Explaining differences in health between Scotland and key post-industrial European regions

David Walsh & Martin Taulbut

Glasgow Centre for Population Health/ NHS Health Scotland
A presentation in 3 parts

1. Introduction & background (DW)
2. Presentation of data (MT)
3. Relevance/importance of work, and links to other programmes of work (DW)
Scotland: still the sick man of Europe

**Male life expectancy, 2002-2004, Western Europe**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Life expectancy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>79.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>79.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>79.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy (2001)</td>
<td>79.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>79.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>79.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>79.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England &amp; Wales</td>
<td>79.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark (2001)</td>
<td>79.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>79.1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: WHO; ONS

**Female life expectancy, 2002-2004, Western Europe**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Life expectancy</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
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<tr>
<td>Italy (2001)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>82.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>82.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>82.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>82.1</td>
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<td>Finland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>82.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
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<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>82.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belgium (2004)</td>
<td>82.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>82.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>England &amp; Wales</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>79.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: WHO; ONS

**All-cause deaths by council area: directly age/sex standardised rates per 100,000 population, 2005**

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Background

• Post-industrial decline (and associated factors) promoted as one of major reasons behind Scotland/WoS’s poor health profile

• Begs question: how have other similarly deindustrialised regions fared?
Project - Phase 1

- Identified 20 comparably deindustrialised regions in Europe
- Specific focus on 10 key regions
- Detailed analyses of long-term (20-25 years) mortality trends
- (Results published 2008)
European post-industrial regions

1. Ruhr (D)
2. Saxony-Anhalt (D)
3. Saxony (incl. Chemnitz and Leipzig regions) (D)
4. Wallonia (B)
5. Lorraine (incl. Moselle) (F)
6. Nord-Pas-de-Calais (F)
7. Alsace (F)
8. Silesia (incl. Katowice) (P)
9. N. Moravia (Cz)
10. Limburg (NL)
11. Greater Manchester
12. Tees Valley & Durham
13. Northumb'd, Tyne & Wear
14. Merseyside
15. West Midlands
16. Swansea & S. Wales coalfields
17. N. Ireland
18. West of Scotland
Phase 1 results

- Health of virtually all comparable European post-industrial regions was better and (NB) improving faster than Scotland/West of Scotland
Phase 1 results

Male life expectancy at birth, West of Scotland and ten post-industrial regions
Calculated from original source mortality and population data
Phase 1 results

Female life expectancy at birth, West of Scotland and ten post-industrial regions
Calculated from original source mortality and population data - see Appendix 4 of report for details
Phase 1 results

• Health of virtually all comparable European post-industrial regions was better and (NB) improving faster than Scotland/West of Scotland

• Trends driven especially by higher mortality in younger age groups (especially male) and middle-aged females

• Available data suggested most regions had worse socio-economic profiles than WoS
  – ‘though difficult to be sure because of limitations in data etc
Phase 2

• To investigate differences in key health determinants…
• …across 10 regions where possible
• But with specific focus on:
  – Ruhr (Germany)*
  – Nord-Pas-de-Calais (France)*
  – Northern Moravia (Czech Republic)*
  – Katowice/Silesia (Poland)
  – And also Merseyside (England)

* ‘partner’ regions
Difficult comparisons…

… for two reasons:

1. We are comparing WoS (an area with economic and social problems) with areas which have...economic and social problems
2. (Less interestingly) real problems in comparability of data sets (including cultural differences)
Difficult comparisons…


From: [name]
To: [name]
Cc: 
Subject: RE: Answers to your questions

Dear David,

in the attached file there are some data about registered job applicants and ascertained offences from Mrs. Benešová from CSU.

Data about ascertained offences are available only from 1991 and until 1990 there were no job applicants because of the communism in the Czech Republic. Do you know anything about it? Everyone has to be employed. If anybody had not work, he was considered to be an enemy of the republic and had to go to the prison. :-) It was funny.
Today’s presentation

• A very, very, very, very, very, very, very small amount of the data collected and analysed…
• ..to show an overview for all 10 regions (comparable data)…
• ..plus a few illustrative examples from ‘case studies’ (Ruhr, Nord-Pas-de-Calais etc)
Key questions

• Is the answer ‘just deprivation’?
• Do any other ‘themes’ emerge strongly from the data?
Overview

10-Region comparisons

• Income & life expectancy
• Subjective health
• Prosperity
• Social environment
• Physical environment
• Maternal & child health
• Health behaviours
• Social capital

..... v West of Scotland/Greater Glasgow (& Clyde)
Overview

10-Region comparisons

• Income & life expectancy
• Subjective health
• Prosperity
• Social environment
• Physical environment
• Maternal & child health
• Health behaviours
• Social capital

….. v West of Scotland/Greater Glasgow (& Clyde)

Case study insights

• Katowice/Slaskie (Polish Silesia)
• Nord-Pas-de-Calais
• The Ruhr
• Northern Moravia

…..using West of Scotland CHP/appropriate sub-regions
Disposable income per capita (in Euros) and female life expectancy, selected European post-industrial regions: 2004-06
Sources: Eurostat; ONS; GROS

The Ruhr
N. Ireland
Saxony
Nord-Pas-de-Calais
Limburg
Saxony-Anhalt
Wallonia
Swansea and South Wales Coalfields
Silesia
West of Scotland
N. Moravia (part)
Slaskie
Merseyside
Nord-Pas-de-Calais
Limburg
Saxony-Anhalt
Wallonia
Swansea and South Wales Coalfields
Silesia
West of Scotland
N. Moravia (part)
Slaskie
Subjective health

- Self-reported general health (very good/good)
- Life satisfaction (0-10)
Subjective health – self-reported health

Percentage of adults rating their general health as very good/good
Sources: European Social Survey Rounds 1-4; SHeS 2008; NI Health and Social Wellbeing Survey 2005-06; Health Surveys for England - National Centre for Social Research 2005-07

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>76</td>
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<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>74</td>
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<td>Wales</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Glasgow &amp; Clyde</td>
<td>72</td>
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<tr>
<td>Merseyside</td>
<td>71</td>
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<tr>
<td>Limburg</td>
<td>71</td>
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<td>North-Rhine-Westphalia</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td>Saxony-Anhalt</td>
<td>56</td>
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Subjective health – life satisfaction

Mean life satisfaction score (0-10), c. 2002-2009
Sources: European Social Survey Rounds 1-4; Scottish Health Survey 2008; German Socio-Economic Panel

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Region</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<td>Wales</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greater Glasgow &amp; Clyde</td>
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<td>7.0</td>
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<td>The Ruhr Valley</td>
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<td>Slaskie</td>
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<td>Saxony-Anhalt</td>
<td>6.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saxony</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Moravia</td>
<td>6.2</td>
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Prosperity

- Unemployment trends
- Employment rates (men/women)
- Perceived adequacy of h’hold income
- Case Study: Polish Silesia
Prosperity - unemployment

Adult unemployment rates, 1986-2008 (*)
Sources: Overman and Puga (2002); Eurostat; Czech Statistical Office; Central Statistical Office of Poland
(*) As % of economically active population


Percentage

Average
South Western Scotland
Prosperity - unemployment

Adult unemployment rates, 1986-2008 (*)

Sources: Overman and Puga (2002); Eurostat; Czech Statistical Office; Central Statistical Office of Poland

(*) As % of economically active population
Prosperity - unemployment

Adult unemployment rates, 1986-2008 (*)
Sources: Overman and Puga (2002); Eurostat; Czech Statistical Office; Central Statistical Office of Poland
(*) As % of economically active population
Prosperity – male employment

Crude employment rates, men aged 15-64: selected European regions, 1981-2005

Sources: Various

Percentage

Average

West of Scotland

Prosperity – female employment

Crude employment rates, women aged 15-64: selected European regions, 1981-2005

- West of Scotland
- Average
Prosperity – perceived income

Percentage of adults who find it difficult to manage on household income nowadays

Sources: European Social Survey Rounds 1-4; Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>West of Scotland</td>
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<td>Limburg</td>
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<tr>
<td>North West England</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
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<td>North-Rhine-Westphalia</td>
<td>14.4</td>
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<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>15.9</td>
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<td>Wales</td>
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<td>20.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slaskie</td>
<td>30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallonia</td>
<td>35.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Moravia</td>
<td>42.9</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Case study: Polish Silesia

- Unemployment standard measure of labour market participation
  - Both UK & Poland have high % of population aged 20-64 in receipt of disability benefits
Polish Silesia v West of Scotland - unemployment

Unemployed as % of economically active population: 2001/02
West of Scotland CH(C)Ps and Slaskie powiats/merged powiats
Sources: 2001 Census of Population; Population and Housing Census 2002
Polish Silesia v West of Scotland - unemployment

Unemployed as % of economically active population: 2001/02
West of Scotland CH(C)Ps and Slaskie powiats/merged powiats
Sources: 2001 Census of Population; Population and Housing Census 2002

[Bar chart showing unemployment rates for various regions compared to Jaworzno.]

- Jaworzno: Approximately 28%
- N. Glasgow: Approximately 24%
- E. Renfrewshire: Approximately 10%
- E. Dunbartonshire: Approximately 8%
- Renfrewshire: Approximately 6%
- S. Lanarkshire: Approximately 5%
- Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- Inverclyde: Approximately 4%
- W. Glasgow: Approximately 4%
- S.E. Glasgow: Approximately 4%
- W. Dunbartonshire: Approximately 4%
- E. Ayrshire: Approximately 4%
- N. Ayrshire: Approximately 4%
- S. Ayrshire: Approximately 4%
- S. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- S. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- W. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- N. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- S. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- W. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- E. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- N. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- S. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- W. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- E. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- N. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- S. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- W. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- E. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- N. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- S. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- W. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- E. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
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- S. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- W. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- E. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- N. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- S. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- W. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- E. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- N. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- S. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- W. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- E. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- N. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- S. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- W. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- E. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- N. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- S. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- W. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- E. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- N. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- S. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- W. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- E. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- N. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- S. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- W. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
- E. Lanarkshire: Approximately 4%
Polish Silesia vs West of Scotland - unemployment

Unemployed as % of economically active population: 2001/02
West of Scotland CH(C)Ps and Slaskie powiats/merged powiats
Sources: 2001 Census of Population; Population and Housing Census 2002

Jaworzno - 22.8%
N. Glasgow - 11.3%

[Bar chart showing unemployment rates in various regions of West of Scotland and Silesia, with Jaworzno having the highest rate.]
Social environment

• Educational attainment
  – % adults with tertiary level qualifications
  – % adults with low/no qualifications (< ISCED Level 3)

• Single person h’holds
Social env. – educational attainment

Percentage of adults with tertiary level qualifications, selected European regions
Sources: Eurostat
Percentage of adults aged 15+ with <ISCED Level 3 qualifications, selected European regions

Source: Eurostat

South Western Scotland
Average

Social env. – educational attainment
Percentage of households that are single person households, 1999-2002
Sources: Population Censuses; Urban Audit; Belgium Socio-economic Survey; German Microcensus

Slaskie 26.4
Nord-Pas-de-Calais 26.6
N. Ireland 27.4
Swansea and South Wales 28.5
N. Moravia 28.7
Limburg 29.6
Merseyside 31.5
Wallonia 32.4
Saxony-Anhalt 33.7
West of Scotland 33.8
Saxony 35.7
The Ruhr 36.9
Physical environment

- Rooms per person (overcrowding)
- Not owning home (renters)
Physical env. – rooms per person

Rooms per person, c. 1999-2002
Sources: Population Censuses; Federal Statistics Office
(*) estimated

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Rooms per person</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swansea &amp; S Wales Coalfields</td>
<td>2.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Merseyside</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limburg</td>
<td>2.1</td>
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<td>N. Ireland</td>
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<td>Saxony (*)</td>
<td>2.1</td>
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<td>Saxony-Anhalt (*)</td>
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<tr>
<td>North-Rhine Westphalia (*)</td>
<td>1.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wallonia (*)</td>
<td>1.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nord-Pas-de-Calais</td>
<td>1.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slaskie</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Moravia</td>
<td>1.1</td>
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Physical env. – not owning own home

Percentage of households not owning their own home, c. 1999-2002
Sources: Urban Audit 2001; Population Censuses; German Micro-Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<td>Merseyside</td>
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<td>Limburg</td>
<td>40.1</td>
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<td>Nord-Pas-de-Calais</td>
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<td>Slaskie</td>
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<td>North-Rhine-Westphalia</td>
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<td>Saxony</td>
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<td>The Ruhr</td>
<td>69.0</td>
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<td>Moravia</td>
<td>73.5</td>
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Maternal & child

- Lone parent households
- Births to mothers < 20
- Case Study: the Ruhr
Maternal & child – lone parent h’holds

Lone parent households, c. 1999-2002
(Households with children headed by a lone parent as % of all households with children)
Sources: Population Censuses c. 2001; Adjusted Urban Audit data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Limburg</td>
<td>14.6</td>
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<td>Slaskie</td>
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<td>Northern Moravia</td>
<td>22.2</td>
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<td>Nord-Pas-de-Calais</td>
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<td>Wallonia</td>
<td>25.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>25.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Swansea and South Wales</td>
<td>26.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>and the Coalfields</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>West of Scotland</td>
<td>31.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Ruhr (e)</td>
<td>32.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Merseyside</td>
<td>33.2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Maternal & child – births to mother <20

Percentage of births to mothers aged < 20: 2005-06
Sources: Eurostat; SMR02 ISD Scotland; Czech Statistical Office Regional Yearbooks

- Limburg: 1.9%
- Wallonia: 3.9%
- The Ruhr: 4.0%
- Northern Moravia: 4.2%
- Nord-Pas-de-Calais: 4.7%
- Saxony: 4.7%
- Slaskie: 5.2%
- Northern Ireland: 6.2%
- Saxony-Anhalt: 6.8%
- Merseyside: 8.4%
- West of Scotland: 8.5%
- Swansea & the South Wales Coalfields: 10.8%
Case Study: the Ruhr

- Can compare mothers < 18 in the Ruhr and West of Scotland
Ruhr v West of Scotland – mothers aged 15-17 (per 1000)

Teenage mothers - rate per 1000 women aged 15-17: 2008
West of Scotland local authority and Ruhr kreise
Sources: GRO (S); IT NRW
Ruhr v West of Scotland – mothers aged 15-17 (per 1000)

Teenage mothers - rate per 1000 women aged 15-17: 2008
West of Scotland local authority and Ruhr kreise
Sources: GRO (S); IT NRW

Rate per 1000 women aged 15-17

Wesel, Bochum, Unna, Ennepe-Ruhr-Kreis, Recklinghausen, Mülheim an der Ruhr, Hamm, Dortmund, Bottrop, Hamm, Duisburg, Gelsenkirchen, Oberhausen, E. Dunbartonshire, Herne, Renfrewshire, S. Lanarkshire, E. Ayrshire, S. Ayrshire, N. Lanarkshire, Glasgow, City, N. Ayrshire, Inverclyde, W. Dunbartonshire
Teensager mothers - rate per 1000 women aged 15-17: 2008
West of Scotland local authority and Ruhr kreise
Sources: GRO (S); IT NRW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Rate per 1000 women aged 15-17</th>
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<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>17.6</td>
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<td>Mülheim an der Ruhr</td>
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<td>Glasgow</td>
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Health behaviours

• Male smoking prevalence
• Female smoking prevalence
• Case Study: Nord-Pas-de-Calais
Health behaviours – male smoking rates

Percentage of adult males who are current smokers, c. 2004-06
Sources: Various (NPdC data from 2002-03)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
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Health behaviours – female smoking rates

Percentage of adult females who are current smokers, c. 2004-06

Sources: Various (NPdC data from 2002-03)

<table>
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<td>West of Scotland</td>
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</table>
Case study: Nord-Pas-de-Calais

- Evidence of poor diet & nutrition in West of Scotland compared to NPdC
- This extends to infant nutrition
Nord-Pas-de-Calais v West of Scotland - breastfeeding

Percentage of babies breastfed at 8-10 days: 2005-06
West of Scotland CH(C)Ps and Nord-Pas-de-Calais arrondissements/part-arrondissements
Sources: ISD Scotland; certificat de santé du 8ème jour transmis aux services de PMI Nord et du P-de-C
Nord-Pas-de-Calais v West of Scotland - breastfeeding

Percentage of babies breastfed at 8-10 days: 2005-06
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Sources: ISD Scotland; certificat de santé du 8ème jour transmis aux services de PMI Nord et du P-de-C
Social capital

• % of adults who never attend religious ceremonies except for special occasions
• % of adults not at all interested in politics
• Case Study: Northern Moravia
Social capital – religious observance

Percentage of adults who never attend religious ceremonies except on special occasions, c, 2002-08
Sources: European Social Survey Rounds 1-4; Continuous Household Survey 2007/08; Welsh Life and Times Survey 2003; Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2007
Social capital – no interest in politics

Percentage of adults not at all interested in politics, c. 2002-2008
Sources: European Social Survey Rounds 1-4; Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2007

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<th>Country</th>
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<td>Northern Ireland</td>
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Case study – Northern Moravia

- Voter turnout over time and space a possible indicator of social capital
- West of Scotland picture not unique
Voter turnout for parliamentary elections, West of Scotland and Northern Moravia: 1992 to 2005-06

Sources: Craig (1999); Boothroyd; Czech Statistical Office
Preliminary thoughts

• Compared to other post-industrial regions:
  – West of Scotland’s position not readily explained by lack of prosperity, poor physical environment or consistently weaker social capital
  – Mixed picture on social environment
  – A disconnect between poor objective health (mortality) and subjective health?
  – Maternal/child health less favourable
  – Limited health behaviour data but scope for improvement on female smoking & diet and nutrition
  – “More research is needed....”
Key questions

• Is the answer ‘just deprivation’?  No
• Do any other ‘themes’ emerge strongly from the data?
  – Child and maternal health issues
  – But no other clear differences
Links to other work....

• Glasgow-Liverpool-Manchester project (so-called ‘Glasgow Effect’)
• Three cities with almost identical levels of deprivation
• Three cities with almost identical patterning of/inequalities in deprivation
• Little change in city-levels of poverty in 50 years
• But premature mortality >30% higher in Glasgow compared to other two cities
• Little difference in health determinants (routine data)
• Suggests it’s not “just deprivation”
Everyone has a theory….

- Culture
- Genetics
- Migration
- Greater ‘vulnerability’ in Glasgow
- Psychological outlook
- Substance misuse cultures
- Social capital
- Spatial patterning of deprivation
- Family/parenting
- Gender
- Political attack
- Social mobility
- The weather…
Theories being investigated

- Culture
- Genetics
- Migration
- Greater ‘vulnerability’ in Glasgow
- Psychological outlook
- Substance misuse cultures
- Social capital
- Spatial patterning of deprivation
- Family/parenting
- Gender
- Political attack
- Social mobility
- The weather…
Relevant questions

• Why the continual focus on Glasgow/West of Scotland?
• Why does all this matter?
Focus on West of Scotland

• ‘Scottish Effect’ seen everywhere…
‘Scottish Effect’

Source: Guy Palmer: ‘The Poverty Site’ (www.poverty.org.uk)
Focus on West of Scotland

• ‘Scottish Effect’ seen everywhere…
• But more pronounced in WoS
• Our definition of WoS also comprises >40% of total population of Scotland
• (So also relevant to the next question…. )
Why does this matter?

• If it’s not “just about deprivation” then what has been going on in Scotland since the 1950s...?
Not always the ‘Sick Man of Europe’

Male life expectancy: Scotland & other Western European Countries, 1851-2005
Source: Human Mortality Database
Life expectancy trends

Male life expectancy: Scotland & selected European countries, 1950-2005
Source: Human Mortality Database
Life expectancy trends

Male life expectancy: Scotland & selected OECD countries, 1950-2005
Source: Human Mortality Database
Summary

• Comparisons of WoS with other post-industrial regions:
  – reinforce the message that it’s not “just deprivation”
  – highlight maternal and child health issues..
  – ..and a whole range of other deeply interesting facts that we’ve not had to summarise for today

• Programme of work underway to investigate reasons behind ‘Scottish’ or ‘Glasgow Effect’
Explaining differences in health between Scotland and key post-industrial European regions

David Walsh & Martin Taulbut

Glasgow Centre for Population Health/
NHS Health Scotland