EMPLOYMENT AND INEQUALITY DURING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: WHAT IS THE VALUE-ADDED OF A MIXED METHODS APPROACH?

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ABSTRACT

This paper considers the value-added of mixed methods or ‘Q-Squared’ research relative to single-method approaches in the study of the nexus of economic development and employment. We review a set of published mixed methods papers on the subject identified using a protocol. We argue that the review illustrates - among other strengths - that mixed methods research in this area adds value by providing the opportunity to work across multiple scales, to embed understandings of the role of the context in the data collection and analysis and to incorporate longitudinal components. These elements can be covered to some extent by quantitative approaches alone. We argue that mixed methods research enables us to deepen our understanding of the influence of scale, context and time on the relationship between economic development and employment. Mixed methods are no panacea, however, and we show how this enriched understanding may come with additional costs and complexity.

KEYWORDS

Methodology; mixed methods; economic development; employment;
About the GPID research network:

The ESRC Global Poverty and Inequality Dynamics (GPID) research network is an international network of academics, civil society organisations, and policymakers. It was launched in 2017 and is funded by the ESRC’s Global Challenges Research Fund.

The objective of the ESRC GPID Research Network is to build a new research programme that focuses on the relationship between structural change and inclusive growth.

See: www.gpidnetwork.org

THE DEVELOPER’S DILEMMA

The ESRC Global Poverty and Inequality Dynamics (GPID) research network is concerned with what we have called ‘the developer’s dilemma’.

This dilemma is a trade-off between two objectives that developing countries are pursuing. Specifically:

1. Economic development via structural transformation and productivity growth based on the intra- and inter-sectoral reallocation of economic activity.
2. Inclusive growth which is typically defined as broad-based economic growth benefiting the poorer in society in particular.

Structural transformation, the former has been thought to push up inequality. Whereas the latter, inclusive growth implies a need for steady or even falling inequality to spread the benefits of growth widely. The ‘developer’s dilemma’ is thus a distribution tension at the heart of economic development.
1. Introduction

Mixed methods research – which broadly refers to research that combines qualitative and quantitative methods in some way – has gained traction in international development research since the early 2000s. In particular, the Q-squared approach (see Shaffer, 2013) had considerable impact within development studies building on the existing cross-disciplinarity within development research. This push towards more cross-disciplinary approaches in the 2000s was largely driven by development economists, in contrast to way mixed methods approaches have developed in other fields. Hence, its original focus was on what mixed methods can bring to the study of economic-related development questions. Back then, one might be forgiven for thinking mixing methods had become a new orthodoxy in studies of development, a standpoint which one scholar summarized thus:

The desirability and usefulness to combine qualitative and quantitative methods to analyze social realities is pretty much accepted in the literature today; voices of segregation – still quite powerful in the 1980s – have subsided notably. (Hentschel, 2003: 75)

Yet a decade or so on – meaning a decade after JDS, World Development Special Issues and the 2007 Hulme and Toye book – mixed methods does not seem as prominent as it once was, even within the field of economics-related development research. One could speculate as to why this is, even while development funders such as DFID and ESRC continue to emphasize the value of interdisciplinary understandings. One possible reason might be the changing currents in development economics itself that have shifted towards micro economic questions. The emergence of randomized controlled trials (RCTs) also raise questions over the use of qualitative methods (why use anything else if you can have incontrovertible ‘proof’?), as well as absorbing the resources needed to carry them out. Hence, with the overall shift in economics towards the use of quantitative methods at the micro level, and the fact that structural concerns such as the relationship between economic development and employment are often tackled with more macro, and hence quantitative approaches, mixed methods has declined in prominence.

In this paper, we argue that while there is a tendency for the study of the nexus of structural transformation, employment and inequality to be dominated by quantitative methodologies, this does not need to be the case. To reach this conclusion, we review a set of mixed methods papers on employment in the global South selected with a protocol. Subsequently, we ask what is the value-added of mixed methods in the study of the structural transformation, inequality and employment nexus?

The structure of this paper is as follows: Section 2 discusses the rationale for, and various definitions of, mixed methods. Section 3 surveys the examples of mixed methods research identified and discusses the value added by mixed methods. Section 4 discusses potential new avenues of mixed methods research. Section 5 concludes.
2. THE DEFINITION OF MIXED METHODS RESEARCH

We can trace a genealogy for mixed methods research from sociologists and cultural anthropologists in the early 20th century to the present day (Creswell, 1999, Denscombe, 2008). However, it was only from the 1990s that it established itself alongside quantitative and qualitative research as a ‘third paradigm’ in the broad social sciences (Johnson et al., 2007) and it was adopted by development studies in the decade that followed.

Broadly speaking, the rationale for mixed methods research is to provide a more rounded or holistic understanding of a topic, or to simply reduce researchers’ blind spots. Collins et al. (2006) identify 65 purposes of mixed methods, and narrow these down to include improving the accuracy of the data, providing a more complete picture of the subject under study, and avoiding biases and limitations that arise in single-methods approaches. They argue that mixed methods can be used iteratively: qualitative methods such as interviews can be used to generate researchable hypotheses that can be answered with quantitative methods, or quantitative analyses can prompt new qualitative instruments. Brannen (2005, p.12) characterises mixed methods as consisting of four potential functions: ‘elaboration or expansion (“the use of one type of data analysis adds to the understanding being gained by another”); initiation (“the use of a first method sparks new hypotheses or research questions that can be pursued using a different method”); complementarity (“together the data analyses from the two methods are juxtaposed and generate complementary insights that together create a bigger picture”); and contradictions (“simply juxtapose the contradictions for others to explore in further research”).

Although the rationale may be sufficiently clear, and although it is self-evident that mixed methods research requires the use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods, a universally accepted definition of mixed methods is more contentious. This is partly because there is no consensus over whether quantitative and qualitative methods are to be sequenced or simultaneous. Additionally, the relative emphasis or weighting given to the respective methods in the process or output of the research can differ substantially in mixed method studies. There are also differing views on how the findings of the quantitative and qualitative analysis relate to each other, especially in cases where they contradict each other. Nonetheless, a frequently cited definition of the mixed methods approach is the simple one provided by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, p. 17):

“[Mixed methods refers to] the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study”.

Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007, p. 118) revised this definition some years later, following a discussion with 31 other researchers, as follows:
“Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g. use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purpose of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration”.

Creswell and Plano Clark (2007, p5) extend this definition even further by drawing out the different ontologies and epistemologies (i.e. understandings of the world and how it can be known) that underpin different research paradigms:

“Mixed methods is a research design with philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry. As a methodology, it involves philosophical assumptions that guide the direction of the collection and analysis of data and the mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches in many phases in the research process. As a method, it focuses on collecting, analyzing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or series of studies.”

Yet it is Denscombe (2008, p275) who arguably provides the best definition of mixed methods by directly addressing the questions of timing, priority, integration, and epistemology, that have proved so problematic to other researchers. Mixed methods research therefore entails the use of “quantitative (QUAN) and qualitative (QUAL) methods within the same research project; a research design that clearly specifies the sequencing and priority that is given to the QUAN and QUAL elements of data collection and analysis; an explicit account of the manner in which the QUAN and QUAL aspects of the research relate to each other, with heightened emphasis on the manner in which triangulation is used; [and] pragmatism as the philosophical underpinning for the research”.

However, what is not self evident from any of the oft-cited definitions above is that the terms ‘quantitative’ and ‘qualitative’ refer not only to the specific methods of data collection, but also to the types of data generated and the techniques of data analysis, as well as the types of data output. Thus, conducting mixed methods research is much more complicated in design, execution and delivery than it would at first appear. Symonds and Gorard (2010) provide detail on the mechanics of doing mixed methods research by looking at research questions, timing and weight, but also at design and triangulation. Returning to Brannen (2005, p.14), there are at least twelve potential combinations of mixed methods, which contain a ‘dominant method’ (the method that covers the majority of the data) and a ‘non-dominant’ method (the method that covers the remainder of the data). For example, a survey with follow-up qualitative research to interpret the results would be QUAN dominant, while an ethnographic study with a short survey at the end to test the theories derived from this would be QUAL dominant. If the proportion of data covered by the respective methodologies is approximately similar, then both are considered ‘dominant’ methods in Brannen’s taxonomy.
Furthermore, the combination of the respective approaches can be simultaneous or temporally sequential, with the latter enabling each phase of research to build on the insights of the one before. The researcher thus needs to consider two questions when applying a mixed methods approach. First, which is to be their dominant method – i.e. that which relates to most of the data? Second, are quantitative and qualitative methods to be mixed sequentially or simultaneously? The distinction between sequential and simultaneous designs relates to a further distinction made by Kanbur (2002, p. 483) between multidisciplinary approaches, where different disciplines work separately and merge their analyses at the end, and interdisciplinarity, where disciplines work together, from the conceptualisation of the study to the presentation of the data. The latter approach requires a deeper form of mixing than the former.

In sum, definitions of mixed methods research tend to focus on combining qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection, data generation, techniques of data analysis and output, and occasionally on bringing qualitative and quantitative ontologies and epistemologies into debate. The purpose of this kind of approach is to improve the ‘accuracy’ (meaning robustness or credibility rather than ‘precision’) of the research findings, and to gain a fuller picture of the study focus insofar that the strengths of different methods compensate for the weaknesses of others. The outcome may be elaboration or expansion of the focus of the study, initiating new methods based on the outcome, or achieving complementarity of the insights from each method. However, as noted the findings produced in a mixed methods study may also be contradictory. Indeed, given different ontological and epistemological assumptions, this should not necessarily come as a surprise. Hence, researchers deploying such an approach must consider which, if any, is to be the ‘dominant’ method, and what that might imply in terms of perceived rigour. Further, the sequencing of methods – be they simultaneous or temporally sequential – can heavily influence the findings of the study. It is also difficult to achieve, given uncertain timelines in the field. Thus, such concerns imply that mixing methods is likely to complicate the research process significantly in its design, execution and outcome stages.

Potentially, the process of using a mixed methods approach may enrich the final research output – via, for example, triangulation or conversion or different levels of scale. That said, Roelen and Camfield (2015) identify a number of problems specific to development studies that can arise when using mixed methods. One such concern is academic credibility, which includes the epistemological and ontological clashes that may occur when researchers attempt to combine data and methods grounded in different disciplinary backgrounds, or analyze poverty and vulnerability as complex and overlapping states as opposed to clearly defined processes. Relatedly, rigour is also a concern given that few people are equally expert in qualitative and quantitative data generation and analysis (what Bautista and Torres, 2015, call ‘methodologically bilingual’). This also affects the recruitment of researchers where teams are inevitably stronger in one component, which then takes priority in a mixed methods study. Some argue that researchers who are skilled in qualitative methods also have a high market value in the Global South and are consequently expensive and difficult to retain. Aside from cost, there are also concerns around quality, especially in instances where researchers are
not equally transparent about the procedures followed for the qualitative and quantitative components, as well as the usability of the research outputs for policy makers. Nonetheless, when qualitative and quantitative data are carefully sequenced and fully integrated, they can generate startling insights that would not be possible if only one approach were adopted (for example, Carswell and de Neve’s research – section 3 - that showed that the experiences of Dalits in labour markets in South India are influenced more by local institutions than by caste alone). This integration is easier to achieve where datasets are generated at the same scale and using similar methodologies, for example, integrating micro-economic self-report household surveys with qualitative interviews. While qualitative approaches frequently take a macro perspective in looking at how people or groups are embedded in global contexts, by definition they work with small, contextualized samples. It may be harder to meaningfully connect datasets reporting national level food price rises with individual experiences of food insecurity, for instance.

3. ASSESSING THE VALUE ADDED OF MIXED METHODS RESEARCH: A SURVEY

3a. Protocol

In order to assess the value-added of mixed methods to the study of economic development and employment, we searched Elsevier’s Scopus - the largest abstract and citation database of peer-reviewed literature - and selected development and mixed methods journals using the following search terms: “Employment” OR “jobs” OR “labour” AND “qualitative” AND methods” (the use of the search term “qualitative” was the easiest way to find mixed methods research, as research was often characterised as mixed methods where multiple methods of the same type had been used). We used the year 2000 as the start date to capture papers published after the mixed methods approach gained popularity in development studies. We sifted the selected papers to ensure the following criterion were met:

1. The paper is published in a peer reviewed journal in English
2. The paper is published from the year 2000 onwards
3. The paper reports empirical research using mixed methods
4. The paper is concerned with employment, structural change and inequality
5. The paper reports empirical research that took place on the global South

Studies cited within the papers selected from the search were also reviewed if they met the above criteria, even if they did not appear in the original search results.
3b. Description of papers

The protocol led to the selection of 20 articles, listed in table 1. While some of these papers deployed similar methodologies – typically a combination of household surveys and in-depth interviews – there were distinctive elements. Many of the studies we identified used a multiplicity of methods, not just the ‘default settings’ of surveys plus interviews. Some of the studies in our sample knit together qualitative and quantitative methods (for example, Carswell and de Neve’s study of employment in the Tirupati garment sector) while others separate them (for example, Kabeer et al (2018) and Stevano (2016)). In their study, Carswell and de Neve use a combination of surveys of households and individual garment workers, individual and group interviews, employment and life histories, and most importantly, direct observations. They use these to research gender attitudes to employment in depth, as well as how caste-based discrimination operates in the labour market. Kabeer et al (2018) subsample life history respondents from their survey. Stevano (2016) goes further in using an initial phase of participant observation, focus groups and interviews to design the survey from which Stevano subsampled the life histories. Nonetheless, although common in mixed methods, not all researchers opt to integrate quantitative and qualitative analysis when taking such an approach. For example, despite the fact that one study of employment and inter-partner violence collected both qualitative and quantitative data, they are reported in separate papers. Interestingly, the qualitative paper by Vyas et al (2015b) has a very similar title to a wholly quantitative paper published in a different journal (Vyas et al., 2015a). This implies that publication strategies – such as the number of outputs or the intended audience - can play an important role in how research is written up.

The studies we considered often used qualitative and quantitative analysis to create hybrid methodologies. This refers to methodologies that are not simply qualitative, quantitative or a combination of the two, but rather attempt to fuse the strengths of both in a single method. For instance, Yeboah et al’s (2017) study of perceptions of desirable work in rural Ghana performs quantitative analysis on qualitative statements grouped through a participatory exercise. They also use methods strategically in a way that plays to their strength. Another example is Cramer et al. (2017), who use qualitative methods to address sensitive topics such as sexual harassment at work. More ambitious variants of hybrid methodologies include methods such as process tracing or qualitative comparative analysis; however, these were not evident in the articles selected for review. This suggests that while well established in political science and increasingly used in development evaluation, development researchers have not yet adopted these forms of mixed methods.
3c. Assessing the value-added of mixed methods research

The papers we identified show that mixed methods research provided opportunities to work across multiple scales. Additionally, mixed methods enabled researchers to acknowledge the role of the context in which the respondents in the data collection are embedded, as well as to incorporate longitudinal components to the research. These elements can, of course, be covered to some extent by quantitative approaches alone. However, mixed methods research provides greater opportunity to deepen understandings of context, time and scale.

The studies we identified typically worked across multiple scales, which was facilitated by the use of mixed methods. For example, Carswell (2016) carried out interviews with actors in global production networks within the garments sector and female garment workers in an Indian town to understand influences on their working conditions from a variety of perspectives. The studies in our sample typically acknowledge the context in which the research is embedded, which was also facilitated by the use of mixed methods. In particular, the studies placed considerable emphasis on respondents’ subjective understandings of the world. For instance, Guerin et al (2015) look at the relationship between microcredit and rural job creation in rural Southern India at the individual, household, market, value chain, and locality scales. They do this with a survey that captures the livelihood activities of all household members. This is combined with qualitative data generated by observation over an extended period of time within villages, markets and tea stalls. The observation involved watching transactions and talking with vendors, buyers, wholesalers and financers. They also carry out case studies of individual entrepreneurs that locate them within particular value chains. Similarly, Cramer et al (2017) look at the pay and working conditions of workers in sites dominated by fair-trade producer organisations at the levels of the individual, household, value chain and locality. They do this quantitatively through census and survey data and qualitatively through oral histories and focus groups. Finally, Carswell and de Neve's work explicitly locates workers within global production networks and looks at the way in which the expectations of these networks interact with changes already occurring in the community (for example, the move away from bonded labour in agriculture and towards debt bondage in weaving). In terms of addressing respondents’ subjective understandings or framings of the world, the flexibility of mixed methods designs means that they can engage with multiple respondents. So for example, Ghorpade (2017) talks to child workers, parents of working and non-working children, young men displaced by their work and the craftsmen who employ and work alongside them to understand child work within the gemstone polishing sector in Jaipur. This sensitivity is also visible in the quantitative component: Eroglu (2017) interviews both partners to understand poor households’ income generation activities and Kantor (2009) surveys all household members to understand intra-household relationships. Mixing methods also offers the potential to use categories generated by participants (or ‘emic’ categories in anthropology) rather than researchers (‘etic’ categories). For example, Salway et al (2005) use
categories generated through focus groups to sample different types of household, in order to understand the
experiences of female workers within those households (see also Kantor, 2009).
Finally, the studies incorporate longitudinal components to the research, which was also facilitated by the use
of mixed methods. This, of course, has consequences for delivering findings quickly, as well as for cost. Many
of the studies we reviewed explored inequalities as structural or as social differentiation. Mixed methods
approaches, sometimes involving analysis of existing quantitative data sets (e.g. Kabeer et al, 2018), offer the
opportunity to study structural change over time. The longitudinal component can be through extended contact
with the field site – one project had been working there since 2003 - or repeated survey or interview rounds
(many projects had up to three, and Salway et al (2005) surveyed participants monthly for 18 months).
Alternatively, it could be through life or employment histories, which three of the papers identified use.
Papers that not only disaggregate by inequalities using characteristics such as gender, but also explore how
they operate in particular contexts, are relatively unusual literature on structural transformation. In the
examples reviewed, this differentiation is not limited to socio-economic status or gender, although these are
certainly covered (e.g. Kabeer et al, 2018, Tena, 2013). They also encompass religion (Basole, 2016) and caste
(Carswell and de Neve, 2014). This acknowledgement of the differentiated effects of structural change is one
of the main contributions of mixed methods.

4. NEW AVENUES

The studies surveyed point towards various ways structural transformation, employment and inequality might
be further pursued. For instance, barriers to entrepreneurship can be explored through mixed methods research,
an example of which is GIGA’s entrepreneurship project in Kampala, Uganda, which has interviewed up to
500 Micro and Small Enterprise owners every year from 2012 to 2018. It supplemented this panel dataset with
a sub-sample of life histories of entrepreneurs and their partners to enable a careful analysis of the
determinants of the long-term performance of these firms. A smaller scale approach might start similarly by
combining a small area census (Charman et al 2017) with a survey sample, followed up with case studies of
enterprises/entrepreneurs sampled according to different types of growth trajectory. The sampling criteria
could include rapid, ‘slow, but stable’, etc. The advent of low cost mobile data collection technologies, already
used extensively in South Africa (Garlick et al 2017), would enable regular phone interviews or online diaries
to capture everyday income and expenditures, as well as unexpected interruptions.
From a qualitative perspective, it is important to understand the drivers and outcomes of movements between
and within sectors, as well as the inequalities within these sectors. This could be explored at the micro level
through gender disaggregated employee surveys looking entry, mobility, promotion and pay across different
sub-sectors. Qualitative employment histories would enable the movements identified through the surveys to
be explored in more detail. Sampling for these histories would be purposive, and could, for example, entail selecting ‘positive deviants’ - those who are upwardly mobile across and within sectors - to identify influential factors, such as education and family connections. These could then be tested in secondary analysis of a larger quantitative data set. In exploring the drivers of spatial inequality, a process tracing design (Beach and Pedersen, 2014) might be more appropriate. This would combine interviews with elite actors with documentary analysis to explore the extent to which government or externally driven growth stimulus packages for the North have been able to address challenges faced by enterprises in the North, such as access to educated staff, infrastructure and credit.

Another avenue is researching the high productivity sector in the developing world, namely high-tech services such as telecoms, business and financial services, which show the increasing off-shoring of what Hochschild (1983) characterised as ‘emotional labour’. While these macro questions might not seem to be amenable to qualitative methods, there is clearly a human dimension in the way that the shift to construction has affected wellbeing indicators such as health and education. There may also be an increase in hazardous child work in the example of low caste families migrating to work in brick kilns or on construction sites. In relation to high tech services, there is a visible growth in, for example, chat functions for UK utilities. However, do we know what the subsectors are within the high-tech service sector and how export-oriented they are (and therefore how vulnerable they are to global markets)? Most importantly, and even more amenable to micro-level and qualitative exploration, research could ask who works within these subsectors, how they find employment, and how their experiences of work vary across the different subsectors. To fully understand these experiences, then, research can move back up the global value chain, through elite interviews and/or ethnography for example. This will illuminate the relationships service providers have to their contracting organisations, including the extent to which they invest in workers and the likelihood that they will relocate to (even) cheaper countries over time.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, mixed methods research on the nexus of structural transformation, employment and inequality adds value over single method approaches because it can provide opportunities to work across multiple scales, to embed understandings of the role of the context in the data collection and analysis and to incorporate longitudinal components to the research. Of course, quantitative approaches alone can to some extent address these concerns. However, we argue that mixed methods research provides greater opportunity to deepen our understandings. We also argue that while there is greater cost and complexity, this can be mitigated to some extent, as the above examples have shown.
Good examples of mixed methods based on our review included the following characteristics: (i) they typically employed multiple scales, methods and types of respondents; (ii) they included a reasonable degree of integration between qualitative and quantitative data; (iii) if they were not explicitly longitudinal, ideally across more than two data points, they had a clear awareness of historical trends in the phenomenon observed, as well as the broader context and (iv) they were sensitive to the influence of context and aspects of social differentiation that generated effects in conjunction with gender, such as life stage and ethnicity. Of course, in practice mixed methods research approach is not easy to carry out. It often takes resources and expertise that might not be available in a project with only a nominal commitment to mixing methods. Yet across the papers surveyed, we see the potential to combine longitudinal and survey data with more and less structured qualitative methods, including elite interviews and documentary analysis. This allows us to gain a holistic understanding of the political economy factors shaping people’s experiences, as well as the experiences themselves. Mixing methods and data in this way need not involve large expenditures. The strategic use of existing and small sample data, through methods such as process tracing, enables understandings of phenomena that span multiple scales and time horizons. While in-depth qualitative research may only indicate lines of inquiry, if they are part of an iterative design that enables their substantiation within larger quantitative datasets, they may bring considerable insight at relatively low cost.

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Table 1. Characteristics of surveyed papers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Levels</th>
<th>Methods: Sequence and dominance (dominant method in capitals)</th>
<th>Methodology</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Breuer &amp; Asiedu, 2017. Can Gender-Targeted Employment Interventions Help Enhance Community Participation? Evidence from Urban Togo. World Development, Volume 96, pp. 390-407.</td>
<td>Relationship between female unemployment and community participation</td>
<td>Urban Togo</td>
<td>Individual, locality</td>
<td>QUAN + QUAL</td>
<td>Survey (n=1,300), in-depth interviews with key informants (local and national officials and CSOs, n=60) and women (n=33), and five FGDs to show how female unemployment negatively impacts community participation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carswell, 2013. Dalits and local labour markets in</td>
<td>Dalits and local labour markets</td>
<td>Tiruppur, Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>Individual, hh, locality, sector</td>
<td>Quan + QUAL</td>
<td>Hh survey (n=519), interviews with powerloom workers on employment history and debt (n=90), survey of</td>
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<td>Authors</td>
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<td>Methodology</td>
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<td>Carswell, 2016</td>
<td>Struggles over work take place at home: Women’s decisions, choices and constraints in the Tiruppur textile industry, India.</td>
<td>Ethnographic research using participant observation, case studies, FGDs and individual interviews.</td>
<td>308 garment workers. Hh survey (n=519). Ethnographic research using participant observation, case studies, FGDs and individual interviews.</td>
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<td>Carswell &amp; De Neve, 2013</td>
<td>From field to factory: Tracing transformations in bonded labour in the Tiruppur region, Tamil Nadu.</td>
<td>Ethnographic research using participant observation, case studies, FGDs and individual interviews.</td>
<td>Hh survey (n=519), interviews with powerloom workers on employment history and debt (n=90), survey of 308 garment workers. Ethnographic research using participant observation, case studies, FGDs and individual interviews.</td>
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<td>Carswell &amp; De Neve, 2013</td>
<td>T-Shirts and tumblers: caste, dependency and work under neoliberalisation in South</td>
<td>Ethnographic research using participant observation, case studies, FGDs and individual interviews.</td>
<td>Hh survey (n=519), survey of 308 garment workers. Ethnographic research using participant observation, case studies, FGDs and individual interviews.</td>
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<td>Charman et al., 2017.</td>
<td>Small Area Census Approach to Measure the Township Informal Economy in South Africa</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Informal enterprises</td>
<td>Urban South Africa</td>
<td>Individual</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cramer, et al., 2017.</td>
<td>Fairtrade and Labour Markets in Ethiopia and Uganda</td>
<td>Ethiopia and Uganda</td>
<td>Pay and working conditions of workers in sites dominated by Fairtrade producer organisations</td>
<td>QUAN &gt; QUAL</td>
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<td>Eroglu, 2017.</td>
<td>Income Generation, Informality and Poverty in Urban Turkey</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Poor households income generation activities</td>
<td>Urban Turkey</td>
<td>Individual, hh</td>
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<td>Study</td>
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<td>Ghorpade, 2017. ‘Girls Don’t Become Craftsmen’: Determinants and Experiences of Children’s Work in Gemstone Polishing in Jaipur. The Journal of Development Studies, 53(4), pp. 600-617</td>
<td>Jaipur, India</td>
<td>Individual, hh, sector</td>
<td>Hh survey (n=98), in-depth interviews with parents or working and non working children (n=25, subsampled from survey), FGDs with working children (n=20), men aged 19-25 (n=11), and gem polishing craftsmen (n=9)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kabeer, Mahmud, &amp; Tasneem, 2018. The Contested Relationship Between Paid Work and Women’s Empowerment: Empirical Analysis</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Census (n=35,494 women), survey (n=5,198), in-depth interviews, subsampled from survey to represent different economic activities (n=50)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>Data Collection</td>
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</table>

Three rounds of hh survey data (n=480, all hh members surveyed), in depth interviews with households labeled most and least vulnerable by focus groups, additional FGDs following the second round of the survey to explore issues raised.

Official statistics at national and local levels, interviews with staff of the Municipality of Santo André, workers’ unions and employers’ associations, site visits to projects identified as examples of best practice.

Monthly hh survey for 18 months (n=843), rapid rural appraisal and 'detailed ethnographic investigations' (in-depth interviews, group discussions and observation) with n=15 case study households representing ‘improving’, ‘coping’ and ‘declining’ livelihoods (included in survey).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Sample Description</th>
<th>Methodology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stevano, S., 2016.</td>
<td>The Limits of Instrumentalism: Informal Work and Gendered Cycles of Food Insecurity in Mozambique. The Journal of Development Studies, 55(1), pp. 83-98</td>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>Individual, hh, locality</td>
<td>Initial phase of participant observation, focus groups and structured interviews with women and hh/community members, followed by hh survey (n=120) and life histories (n=12, subsampled from survey) and collective interviews with male and female work groups (n=60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tena, 2013.</td>
<td>Strategies to reconcile domestic and paid work duties in Mexican police women: A stepping stone to gender equality?. Acta Colombiana de Psicologia, 16(2), pp. 81-91</td>
<td>Mexico City</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Self-administered questionnaires to male and female police officers in operative ranks (n=1052) and females in command ranks (n=71), in-depth interviews with women in both ranks (n=?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>