

2.2. Economic Transition Experienced and Perceived by the Population: Analysis of the Complementarity Between Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches

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(Re-transcription)

Day 1, Monday, July 19

*Presentation of Teachers and Participants
(cf. list of participants at the end of this
chapter)*

[François Roubaud]

You can see that you are a very diverse group. Diverse in both nationality – there are five different nationalities present here – and specialty. Our workshop is marked by diversity and we will try to make sure that these diversities can communicate with each other. This is exactly the subject of our workshop: bringing qualitative and

quantitative approaches together. Three of the teachers are quantitativists, statisticians and economists. We have been working in Việt Nam for some years on different questions: the labor market and the informal sector, evaluation of public policies and governance.

[Christian Culas]

I am an anthropologist, originally specializing in the Hmong ethnic group, in Thailand, Laos and Việt Nam. For the last six years, I have been working on the emergence of civil society in Việt Nam, in particular in rural environments. My other field of research

is the study of development projects in mountainous areas.

2.2.1. Methodological framework for the quantitative and qualitative approaches: objectives, principles, methodology

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

This workshop is an extension of the training course that we have given over the three previous sessions of the Summer School. The idea is to link the qualitative approach with the quantitative approach, starting from statistical studies that we have presented in the previous Tam Đảo Summer School Week sessions.

In order to better organize the days to come, it would be interesting to know how many of you are familiar with quantitative approaches, in other words statistical studies, and how many are familiar with qualitative approaches. Among the participants, who has already done field work?

The participants are divided by their answer into two similarly sized groups.

Perfect, the exchange will be all the more rich. We are counting on you to rise to the challenge that presents itself this week: achieving a better understanding of quantitative and qualitative approaches, finding their complementary aspects, articulating them, learning how to obtain results from a methodological point of view. And, from an analytical point of view, extracting information from the theme that we will analyze this week. Do not hesitate to ask questions and come to see us after the sessions.

How will these four and a half days be organized?

Today, we will give the basis and a methodological framework for the two types of approaches by trying to set out the following points for each one: objectives, underlying principles, methodology. First of all, we will present statistical studies – *how do we approach a statistical study?*, then a session on qualitative studies. At the end of the day we will see more clearly the differences and complementarities between the two approaches.

Tomorrow, Tuesday, we will undertake a critical analysis of some quantitative results on the observed changes in the labor market and the strategies and perceptions of individuals. In the afternoon, we will present and discuss results from some semi-structured qualitative interviews. The discussions will treat the analytical results as well as the methodological aspects.

We will distribute six interviews that you should study in order to facilitate the discussions. Three types of approaches will be used: statistical studies, semi-structured interviews and socio-anthropological qualitative interviews. You must examine the advantages and weaknesses of the different approaches.

Wednesday morning, we will proceed with setting the context for and preparing the set-up of the qualitative mini-studies in Tam Đảo hill station. We will form working groups in order to understand the migratory and professional trajectories of individuals (small merchants, craftsmen/women, etc.).

The surveys will take place on Thursday morning. The afternoon will be spent working in groups to discuss and analyze the results of the interviews.

The half-day on Friday will be for putting together the results of the field work into a presentation. It will be interesting to compare the results obtained locally with those that we will present tomorrow from statistical surveys and semi-structured interviews. We will conclude the week with the preparation of Saturday's feedback session. For the feedback session, we need to choose two people to represent the workshop.

Thematic Framework

We will try to see how the population has experienced the economic transition that started in Việt Nam at the end of the 1980s. This involves examining the impact of two phenomena: urbanization, and the increasing importance of private initiatives and investments with the opening of the country to external markets. In the economic sense of the word, transition corresponds to changes in the economic structure and in the behavior of actors after major modifications in the context.

We will ask precise questions: what do we see in the labor market? What are the changes?

--> Strategies of migration and professional placement of individuals (the place and role of the informal sector): impact on revenue, job satisfaction, well-being.

--> Can strategies and behavior be explained by changes in standards, modes of social regulation, the way activities are managed on a local level?

"Transition" is understood on two levels:

- macro: economic transition (on national, regional, city-wide scales) through statistical data;
- micro: transition and mobility linked to employment on an individual, family or village level. The manner in which individuals experience (act) transition can be understood through their migratory and professional trajectory through time. The family and village scale is described through the networks that have played a role in their professional mobility (loans, contact-advice, etc).

This workshop is taking up a challenge. It is an interdisciplinary confrontation, statistician economists on one side and socio-anthropologists on the other. This will mobilize different approaches and methods in order to study a given theme. It is necessary first to define the common questions, with the objective of looking at them from different angles, while trying to coordinate the approaches and identifying their complementarity.

Image 1 Why, How and to What Extent Can We Quantify?



Source: 2007 Scott Adams, Inc./Dist. by Inc. www.dilbert.com.

When we have a tool, when we use an approach, it is necessary to be aware of its advantages, strengths and weaknesses. It

is important to keep a critical point of view on the way in which the tool is used and its results.

Box 6

"Statistics do not give an 'exact representation of the real world'; this world is obviously very complex; every statistic is conceived, and must be interpreted, within a 'conceptual grid'. You must use this critically; you cannot use it to its best effect if you do not know how it was produced, or without concerning yourself with the criteria which have helped to define the divisions it puts in place."

Edmond Malinvaud, Preface of Le métier de statisticien, Michel Volle (1984)

Statistics must select, simplify and summarize in a relevant way. How to do this isn't easy or obvious. Nevertheless, methods and practices are constantly developing and being refined, so as to improve the rigor and relevance both of the data collected and of the indicators they allow us to calculate.

Here are two quotes from Edmond Malinvaud, a well-known statistician economist in France. These two quotations are a good illustration of the way we perceive statistical tools.

Often, researchers have a tendency to say: *"Aha! I will use an existing survey!"* without knowing anything about its process and set-up, the place, the way in which the criteria for samples were chosen, or the variables defined; they will go straight into the analysis and try to produce results that perhaps don't make any sense.

[Jean-Pierre Cling]

Let's take an example. You read that 50% of Vietnamese work in agriculture. Should you consider this to be the truth? First thing: the source. This number comes, for example, from the employment survey that was done by the General Statistics Office over the whole of Việt Nam in 2009. It is a number that Mireille presented in the plenary session. This statistical survey was done with a certain level of production. They tell you that the Vietnamese work in agriculture. This term can have different definitions according to the country and its history. What does "work" mean? How many hours? Is it the principal employment? Secondary? Finally, they say: 50% of Vietnamese. Does this mean that they divide a number by another? What are the absolute values associated with this proportion? What is the active population?

Such a simple statement depends on a certain number of hypotheses, definitions of concepts and statistical methods.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

I will now present the different stages of a statistical survey. We must remember that

it does not involve simply finding people and presenting a questionnaire. A statistical survey is a complex chain of tasks that starts with the development of the methodology and continues through to the production of results. There are three phases:

Methodological Phase

- Field, units of observation, categories
- Sampling
- Questionnaire

Technical Phase

- Data collection (field)
- Data entry and sorting
- Extracting first results

Publication Phase

- Analysis, interpretation of data
- Presentation, discussion (first results)
- Publication of results
- Advanced studies

Let's look at the last two phases.

We can isolate the "field phase" where there will be data collection followed by data entry, cleaning up the data, in order to produce the first results. I want to underline the importance of this phase because it can lead the researcher to question him/herself: some values and results may seem absurd. So we must ask ourselves why. This can lead us back to the cleaning phase in order to delete some aberrations in the data or correct data entry errors. We need to ask ourselves how non-responses and missing data will be treated. We must also define some options on how to treat non-responses and missing data. During this step, it is also necessary to calculate the weightings, extrapolation coefficients, and the confidence intervals.

The publication phase corresponds to the analysis of the results and the interpretation of the data. Here we have the first results which merit discussion with specialists on the issue in order to verify the relevance of the analyses. During the publication of the final results, the databases are cleaned up. The methodological phase, all the conditions in which the survey was carried out, all that was initially detailed is often forgotten: how was the survey carried out? It is an important question which affects the interpretation of the results, but which unfortunately is not often taken into consideration. We must ask: what are the ideas and underlying theories that were used to put the survey into place?

Each step is of paramount importance. A multitude of small errors at each step can lead to results or data that are totally useless *in fine*: this can happen if the questions are poorly formulated, the questionnaire poorly thought out or the clean-up of data poorly done or controlled.

We will give you concrete examples. Imagine that we are interested in inequalities within households: how are the household tasks distributed among men and women? If we survey households and not individuals, we will not get results. It is essential to define the unit of observation.

Let's take the Việt Nam Household Living Standard Survey (VHLSS). This survey was conducted among households. Individuals were interviewed about their employment. The people said: *"I work in the public sector, I work in the private sector, I have a small business."* Each member of the family gave his or her own job description. This survey shows the activities of individuals in a given unit. There is also another section concerning non-

agricultural activities of the household, where the head of the family is asked about the units of production belonging to the household, and its revenue. In this particular section of the survey, we know that the head of the household said: *"We have a small business that sells different types of merchandise and another small workshop where we make doors."* However, we have no information on who works where: who works in which business? With this survey it was difficult to understand how these small family businesses function within the households.

It is necessary to think through the observation unit: who will we interview: the household, individuals? What types of households? Are we more interested in the activities or in the individuals? The quality of a survey depends on the questionnaire. The statistical survey depends on the field work and especially on the method used by the interviewers. What are their interactions with the interviewees? Were they able to build confidence? Did they make an effort to try to obtain truthful responses? To what extent were the questions reformulated without influencing the interviewees in their answers?

It's sometimes thought that we recruit interviewers after preparing the questionnaire, then send them straight out into the field. This is false. During a real statistical survey, specialized interviewers go out into the field. The training phase for the interviewers is also essential.

Finally, there are different types of surveys, defined according to various objectives. Will the survey be conducted all at once, or will the surveyors come back to the field? Can the interviews be held face to face,

by telephone, by mail, self-administered – the interviewee fills in the questionnaire? The mode of interview depends on the budget, the level of precision that we want to obtain and in some cases, the sensitivity of the issue.

[Jean-Pierre Cling]

We are going to focus on the methodological phase of a statistical survey, looking at the sampling then creating the questionnaire.

The basic hypothesis of a quantitative statistical survey is that we can quantify phenomena. I previously cited the example of Vietnamese who work in agriculture. We can assume that it is easier to quantify an activity: in what sector does a person work, where, when? When it comes to perceptions, we can see that this becomes much more difficult: what do you think, why do you do that? But here as well, we assume that we can quantify it. Afterwards we'll come back to all the problems of comparing quantitative results with qualitative surveys.

The methodological phase is of paramount importance. If your sampling is poorly done, if your sample is biased, your results will not be representative, your results will be poor. Likewise, if your questions are poorly formulated, people will not answer or will give an answer that does not correspond to the question asked.

Let's start with the field of survey. First it's necessary to define the target population: individuals, households or different units. The other question is the geographical coverage: is the survey national, regional, urban, etc.?

The sampling phase is very technical; it is based on the statistical theory of polling. We will not present the details of this technique now because we will not use it this week. However, it is important to know the principles. Why take only a part of the population and why not interview everyone? It is a question of cost and complexity. Surveys therefore interview 1,000, 2,000 or 100,000 individuals. We set a number of people to interview sufficient to obtain good quality results and a reliable model. Polling theory helps evaluate the quality of a survey according to the number of people interviewed. The main thing to remember about sampling is that the number of people to be interviewed for a given survey, with a given level of quality, does not depend on the population. If you are doing a survey on employment in China, where the population exceeds 1 billion 300 million inhabitants, or in Hà Nội, you will need the same size of sample; this will depend on the level of precision you want.

Sampling Strategy Representativity of Answers to a Statistical Survey

Calculating the size of the sample

Depends on choices about:

- the risk of error of estimation

(= a sampling error; note, this is different from errors in responses);

- the confidence level

(= probability that the result is within a certain interval);

There is a relationship between the size of the sample, the error of estimation and the confidence level; if two of these variables are fixed, the third can be deduced.

The size of the sample survey does not depend on the size of the total population

In China or in Việt Nam, you would need the same sample size to obtain the same level of precision of results (sampling error, confidence interval).

Example: we want to survey the population about their holiday preferences (seaside/countryside); we fix a 3% risk of error (E)

We must survey:

About 2000 people (1850 exactly) for a confidence level of 1%;

About 1000 people (1062 exactly) for a confidence level of 5%;

About 750 people (747 exactly) for a confidence level of 10%.

We surveyed 1000 people.

We obtained the following results:

- 53% prefer the sea;

47% prefer the countryside.

Interpretation (fixing the confidence level at 99%)

- The percentage of those who prefer the seaside is between 49% and 57%;

- The percentage of those who prefer the countryside is between 43% and 51%;

So the percentages for each result (seaside/countryside) are not significantly different if we fix a confidence level of 1% (the risk of error of estimation is thus $\pm 4\%$).

Source: Authors' construction.

What is important is that a figure taken from a statistical survey is not a 100% true figure. There is a margin of error. So we must pay attention to the interpretation of the figures and comparison with other results.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

Two practical details. We often see tables of survey data with 2 digits after the decimal. When you see the polling error and the manner in which we can interpret the numbers, this mode of representation is ridiculous. This gives the impression of exactitude, whereas

this does not make sense. Finally, when you analyze a statistical survey and you know that the sample is small – 100, or 300 individuals for example – it is necessary to be careful when interpreting the results and to look at them with a critical eye.

[Jean-Pierre Cling]

There are two methods for sampling: probability (random), non-probability (non-random). For a random sample, several polling methods are possible.

Box 8 Sampling Strategy

Probabilistic (random) sampling

Implies a random selection

Probability of inclusion of each unit in the sample,

--> possibility of calculating the sampling error (confidence interval).

Several different methods allow the selection of a random sample. The choice of method depends on:

- Polling base (you must have this if you're to have a random sample);*
- The way in which the population is distributed;*
- Costs and timescale.*

Objective: reduce sampling error as far as possible for the most important survey variables.

Source: Authors' construction.

Here is a list of examples of the most common polling methods:

- simple random;
- systematic;
- probability proportional to size;
- stratified;
- cluster;
- several degrees;
- several phases.

We will not use these, they are just examples.

The first, most well-known and simplest method: simple random sampling. You will extract, for example, 0.1% of the Vietnamese population: the Vietnamese population being around 85 million inhabitants, you will choose approximately 85,000 people randomly to participate in your survey. The type of sampling used especially in the surveys in

Việt Nam is stratified sampling where we are interested in, for example, the structure of employment by region. Instead of selecting 85,000 people without paying attention to the region, we will try to have a certain number of people interviewed in each of the regions – either the same rate of selection in each region or a different rate.

All of these methods can be used if we have what we call a polling base, meaning a file with the entire population that we want to interview and where we can just pull out a certain number of people. If the polling base does not exist, we need to use other methods that we call “non-random sampling”. These methods are obviously less precise.

Box 9 Sampling Strategy

Non-probabilistic (non-random) sampling

Absence of a polling base, random sampling impossible.

Sample = structure comparable to that of the study population.

Choice of units of observation is arbitrary:

-->Variable probabilities of forming part of the sample.

Blind or accidental sampling

Choice of a strategic time and place, and arbitrary selection.

Systematic, non-random sampling.

We survey individuals chosen at a fixed interval (in a queue).

We choose the first individual arbitrarily.

Sampling by quota

A technique that one can bring together with stratified sampling; you create a model on a reduced scale, in terms of certain characteristics, of the study population. But selection is arbitrary. The surveyor can fill quotas as desired.

Source: Authors' construction.

Example of blind sampling. You want to survey the traders in a market and you will interview 100 of them. You could take, for example, those that you find; a second non-random method is to stand in the street and interview a passer-by every five minutes.

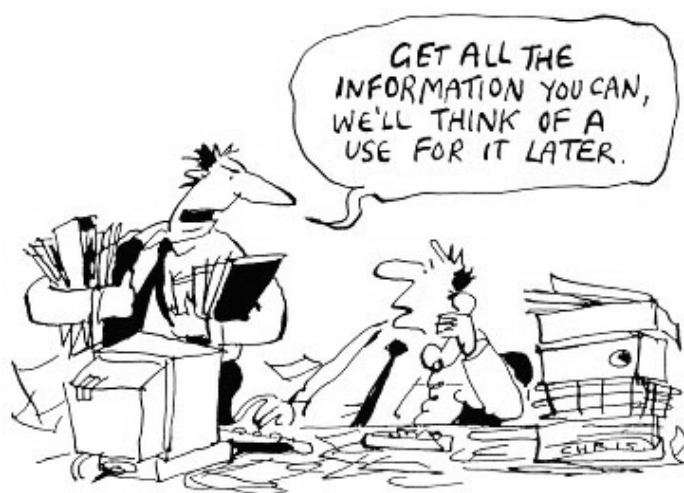
Last example: sampling by quota. You think that in the population, there are about as many men as women and you want to interview two hundred people; you will therefore find one hundred men and one hundred women in the street. Once you have interviewed two hundred people, you stop the survey.

Polling methods should be used according to the circumstances, budget, and population, always with the same objective: reduce polling error in order to have the most precise results possible.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

To introduce the last stage of the morning, I would like to show you this drawing which illustrates what not to do in creating a questionnaire.

Image 2 *The Quantitative Approach: the relevance of hypotheses and questions?*



Source: Annual Reports. Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada, 1998-1999 Ottawa (Ontario).

We must find a balance, in designing simple questionnaires, that allows us to gather a maximum amount of information, capable of shedding enough light on the issues that we want to work on. There is a balance to be found between a heavy questionnaire that can reduce the quality of the survey and of the answers provided, and a light questionnaire that does not provide enough depth on the issue that we would like to analyze.

Another balance is found in the formulation of the questions. They must be precise but

short, and at the same time understandable by all categories of the population. Should we oversimplify a questionnaire in order to be understood by the entire population – educated and non-educated people? What words do we use? How to formulate the question? Often, statistical surveys led by institutions are the result of a long discussion process. A questionnaire is finalized after several years. Sometimes we realize that a question was not understood, and elicited no response. It is very important to finalize a questionnaire because one of the advantages

of a statistical survey is to be able to repeat the experiment, to follow the evolution of a given variable in the population.

Example. We have set up a survey on corruption. The following question was asked in a given country: "Have you been the victim of corruption in the last year?" This type of formulation can be criticized: what will the population understand by the word "corruption?" What will they consider as corruption? This question is interesting

because if it is repeated and maintained with an identical formulation from one year to the next, the population will interpret the same type of phenomenon. If we observe a great rise in the percentage of individuals that answer "Yes", from one year to the next, this evolution clearly translates a phenomenon that means something.

There are three steps in the creation of a questionnaire.

Box 10 *Creation of a Questionnaire*

Indicator 1: motives for the creation of their "business" in the informal sector

- they sought work, higher income, better conditions;
- constraints to the creation of the unit (start-up funds, investment, premises for the activity, etc.);
- opportunities (networks, family traditions, qualifications and so on).

Indicator 2: perception of their professional situation

- working conditions and difficulties;
- degree of satisfaction;
- self-esteem and recognition.

Indicator 3: prospects and what they would do if they had the choice, and they had to formalize their activities

- expansion of the activity in the future;
- will their children take it on?;
- views on payment of taxes and registration; behavior as regards the State.

Source: Authors' construction.

For a wide-ranging issue on a given subject, we have some underlying working hypotheses – is it true? is it false? We will then attempt to find the indicators that can illustrate this hypothesis, then the themes that we can talk about concerning each indicator. Finally, we will create the questions to ask, meaning the kinds of responses to look for.

Let's take an example concerning the individuals who work in micro-units, most often in the informal sector. The principal theme that we would like to address is: *do these people – craftsmen, traders – who work in this sector do so by deliberate choice or not?* Different questions (indicators) provide elements of information on this subject: what motivates these people to create their "business" in the informal sector, how do

they perceive their present situation, what is their degree of satisfaction, how do they perceive their prospects and what would they do if they had the choice to move to this or that sector?

Around these different types of indicators, some issues will be identified in order to narrow down to what we are looking to measure: for example, for the first indicator – reasons for creating a family business –, what were the paths to creation, what were the opportunities? It is necessary to identify the interviewees' perception of their work conditions, the types of difficulties that they face.

Then the next step is to attempt to understand if they are satisfied or not with their situation, and why. Three types of issues are addressed concerning the degree of satisfaction: do they want to expand their activity in the future, do they think that their children will take over the activity (means of understanding how they perceive their profession), what is their point of view regarding the government (do they think that it is necessary to be registered?)?

Here are some useful principles in creating a questionnaire:

- 1) Clarity and precision. Often, the goal of the question (pursued by the surveyor) is not always visible. But over-explaining what we are trying to measure can lead to strategic behavior on the part of the interviewee;
- 2) Simplicity. We must try to identify and remove words or notions that are too complicated for the interviewees, give lists of concrete examples instead of concepts or notions which may be abstract;
- 3) Size of the questionnaire: as light as possible. It is important to have a precise questionnaire, and to simplify

the interviewees' task. It is sometimes necessary to separate questions and proceed in stages, to add intermediary questions to facilitate comprehension. When surveys are too short, people don't always "get into" the questionnaire. The answers can be insincere;

- 4) Sequence of the questions and order of the items/methods. Sensitive questions are not asked at the beginning of a questionnaire. Build up a relationship of trust with the interviewees before getting into difficult subjects.

Before finalizing a questionnaire, it is important to test it in the field, *i.e.* carry out test surveys among a few individuals. It is also necessary to train the interviewers. During this stage, they will react by saying: *"I did not understand this question. It is poorly worded"*. During interviewer training there is also a testing phase, at the end of which the questionnaire will be modified and revised.

[Christian Culas]

We will continue with the presentation of the qualitative method, in particular through the anthropological approach. I will start with the foundations of anthropological research. Although the process is different, many things will be similar to what my economist colleagues just explained.

My plan has three main parts:

- 1) Epistemological Foundations of Anthropological Research
- 2) Empirical Process: from the Problem to Field Surveys;
- 3) Data Production in Anthropology: Methods and Issues.

Box 11 *The qualitative approach*

"[...] In any branch of knowledge, research results must be presented in an honest and sincere way [...]. In ethnography, where an honest presentation of data is perhaps even more indispensable, we note, alas!, that in the past there has been a general lack of precision [...] I think that the only ethnographic sources of any scientific value are those where it is possible to make a clear distinction between, on the one hand, the results of direct study, the data and interpretations furnished by local people, and on the other the deductions of the author".

(Bronislaw Malinowski 1963: 58-59)

Malinowski is one of the first ethnographers, the first westerner to have spent much time in a village that was not of his culture – in the Trobriand Islands, coral atolls which form an archipelago off the eastern coast of New Guinea. The end of the text that I've quoted makes a clear separation between two things: on the one hand, direct study – data, interpretation given by the natives, in other words all that the anthropologist takes from the field –, and on the other hand, deductions, analysis, interpretation. Malinowski differentiates between the reality of others and our interpretations. He says that it is necessary to be careful as those two things are very different.

The reality we refer to is what we can observe and obtain from others. Others have a world, and the researcher can capture and observe only a part of this world. The researcher comes to find information there, and produce data. This data will be analyzed and interpreted in order to produce a finalized scientific document. We will focus more on the stages from the reality of others to the production of data, than from data to interpretation.

Epistemological Foundations of Anthropological Research

How can we really know another person? I am not another, so can I know him/her? It is an old debate in philosophy, in history as well; in the other social sciences, it is much more recent.

I take two extreme positions. The first: positivism considers that science has sufficiently powerful means to enter into the reality of others and understand it in its totality. This is a model that comes from physics. Human society is like a molecule, like a plant: we can dissect it in order to arrive at a state of maximum knowledge where everything is known. The second: ultra-relativism says, on the contrary, that the reality of others is not knowable; "Science itself is built by men, and science is a social position. Science is therefore ideological, political, it is not objective and for all these reasons, it cannot know the reality of others". Anthropology but also the other social sciences, such as history in particular, work at keeping an intermediary position between these two extremes in order not to be blocked by one of the two positions.

There are limitations, we know this. In order to be conscious of these limits, we will study them and say: *"We know to what point we can know"*. When we speak about reasoned conscience, meaning that the researcher will evaluate his own manner of working, this is a critical approach. Our economist colleagues have said the same thing this morning: *"We produce data, we criticize our own data"*.

Epistemology is the study of the manner in which sciences function, their logic and rigor. In epistemology, this type of action is called "reflexive loop": the researcher will look at his/her work as something that can be criticized. We do the same tests on the validity of the data produced from anthropological studies as economists do, only not from a mathematical but from a logical point of view. It is a question of the empirical adequacy of statements; this means that we will question the manner in which the data production process takes place. Is the relationship strong enough between the realities studied and the data, or is it too slack? We work on the quality of this relationship and we try to produce data that is as close as possible to the reality observed.

We must be as rigorous as possible. We have a paradox here because we often think of the qualitative approach as being flexible. We speak about a lack of rigor. However, we can be both qualitative and rigorous. What is important is to know what we are looking for, and in particular to be able to tell the difference in the search for truth: is this true or is it false? The question is not well constructed from a scientific point of view. In social science, we talk about the search for "truthfulness," we approach something that is like the truth. This is the method for sociology, history, but also for almost all of the sciences,

even physical sciences. Astrophysicists would not accept someone saying "it's true" or "it's false". Today, we can say one thing because science can do this, but maybe tomorrow it will be completely different. How can the social sciences be rigorous? We will evaluate the adequacy (the strong correspondence) between the data produced and the reality observed, in other words, the shift from observable reality to data. How does this take place? We can evaluate by verifying and cross-checking information. Then, the second level of verification happens during the stage when data is transformed into finalized scientific texts, *i.e.* in the interpretation of the data.

Lê Xuân Thọ

You use abstract terms: empirical, epistemology. The use of these terms is difficult. The connotation of "correspondence, empirical adequacy" is difficult to understand.

[Christian Culas]

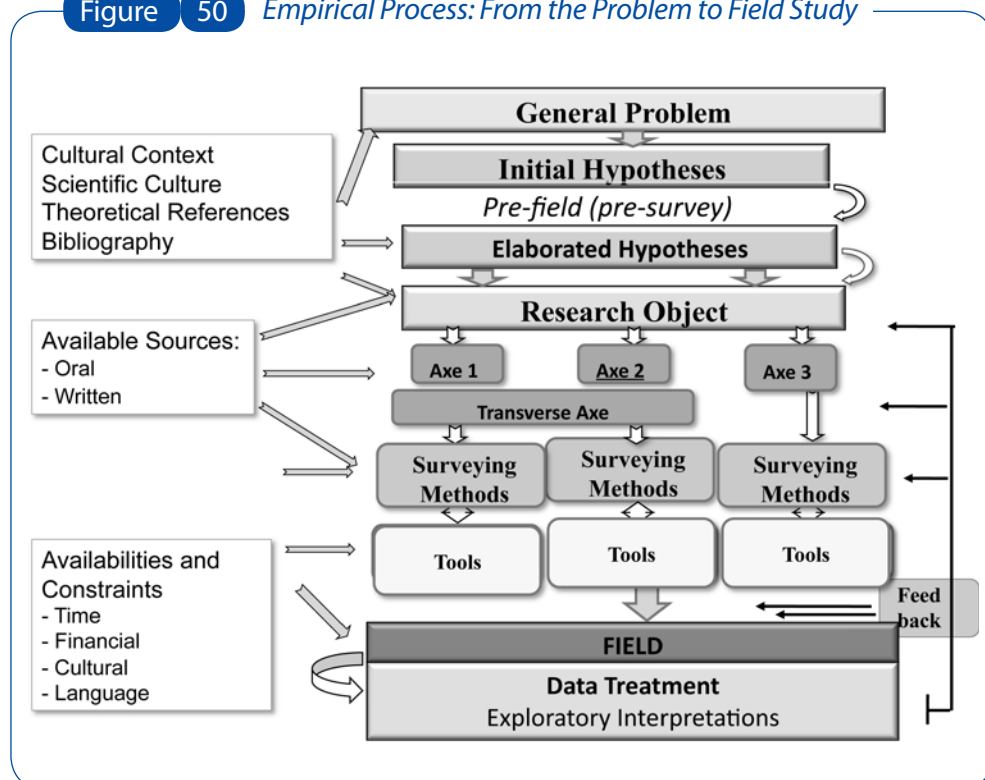
I am aware of translation problems, but it is necessary to have slightly abstract terms in order to describe some parts of our research work. Maybe the audience is not as used to anthropological terms as statistical terms. In order to define epistemology, we can simply say that the object of sociological study is society, the object of epistemology is science; in this case, sociology or anthropology are the objects of epistemology. Epistemology is the science that studies sciences in order to understand their logic, principles and limitations. When we speak about epistemological foundations, we are stepping back a bit from our science; it then becomes the object of study. "Empirical adequacy" was coined by Olivier de Sardan. Empirical adequacy is high when the study

data produced and the reality of the people studied are in close correlation, in other words, when the data are as close as possible to (although they are always slightly removed from) the realities experienced by the social actors studied.

Empirical Process: From the Problem to Field Study

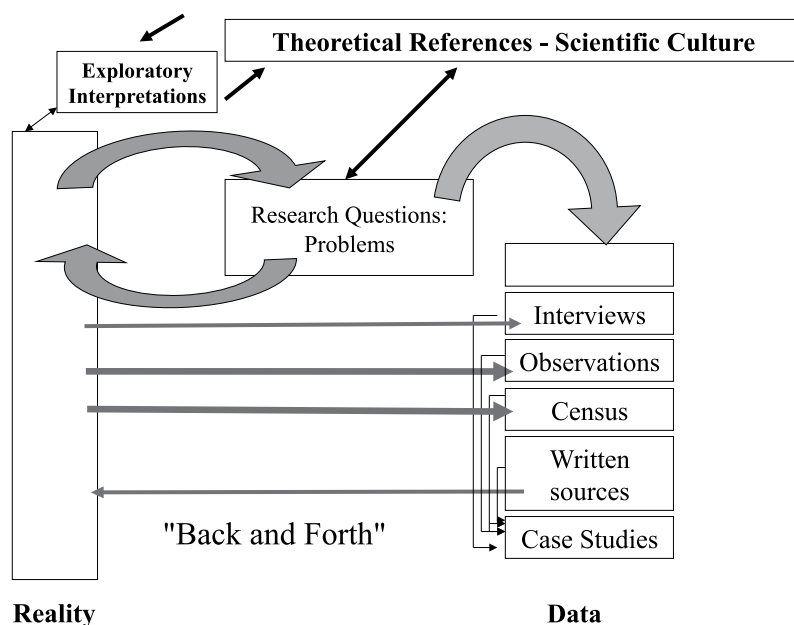
Here is the ideal scenario for anthropological research. In reality, we generally start with a problem, and we often skip the first steps.

Figure 50 *Empirical Process: From the Problem to Field Study*



Source: Author.

Figure 51 *Construction of the Study Object*



Source: Author.

Data Production in Anthropology

For our studies on Thursday morning, there is a whole series of stages of the scenario that you will not have the time to do. We will work together on the method and tools, and then we will prepare our field questions.

How to tell the difference between actions like "taking down and collecting" or "producing" data? In the verbs, "taking down, collecting", there is the idea (often unspoken) that the data exists on its own and we will look for it (like harvesting fruit on a tree); the other side of the expression "produce data" implies that it does not exist on its own, but that it is the researcher that will manufacture it, produce it. In many anthropological or

sociological texts, the researcher seems to look for the information: it is there, he/she "captures it" then uses it as if it was already given, as if everything was done ahead of time. This is a totally positivist position – taking pieces, but in reality transforming nothing. If we believe we are gathering data, we do not seek to know why we are looking for it or how we produce it. The action of the researcher is thought to be neutral; "we are only gathering, reproducing the reality of others with our words, our phrases". In contrast, when we say "we produce data", we try to understand it: when we produce, we act, we transform, we make choices. It is the display and justification of these choices that allows the anthropologist to produce rigorous work.

Anthropological study produces much data, and only a small part will be used to write articles or books. This is an important difference from the quantitative approach: almost all of the quantitative data produced is used. When we make a questionnaire or a survey, we lose very little of the data, as opposed to anthropological or sociological research (data from interviews, discussions and observation).

Let's take an example. I wrote a thesis on religious movements. My objective was to know how the Hmong in Thailand, Laos and Việt Nam organized themselves on a

political and religious level. In the villages I studied the economy, demography, migrations and other subjects that did not have a direct relationship with my study object. But to understand these religious movements, I had to address all of these issues. I have five notebooks of information on the economy and yet, in my thesis, it only takes up one or two pages. During a socio-anthropological demonstration, we do not use everything. But I must have a thorough knowledge of the economic issues facing the people that I study, even if I write almost nothing on this theme.

Box 12 Socio-Anthropological Surveys

Combinations of 6 types of data production during the field survey:

- 1 – Insertion-immersion in the living environment of the interviewees (or "participant observation");
- 2 – Interviews (discursive interactions deliberately solicited by the researcher);
- 3 – Observation (description of situations, acts, conditions of discourse);
- 4 – Census procedures (resorting to systematic investigation tools);
- 5 – Written sources (archives, local reports, accounting documents, etc.);
- 6 – Audiovisual sources (less systematically used than the other sources).

Source: Author.

The list presented here is important because often, in sociology or in anthropology, we think that we only conduct interviews. In reality, the production of data is extremely diversified. The modes of data production have different status:

- reading texts, method very similar to that of historians;
- interviews;
- observations: these are much more difficult to measure because they are only carried out while a situation is happening. In the

field, we can rarely produce observations. It is necessary to wait for things to happen;

- "insertion, immersion". This is maybe the big difference with sociologists. An anthropologist considers that in order to understand a group, it is necessary to live with them. The constraint of time is important. It is necessary to adapt to the local rhythm, local life, in order to enter into the rhythm of action, discourse; it is also necessary to learn the language.

Let us address some aspects of our work from the week. There are three ways to produce data: interviews, immersion and observation. I will cover interview-observation more in detail on Wednesday morning. We do not have time for the last section, immersion and insertion. The only place where we can go is to the market at the Tam Đảo hill station. I suggest that you try to meet the traders there as soon as possible, start to immerse yourself, introduce yourself, create bonds with them, make contact. In the first stages, you will not need to do any research; the inhabitants and traders will see you and “get used” to you. If they meet you three or four times, it will be much easier to start the survey. When we arrive in a village, it is always difficult at first; the information collected at that time is somewhat superficial. The quality information often comes from the quality of the relationships between the researcher and the people that he/she is studying; this human dimension of trust is one of the basics of anthropological study.

[François Roubaud]

Today, we will have our general presentations, so it is OK to keep quiet. But tomorrow, you will be asked to participate. We will provide you with interviews on which to work.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

What differentiates the two approaches that we just mentioned?

Cristina Bellinins Lieven

Does sociology use statistical tools more?

[Christian Culas]

An entire branch of sociology is more or less quantitative. Polls, for example, use statistical

economics methods to produce data. But there are also long sociological interviews that are similar to anthropology. The field is not sufficient in itself to define the method used. Similarly, according to the subject studied, an anthropologist will conduct a census of the land and production, for example, in order to understand the agricultural system.

[François Roubaud]

Sociology is slightly intermediary from the point of view of the methods between quantitative economics and partially or exclusively qualitative anthropology. Sociology does not only use surveys. Between quantitative surveys, semi-structured interviews, and anthropological interviews, sociology will most likely use semi-structured interviews, while anthropology will use open interviews.

Lê Xuân Thọ

When we talk about quantitative, this is something measurable. We speak about numbers, samples, and size. The numerical data provides a relative exactitude. This method delivers a national or international view. Comparisons are possible between regions, provinces or countries. Analysis is objective. However, it does not lend itself to precision. As opposed to the quantitative method, the qualitative approach gives a precise knowledge of the object studied. I believe that one of the weak points of qualitative study is subjectivity.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

Based on Thọ's remarks, it seems to be that there are always pre-conceived notions regarding the quantitative and the qualitative. Are numbers guarantees of objectivity? I don't

think so. We don't get closer to an objective reality simply because we work with numbers, or get further from it because we carry out a qualitative analysis. Everything depends on the manner in which the research is done. It is necessary to know the limitations of the meaning of the data, and know how to interpret them.

Nguyễn Ngọc Anh

The quantitative approach cannot translate the aspirations of individuals; this is for the qualitative survey.

[Jean-Pierre Cling]

Today, we will hand out the qualitative interviews. You will divide up into groups of two or three in order to analyze the documents. It would be preferable for you to have different disciplinary fields represented in each group, and for each group to speak a common language.

Table 15 *Differences and Complementarities Between the Approaches*

	QUANTITATIVE APPROACH	QUALITATIVE APPROACH
Tools	Statistical Surveys	Qualitative Interviews and Observations
Disciplines	Mainly economists (and sociologists)	Mainly anthropologists and sociologists
Scale of Observation	Wide (a large number of individuals). Macroscopic scale	Local (a given locality or sub-group)
Sample	Large (often random)	Restricted (targeted and often non-random)
Objectives (construction of the object of study)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Analyze the characteristics of a population (macro level) - Study the determinants of practices/ behavior and representations (micro level = individuals and actors) 	Research the logic which underlies behaviors and representations (micro level = individuals and actors)
Approach	"Hypothetico-deductive" approach <i>Verify the theoretical results</i>	Inductive approach <i>Form theories from empirical observations</i>
Starting Point	<p>Starts from a theoretical model to test it against the facts</p> <p>Starting point: formulation of a hypothesis (with concepts, definitions, principles and rules from the start)</p> <p>→ deduction of observable consequences → test/validation</p>	<p>Empirical observations "in the field"</p> <p>Starts from actors' reality, not from preconceived ideas on that reality</p> <p>→ construction of interpretations using analytical concepts which allow the observation of practices and interactions to be taken into account. Starting point = concrete situations, accessible to the observer</p> <p>→ extract the concepts, principles and rules applicable</p>

Source: Authors' construction.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

Here is an overall presentation of the differences and complementarities between the two approaches. We have insisted on putting a column in the middle because the dividing line between them is not completely fixed.

The first difference is the scale of observation. Quantitative approaches most often concern a larger number of individuals – macroscopic scale – while the qualitative approach deals with a more local scale of observation, a given location or a population sub-group. The second difference concerns the sample of people surveyed. These are two things that are distinct from the scale of observation. The sample for a quantitative approach is often large. We interview many people with principally random samplings – we choose people randomly. In qualitative approaches, the sample is more limited, targeted and not often random.

The objectives. The quantitative approach proposes two types of analysis: macro level where we try to obtain the overall characteristics of a given population; micro-level analysis and objectives so as to understand what is happening at the level of individuals, the actors that we study. We then try to understand, to see the characteristics, the behavior, the practices or the perceptions. The qualitative emphasizes the search for the

logic behind behavior or practices. But there are also complementarities: the quantitative tries to understand the logic, but cannot be as thorough. Similarly, the qualitative tries to describe a given population, but the approach will not be as wide-ranging as in the case of quantitative approaches.

Methodological approach. To simplify: the quantitative approach uses hypothetico-deductive processes – we have theories and we try to verify these theoretical results using numbers; the qualitative approach is more inductive, it bases its theories on empirical observations. In the quantitative approach, we speak about theoretical models. We formulate a hypothesis; we work on concepts, definitions of principles. Then, we test and validate (or discredit) the hypothesis that we have formulated. The qualitative, and notably the anthropological approach, is based on empirical observation, field work, without pre-conceived notions about reality. Then we construct the concepts, the categories that will result from the observations.

The two approaches can come together. There is the possibility of the “return effect” – reverse causality. In both cases, we should take into account that the interaction can have effects on individuals or that the institutions present will create interactions at the level of the society.

Table 16 *Differences and Complementarities Between the Approaches*

	QUANTITATIVE APPROACH		QUALITATIVE APPROACH
<i>Tools</i>	<i>Statistical Surveys</i>		<i>Qualitative Interviews and Observations</i>
Status of Interactions	The individuals or institutions present will create interactions (but taking into account the return effect as well)		It is the interaction that produces the individuals or institutions present (but possible return effect)
General premise	<p>Law of Large Numbers → Representative nature of the results</p> <p>The interviewee understands the question; he/she answers; the response is independent of the formulation; the response corresponds to the "reality"</p>		<p>Minority behavior and discourse are the product of society and shed light on the majority behavior. Understanding society = understanding the articulation of different types of behavior and discourse. *</p>
How survey is situated in time	<p>Repeated surveys (using the same methodology)</p> <p>Panel studies</p>		Study according to the timescale of one unit (individual, household, village)

Basic premise of the qualitative approach: no hierarchy, in terms of meaning or representativity, based on the number of cases observed. Even a marginal case – even exceptional or unique – can offer a social meaning which can help to explain the behavior of the majority of the group.
→ Move slightly away from the point of observation in order to see new things or see things from a different angle.

Source: Authors' construction.

There is an important difference in the general rule underlying each of these two approaches. The quantitative relies on the rule of large numbers and on the idea that the data that we collect are supposed to be representative of a given population. We also assume that the questions asked are well understood, that the questions are answered with an independent response, and, in the end, that the answer corresponds to the reality that we are trying to capture. For the qualitative approach, what we produce is the result of what happens in a given society. It provides an insight into the whole of the society and, even if only relevant to a minority, identifies its mode of functioning.

[Christian Culas]

Let's take an example. We studied the village meetings among 1000 village families. We noted that 995 families go to the meetings, so 5 do not go. In the quantitative approach, the 5/1000, or 0.5% will almost disappear from the descriptions and the analysis. We consider that this is the margin of error, of a lack of precision. The anthropologist, on the other hand, will try to interview these 5 families in order to find out why they do not go to the meetings. This could be an entry point to understanding the tension and conflict within the village, for example. For the anthropologist, just because only a small number of people

do something does not mean that we must neglect it in our analysis. We must evaluate the importance of the actions of even one individual, regardless of the small number.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

Here is a list of some limitations that we would like to underline in relation to the two approaches.

Quantitative Approach and Statistical Surveys

- Lack of importance given to the point of view of the interviewee.

Complex social processes are not easy to capture with a questionnaire.

A questionnaire with notions, pre-established categories does not allow for adaptation to the history, the language, thoughts and feelings of the interviewee.

- Answers collected by a questionnaire are not spontaneous but solicited (or even unconsciously directed); the interview obliges them to take a position.
- The classic interview with a questionnaire depends on the efficiency and the pertinence of the questions chosen (which depends on the hypothesis).
- The information can be truncated (non-exhaustive).

1. Analysis Unit: the individual scale can be insufficient

Behavior depends on personal choice and/or social norms and/or institutional constraints and/or opportunities.

Belonging to a group influences personal choices, which themselves can also influence the group.

Qualitative approaches let the interviewee speak by setting him/her at ease as much as possible, without necessarily asking a question, just during the course of a conversation.

2. It is necessary to detect all solutions/possibilities

In order to understand a migratory or professional history and integration in the informal sector, it is necessary to construct a *"panorama or range of possibilities"* from the experience of social actors by taking different parameters into consideration: location, status and type of employment, type of motivation, mobility and social history of the individuals, all the groups and institutions that intervene, etc.

The "range of possibilities" is not necessarily available ahead of time, but must be built by the observer or researcher.

3. Information on the prevailing constraints and logic

Choices depend on:

- the technical nature of the activity (*qualification of the individual, place of residence, etc.*);
- supply-side conditions (financial constraints, labor market supply, etc.);
- but also on representation: the significance that the activity undertaken assumes for the individual;
- types of relationships between actors (employers and employees)

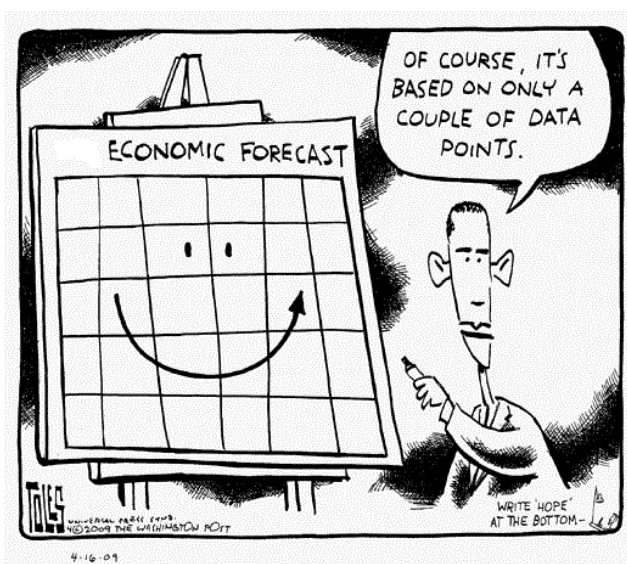
Let's imagine that we choose to interview some individuals. This option has consequences for the results. The behavior of an individual can be the result not only of a personal choice, but also of his/her

environment – social standards, institutional constraints.

We have collected statistical data on the informal sector in order to follow the trajectories of individuals that are actors in this sector, and to try to identify ways to

improve their living conditions. To define effective policies, we will need, for example, to understand the career and migratory paths of these individuals. For this we will need pertinent questionnaires.

Image 3 *The Pertinence of Numbers Analysis*



Source: Tom Toles, *The Washington Post & Universal Press Synd.*, April 2009.

Qualitative Approach

The first remark concerns the idea of representativity. Of course, the idea of statistical generalization is impossible. Based on the interviews that you will conduct in Tam Đảo, you will not say: "I studied a small restaurant that told me it earned five million dong per month" and deduce that all the restaurant owners in Tam Đảo earn the same amount. Generalization occurs at another level. Based on a qualitative, socio-

anthropological approach, we generalize the process and the logic based on interviews. For this we need to succeed in grasping all the conditions and social mechanisms with which the individual is integrated. In one context, with these conditions and mechanisms, we observe a given phenomenon. Generalization is done in this manner: in such a precise context, here is what we find. This logic linking the phenomenon to the totality of the surrounding context can be generalized.

Another limitation. It is very difficult to adopt a non-directive attitude. As opposed to the quantitative approach, we try to listen to the point of view of the interviewee and not direct his/her responses. This requires an expertise in following the person in the dialogue that will establish itself.

We will now hand out the semi-structured interviews that you will work on for tomorrow, Tuesday. They are interviews conducted in tandem with quantitative surveys in Hà Nội and Hồ Chí Minh City on family and individuals, formal and informal enterprises. We ask you to read these interviews in order to prepare our group discussion on the results. Each one of you has received two interviews: interview 1 – a restaurant owner who serves grilled duck; interview 2 – a crab noodle seller. Four other interviews were distributed, according to your working group, so that you can familiarize yourself with the different types of interviews and speakers: a retail merchant, a hat maker for the army, an iron door maker, the boss of a popular restaurant.

These are semi-structured interviews addressing a large number of themes. We ask that you find the elements that you will use for analyzing this issue: how do people perceive and experience the present transition? This will be visible through the professional and migratory path that individuals have taken.

- Where do they come from?
- Where have they migrated to? Alone, as a family?
- Have they changed jobs? What kind of employment have they had during their life (trajectories)?
- What are the factors that explain these changes? What were their motivations?

What were their constraints? How have they experienced the different phases of their life? Their satisfaction (are they happy?)?

Second type of factor: social networks.

- To what type of association do they belong?
- Characteristics of the networks: neighborhood, family, neighbors, distantly linked people. The ties and relationships within a family will also be linked to the professional paths of the individuals.

Day 2, Tuesday, July 20

2.2.2. Critical Analysis of some results obtained by observing changes in the labor market and individuals' strategies and perceptions

[François Roubaud]

We will work on the semi-structured interviews. I hope that you have had the time to progress with the readings, so that this afternoon we can quickly obtain some results.

We will apply the concepts, ideas and methodology mentioned yesterday to a concrete case: migratory and professional trajectories and transitions, with a focus on the informal sector in Việt Nam. The morning will be spent on the possible areas of convergence between qualitative and quantitative. We will present a summary of the synergies we envisage. Then we will present some descriptions of the labor market and of the informal sector in Việt Nam, asking you to try to lead the

scientific approach yourselves: what are the questions associated with this information, what are the hypotheses, what are the results that you can see on the screen, what are the limitations of the results presented?

Unlike other workshops, our process is experimental. The idea of bringing the quantitative and qualitative approaches together is often put forward, but it is rarely put into practice.

You were to study the semi-structured interviews, immerse yourself in the environment of the hill station and identify some informal units, small trading activities that will be the object of interviews on Thursday morning. Who has made progress on this?

Inthakesone Thaviphone

Yesterday we started looking after class. I do not know this region very well. I noticed some Catholic churches. We met a former soldier who lived in Laos for four years. He lives with his wife in Tam Đảo which is his native village. He no longer works, his wife has a small shop. She sells drinks.

[François Roubaud]

Typically, this could be the object of a study: an interview of this lady and her husband on the subject of social networks and/or family networks. This is a good introduction, with a rich history including international migration. From the point of view of life trajectory, this could be interesting.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

I would like to remind you of some elements we touched on yesterday on the subject of the qualitative approach. Let's examine

point by point the current weaknesses of the qualitative method:

- need to know the overall context / macro context

What happens at the local scale is inscribed in an overall context (national, international).

- at the local level, some aspects of the context need to be measured

What is the demographic, political, economic importance of different groups (poor/rich, native/emigrant, ethnic groups, etc.) at the national level? The distribution of employment in a city?

- possible divergence between perception (qualitative) and statistically measured results

- Differences in the definition (and measure) of the concept

Example of the concept of inequality: perception of a drastic increase in inequality by the population whereas the statistics show overall a weak evolution, with only a very small proportion of individuals who have become very rich.

- Differences due to choice of indicator of the phenomenon

Perception: crime or corruption is increasing

Reality: no change, but the media discuss it more (reporting more cases) resulting in a biased perception

- Differences due to the fact that the interviewees are not representative of the population.

The interviewees are those who agreed to speak to us (more educated, less poor, etc.)

Bias that could be surmounted by a detailed knowledge of the field.

[François Roubaud]

Let's give an example of selection bias, which happens when we choose people who are not representative of the population. In 2009, there was an international crisis. One of the objectives was to discover the impact of this crisis on the labor market. In the newspapers, massive lay-offs in industry and export enterprises were discussed. One qualitative analysis project selected a certain number of groups to examine the impact of the crisis. They chose groups composed of people who worked in export zones, industrial parks and were obviously directly affected by the international crisis. These groups were by nature the most exposed. The conclusions of the study on the impact of the crisis on the labor market were naturally dramatic.

[Christian Culas]

The limitations presented are not absolute. The quality of a method depends on the object to which it is applied. We understand that qualitative surveys are not enough for an accurate reading of the reality that we want to study. If you are well aware of the limitations of each type of approach, it is possible to know what type of method to apply according to the object of study. Applying "recipes", repeating the same research actions in different contexts, is not possible. The tools that you will use will be defined by the object that you will study, and by the context of your study. It is up to you to adapt your methods to each type of survey; this is neither easy nor reassuring, but it is the only way to obtain good results.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

I think that the perceptions, even erroneous ones, of the population deserve to be taken into account in the analysis. Even if the perceptions of the population are not representative, they can explain some behavior, influence some mechanism within the society.

We have measured the evolution of corruption in Madagascar. Over a given period, from a statistical point of view, we have observed a decrease in petty corruption affecting the population. At the same time, the discontent of the population increased to a crisis point, without us really understanding what the various originating factors were. We realized that according to the perception of the population, as opposed to the actual corruption that the population was subjected to, corruption had increased greatly. The data on perception in a given country can explain some phenomena. We must absolutely not neglect subjective data.

Yves Perraudau

I would like to illustrate what was just said about the image, the reality and the image of the reality. Reality does not exist, but we must try to perceive it as best we can. The media today has a tendency to falsify this reality. I will not go into the role of the media here, but communication is a product that must be sold, which means that we are much more interested in evolution and rhythm than journalism is, at its level.

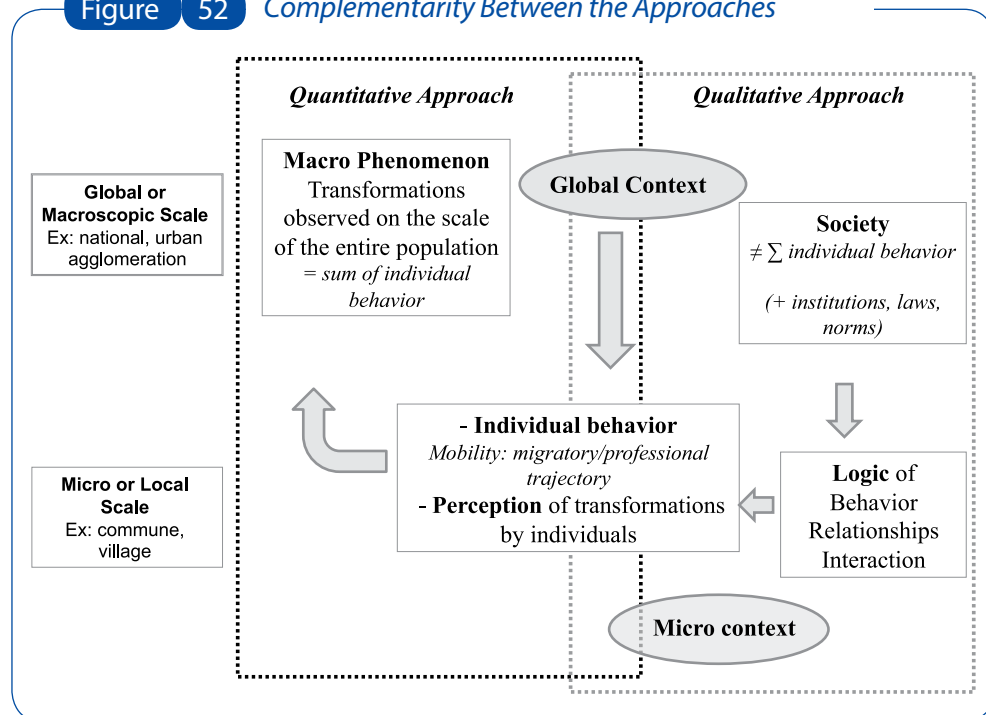
As regards social illusions, excessive fishing is often mentioned, which would suggest,

for example in Europe, that there is an absence of regulation; whereas there are almost 1000 laws on the subject! This activity is much regulated.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

This is a scenario for possible complementarity between the quantitative and qualitative approaches. We will get back to that on Friday.

Figure 52 *Complementarity Between the Approaches*

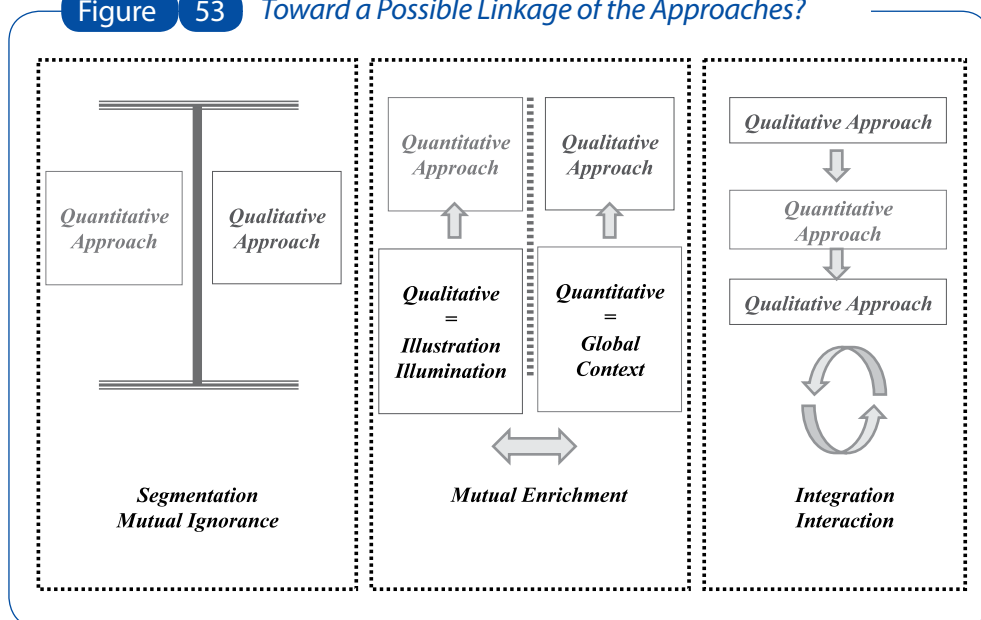


Source: Authors' construction.

I want simply to emphasize the common ground shared by the two approaches where the quantitative approach will try to understand the behavior of individuals and their perceptions. On the one hand, we look more closely at macro-level or overall phenomena. We count averages, sums of individual behavior. On the qualitative side,

we do not consider that society is just a sum of individual behaviors, but that there are also many institutions, standards, etc. Therefore there is a complete logic in the behavior and the interactions of this society, which can escape the quantitative approach and must be taken into consideration in the analysis.

Figure 53 *Toward a Possible Linkage of the Approaches?*



Source: Authors' construction.

Increasingly, the two approaches mutually enrich each other. On the one hand, the proponents of the quantitative approach say that it would be interesting to illustrate their results using qualitative surveys in order to shed new light on them. On the other hand, researchers favoring the qualitative approach tend to resort to numbers in order to obtain an overall context in which to situate what happens on a local level.

[Christian Culas]

One of the most obvious limitations in the qualitative approach concerns the question of representativity. The anthropologist or sociologist needs to use quantitative data in order to know in which general context the object of research is based. The objects of social phenomena are increasingly complex

and connected (at national and international levels), and we call this globalization. Our methods of study, micro and macro, must often be linked in order to be able to understand a phenomenon in its entirety. The macro level is not sufficient, neither is the micro! We work more and more in the context of a dialogue between different scales of interpretation of social phenomena. It's by varying the scale of interpretation of the same phenomenon (for example agricultural activities) at the familial, communal, provincial, national, regional, etc. level, that we succeed in giving it a non-linear and coherent dimension, because most of the levels are linked to each other, so understanding this relationship helps us understand our object of study.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

We could imagine an ideal scenario, a true linkage between the two approaches, which is still extremely rare in reality. In the case of a complete articulation, we can imagine four successive phases:

- First phase, inductive (qualitative interview): field-level knowledge and information (actors, categories, markers, objectives, etc.);
- Second phase: "modeling" or elaboration of hypotheses ("theoretical model") based on the information in the first phase;
= translation of theoretical models into testable models (key variables to collect);

- Third phase: empirical analysis

Statistical survey using a representative sample: testing the "model" against statistical data in order to evaluate its accuracy

Descriptive and econometric analysis;

- Fourth phase: return to the field and in-depth interview.

First case: discovery of evidence of typical behavior (by the majority) but explanation of "exceptional findings", "outliers", other

results that need to be explained or made more explicit.

Second case: model not validated by statistical data, making it necessary to identify new elements

--> *new cycle of analysis*: induction/
modeling/estimation/validation.

For our workshop, we will start off with the statistical survey already in place. We will see if the results are coherent with those obtained from qualitative surveys. Then we will try to see if the range of variables of the statistical survey covers the whole field of study, if there are any phenomena, categories or indicators missing from the statistical study that it is necessary to reintroduce. We will also see how the qualitative interviews enrich the interpretations of the results obtained from the statistical survey. Finally, our objective is two-fold: an analytical objective, aiming to clarify the phenomena that we will study, the changes in progress, the logic for behavior and perceptions of individuals; and secondly a methodological objective, *i.e.* the comprehension of the reach and limitations of the two types of approaches.

Box 13 *Linkage. Objectives of the Workshop*

Compare the respective contributions of the quantitative or qualitative methods.

Qualitative interviews as a complement to a quantitative survey (our starting point). But the opposite could have been chosen: (quantitative approach as a complement to qualitative).

A. Verify the hypotheses in order to analyze the quantitative data.

Avoid possible errors of interpretation.

A1 Study the coherence of the results from the statistical (quantitative) survey and the semi-structured interviews (and if it is not coherent, why?).

A2 Verify if the quantitative interview (questionnaire) covers the study field.

Verify if the range of chosen indicators, themes, as well as the questions and the items defined during the creation of the quantitative questionnaire covers the whole field of study.

B. Analyze how the qualitative interviews, non structured or semi-structured, can enrich the interpretation of the data from the quantitative survey.

Bring precision to the results obtained by the questionnaire.

Broadening of the field of study by bringing in more information.

The interviews bring above all information on the logic behind the opinions and behavior of individuals.

Results

1. Analytical: explanation of current evolution and behavioral logic.

2. Methodological: reach and limitations of the two types of approaches.

Source: Authors' construction.

[François Roubaud]

Let's get to the practicalities. We will first look at an analysis of the informal sector using quantitative instruments. Then we will integrate two qualitative elements: socio-anthropological semi-structured interviews and non-structured interviews, on which we will work for three half-days. The goal of the Tam Đảo Summer School Week is above all methodological. The study of the informal sector in the economic transition provides us with a concrete case. You will therefore be involved in real time in a process of ongoing research.

What are the theoretical hypotheses? What is the global framework of questioning? The starting point is the retreat of agriculture in the Vietnamese economy and in Southeast Asia. If we simplify Rodolphe De Koninck's arguments, this agrarian transition is moving toward a form of industrialization and integration in the global market. It is the shift from a traditional society to an industrial and modern society as experienced in developing countries. In fact, this process of industrialization goes through a stage of informalization of the economy. Non-agricultural activities that are not modern develop – street vendors, tailors, repair

shops, etc. Is this a transitory phenomenon that will gradually disappear or a sustainable, permanent phenomenon?

To this, we add a theory more common in economics: dualism. For the informal sector, this theory can be set out in two ways: 1/ The informal sector is disconnected from the formal sector – there is therefore a form of independent economy –; the formal sector, in fact the modern sector, is a sort of enclave economy that has little impact on the majority of the population, and unlike a colonial economy, is not linked to the domestic economy; 2/ The informal sector is a passageway to the formal sector.

It is an intermediary stage in the shift from agriculture to modern forms of employment and large companies. This transitory sector is destined to disappear.

What does the quantitative approach applied to cases in Việt Nam tell us about these issues? We will work on these tables and graphics that set out associations and allow us to measure the impact of certain phenomena and make associations between variables, two by two. From the point of view of economics and statistics, there is a more complex “econometric” approach where we measure multiple correlations, trying to estimate the direction of causality.

Table 17 *National Context.
The Size of the Informal Sector*

Jobs per Institutional Sector in Vietnam

Institutional Sector	Jobs	Structure (%)	
	2009 (in1000)	2007	2009
Public	4 550	10.7	9.7
Foreign Co.	1 360	2.0	2.9
Private Domestic Co.	3 610	5.7	7.7
Formal Individual Co.	3 610	7.8	7.7
Informal Individual Co.	11 100	23.5	23.7
Agriculture	22 660	50.0	48.3
Total	46 890	100	100

➔ **Informal sector: first source of non-farm employment**
➔ **23% of total employment**
➔ **50% of non farm employment**
➔ **Estimates: 20% of the GNP 25% work revenue**

⇒ **On average, 1/3 of households get a part or the entirety of their revenue from the informal sector in Hà Nội and Hồ Chí Minh Ville**

Source: LFS2007 & 2009, GSO; our own calculations.

What are the hypotheses and questions here? What are their limitations, seen from the point of view of a narrower qualitative

approach? The first question is to find out if this sector exists in the case of Việt Nam. How large is it?

I remind you that one of the first functions of quantitative analysis is to quantify the phenomena, the importance of different variables in a representative manner. A first step has already been taken in constructing this table. We have thought about what we want to obtain. Jobs have been divided up according to institutional sector: public sector, foreign enterprises, large domestic enterprises, small independent activities which are registered, and the informal sector – meaning individuals who work in non-agricultural activities and who are not registered with the state.

Nguyễn Thị Thu Thủy

What is the hypothesis used? I assume that all people of working age and who have a job are allocated to only one institutional sector. Does the informal sector exist in Việt Nam? “Yes”, undeniably, this sector exists; it accounts for 23.5%. It provides more jobs than any other sector of the Vietnamese economy, outside agriculture.

[François Roubaud]

What can we see in the 2007 and 2009 columns?

Nguyễn Hồng Bắc

The evolution of the informal sector will depend on the policies and the will of the state. Does the government want this sector, or does it want to develop it or suppress it? As in every country, the informal sector has always been considered as a transitory zone, a zone for buffering the shocks of crisis. In a crisis period, it creates the most employment. In order to understand this evolution, we need other parameters.

[François Roubaud]

That is an excellent response. There is the long and short term. The factors in play are not the same in different sectors. The crisis between 2007 and 2009 contributed to the growth of the informal sector, because many laid-off employees went into the informal sector. First analytical conclusion: the informal sector represents a huge part of the economy over the long term.

Yves Perraudau

Are these full-time jobs? What is the status of the spouse in agriculture?

[François Roubaud]

What does this table mean? What are its limitations? This is exactly the exercise that I want to carry out now, based on the questions asked. These jobs are not equivalent to full-time employment. They are simply employment, but in this sector we perhaps only work four hours per week; in which case the figure of 24% is greatly overestimated. Yves suggests that the informal sector is a stop-gap sector in which the average number of hours per week is relatively low, which means we have a bias if we simply quantify jobs.

The spouses are taken into account in the employment. We often give them the status of unpaid family help.

Let's go back to the question of limitations. Are the statistical categories that we use reliable? There are four major categories of workers: the employers, self-employed workers and those who are independent and do not employ workers, salaried workers and finally the unpaid family workers.

Table 18 *The blurred demarcations of Employment Status
LFS 2007 and 2009*

	LFS2007		LFS2009		GSO	
	MoLISA	GSO	GSO		LFS2007	LFS2009
Employer	0.8%	3.2%	4.8%	IHB (% jobs)	23.5%	23.7%
Self-employed Worker	34.3%	53.5%	44.8%	FHB (% jobs)	7.8%	7.8%
Wage Worker	22.5%	30.0%	33.9%			
Unpaid Family Worker	42.1%	12.9%	16.9%	IHB (PU/jobs)	15.9%	15.3%
Cooperative + Other	-	0.4%	0.3%	FHB (PU/jobs)	3.9%	3.8%
Total	100%	100%	100%	HB (Farm & NF)	56.7%	49.6%

Total: Occupied Population. Other: Apprentice.

Sources: LFS 2007 & 2009, MoLISA, GSO; author's calculations.

Two identical surveys were done in 2007, one by the General Statistics Office (GSO) and the other by the Ministry of Labor (MoLISA). According to the MoLISA survey, 42% of the active population is unpaid family workers; but this figure is only 12% according to the Statistics Office, so one out of every three people is in the wrong category! This is an example of a blurred demarcation, a contradiction in the official statistics. Which is the right source?

The informal sector represents one quarter of employment. This figure is probably an underestimate for four reasons:

1) Only the figures for principal employment are considered here, whereas many people have several jobs. These are not taken into account in this table.

2) The life cycle. I can be in the formal sector today, but yesterday I was in the informal sector. I therefore have experience of informality in my life that is not measured by this table.

3) The perspective of the individual can be expanded to that of the household. In a household, there may be some formal employment, e.g. civil servants or workers in large companies, but the other household members may be informal. Thus informal revenue enters these households.

4) Jobs are measured according to a definition of the active population as starting at fifteen years old. However, some people may work between the ages of ten and fifteen years old – the children most likely to be working are those in agriculture or the informal sector.

Table 19 *Socio-demographic Characteristics
by Institutional Sector - Hà Nội*

Institutional Sector	Jobs (Nb)	Structure (%)	Rural (%)	Women (%)	Age	Education ≥ Grade 12 (%)*	Permanent Resident KT1 (%)
Public	590,748	17.82	28.4	49.6	37.9	79.3	82.3
Foreign Co.	133,963	4.04	69.4	64.7	26.9	51.8	62.3
Private Domestic Co.	416,298	12.55	40.3	41.7	32.1	47.3	77.6
Formal IE	256,682	7.74	45.7	45.7	36.9	31.2	86.9
Informal IE	1,051,296	31.70	69.5	43.3	38.8	15.7	92.4
Agriculture	866,219	26.12	93.9	61.0	42.9	9.2	99.5
Total	3,315,908	100	63.0	49.9	38.3	23.1	89.1

* LFS2007 for the level of education

IE Individual Enterprise or "Household Business".

Source: LFS2009, GSO; our own calculations.

We have quantified a huge phenomenon. Let's try to see what the associations of variables are in the theory of this transition. If we consider the idea of agrarian transition, with an informal sector that is a transitory informal sector: what should we expect to see?

Hypotheses. This sector will most likely be an urban sector bringing together individuals who are moving from the countryside toward formal employment in the city. These pass through the informal sector on their way to finding employment in the formal sector. It is secondary labor for households, for an additional income. This might involve those who have little or no education, and women.

For those who are not Vietnamese, in the last column "Permanent Residents with KT1 Status": these are individuals registered as permanent non-migrant residents in the neighborhood where they live.

Are these hypotheses validated in this table?

Virginie Diaz

I would say that the hypotheses are not validated. We see that this sector of individual informal enterprises is made up of 43.3% women. Therefore, there are more men. The informal sector is essentially a masculine sector. It is also a sector involving essentially permanent residents. There is no real migration as 92.4% of the sector consists of permanent residents. Finally, it is essentially rural: 69.5% of the people in the informal sector belong to a rural environment.

[François Roubaud]

Exactly. We must discount all the hypotheses on the informal sector in Việt Nam except for one: the concentration of unskilled individuals. The rate of higher education is very low. Only 15% have had higher education, in 80% of the public sector and 50% of the large enterprises.

Table 20 *Characteristics of Employment*

Characteristics of Employment by Institutional Sector

Institutional Sector	Experience (years)	Wage Workers (%)	Social Security (%)	No. of hrs per week	Revenue (1,000 VND/mo)
Public	11.2	98.7	87.4	44.4	1,717
Foreign Co.	4.0	99.4	82.8	51.0	1,622
Private Domestic Co.	4.4	92.4	42.8	51.5	1,682
Formal IE	7.1	34.4	1.9	52.4	1,762
Informal IE	7.9	23.9	0	47.5	1,097
Agriculture	16.9	7.2	0.1	39.5	652
Total	12.4	30.0	14.2	43.8	1,06

- ⇒ **Many years of experience**
- ⇒ **Low rate of salaried employment**
- ⇒ **No protection**
- ⇒ **Low revenue**

Source: LFS2007, GSO; our own calculations.

Yves Perraudau

We need an idea of the average number of hours worked in Việt Nam per week. I believe that this must be around forty-four hours. These will indeed then be full-time jobs, because they are above forty-four hours – 47.5 hours.

[François Roubaud]

Absolutely, the informal sector is a sector of precarious employment. You see that social protection is non-existent, that the revenues are the lowest after those of agriculture. The reason for this is not at all that these are temporary jobs. These are jobs where people work harder than elsewhere and for longer periods of time: 7.9 years.

We will try to prove or disprove the fact that the informal sector is an enclave economy, or a transitional passageway between agriculture and the formal sector.

Table 21 *Matrix of Transition in the Labor Market
(excluding inactive and unemployed)*

	Agriculture	(Non-Farm) Formal employment	(Non-Farm) Informal employment	Total
2002	2004			
Agricultural	86.2	2.6	11.2	100
Formal employment (Non-Farm)	6.3	75.4	18.4	100
Informal employment (Non-Farm)	17.6	11.6	70.8	100
Total	61.1	14.8	24.1	100
2004	2006			
Agricultural	88.3	2.6	9.1	100
Formal employment (Non-Farm)	7.8	76.3	16.0	100
Informal employment (Non-Farm)	18.4	11.2	70.3	100
Total	59.6	15.6	24.8	100
2002	2006			
Agricultural	82.8	3.9	13.3	100
Formal employment (Non-Farm)	6.7	74.4	19.0	100
Informal employment (Non-Farm)	20.8	12.1	67.1	100
Total	59.6	15.6	24.8	100

= an important proportion of transition of farm jobs to informal non-farm jobs**

Source : VHLSS 2002, 2004 and 2006, GSO ; Nguyen, Nordman, Roubaud (2010).

Nguyễn Hữu Chí, C.J. Nordman, F. Roubaud (2010), "Panel data analysis of the dynamics of labour allocation and earnings in Vietnam", Communication at the international conference on "The informal sector and informal employment: Statistical Measurement, Economic Implications and Public Policies", organized by AFD, DFID, GSO, ILO, IRD, MOLISA, UNDP, VASS, World Bank, Hà Nội, May, 6-7, 2010.

86% of the people who worked in agriculture in 2002 were still in agriculture in 2004. What are the characteristics of the survey used? We start with individual employment in 2002 and we see what they have become in 2004 or we start with 2004 and look at what they became in 2006. The same examination can be made between 2002 and 2006.

There are two ways to study individual trajectories:

- We survey today then we ask: "What were you doing before?" The difficulty is the retrospective survey: we try to trace the trajectory (as we do in the qualitative

approach). However, the people do not necessarily remember what they were doing in the past, or are tempted to make up stories. People have a tendency to transform reality;

- We undertake panel studies: we do a survey one year, then the next time we interview the same people. Here, we carried out a survey in 2002, and then we came back in 2004 and 2006. Panel studies are extremely complicated to put into place, but at the same time they give very interesting results on individual trajectories.

Here we have some matrices of transition. These are the classic tables of quantitative

sociology as regards social mobility. Is there movement between the informal sector and other sectors? Does a person stay in the informal sector?

If we go back to the hypotheses that we formulated: are the sections of the economy sealed off from each other? If yes, 100% of those who were in agriculture in 2002 will still be there in 2004 and 100% of those who work in the informal sector in 2002 will still be there in 2004. We see that in reality, there is a transition: movement from agriculture to the formal sector, from agriculture to the informal sector, but also from the informal sector into agriculture or from formal employment into agriculture.

If we look at the first column, we have the impression that people are leaving agriculture essentially to go into the informal sector. This validates the hypothesis "agriculture / informal / formal". But if we look at the intermediary stage of the informal sector, when people come out of the informal sector they return to agriculture. The informal sector is closely tied into the system of transition of employment. During his/her life, an individual can go from one sector to another; these transitions are complex and not as simple as put forward by the dualist position.

Table 22 *Changes in Revenues by Job 2002, 2004 and 2006 (except for farm jobs)*

2002	2004				Total
	Formal Wage Worker	Informal Wage worker	Formal Self-employed	Informal Self-employed	
Formal Wage Worker	34.5	1.5	68.0	-8.4	29.9
Informal Wage Worker	18.4	31.2	240.5	91.4	45.1
Formal Self-Employed	-18.2	-66.1	14.6	19.0	6.2
Informal Self-Employed	-50.1	-29.8	55.1	23.0	20.2
Total	21.8	5.9	31.1	17.7	18.7
2006					
2004					
Formal Wage Worker	27.8	38.4	15.4	35.0	28.3
Informal Wage Worker	18.7	24.1	150.0	104.7	36.2
Formal Self-Employed	-61.8	-44.0	31.6	40.1	27.0
Informal Self-Employed	1.9	-17.4	43.7	28.6	27.2
Total	24.5	17.2	38.2	36.5	29.5

- Decrease in revenues for those who go from self-employment to wage work
- Strong increase in revenue for those who go from informal wage work to self-employment

Source : VHLSS 2002, 2004 et 2006, GSO ; Nguyen, Nordman, Roubaud (2010)

Nguyễn Hữu Chí, C.J. Nordman, F. Roubaud (2010), "Panel data analysis of the dynamics of labour allocation and earnings in Vietnam", Communication at the international conference on "The informal sector and informal employment: Statistical Measurement, Economic Implications and Public Policies", organized by AFD, DFID, GSO, ILO, IRD, MOLISA, UNDP, VASS, World Bank, Hà Nội, May, 6-7, 2010.

Why would someone move from the informal sector to the formal sector? Is the pay higher? Transition towards independent status – be it formal or informal – for wage workers in the informal sector seems to be economically profitable. In reality, it is more complicated: when individuals shift from an informal to

a formal salary, they may see an increase of 18%; the increase is 31% if they stay in the informal sector. The shift to the formal sector as a wage worker is not necessarily beneficial: in many formal enterprises, the employees are not well paid.

Table 23 *Reasons for Creating a Family Production Unit*

Main reason for setting up an HB (% of HBs)

Industry	Did not find wage-earning work (large enterprise)	Did not find wage-earning work (HBs)	To get a better income	To be independent (own boss)	By family tradition	Other	Total
Hanoi							
Manufacturing.	25.4	15.5	28.2	14.7	9.0	7.2	100
Trade	32.9	8.8	28.8	18.3	1.4	9.7	100
Services	30.8	13.1	29.0	10.6	1.0	15.5	100
Total IHB	30.6	11.9	28.8	14.2	2.6	11.8	100
Total FHB	13.8	6.5	33.9	31.0	10.5	4.4	100
Total HB	27.3	10.9	29.8	17.5	4.2	10.4	100
Ho Chi Minh City							
Manufacturing.	12.1	9.9	12.4	37.2	17.6	10.7	100
Trade	22.2	8.8	14.3	36.1	4.5	14.0	100
Services	19.9	13.3	16.1	31.2	4.7	14.8	100
Total IHB	18.9	11.1	14.7	34.1	7.4	13.7	100
Total FHB	6.4	2.4	18.3	54.4	12.5	6.1	100
Total HB	15.7	9.0	15.7	39.2	8.8	11.7	100

Source: HB&IS Survey, Hà Nội (2007), Hồ Chí Minh City (2008), GSO-ISS/IRD-DIAL; our own calculations.

Why do individuals choose, or are they obliged, to create small enterprises in the informal sector? The dualist hypothesis that we seek to test is: you work in the informal sector because you cannot find a job in the formal sector. In this table, for all of the informal businesses in Hà Nội and Hồ Chí Minh City, the reasons for which individuals and business leaders chose this sector are: *“because we cannot find a salaried position in the large companies,” “to earn more money in the informal sector,” “in order*

to be independent,” “because it is the family tradition,” etc.

Do you think this hypothesis is true or false?

Nguyễn Thị Thu Thủy

We cannot give a clear answer based only on this table.

[François Roubaud]

On the contrary, I think that we can answer “yes”. In Hà Nội, 30% of the people who work

in the informal sector wanted to have a job in large companies. The same is true for 19% in Hồ Chí Minh City.

Nguyễn Thị Thu Thủy

Those who work in Hồ Chí Minh City want to be independent.

[François Roubaud]

Here is the answer to the question. In Hà Nội, those who want to be independent are in the minority (14%; 34% in Hồ Chí Minh City).

In the two cities, many say that they are working in the informal sector because they have not found work in the formal sector. But what is the principal reason for setting up an enterprise? To earn more money, or to be independent? This will be useful in your interviews: what are the advantages of working in the informal sector? It is still the case that the hypotheses formulated by economists and researchers are not true. People do not start an independent enterprise with the ultimate goal of getting work in the formal sector. This is true only for a minority, between one-third and one-fifth.

Table 24 *Prospects in the Informal Sector*

<i>Hà Nội</i>	% of heads of PU who believe in a future for their PU	% of heads of PU who want children to carry on with business
Manufacturing	64.0	33.5
Commerce	44.2	18.1
Services	31.7	15.0
Total Informal PU	42.2	19.5
Total Formal PU	73.4	37.1
Total PU	48.3	22.9

- ⇒ **The heads of production units are not optimistic**
- **only 42% consider that their PU has a future**
 - **less than 20% want their children to carry on the PU**

Source: 1-2-3 Survey, Phase 2: Household Business and Informal Sector (HB & IS), Hà Nội (2007), GSO-IRD-DIAL

This table presents the responses to these two questions, which were asked of the heads of individual enterprises:

- Do you think that your enterprise will improve in future, that you will be able to earn more?
- Do you want your children to take over your business when you retire?

The informal sector, for various reasons, can provide better earnings, and independence. But are the people working in the informal sector more optimistic about their future?

Nguyễn Thị Thu Thủy

They do not want their children to take over the business.

[François Roubaud]

Exactly. But then, where do they want their children to work? They want them to work for the government, in the public sector.

At the beginning, we thought that the people working in the informal sector wanted their children to work in the private sector and in particular for foreign companies.

Table 25 *Prospects in the Informal Sector*

Industries	Heads of HB who think that their HB has a future	Heads of HB who wish their children continue HB	If no, in which sector would you like them to work?					
			Public	Domestic enterprise	Foreign enterprise	HB	Agriculture	Total
Manuf.	56.4%	23.9%	72.2%	11.1%	8.8%	1.5%	0.0%	100
Trade	39.3%	13.9%	62.3%	17.7%	13.1%	5.2%	0.5%	100
Services	43.3%	14.4%	64.5%	14.1%	14.3%	3.8%	0.0%	100
Total IHB	45.0%	16.6%	65.3%	14.9%	12.6%	3.9%	0.2%	100
Total FHB	67.2%	39.4%	69.7%	6.0%	20.0%	3.4%	0%	100
Total HB	48.4%	20.0%	65.8%	13.9%	13.4%	3.8%	0.2%	100

Source: HB&IS survey, Hà Nội (2009), GSO-ISS / IRD-DIAL

According to you, how should we interpret this response? Only a qualitative survey can give some answers. What is your opinion on the question?

Nguyễn Thị Thu Thủy

Stability.

[François Roubaud]

Yes. Stability is an important element.

Nguyễn Thị Thu Thủy

Social security.

[François Roubaud]

Even if social security is not perfect, it is still preferable to have it. There are various

advantages, notably the fact of getting a retirement pension.

Pattiya Jimreivat

Respect.

[François Roubaud]

Indeed. When you work in the administration, people respect you – more so than a simple street vendor. Less stress? Yes. In the public sector, you are supposed to arrive at a certain time in the morning and leave at a certain time in the afternoon. In the private sector, you can be fired more easily.

[Christian Culas]

Working in the public sector and occupying a senior-level post can also be financially

beneficial, because it is possible to be paid for services rendered with “envelopes”.

[François Roubaud]

The public sector can bring more power.

[Jean-Pierre Cling]

We will now move to the analysis of the qualitative interviews that we have handed out. We will concentrate the analysis on two interview re-transcriptions: one with the “*bún riêu*” (crab vermicelli) seller and one with the grilled duck seller. Then Mireille will present a comparison between the results of the six interviews that we have handed out and expand on them a little, with quantitative data that we have gathered on these same vendors and informal enterprises. We will finish with a critical approach from Christian Culas on the responses to these interviews and on the manner in which they were conducted.

We will hear from each group. We would like for one person in each group to present the analysis that you have made according to the principal criteria that we asked you to analyze. Given the limited time and the time needed for translation, each person should speak for no more than three minutes.

We ask that you give us your observations on: 1/ the professional migratory trajectory; 2/ the link between trajectory and satisfaction; 3/ the social networks (how do different people interact, mobilizing social contacts for business?); 4/ how are relationships with the other members of the family organized, in the context of business activity and the evolution of their trajectory?

Group A Presentation

Some information concerning the “*bún riêu*” vendor, Mrs. Hạnh, and her family. She was born in 1967 and her husband was born in 1965. They have 2 children, born in 1990 and 1992. Mrs. Hạnh completed middle school – until 9th grade in Việt Nam – and her husband through 8th grade; their daughter graduated from high school; their son studied until 11th grade.

Mrs. Hạnh has been working since she was 19 years old, first for four years as an employee in a production unit for bicycles, then in a bicycle tire manufacturer. She got married and had two children. Since 1993, she has been selling crab vermicelli, like her mother-in-law. She works in the street, on the sidewalk. She does not have a set place for her work. Her daily revenue is not very high, around 200,000 đồng. This is the main source of income for the family. The social network of Mrs. Hạnh is not very wide because she is registered in another neighborhood. Because of this, she has little support from the public authorities or from her neighbors.

[Jean-Pierre Cling]

This is still a bit factual. Has this lady changed jobs many times? Is this stable? At the outset, she said that she started working at 15 years old, but she gives information only from the age of 19. This is a problem.

Group B Presentation

Her husband has a small job. That revenue is for his own needs. He contributes little to the needs of the family. Mrs. Hạnh seems satisfied with her work. After deducting all the expenses for the purchase of raw materials, she makes 200,000 đồng per day. She chose

to become a vermicelli vendor in order to be able to work and take care of her children.

[Jean-Pierre Cling]

There is a lot more to say about this survey.

Group C Presentation

Mrs. Hạnh does not want to develop her small business because she doesn't think that she has the competence required for managing employees. She does not want to register with the public authorities either, to become a formal production unit.

Level of satisfaction: she is not very satisfied with her work even though the revenue allows her to cover the family's daily expenses. The government has forbidden the circulation of cyclo-rickshaws in the neighborhood, and her husband can no longer contribute to the family's income. The main reason for choosing this job is financial. Finally, she mentions no social network. In order to start her small business, she borrowed from individuals. She has no established contact with the women's association.

[Jean-Pierre Cling]

Apparently you have done a very thorough job. Many ideas come out of what you say.

Group D Presentation

According to us, Mrs. Hạnh decided to become a vermicelli vendor because it was her mother-in-law's trade and the neighborhood did not have many other vermicelli vendors. Her husband was a cyclo-rickshaw driver previously. He is now a moto-taxi driver because he can no longer physically drive a cyclo. This has nothing to do with the new regulation. We think that Mrs. Hạnh will work at her job for a long

time: it is her principal source of revenue, her house on the street is an advantage, she has adopted a sales strategy to keep clients loyal. She will not expand her activities because she doesn't think she has sufficient management skills. Moreover, her husband is in the house all day, so she can only sell in the evening.

Her professional history is essentially related to personal reasons. We believe that her choice depends on her level of education, her personal skills and the fact that she could not find work in the formal sector. She receives nothing from the public authorities. Her case is certainly representative of a large part of the population.

[Jean-Pierre Cling]

I will ask the last group to sum up or perhaps to give an opinion on what the other groups have said.

Group E Presentation

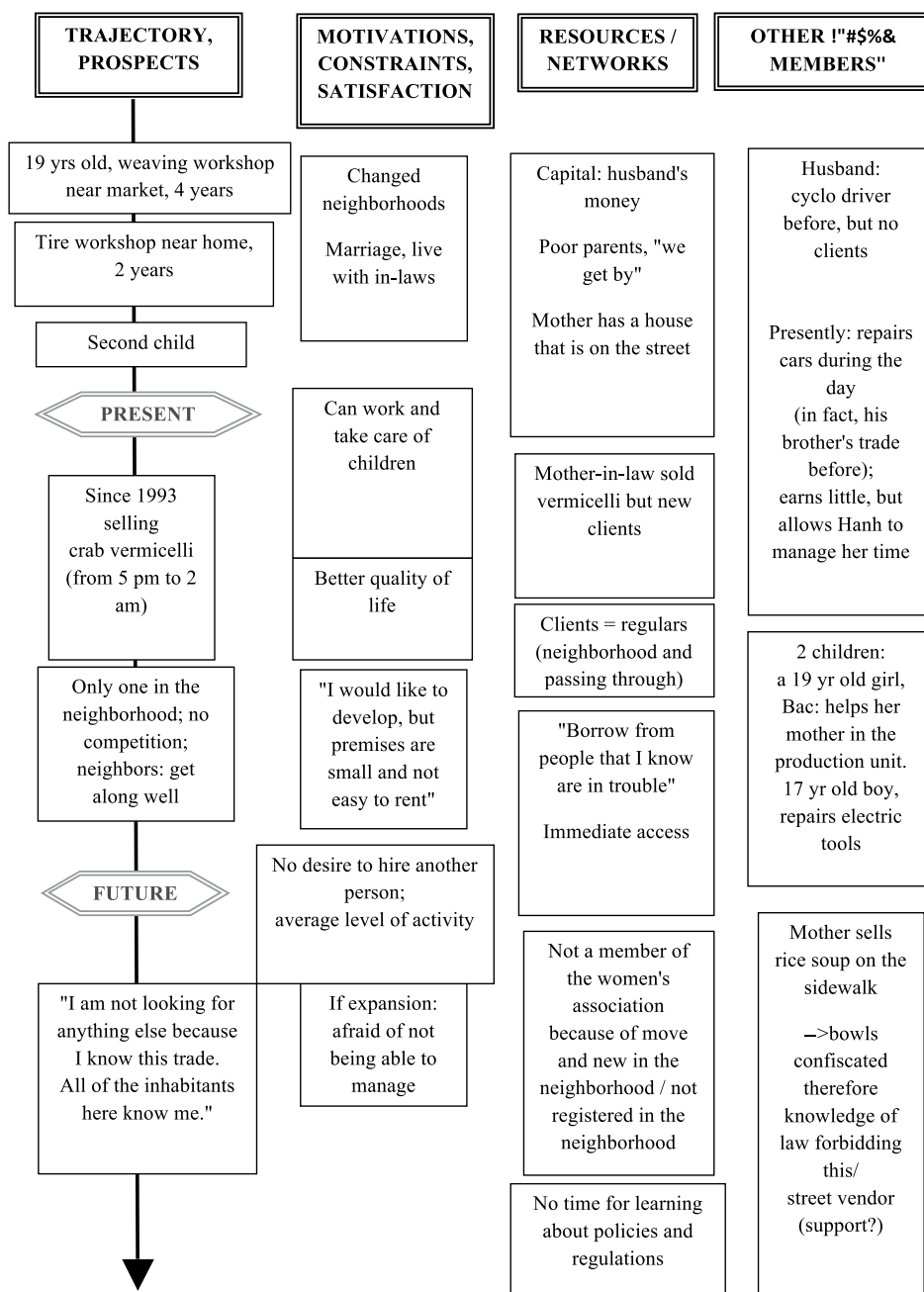
Mrs. Hạnh's clientele is regular and there is little competition. She faces financial difficulties. The interest on her debt is high. A large part of her revenue is used for paying off her debt. Also, the construction work to widen the road will disturb her activities. Finally – a rare occurrence but a major limitation – in 2007 her business activities were halted by bad quality ingredients.

[Jean-Pierre Cling]

This exercise is a little like a police investigation where we are looking for clues to try and find the answers to our questions. These clues are somewhat difficult to decipher, and each one has given different, but complementary answers. Here are some additional elements for analysis:

Figure 54 *Sketch of the trajectory, constraints and motivations of the head of a business unit in the informal sector*

Chi Hanh (42yrs), vermicelli vendor – bún riêu



Source: Authors' construction.

Trajectory and prospects. We note some uncertainty which emerges from the presentation of a person's life story. I believe that the interviewers who are familiar with this type of approach are used to this ambiguity when we ask uneducated individuals to speak about their present life or their past. It is interesting to point out the stability of her current work; 17 years of activity in the same sector, even if it is informal. Is selling vermicelli sustainable? You have touched on this subject many times. But it is still not clear. She doesn't state clearly why she started this small business. She tells us only that her mother-in-law also sold vermicelli, but she doesn't say that this is the reason. That's our interpretation.

Social Networks. You have said some interesting things even if this issue is not developed much in the questionnaire. Mrs. Hạnh borrows from people that she knows are in difficult situations, she says this very clearly.

Functioning of the family. Her daughter helps with the business every day for a few hours. So the mother and daughter are the only ones working.

The same exercise is repeated using the analysis of a survey conducted with a former soldier currently working in the restaurant industry (study called "Grilled Duck")

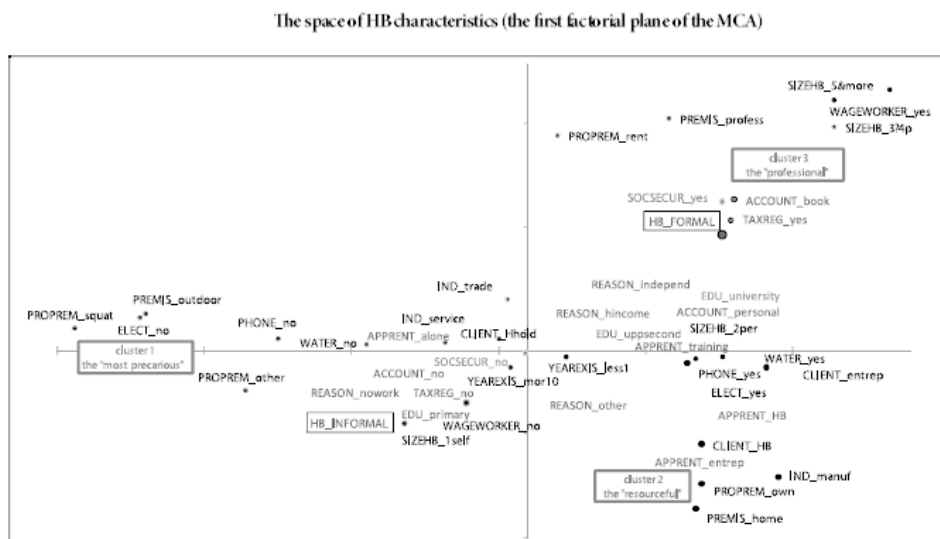
[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

We have analyzed the two studies we gave you; they are part of a series of sixty very rich qualitative interviews conducted in Hồ Chí Minh City and in Hà Nội.

Our challenge now is to use the information in these two life trajectories in the best way possible. The idea is not to look at the figures in detail, but to take a step back in order to examine the first things we have learned both in quantitative and qualitative terms.

How does the population experience and perceive the phenomenon of the economic transition in progress today in Việt Nam? Two phenomena are presently in progress: urbanization and a growing importance of the private sector and therefore the industrialization of the country. The general tendency is to believe that we are shifting from a primarily agricultural country to a growth in employment in the modern industrial sector. We also note an informalization of the labor market. Is it transitory? Will the informal sector disappear to make way for the modern sector?

Figure 55 Typology of Household Businesses (HB)



Source: HB&IS Survey, Hà Nội (2007), Hồ Chí Minh City (2008), GSO-ISS/IRD-DIAL, Authors' calculations (using DTM "Data and Text Mining" software).

In resorting to data analysis techniques (analysis of multiple links), three groups of family enterprises must be identified. The most precarious are headed by uneducated people; they are often located in the street and are mobile. Most of the individuals say that they have not found paid work in the private sector. The skills are often learned on the job. The second group, that we can call "resourceful", has unit leaders with a slightly higher level of education; they usually have premises – their house – and have learned their trade through experience, either having worked in another private company or in a large private or public enterprise. The choice of activity is often linked to family tradition and is not necessarily due to constraints in the labor market. Finally, the last group, the "most professional", is made up of more formal

enterprises. The level of education is high, the enterprise is of larger scale; these individuals have chosen to create their informal units for the sake of independence.

The number of years these enterprises have been in existence does not affect whether they belong to a group. It does not seem that a very precarious unit becomes a large, more professional, more formal unit over time.

Why does the quantitative approach provide an overall framework in which to situate the whole analysis? Is there coherence between the results of the two approaches? What is the additional information provided by the qualitative approach?

If we look at the results obtained on average in Hà Nội and Hồ Chí Minh City, as well as those of the production units in the

qualitative interviews, we can compare and categorize the latter in terms of size, production and revenue. All of the units in the qualitative interviews are in the “most professional” category. On average, the production units – both formal and informal – make four million đồng per month. The majority of the qualitative interviews we have studied concern units that earn more than the average.

Let's illustrate the characteristics of the people interviewed in the qualitative approach.

At least six points of convergence can be highlighted:

- 1) Creation of production units is disconnected from possible search for work in the formal sector;
- 2) The interviewees seem to point out an improvement in living conditions (this point is verified at the quantitative level, not on the qualitative level);
- 3) Increase in revenue when the individuals go from wage work to self-employment;
- 4) Instability and uncertainty surrounding these activities. The individuals are not sure about their future, the revenue is not stable;
- 5) The level of initial investment is very limited;
- 6) Practically no individual wants his/her children to continue the activity: *“I would like a real job for my son”, “it is just temporary, I would like for my daughter to work in the public sector”*. This confirms statistical results.

We note two inconsistent elements between the qualitative and quantitative surveys. They concern the number of employees in a production unit and the source of investment funds. First of all we see inconsistencies

resulting from oversights: not taking into consideration the girl who works only two hours in the enterprise, for example, or the woman who helps from time to time. For statistical surveys, it is necessary to point out: “Any person who contributes to a production unit must be counted as an employee/worker in this production unit”. Then the figures show that in terms of a percentage of the value of capital, most investment comes from savings and inheritance (93%) while the qualitative surveys show that many individuals resort to borrowing from their family or their friends.

The qualitative approach shows the extremely complex trajectories of individuals that have had many jobs in their life before their current production unit. People go from the formal private sector to the informal sector; others who worked in public enterprises are self-employed. Some had other trades in the informal sector and have only changed activity. The backgrounds are extremely different.

The vast majority of the enterprise owners say that they have no future: does this mean that these activities are destined to disappear? Is the informal phenomenon transitory or not?

The individual entrepreneurs would not like for their children to work in this sector. Thus, if they get what they wish for, there will be no one to work in the informal sector later on. Why do they say that their activity has no future? It seems that there is much uncertainty in their activity that prevents them from considering further investment. Or else, they are not sure of themselves as regards their qualifications and capacity to invest more. They have access to funds, they can ask those close to them, but only to a limited extent. It is difficult to go from a micro-enterprise to

a larger enterprise. They say that there is no future in their enterprise and do not want their children to continue their activity, but they want to keep their activity. They do not have the opportunity or the desire to leave the informal sector. Therefore, these activities will last.

The importance of the family context was reinforced. The motivations behind the creation of informal units might be linked to the birth of a second child or the fact that the husband does not earn enough money. These factors count for as much as does the dynamic of the enterprise.

Another interesting point that we do not see in the quantitative surveys concerns social networks. These networks include the family, nuclear or extended, as a source of capital and place of activity – does the family have a house or not? Does the house have access directly onto the street? It is also through these networks that trades are learned.

“To find work, you need either money or contacts”; “You must make friends and partnerships in business”. There is mutual aid, exchange of workers between partners even if there is no formal association. Not being registered in the neighborhood seems to have an influence on the possibility of accessing support: “I have not contributed to the administrative services of the neighborhood, so how can I get a loan”?

Day 3, Wednesday, July 21

2.2.3. Qualitative Mini-surveys in the Field: Framing and Preparation

[Christian Culas]

We will begin this day by preparing for Thursday morning's field surveys. We will use the interviews you read yesterday and extract elements of method, but also note limitations.

Our exercise is delicate because an anthropological study is usually prepared over a long period of time and not in half a day, like today. Moreover, the anthropological survey is an interaction between a researcher and an interviewee. The researcher must listen to the person that he/she is questioning. To clarify the anthropological method, we could say that an anthropologist is a little like a wood sculptor: even if we have an excellent professor, it is necessary to work the wood for hours, make attempts and mistakes, learn to touch and feel the material for yourself (no book can teach that), much like learning to tell what people want and can say, in order to make them talk without making them uncomfortable. So there are no methods that are applicable automatically, but basic principles that guide us – and above all lots of practice.

I've picked out the main types problems from the surveys that we worked on at the beginning of the week:

- the “research questions”, or office questions, and the “questions asked in the field”. These are two types of questions that we must keep in mind. The problem is not negligible. In the transcriptions of interviews that you have, I was able to extract four pages of

examples where the interviewer asks the interviewee to answer “research questions”! This is an error in method. An office question is abstract, often very complex; for example *“To which social network do you belong?”*; the field question is practical, simple, easy to understand, and refers to the concrete experience of the interviewee, for example *“Where will you sell your vegetables?”* or *“How many times per week do you go to the city for your work?”*;

- in principle, a survey is associated with the use of open questions. However, these are often linked to closed questions. Statistical surveys and questionnaires favor closed questions as they are easier to manage (computerization is easy). This type of question can be in a mathematical form: “Yes”, “No”, “No answer” or “Maybe”. If you ask the person: “Tell me about when you arrived in Tam Đảo”, you may end up with long narratives that will be complicated for data management. In comparison to statistical surveys, the semi-structured interview generates much information because it does not involve closed questions;
- poor listening. This creates two types of problems: the person interviewed can feel a bit frustrated; and as to producing your data, you will obviously omit some important things. If someone wants to speak to you about a subject, and you cut them off to talk about something else, you will lose a great deal of information;
- lack of logical follow-up: we talk about something then, all of a sudden, the researcher or the interviewee thinks of a question and simply changes the subject. In the “Grilled Duck” survey, I noted four or five places where this happened;
- “moral and sanction” – type questions and remarks. For example, in the “Iron Doors”

interview, the researcher says: *“Ah! You don’t pay taxes? You must pay your taxes!”*. It’s not the researcher’s position to say that; you must avoid speaking as a representative of the law or the government; it is not the function of the researcher. The interviewee will become stressed and stop answering questions. In Tam Đảo, for example, you see animals captured in the forest being sold in the market. It is absolutely forbidden by law, but you are not going to say this to the vendor.

Your job is also to create a relationship of goodwill with the person being interviewed. All these elements create distance and suspicion. You must find issues and subjects where you will have common ground.

Take an example of establishing the trust of a specific informer. Đồng Kỳ village is in Bắc Ninh province. It is a very rich village because they make sculptured wood furniture inlaid with mother of pearl. As an anthropologist, I wanted to study the poorest people in the village. There are many reports on this village that speak only about the workers and the bosses, but as this village is a showcase for successful craftwork, we are not talking about the poorest. After several days, we realized that the poorest individuals were those that were in charge of transporting wood with a little horse-drawn cart. The furniture makers and our Vietnamese research colleagues told us: *“Listen, in this village, the interviews are difficult. These people live in a closed world. They do not want to talk. In particular, the transporters are very difficult to interview.”* So we thought up a strategy for starting up contact with these people. Their horses were tied up outside near a stock of wood. I approached them and started looking at a horse; the horses are looked after with

loving care by their drivers. Then the owner came over and we started to talk about his horse: where he had bought, how old it was, did he have others? etc. Then I asked him which technique they used for shoeing the horses (there are two techniques), what type of iron they used, and who knew how to do this in the village? He was surprised by these detailed questions that had such relevance to his daily life. He had the impression that he shared a part of his daily life with the foreign researcher – this is true and it was my objective to make him feel this. I explained then that my grandfather and father were blacksmiths, and that I practiced the trade when I was younger, but with little experience. We were then invited into his home; we met all the cart drivers and could carry out good-quality interviews. It is relatively easy to enter into contact with these horse drivers if we know how to enter their world, listen to them and pay attention to the focus of their activities. But I spent almost one hour making contact, something that is not possible when we have to “get through” the questionnaires.

Among those who have already conducted anthropological surveys, have you already used this sort of strategy to enter into contact?

Souphanthong Douanglattana

I am not an anthropologist. My master's degree subject was “The Representation of Ethnic Minorities in the Media”. When people asked about my study subject, I answered that I was working in the archives on documents about development economics because the subject was taboo.

[Christian Culas]

You have to have a strategy in order to hide the truth about your research a little and to try to gain information. You know that the information is there. If you come as a journalist, you are almost certain not to get the information. When we work on a subject, even a banal subject like social networks, it can be interesting to introduce yourself to peasants without giving the subject of your study. If we say that we are working on social networks, people will only talk about that. It is necessary to find a broader subject, for example “Development in Rural Zones”. The objective is not to mislead your informers, but find a way to avoid confining them to over-narrow themes which hide from us the other facets of reality.

[François Roubaud]

We understand that we are trying to establish trust between the interviewer and the interviewee. Can giving money or presents be a strategy?

[Christian Culas]

The situation is common in Việt Nam. If we work for one of the institutes that depend on the Academy of Social Sciences, we must pay the interviewees. This method has been much discussed. I think that it creates more problems than advantages. Such a situation is not healthy for a survey. In rural areas, in Việt Nam, people often do not accept money from researchers, and if they do, they give fruit in exchange to balance out your “gift”.

Nguyễn Thị Thu Thủy

One of the objectives is to build trust between the interviewer and interviewee. There may be abuses of this trust by some surveyors:

"I am here to help you, you can benefit from it."
Some individuals can thus profit from the trust given. In some cases, the interviewees are too busy to answer the questions; they tell us: *"Put what you want, improvise. I will attest to it."*

[Christian Culas]

You show us cases that are on the ethical borderline. To make people believe that we will help them is very dangerous. When a person does not really say what they are working on, says that they are working on the economy for the archives, that's not so serious. In countries like France, or Việt Nam, all of the ethical conditions for research have not yet been formalized. In Australia for example, when you propose a research subject for a Master's degree or doctorate, you go before a scientific committee that analyzes the relevance of your subject and an ethics committee that evaluates the subject and the method.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

We can see whether the quantitative and qualitative approaches are complementary or not, in methodology and results. To some extent, Christian's arguments apply to statistical surveys as well. I've been involved in some field surveys where the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee was extremely cold. The interviewee gets tired and only responds in order to get the questionnaire over with. We could reasonably doubt the reliability of the answers! During a statistical survey, time is scarce because the number of people interviewed is large. It is necessary to establish a link, find something in a few minutes that will establish trust.

We have surveyed for many years in the same area of Madagascar. We made sure

that the results were presented to the community afterwards. This allowed us to use the information and to discuss it with the authorities. It is important to make a public presentation of the results so that afterwards they may be taken up and disseminated by the press, for example.

[Christian Culas]

Mireille has widened the discussion and touched on a subject that is much discussed in anthropology: surveys of a population in reality consist of "taking" something. But what do the researchers give in exchange? To say "this will help you develop" is a bit delicate because researchers cannot make the authorities do anything. However, it is possible for us to deliver our results, the work.

Trần Thị Hồng Thủy

In 2005, we carried out a survey on the business environment in Việt Nam. Interviews were conducted with businesses about their perception of corruption and the difficulties they experienced with the public authorities. The surveys showed a high level of discontent among enterprises as regards their relations with the public authorities and a high level of corruption. We published our results and submitted the work to the enterprises that participated; in exchange, to thank us for the work we did, we received money.

[Christian Culas]

An envelope in Việt Nam has at least two meanings: it can be synonymous with corruption, but it can also be a means of creating a link in the form of a present.

When you ask questions, qualitative, quantitative or semi-structured, try to put yourself in the place of the interviewee:

"I am in my home, in my shop, strange people arrive that I don't know and who I will probably never see again, and they spend four hours asking me questions on my life, my family, my work." This is an embarrassing situation to say the least! Also, we often hear from young, inexperienced researchers – anthropologists, sociologists and maybe even statisticians – complex questions such as: *"Can you explain to me the impact of the economic crisis on your revenue over the last ten years?"* Obviously, answering this type of question is not easy, it is a typical example of an "office question"; a question that the researcher asks himself in the office, but with the interviewees the questions must be different to get valuable responses. You must think hard about the meaning of the questions asked during the survey.

Let's go back to the methodological problems. In the "Iron Door" survey, which is a well-designed survey, I nonetheless noted some problems. We ask the manufacturer to "compare the advantages and difficulties in your business since 2008", bringing in the effects of the crisis. Obviously, it is a question that the people cannot answer. This is exactly the type of question that a researcher asks in his office but that we cannot ask during an interview. One of the keys for formulating questions that make sense out of abstract, constructed questions is to deconstruct them into smaller elements that are easy to understand. The principle is to ask questions that are as practical and concrete as possible. It is up to you to deconstruct the office questions in order to make field questions.

Nguyễn Thị Thu Thủy

What you explain here is very interesting. It highlights the importance of training

interviewers before the field survey. In the General Statistics Office, there are training courses for interviewers so as to present the questionnaire and the methodology. We use this opportunity to test the questionnaire, because in Việt Nam, depending on the region, the vocabulary used is different.

[Christian Culas]

If you have three ideas, you must ask three questions; all of the work consists then in reconstructing the responses to these questions.

Let's move on to another type of problem: the shift from questions that are a priori open to closed questions.

In the so-called "Grilled Duck" survey, the researcher asks: *"Have you faced difficulties in establishing your business?"*, and adds: *"For example, finding clients, etc."* The interviewee will then be focused on the propositions made by the researcher, which is a typical profile for closed responses.

Another example. The researcher is trying to find out how often the restaurant receives deliveries of duck and other materials. Instead of asking: *"When do you receive deliveries?"*, he says: *"Do you get deliveries every day?"*. The person being interviewed will try to answer positively because that is easier; if he demurs, his response must be justified.

Are there any questions on my remarks and examples? Is it clear? You have noticed that my question was closed...

[François Roubaud]

Can you ask it again in an open field question form?

[Christian Culas]

That would be: *"I tried to explain to you two types of problems. I could not further expand on the subject. If you need any explanation, please do not hesitate to ask. It is very important that you understand what I said."* You see that the introduction of the question is a reminder of the context and a more supple approach in order to put people at ease and establish trust?

Cristina Bellinins Lieven

In the "Crab Soup" survey, two interviewers ask the questions. Several times, they were speaking almost at the same time. How should we work as a team when we are dealing with a single interviewee?

[Christian Culas]

Ideally an interpersonal relationship is created: one researcher, one interviewee. If not, one of the surveyors can be in charge of taking notes. A good surveyor can write while looking the person in the eyes to keep contact. If you can't do that, you ask the questions and your colleague takes notes.

Cristina Bellinins Lieven

We will be working with a translator. Is there any specific advice you can give for this?

[Christian Culas]

The principle is to try to express yourself in short sentences, without complicated words. Think of the interpreter's job which includes understanding what you say and translating it while at the same time being attentive to the behavior of the interviewee. It is a complex and delicate job.

Mohamad Zain Musa

While out and about in Tam Đảo, I saw different ethnic groups. Could we work on ethnic diversity, or proceed with surveys on the organization of the Summer School?

[Christian Culas]

The ethnic groups San Dìu and Kinh are present in Tam Đảo, but it is impossible to tell them apart physically. The percentage of San Dìu is small. They are all dressed the same way. As for the study of the Summer School, why not! You must know, however, that the people the hardest to study are researchers and politicians. A researcher will say why, how, etc.; and you will certainly get lost in his/her answer; a politician will try to say nothing, but with pretty phrases that will seduce you!

How can we get to the question of transition in Việt Nam, from our studies of the informal sector?

Box 14 *Problem and Hypotheses*

General Problem: how does the transition in Việt Nam translate in the case of the street vendor of Tam Đảo?

Research Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1) The street vendors in Tam Đảo are people who migrated recently (less than a generation).

Hypothesis 2) The street vendors of Tam Đảo are people who have been settled in Tam Đảo for many generations.

Hypothesis 3) The street vendors of Tam Đảo came here through an aid network? Who makes up this network?

Hypothesis 4) (to develop from data produced during the field survey).

Source: Author.

The category "Street Vendor" is a very general classification. They can be knick-knack sellers, motorbike-taxi drivers, hairdressers, fruit and vegetable sellers, etc. We come back to our four axes of research (trajectories of individuals, motivations and constraints, social networks, and characteristics of other members of the family). Depending on our results, we'll advance other hypotheses.

The risk is that the hypotheses that we have put forward are too simple for the reality that we want to study. We apply empirical adequacy. Between our hypotheses and the field, we need to be flexible to try and build relationships. This is one of the specific characteristics of anthropological survey: we have hypotheses, and we go to the field several times. Our hypotheses will then change because the data produced bring in new elements; our data and our hypotheses are under construction.

[François Roubaud]

Iteration is an integral, obligatory part of the socio-anthropological approach. It can also be used in the quantitative approach, through surveys. We conducted a survey in this way on the informal sector in 2007; you saw the results presented yesterday morning. We had a few areas of dissatisfaction as regards the answers given. Here are two examples:

- 1) Parents who have business units in the informal sector do not want their children to take over the business. In the first survey, we stopped at this conclusion. In the new survey, we added the question: "You do not want them to work in the same informal production unit as you; so where do you want them to work?" We have presented the results to you: they all want their children to work in the public sector;

2) You remember that the sources of finance to start an enterprise were essentially savings, inheritance and, to a lesser extent, the family. Then we learned that in Việt Nam, there is a form of informal financing, “tontines” – a group of people all chip in the same amount, then each person receives the whole pot in turn. In the 2009 survey, this form of financing was added, to analyze its possible role.

[Christian Culas]

My colleague describes a case of iteration after treatment of all the data. We have a finished survey. We realize that some data was not collected. There are also intermediary forms of iteration. You go to the street merchants and you realize that they are talking about other issues that you did not expect. We are in real-time; we cannot go back to the office. Anthropological iteration also takes place in real-time, during interaction.

Statistician-economists have an overall premise; they have a research theme that covers the entirety of the subject that they are trying to study. Anthropologists do not think that they have seen it all; they have some study angles corresponding to people's activities, but they believe that we cannot define everything at the office.

[François Roubaud]

Christian is right when he says that the socio-anthropological method is more interactive and flexible than the quantitative methods. Nevertheless, we try to add elements of flexibility in our surveys. By its very nature the process is more rigid because once a survey is under way, we cannot change the hypotheses. We do not have interaction in real-time, as in socio-anthropological surveys, but because we realize the value of this interaction, this extension of the field, we try to get close to it using the instruments at our disposal.

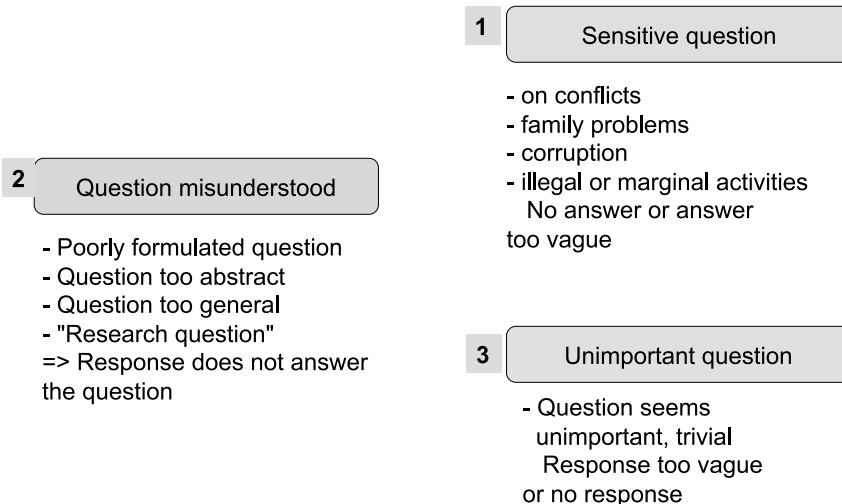
[Christian Culas]

You are witnessing in real time the correlation of anthropological and statistical methods, the dialogue between two types of methods.

We have constructed hypotheses that are not definitive with some mini-surveys in the field.

Let's go on to the technical part of your surveys. We will see why some questions transform or distort the responses.

Figure 56 *Unsatisfactory Responses: Three Reasons*



Source: Author.

The people you interview are not stupid, but they are sometimes confronted with questions that do not make sense to them.

Box 15 *"Office" Questions / "Field" Questions*

"Office" Questions

A - How are weddings organized in your village?

B - To what social networks does Mr. Nam belong?

"Field" Questions

A - Can you tell me how the last wedding in the village was organized?

B - How many people in your family?

B - Where do the members of your family live?

B - What do the members of your family do for a living?

B - Have you kept in contact with your school friends?

B - When do your neighbors help you with the farm work?

Source: Author.

Question A is a very general type of question that brings a consensual type answer. People will speak about the “ideal marriage” in their village. They will tell us what *should* be done. If you are aware that you are trying to find out the ideal of marriage in the village, it is the right question. The problem is that often you want a description of a real, practical marriage.

The second type of question concerns social networks. Here is a concrete example. In the Nam Định province, some colleagues asked a direct question in the field: “*What are your social networks?*”. The person being questioned gave a list of names. We were living with a family and we saw a person come every day with large bags that he dropped off in the house. He would talk for a few hours, sometimes exchange money, and then he would leave. We tried to find out who this person was, what he did. The interviewee explained: “*It’s my cousin. He works in*

Thái Nguyên province, and he brings back some very good tea from the fields of Thái Nguyên. I sell it for the entire district of Thái Nguyên.” When we asked this person why she did not speak about her cousin in terms of social network, she replied: “*We’re talking about my cousin; he is not a social network!*”.

Let’s get back to our four axes of research and to the “professional and migratory trajectories”. Together we will define the important questions that we should keep in mind in order to obtain a sufficient range of knowledge.

Our overall objective is to compare the results and methods of pure quantitative statistical data, qualitative data, but also semi-structured interviews and more open, less directive interviews. It is important that the people tell us their trajectory, their motivations and difficulties.

Box

16

Outline of Questions on Categories Professional and Migratory Trajectories

- *If the interviewees recently came to Tam Đảo, => migration in what conditions?*
- *How did they come to work in Tam Đảo?*
- *How have you prepared your arrival in Tam Đảo?*
- *Was someone from your family already in Tam Dao before you came?*
- *What difficulties have you had during your move to Tam Đảo?*
- *What difficulties/facilities have you had in creating your own work in Tam Đảo?*

Source: Author.

These questions merit being asked to each person. You have here both office and field questions. We look for answers as regards motivation, difficulties and satisfaction. *"What difficulties did you encounter on arriving in Tam Đảo?"* is a field question because the individuals can answer it directly. A hypothesis is not indicated on this slide: *"People who set up in the street in Tam Đảo are privileged people"*, meaning that they have specific access to business. The hypothesis here is that not everyone has access to a site for doing business in Tam Đảo. We hope to obtain a list of difficulties: is it an administrative problem, people established for a long time, a group of people who help each other? It is up to you to bring back this information. This question brings together "motivations", "constraints" and "social networks" because we assume that someone who has lots of contacts will manage difficulties more easily.

In each team, you will start to work on the important questions that you will list. These questions must be answered during the interview. Since this is a workshop on methods, if I give you all the questions that must be asked, you will use them and you will only be "appliers of the method". What I would like is that you yourselves manipulate the different categories to formulate the questions. If you do not succeed, your errors will be used to examine why the method did not work. All of this will be used for the common good.

Cristina Bellinins Lieven

The interviews last approximately two hours. How many people will we interview?

[Christian Culas]

One person if you spend the morning with a vendor who tells you everything in detail for four hours, maybe two if you get everything you need in one hour. Follow the rhythm of the people that you will meet.

Tạ Thị Tâm

Are there sensitive questions for the people in Tam Đảo that we must avoid? The people work two months in the year, how will we calculate the household's revenue?

[Christian Culas]

With the small vendors, the subject of taxes should perhaps be avoided; some are no doubt not registered. You should not touch on problems of religion or politics. We are interested in life trajectories; I do not think that this includes sensitive subjects.

On revenues, you must understand why the households only work for two months. What do they do the rest of the time?

[François Roubaud]

I remind you that tomorrow morning the interviews will be done in pairs. In the ten groups that are here, there will be at least ten interviews, maybe more. The objective is to go on to the analysis of the interviews in the afternoon. Starting today and continuing tomorrow fits with the idea of iteration: we start the interview, we discuss it, and then we come back with some new ideas.

Day 4, Thursday July 22

2.2.4. Interviews and Group Studies

Thursday morning is set aside for the implementation of the work prepared in advance over the last three days in interaction with the participants. Some parts, that were too long to achieve, had been prepared by Christian Culas. The objective is to conduct a socio-anthropological survey. The participants were divided into ten groups. Some began the interviews on Wednesday afternoon with the people that they identified at the beginning of the week. The work involved interviewing people working in the informal sector in order to collect information on their life trajectories, degree of satisfaction and social networks.

[Jean-Pierre Cling]

We will ask you to get back together in the five groups that we previously set up. Within these five groups, you should discuss your interviews. We, the teachers, have also conducted an interview and we will discuss it. We can discuss any questions you may have. We will reserve the afternoon for analyzing interviews, problems that you have had, surprises, and hypotheses that were confirmed. Everything is of interest. Tomorrow, we will get to the reporting. All together, we will discuss the different conclusions and reactions in relation to the workshop as a whole.

Preparation in Groups / Discussions

[Christian Culas]

I suggest that you present the points that seem to be the most important. If you have some short sentences that summarize the situation well, report these. For example: "I do not want my son to do the same work as myself." This will let us enter into the background of those that you have studied. Please let us know if you have had any difficulties with collecting data or methodological aspects.

Each group presents a summary of approximately ten minutes focusing on life trajectory, motivations/constraints, satisfaction and social networks. Below, we present the feedback from two interviews conducted by the participants.

Mrs. Mai sells food products. She is 38 years old, married with two children. Mrs. Hoa is a fruit vendor. She is 33 years old, her husband is 36. She also has two children – a boy and a girl.

Professional Trajectory and Prospects:

- *Mrs. Mai started working at the age of 18 as an employee in a restaurant. When she was 20, she opened her own restaurant in Tây Thiên then she started selling food in two locations: in Tây Thiên three months per year, in Tam Đảo five months per year;*
- *Mrs. Hoa doesn't remember at what age she started working. But before the age of 23, she was doing farm work, and then she started to sell merchandise in Tam Đảo.*

In Tam Đảo, Mrs. Mai sells corn, eggs, sausages, beer, drinks, etc. In Tây Thiên, she only sells rice. Mrs. Hoa sells the same things in both locations: fruit, sweet potatoes. Mrs.

Mai has a supplier; the products are invoiced after the sale. She plans to rent a stall in 2011 in order to have a fixed location. Mrs. Hoa sells products that she harvests in her garden, and the rest is purchased. For both women, there is little competition. They are more or less satisfied with their situation. They both work in Tây Thiên during the first lunar months during the holidays, and in Tam Đảo in the summer. They do not have a very high level of education and received no training in particular.

Revenue per household:

- *Mrs. Mai's household makes a total of twelve million dongs per month; she contributes 50%;*
- *Mrs. Hoa's monthly household revenue is six million.*

Business in Tam Đảo does not require too much capital for Mai because she does not pay her supplier until after she sells the merchandise. On the other hand, in Tây Thiên, selling rice requires the purchase of material (bowls, chopsticks, etc.). Mrs. Hoa's work requires little capital. For her, it is somewhat stable.

Mrs. Mai's family is renting their house in Tam Đảo. They own a house in Tây Thiên. Mrs. Hoa owns a house between Tam Đảo and Tây Thiên. This family commutes daily; they do not rent a house. Neither business is registered. The first business was started with no particular support; the second received two million dongs as a gift from the parents. Mai's family is composed of two young children. The parents can only work in the morning; the afternoon is spent with the children. Hoa's oldest daughter is old enough to work with her mother.

Prospects for the Children's Future:

- *the first couple (Mai) did not answer the question because their children are still too young;*
- *the second couple do not want their children to take over the business. They are making efforts to earn enough money for the children to continue their higher education and would like for them to work in the administration.*

The first couple is satisfied with their present work. Mrs. Mai wants to develop her activities. Mrs. Hoa does not want to stay in the informal sector and would like to find employment in the formal sector.

[Christian Culas]

Thank you for this rich report on the small vendors of Tam Đảo. Some presentations were synthetic, others more narrative. I think that you have touched on different aspects of anthropology: meeting people, listening to their stories, collecting and organizing data, reporting. Tomorrow, we will have a round table examination of the methods. I would like to thank you for this very intense work carried out in such a short time.

I remind you that the documentary "Rêve d'ouvrière" (Worker's Dream) will be shown tonight. It deals with the labor market and its problems in the suburbs of Hà Nội, which is related to the subject of our workshop.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

Christian offers a methodological examination. I propose, as an addition, to examine the results of the statistical surveys. I would like for you to take a step back in order to think about it analytically. Here are some conclusions and some questions to be raised:

- the surveys indicate few migrants in the province of Hà Nội. It seems that this is not the case in Tam Đảo. Are the majority of people that you have interviewed migrants, or from the region?
- do the migrants encounter particular difficulties? If only the residents can be registered, what are the reasons for these migrations?
- *mobility of individuals in their professional trajectory*. The statistical surveys show that the individuals move from farm work to informal employment. Is this the case in Tam Đảo? Are there people who have gone from the formal to the informal sector?
- is changing jobs beneficial? What are the causes and consequences?
- *creation of production units*. The statistical surveys highlight the difficulties in finding a job elsewhere. Is this the case concerning the people interviewed? The idea is to identify those who have chosen voluntarily to settle in the formal sector and those who were forced to do so;
- *prospects*. It seems that very few people are thinking about developing their activities
 - the level of satisfaction is rather high. However, they state that they do not want their children to take over the business. This paradox is to be explored;
- *precariousness of small scale activities*. Is there a link between the size of the social network and the health of the enterprise?

[François Roubaud]

We have shown you three methods: quantitative method, semi-structured interviews and socio-anthropological surveys. We have tried to show you through practice the theoretical advantages and limitations of these three methods. Our objective is now to draw up a summary

applied to the concrete case of the informal sector, to define trajectories and transitions; but also to define the limitations of the quantitative approach and to compare its results to the anthropological surveys conducted today. From one method to another, the facts can be contradictory. The themes not addressed in one method can be central to the other. Try to apply the criteria that we have given you as well as the different methods that you know.

Day 5, Friday, July 23

2.2.5. Summary, Results and Analyses of the Complementarity of the Approaches. Preparation of the Feedback Session

[Jean-Pierre Cling]

Before getting back to the analysis of the interviews, we will review and make a few points on the different interviewing methods. We would like for you to speak on this subject in order to clear up some points.

Pholpath Tangtrongchitr

You gave us an example of the methods relative to the quantitative approach – “Do you prefer to go to the beach or to the countryside for vacation?”. You have presented the questionnaire’s results with a confidence limit. You have then given an interval number. I don’t really understand your calculations, can you explain them?

[Jean-Pierre Cling]

Very good question, I will get back to this point.

In a quantitative statistical survey, you have a detailed questionnaire that is submitted to the interviewee with a list of questions. This list will then be transformed into numerical data. Notice that these questions are not all quantitative. For qualitative surveys we have two options: semi-directive interviews, open interviews. These involve discourse, narration and not statistics.

Example. If we make a quantitative analysis of our survey – the average revenue of the population, the percentage of the population that prefers to go to the beach for vacation –, we generalize from the sample surveyed to the entire population. We think in terms of representativity. In your case, in Tam Đảo, you cannot generalize to the entire population.

[Christian Culas]

For a qualitative survey, representativity is not a major criterion for research. The objective is to realize what the lifestyle is and to think about a small group of people. Even if the interview is long, it will be impossible to say: *“The soup vendors in Việt Nam do this type of thing, or have this type of life.”*

Wan Mohtar Wan Ikhlas

Can we translate the results of qualitative surveys into numbers?

[Christian Culas]

This is possible in some cases. But the questions have not been constructed so that the responses can be coded then treated in

a mathematical manner. This makes the task complicated.

I would like to highlight an important point. During quantitative analysis, it is necessary to interpret tables of numbers. This interpretation can be different depending on the researchers. In the same way, with qualitative surveys, the analysis is partially linked to your personality, to your subjectivity. Between two researchers, and based on the same survey, we will maybe have different analyses.

[François Roubaud]

Can we treat qualitative data quantitatively? Can we approach the complexity of reality with quantitative surveys? In response to the first question, for this we need a large quantity of qualitative data: large quantities of responses or phrases (qualitative data). Right now, there are computer programs that analyze textual data, qualitative data, which treat discursive data in a quantitative manner. For example, by counting how many times the word “happiness” or “informal” is mentioned or by measuring the associations between two words: “informal” and “happy”. In 2008, we organized a workshop on data analysis with specialists on this question.^[13] As regards the second question, let’s take the example of the relatively poor measurement of professional and migratory trajectories in statistical surveys in general. The quantitavists realized the limitations of their instruments. They tried to create specific surveys allowing them to retrace trajectories in order to transform life

[13] L. Lebart, M. Piron, M. Razafindrakoto, F. Roubaud and J-P. Cling, Analyse des données 2: consolidation à l'analyse du marché du travail et du secteur informel au Việt Nam, in Lagrée S. (editor), Les Journées de Tam Đảo. Nouvelles approches méthodologiques appliquées au développement (2), Université d'été en sciences sociales, Éditions Thế Giới, Hà Nội, September 2009, pp. 157-237. Also available on: www.tamdaoconf.com.

histories delivered by anthropologists into numbers. These are biographical surveys:^[14] we try to trace migratory, professional, familial, residential trajectories from childhood onwards with quantitative surveys.

[Jean-Pierre Cling]

During the Tam Đảo Summer School Week 2009, the speakers for the anthropology and statistics workshops got together to discuss the benefit of better understanding the linkage and the comparison between the two methods. During the preparation of the current workshop, we have attempted to see if this type of comparison had already been done, from an abstract but also practical point of view. We realized that exactly fifty years ago, in 1960, surveys had been conducted in Algeria by a team of statisticians and sociologist-anthropologists, with Pierre Bourdieu. The research theme was practically identical: “work and employment”, with samples similar to ours (1200 people for a statistical survey, 60 people taken out of the 1200 for an anthropological semi-structured survey). I believe that this is the first time in Việt Nam that we combine quantitative and qualitative in this way. The work is on surveys, it is methodological work but also scientific research. You will be able to make the connection with the other workshops, especially with the workshop “Training in Field Surveys in Socio-anthropology”.

[François Roubaud]

I would like to answer the question asked by Phopath on the confidence intervals and the samples. We know that in Việt Nam, 85% of

the people are Việt (Kinh) and 15% are from ethnic minorities. If we take a small sample, I could end up with 100% ethnic minority. This is obviously completely misleading. Therefore, it is necessary to select many more individuals. If the sample is large enough, in 99% of the samples that I will select (this percentage is called “limit” of confidence or of significance), the percentage of Việt (Kinh) will be between 83% and 87% for example (this interval is the “confidence interval”). I am getting closer then to the reality of the percentages of ethnic groups in Việt Nam.

[Christian Culas]

It seems important to discuss the interviews that you have conducted yesterday. There are some very precise things that will help you find your way in an anthropological interview. The migratory and professional trajectories were addressed and understood and the motivations/satisfaction part was also quite well completed. However, the constraints were not as well studied. On social networks, you collected very little information; this is perhaps linked to the definition given in French and in Vietnamese.

Trần Thị Hồng Thủy

For us, a social network represents the family, neighbors, cousins as well as the community.

[Christian Culas]

You show a large amount of complicity between social network and members of the family. Several groups have confirmed that there was no social network; the people surveyed were not members of an

[14] See “Demographic Transition and Familial Transformations” in this work.

association. This is an over-interpretation of the reality. Here is a classic problem in anthropological research: we consider that the people are actors in a collective group when they are in an institutional group. However, there are many non-institutional groups that are very important, for the economy, sociability, religion, etc. In Việt Nam, we use institutional groups – mass, voluntary associations. The official data shows that Việt Nam is the country that has the highest number of people registered in associations in the world, around 76% of the population. This number is often an argument for stating that Việt Nam is very advanced in civil society matters and negotiating and discussion groups. Before my fieldwork in Việt Nam, I also thought that associations were very important, that everyone must be very active in these meetings. But, in the villages, one realizes that it is very different. For example, in a rural village, around 100% of women are enrolled in the women's organization; you must be registered in case you need something and for family planning services. Nevertheless, many women do not have the time or the desire to go to the group's meetings. So, despite the number of women registered, the level of activity of the women enrolled is low, which better illustrates the real practices and importance of this organization. Enrollment must be differentiated from active participation. The numbers can hide a significant part of the practical reality.

Lê Thế Vững

For us, the definition of "social network" is very broad.

[Christian Culas]

The tables of your collected data are obviously simplifications that are sometimes frustrating. The level of education is often the reason given for difficulties in collecting data. I would like for you to ask the question about the relationship between the life trajectory and the level of education. What are the causal links?

Lê Thế Vững

It was difficult to interview older people, their memory was not reliable.

[Christian Culas]

I want to make a point to show you that the level of education is not correlated with the capacity to tell a life story with very detailed experiences. I spent almost my entire life as a researcher in the mountains of Thailand, in Laos and in Việt Nam, among the ethnic populations that practically never went to school. Nevertheless, they told the story of their experiences very well. Your work as an interviewer and researcher is to try to comprehend what the person can understand from what you say, to enter into their mental universe to allow them to express themselves. It is up to you to adapt. One of the strengths of the anthropologist is to "look" at what one does in order to analyze and ask if it makes sense.

You have pointed out a direct connection with the locality Tây Thiên in the migratory trajectories. This is a surprising piece of data in the context of the "Tam Đảo Summer School", since 2008 we have led a workshop in this

region and we have never had information on the relationships between Tây Thiên and Tam Đảo.^[15] Why do the people you interviewed spend three months in Tây Thiên, then six in Tam Đảo? In Tây Thiên, it is the period from January to March. During this period, in Tam Đảo, it is cold and no one comes. Around the time of Tết, Tây Thiên holds large religious festivals that attract thousands of tourists. The activities start later in Tam Đảo, when the weather is nicer. The two sites are complementary in their timing.

[François Roubaud]

According to your surveys, the people were very open and welcoming. Some of you realized that this work was easier in the country than in the city. The question is how to adapt the interview to an urban situation – much more difficult and tense. Your interviews lasted around one hour to an hour and a half; they corresponded to the length of semi-structured interviews. You certainly were closer to the semi-structured interview than the anthropological one which requires much more time.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

We have also had the chance to see an extremely rich kind of anthropological interview with the documentary film shown yesterday – “Rêve d’ouvrière”. Why does this correspond to an anthropological interview?

It followed only a few people, so it is not quantitative. The questions were often open and above all the director followed the people. In the beginning, she didn’t ask any questions. She followed one person only to understand, without asking any questions, to see how she lives.

Anthropological study contributes all of the symbolism linked to what work represents, the social and familial context. We are concerned with the population’s perception, its lifestyle, and its trajectories. All of this is linked to a concrete question: what type of policy must we apply to the informal sector, should we develop this sector or not, do individuals work there voluntarily? Understanding the logic, behavior, social networks surrounding informal production units can help define policies that can support them and encourage them to formalize.

Do you have anything to contribute as regards the interviews that you have conducted yesterday?

Nguyễn Hồng Bắc

The poorest individuals seem to have the most solidarity. For example, the suppliers accept being paid after the sale of the products. Also, the social networks, family and close relations, occupy a central place. One interviewee used an uncle’s premises; those who sell the same

[15] – C. Culas, O. Tessier, Formation en sociologie et anthropologie: méthodes et flexibilité, enquêtes de terrain et organisation du recueil de donnée, in Lagrée S (Editor), Les Journées de Tam Đảo. Nouvelles approches méthodologiques appliquées au développement (2), Université d’été en sciences sociales, Éditions Thế Giới, Hà Nội, September 2009, pp. 241-356;

– C. Arditi, C. Culas, O. Tessier, Anthropologie du développement: formation aux méthodes d’enquêtes de terrain en sociologie et anthropologie, in S. Lagrée, J.-P. Cling, M. Razafindrakoto, F. Roubaud (Scientific Editors), Stratégies de réduction de la pauvreté: approches méthodologiques et transversales, Université d’été en sciences sociales, Éditions Tri Thức, July 2010, pp. 549-570.

Also available on: www.tamdaoconf.com.

products get together to buy a vehicle for transportation.

[François Roubaud]

The strong tie between the agricultural and non-agricultural activities explains certain gaps in the quantitative and qualitative results. We have not seen this in the surveys in Hà Nội and Hồ Chí Minh City, maybe because they are urban zones. The link with agriculture appears here because we are in a rural region. We have said that the poor have more solidarity, e.g. do not pay the license fee and the suppliers give them credit. A person does not pay the license because he/she probably knows the local authorities. These are not the poor. It is solidarity between those who are poor and the local authorities who are not. The solidarity among the poor does not seem to be very clear to me.

[Christian Culas]

The management of how products are paid for is local, which proves that the managers, or the suppliers, have flexibility in their behavior. They adapt according to the people they are dealing with, this allows the system to function.

Cristina Bellinins Lieven

I have the impression that we are witnessing a restructuring of the labor market. We have interviewed a person coming from a wealthy farming family. The opportunity of tourism development in Tam Đảo led them to open a shop with the help of an uncle and aunt. These are wealthy individuals working directly in the formal sector. A second interview involves a 66 year-old lady who leaves the agricultural sector for tourism activities in Tam Đảo. She had no

initial investment, no premises. She is in the informal sector.

[François Roubaud]

The hypothesis is interesting: the networks are smaller in Tam Đảo than those people can use in the large cities. Can we migrate from the country to Hà Nội with little or no network? Different countries in the region are represented in our workshop; what happens in your respective countries, in another context? Another question: what differences have you observed between the two types of surveys, semi-structured and anthropological?

[Jean-Pierre Cling]

We know that many national or international migrations are linked to migrants from the same village, the same region. Is the presence of temporary migrants in Tam Đảo a factor that favors migrations from Tây Thiên? It would be interesting to observe the ties that exist with the merchants of Tam Đảo.

Cristina Bellinins Lieven

In Cambodia, for the young men, there is a network of pagodas that can house many unmarried young men. They live in these pagodas, sharing rooms. For young women, when they work in the factories, they live in dormitories. In Việt Nam, are there places that serve as hostels so that one can cross the country knowing that there will be a place to stay and eat?

Nguyễn Hồng Bắc

We do not have this system of pagodas in Việt Nam. Many young people work in woodworking or construction. It is common to ask for the authorization of the owner to

set up a tent and to sleep directly on the work site. The workers can also rent a room that they share.

Pattiya Jimreivat

Many people from the country come to Bangkok to work. They benefit from the family or personal contacts they have there. Many Lao come to Bangkok as well. In the temples, the monks often accept people who come from the same village or the same province.

Souphanthong Douanglattana

In Laos, young men can also take advantage of the network of pagodas when they go to the capital to find work.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

Try to identify the essential and complementary advantages that do not appear in the statistical surveys or the semi-structured interviews.

[Christian Culas]

We spoke much about the constraints, but not enough about what was “facilitating”. The anthropological survey shows us a limitation of the categories produced.

The participants

“Motivations and Facilitating factors” are in the same category.

[Christian Culas]

Motivation is something more personal, facilitating factors are more external. What are the small things that facilitate the installation of the production units?

[Jean-Pierre Cling]

Do all the people who come to Tam Đảo sleep there or do they go home at night?

[Christian Culas]

Maybe 80% of the people questioned have a link to Tây Thiên village. We didn't ask if the people slept in Tam Đảo or if they went back to Tây Thiên. Has anyone collected this data? Is the housing collective or individual? That's another way to render social networks visible: sharing a house, it often means having a strong relationship.

Lê Thế Vững

The woman interviewed lives in the house of a friend. She only pays for electricity and water. Another lives in a neighbor's house; they cook and eat together. The younger vendors only come here on the week-end, the busiest time of the week for tourists. This lady must face the competition of these young vendors and stays at the hill station permanently.

Nguyễn Thị Thu Thủy

We interviewed a photographer. Previously, there were around sixty photographers in Tam Đảo; now there are forty. The social network is very developed. They spread the word when groups of tourists arrive. They rent rooms to spend the week-end in the hill station, from Friday to Sunday.

[François Roubaud]

We will now talk about prospects for the children.

Pattiya Jimreivat

The lady we questioned wants her children to pursue their higher studies; she is working in order to finance this.

Souphanthong Douanglattana

The man that we interviewed is working in the formal sector. He borrowed money so that his children could go to school. He would like for them to work as civil servants, for them to have a real social status.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

Some important summary points: informal work is generally less hard than farm work; the families in Tây Thiên that were expropriated come to Tam Đảo, at least for a few months in the year; the people are pretty satisfied to move from farm work to informal work; they want their children to work in the formal sector.

[François Roubaud]

I would like to know if those that work more with quantitative methods were convinced of the advantage in bringing their surveys closer to qualitative approaches. And inversely, were the sociologists and anthropologists present convinced by the quantitative approaches or not?

Nguyễn Hồng Bắc

The results obtained are very satisfying. During the film "*À qui appartient la terre?*" in the plenary session, we concluded that the agrarian transition is also a source of serious land problems. The qualitative approach, linked to the quantitative, allows us to suggest relevant policies on this point.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

I would like to thank all the participants for having joined this workshop which was for us a real challenge. The subject was complex: we had to find complementarities between different types of approaches, the group was made up of people with very different backgrounds. Some work with quantitative approaches while others are specialized in the qualitative. We had to take the diversity of the group into account. We were pleasantly surprised by the results obtained in such a short time. Thank you very much for your participation. We hope to see you at the next session in 2011!

[Christian Culas]

You all have the publication from the Tam Đảo Summer School Week 2009. You will find this week's training as well as a synthesis of the field level data in the book that will be published in 2011. You have participated in a future trilingual publication – English, French and Vietnamese – which will be available online on the site www.tamdaoconf.com.

2.2.6. Workshop Feedback Summary

(Re-transcription)

[Christian Culas]

This workshop was born out of a discussion in 2010 between statisticians, economists and anthropologists who wanted to establish a dialogue between the quantitative and qualitative approaches. The challenge was great and solicited a certain amount of skepticism about establishing a relationship

between the statistical, mathematical approach and a narrative anthropological analysis. I wanted to underline that the week spent together was a fantastic human and intellectual experience.

Reporter 1

Our training was constructed around statistical surveys at macro level – national, regional and urban – and socio-anthropological methods on a micro scale – individuals, families, villages.

Image 4 Quantitative Approach: Statistical Surveys



Source: Vincent Rif, *Survey on the timetable of Belgians*, drawing for the *Echo*, June 2008.
NB: The dialogue has been changed and added by the authors.

Image 5 Qualitative Approach: Surveys



Source: Vincent Rif, *Survey on the timetable of Belgians*, drawing for the *Echo*, June 2008.
 NB: The dialogue has been changed and added by the authors.

What is a statistical survey? It is a survey that quantifies a phenomenon. It is carried out in the form of a questionnaire and uses large amounts of data. The quality of a statistical survey depends on the accuracy of the conceptual breakdown and the definition of the categories. It also depends on the quality of the questionnaire, interaction, trust between surveyor and the surveyed. The survey can be in the form of an interview, “face-to-face”, over the phone or by mail. A statistical survey is made up of the following three steps:

- methodological stage: definition of the field of study, sampling and questionnaire;
- technical stage: collection of data in the field, entering the data and the extraction of the first results;

- publication: analysis and interpretation of data, presentations, description of the first results.

What are the limitations? Pre-established notions and categories cannot be completely adapted to the history and the situation of the interviewee at the time. A questionnaire doesn't let you easily record social processes and remains dependent on the efficiency and relevance of the questions chosen in advance. The information obtained is not exhaustive.

The Socio-anthropological Survey. The processes and the researcher's choices on all of the information collected in the field are at the heart of the survey. The anthropologist does not consider all of the information obtained at the time of the survey. We call the intellectual processes at work, “data production”:

- insertion and immersion in the environment, and participatory observation;
- interviews and interaction initiated by the researcher;
- observations and descriptions of the situation, the acts, the conditions, the discourse;
- census-type processes, resorting to devices that are built up from systematic investigations;
- written sources – articles, local reports, etc.; audio-visual sources.

This type of survey is prepared over a long period of time. It is not the result of any pre-fabricated recipes. The interview follows the research themes set at the office, but must adapt in real-time according to the data produced in the field.

What are the limitations? It's only possible to generalize the processes and objective relationships.

During the entire workshop, our problem was to examine the phenomenon of transition via case studies on street vendors in Tam Đảo

Table 26 *Differences and Complementarities Between the Approaches*

	Quantitative Approach	JUNCTION	Qualitative Approach
<i>Tools</i>	<i>Statistical Surveys</i>		<i>Qualitative Interviews and Observations</i>
General Postulate	Law of Large Numbers → Representative nature of the results		In-depth case studies → Truthfulness, plausibility
Scale of Observation	Global (large group of individuals) Macroscopic Scale		Local (a location, a given sub-group)
Sample	Large (often random)		Limited (targeted and often not random)
Procedure	"Hypothetico-deductive" Procedure <i>Verify the theoretical results</i> + "Inductive" Procedure <i>Theorize empirical observations</i>	Combination (different orders and proportions)	"Inductive" Procedure <i>Theorize empirical observations</i> + "Hypothetico-deductive" Procedure <i>Verify theoretical results</i>
Principal Instruments	- Questionnaire (closed questions with answer options giving in advance) - Polling Base (sample)		- Observation, description, notes/ recording, photo, interview; - Open Questions - Socio-anthropological Interview.

Source: Participants and trainers.

Table 27 *Differences and Complementarities Between the Approaches*

	Quantitative Approach	JUNCTION	Qualitative Approach
Results	Information at the macro level	Information	- "Stories" - Qualitative Information - Logic of Behavior
Advantages	- Global socio-economic framing - Generalization of information		- More interaction with the interviewee - We try to grasp all the information/conditions of the individual being interviewed
Inconveniences	- Doesn't take the point of view of the interviewee in account very much - Suggested responses - We do not know if the information/options are exhaustive.		We cannot generalize
Way to resolve: combination and harmonization of the two methods alternating/interacting (in particular concerning cases where there is a change of context, factors or new subjects)			

Source: Participants and trainers.

Reporter 2

Now, here are some results from the application of these methods to our study of the informal sector in Việt Nam.

Table 28 *National Context - The Size of the Informal Sector*

Jobs per Institutional Sector in Vietnam

Institutional Sector	Jobs	Structure (%)	
	2009 (in1000)	2007	2009
Public	4 550	10.7	9.7
Foreign Co.	1 360	2.0	2.9
Private Domestic Co.	3 610	5.7	7.7
Formal Individual Co.	3 610	7.8	7.7
Informal Individual Co.	11 100	23.5	23.7
Agriculture	22 660	50.0	48.3
Total	46 890	100	100

→ **Informal sector: first source of non-farm employment**
→ **23% of total employment**
→ **50% of non-farm employment**
→ **Estimates: 20% of the GNP**
25% work revenue

⇒ **On average, 1/3 of households get a part or the entirety of their revenue from the informal sector in Hà Nội and Hồ Chí Minh City**

Source: LFS2007 & 2009, GSO; our own calculations.

The informal sector is the second source of employment after farming. Whereas agricultural employment represents 50% of the job structure by institutional sector,

informal individual enterprises make up one job out of four and contribute to around 20% of GDP.

Table 29 *Prospects*

<i>Hà Nội</i>	% of heads of PU who believe in a future for their PU	% of heads of PU who want children to carry on with business
Manufacturing	64.0	33.5
Commerce	44.2	18.1
Services	31.7	15.0
Total Informal PU	42.2	19.5
Total Formal PU	73.4	37.1
Total PU	48.3	22.9

- ⇒ **The heads of production units are not optimistic**
- **only 42% consider that their PU has a future**
 - **less than 20% want their children to carry on the PU**

Source: 1-2-3 Survey, Phase 2: Household Business and Informal Sector (HB & IS), Hà Nội (2007), GSO-IRD-DIAL

42.2% of production unit (PU) heads think that they have a future, 19.5% want their children to take over the business in this sector.

We have completed this study in Hà Nội through in-depth interviews. Four axes of research were proposed: trajectory and perspectives; motivation; constraints and satisfaction; resources and social networks.

Presentation of the conclusions of the interview "Mrs. Hạnh, Vermicelli Seller" discussed this week – cf. Day 2 and Life Trajectory Scenario – and the qualitative surveys conducted at the hill station – cf. Day 4.

[Christian Culas]

Three types of methods were brought together: quantitative, qualitative and semi-structured interviews. The experience, which was new to the participants, was to conduct a survey similar to an anthropological survey.

Audience

Did you think about the sustainability of informal employment?

Participant

Let's again detail the two approaches. The quantitative method is above all used in statistical surveys in order to obtain socio-economic numerical data on a macro

scale. The qualitative method corresponds to socio-anthropological field surveys. It analyzes a society and concentrates on a group of individuals; the quantitative approach is based on samples which give representativity of a country or a province, for example. The two procedures differ: the quantitative is based on hypotheses and uses the information to verify these hypotheses, or not; the qualitative is based on a conclusion formed in advance, a pre-hypothesis, and uses the survey to link theory with empirical observations.

As to the sustainability of informal employment, we have used data from the national level to chart developments in the informal sector. These past few years, the importance of agricultural jobs has decreased in favor of informal employment. We think that the informal sector will last in Việt Nam: the individuals who work in this sector are unskilled, without capital, and have little hope of finding a job in the formal sector.

[Christian Culas]

We are not looking for the same thing in each of the processes. The qualitative approach tries to be representative: based on limited chosen samples, it aims to represent a large population. For the qualitative, this objective of “representing a large population” is not

central to the research: we do not try to be representative, but rather to find the truth, we try to get as close as possible to the reality of a small group of people.

Our workshop has the particular characteristic of dealing with a subject that is connected with the three other workshops: agrarian transition, role of the family and family ties, social networks and finally the information on the locality of Tây Thiên. In fact, in Tam Đảo, by asking questions other than those of the workshop “*Issues, Tension and Conflict Surrounding the Appropriation of Land*”, we have learned that the people of Đền Thông work as vendors for the tourists that come to the hill station. So there are some connections to be made between the workshops of this fourth Tam Đảo Summer School Week!

Reading (www.tamdaoconf.com)

Olivier de Sardan, *L'enquête socio-anthropologique de terrain: synthèse méthodologique et recommandations à usage des étudiants, Laboratoire d'études et recherches sur les dynamiques sociales et le développement local (LASDEL), Etudes et travaux n°13, October 2003.*

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