2.7	1.4	2.1	6.8	6.0	6.4	6,400	5,300	11,800

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Outer London									
Barking and Dagenham	5.3	2.3	3.8	11.3	9.0	10.2	5,800	4,500	10,300
Barnet	3.2	1.5	2.4	6.1	5.6	5.8	6,600	5,800	12,400
Bexley	2.9	1.4	2.2	6.1	6.2	6.2	4,200	4,100	8,300
Brent	5.6	2.6	4.2	11.2	8.5	9.9	10,700	7,400	18,100
Bromley	2.6	1.1	1.9	5.6	5.3	5.4	5,300	4,800	10,100
Croydon	3.7	1.7	2.7	7.5	6.0	6.7	8,400	6,500	15,000
Ealing	3.8	1.9	2.9	8.3	7.3	7.8	9,000	6,900	15,900
Enfield	4.9	2.3	3.6	10.1	8.7	9.4	9,300	7,500	16,800
Greenwich	5.0	2.3	3.7	10.5	8.9	9.7	8,100	6,600	14,600
Harrow	2.9	1.5	2.2	6.3	6.4	6.3	4,400	4,200	8,700
Havering	2.6	1.2	1.9	6.5	6.6	6.5	4,500	4,400	8,900
Hillingdon	2.9	1.4	2.2	6.3	6.3	6.3	5,200	5,000	10,200
Hounslow	3.0	1.7	2.4	7.5	7.6	7.5	5,600	5,100	10,700
Kingston upon Thames	1.7	0.8	1.3	3.6	4.4	4.0	1,900	2,200	4,100
Merton	2.9	1.4	2.2	4.8	5.0	4.9	3,300	3,100	6,400
Redbridge	3.8	1.8	2.9	7.0	6.6	6.8	5,800	5,100	10,900
Richmond upon Thames	1.6	0.7	1.2	3.4	4.4	3.9	2,200	2,600	4,800
Sutton	2.5	1.2	1.9	5.4	5.4	5.4	3,100	2,900	6,000
Waltham Forest	6.1	2.5	4.3	10.9	7.9	9.5	8,400	5,700	14,000
Avon									
Bath and North East Somerset	1.5	0.6	1.1	3.8	3.2	3.5	2,200	1,700	3,800
Bristol	3.5	1.3	2.5	8.4	6.0	7.2	11,600	7,500	19,100
North Somerset	1.7	0.7	1.3	5.7	4.6	5.2	3,400	2,500	5,900
South Gloucestershire	1.4	0.7	1.1	2.8	3.5	3.1	2,200	2,500	4,800

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Cornwall									
Caradon	2.2	1.1	1.7	4.7	5.7	5.2	1,200	1,300	2,500
Carrick	2.6	1.2	1.9	5.4	4.9	5.1	1,500	1,200	2,700
Kerrier	2.6	1.2	1.9	7.4	6.3	6.9	2,200	1,700	3,900
North Cornwall	2.5	1.5	2.0	6.4	7.2	6.8	1,600	1,600	3,300
Penwith	4.2	1.8	3.1	9.4	7.6	8.6	1,800	1,300	3,200
Restormel	3.5	1.7	2.7	8.6	6.2	7.5	2,700	1,800	4,400
Devon									
East Devon	1.5	0.7	1.1	3.2	3.2	3.2	1,200	1,100	2,200
Exeter	2.2	0.9	1.6	5.3	4.0	4.7	2,200	1,500	3,700
Mid Devon	1.9	0.8	1.4	4.8	4.1	4.4	1,100	800	1,900
North Devon	2.8	1.2	2.0	6.5	5.5	6.0	1,800	1,400	3,100
Plymouth	3.5	1.3	2.4	9.0	7.6	8.3	7,300	5,600	13,000
South Hams	1.5	0.8	1.1	3.4	3.7	3.5	800	800	1,700
Teignbridge	2.0	0.9	1.5	4.8	4.5	4.6	1,800	1,500	3,300
Torbay	4.4	1.6	3.1	11.0	7.8	9.4	4,300	2,800	7,100
Torridge	3.0	1.7	2.4	6.4	6.1	6.2	1,200	1,000	2,200
West Devon	1.6	0.9	1.3	4.1	4.8	4.4	600	600	1,300
Dorset									
Bournemouth	2.9	1.0	2.0	8.5	4.9	6.8	4,500	2,400	6,900
Christchurch	1.8	0.7	1.3	4.0	4.1	4.1	500	500	900
East Dorset	1.0	0.5	0.8	2.3	3.0	2.6	500	700	1,200
North Dorset	1.0	0.5	0.8	2.4	3.4	2.8	500	600	1,100
Poole	1.8	0.7	1.3	4.5	4.3	4.4	1,900	1,700	3,600
Purbeck	1.2	0.5	0.9	3.2	3.4	3.3	400	400	800
West Dorset	1.5	0.7	1.1	3.5	3.9	3.7	900	1,000	1,900
Weymouth and Portland	3.3	1.3	2.4	9.3	7.0	8.2	1,900	1,200	3,200

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Gloucestershire									
Cheltenham	3.3	1.0	2.2	5.8	4.2	5.0	2,100	1,400	3,500
Cotswold	1.3	0.7	1.0	2.5	2.8	2.7	700	700	1,300
Forest of Dean	2.4	1.2	1.8	5.1	5.6	5.3	1,300	1,300	2,600
Gloucester	3.4	1.2	2.3	7.7	5.4	6.6	2,700	1,800	4,500
Stroud	1.7	0.7	1.2	3.7	3.7	3.7	1,300	1,200	2,400
Tewkesbury	1.9	0.8	1.4	3.6	3.3	3.5	900	700	1,600
Somerset									
Mendip	1.7	0.8	1.3	3.7	4.0	3.8	1,200	1,200	2,500
Sedgemoor	2.4	1.0	1.7	6.3	5.3	5.8	2,100	1,600	3,800
South Somerset	1.7	0.6	1.2	4.5	4.2	4.3	2,100	1,800	3,900
Taunton Deane	1.8	0.8	1.3	5.0	4.2	4.6	1,600	1,300	2,900
West Somerset	2.4	1.1	1.8	6.8	5.4	6.1	700	500	1,200
Wiltshire									
Kennet	1.1	0.5	0.8	2.3	2.7	2.5	600	600	1,200
North Wiltshire	1.3	0.7	1.0	2.6	3.1	2.9	1,100	1,200	2,300
Salisbury	1.2	0.5	0.9	2.8	3.2	3.0	1,000	1,000	2,100
Swindon	2.6	1.4	2.1	5.0	5.3	5.1	3,100	2,900	6,000
West Wiltshire	1.7	0.9	1.3	4.0	4.2	4.1	1,500	1,500	3,000
Herefordshire	2.1	1.0	1.6	4.3	4.4	4.4	2,400	2,200	4,600
Shropshire									
Bridgnorth	2.0	1.1	1.6	4.1	4.7	4.4	700	700	1,400
North Shropshire	2.2	1.1	1.7	4.3	4.9	4.6	800	800	1,600
Oswestry	2.8	1.2	2.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	700	700	1,400
Shrewsbury and Atcham	2.2	0.9	1.6	4.7	4.3	4.5	1,400	1,200	2,600
South Shropshire	1.6	0.8	1.2	3.5	3.8	3.6	400	400	900
Telford and Wrekin	3.4	1.4	2.5	7.6	7.5	7.5	4,000	3,700	7,700

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Staffordshire									
Cannock Chase	3.3	1.4	2.4	7.7	6.9	7.4	2,400	1,900	4,300
East Staffordshire	2.4	1.1	1.8	5.6	5.0	5.3	1,900	1,600	3,500
Lichfield	1.9	0.9	1.4	4.1	4.2	4.1	1,300	1,100	2,400
Newcastle under Lyme	2.5	1.0	1.8	6.7	6.6	6.7	2,700	2,400	5,100
South Staffordshire	2.6	1.0	1.9	4.6	4.6	4.6	1,600	1,400	2,900
Stafford	2.7	1.0	1.9	4.7	4.4	4.6	1,900	1,600	3,500
Staffordshire Moorlands	1.7	0.9	1.3	4.9	5.4	5.2	1,500	1,500	2,900
Stoke on Trent	4.9	1.9	3.5	13.4	10.7	12.1	10,300	7,600	18,000
Tamworth	3.1	1.3	2.3	7.0	6.6	6.8	1,700	1,500	3,200
Warwickshire									
North Warwickshire	2.4	1.2	1.9	4.6	5.0	4.8	900	900	1,900
Nuneaton and Bedworth	4.2	1.6	3.0	8.9	7.2	8.1	3,500	2,600	6,000
Rugby	2.6	1.1	1.9	5.0	4.7	4.9	1,500	1,200	2,700
Stratford on Avon	1.9	0.7	1.3	3.0	3.2	3.1	1,100	1,100	2,200
Warwick	2.4	0.9	1.7	3.5	3.3	3.4	1,700	1,400	3,100
West Midlands									
Birmingham	8.8	2.9	6.0	15.0	8.6	11.9	47,300	26,100	73,300
Coventry	6.0	2.1	4.2	10.9	8.1	9.6	11,200	7,200	18,400
Dudley	5.2	2.0	3.7	9.9	6.9	8.5	9,600	6,100	15,600
Sandwell	7.6	2.7	5.2	13.9	9.0	11.5	12,500	7,500	19,900
Solihull	3.3	1.3	2.4	6.6	5.7	6.2	4,100	3,300	7,400
Walsall	6.8	2.6	4.8	11.8	8.1	10.1	9,200	5,800	15,000
Wolverhampton	7.4	2.9	5.2	13.6	9.4	11.6	10,400	6,500	17,000

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Worcestershire									
Bromsgrove	2.9	1.1	2.0	4.0	3.7	3.8	1,200	1,000	2,100
Malvern Hills	1.8	0.9	1.3	3.8	4.6	4.2	900	900	1,800
Redditch	3.3	1.4	2.4	7.2	6.5	6.9	1,900	1,600	3,500
Worcester	3.6	1.5	2.6	6.3	5.1	5.7	1,900	1,500	3,400
Wychavon	2.0	1.1	1.6	3.6	4.2	3.9	1,300	1,400	2,700
Wyre Forest	2.9	1.4	2.2	6.3	6.0	6.1	2,000	1,700	3,700
EAST MIDLANDS									
Derbyshire									
Amber Valley	2.8	1.3	2.1	6.4	6.9	6.7	2,500	2,400	4,900
Bolsover	4.0	1.6	2.9	12.6	9.9	11.3	2,900	2,100	5,000
Chesterfield	4.8	1.8	3.4	12.1	8.7	10.4	3,800	2,500	6,300
Derby	4.6	1.7	3.3	9.6	8.0	8.8	7,200	5,500	12,700
Derbyshire Dales	1.6	0.7	1.2	3.1	4.9	3.9	700	900	1,600
Erewash	3.4	1.4	2.5	6.4	6.7	6.5	2,200	2,200	4,400
High Peak	2.4	1.0	1.8	5.2	5.9	5.5	1,500	1,600	3,100
North East Derbyshire	3.1	1.3	2.2	7.9	7.1	7.5	2,400	2,000	4,400
South Derbyshire	1.7	0.9	1.3	5.0	6.7	5.8	1,400	1,800	3,200
Leicestershire									
Blaby	1.5	0.9	1.2	2.7	4.2	3.4	800	1,100	1,900
Charnwood	2.1	1.0	1.6	3.4	5.2	4.3	1,900	2,500	4,400
Harborough	1.2	0.5	0.9	2.4	3.7	3.0	600	900	1,500
Hinckley and Bosworth	2.1	1.1	1.6	3.6	5.4	4.4	1,200	1,600	2,800
Leicester	6.6	2.6	4.7	11.4	9.4	10.4	10,800	8,500	19,300
Melton	1.8	0.8	1.3	3.0	4.0	3.5	500	600	1,000
North West Leicestershire	2.2	1.1	1.7	5.0	6.6	5.7	1,400	1,700	3,100
Oadby and Wigston	2.5	1.1	1.8	4.0	5.7	4.8	700	900	1,600

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Lincolnshire									
Boston	3.3	1.5	2.5	8.3	8.3	8.3	1,500	1,300	2,800
East Lindsey	3.9	1.8	2.9	10.1	8.9	9.5	4,100	3,200	7,400
Lincoln	5.0	1.5	3.3	9.8	7.3	8.6	2,800	2,000	4,800
North Kesteven	1.8	0.8	1.3	2.9	4.6	3.7	900	1,300	2,200
South Holland	2.7	1.4	2.1	4.6	6.8	5.6	1,100	1,500	2,600
South Kesteven	2.0	1.0	1.5	3.6	5.2	4.4	1,500	1,900	3,400
West Lindsey	3.4	1.6	2.5	7.2	6.3	6.8	1,900	1,500	3,400
Northamptonshire									
Corby	4.1	1.7	3.0	9.9	9.7	9.8	1,700	1,500	3,200
Daventry	1.9	1.0	1.5	3.1	5.3	4.1	800	1,200	2,000
East Northamptonshire	2.2	1.1	1.7	3.7	5.3	4.5	1,000	1,300	2,200
Kettering	3.1	1.3	2.2	5.8	6.4	6.1	1,600	1,600	3,200
Northampton	3.8	1.4	2.6	6.7	6.1	6.4	4,300	3,700	8,000
South Northamptonshire	1.2	0.5	0.9	2.4	3.8	3.1	700	1,000	1,600
Wellingborough	3.6	1.5	2.6	6.5	6.5	6.5	1,500	1,400	2,900
Nottinghamshire									
Ashfield	3.5	1.5	2.5	9.5	9.1	9.3	3,500	3,100	6,500
Bassetlaw	3.0	1.3	2.2	10.2	9.0	9.7	3,700	2,900	6,500
Broxtowe	2.5	1.1	1.8	5.6	6.6	6.1	2,000	2,100	4,200
Gedling	2.7	1.0	1.9	6.1	6.5	6.3	2,200	2,200	4,300
Mansfield	3.9	1.3	2.6	12.2	10.0	11.2	3,800	2,900	6,800
Newark and Sherwood	2.5	1.1	1.8	7.1	7.3	7.2	2,500	2,300	4,800
Nottingham	6.2	2.1	4.3	11.5	8.9	10.3	11,400	7,800	19,300
Rushcliffe	1.6	0.7	1.1	2.8	3.9	3.3	1,000	1,200	2,200
Rutland	0.9	0.5	0.7	2.0	3.7	2.8	300	400	600

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
YORKSHIRE AND THE HUMBER									
Humberside									
East Riding of Yorkshire	3.0	1.3	2.2	5.3	4.1	4.7	5,400	3,800	9,200
Kingston upon Hull	8.5	2.8	5.8	13.9	8.7	11.4	11,600	6,500	18,100
North East Lincolnshire	5.7	2.1	4.0	10.7	6.7	8.8	5,200	3,100	8,300
North Lincolnshire	4.0	1.5	2.8	8.1	6.3	7.2	4,000	2,800	6,800
North Yorkshire									
Craven	1.5	0.8	1.2	3.1	2.7	2.9	500	400	900
Hambleton	1.7	0.8	1.3	3.2	2.7	3.0	900	600	1,500
Harrogate	1.5	0.7	1.1	3.1	2.7	2.9	1,500	1,200	2,700
Richmondshire	1.5	0.8	1.2	3.1	2.8	3.0	500	400	900
Ryedale	1.7	1.0	1.4	3.2	3.0	3.1	500	400	900
Scarborough	5.0	1.9	3.5	10.5	7.3	8.9	3,300	2,200	5,500
Selby	2.5	1.2	1.9	4.7	3.8	4.2	1,200	900	2,000
York	2.5	0.9	1.7	4.0	2.8	3.5	2,500	1,700	4,100
South Yorkshire									
Barnsley	3.9	1.5	2.8	12.9	10.3	11.6	9,100	6,800	15,900
Doncaster	4.7	1.6	3.3	10.7	8.1	9.5	9,900	6,800	16,700
Rotherham	4.0	1.4	2.8	10.5	7.5	9.0	8,400	5,600	14,000
Sheffield	4.2	1.4	2.9	8.9	5.9	7.5	15,300	9,300	24,600
West Yorkshire									
Bradford	5.0	1.7	3.4	10.4	6.8	8.7	15,900	9,700	25,600
Calderdale	4.4	1.6	3.0	8.6	6.3	7.5	5,300	3,700	9,000
Kirklees	3.9	1.4	2.7	8.5	6.1	7.3	10,600	7,200	17,800
Leeds	4.5	1.5	3.0	7.6	5.1	6.4	17,800	11,600	29,500
Wakefield	3.8	1.4	2.6	10.1	7.7	9.0	10,500	7,400	17,900

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
NORTH WEST									
Cheshire									
Chester	2.4	0.9	1.6	5.8	4.6	5.2	2,100	1,700	3,800
Congleton	2.0	0.8	1.4	2.7	3.5	3.1	800	900	1,700
Crewe and Nantwich	3.0	1.1	2.1	5.4	5.4	5.4	1,900	1,800	3,700
Ellesmere Port and Neston	3.6	1.0	2.3	8.1	6.8	7.5	2,000	1,600	3,600
Halton	5.4	1.8	3.6	13.2	10.6	11.9	5,000	3,900	8,900
Macclesfield	1.5	0.6	1.1	2.7	3.7	3.2	1,300	1,600	2,900
Vale Royal	2.9	1.2	2.1	4.9	5.6	5.2	2,000	2,000	4,000
Warrington	2.9	1.0	2.0	5.5	5.4	5.4	3,500	3,100	6,600
Greater Manchester									
Bolton	4.1	1.4	2.8	10.3	8.2	9.3	8,700	6,500	15,200
Bury	3.1	1.1	2.1	7.8	6.6	7.3	4,600	3,600	8,200
Manchester	5.9	1.8	4.0	13.5	9.1	11.4	20,900	12,900	33,800
Oldham	4.5	1.5	3.1	11.2	8.7	10.0	7,600	5,600	13,200
Rochdale	4.7	1.6	3.2	12.6	9.7	11.2	8,200	6,000	14,200
Salford	4.6	1.5	3.1	12.1	8.6	10.5	8,700	5,500	14,200
Stockport	2.6	0.9	1.8	6.1	5.6	5.9	5,400	4,600	10,100
Tameside	3.8	1.4	2.6	10.9	8.8	9.9	7,500	5,700	13,100
Trafford	2.9	1.0	2.0	6.8	6.1	6.4	4,600	3,900	8,400
Wigan	4.0	1.5	2.8	9.4	9.5	9.4	9,400	8,600	18,100

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Lancashire									
Blackburn with Darwen	4.7	1.4	3.1	12.2	8.4	10.4	5,400	3,400	8,800
Blackpool	6.1	2.0	4.1	14.8	10.0	12.5	6,600	4,000	10,600
Burnley	3.9	1.4	2.6	12.0	9.6	10.8	3,200	2,500	5,800
Chorley	2.4	1.0	1.7	4.7	5.5	5.1	1,700	1,700	3,400
Fylde	1.7	0.7	1.3	4.3	5.2	4.7	1,000	1,100	2,100
Hyndburn	3.2	1.1	2.2	11.0	9.0	10.0	2,800	2,100	4,900
Lancaster	3.8	1.1	2.5	8.4	6.2	7.3	3,700	2,600	6,300
Pendle	3.2	1.4	2.4	9.8	8.7	9.3	2,800	2,300	5,000
Preston	4.0	1.3	2.7	8.2	6.7	7.5	3,500	2,700	6,200
Ribble Valley	1.1	0.5	0.8	3.2	4.1	3.7	600	700	1,200
Rossendale	2.5	0.9	1.8	8.4	7.4	7.9	1,800	1,500	3,200
South Ribble	2.1	0.8	1.5	4.6	5.7	5.1	1,600	1,800	3,400
West Lancashire	3.9	1.5	2.8	7.8	6.5	7.2	2,600	2,100	4,800
Wyre	2.3	0.8	1.6	5.1	5.6	5.4	1,700	1,700	3,300
Merseyside									
Knowsley	7.0	2.3	4.6	16.7	13.1	14.9	7,500	6,000	13,500
Liverpool	8.3	2.8	5.6	17.3	11.7	14.5	25,500	16,800	42,300
St Helens	4.5	1.6	3.1	11.5	9.8	10.7	6,400	5,100	11,500
Sefton	4.7	1.6	3.2	11.0	8.5	9.8	9,200	6,900	16,100
Wirral	6.0	1.9	4.0	13.2	9.0	11.1	12,300	8,300	20,600
Cumbria									
Allerdale	3.1	1.1	2.2	7.3	6.2	6.8	2,200	1,700	3,900
Barrow in Furness	4.5	1.3	3.0	15.6	11.1	13.4	3,400	2,200	5,600
Carlisle	3.2	1.1	2.2	6.0	6.2	6.1	2,000	1,900	3,900
Copeland	3.9	1.3	2.6	9.7	8.2	9.0	2,300	1,700	4,000
Eden	1.2	0.4	0.8	2.1	3.4	2.7	400	500	900
South Lakeland	1.2	0.5	0.9	3.1	3.7	3.4	1,000	1,000	2,000

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
NORTH EAST									
Cleveland									
Hartlepool	7.5	2.2	4.9	16.6	12.0	14.4	4,600	3,200	7,800
Middlesbrough	8.2	2.3	5.3	16.4	11.0	13.8	7,200	4,500	11,700
Redcar and Cleveland	6.3	1.9	4.1	12.6	9.1	10.9	5,300	3,700	9,000
Stockton on Tees	5.3	1.7	3.6	9.2	7.3	8.3	5,500	4,100	9,600
Durham									
Chester le Street	3.2	0.9	2.1	7.7	7.3	7.5	1,300	1,200	2,500
Darlington	4.9	1.5	3.2	9.7	6.2	8.0	3,000	1,800	4,800
Derwentside	3.8	1.2	2.6	9.5	7.6	8.6	2,600	1,900	4,500
Durham	2.3	0.9	1.6	4.2	4.6	4.3	1,400	1,400	2,700
Easington	4.0	1.5	2.7	17.2	14.8	16.0	4,900	4,000	9,000
Sedgefield	4.0	1.5	2.8	11.5	9.9	10.7	3,200	2,600	5,700
Teesdale	2.2	0.9	1.6	5.4	5.4	5.4	400	400	800
Wear Valley	5.1	1.7	3.4	11.5	9.3	10.4	2,200	1,700	3,900
Northumberland									
Alnwick	3.6	1.6	2.6	5.6	3.5	4.6	600	300	900
Berwick upon Tweed	4.0	2.1	3.1	8.3	6.1	7.3	700	400	1,100
Blyth Valley	4.9	1.7	3.3	11.5	8.6	10.1	3,000	2,100	5,100
Castle Morpeth	2.9	1.2	2.1	5.5	4.8	5.2	900	700	1,500
Tynedale	2.0	0.8	1.4	2.7	3.2	2.9	500	500	1,100
Wansbeck	6.1	2.2	4.3	13.2	9.6	11.5	2,600	1,700	4,300

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Tyne and Wear									
Gateshead	4.8	1.5	3.2	11.1	8.0	9.6	6,700	4,500	11,200
Newcastle upon Tyne	5.1	1.6	3.4	10.1	6.5	8.3	9,400	5,700	15,100
North Tyneside	4.9	1.6	3.3	9.7	7.2	8.5	5,800	4,100	10,000
South Tyneside	7.8	2.4	5.2	14.2	9.3	11.9	6,700	4,100	10,900
Sunderland	5.4	1.7	3.6	12.3	9.1	10.8	11,200	7,900	19,100
WALES									
Anglesey	4.7	1.8	3.3	10.7	7.7	9.3	2,300	1,500	3,700
Blaenau Gwent	6.7	2.3	4.6	16.7	15.0	15.9	3,500	3,000	6,500
Bridgend	3.6	1.4	2.5	9.5	10.8	10.1	3,900	4,100	8,000
Caerphilly	4.6	1.6	3.1	13.1	12.7	12.9	7,000	6,400	13,400
Cardiff	3.6	1.0	2.4	7.6	6.0	6.8	8,100	6,100	14,200
Carmarthenshire	3.5	1.3	2.4	9.5	10.3	9.9	5,100	5,200	10,300
Ceredigion	2.0	0.8	1.4	5.3	5.3	5.3	1,300	1,200	2,600
Conwy	3.8	1.2	2.5	8.4	6.8	7.6	2,700	2,000	4,700
Denbighshire	3.7	1.3	2.6	6.1	5.8	5.9	1,800	1,500	3,300
Flintshire	2.9	1.1	2.0	6.7	6.8	6.7	3,200	3,000	6,200
Gwynedd	3.9	1.4	2.7	7.0	5.5	6.3	2,500	1,800	4,400
Merthyr Tydfil	5.8	1.8	3.8	15.5	15.2	15.3	2,600	2,500	5,100
Monmouthshire	2.0	0.9	1.5	4.8	6.0	5.4	1,300	1,500	2,800
Neath Port Talbot	4.2	1.6	2.9	13.6	13.7	13.6	5,700	5,400	11,000
Newport	4.8	1.7	3.3	10.5	8.1	9.3	4,500	3,300	7,800
Pembrokeshire	2.9	1.1	2.0	8.7	8.0	8.4	3,000	2,600	5,600
Powys	2.3	1.1	1.7	4.6	5.4	5.0	1,900	1,900	3,800
Rhondda Cynon Taff	3.9	1.5	2.7	10.9	12.5	11.7	7,900	8,600	16,500
Swansea	3.7	1.3	2.5	10.1	9.2	9.6	7,200	6,100	13,300
Torfaen	4.0	1.5	2.8	10.0	8.8	9.4	2,800	2,300	5,100
Vale of Glamorgan	3.6	1.2	2.4	7.2	5.8	6.5	2,700	2,100	4,700
Wrexham	2.9	1.0	2.0	7.9	7.7	7.8	3,300	3,000	6,300

	Claimant Count (%)			Real Unemployment (%)			Real Unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
SCOTLAND									
Aberdeen	2.3	0.7	1.5	6.4	5.8	6.1	4,500	3,700	8,200
Aberdeenshire	1.3	0.6	0.9	2.3	4.3	3.3	1,800	3,000	4,800
Angus	3.8	1.5	2.7	6.3	5.9	6.1	2,100	1,800	4,000
Argyll & Bute	3.6	1.6	2.7	5.8	5.8	5.8	1,700	1,400	3,100
Clackmannanshire	4.8	1.8	3.3	11.3	11.7	11.5	1,800	1,700	3,500
Dumfries & Galloway	3.7	1.5	2.7	7.7	7.3	7.5	3,500	3,000	6,500
Dundee	6.4	1.8	4.1	13.8	9.1	11.4	6,100	4,000	10,100
East Ayrshire	5.9	2.1	4.0	11.7	9.4	10.6	4,400	3,400	7,800
East Dunbartonshire	2.4	0.8	1.6	4.3	5.5	4.9	1,400	1,700	3,100
East Lothian	2.1	0.9	1.5	5.0	5.5	5.2	1,400	1,500	2,800
East Renfrewshire	2.0	0.8	1.4	4.4	4.6	4.5	1,200	1,200	2,400
Edinburgh	3.3	1.1	2.2	6.5	4.6	5.6	10,100	7,000	17,100
Eilean Siar	5.3	1.5	3.6	9.3	4.1	6.9	800	300	1,100
Falkirk	4.1	1.4	2.8	8.8	8.5	8.7	4,200	3,900	8,100
Fife	4.9	1.7	3.3	9.2	8.0	8.6	10,500	8,600	19,100
Glasgow	6.3	1.8	4.1	16.5	11.5	14.0	31,900	21,600	53,500
Highland	3.2	1.4	2.3	7.4	6.8	7.1	5,000	4,200	9,200
Inverclyde	7.1	1.8	4.5	16.3	9.5	13.0	4,200	2,300	6,600
Midlothian	3.0	1.1	2.0	7.2	6.3	6.7	1,700	1,500	3,300
Moray	2.8	1.5	2.2	4.7	5.9	5.2	1,400	1,500	2,800
North Ayrshire	6.6	2.4	4.5	13.1	10.1	11.6	5,400	4,100	9,500
North Lanarkshire	4.6	1.4	3.0	11.1	10.5	10.8	11,400	10,600	22,000
Orkney Islands	2.2	1.1	1.7	3.5	3.5	3.5	200	200	400
Perth & Kinross	2.6	1.0	1.9	4.8	4.8	4.8	2,100	1,900	3,900
Renfrewshire	4.3	1.3	2.8	10.5	8.4	9.4	5,700	4,400	10,100
Scottish Borders	2.4	0.9	1.7	5.1	4.8	5.0	1,700	1,500	3,200
Shetland Islands	1.8	0.6	1.3	3.3	3.4	3.4	200	200	500
South Ayrshire	4.9	1.5	3.3	9.3	7.2	8.2	3,200	2,300	5,500
South Lanarkshire	3.7	1.3	2.5	9.5	8.6	9.1	9,200	8,100	17,300
Stirling	3.1	1.0	2.1	5.4	6.4	5.9	1,500	1,700	3,200
West Dunbartonshire	6.7	2.5	4.6	15.2	10.6	12.9	4,400	3,000	7,400
West Lothian	3.8	1.3	2.6	7.9	7.8	7.8	4,200	4,000	8,200