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The Race to Recover: Exploring the factors affecting the economic resilience of different ethnicities during the COVID-19 pandemic in London

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ABSTRACT

The COVID-19 pandemic, having significantly exacerbated economic inequality worldwide, has increased calls to intensify scrutiny of pandemic-related ethnic disparities. Yet, this phenomenon is inadequately examined by existing literature: the corpus of research is predominantly quantitative and largely predictive rather than retrospective. Therefore, this paper aims to investigate the effects of ethnicity on economic inequality post-COVID and complement quantitative research by qualitatively exploring the ethnicity-specific factors that shape the economic resilience of different ethnicities. Accordingly, it contributes to the academic and policy landscape by critically examining ethnicity's multifaceted influences on economic resilience and integrating qualitative analysis with quantitative models. To achieve this, we employ a combination of quantitative (Ordinary Least Squares analysis) and qualitative (surveys through opportunity and snowball sampling) methodologies. First, our quantitative analysis found that the Black community was most adversely affected: from 2019 to 2021, for every 1%-point increase in the proportion of the Black population within a ward, 15 additional individuals required Universal Credit. Further, we identify several factors that can explain ethnicity-related inequalities. Ultimately, we conclude that although governmental predictions align in terms of pre-existing inequalities being a significant determinant, COVID-induced factors also contributed to post-pandemic ethnic inequalities in economic resilience.

Keywords: COVID-19 pandemic, economic resilience, ethnic inequalities, London, race

1. **INTRODUCTION**

COVID-19,¹ in significantly exacerbating economic inequality worldwide,² has increased calls to intensify scrutiny of the pandemic's impacts on ethnicity.³ Examining the relationship between economic resilience and ethnicity in the COVID-19 context is crucial, both in theory and practice, given the complex effects of ethnicity (Cheshmehzangi, 2021).

1.1 **Aims**

This paper's aims are twofold:

1. To investigate the effects of ethnicity on economic inequality; and
2. To complement quantitative research by qualitatively exploring ethnicity-specific factors that shape the varying economic resilience of different ethnicities.⁴

1.2 **Research Questions and Hypothesis**

This paper poses two research questions:

1. What are the effects of ethnicity on economic inequality?
2. How do ethnicity-specific factors affect the economic resilience of different ethnicities during COVID-19 in London?

We hypothesise that ethnic minority households' living standards will be disproportionately impacted by COVID-19,⁵ and that White household living standards will be least negatively affected post-pandemic, whereas Asian and Black/Black British families will be most harmed.⁶

1.3 **Implications**

This paper makes two contributions to existing research.

First, unlike prior research that examines the concepts of racial discrimination, economic inequality, and COVID-19 separately, this paper synthesises them to explore the ethnic

¹ The term "COVID-19" is synonymous with the term "COVID" in this paper.

² See Aspachs et al. (2021) and Gao et al. (2022) for insightful analysis of economic inequality during COVID-19.

³ See Aldridge et al. (2020), Bhatia (2020), and Treweek et al. (2020) for in-depth analysis for impacts of COVID-19 across different ethnic groups, especially on ethnic minorities.

⁴ "Ethnicities/ethnic groups" will encompass five main categories: Asian, Black, Mixed, White, and

Other. See Appendix A: Survey for a detailed breakdown of the aforementioned categories.

⁵ This is also evinced in the USA: Lee, Park, and Shin (2021) found that different races have different recovery rates. Furthermore, El-Khatib et al. (2020) have demonstrated that morbidity and mortality have been disproportionately higher for ethnic minorities.

⁶ This hypothesis aligns with governmental unemployment data and projections after COVID-19's initial stages. See Yordanova (2021), especially page 9, for original data of unemployment rates for different ethnicities.

dimension of post-pandemic inequality in economic resilience (Gezici & Ozay, 2020). Since one of social science's roles is to provide insight into such situations and steer society toward future improvement,⁷ deploying mixed methods helps us provide data that can inform policy. Furthermore, given calls that policymaking should consider ethnicity-specific factors to be truly inclusive and avoid worsening ethnic inequalities in times of crisis (Ferreira & Serpa, 2020; Lohse & Canali, 2021), this paper responds to them and contributes to filling the gap.

Second, this paper aims to bridge theoretical gaps in current econometric studies through integrating qualitative analysis with quantitative models.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Many papers, in analysing the relationship between individual characteristics and their responses to crises, have put forth a set of controls and quantitative methods.

Lee et al. (2021), Zuccotti & O'Riley (2018), and Khattab (2012) underscored the

importance of including specific controls when performing econometrics studies relating to individual characteristics and their impact on socio-economic performance.

Lee et al. (2021), in questioning the equality of COVID-19's economic impact on individuals with different demographic characteristics, argued that their investigation necessitated additional controls—gender, ethnicity, age, education level, occupation, and furlough.

Khattab (2012) highlighted the importance of controlling variables related to the impact of family structure on unemployment; these include qualifications, place of birth, age, marital status, and the number of dependent children.

Since these papers evince that both individual-level and population-level controls are vital in investigating the relationship between individuals' characteristics and background, and their ability to prosper economically, they form the foundation of our research. However, they

⁷ See Lasswell (1956) for in-depth analysis of roles and impacts of the study of political science. See Corsi & Michael Ryan (2022), Ferreira & Serpa (2020), Green & Cladi (2020), and Lohse & Canali

(2021) for illustrations of the roles of social sciences in the COVID-19 pandemic.

have yet to study London's specific context in the face of the pandemic.

Furthermore, most quantitative research surrounding COVID-19's aftermath focuses broadly on economic recovery,⁸ but not ethnic inequalities within that recovery. Analysis of COVID-related ethnicity-specific factors has also been broadly neglected: for instance, government sources claim that post-pandemic inequality is mostly caused by pre-existing inequalities (Lohse & Canali, 2021; Yordanova, 2021). Attempts at extending governmental sources fall short by examining economic factors, with Gezici & Ozay (2020) focusing solely on economic factors that explain the pandemic's racialised and gendered effects on unemployment. To extend this body of research, our paper aims to analyse the influence of non-economic societal factors, *inter alia*, cultural influences and social networks.

Moreover, research examining this subject has been mainly predictive, rather than retrospective.⁹ This paper complements existing research by retrospectively adding

⁸ See Bailey & Moon (2020), Gathergood et al. (2021), and Wang & Zhang (2021) for a comprehensive analysis of economic recovery post-pandemic.

new findings on COVID-induced race-based inequalities.

In seeking to bridge the gap between existing quantitative and qualitative research by exploring the *why*, two theoretical frameworks and a concept will be utilised in our qualitative analysis.

The Social Identity Theory argues that once social groups are formed, members tend to emphasise their in-group's positive characteristics, utilising that to exclude the out-group (Tajfel et al., 1979). This theory was selected as it aims to explain why exclusionary sentiments and inter-ethnic discrepancies in treatment are observable (Hogg, 2016); we build on this by placing it within the COVID-19 context.

The Racial Triangulation Theory aids the Social Identity Theory's application specifically to ethnic dynamics (Kim, 1999). Kim (1999) explains that discrimination and feelings of alienation are not homogenous across different ethnicities: discrimination can occur due to perceptions of ethnic groups being inferior in capacity and social

⁹ See Gezici & Ozay (2020) for detailed prediction of impact of ethnicity on household living standards post-pandemic.

outcomes, or due to perceptions of foreignness. Similar demographics in the UK and US¹⁰ allow us to expand the theory's applicability.

The aforementioned theories can help explain ethnic discrepancies in economic resilience post-pandemic by providing an understanding to analyse the Model Minority Myth (Museus & Kiang, 2009; Suzuki, 2002).¹¹ The myth claims that Asian immigrant populations are well-off in most societies and achieve high degrees of social mobility. Whereas it creates an excellent economic perception of these populations, it also pressurises Asian immigrant populations to refrain from seeking social assistance and makes it easier to neglect struggling Asian populations (Gupta et al., 2011).

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Quantitative

This paper carries out Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) on the following multiple regression:

$$UC = \alpha + \beta Ethnic + \delta X + \gamma Z + \varepsilon$$

We deem OLS the most appropriate approach for our analysis: it minimises the confounding effects of several extraneous variables that may emit selection bias, enabling a closer approach to causality (Alto, 2019).

Since examining how much help households need post-pandemic can approximate their degree of resilience (Hallegatte, 2014), we utilise the change of households that require Universal Credit (UC)¹² during the pandemic as a proxy to operationalise "economic resilience". This provides a quantifiable measure of how different ethnicities were affected by COVID-19. This model thus measures the impact of a percentage point change in the prevalence of specific ethnicities on the change in the number of people who claim UC.

¹⁰ Research in this area suggests the cross-cultural applicability of the Racial Triangulation Theory. Kim (2021), in applying this theory to the South Korean context, posits that this theory can be globalised.

¹¹ Initially coined in late 20th Century America, the Model Minority Myth refers to a perception that some Asian immigrant populations (e.g., Chinese and

Japanese Americans, as well as Indian Americans) excel more than others (Uyematsu, 1971; Wu, 1995).

¹² Universal Credit (UC) is a monthly payment claimable by those on a low income, out of work, or unable to work. To claim, one must live in the UK, (generally) be aged 18 or over, be under State Pension age, and have £16,000 or less in money, savings, and investments (GOV.UK).

The overall change in individuals who claimed UC across different wards¹³ in London in 2019 and 2021 will be analysed. Data from the Office of National Statistics (ONS) presented in 2021 was utilised.

To facilitate research within a limited time, we explore London wards as units of analysis. Due to insufficient data, some wards were dropped from our sample, making the total number of observations fall from 630 to 163.

Ethnic, our treatment variable, measures the percentage of people of a certain ethnicity living in a particular ward in 2021. Ethnic categories were determined using the Government's classification; this analysis divides the group "Asian" between Indians, Chinese, and Pakistani as these were defined to be communities of special interest based on the previous literature review. The ethnic categories are thus as follows: White, Indian, Chinese, Pakistani, Other Asian, Mixed background, and others.¹⁴ This paper's regression analysis forgoes Other Asians and people of other ethnicities for cohesion with the qualitative analysis.

As aforementioned,¹⁵ our quantitative analysis includes controls, following approaches taken by studies surrounding individuals' responses to crises. Given limited data availability, our model includes individual-level and ward-level controls. Individual-level controls (*X*) include age,¹⁶ income,¹⁷ and education.¹⁸ Ward-level controls (*Z*) focus on the socio-economic status of a ward as an aggregate and include controls such as the percentage of social-housing relative to total housing and unemployment rate within a ward.

3.2 Qualitative

To further explore the effects investigated through our quantitative method, data was collected through a survey and analysed qualitatively. This approach was selected because many factors (e.g., emotional distress) can be over-reduced if quantified and its detail (relative to quantitative approaches) helps us better deal with complexity (Beeson, 1997).

Following an initial literature review, a survey was designed to explore participants'

¹³ Wards are the smallest administrative division within Greater London, with over 600 across the city.

¹⁴ This includes people from, *inter alia*, Arab or Turkish backgrounds.

¹⁵ See Section 2.1.

¹⁶ This refers to the median age within a ward in 2021.

¹⁷ This refers to the median income within a ward.

¹⁸ This refers to the percentage of people with a university degree or more within a ward.

first-hand experiences. This approach, rather than an interview or focus group, was deployed, for it allowed us to gather a larger, more diverse sample.

Given time constraints, we utilised opportunity and snowball sampling through social media networks given time constraints; random, systematic, and stratified sampling were excluded as we lacked an appropriately sized or accessible sampling frame.¹⁹ The bias usually associated with opportunity and snowball sampling was deemed acceptable as we analysed the survey responses qualitatively (Naderifar et al., 2017). Nevertheless, we acknowledge that young people²⁰ and those of Indian ethnicity are significantly overrepresented among the 56 responses (see *Appendix 3*). The survey was subsequently thematically analysed.

¹⁹ See Appendix B.

²⁰ This refers to individuals aged 16–25 years old.

²¹ Some qualitative researchers argue that quantitative research does not capture participants' experiences and voice; some quantitative researchers criticise qualitative research for lacking the rigidity of the scientific method (Sechrest & Sidani, 1995).

²² See Antle and Collins (2009), Beecher (2009), and Bryman (2006) for detailed analysis of mix methods.

3.3 **Employment of mixed methods**

While some argue against deploying mixed methods,²¹ quantitative and qualitative methodologies—in being viewed as complementary²² rather than opposed²³—benefit our research as the latter suggests reasons for the trends observed in the former. Furthermore, they enable triangulation²⁴ and thus verification of our data's validity,²⁵ thereby improving our research's reliability.

4. **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

4.1 **Quantitative findings**

We estimated results with 10% level of statistical significance for the White, Black and Indian Ethnicities, with no statistically significant results for the Chinese and Pakistani population. The results are as follows:

²³ Indeed, the cruciality of combining quantitative and qualitative research methods in social science has been increasingly recognised (DeCuir-Gunby, 2008).

²⁴ See Carter et al. (2014) for in-depth analysis of the use of triangulation in qualitative research.

²⁵ See Patton (1999) for an analysis of how to enhance the quality and credibility of qualitative analysis.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
VARIABLES	OLS without ward- level controls	OLS (1) Adding “%Unemployed” as Control	OLS (2) Adding “Social Housing”	OLS with all controls
White	-5.930***	-5.663***	-5.387***	-15.69***
	(0.993)	(0.994)	(1.003)	(3.452)
Black	23.11**	23.82**	23.88**	15.45*
	(9.619)	(9.554)	(9.515)	(8.493)
Indian	-3.461	-3.382	-1.798	-16.60***
	(2.749)	(2.729)	(2.874)	(4.964)
Chinese	2.674	-15.40	-18.99	-19.14
	(24.16)	(25.47)	(25.46)	(22.57)
Pakistanis	7.260	5.042	7.331	-6.816
	(7.078)	(7.104)	(7.203)	(8.108)
Mix	57.34***	58.59***	57.17***	23.27
	(13.37)	(13.28)	(13.25)	(20.22)
Other	2.380	4.031	1.351	2.921
	(7.515)	(7.500)	(7.635)	(6.700)
Age	-8.698	-8.016	-5.715	-3.745
	(5.965)	(5.930)	(6.060)	(6.774)
Income	-0.0420***	-0.0420***	-0.0387***	-0.0382***
	(0.00324)	(0.00322)	(0.00372)	(0.00643)
%Unemployed (2019-20)		1.557**	1.571**	0.548
		(0.740)	(0.737)	(0.737)
Social Housing			3.305*	-6.812***
			(1.951)	(2.448)
Education				3.480
				(2.703)
Constant	2,813***	2,680***	2,398***	3,420***
	(225.8)	(232.9)	(285.4)	(421.1)
Observations	239	239	239	163
R-squared	0.642	0.649	0.653	0.742

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 1 – Regression table showing quantitative findings

Column (4) shows our final findings including all controls. We found that a 1%-point increase in the Black proportion of the ward population is associated with 15 additional people taking up UC from 2019 to 2021. A 1%-point increase in the Indian population is associated with a decrease in people requiring UC by 16 people. A 1%-point increase in the ward’s White proportion is associated with a decrease in people needing UC by 15.

Previous research indicates that Black people in London are one of the lowest income communities (GOV.UK, 2022). Our findings reiterate this since Blacks are the only community that has been associated with a positive coefficient, an indicator of economic hardship.

People from the White and Indian communities appear to have been affected in similar ways, with the Indian community doing marginally better than the white community.

As aforementioned, this paper uses UC take-up change between 2019 and 2021 as a proxy

for economic resilience: the more needed UC is, the stronger the change will be in said take-up, and the more a community suffered during and post-pandemic. Our analysis therefore shows that different minorities suffered disproportionately economically from the pandemic and did not recover at the same speed. The differences in UC take-up change, as shown in the coefficients highlighted above, highlight a difference in economic resilience.

Drawing inferences on the economic resilience of Chinese and Pakistani communities post COVID-19 may be difficult because of statistical insignificance, however, our estimates indicate that they are less likely to face economic hardship.

4.2 Qualitative findings

Our tentative findings are the following, which are displayed in full in the appendix. The five key factors identified by respondents in the open-ended questions as affecting the economic resilience of their ethnic group compared to others were: health, family structure, employment,

discrimination, and pre-existing inequalities. In terms of the responses to our proposed factors, the 'Black' and 'Chinese' groups felt most affected by COVID-19 overall, followed by 'South Asians', and then 'White Other' and 'White British':

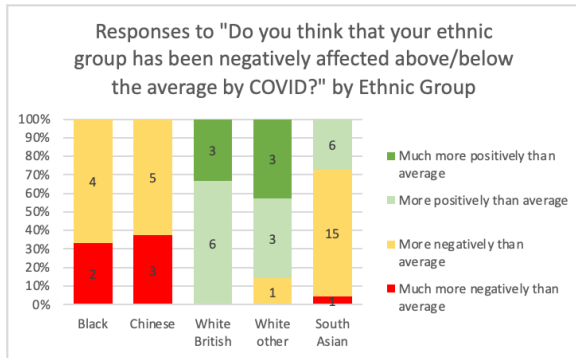


Figure 2 – Graph showing how much respondents perceive their ethnic group to have been affected

The 'South Asian' and 'Chinese' groups were most affected by them or family members contracting COVID-19:

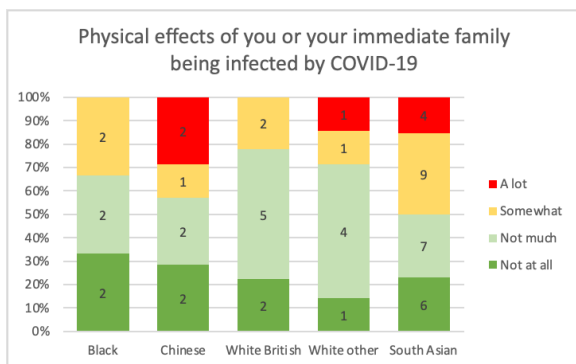


Figure 3 – Graph showing how much ethnic groups have been economically affected by them or their immediate family contracting COVID-19

'Chinese', 'South Asian', and 'White Other' ethnic shops were most impacted in terms of closures by the pandemic, and few of these were replaced:

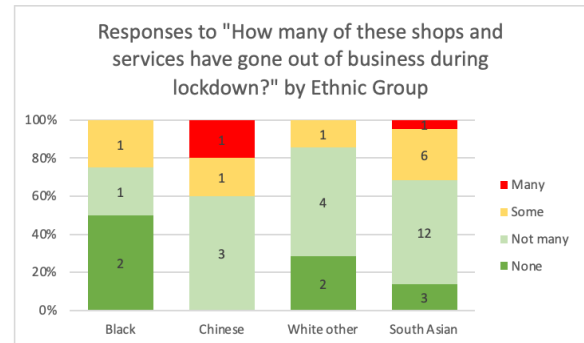


Figure 4 – Graph showing how many ethnic businesses respondents perceive to have closed

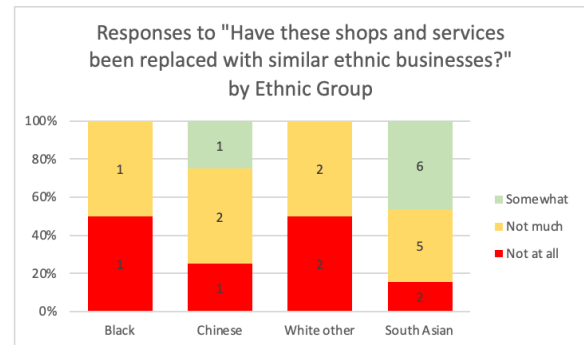


Figure 5 – Graph showing how many ethnic shops respondents perceive to have been replaced with similar ethnic businesses

Redundancy and furlough both affected all ethnicities to a similar extent:

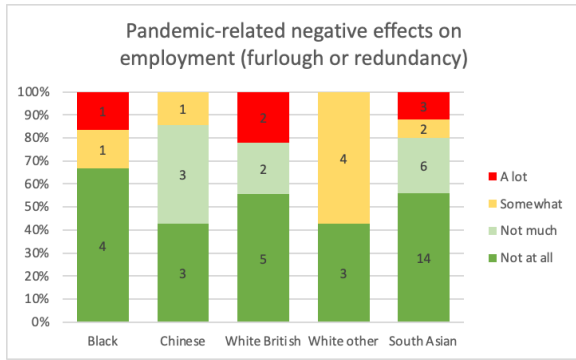


Figure 6 – Graph showing how much ethnic groups have been economically affected by negative pandemic-related employment changes

Caring responsibilities affected all ethnic groups, but particularly the ‘White British’, ‘Chinese’, and ‘South Asian’ groups:

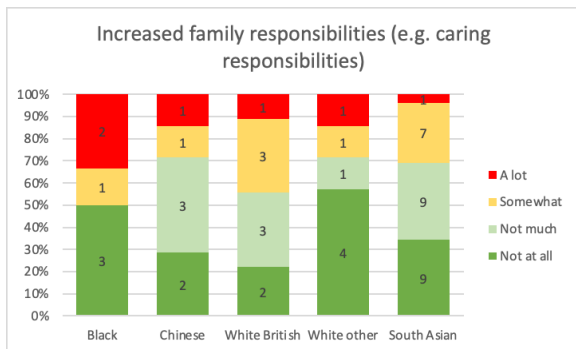


Figure 7 – Graph showing how much ethnic groups have been economically affected by increased family responsibilities

COVID-related hate mainly affected the ‘Chinese’ ethnic group:

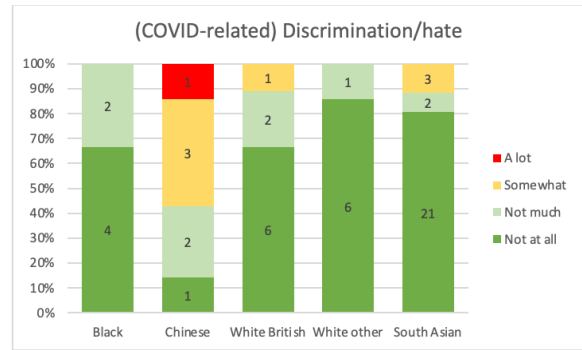


Figure 8 – Graph showing how much ethnic groups have been economically affected by COVID-related discrimination and hate

4.3 Discussion

4.3.1 Pre-existing ethnicity-related inequalities

Our data supports governmental claims that pre-existing inequalities played a significant role in determining economic resilience during COVID-19: three Indian respondents said the ‘Indian’ ethnic group were wealthy pre-COVID and therefore economically resilient. Furthermore, ethnic minorities’ employment tends to be more precarious and thus more likely to be put on furlough or made redundant (NHS, 2021; Branicki, 2020). Therefore, our qualitative data supports London Councils’ predictions in that pre-existing ethnic inequalities play a large role in determining the economic resilience of different ethnicities (Yordanova, 2021). Quantitative data also supports this conclusion: the ‘Pakistani’ and ‘Black’

groups had the lowest incomes before the pandemic and were least economically resilient (Department for Work and Pensions, 2019).

4.3.2 Non-inclusive government COVID-19 policy

Our data suggests that non-inclusive government COVID-19 policy affected ethnic disparities in economic resilience. For example, the government neglected to provide “non-English guidance” at the beginning of the pandemic according to respondents; this is corroborated by findings that some members from ethnic minorities found guidelines confusing and often did not see their logical basis, which evinces incomprehensibility (Wright et al., 2022).

4.3.3 Ethnic segregation of the labour market

Our data highlights that the South Asian group were one of the most impacted by furlough and redundancy, which is likely in part attributable to Heathrow Airport’s reduced capacity over COVID-19 (Georgiadis, 2022). Furthermore, ethnic high streets, comprised of small businesses, were disproportionately impacted by the pandemic. Ethnic shop closures, being a significant source of employment,

compounded issues of race-based unemployment—especially for the South Asian and Chinese groups—as these shops were scarcely replaced (Ram & Smallbone, 2003; Kitching et al., 2009).

4.3.4 Further ethnic-specific factors

i. COVID-19 risks

Multiple respondents claimed that lower vaccine uptake in their ethnic groups affected their economic recovery. This could be because of the lack of inclusive planning and associated misinformation outlined in 5.2. This is corroborated by research: several ethnic minority participants found social media platforms and alternative news sources—and thus vaccine misinformation—to be more trustworthy than mainstream news sources given their cultural relevance and proximity (Menon, 2021; IFF Research, 2021; Office for National Statistics, 2021). This arguably lead to less compliance with COVID-19 measures (IFF Research, 2021).

This low vaccination rate can worsen emotional distress from bereavement and cause long COVID (North Central London Healthwatch, 2022) that impede working. Several respondents share this sentiment: many from the Black community claimed

that “our community was disproportionately affected in terms of infection”, while others claimed that “Black Africans were... most at risk due to COVID”, a situation further worsened by many NHS staff members being “strained” (British Medical Association, 2021). This is corroborated by findings that found that most minority groups suffered excess mortality compared with the White British majority group (Bentley, 2020; Platt & Warwick, 2020).

However, it is reasonable to assume that COVID-19 risks are not the most significant factor influencing economic resilience, as Indians, one of the groups with higher infection rates of COVID, were not shown to be particularly severely affected in the quantitative data.

ii. Racism

From our survey, COVID-related discrimination most adversely affected the Chinese population—57% of respondents saying that there is at least “somewhat” of a negative economic influence due to pandemic-induced racism, compared to other ethnicities who did not perceive pandemic-induced racism to be a significant factor (see

Figure 8). Therefore, this suggests that racist sentiments can hamper ethnic communities’ capacity to achieve economic resilience.

This was reinforced by the open-ended responses: several claimed that they felt distress or additive discrimination because “COVID-19 was deemed to have originated in China”, resulting in increased Sinophobic hate (Schumann & Moore, 2022).

Tajfel’s theory helps explain this trend, as incentives to maintain a positive perception within in-groups (e.g., ethnic communities) mean that negative sentiments of discrimination will be externalized and attributed to other groups to maintain positive in-group perceptions.²⁶ Kim’s theory further helps explain why the Chinese received the brunt of racist abuse as (relationally to other groups) they are perceived as more foreign and therefore easier to externalize blame to (Stafford et al., 2011); indeed, British Chinese groups immigrated more recently than other ethnic groups (Stafford et al., 2011). The resulting prejudice may contribute to emotional distress or job discrimination, leading to UC uptake.

²⁶ Tajfel argues that social groups self-perceive themselves in favourable terms against other groups.

However, our quantitative data suggests that the Chinese population was the most economically resilient. The difference between our qualitative and quantitative data, as well as our hypothesis,²⁷ can be explained can be the Model Minority Myth:²⁸ these externally imposed expectations of success may have created incentives for Chinese populations not to take UC (Stafford et al., 2011) and led to less Chinese people being put on furlough or being made redundant. This mechanism could be mirrored in the Indian population.

4.3.5 Limitations

i. Quantitative

The aim of our quantitative analysis is to establish causality of impact of ethnicity on UC as a proxy for economic resilience, making it important to pay attention to underlying data and modelling issues.

Omitted Variable Bias (OVB) is a significant factor that could threaten our quantitative data's reliability. The limited availability of data relating to our specific unit of analysis limited our capacity to control for potential factors that affect both UC take-up and

ethnicity. Furthermore, unquantifiables, such as the ones explored in this paper's qualitative analysis, could have further caused OVB. To respond to this issue, we analysed some of these factors with our qualitative analysis.

Using UC as a proxy for economic resilience also has some limitations. First, the entire UC application process is in English, which may limit the access for certain minorities. Furthermore, since people claiming UC also need to be under one income threshold, we may fail to account for those who are marginally above the threshold to claim credit but who are also severely affected by the pandemic with limited access to other resources beyond their income and savings.

The use of OLS was deemed necessary—but far from ideal—given relative data unavailability. Other models, such as those used with panel data, would have been beneficial in alleviating the limitations, including OVB.

ii. Qualitative

One limitation of our research is the size of our sample. We aimed to reach a wide array of participants through convenience and

²⁷ Our hypothesis can be found in Section 1.2.

²⁸ As explained in Section 2, the Model Minority Myth claims that specific Asian populations are seen

as “model minorities” that are more empirically successful and contribute more significantly towards society.

snowball sampling. However, our sample is limited since the individuals we asked to “snowball” our survey were university students and/or their family friends. This means that the communicated viewpoints may be homogenous and limited vis-à-vis the expansive dataset of our quantitative portion, contributing to an explanation of data discrepancies.

5. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we have two key findings. Firstly, we find that there is a disparity in economic resilience between ethnic groups over COVID-19: the Black ethnic group has been most affected, followed by the White population, then Indian, then Chinese. Secondly, we suggest that London Councils’ claim that pre-existing ethnic inequalities are a significant factor in determining economic resilience across ethnicities is accurate.

However, the councils’ claims that pre-existing inequalities is the sole factor is inaccurate, as there were several COVID-induced factors which may have adversely affected specific ethnic groups’ resilience. These include non-inclusive government COVID-19 policy, ethnic segregation of the employment market, caring responsibilities, ethnic-specific COVID-19 risks, and racism.

Of these factors, we suggest that the ethnic segregation of the labour market, pre-existing inequalities, and failures in governmental provisions in healthcare and economic support were most salient. This can be explained through the Model Minority Myth accounting for explanations as to why racism against Chinese populations did not translate into worse economic resilience, whereas other ethnic groups suffered due to the factors outlined.

Though our quantitative and qualitative findings contradicted each other at times, this may be explained by the discussed data limitations; given our limited number of respondents (56), further research can be conducted with a larger sample size. Furthermore, since our research is merely exploratory, further investigation is required to determine the exact strength and mechanism of each factor due to the small and skewed samples involved.

Ultimately, our paper provides insights on the factors that policymakers can consider to design more equitable responses to ethnic-based inequalities in economic resilience and therefore ensure that *the race to recover* post-pandemic can be made effective for all ethnicities.

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APPENDIX 1 – Consent Form/Information Sheet

Consent Form

Please only fill in the survey once per household and if you have lived in London over the pandemic

This survey will take approximately 5 minutes

The Cultural Factors affecting the Economic Resilience of Different Ethnic Groups during the COVID-19 Pandemic

Eden Centre, LSE

What is the research about?

This research project is about whether ethnic groups have been differently financially affected by the pandemic, and if so, exploring what factors affect those differences.

What will my involvement be?

Sharing your insight through this survey, which will be used to help determine the factors affecting inequality between ethnic minorities over the pandemic.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. You do not have to take part if you do not want to, and there will be no negative consequences of not participating.

What will my information be used for?

We will use the collected information for analysing reasons why some ethnic minorities might have been impacted more financially by the pandemic than others. This will form part of the final undergraduate research project. The anonymised data may be used in further publications.

Will my taking part and my data be kept confidential? Will it be anonymised?

The records from this study will be kept as confidential as possible. Only the researchers and the supervisor will have access to the files and they will be kept in a secure folder. Your data will be anonymised – your name will not be used in any reports or publications resulting from the study. All data will be destroyed following completion of the project.

What if I have a question or complaint?

If you have any questions regarding this study please contact the researcher, Raphael Dembo-Shah, on r.dembo-shah@lse.ac.uk. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the conduct

of this research, please contact the LSE Research Governance Manager via research.ethics@lse.ac.uk.

If any questions in the survey make you feel uncomfortable, you do not have to answer them and may move on to the next question. You may quit the survey at any time and should you withdraw from the survey your data will be deleted.

Please select the boxes below to give your consent to begin the survey:

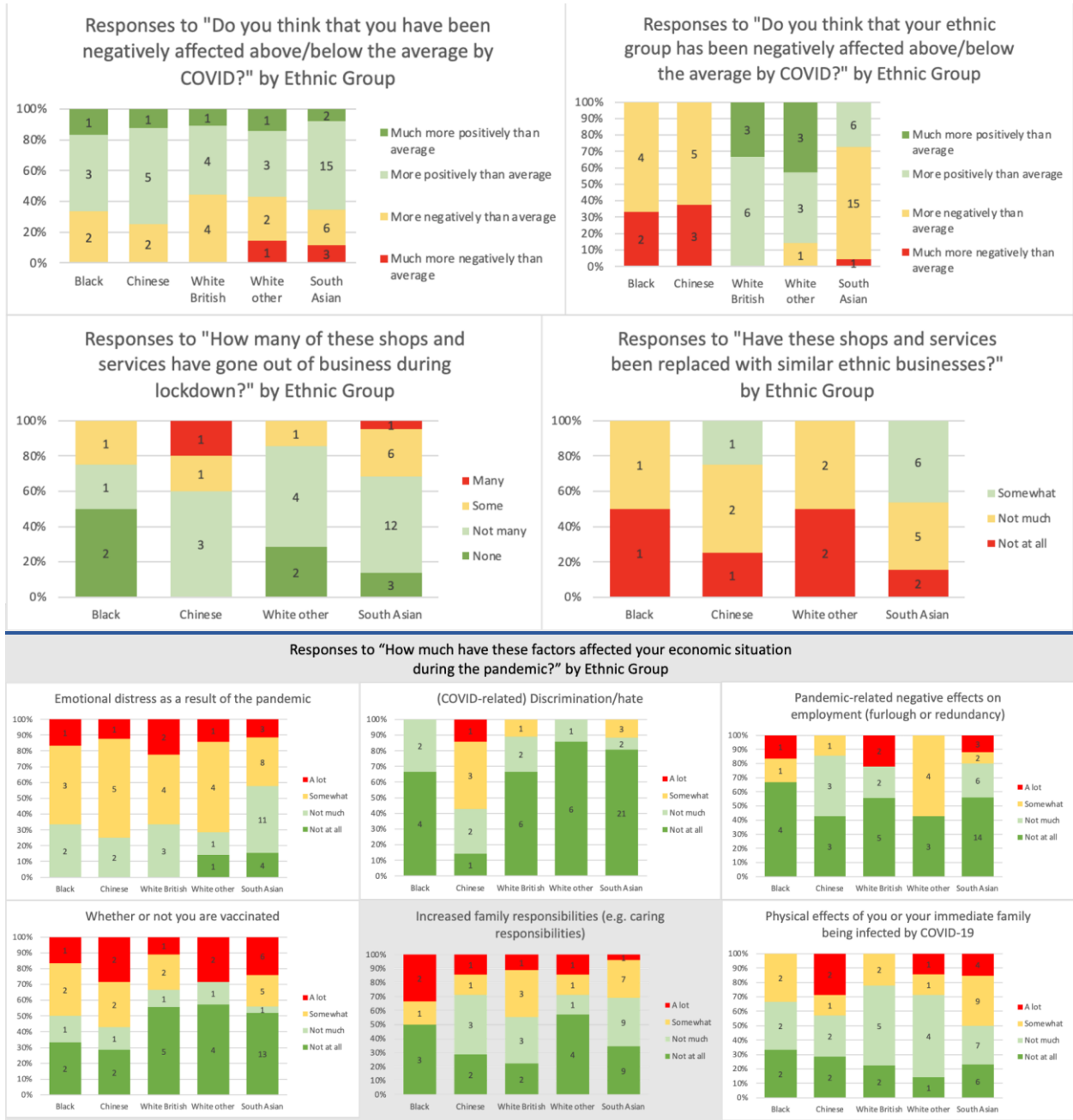
I have read this message and had the opportunity to ask questions.

I agree to participate in the survey

I understand that my responses will be kept confidential and anonymous and that my personal information will be kept securely and destroyed at the end of the study

I am 16 or over

APPENDIX 2 – Results of the Qualitative Survey



APPENDIX 3 – Demographics of Survey Respondents

Row Labels	Count of What is your gender?
Female	21
Male	21
Non-binary / third gender	1
Grand Total	43

Row Labels	Count of What is your age?
16-25	45
26-35	1
36-45	7
46-55	2
56-65	1
Grand Total	56

Row Labels	Count of What is your ethnicity?
Asian other	1
Black	6
Black African	4
Black Caribbean	1
Black other	1
Chinese	8
South Asian	26
Indian	22
Pakistani	4
White British	9
White other	7
Grand Total	57