This map shows populations from the Akha-Hani grouping.

What is interesting is that the Hani are scattered over several countries but still remain fairly cohesive; in this case, we can almost see the outline of a frontier or border.
Here you have the distribution of White Hmong among all Hmong and others who are linguistically related. These populations are present in huge numbers in China, from where they originate, which allows us to set in context some ideas which are too frequently associated with the Hmong. For example when people say that the Hmong subsist on slash-and-burn agriculture, they are really talking about the Hmong of Southeast Asia, who are the most well-known and studied. But this has a tendency to be seen as a way of life which is deeply embedded in Hmong culture. In reality, this only concerns a fringe population during a specific period in history: the groups which fled from war and famine in China in the 19th century, and who therefore adopted a means of subsistence adapted to that period of displacement. But let’s not forget that the majority of Hmong still live in China, in villages which have long been in a fixed location and where they practise irrigated rice cultivation.
2.3.7. Constitution, Law and Ethnicity

[Christian Culas]

We have approached ethnicity via its labels and designations so as to better understand how the relationships between these were established. How do States refer to ethnic groups? What do ethnic groups call themselves and each other? How do ethnic groups refer to the representatives of the State?

This session will be dedicated to looking at ethnicity through the lens of law and constitutions. This is an original approach and I would emphasize the value of a study of the closeness between law and anthropology. We will set out the differences between the legal framework in statute and in practice, with the aim of understanding the constitutions of these countries and examining the position of ethnic groups within them.

**Box 14  The Value of Studying Legal Issues for Anthropology (1)**

Law: a normative science, sets the basis for what is legal:
- Among the human sciences, law has a unique position: its objective is not to describe and analyze what people do, but to set the framework for what is legal and illegal = normative dimension;
- Law defines with a greater or lesser degree of precision “what one must do” in certain circumstances and the consequences if one does not respect these norms (information, penalties, coercions, social restrictions, etc.) = dimension of control and constraint.

Source: Author’s construction.

To my mind the countries seen as “modern or developed” – Europe and the United States, for example – have obscured the fact that a major part of law was oral. This traditional, customary and oral legal tradition remains very active in the ethnic regions of Southeast Asia and in certain African countries. We will reflect together on the link between national law, which is written and fixed, and forms of local law, which are oral, negotiated and often more flexible.

Written national law is associated with the State and a system of strong controls and constraints; customary law is more localized, and generally involves a community with a tradition of common law and a flexible system of control and constraints which, in the worst case, leads to the exclusion of individuals from the community – there’s no imprisonment or the death penalty. One of the key questions in the management of ethnic groups is to understand how national law, which is supposed to be the same for the whole nation, can fit together with customary law, which only applies to a specific local group.
The defining characteristic of an anthropologist is a deep contextual knowledge of local populations. Two main avenues of research emerge: what people do, and what people say about what they do. Specifically in the epistemology of anthropology, we don’t have access to what people think or what they believe; we have access to a debate on thought or belief. Just one remark for those anthropologists specializing in religions. It is an abuse to write “the Hmong believe in the spirits of the forest” because we have no way of verifying this, but it is possible to say “the Hmong worship the spirits of the forest” or “the Hmong say that they believe in the spirits of the forest”. Here there is a research position which is characteristic of and specific to anthropology. We must not confuse what people say and what the researcher is saying – a distinction already underlined between emic and etic.

The example of the Dao is relevant here. Who created this term? Local populations, researchers? Our discussion has shown that it’s difficult to say. One safeguard is to use a reflexive loop to evaluate written sources.

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Box 15  The Value of Studying Legal Issues for Anthropology (2)

Anthropology: a descriptive science, describes what is done (without a normative approach):

- Anthropology, like law has a particular position in the social sciences: its methods, its way of describing social situations, its objectives. To describe in the most faithful and rigorous way possible “what people do” and the ways in which they represent (think) to themselves what they do (actor’s point of view) = empirical dimension;
- Anthropology has a critical and reflexive (self-examining) point of view on anthropologists’ descriptions = critical and reflexive dimension;
- Anthropology makes a distinction between the emic point of view of the actors and the etic point of view of the researchers and of the State.

Source: Author’s construction.

The Value of Studying Legal Issues for Anthropology (3)

To bring together the approaches of law and anthropology:

- The overall objective of anthropology applied to ethnic groups is to understand how ethnic groups live and in particular how relationships between ethnic groups and the State are organized;
- To bring together the qualities of law (formulating standards, explaining how national laws and customary law are created) and the qualities of anthropology (describing what is done and how people think about what they do);
- Law gives a purely etic viewpoint (from the exterior, that of the State and not of the actors), while anthropology gives both the emic viewpoint of the actors and the etic viewpoint of the State.

Source: Author’s construction.
I'd like to ask you some questions around the phrase: “The overall objective of applied anthropology in relations to ethnic groups is to understand the nature of the relationship between the ethnic group and the State”. We’re referring here to a very particular branch of anthropology, political anthropology. I don’t think it’s possible to study ethnic groups without political anthropology. The term can differ from country to country but in this case it refers to the study of the organization of groups of humankind.

Yves Perraudeau

In economics, we would speak of a political economy to differentiate between a private economy, the management of a personal inheritance, and the management of a city in the past. What was collective was what entered the political economy. This term has been abandoned due to its ambiguity. But at the outset we still have that logic: what is collective, what belongs to the group, eventually to the Nation-State, is political.

[Christian Culas]

The difference between private and public is evident in reading the works of Hannah Arendt – a mid-20th century German researcher in political science who worked on authoritarian political systems – in particular her work The condition of modern man: the private sphere concerns the family, what is internal to the house; politics identifies all that is external. Hannah Arendt makes clear distinctions, for example about individual liberty which exists in the political world but not in the family. The family is a world of constraints, naturally hierarchical, where the external view is absent; politics, the community, the city, the State are domains of rules where individuals are equal, a place for discussion and negotiation. Let’s go a bit further. To my mind it’s really wrong to draw a parallel between nation and family, to say “The Nation is a great big family”. That implies the elimination of political relationships: to believe or to make believe that a nation is a family is to take away from that social group any political dimension. This reflection is particularly true when one comes to ethnic issues.

Box 17

Theoretical Framework on Constitution and Law (1)

Hierarchy of legal statutes (in theory):
In theory, there are four levels of legal statutes in Việt Nam:
- (1) Constitution;
- (2) Laws adopted by the National Assembly;
- (3) Decrees by the Permanent Committee of the National Assembly (known as “decree laws”. Government decrees are created by the Prime Minister;
- (4) Legislative measures at the lower level: decisions, directives and circulars from the Ministries and agencies of government. Resolutions and directives from the highest level of the Communist Party, Orders and instructions from the People’s Committees at provincial and district level (Rose, 1998: 98, n°12).

Source: Author’s construction.
Our example concerns Việt Nam, but the question makes sense for any other country: how is a State organized in terms of law and the levels of law?

In Việt Nam there are four hierarchical levels of legal statutes. This implies that any lower level must conform with the higher level – the laws voted by the National Assembly must not contradict the Constitution of Việt Nam, etc. This is an incontrovertible principle. Levels 1, 2 and 3 are homogenous. In contrast, when we come to the last level, we realize that a number of different institutions can issue legal documents. This brings us to a practical question: how can these be harmonized with the higher levels?

**Box 18 Theoretical Framework on Constitution and Law (2)**

Hierarchy of legal statutes (in practice):
In theory, according to the authors one can distinguish up to 22 levels in the hierarchy of legal statutes in Việt Nam:

Principal difficulties:
- Lack of effective dissemination of new laws;
- Impossibility for the non-specialist (peasants or ethnic groups) to understand how the legislative system works in practice;
- Numerous contradictions between the levels of laws (lack of coordination between the official services which produce the laws and regulations, no service has an overall vision of the entire system).

Source: Author’s construction.

In Việt Nam, the study of law is particularly difficult. There is no Official Journal disseminated free at an accessible level, nor is there any national, central body which publishes new laws. Laws are not all officially and widely published – dissemination by the People’s Committees doesn’t claim to be really effective. People remain ill-informed. It’s true that large-scale lawmaking in Việt Nam is a recent phenomenon: between 1945, Việt Nam’s declaration of independence, and the policy of Renovation (1986), fewer than 500 laws were passed; between 1986 and 2005, more than 10,000 were passed – cf. business legislation, international trade, etc.

**Yves Perraudeau**

The market brings regulation with it, and this is provided by the State, with planning. The growth of the market economy necessarily imposes a rise in the juridical approach, and during the shift between a planned economy and a market economy, there is an intermediate period without law. The legal framework must come, because the freedom of the market needs a framework.

[Christian Culas]

Experts in Vietnamese public law are few, for two main reasons: the State is not an easy interlocutor: the economic stakes for the
people involved are very different – let’s just imagine the difference in salary between a government employee specializing in public law and an advocate who defends private companies. Thus there are very few public law texts for analysis or research on public law produced by Vietnamese in Việt Nam.

Vietnamese lawyers who do practise public law tell us that in reality, in practice, there are up to 22 hierarchical levels of legal statutes in Việt Nam. The situation becomes particularly complex when you realize that no part of the Vietnamese Government has an overall view of these different hierarchical levels: it has resulted from the creation of rules by provinces or districts which are to a greater or lesser extent disconnected from the higher levels.

Instances of purchase of agricultural land for the construction of golf courses, grand hotels, etc. have multiplied in the last few years. The legal documentation produced at provincial level is rarely checked by higher levels of the hierarchy. For the private citizen, in particular, it’s hardly possible to comprehend the complexity of the legal situation.

Christian Culas refers to the work done during the training workshop in field survey methods during previous meetings of the Summer School. The conditions for eviction of peasant families and forms of land law in a village in the foothills of Tam Đảo were studied from 2008 to 2010. We refer the reader to the following publications (cf. www.tamdaoconf.com and the websites of partner organizations):

Box 19 What is a Constitution?

- A text which fixes in a set of principles the bases of the organization and functioning of the State;
- A text which confers the legitimacy and permanence of power, whilst setting its limits;
- A text which organizes and guarantees the public liberties of citizens;
- A text which has the objective of defining and maintaining the cohesion of a nation = A text which guides the nation.
- It reflects how the nation was conceived, and notably the position of ethnic groups within it.

Ethnic groups in the constitution: study what is said about them both explicitly and implicitly.

Source: Author’s construction.

The constitution is the shared overarching head which manages and organizes the entire system of the State and the nation, which fixes the basic principles of the organization of the functioning of a State. Its text confers legitimacy and permanence on the national power, but includes limits to that power – cf. ways in which different institutions control each other, like the Assembly which controls the Senate – and defines and guarantees the civil liberties of citizens. In terms of what interests us, we can see that in the constitutions of Southeast Asia – except in Thailand or Burma, which hasn’t had a constitution since the 1960s, – in multi-ethnic countries like Laos and Việt Nam for example, ethnic groups are directly and specifically designated in the constitution.

Trần Hoài

You have said that in Việt Nam there is no public service responsible for publishing the official legal texts, but in my visits to communes in the centre of the country, I noted legal volumes from the legal publishing house.

[Christian Culas]

In many communes – even urban ones – these publications do not exist. There is no official route, or perhaps information is disseminated many years later. There is a bottleneck between the publication of laws and their dissemination.

Lê Hải Đăng

There is an Official Journal in Việt Nam but it doesn’t publish all the legal texts, and citizens don’t have access to it.

Yves Perraudeau

When does a law take effect? In France and I think in other European countries, law takes effect from the moment of its appearance in the Official Journal. If this appearance takes place two or three years later, what happens? Is the law applied or not?

Jean-Luc Maurer

I’d like to come back to the parallel between the State and the family drawn by Christian: those States which make believe that the nation is a family in fact...
deny citizenship. Does this way of behaving, which is fairly widespread throughout Asia in general, explain a certain acceptance of authoritarianism?

[Christian Culas]

This approach creates an uncontestable hierarchical relationship. In social systems based on Confucian principles, like Việt Nam or China, it’s unacceptable to question paternal authority – father, grandfather, ancestors. In some constitutions we can see a clearly paternalist position toward ethnic groups – those of Laos and Việt Nam for example.

Jean-Luc Maurer

To what extent has this State paternalism been internalized by ethnic groups, and can it explain a certain passivity?

[Christian Culas]

If the State sees itself as the “Father of the Nation”, then the citizens are the children whom the father protects and helps, and the ethnic groups are the “weak” children, one might say. It’s a national, State-driven vision.

From the point of view of the ethnic groups, I don’t think that this kind of relationship is resented as such. One important issue is to evaluate the degree to which different groups feel that they belong to a nation. For the governments of every country, that is fundamental.

Jean-Luc Maurer

Without going so far as to say that people known as “minorities” dream of their own State, encompassing parts of several countries, don’t your suggestions borrow something from the theory of James Scott, who postulated that the strategy of ethnic groups is to develop a passive resistance so as to minimize their integration into nation-States and preserve their autonomy to the greatest extent possible?

[Christian Culas]

Most ethnic groups haven’t any desire or plan to create States. James Scott’s work, to which Jean-Luc Maurer refers, is The Art of Not Being Governed, published in 2009. The work covers 500 years of the history of the management of ethnic groups living in border areas, in the North of Southeast Asia: at its heart is an examination of the resistance of ethnic groups to State integration.

I have two criticisms to make of his work. Firstly, a number of ethnic groups have had a State system, or at least a very hierarchical system – the Tai Lu, the White Tai, the Yi in China. Then to affirm that ethnic groups organize themselves against the State is to my mind very excessive. We saw earlier on the maps that border areas are buffer zones – often mountainous – where ethnic groups were in contact with the State in a very ad hoc way, and its pressure was relatively weak. These groups remained for centuries in a relationship of awareness of the State, and not necessarily of pressure from it. The idea that they were organized politically against the State is to my mind absolutely wrong. It’s a dichotomous vision – ethnic group/State – which I don’t support. When one works in ethnic villages, the main subject of discussion and interest is not the State but one’s neighbours, those one is surrounded by every day, whether they are from the same ethnic group or not.
[Grégoire Schlemmer]

There’s nothing that unifies the minorities except the fact of being a minority. In Laos, we have very varied relationships between ethnic groups and the State. Let’s not forget that certain ethnic groups were constituted on a political basis – e.g. the Tai. During the group work, we’ll see specific examples of very widely differentiated relationships with the State – integration, escape, detachment.

2.3.8. The Position of Ethnic Groups in the Laotian Constitution

[Grégoire Schlemmer]

I’d like to set out for you an analysis of the Laotian constitution, so as to examine the position of ethnic groups within that constitution and the representations which are associated with it.

An extract from the Laotian constitution is distributed to the participants and it is read in the session.

Here is an extract from the preamble of the constitution, followed by various selected articles.

Box 20 Extracts from the Preamble of the Laotian Constitution (1)

- For several millennia, the multi-ethnic Lao people lived and developed in this well-loved land. Over six centuries ago, our ancestors founded, at the time of Tiao Fa Ngum, a unified country, Lan Xang, and made it prosperous and glorious;
- From the 18th century onwards, Lao territory was constantly the object of lust and aggression from foreign powers. Our people therefore unified to develop the traditions of heroism and resistance of their ancestors and to engage in continuous and obstinate struggle so as to regain independence and liberty. (…)


Box 21 Extracts from the Laotian Constitution

Art. 1. The Lao People’s Democratic Republic is (…) a unified and indivisible country of all ethnic groups.

Art. 2. The Lao People’s Democratic Republic is a State of the people’s democracy. All power is with the people, practised by the people, in the interests of the multi-ethnic people from all social strata of which the workers, farmers and intellectuals form the pivot.

Art. 8. The State applies a policy of solidarity and equality between the diverse ethnic groups. All the ethnic groups have the right to preserve and develop their beautiful manners, traditions and cultures as well as those of the Nation. All acts of division and discrimination between the ethnic groups are forbidden. The State applies all measures designed to develop and enhance the economic and social standard of living of all the ethnic groups.

Art. 19. The State ensures the development of the education in the regions inhabited by ethnic minorities.

Art. 22. All Lao citizens, whatever their gender, social condition, level of education, beliefs and ethnic origin, are equal before the law.

I’ve identified some of the terminologies used in the constitution. We can see that “Lao people of multiple ethnicity” are mentioned in the preamble, followed by “our ancestors” and “our people”.

**Box 22 The Categorization of Populations Used in the Laotian Constitution**

- “Lao people of multiple ethnicity”;
- “Our ancestors”, “our people”;
- “Unified and indivisible country of all ethnic groups”;
- “Multi-ethnic country”;
- “Citizens”;
- “Ethnic groups”;
- “Social strata of all ethnic groups”.

Source: Author’s construction.

We have here a people, “our people”, which is singular, and at the same time this people is qualified as “multi-ethnic”, which is plural. When we say “our ancestors”, one might ask which ancestors, of which population group, are being referred to here. Moreover, we read “a people”, “citizens”, “ethnic groups”, “social strata”, the plurality of terms used to designate people within the Lao nation also begs questions. Among the factors which differentiate citizens, and which are mentioned in the constitution, we have for example gender, social condition, level of education, beliefs. All these elements are not enough to make a society, they are still parts of a whole. The only element which is sufficient to form a society, other than nationhood, is ethnicity. Ethnic groups are a social unit, which can potentially form a nation-State. The key difficulty for the drafters of this constitutional text was to reconcile the unity of the nation and its ethnic diversity.
On the basis of this text, I grouped into three categories the vocabulary associated with ethnic groups. The first category contains positive connotations, and here we find mention of beautiful manners, tradition and culture. Then come the negative elements, with a vocabulary of forbidden elements, where we can see fear of divisions in society and discrimination – ethnicity seen in some ways as a sub-nation concurrent with the nation. Finally, we can see that there are aspects “to be developed” for ethnic groups but not for the whole nation. Is it possible to bring about development without discriminating? Here again there seems to be a contradiction which the authors have tried to finesse: whilst forbidding negative discrimination which could divide ethnic groups, they have written into the constitution itself some positive discriminations, because the economy, society and education of the ethnic groups must be developed.

What I want to show is the difficulty that the nation’s legislators themselves had in reconciling national unity and ethnic diversity, in avoiding creating divisions among the Lao people whilst recognizing the existence, the fact, of differences. One solution was to present ethnicity solely as a cultural entity: the ethnic group is one which has dances, songs and attractive costumes, but not a social and political entity making decisions about its own future. In fact, this text presents a difference, because the State, the “we” of the constitution, makes decisions about the development of the ethnic groups. The text does not refer to development of social strata, because that is obvious or because the ethnic majority will develop by itself: they will make decisions about their own future, in contrast to the ethnic groups who manifestly need an external referent to determine their fate.

On the basis of this text, I grouped into three categories the vocabulary associated with ethnic groups. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive points (to be preserved):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beautiful manners;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditions;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative points (vocabulary of forbidden elements):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Division;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements to be developed:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economy;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s construction.
What is your position on this issue? We’ve spent two days trying to demonstrate that ethnicity is extremely complex, and the same thing is true of development. The main thing is to understand better in order to act better. Inadequacies in development projects often go along with an absence of discussion and consultation, notably about ethnic issues.

Lê Hải Đăng

In the context of globalization and international migration, what is the relationship between development and preservation of cultures? What is the viewpoint of the Laos government on this issue?

[Grégoire Schlemmer]

As an anthropologist, I am always interested and fascinated by the diversity of human societies and their traditions. But I still question the idea of “preservation”. We hear a great deal of debate about the necessity of preserving traditions, continuing to wear traditional clothing, the danger of introducing television into the villages, etc. For example, currently, the Laos government has a policy of preservation of all cultural elements without a visible political basis: music, songs, traditions. My point of view is that one can help to document cultural traditions, help their development if there is demand from those concerned, or indeed so that the changes are not too brutal, but that one cannot demand that they remain static, because the world changes. Societies have always evolved, and their cultures too, and one must sometimes be wary of the preservation debate which would try to freeze societies in an artificial timelessness. In summary, I think that everyone should be able to express and develop his or her culture, and also to change it. One can understand that people from these ethnic minorities want to wear jeans and watch television, as do those who campaign to limit the introduction of these consumer goods to minorities to which they do not belong, in the name of their cultural preservation.

Day 3, Wednesday 20th July

2.3.9. Applied Anthropology and Development Anthropology

[Grégoire Schlemmer]

You have expressed a strong interest in issues around development for the ethnic groups, and so we would like to suggest that we cover how anthropology can be useful in concrete terms in a developmental approach.

However, we should clarify at the outset that in anthropology there are no directly applicable methods. It’s at the same time a source of richness, and a difficulty, of our discipline that the fundamental principle is that all information must be seen in context. Also, when we speak of methodological tools, these are things that you must think about and pay attention to during your surveys.

Anthropologists accord huge importance to time. Conducting a survey requires a relationship of trust with the individuals with whom one is working, and it also demands that the society under examination get used to our presence and that we ourselves get used to it. In this sense, listening is the crucial point. This may seem obvious, but in many development projects the opinion and knowledge of the people affected by the project are not listened to sufficiently. It’s important to interest oneself in the daily life
of these people, not just the information that one is trying to obtain.

Your position and that of the person you’re talking to will influence the discussion that you will have. You must be conscious of this: are you perceived as a close companion or an external factor, as having superior status or that of an equal? In every case, to understand truly a society and the people with whom you are working, you will need time and patience, so as to win people’s confidence. Your questionnaire must, therefore, transform into a discussion, whilst taking everything you hear with a pinch of salt; we can reduce this to the formula “listening charitably and examining critically”.

Another important point is the existence, in all communities, of interest groups. Societies are not homogenous, not everyone has the same interests, and a survey often reflects a personal point of view.

Let’s take two concrete examples, linked to the issues of ethnic terminology which we discussed at length:

- Near my area of research, I recently observed a development project which aimed to support the development of raising pigs and chickens in Ko villages. To do a good job, those responsible had recruited an “interpreter of the Ko language” and they were amazed to find out that he had great difficulty in communicating within the village. But remember that Ko is a generic term used by the dominant population to refer to a great variety of groups, using languages which are sometimes mutually incomprehensible. Here is a basic example of the fact that, if you want to work with people, it’s useful to start by knowing what they call themselves! Of course, the managers of this development project had asked, and the villagers had replied that they were Ko, because they knew that that is how they were referred to externally. But if you show a bit of interest in who these people are, during a friendly discussion, they will very quickly tell you what they call themselves, and their feeling of not always having much in common with the other groups lumped in with them under the overall label Ko. Anyway, without an effective interpreter these discussions took place in the Lao language, and thus only the men were able to participate. A compromise proposal was put forward to develop the activities. After several months, those responsible for the project noted that in fact the activities had made very little progress. This was because no consideration had been given to the fact that it is women who are in charge of raising animals. Thus the plan had easily convinced the men to get the women to do extra work – but the women – who already had to fetch water, firewood, work in the fields, etc. – obviously didn’t see things the same way.

There are always relationships of domination within societies, and often women are more dominated than men. We must identify certain factors so as to delete these variables and free the survey from this problem. For example, note that what a woman says in a group meeting is sadly not necessarily reliable, but that you can have a friendly chat with her after the meeting, and pose the same questions again. You’re likely to get very different responses. The same goes for the local authorities: the viewpoint of a peasant village chief can be full of contradictions, depending on whether
you’re talking to the peasant, or the village chief.

- About ten years ago, my research led me to work on various aspects of the rural economy in Laos, notably hunting and the opium culture. So I had an interview with the village chief, but no useful information emerged out of the discussion. Then I put away my notebook and my tape recorder; we left our official roles behind us and went to eat together. I no longer had in front of me the representative of authority in the village, but a peasant; and, by questioning him in a way that implicitly assumed it was normal to hunt and cultivate opium, I was able to converse with him on these sensitive subjects.

However, in this case be careful, and remember that any information given to you unofficially can only be used anonymously! We have an ethical code to respect.

[Christian Culas]

We enter into the details of daily life, into personal relationships with the people we study. This is a very important dimension. Never forget that the quality of the data you gather in the field depends on the quality of the confidence your interlocutors have in you. The basic principle is to create a relationship of confidence, so that people will tell you things that they wouldn’t tell just anyone. On the other hand, you are responsible for this information, and you can’t divulge it no matter where to no matter whom.

Let’s take a step back and differentiate between applied anthropology and development anthropology.

Source: Author’s construction.
You’ll see on this figure a whole series of elements between the development project and the anthropological study: institutional actors, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), the beneficiaries of the project... The first element to define applied anthropology is that it responds to demand; the anthropologist responds to an order. You will note that the aim of applied anthropology is limited to the project beneficiaries, to local actors. The groups “administration, institutional actors” and “development professionals” are not the subject of the applied anthropological study. There are two main points to note here: the anthropologist is included in the project, and the project is above the anthropologist in terms of hierarchy; it gives orders and controls the work. This means, for example, that if the project managers have decided that the anthropological study is to be done in only two weeks in four villages, you don’t have the choice to say “Actually I’m staying six months to study ten villages”. Your task has been defined in advance, usually without asking your opinion and based on little knowledge of local reality. You are responding to orders without having been asked your opinion: this is “consulting”. These are the constraints, above all temporal and thematic ones, which are the main limits of this study. In addition, if you are asked to study the local introduction of an agricultural project, and you realize during the study that you need to survey at the district level too, as that is where the agriculture service provided training, you will receive the response “That’s not foreseen, the district level is outside the scope of our work, not included in the logical framework nor the terms of reference”.

**Scheme 5 The Object of Research in Development Anthropology**

Source: Author’s construction.
In this figure, the configuration is almost reversed. This time, anthropology is at the top and oversees the totality of the project. The position is very different because the anthropologist considers that the beneficiaries, local actors, donors, NGOs, the agents of development – which will act locally –, as well as the administration, will be the subject of the development anthropology study. One of the aims of this particular study will be the links between the administration and the donors, between the development actors and the beneficiaries. This kind of relationship between anthropological research and projects is still very rare in Việt Nam; this approach is much more developed in Africa, Thailand and Malaysia, for example.

Nguyễn Thị Hà Nhunge
From the perspective of applied anthropology, development professionals, donors and NGOs are therefore in charge, whereas in the second figure, they are the subjects of anthropological study?

[Christian Culas]
With a slight nuance: donors supporting studies in development anthropology are often exterior to the project, which allows for more freedom of action. Your question is very interesting because there are cases where an anthropologist is asked to put himself in the position of development anthropology: in certain particularly complex projects, he is asked to consider all the constituent parts.

[Grégoire Schlemmer]
The role of an anthropologist in development projects or in relation to the government can be that of messenger or translator: you need to get across the points of view and the opinions of people who are generally in a position of subordination or domination, towards those who want to make changes around them. You need to master two languages, that of the government or the NGOs and that of the peasants or the society with which you are working. This doesn't imply that you agree with one side or the other, but the simple fact of reporting and translating their expectations, what they are made up of but also how they are expressed and communicated, is already very valuable.

[Christian Culas]
To say development anthropology is a simplification; we’re really talking about anthropology of social change and development.

[Trần Hồng Hạnh]
How do you view the participation of anthropologists in development projects in Việt Nam? Have Vietnamese anthropologists already participated in development projects, acting as development anthropologists?

[Christian Culas]
I think this must have happened, but within limits. The initiative needs to be taken outside the project, because when the time comes for a project to be evaluated, it is naturally thought that some parts of it are unknown to the anthropologist, for example financing and the drafting of terms of reference. Another important dimension is to put together a history of the project: how was it designed? Was it a provincial, national or international initiative?

The three kinds of actors – institutions, administration, local beneficiaries – are subjects to study separately.
Anthropology examines individuals in a community who are evolving within different processes, and development projects are only one part of the dynamic of change – many works on development study development projects as if the world was made up of nothing but development projects! People do so many other things besides these projects: they take initiatives, they make innovations by themselves, without the need for any hand-holding. One must also understand how the project is embedded in a much wider and more complex context – one must look simultaneously at agriculture, social relations, rituals, ceremonies, modes of financing, etc.

Let’s take two examples to illustrate this:

- I was a consultant for the World Bank in Laos in 2000, in the province of Khammouane, on the hydro-electric dam project Nam Theun 2. The terms of reference included a four-week study, with the drafting of a report, in five forest villages of which the population (of the Brou ethnic group) was going to be displaced to “become” cultivators of irrigated rice fields. The team was made up of agronomists, foresters and biodiversity specialists. I was in charge of the anthropological part. My initial concern had been to make sense of the task: how was I to study five isolated mountain villages without road access in one month? I suggested to the Bank a three-month study in this region with a more rigorous and realistic report, but charging only one month’s consultancy fee. I received a categorical refusal. I had to fit in with the constraints given; the study was completed in only one month in four villages, not five as intended;

- Helped by the population, the first part of my work was to make a list of products gathered in the forest: roots, tubers, fruits, leaves, etc. Precise information was gathered on the cultural calendar and the use made of each product. The objective here was to understand the relationship of the population with its forest surroundings. My report to the Bank on this agro-ecological balance was unequivocal and can be summarized thus: this was an ethnic group which had perfect knowledge of its context; its nutritional needs were met. The shift to irrigated rice cultivation appeared nonsensical, and a key factor in the creation of deep economic and social imbalances.

Epilogue. Of the twenty-four pages of reporting delivered after this month of study, the World Bank extracted fewer than ten, which – taken out of context – allowed for every possible interpretation;

- What we are dealing with here is a striking example of research in applied anthropology, characterized by a form of consultancy: short study period, strictly defined tasks, lack of control over the final report;

- Second example: the Vietnamese national programme for poverty reduction in communes facing extreme difficulty in mountain areas and with ethnic populations – P135. This huge project started about fifteen years ago and is now in its third phase. The main objectives are infrastructure development, roads, dispensaries, schools, training of peasants, etc. – financing is both Vietnamese and international, especially from the World Bank. This project has given rise to numerous evaluation studies so as to understand better its impact, but very few studies look at the life and activities of the actors side-by-side with the project itself. Here, to my mind, is a restricted vision – at the least – of
the reality of the populations which we are studying;
- We are leading a study on development, within the anthropology of development and social change, in a commune of the province of Lào Cai. We are looking at the relationships, links and influences between the project and the outside world. These themes are new, although the project has existed for fifteen years, with dozens of evaluations already completed. This alternative viewpoint pushes into the foreground a classic academic and development problem: sectorization. If you work on issues of public health, education or agriculture, you must ask yourself about their relationship to the rest of society, how the population thinks about them and experiences them;
- Our project is embedded in an ethnic commune of the province of Lào Cai, and financed by the AFD. To be precise, we are working on the relationships between development projects, local dynamics and autonomous initiatives – like the choice of which crop system to use. For this study of development within the commune, we drafted the terms of reference; the involvement of the donor was minimal. The time input was programmed over two years (subject to renewal). Another striking difference; this was a scientific production.

Jimreivat Pattiya

Was there already a Vietnamese government development project at Lào Cai when you chose to study this region?

[Christian Culas]

That’s an interesting question, because in Việt Nam, in the mountainous areas, in ethnic villages, almost all villages have been covered by projects. The commune we are studying is Tay, a group which is mid-to-above-average among ethnic groups, in terms of the development of the province. We have identified no fewer than fifteen projects in the last ten years in the commune. Our aim was to find a commune where projects were well established, so as to compare them, but at the same time where actors were also developing their own local initiatives.

Stéphane Lagrée

So many projects in ten years – doesn’t that constitute a brake on development in itself?

[Christian Culas]

Some projects proposed the same activity, just a few years apart: for example water projects since 1995, of which four covered work on water supply in the same parts of the commune. Projects were started, only partially achieved, didn’t work, were redone… This underlined the poor coordination between projects over time. And it was quite clear that these activities did not form part of local history: they were seen as outside the reality and the memory of the population.

[Grégoire Schlemmer]

Development projects obviously have positive aspects, but one of their perverse effects is that they come across as gifts which people accept. How can you refuse a project when it has been decided in partnership with the provincial or district authorities? But the danger is that it will disrupt local initiatives, which is why it’s so valuable to work on innovations.
Examples are set out by Trần Hồng Hạnh:
- In the area of health: deliveries of sanitary equipment ill-suited to the needs of the population – unused delivery beds and bags (Lào Cai province);
- In the area of education: plans to supply schoolbags to students who lack textbooks and exercise pads;
- In the area of food security through training: multiplication of projects without taking account of local capacity (Nghệ An province).

[Grégoire Schlemmer]

I would take two points from this for our general argument: the value of an anthropologist is to try to understand why a project isn’t working; the aim of anthropology is to try to understand a society better before thinking about a project.

Trần Hoài

Since this morning we’ve talked a great deal about the position of anthropology in the development project. I’d like to know what is the role of the development anthropologist in the launch of the project, in the financing. Who finances the work done?

[Christian Culas]

That’s an excellent question, which is very hard to answer because there are few development organizations, like the World Bank or AFD, which agree to finance projects whose only output is studies. Our task is also to propose projects which are sufficiently clear, easy to understand and motivating, with potentially strong results.

Scheme 6  The Object of Research in Anthropology of Social Change and Development

Source: Author’s construction.
The anthropologist is an actor in a social group, he designs projects and their aims; he can take as the object of his study either a donor or a peasant.

[Grégoire Schlemmer]

I think the important thing for you is to be aware of certain keys to understanding during the time when a project is being put together, and even if you are doing applied anthropology, you take a little distance to assess your own actions.

The trainers divide the participants into three working groups:
- Group led by Grégoire Schlemmer: study of the text by Vanina BOUTE, “Names and Territoriality among the Phounoy, How State Makes Ethnic Group (Lao PDR)” – text available at tamdaoconf.com; critical examination of statistical tables: comparison of data on habitat, education and profession in the province of Phongsaly (Laos), classified by ethnic group;
- Group led by Trân Hồng Hạnh: local knowledge, customary law and development;
- Group led by Christian Culas: development of tourism in mountainous regions (district of Sa Pa) – text covering the social transformations linked to tourism among the Hmong, analysis of prejudices towards ethnic groups in articles from the Vietnamese press.

After having worked all day Thursday and the first part of Friday morning with a trainer, each group presented an initial summary so as to prepare the final report on Saturday. The presentations took up certain methodological points touched on during the week, based on practical work: taking a critical look at the notion of ethnic groups, construction and deconstruction of prejudices, etic/emic, etc.

Selective Bibliography

Reading (www.tamdaoconf.com)
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2.4. Training in Field Surveys in Socio-economics and Anthropology. Differentiation and Inequalities: Realities Perceived, Realities Experienced in the Commune of Tam Quan, Tam Đảo district

Christophe Gironde – IHEID, Pierre-Yves Le Meur – IRD, Olivier Tessier – ÉFEO, with the participation of Annuska Derks – University of Berne, and Mireille Razafindrakoto – IRD

The aim of this workshop is to familiarize participants with the methods and tools of socio-economic and anthropological research by undertaking a short study which will follow the main stages of the scientific approach, from the construction of the subject of research to the treatment and analysis of the data collected as well as reporting them. The survey is undertaken in the village of Đồng Bua which belongs to the commune of Tam Quan: 80% of the population of the village is from the San Dìu ethnic group and 20% Kinh.

The week’s programme will start by bringing the participants and trainers together with an introduction to the issue of inequality through three presentations:

“Inequalities in Việt Nam since Đổi Mới: how can they be discussed?”; the objective is to provide participants with a qualitative and quantitative insight into the polysemous concept of inequality(ies) and to shed light on the notions, indicators and evaluation criteria which will be used to set out a framework of enquiry for the field;

“Inequalities in Việt Nam: debate and explanations”; this presentation touches on the question of inequalities in the analysis of Việt Nam’s socio-economic development; the relativist debate on the growth and scale of inequalities; the different natural and cultural explanations, social factors and the role of the authorities;
“Gender and ethnic inequalities in Việt Nam: the contribution of quantitative studies”; we propose to open the debate from a quantitative angle to examine what “living conditions” surveys reveal about gender inequalities.

A synthesis of the interventions emphasizes the main notions, indicators and criteria mentioned, which are likely to be used during the field survey stage.

The subject of research “Social differentiation and inequalities”, which is common to the three working groups, is approached from three separate but complementary angles:

- The dynamics of differentiation of systems of productive activity since Đổi Mới – diversification and intensification of systems of production; development of non-agricultural activities; development of migration, both nearby and distant, and its impact on the domestic economy (changes to the division of work within the household, use of wage labour, resources invested in the village). Particular attention is paid to the process of differentiation between San Diu and Kinh households, and within the same household between men and women (group led by Christophe Gironde);

- Differentiation as a cultural construct – differentiation within various family units on the basis of gender, inter-generational relationships, hierarchies among siblings: access to education (schooling), division of work between genders, rules for the passing down (devolution) of inheritances, matrimonial practices (preferential alliances, village exogamy/endogamy), cultural practices (group led by Olivier Tessier);

- Inequalities of access to land as a product of regional and local history – the history of organized and spontaneous migratory movements; means of appropriation and exploitation of land before collectivization (criteria for San Diu/Kinh differentiation on the basis of ethnicity); level of intensity of collectivization according to the type of land (rice paddies, gardens, hill country, forest land); the criterion and mechanism for redistribution (distribution) of land at the start of the 1990s; undistributed agricultural land and adjudication processes; private right-of-use transactions after distribution and transformations of land use (agriculture, non-agricultural activities, habitat) (group led by Pierre-Yves Le Meur).

For three days (19-21 July), each group is subdivided into pairs to undertake surveys of the inhabitants of the village of Đồng Bua. The trainer follows and advises each pair in turn during the surveys, and can also participate. Follow-up continues each evening with a meeting to synthesize the day’s work; there too, the trainer joins the surveyors to examine the results obtained (reflect on their plausibility, possible interpretations, etc.).

Each group’s work, and the follow-up by trainers, is structured in four phases:

1) Identification and choice of concepts, the framework for analysis and theories and debates linked to research on key ideas: equality/equity, etc.;

2) Choice and mastery of survey techniques: assessment during interviews of the level of mastery of survey techniques (tools, methods, methodology), the level of interaction with those being surveyed, etc.;

3) Construction of the subject of research: the daily supervision of one or more pairs and the evening’s synthesis meeting allow
a dynamic approach to the construction of the subject of research, in line with the progress of fieldwork and the advances briefly recounted by each pair. The aim is to show the participants that the field survey stage includes simultaneous work in treating the information gathered. The elements collected and linked to one another allow the subject of research to evolve during the three days of survey: the pertinence of initial hypotheses and survey frameworks is evaluated during the daily meetings. Adopting this dynamic inductive approach, the day’s survey work and its treatment have a continuous influence over the research framework leading to the exploration of new concepts, new dimensions of differentiation, new questions;

4) Use of results: this is about exploiting the results of fieldwork by bringing together the three groups, to familiarize the participants with a cumulative approach.

One of the particular features of the workshop is thus to pool the participants’ data and analyses to form a synthesis and to include the trainer within the group as an active member, not just as an observer. The aim is from the very start of the training to prepare the general synthesis for the report in plenary session at the end of the week. The result is a real-time record of the participants’ awareness of their approach and their evolution over the days in the field: introspection and evaluation of their comprehension of survey method and techniques.

(Retranscription)

Day 1, morning of Monday 18th July

(Olivier Tessier)

I am very happy to be with you for the fourth consecutive year to lead this field workshop. This first day is divided into two distinct parts. This morning, two presentations/discussions on the theme of inequalities will be led by Christophe Gironde and Mireille Razafindrakoto. Then we’ll dedicate the afternoon to preparing our surveys, which we’ll kick off tomorrow in the field; we’ll also deal with the detail of division into groups and pairs.

One of the particular features of the workshop is thus to pool the participants’ data and analyses to form a synthesis and to include the trainer within the group as an active member, not just as an observer. The aim is from the very start of the training to prepare the general synthesis for the report in plenary session at the end of the week. The result is a real-time record of the participants’ awareness of their approach and their evolution over the days in the field: introspection and evaluation of their comprehension of survey method and techniques.
on the reduction of poverty, but there has been much less interest in inequalities (cf. recommended reading). Besides, field surveys show that people are very willing to talk about poverty. How many times have we heard: “How poor Việt Nam is!” during interviews, before understanding that the situation is more complex. People talk less easily and less spontaneously about inequalities. So it is important in the interviews that we’re going to undertake not to “creep” towards another subject of research; there are links between poverty and inequalities but they are two subjects which we must distinguish.

**Box 24 What Is Said about Inequalities?**

Viet Nam was an egalitarian country; not totally...
- Inequalities “at the outset” (start of Đổi mới).

Inequalities have risen since Đổi mới, but not much. Especially those of town-country, mountains-plains, North-South, Kinh-other population groups.
- Inequalities between populations of the same region?
- Inequalities remain slight (compared to other countries).
- What is most important is the reduction in poverty.

Source: Author’s construction.

It is often said that inequalities have increased with economic liberalization; now it turns out that Việt Nam before the Đổi Mới reforms wasn’t as egalitarian as is claimed (Gironde, 2009). We won’t be surveying past inequalities, but if we are talking about the evolution of inequalities, this begs the question: when did they start to increase?

It’s also often said that inequalities have increased, but only a little. This refers mainly to inequalities between the towns and the countryside, the North and the South of Việt Nam, between the mountainous regions and the plains and between the Kinh and the ethnic minorities. There is far less work on the inequalities between categories of population within one commune, one village or even one family. These inequalities will be the subject of our surveys.

**Box 25 How Do We Explain Inequalities?**

Natural and cultural explanation:
- Regions far from towns and markets, mountainous regions, with no/little irrigation;
- Some populations have values and practices which are less “favourable” to development.

- Some regions / some population groups develop less rapidly.

An individual’s development depends on his/her capital (finance, knowledge, experience...).

Source: Author’s construction.
How can we explain inequalities and their evolution? One kind of explanation points to natural and cultural factors. Poverty is thus explained by the distancing/isolation of certain zones in relation to urban areas, markets, focuses of investment; these zones are also “far” from the main preoccupations of the State, which would not implement public policies. One illustration of this kind of explanation is the opposition between hill areas, unsuitable for irrigation for example, and the delta zones, e.g. those of the Red River and the Mekong, which are close to the political and economic centres of the country. These same regions have accumulated natural and cultural conditions which are not very favourable to development. This point has been enlarged upon by Christian Culas in the plenary sessions and you have of course understood the debate which exists on the values, beliefs, practices and choices of populations which lead to the affirmation that ethnic groups are culturally less suited to development.

The second kind of explanation is social, not natural and cultural. This kind of explanation is particularly concerned with the social relationships between different categories of the population. The question is to know whether the development of some categories works against, or limits, the development of other categories? Agricultural development by the best-performing producers can for example raise the price of land, which then becomes too expensive for poorer segments of the population.

We look therefore at the relationships and interactions between different categories of population: producers versus traders, lenders versus borrowers, “bosses” versus wage labour.

**Box 26 Which Explanations for the Inequalities?**

“Social” explanations:
1. Relationships and interactions between households;
2. Role of the State (public policies, relationships with local authorities).

Relationships: division of earnings (producers and traders, boss and workers).
Interactions: redistribution of activities with change.
Redistribution of resources (land and land prices).
The role of local authorities in granting access to land (adjudications), credit, educational grants, etc.

Source: Author’s construction.

With development, activities do not only increase (in volume), but are also transformed. For example in the early 1990s in Hưng Yên province, going to buy produce in Hà Nội to resell it in the province was very lucrative; this trade was done by constant motorbike journeys to and fro. Then business developed with the opening of more and more shops in the rural communes of Hưng Yên; the owners of these shops had also bought...
motorbikes, then started going to Hà Nội to get stock. They no longer needed motorbike-traders. Then the industrial enterprises, which sell beer, cement, fertilizers, etc. started to provide stock for the rural shops of Hưng Yên. The traders who earned their living going to and fro to Hà Nội or Hải Phòng had still less to do. So households develop new activities, which sometimes replace the activities of other households. We must study this kind of phenomenon. Very often, people say to you in interviews: “I do this today, but before I used to do that”. Your task is to ask yourself why the activity has changed. We’re also interested in the process of redistribution of productive resources, which I will illustrate with the example of changes in the price of land. Finally, we will look at the role of the local authorities which play a major role in access to land, credit, study grants or tax exemption. It is thus also a question of the place of the State, public policies and their effects on different categories of the population.

We must distinguish between inequalities of outcomes, and inequalities of opportunity. Often, when you start an interview, you are interested in cultures, areas and outputs: it’s about the productive outcomes of the exploitation of family plots of land. Peasants will say to you “I only grow rice”, others “I don’t grow rice at all any more, I only grow fruit”. These explanations allow you to get close to inequalities of outcome or performance (output from land, weight of livestock raised, income from agricultural activity). Beyond income, which is a fundamental indicator of economic results, we mustn’t forget the inequalities of possession: inequalities of inheritance like the value of a house or the size of the area under cultivation.

Inequalities of access to resources can be understood as far as land is concerned, for example, by asking the question: what area of agricultural land did families receive from the 1994 distribution (according to the 1993 land distribution law)? What categories of land (high, middle, low) did they receive? Have they exchanged plots of land since then? We should also look at inequalities of access
to credit, to education, to information (who knows about prices?) and to markets (who knows where to sell a particular product? Who doesn’t know the market where a product will sell easily or at a better price?). Let’s take a few illustrations based on research conducted in the late 1990s in Hưng Yên.

Some of the families surveyed explained with pride, “Rice is finished, we don’t do rice any longer, it doesn’t yield anything: we grow fruit, medicinal plants, flowers,” and others told us the opposite. We therefore grouped households according to the area they used to cultivate different plants:

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<td>78%</td>
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Source: Author’s construction.

Some producers have changed little (group 4 and 5) and the twice-yearly rice crop covers 80% of their cultivated land. Others, in contrast, the most advanced (group 2), have launched into fruit production, sometimes alongside other crops. Their incomes were clearly higher because rice earned on average six times less than fruit trees:
This is about inequalities of outcome. The same analysis could be done for livestock, trade, etc.

Let’s look now at inequalities of access to resources. At that time, all peasants had received land under the implementation of the law on land redistribution of December 1993. Land under adjudication, which was a sort of land reservoir, was distributed by the drawing of lots.

**Table 64**  
*Inequalities of Outcome. Earnings from Crop Systems by Different Kinds of Exploitation (Commune of Tân Dân, 1997)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Annual income per hectare</th>
<th>Area cultivated</th>
<th>Annual income from crops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group 2</td>
<td>$2,761</td>
<td>3,560 m²</td>
<td>$983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td>$3,866</td>
<td>1,190 m²</td>
<td>$460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 4</td>
<td>$1,158</td>
<td>1,580 m²</td>
<td>$183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 5</td>
<td>$861</td>
<td>2,380 m²</td>
<td>$205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$US dollars.  
Source: Author’s construction.

**Table 65**  
*Inequalities of Access to Resources. Village of Dương Trạch, Commune of Tân Dân - 1997*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% having land under adjudication</th>
<th>Average area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>2 sào</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 2</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>3 sào</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 5</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>0.8 sào</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sào: 360 m².  
Source: Author’s construction.
The differences in attributed surface areas are, at the very least, surprising. Here we find inequalities of access to resources, because not everyone receives the same cultivable area from the adjudication system. All peasants classed in group 2 benefit from plots under adjudication; in group 5, only 35% do. Thus not everyone has access in the same way to land, which causes an inequality in access to resources.

Bùi Thị Hồng Loan

I’d like to share my experience of the land issue in South Việt Nam. In the Red River Delta, “good workers” have lots of land – all of us here understand this is oversimplifying things, we’re talking here about producers who earn a higher income than the average or the majority of producers. I want to come back to this characteristic in relation to research I undertook in the Mekong Delta in a Khmer-populated area. The “good workers” didn’t have more land than the others, and some didn’t have any land at all. They rented land from those who had large areas but didn’t work. There, private land occupied more area than public. There hadn’t been a public policy of redistribution. Originally, it was people from the North who migrated and worked with the initial settlers to clear the land and establish villages. In this way, large parcels of land were created, and their owners lent money to smaller plot-holders and rented them rice paddies. Natural disasters and poor climatic conditions often led smallholders to borrow from money-lenders; sometimes, unable to repay, they lost all their land.

[Christophe Gironde]

The South of the country has a very different agrarian history. We are not comparing here an explanation which is valid for the Red River – which will be different at Tam Đảo – and an explanation valid for the South. The processes which you have described are factors which increase inequalities. As you have very clearly explained, it’s not a question of “worse peasants,” but of families who have worse conditions of access to resources: little or no capital, recourse to money-lenders. The case of money-lenders gives a very good illustration of the interactions between actors. How did this interaction between lenders and borrowers evolve? If interest rates rise consistently for 20 years, logically inequalities should increase. If interest rates fall – because banks develop and sources of credit multiply – inequalities may diminish. The point that you raise is a good example of the range of explanations which can be offered for the same phenomenon. One could give a natural explanation: “In the South, one must clear the land, it doesn’t favour cultivation. Climate conditions are poor, etc.” One could also give a cultural explanation: “Perhaps Khmers are not such good farmers, or perhaps they have ways of behaving and beliefs which explain that...” But the explanation is really social, because it rests on the relationship between families which came from the North and which interacted with the populations of the South. We could also cite the role of the State which, enacting public policies on credit, might perhaps have changed the nature of relationships between borrowers and money-lenders.

Virginie Diaz

To what extent are inequalities of outcome really inequalities of opportunity? The failure of some producers to diversify their crops may be explained by the inaccessibility of the market or the lack of information about changes in the prices of fruit and vegetables.
Two kinds of inequality must be distinguished, but they are linked to each other. Productivity outcomes, income for example, determine the opportunities each person has: the families which earn the most see better opportunities opening up, for example in developing non-agricultural activities which will earn even higher incomes than agricultural activities.

Trần Văn Kiên

I’m interested in economic and agrarian history. When one starts an economic activity in a locality, one is initially interested in its performance, its success. That’s why it’s essential to define precisely the number of beneficiaries, and categorize the population so as to define the group which will perform best in using land or credit. I wonder if there isn’t a contradiction in your analysis because when one starts a project in a locality, it can’t benefit everyone. The amount of credit or land available is determined and limited, not everyone can benefit from public policies. How can we resolve this contradiction?

[Christophe Gironde]

I’m not thinking from a “project” perspective and I’ve no comment on the choice to give credit to everyone. I understand the direction of your remarks but I think they belong to another debate.

[Annuska Derks]

You have presented the differences between inequalities of income and those of resources, in relation particularly to land distribution. A typology has become clear. Could you give us more detail about who these groups are? Are they families? What is happening within each of these groups? Who has access to what? Who profits? Who makes the decisions?

[Christophe Gironde]

During fourteen months of field surveys I interviewed about 180 village households. Households were grouped according to the transformation of their activities. Group 1, which doesn’t appear here, was made up of households which have stopped cultivating or raising livestock, i.e. non-agricultural households. At the other end of the spectrum, group 5 is those households which practise agriculture and where at least one of the two adults spends part of the year outside the village, working in town for example. However, I have not systematized the analysis within households: who makes the decisions, who receives what part of the earnings, who controls the earnings, who spends them? The surveys allow us to provide some elements of a response as regards the internal economy of the household, concerning activities – who goes to the rice paddy, to work in town or to trade on the Chinese border, etc. I chose the household as my unit of observation, not the different people who form it.

Hoàng Thị Quyên

I have a question on unequal relationships which affect trading between peasants and middlemen. The producers never see a large part of the earnings from production; the middlemen take the “largest slice of the cake”. What solutions could there be to boost the position of peasant producers?

[Christophe Gironde]

I would place this issue within the social explanation, as a relationship of force. I have no solution. Some unions of producers have
been started, as cooperatives or in private, informal groupings, but their success is limited.

[Pierre-Yves Le Meur]

I'd like to make a contribution to bring this part of the session to a close.

My comment is in fact a methodological point. Christophe has given us a framework for the analysis of the issue of inequalities which is made up of several types of explanations, several ways of understanding inequalities. These are the questions which researchers ask themselves. At the same time, it's important to translate the questions which we ask ourselves into the questions which we're going to ask others. They are not the same thing. Our workshop aims to do fieldwork, surveys. We must keep in mind this distinction, and use it to help categorize our questions.

Questions about "how". It's a question of getting people to recount events, their life history as an individual and in a family, everything which created the conditions for something to happen at a certain point: they got rich, poor; they changed their activities. These questions can be asked at the individual level, that of the life history of a person. But often, as Christophe emphasized, issues of inheritance, possessions, etc., lead the analysis to take a longer-term view – one or more generations – and to focus on a unit bigger than the individual (residential unit, extended family, social network, etc.).

Questions about "why". People tell you why something happened, why they made a certain choice, why they became rich, poor. These people, like you researchers, have theories on the issue. It's about the way in which people understand what is happening to them and what they do. Often, this questioning leads to a third level of questions, bringing with it a moral or conventional judgment on inequalities – giving to some extent a moral interpretation of the "why".

The last point relates to Annuska's questions. Finally, there's the "who": at what level do we place our questioning? Are we examining individuals, households or wider social networks? Who are the "actors" – individual and collective – affected by this issue of inequalities?

When we touch on inequalities, we speak of content, concepts, approaches; the methodological issue is essential – how can we access/produce information, what questions can we ask, and to whom, how should we set out hypotheses and fieldwork, etc.

[Olivier Tessier]

I'd like to welcome warmly our two speakers for the second part of this morning: Mireille Razafindrakoto who has agreed to speak at this workshop on issues of gender, and Annuska Derks who will help us to analyze the morning's interventions.

2.4.1. Inequalities and Discrimination Due to Gender. The Quantitative Approach: Examples of Indicators

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

First of all, I'd like to thank Olivier, Christophe and Pierre-Yves for having invited me. It's a very great honour to be able to participate in this field workshop; I have been participating in the JTD for five years and finally here I am
at the heart of this original training course. Unfortunately, I cannot participate in the fieldwork but I will listen very carefully to the results which will be presented at the day-long reporting session.

The team asked me to come and talk about how to approach the issue of inequalities and discrimination due to gender in quantitative analyses. The value of my being here is also that I can discuss the complementarity between quantitative and qualitative approaches. A growing number of “quantitativist” researchers are aware of the limits of their approach, which sparks their interest in qualitative analyses and in the quali-quant approach which links the two methodologies.

The indicators presented in this session are often used to examine situations at national level, notably in the urban context. These situations do not necessarily correspond with the local realities of the rural world, and the indicators need to be adapted. The ways in which they are adapted from urban to local rural context could perhaps be the basis for a discussion – how can these indicators be used at a more local level?

Two levels of gender inequality need to be defined: inequalities within a household or a family – intra-household inequalities – and inequalities from a wider point of view, at the level of a village, a locality or a town. It is more difficult to analyze intra-household inequalities using quantitative approaches.

My presentation will essentially focus on some indicators which cover measurable characteristics, phenomena which we can quantify to analyze inequalities. These indicators are measured using statistical surveys of large samples of individuals. I’m going to present indicators and results by way of illustration, without trying to explain “how” or “why” we obtained these results. I’ll stick to making observations. The aim is to stimulate questions.

**Type of Indicators Used**

- 4 types / categories of indicators:
  - Education (% having reached secondary level among those aged 25 or over);
  - Labour market (activity rate; unemployment rate; rate of under-employment, etc.);
  - Participation/representation (% of women in positions of power/decision-making);
  - Health (access to care).

**Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), UN**

**OBJECTIVE 3: Promote gender equality and empower women:**
- Ratio of girls to boys in education;
- Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector;
- Women’s participation in parliament (presence at the highest levels of government).

**OBJECTIVE 5: Improve maternal health:**
- Maternal mortality rate;
- Access to reproductive health (access to prenatal care, number of adolescent pregnancies, family planning).

Source: Author’s construction.
The first indicator covers education – for example, the percentage of individuals from a given place (locality, village) who attained a certain level of schooling (secondary, for example). The second group of indicators which we try to use when we deal with the question of inequalities, and particularly those of gender, is linked to the labour market – the activity rate, the unemployment rate and the rate of under-employment for example. The third group is comprised of indicators of participation and representation – the percentage of women in positions of leadership. The fourth group is a range of indicators of access to healthcare.

These four groups of indicators relate to two of the Millennium Development Goals; those which refer to gender inequalities, which were presented in the plenary sessions. I won't go into detail on these two goals; instead we'll focus on concrete examples. I'm particularly going to present to you all the indicators which aim to measure inequalities in the labour market using quantitative approaches. This is a subject which I am working on in Việt Nam. The indicators can be grouped into four main areas:

- The first concerns the different forms of discrimination in terms of access to employment. It's a question of analyzing the constraints to entering the labour market and accessing certain kinds of employment: do women have as many opportunities as men to start, and continue, working in different kinds of employment?
- The second covers the notion of informality. The idea is that the usual indicators don't allow us to measure the precarious nature of some jobs, their vulnerability. The same kind of job can be formal or informal. But for jobs in the informal sector, the level of social protection is less and, in general, working conditions are more difficult – firing people is easier, no working premises, etc.;
- The third looks at inequalities of income. We'll come back to this question because in Việt Nam we often encounter a problem with identifying income in family businesses;
- The last area, relatively recent, is linked to working hours, and the balance between private life and professional life for women. This is a new approach in quantitative surveys: do women manage to find a balance between professional life and private life?

I'd like to underline a final point, also relatively recent, which touches on the concept of job satisfaction. To what extent is a person, man or woman, satisfied with his or her employment? This issue is important because it is linked to inequalities and discriminations of gender in job selection: some women do not have access to certain jobs. Are the jobs which they do perform the result of a free choice or a more or less restricted one?

As an illustration, I will take examples from Việt Nam of each of the four above-mentioned areas.
In 2009, we can see a difference in the activity rate according to gender: it’s about 70% for women and about 80% for men. Still making observations, let’s note that the level of activity in rural areas is higher than in urban areas, but the difference is unfavourable to women. To be precise, and to give a quick definition, any person with an activity which earns an income or a benefit is considered “active” – so it’s not only formal jobs – and we also add all those seeking work.

We can see here that the rate of multiple activities, in a rural or urban context, is higher for women. In the quantitative approach, this indicator is often used to evaluate conditions in the labour market. We consider that those people undertaking multiple activities are, most often, those who haven’t managed to find a principal source of employment which earns them enough money.
This table clearly shows a difference in status between men and women: far fewer women have salaried jobs. How can we interpret this observation? Is this the result of a choice? Do women prefer to work within a family-based production unit – for themselves or in the role of a family worker? But this observation can also be explained, particularly in the urban context, by less access for women to protected jobs.

Generally, worldwide, the rate of informal employment, or non-registration with social security, is higher for women. Amazingly, in Việt Nam this trend is not seen: the proportion of informal jobs, more precarious and vulnerable, is similar for men and women – around 80%.

**Figure 52  Employment Status in Việt Nam in 2007 and 2009**

![Graph showing employment status in Việt Nam in 2007 and 2009](image)

This observation could lead us to say that there are no differences between men and women in terms of working conditions in Việt Nam. However, a finer analysis of the quality of informal jobs underlines a disadvantage for women – they perform an activity in a fixed location less often than men – they are more often in the street. Besides, judging from our analyses of inequality of income, Việt Nam follows the general trend: women earn less from their informal activities, with a male-female gap similar to that seen in other countries. At global level, the figure most often put forward is an average income 30% lower for women.

One of the advantages of quantitative approaches is that one can identify and evaluate the influence of different factors on these income inequalities: level of education, type of employment, hours, etc. We saw that a first level of questions emerged from observations – men and women don’t do the same kinds of jobs: what are the reasons for this? When women have access to the same jobs, do incomes remain unequal? What share of the income gap might be due to differences in education, types of job, of business, of sector? If we control these factors – i.e. in simulating a case where one man and one woman have the same level of education, exactly the same jobs – a residual gap nevertheless remains, which we have calculated on average to be 18% – formal and informal sectors together. This residual gap probably corresponds to the effect of discrimination. I must point out that people working in a family business who are not paid are not taken into account in these calculations. Another interesting result is that these discriminations are weaker in the formal sector – like public sector jobs; for the informal sector, the residual gap rises to 22%.

I wanted to show you the following graph on Sweden, which is considered as one of the most egalitarian countries in the world on gender issues.

### Table 68 Informal Employment and Gender in Việt Nam (in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job</th>
<th>Written contract</th>
<th>Wage slip</th>
<th>Paid holidays</th>
<th>Fixed premises</th>
<th>Fixed salary</th>
<th>Hours worked</th>
<th>Income*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All employment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaried work only</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Taken from: Cling et al. (2010), *The Informal Sector in Vietnam: A focus on Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City*.  
Note: the probability of benefitting from a written contract in formal employment is 1% higher for women than for men, but the probability is 34% lower in an informal job.  
* includes unpaid workers.  
Sources: LFS2007, GSO; authors’ calculation.
In this illustration, the idea is to show the necessity of using different types of indicators to deepen and refine a result. The gap between the rates of activity of men and women in Sweden is not very high, compared with other countries, and seems stable.

But if we look at the number of hours worked in the week – part-time/full-time – the profile is radically different according to gender. The percentage of women who work part-time is much higher. Despite changes over time, notably a rising rate of activity for women, part-time work remains much more prevalent among women.
This other graph, based on an intra-household indicator in Madagascar, illustrates the “double day” of women. If we look only at productive activities, the women have on average fewer working hours in the week. But if we add hours spent on domestic duties, the timetable is much more heavily loaded. Even though men are completing a few more “productive” hours than women, the latter spend almost twice as long in domestic activities.

These are observations, but it is important to ask oneself if the differences observed are endured or chosen; I will thus finish my presentation by looking at level of satisfaction.
This graph comes from a survey undertaken on over 170,000 households at the national level in Việt Nam. It seems that women are more satisfied than men. Qualitative surveys completed the study, and they show that despite the more precarious and more difficult conditions in the informal sector, many women give priority to their independence – it’s easier for them to manage their time.

In general, in Việt Nam, but also elsewhere, groups which are less socially dominant always declare themselves to be more satisfied with their jobs than others. This observation raises a question: are there other kinds of advantages which are non-measurable (which the classic indicators of quality of employment cannot take into account?) Or are we seeing a self-limitation of aspirations, a phenomenon of “attrition” of preferences? You will be better placed, thanks to qualitative surveys, to answer these questions.

[Olivier Tessier]

On the internalizing of domination, I would direct participants to the work of Pierre Bourdieu.

[Annuska Derks]

It is important to remind ourselves that gender issues point us back to the relationship between women and men. Another important point is the difference in access to the labour market and in income. The points of comparison between different societies – Việt Nam, Madagascar, Sweden – are particularly interesting to me. Comparison is a methodology which helps us to see and understand better, in this particular case, the differences and similarities in gender
relationships in different societies. This is an aspect which can be closely linked to Pierre-Yves’ ideas on methodology: the "how", the “why”, and the "who" could also be relevant for this workshop – how can we understand the particular characteristics of Tam Đảo, and its similarities with other regions of Việt Nam, and of Việt Nam with other societies?

[Christophe Gironde]

As regards work and what relates to the hardship of work, these indicators are extremely pertinent for our week of training. On the gender issue, one can ask: do men and women have the same activities? Are there differences in hardship according to gender?

Dỗ Bích Diễm

Your presentation emphasizes a significant gap between the urban and rural contexts. Can't we put forward as a hypothesis that in isolated areas, like Tam Đảo, the gap would be even wider?

As regards education: do inequalities of access to education have an impact on indicators like access to the labour market, representation of women in the structures of power or access to public services? I participated in a project led by a foreign NGO in the hilly districts of Điện Biên province and there was a form of gender discrimination in access to education. Moreover, the language barrier could possibly create inequalities in access to education.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

I wanted to show this indicator of satisfaction, which is more and more referred to, and which is gradually developing. The issue of job satisfaction is simple because we trust the individual’s perception: “All things considered, are you satisfied or not with the job that you do?” It’s a classic question today, which has been asked in different countries worldwide. What is interesting is that we are going beyond the objective indicators to give more weight to individuals’ perception. These individuals doubtless take account of objective criteria – income, hours, hardship, etc. – but this is a way of including a complementary point of view. Of course, many studies show that levels of satisfaction are linked to income, but income certainly doesn’t explain everything.

[Vũ Phương Nga]

Is there a concrete definition of satisfaction or non-satisfaction: what are the elements of satisfaction? For some, high income will be a reason for satisfaction, for others it will be linked more to a promotion, for example.

As regards field surveys, I think that the group which will work on the theme “Gender differentiation as a social construct” should first understand the concept of social norms.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

I think your remark on the key role of education is very important: having less easy access to education obviously has an impact on access to different kinds of jobs. But at the same time I'd like to point out a vicious circle: if at the same educational level and with the same job, a man earns more than a woman, that will not encourage the education of girls – in whom parents will therefore invest less.

[Christophe Gironde]

In the discussion, the importance of differences in perception was emphasized. I've often observed that women described certain events more negatively – and that runs counter to what Mireille presented.
An example from my own experience is a man who returned from his work making bricks during my interview with his wife. He was satisfied with his working day but his wife on the other hand emphasized the hardship of his working life. It’s therefore important to take into account people’s perceptions, but also the way in which they communicate with interviewers.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

We have also observed, through quantitative surveys, that women are most often much more critical than men. This begs the question: are women more critical of general situations, and more flexible when they describe their own situation?

Nguyễn Thị Thu Thủy

In the Cham community, women play the major part in economic decisions and the education of children. They are the heads of the family. However, surveys prove that they endure significant inequalities, even while their index of satisfaction is high. For the Hoa, where patriarchy is the rule, women live in a very unequal situation but they remain satisfied, they accept it. From an outsider’s point of view, there are clear inequalities, but from the inside, in both cases, the women are satisfied.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

Your remark clearly demonstrates the complexity of gender inequalities. One must simultaneously take into account observations and references based on objective facts, but also the perceptions of the people being surveyed, and of the way these people communicate their points of view. There are in fact constraints on talking about something which is not very pleasant to experience: people can declare themselves satisfied when this is not the case. These two approaches are complementary: the indicator of satisfaction is not sufficient to analyze the reality.

[Pierre Yves Le Meur]

I just wanted to add a few words on the contradictions we can observe between a series of apparently objective indicators and the testimony of actors, which can appear to diverge. As regards the question asked, it’s obvious that it’s not a question of choosing between the two: there aren’t indicators which are false and testimonies which are more correct, or vice versa. It isn’t a choice. Surveys are useful for two things: to provide answers to the questions asked, but also to enrich the questions: we note a contradiction and we ask other questions. The answers can be complex. The contradictions observed often link back to the issue of social norms, i.e. the definition of what is acceptable or not in terms of inequalities: “The situation isn’t happy, but at the same time I accept it because it is socially acceptable, it conforms to the norms which seem to me to be just about right”. They could represent something else, the influence of the survey situation for example, where a person tends to tell the interviewer what he or she wants to hear. Divergences can also mean that the indicators were perhaps not the right ones. In this case, one must revise the framework of the survey. To conclude, these apparent contradictions always generate questions to deal with. This is the way to react to these contradictions.
The discussion of perceptions, social norms and the degree of satisfaction despite inequalities demonstrate that the researcher has to be very aware that there are differences between what a person says, what he does and what he thinks. It’s obviously very difficult to determine this in short-term surveys, because one can only clarify these differences through longer qualitative surveys.

Day 1, Afternoon of Monday 18th July

This afternoon is dedicated to the preparation of the field surveys. On the initial programme, as printed in the 2011 JTD files given out to you, there was to be a presentation on the region of Tam Đảo and its foothills. That presentation will now be given tomorrow morning by the authorities of the commune of Tam Quan, who wanted to welcome us and present the region and the village where we will undertake our surveys.

Pierre-Yves and I will make a link between this morning’s presentations and the concepts and methodological tools which we will use to put our survey into practice. Then we will divide the workshop into three groups, and each will prepare a first draft of the survey framework which we will use. We will rejoin each other at the end of the afternoon and – as we do every year – present some interview techniques to you.

2.4.2. Synthesis: Concepts and Methodology

Christophe Gironde underlined that inequality and poverty are different concepts. Poverty is a state: one is poor in relation to a social or economic norm. The concept of inequality is a process of change: either inequalities are growing, or they are diminishing. It is possible to quantify this relationship of inequality: the lowest salary is twenty times lower than the highest salary. We can establish a relationship. It’s been clearly stated that inequality is not solely economic; it’s also an inequality of access to healthcare, education, etc. The concept of inequality can only exist if it is placed in a social and economic context, in a given society. One cannot talk of absolute inequalities.

I would like to emphasize the concept of equity. Equity is a perception. Real male/female equality is when we have equal incomes: a man earns 100, a woman earns 100. Equity is to believe, or recognize, via social or economic standards, that it is normal and acceptable that a man earns 150 and a woman earns 100. We understand that equity is a concept of social norms, there is little economics in the notion. We no longer seek real, quantitative equality, but what is acceptable, or not, in a society. For example, in many peasant societies, but also again in Europe recently, the fact that girls didn’t go to primary school was equitable, even if boys went up to secondary. It was equitable because the role of a woman, her position and at the end of the day her future, was marked out and was such that she didn’t need a higher education. This situation would now be considered absolutely inequitable and unacceptable. All that is subjective, it’s a
question of perception, and I believe that this element must form part of our survey grids.

Pierre-Yves Le Meur

The aim of this transitional session is to set out a methodological framework.

We are at the stage where we need to translate the questions which we’re asking ourselves as researchers – the problem – into questions which we will ask to the survey population. We must also construct indicators: in other words, what will we observe, what will we ask? In our case, they are mainly qualitative indicators.

I want to return to the distinction made this morning between the questions on the “how” and those on the “why”. If we ask general questions on the “why”, people tend to set out their “local theory”: “that’s how it’s done here”, instead of telling us truthfully how it happened for them. With questions on the “how”, we’re interested in processes and trajectories. In a certain way, people want to tell you about their life. Obviously, we don’t ask people to tell us about their life in general, but to focus on certain precise subjects. If we’re working on land issues, we will try for example to understand the phases and the modalities as regards access to land (or its abandonment): acquisition by inheritance, purchase, redistribution, expropriation, etc. At this stage, what’s interesting is to identify key moments, important events which had an impact on the trajectory of a life – a disaster which caused the person to enter into a cycle of impoverishment, or in contrast access to land thanks to the land law, which might have started a virtuous circle. The identification of these events allows us to move on to our questions about the “why” on a slightly more solid empirical basis: what happened to make the person make this decision?

The levels of explanation gathered during the interview can be contradictory or different from each other. You have to absolutely take them all into consideration.

Let’s take an example. An unhappy event takes place, and the people could tell you “I couldn’t get medicine” or “We were the victims of an attack by a jealous neighbour” or “I had no money. I had to sell a plot of land to buy medicine”. Here we have three levels of explanation and none of them is false, none of them is truer than another. If we take the grid of explanations that Christophe presented this morning, when he said “There are two kinds of explanation of inequalities, those which are cultural/natural and those which are more relational”, we can see that asking questions on the “why” allows us to grasp both these levels of explanations. So it is important to separate the questions on “how” from those on the “why” because it’s that distinction which allows us to show certain contradictions. On this basis, we can return to the interviewees, bring the “why” and the “how” together, and go further in our survey.

Besides, the answers to the “why” yield explanations but also judgments, “it’s acceptable, it’s unacceptable”. These two levels must be differentiated when you analyze your interviews – but often the distinction is made even during the interview. The judgment which people make on their own actions or situations is very important because for them it is explanatory, and as a result it allows the researcher to “enter” their logic.

In relation to all these questions, conflicts are events which are particularly interesting
in surveys. In one way they are a mode of expression, a way of understanding a situation and saying something about it: “I enter a conflict because I am not happy”; in another way, they force people to explain themselves. To enter into a conflict people justify themselves, and suddenly, the principles which guide their action become more “visible” or explicit. And then there is of course another important element in the sequence of conflict in relation to our subject of inequalities: examining the outcome of conflicts. Are conflicts always arbitrated in the same way, to the benefit of the same individuals? Who resolves conflicts? These are very important factors of inequality.

Let’s come back to the question of “who”. You must clearly situate the person you are talking to – in terms of generation, ethnicity, gender, etc., but also whether that person has a diversified economic position, political responsibilities, etc. The aim is to obtain a kind of socio-political identity card. From a horizontal perspective, individuals are integrated in wider units: a household, a lineage and/or in networks or larger entities; from a vertical point of view, they are part of a family trajectory – a shift in the direction of accumulation can come from the preceding generation.

Final point, ethnicity. I believe it’s very important to maintain this criterion in the wider question of origins. The fact of belonging to a group, whether it’s an ethnic group, a lineage, a gender or a nation, determines (and legitimizes) in particular access to some kinds of resources; origin can be considered as a kind of “second order” resource, in the sense that is determines access to other resources.

The trainers proceed to form three groups following two main criteria: research subject/discipline and language – five participants do not speak Vietnamese, which raises the question of interpretation.

Once the groups are formed, the participants establish their own interview framework. For the group working on land issues, for example, the survey framework breaks down as follows:

**Initial questions on the social identity of the surveyed person, general situation in terms of land use;**

**Trajectory leading to establishment or expropriation of the surveyed person and his/her ancestors;**

**Collectivization: situation of the person and village lands;**

**Decollectivization: situation of the person and the village;**

**Changes to land assets after decollectivization;**

**Land use and changes to that use (impact on assets, the household's land-use strategy, agricultural diversification;**

**Status of land (formal registration or not, and the effects of this);**

**Affected, or not, by public policies on land.**
2.4.3. Recap on Survey Techniques: Conducting Interviews

[Olivier Tessier]

My intervention is structured around six distinct points. They are the product of my experience of previous JTD workshops, when we – with various different trainers over the years – supervised the pairs of participants in the field.

Olivier Tessier introduces elements of survey techniques presented during the workshop in 2010: a common basis for every interview, the two levels of recording data, canvas (framework) of the questions and research avenues, the shift from the researcher’s question to the field question, attitude during the interview, external intervention. For these: we refer the reader to our previous work: Bourdeaux, Pannier and Tessier (2011), Training in Surveying Methods and Fieldwork Practices in Socio-anthropology: “Issues, Tension and Conflict Surrounding Land Appropriation and Use” in Lagrée (scientific editor) Op. cit., pp. 249-283. Also available on the AFD and EFEO websites and at www.tamdaoconf.com.

Days 2, 3, 4

The workshop moves to the village of Đồng Bua in the commune of Tam Quan to conduct the surveys prepared during the training. Interviews with the villagers are done in pairs; each trainer spends his day following one of the sub-groups which he is in charge of.

Day 5, Friday 22nd July

[Olivier Tessier]

On return to the hill station, the workshop divides into three groups to finalize the synthesis work which was started on the Thursday afternoon in the foothills, around predefined axes of analysis: dynamics of the differentiation of systems of productive activities since Đổi Mới (group 1); differentiation as a cultural construct (group 2); inequalities of access to land as a product of regional and local history (group 3).

Our main objective is to prepare the report-back for Saturday. I would like to remind you of the overall framework which this field survey fits into. Then each of the three groups will present the main results obtained on this issue “Inter-ethnic and gender differentiations and inequalities”, possibly adding other kinds of inequalities which became apparent in the field. At the end of each presentation we will take a few moments to ask for comments from the other groups, so as to bring together data and interpretations. These interventions must be targeted either on new information or on information which is contradictory, or at least divergent from that presented by the group.

We have tried to distinguish three broad stages:
- The preparation of the research theme, then the kinds of questions asked by each group – Day 1;
- Results of pre-fieldwork – three days in the village of Đông Bùa. The work done since Thursday midday is a treatment phase: what we know and what we don’t know, interpretation of data collected so as to prepare the report. We are now at the end of stage 2. We must also set out the questions which we haven’t been able to address.
The participants compare and comment on the results delivered by the two first presentations, covering differentiation of economic activities and cultural constructs. The trainers draw the participants’ attention to two main points:

Political representation of women. Women are little represented in the People’s Committee or in associations but scientific literature often shows that their interests are perhaps better defended by others. The underlying question is this: “If men decide most of the policies, are they unfavourable to women?” Work done in the province of Hưng Yên shows that paid women’s work – while men are sitting in a People’s Committee meeting – also confers power. The real process of research between the moment when one identifies an inequality and the next stage is also to ask what that entails;

Factors of differentiation according to lineage. It’s important to avoid doing inter-ethnic analysis in binary mode, i.e. to avoid representing one ethnicity – here it’s the San Diu – in relation to a “standard” – the Kinh ethnic group. The binary man/woman approach tends to homogenize each group: that of men versus that of women, while there are likely to be inequalities within the group – for example daughters-in-law exploited by their mother-in-law. This is an inequality linked to relationships between generations and to do with the social status of an individual, not to do with gender.

This is above all a methodological and pedagogical exercise, and only the theme linked to issues of inequality of access to land has been included in this publication.

Rapporteurs – Group 3

We studied inequalities of access to land through regional and local history. This analysis of inequalities can be broken down into two parts: chronological – production or reduction of inequalities in the village: transverse or cross-cutting, looking at the different categories of land – agricultural land, forests and habitations.

Four chronological phases need to be distinguished:

- Factors from initial population settlement. This period produces an inequality at the outset in favour of families already settled in the village for four or five generations. They have been able to clear large areas for habitation, which facilitates diversification of economic activities. Also, large residential plots are an additional asset when it comes to passing part of a garden plot on to one’s children;

- The period of collectivization. Few data have been gathered, but we have a hypothesis that the role or post occupied by the head of the family in the cooperative must have resulted in differences in income – a contributing factor to significant inequalities today;

- The period of decollectivization and land redistribution. 1981 was the year of land redistribution by the drawing of lots, but families had a number of strategies to get around the redistribution of plots, mainly by informal exchanges – of agricultural land near to someone’s house, for example. The redistributions to follow, notably according to the number of economically active people or per capita, would allow for the reduction of some inequalities of attribution. Finally, new factors of inequality appeared
as a result of agrarian demography: families married after 1991 no longer have access to residential land except through purchase (1991), and a plot of rice-paddy is no longer awarded to newborns (1993);

- The current phase: granting of official land titles – the red booklet – and road construction. A new tarmac road crosses the village and begs the question of granting land title for residential plots – only 40% of families had this title. Reasons put forward for this include inequality of access to information and education and relationships with the State. These inequalities of access to land titles are in themselves sources of inequality in accessing credit. The absence of land titles is also a source of inequality when it comes to transferring ownership to the next generation. Finally, there are inequalities of indemnity linked to the possession, or not, of land titles, in negotiations with the businessman in charge of infrastructure works and the choice of plots to be affected by these works – destruction of residences and garden plots.

There are multiple factors of inequality in the attribution of categories – e.g. rice paddies. Also, forest lands are currently attributed according to a 50-year right of use, without precise clarification of the modalities for access so as to manage them. Finally, the difference between households in terms of indemnity increased when the road was built – cf. red booklet.

[Olivier Tessier]

Based on the reports from the groups, we will reflect in broad terms on how we are going to structure the report for tomorrow. Christophe Gironde, Pierre-Yves Le Meur and I propose that we prepare a conclusion which includes various elements which have emerged from the discussion during the week. We will base the presentation on the value and the limitations of a short field survey in looking at inequalities of gender and ethnicity. We remind you that the presentation covers the pre-fieldwork and that more precise questions have emerged to construct a more detailed research problem. Finally, we would like to mention the role of the State in causing inequalities – how can the State be seen as a creator of equalities or inequalities?

2.4.4. Synthetic Report of the Workshop

(Retranscription)

[Christophe Gironde]

Our objective during this week of training has been to give the participants practical experience of a field survey, of semi-structured interviews, based on the 2011 theme of the summer school. We dedicated the first day to defining what we were looking for and transforming our research problem into the questions which we were going to ask; then each group prepared an interview framework. Then the workshop moved for three days to a village in the foothills of Tam Đảo, at Đồng Bua. This village was suggested by the authorities, not chosen by us, but this didn’t impose any particular constraint for the intended exercise, because there are no villages a priori more or less interesting than others. Once the days of interviews with families were over, our challenge was to report what had been said. Significant work was done in terms of sorting-through and questioning the statements obtained
from the surveyed population: is that true, plausible, realistic? Finally, we grouped all the surveys done in pairs around three predefined themes: differentiation of systems of productive activity since the policy of Renovation, differentiation as a cultural construct and inequalities of access to land as a product of regional and local history.

Two rapporteurs summarize the main results for all the participants. Readers should refer both to the discussion on Friday afternoon and to the summary below.

[Pierre Yves Le Meur]

I’d like to open a few avenues for reflection, come back to the problem we had at the outset, our first questions, and examine how they have changed in the light of our time in the field. It’s also important to draw attention to how our workshop has evolved and progressed along the way, through animated debates by the whole group; one inescapable conclusion touches on progress made in the field and the very convivial atmosphere of the week.

In relation to the plenary sessions and workshops held indoors in a meeting room, what has it meant, this time in the field? We must be prudent. When you look at local level, there is a magnifying effect: one peers through the microscope at a very small unit, the village, and there is a grave risk of forgetting elements of the wider context — migrations, public policy, higher levels of administration, etc. The village of Đồng Bua is obviously not representative. It’s a
single village, where we did a few surveys, and moreover used only one technique. We gathered statements which we tried to match up. In a way, we ask people to tell us their life story. We also ask them to make a judgment on how and why a particular thing happened the way it happened—in general, people judge without being asked. But we didn’t observe things in depth, so we must remain prudent in our interpretation. Nevertheless, the results are significant: we heard statements, matched up data and we can say things about what we understood, through about sixty interviews, of the inequalities in a village.

This brings us to the pertinence of the themes identified in advance: are inequalities of gender and between ethnic groups the most important themes, with the most impact? This begs the question of inequalities between whom: are people simply man/woman, San Đìu/Kinh? We have identified meeting points between different kinds of inequality: social classes, genders, ethnic groups, generations, etc. Moreover, to understand these inequalities, one must ask oneself where they came from. An inequality observed at household level—in relation to the indicator on domestic tasks, for example—is not comprehensible unless we compare it with how people behave in public—which also needs to be defined. There are relationships between rising inequalities in different “places”—or between an inequality at one level and a more egalitarian situation at another social stratum; in this regard, the distinction between public and domestic arenas is important.

For the analysis framework, we had an idea at the outset about inequalities. We reflected on these questions based on a presentation by Christophe Gironde. We saw that in the debate there was a preference for talking about differences rather than inequalities. There is also the question of inequality and equity which brings us back to objective criteria—what level of education, what access to credit, to land?—and to a judgment on preferential access—are people satisfied with their situation, is inequality acceptable? This is how equity is expressed from the actors’ point of view. We must also avoid all determinism, and not exaggerate the constraints. As difficult as the situation is, actors do have a margin of manoeuvrability. They can develop strategies and all trajectories are unique. This makes the exercise both more interesting and also more difficult to interpret.

On another point, we saw a distinction emerge from the fieldwork between events which directly and immediately generate inequalities, and events which generate inequalities in an indirect manner, diffused over time. Let’s take two examples:

- Precedence of arrival in the village. The people who settled in the village in the 1980s are at a direct disadvantage in terms of access to land. They have less garden and residential land. Precedence directly creates an inequality. In contrast, the San Đìu, who were the first occupants of the village area, have been able to retain (although it’s not really known how) certain access rights to the land of the foothills. They were able to ensure that their right to cultivate this land prevailed in the late 1980s. The effect of precedence here plays out over the long term;
- After the 1993 law, red booklets were distributed late, and not to everyone, in the years 1999-2002. For many villagers, this land title booklet wasn’t really important;
"We live here, we know what we want to do with our land. We can leave it to our children. We have our house, the neighbours know who we are, we have legitimacy, locally". But work on the road leading to the village created a context for expropriation. The booklets became important because they affected indemnity. The red booklet is not a direct creator of inequalities but becomes one when an external issue arises.

Finally, in terms of interpretation, we should question the scope and meaning of an observed inequality. For example, women are completely absent from positions of power. It’s a glaring inequality – outside women’s associations. But what does this inequality mean? Interesting discussions were had: “While the men are in meetings, we trade.” It’s not a question of looking at the situation in a relative way but of understanding where the inequalities are to be found, and the meaning of what we observe.

This led us to review our research problems. Very rapidly, the issues of gender and ethnicity were revisited, because they carry a grave risk of homogenisation of differentiated categories – man/woman, San Diu/Kinh – as if we were dealing with frozen, definitive and eternal categories. Firstly, these are not homogenous categories: there are inequalities within the group “women” for example – the relationship of mother-in-law / daughter-in-law is one of significant exploitation. For the San Diu, some lineages have far greater importance and power than others. It is probably they who managed to gain key posts during collectivization. Did this also involve those who had settled first? The San Diu are far from a homogenous group. Secondly, the debate is often brutal, a caricature: the man decides, the woman accepts. But one sees that in reality the woman has negotiated a great deal to make sure her point of view carries some weight. We shouldn’t exaggerate her power, but behind the observed situation – the decision is in the man’s hands – a process exists. To understand an inequality in a particular place, we must go further upstream. This brings us to questions of method: the more one can observe things, the more one can amalgamate the statements gathered, the more solid and pertinent the analysis will be. As regards the question of ethnicity, the risk is to take these categories as inflexible, and to classify them: there are Kinh and there are San Diu, who present “cultural” differences while maintaining relationships at various levels. It’s in these relationships that one can potentially find evidence of inequalities.

We could put forward a hypothesis that there is an element more fundamental than ethnicity in the village’s development: precedence – the San Diu, the first to arrive, and the Kinh, who arrived in the 1960s. The history of how an area was populated is perhaps as important as the ethnic issue – one can even see, in the place of origin and relative precedence, elements of ethnic origin. Moreover, ethnic groups influence each other: we observed a process of acculturation of the San Diu – some no longer spoke their own language, for example. There is a rapprochement between Kinh and San Diu – through marriage – with very complex trajectories, and this contributes to the blurring of dividing lines between ethnic groups. So we’ve ended up revisiting the notion of ethnicity, which is much more changeable than we believed.
Recommended Reading
(www.tamdaoconf.com)


Selective Bibliography


### List of Participants

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Philippe Antoine has been a Research Demographer at the IRD since 1975 and Research Director since 1989. Professional experience in different countries: Algeria, Cameroon, Côte d’Ivoire, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, Togo.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

My research has essentially focused on the social and demographic transformations in urban environments. Abidjan, Dakar, Bamako, Yaounde, Antananarivo and Lome are places of particular interest in this field. First, I studied the populating dynamic in Abidjan and showed the diversity of demographic evolution according to social categories in this city (1976 to 1982 with the Côte d’Ivoire Department of Statistics). I then studied the intra-urban differences in Pikine (suburb of Dakar), due in part to insufficient infrastructures and the low level of education of the mothers in the poorest neighborhoods (in collaboration with the Department of Statistics, Senegal, 1985-88). The central objective of the multidisciplinary study undertaken afterwards in Dakar (in collaboration with the IFAN - Dakar University - in 1988-91) consisted of discovering how, in the exacerbating context of the economic crisis, the conditions and modalities of urban insertion have evolved. With the help of biographical studies, three components of insertion in the city were studied: access to employment, access to housing and the constitution and evolution of households. The comparison of the processes of insertion in Dakar and Bamako showed the fundamental role of employment and education in the evolution of family and residential dynamics (1991-1993, in collaboration with IFAN, CERPOD in Bamako and the Department of Demography at Montreal University).

At CEPED (1993-99), I initiated a comparative study with several African teams who had adopted our biographical approach on urban insertion in Yaounde (IFORD 1996), in Antananarivo (Madio, 1998) and Lome (URD in 1999-2000). Approximately ten theses were produced from these studies, as well as numerous publications. In the Research Group on Biographical Analysis (GRAB), I co-edited two methodology manuals with Eva Lelièvre concerning the biographical studies at INED publishers.

From 2000 to 2007, in Dakar, I led a team (IRD-DIAL, and IFAN) who studied family dynamics and the passage from adolescence to adulthood for different social categories. Crisis leads to the reconstitution of socioeconomic categories, generates a restructuring process of family organization and leads to a redistribution of status and roles between the sexes and generations. The research also addressed...
the comparative analysis of interrelations between professional and family life in Dakar and Lome.

My work, which for a long time was focused on the events that affected entrance into adulthood (first marriage, first job, etc.), has, since 2008, concentrated on the end of adulthood and the transition toward old age. Does an older age for entering adulthood lead to a differed transition to old age in the urban societies of West Africa? I address this question partly by analyzing data in Senegal and partly by leading a network of African researchers on the subject (network financed by the AUF and the CEPED).

I am conducting this research at the Research Laboratory on Economic and Social Transformations at Dakar University.

Since 2008, I have been the General Secretary of the l’Association Internationale des Démographes de Langue Française (AIDELF). This Association is organizing its next meeting in November 2012 in Ouagadougou, on the theme “Demography and Social Policy”.

In July 2010, I participated as a lecturer in the fourth meeting of the Tam Đảo Summer School.
Jean-Pierre CLING

Email: cling@univ-paris13.fr

TITLES AND DIPLOMAS

2005: Doctorate thesis in Economy, Paris Dauphine University, with honours, candidate for thesis prize and publication.

PRESENT PROFESSIONAL POSTING

Professor of Economics at the University of Paris 13 since 2010.
Administrator at INSEE; Research Director at the Institute of Research for Development, DIAL, Hà Nội (2007-2010). Research programme on the economic and social transition in Việt Nam led in partnership with the Institute of Statistical Science.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

I work on three avenues of research.

1/ Development economics. My research on this theme concentrated on the African continent as a first priority, then since 2007 on Việt Nam, in the context of my participation in a research programme led there by IRD/DIAL. The general aim of this research programme is a better understanding of the international dimension of the Vietnamese model of development, whilst widening the research by using a comparative approach. Three interlocking questions are asked: what is the link between this country's international integration and its internal economic development? What is the impact of the model of growth followed, in terms of quality of life and employment? Finally, how do national and international institutions interact to define and implement policy?

2/ International trade. I am particularly interested in the relationship between three factors which have characterized the international economy over the past few decades: rapid trade liberalization; growth in developing countries without any progress in terms of integration into international trade or any catching-up with developed countries, with a few exceptions (China, Việt Nam, etc.); generally persistent poverty (outside China and the emerging Asian countries) accompanied by a rise in inequalities. Issues around international specialization and the impact on a country of accession to the World Trade Organization (Việt Nam in 2007) are particularly examined.

3/ Political Economy of the international organizations. This research looks mainly at the policies of the WTO and the World Bank and the need to reform these organizations. This leads notably to an examination of the results and of the impact of multilateral trade negotiations held as part of the Doha Round, as well as strategies for development and poverty reduction promoted by the Bretton Woods institutions in the context of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).
Christian CULAS

Email: christianculas@yahoo.fr

TITLES AND DIPLOMAS

1998 - Doctorate Thesis in Anthropology, University of Provence (Aix en Provence), under the direction of Mr. Charles MACDONALD. Title: « Le Messianisme Hmong ». Published in 2005 at CNRS Editions, Paris.

PRESENT PROFESSIONAL POSTING

Research Associate in Anthropology at the CNRS at the Institute of Research on Contemporary Southeast Asia (IRASEC Bangkok – CNRS – MAEE). In post in Việt Nam since 2008: Development Anthropology research program of social change in ethnic zones and the study of forms of emergence in civil society in Việt Nam in partnership with the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism in the Lào Cai province and the Anthropology Department of the Việt Nam National University of Social Sciences, Hà Nội. This Franco-Vietnamese research programme (2010-2012) is supported by the Agence Française de Développement (AFD Hà Nội-Paris).

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

In the 1990s, my research was principally directed toward the different forms of the traditional Hmong religion (shamanism, rituals), on their political and religious movements (Messianic, Buddhist and Taoist influences), on transnational migrations in Asia, on the social changes through the production of opium and the development of markets in Laos and in Việt Nam.

Since the 2000s, my research has been oriented toward the paths of emergence of a civil society in Việt Nam (a book and collective articles are in progress), on the epistemological study of local knowledge and practices concerning the management of natural environments in the mountain areas of Việt Nam.

In 2008, we launched a research programme on Development Anthropology and on social change in ethnic zones. The objective is to be able to associate a deep understanding of the realities of the field (collective studies, long, extensive studies) and the most effective research tools (a socio-anthropological approach inspired by the methods of Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan).

My work includes three dimensions: individual and collective research (Franco-Vietnamese) and publications in socio-anthropology; research training (field survey methods, textual analysis methods, methods for interpretation and drafting of papers in social sciences) through research within the themed cooperative and collaboration-advisory projects in Vietnamese institutions in the fields of ethnic tourism development; protection of cultural heritage of ethnic groups in North Việt Nam and the integration of local ethnic knowledge of the forests in the management of natural spaces.
Mody DIOP

Email: mody.diop@ansd.sn

TITLES AND DIPLOMAS

2011: Master’s degree in political economics and economic analysis of projects, Faculty of Economics and Management, Cheikh Anta Diop University, Dakar.
2010: Diploma of data engineering
2006: Admitted to the Statistics and Demography department of the École nationale d’économie appliquée, Dakar (DSD-ENEA).

PRESENT PROFESSIONAL POSTING

Responsible for projects at the National Agency of Statistics and Demography of Senegal (ANSD).

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

I studied the causes of diarrhoea among children of 2-10 years using multilevel regression, under the supervision of Stéphane Dos Santos, a researcher at the IRD-HAnn, Dakar. This study was based on the ACTU-PALU survey carried out by the IRD-HAnn in 2008.

I worked on the determinants of chronic poverty, vulnerability and absence of poverty in childhood and youth, in adulthood and beyond in the context of the biographical survey “Poverty and vulnerabilities in Senegal”. This survey was led by the Laboratory for research into economic and social transformations (LARTES) under the Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire (IFAN), Cheikh Anta Diop University, Dakar (2008-2009). As part of this survey, I also led research into education and poverty dynamics in Senegal (1940-2009).

These last two studies were undertaken under the supervision of Philippe ANTOINE, researcher at the IRD.

All these works are in the process of publication.
Christophe GIRONDE

Email:
christophe.gironde@graduateinstitute.ch

TITLES AND DIPLOMAS

Doctorate in Development Studies, Graduate Institute of Development Studies (IUED) / University of Geneva, 2001; thesis entitled “Rehabilitation and Transformation of Family Economy in North Việt Nam - Village Activity Systems and Relation Networks in the Red River Delta”.

PRESENT PROFESSIONAL POSTING

Lecturer / Researcher at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID) of Geneva.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

My research essentially focused on the processes of transformation of rural economies and societies. It is involved in the field of political economy, and is based on the field research among the populations and representatives of the local authority.

My work is concentrated on Việt Nam, based on doctoral research done at the end of the 1990s. I took a particular interest in the evolution of the productive activity system of the populations, in social differentiations, in the process of institutional transition toward a so-called market economy and in the role of local authorities in these transformations.

More recently, I had the opportunity to work as a consultant on the questions of population participation in the definition and implementation of anti-poverty programs in Việt Nam and in Mali.
Alain HENRY

Email: henrya@afd.fr

TITLES AND DIPLOMAS

Alumnus of the Ecole Polytechnique, 1973
Civil Engineer of Roads and Bridges, 1978.

PRESENT PROFESSIONAL POSTING

Việt Nam Director, Agence Française de Développement, Hà Nội office
Research Associate, Management and Society (Centre national de la recherche scientifique).

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

From 1981, for five years, the first – operational – phase of my career was dedicated to the improvement of services in Sub-Saharan African countries (access to drinking water, power supply, etc.). Faced with the low impact of donor-funded programmes, my first research was launched in 1987, aiming to find a link between poor management performance and the theories of organizational sociology.

Since then, my research has been led within the Management and Society team (CNRS, directed by Ph. d’Iribarne). It has involved a critical analysis of the hypothesis – common in 1987 – of a link between “cultural values” and behaviour. The work has shown that poor management was not linked to “culturally unsuited behaviour” – the determinism of this was unacceptable – but to a mismatch between management tools derived from the countries of the “North” and the beneficiaries’ concept of how a society should live. Research on African tontine (investment) schemes in 1989 (“Tontines and Banks in Cameroon”) revealed the existence, in the African context, of management mechanisms which could inspire confidence. Shortly afterwards, the written procedures applied in big local public sector organizations were able to be remodelled on this basis.

From 1991 to 2002, this work allowed me to add to the examples of good management in African contexts and to show that, aside from its diversity, management performance stemmed from coherence with the way “actors perceived work situations”. Studies were carried out in various field situations, i.e. different countries (Mauritania, Côte d’Ivoire, Gabon, Morocco, Libya, etc.) and in different management contexts (SMEs, project start-ups, private enterprises, etc.). In parallel, on a theoretical level, we must distinguish between, on the one hand, what sociology refers to as “culture”, and on the other, field observations about “evidence from which actors interpret the relationships between the individual and the group”. This work was the subject of two team efforts, one in 2000 (“Culture and globalization, management beyond frontiers” looking at various – mainly developed - countries, and in 2003 (“Successes in the Third World”) dedicated much more to the environment of developing countries.

In addition, a piece of work in production (author P. d’Iribarne) will show the link and the distinction between the analysis of
“cultures” and the underlying structure of perception, which guides the coherence of the organization’s mechanisms. According to the novel theory of a “frame of reference”, we should look again at the question of modernization in developing countries.

The 2002 film by C. Lallier about the apparent failure of an electrification project in Mali launched a new phase of reflection on the meeting point between social, economic, cultural, strategic and institutional logic in the creation of basic services. One approach, which called for support from researchers (in association with the URBAMA research laboratory, University of Tours) showed the insights which could be sought from research during the institutionalization of a service. Similar research was undertaken via the filmed analysis of a project to provide safe drinking water in Mali.

Research themes: sociology of development, organizational management, economic governance, cultural context.
Pierre-Yves LE MEUR

Email: pierre-yves.lemeur@ird.fr

TITLES AND DIPLOMAS


SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

After a doctorate in comparative agriculture and rural development at the Institut national agronomique Paris-Grignon (1986-91) and a first posting as a lecturer/researcher and technical assistant at the Faculty of Agricultural Sciences of the National University of Benin (French-Beninese support for professional training of agricultural engineers), I branched off towards anthropology when I participated in a research programme on the effects of democratization in rural Benin and more broadly on the functioning of local politics and of “power in the village”, led by Thomas Bierschenk and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan.

As a lecturer and researcher (wissenschaftlicher Assistent) at the university of Hohenheim (Stuttgart), Chair of anthropology and development sociology (1994-98) then at the Institute of anthropology and African studies of Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz (1998-2001; replacement Chair of “African culture and society” at the Institute of anthropology and African studies of Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz 2002-03), I continued to work in Benin in political and developmental anthropology, and increasingly around the links between issues of land, governance of natural resources and political affiliations. I also directed a study programme in Thailand (a partnership between the universities of Hohenheim, Chiang Mai and Kasetsart) in 1998-2000.

Whilst director of studies at GRET (Groupe de recherche et d'échanges technologiques) Paris, I was able to approach development from within, in the context of development projects and expertise, and to work on the challenges of applying anthropology in various geographical contexts (West Africa, South Africa, Southeast Asia). The theme of land ownership remains central to his work and it was in this connection that from 2003 to 2007 I carried out a number of regular missions to support the agency in charge of reforming the land ownership system in New Caledonia.

Having joined the IRD in late 2007 (UMR 220 GRED “Governance, Risk, Environment, Development”, IRD-Université Montpellier III), I have been posted to Noumea since February 2008. My research focuses on:

- The issue of land ownership in New Caledonia (including rights to the ocean
and its produce) linked to the history of how the islands were populated and contemporary political transformations;
- The challenges around mining: relationships between local political arenas, mining activity (extraction/transformation) and the framing of public policies (programme funded by CNRT “Nickel and its environment”;
- The relationship between local knowledge, biodiversity and the appropriation of space and nature (multidisciplinary research within the GOPS « Grand observatoire de l’environnement et de la biodiversité dans le Pacifique Sud » – “Large-scale observatory of the environment and biodiversity in the South Pacific”; research in the Marquesas Islands in 2010).

I am also an associate researcher at the Centre for New Studies on the Pacific (CNEP) at the university of New Caledonia and member of the Research Group (GDR 2835) “New Caledonia: contemporary social challenges” within the CNRS. I am a thesis supervisor at the EHESS (Centre Norbert Elias, Marseille).
Benoît MASSUYEAU

Email: massuyeaub@afd.fr
or massuyeau@hotmail.com

TITLES AND DIPLOMAS

2000: Doctoral thesis in economics, “Parallel trade with Nigeria and price setting in the African Franc Zone”, University of Clermont-Ferrand, very honorable mention with the congratulations of the jury.

PRESENT PROFESSIONAL POSTING

Head of mission at the AFD, posted in Hà Nội since September 2009.

In charge of directing budget support, socio-economic studies and the AFD’s participation in donor coordination groups.

Before this, I undertook a four-year mission for the Institut d’émission d’Outre-Mer, in French Polynesia, as head of the service providing economic and financial assessments (monitoring the economic climate, responsible for publications and for drawing up the balance of payments, and financial analysis of Polynesian banks).

I was previously director of studies at the AFD’s Research Department in Paris, where I was in charge of monitoring and forecasting the macro-economic situation in African countries.
Jean-Luc MAURER

Email:
Jean-Luc.Maurer@graduateinstitute.ch

TITLES AND DIPLOMAS

1983: Doctorate in Political Sciences, with a distinction for International Relations. Doctoral thesis entitled “Agricultural modernization, economic development and social change. Rice, land and people in Java” defended at the IUHEI (Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales) in Geneva before a jury comprised of Gilbert Etienne (thesis supervisor), Pierre Gourou and Denys Lombard.

PRESENT PROFESSIONAL POSTING

Professor of development policy in Asia at the IHEID (Institut de hautes études internationales et du développement). Director of the Centre for Asian studies at the IHEID. Director of the Master’s degree in Asian studies (MASPEA) organized jointly by the IHEID and the University of Geneva. President of the EADI (European Association of Development Institutes).

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

As a political scientist specialized in development policies in developing countries, I will soon have worked for 40 years on Southeast Asia, in particular Indonesia and the countries where Malay is spoken. At the start I concentrated my studies on analyzing the economic and social consequences of agricultural modernization policies, the famous “Green Revolution”, in Indonesia, but also in Malaysia and Thailand. I then diversified and broadened my sectional and regional scope, working notably on the problems of urban planning, education policy and even the social and cultural consequences of tourism, still with Indonesia as my main priority but also in Việt Nam and Laos. This gave rise to numerous publications, of which the main ones are mentioned on the limited list attached. My research career was then affected by heavy institutional responsibilities, as I was appointed vice-Director of IUED (Institut universitaire d’études du développement) from 1988 to 1992, then Director from 1992 to 2004. Since I could scarcely dedicate any time to “field” research, as it is traditionally called in development studies, I again widened my focus to look at the so-called East Asian miracle, which I’d been interested in for about ten years, and widened it again some time ago to what I call the overall “re-Orient-ation” of the world. My publications reflect this. Towards the end of my last four-year stint as Director – since I didn’t intend to do another and thinking ahead to my re-entry into real academia – I started looking at the problems of migration in Southeast Asia from a historical sociological point of view, which resulted in a publication and some articles. Finally, for about ten years now, I’ve been working mainly on the impact of globalization on the region, with a particular emphasis on the aggravation of economic and social inequalities.
Christophe Jalil NORDMAN

Email: nordman@dial.prd.fr

TITLES AND DIPLOMAS

1997: Master of Economics, University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne and the Ecole Normale Supérieure (Ulm).

PRESENT PROFESSIONAL POSTING

In charge of first-class research, IRD, UMR DIAL (Développement, Institutions et Mondialisation), IRD-Université Paris Dauphine. Based in Paris, France: www.dial.prd.fr.
Associate Research Fellow at SKOPE, Department of Educational Studies, University of Oxford.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

My research is dedicated to the analysis of the functioning of the labour market in developing countries and focuses particularly on issues of employability, income and inequality according to gender, transfers of human capital through migration and the effect of social networks on professional trajectories. I have three broad avenues of research:

Education, allocation of work and income generation

This groups together my work on education, the determinants of access to the labour market and the generation of earned income in West Africa and Việt Nam. This research aims to increase the range of indicators of competence and qualification (of human capital), as well as to better understand the nature, scale and effects of training on workers throughout their lives. It follows on from my doctoral thesis in which I set out the mechanisms for informal apprenticeship in the workplace. This led me to examine the causes and consequences of vulnerability at work. More recently, I developed the issue of the dynamic of the allocation of work and income in Việt Nam.

Ethnic and gender inequalities in the workplace

The cause and extent of gender and ethnic inequalities in the labour market have been a major avenue of my research which I began when I joined the IRD in 2001. I looked particularly at differences in income, as well as specific issues like the existence of a “glass ceiling” for women in the workplace. This research has resulted in several publications in selective international periodicals, which have drawn on a range of statistical sources: household surveys for one example, employer-employee data for another.

International migration and labour markets

I started this area of research in the years 2006-2008; it includes: (i) analysis of the causes, both economic and non-economic (eg. climate-related) of international and regional migrations; (ii) the impact of
transfers of human capital on the labour markets of the country of origin and the receiving country; (iii) the effects of returning migrants, in particular the factors affecting individuals' social and professional reintegration in the country of origin.
Andonirina RAKOTONARIVO

Email: andorakotonarivo@yahoo.fr

TITLES AND DIPLOMAS

Ph.D. in demography, University of Paris 5, UFR Sciences sociales Sorbonne.

PRESENT PROFESSIONAL POSTING

Andonirina RAKOTONARIVO is a researcher and demographer, doing post-doctoral work at the Centre for Research in Demography and Society of the Catholic University of Louvain since 2009.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

My research covers different aspects of African migration. In Madagascar (2005-2008), I studied migrations from the rural area of the highlands, focusing on their causes and their effects – mainly through remittances – on the quality of life of those who stayed in the villages of origin. A second avenue of my research in Madagascar looked at the role of migrations toward towns in reducing population pressure and agricultural under-employment in certain regions, in a context of significant contrast between overpopulated and little-populated areas.

I also studied international migrations, in particular by Senegalese and Congolese towards Europe, using biographical surveys within MAFE (Migration de l’Afrique vers l’Europe, 2009-2012). I analyzed the characteristics of change in the transfer of Senegalese migrants towards Dakar, the profile of these migrants and that of the households which received them. I also examined the factors influencing these migrations and their effects on the quality of life of the households which benefited from them. A second issue which I touched on in this project concerned the professional and social integration of Congolese migrants in Belgium, with regard to their entry into the labour market on the one hand, looking particularly at over-qualification and decreasing professional mobility, and on the other hand their access to Belgian nationality, taking into account the differences between men and women.
Mireille RAZAFINDRAKOTO

Email: razafindrakoto@dial.prd.fr

TITLES AND DIPLOMAS

2010: Certification for Direction of Research, Paris-Dauphine University.
1996: Doctorate in Economic Sciences, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris (EHESS). With highest honour and congratulations from the jury (Summa cum laude).

PRESENT PROFESSIONAL POSTING

Research Manager 1st Class, Institute for Development Research (IRD), Research, DIAL (Development, Institutions and Long Term Analysis) Unit.
Posted in Việt Nam, at the General Statistical Office (GSO), since July 2006. Responsible for the implementation of the DIAL research program in Việt Nam.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

My present work particularly focuses on: the links between wellbeing and the living conditions of households, inequalities and governance; job satisfaction; corruption and poverty as well as the evaluation of the impact of public policies. The research on Việt Nam concerns a program on the “issues and constraints of the economic transition since Đổi Mới”. This research takes a multidisciplinary view, combining quantitative and qualitative approaches, and uses the perspective of comparison with other developing countries. It is carried out according to three complementary axes:

1.- The role of the informal sector on the labour market and its impact on the living conditions of households. Starting from the analysis of the characteristics of this sector, we try to find out in what way it contributes to the improvement of the standard of living and to the reduction of inequality. What are the specificities of the informal sector which should be taken into account in public policy?

2.- Follow-up and evaluation of the impact of public policies, in particular in distributive terms. On the one hand, it involves the analysis of the influence of the commercial opening up of Việt Nam, notably the social consequences of Việt Nam joining the WTO (ex ante approach by resorting to micro-macro models). On the other hand, the objective is to measure the efficiency of the political battle with poverty which is taking place in the mountain regions where ethnic minorities live (ex post evaluation:
3. The role and the performance of institutions in the transition process. This involves exploring the links between governance (role and functioning mode of public institutions), the value system of the society, the economic dynamic and the living conditions of the population. The analyses are on, among others, the multiple dimensions of poverty (subjective wellbeing, employment conditions, social participation and exclusion, conditions for access to public services, etc.).
François ROUBAUD

Email: roubaud@dial.prd.fr

TITLES AND DIPLOMAS

1991: Doctorate in Economy. Paris XI University – Nanterre. With highest honour and congratulations from the jury (Summa cum laude), candidate for thesis prize and publication.


PRESENT PROFESSIONAL POSTING


SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

As a development economist, my work follows two lines of research:

Statistical: survey methodology, data processing:
- Development of mixed survey methods (households/enterprises) and creator of 1-2-3 surveys for statistical measuring and analysis of the informal sector (projects in Africa, Latin America, and in Asia);
- Development of modules “Multiple Dimensions of Poverty”, “Governance” and “Democracy” (projects in Africa and in Latin America);
- Support for national statistics institutes in the implementation and analysis of survey results.

Economic:
- Functioning of labour market, informal sector, urban dynamics and the impact on living conditions;
- Links between governance, democracy, new dimensions of poverty and the process of economic development;
- Analysis of public policies in developing countries: structural adjustment programmes, anti-poverty strategies, follow-up and evaluation of impact.
Grégoire SCHLEMMER

Email: gregoire.schlemmer@ird.fr

TITLES AND DIPLOMAS


PRESENT PROFESSIONAL POSTING

In charge of anthropological research at the IRD. Based in Laos since 2008: research programme on the dynamics of ethnicity in Laos in partnership with the faculty of social sciences of the National University of Laos.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

Starting from the ethnography of the religious life of a Nepalese Himalayan population, the Kulung Rai, my work focused on how a so-called “animist” society conceives of supernatural entities – spirits – and the implications of these representations. Starting with the idea that the haziness of the concept of spirits is central to the dynamic of the system which is built around them, this study showed that people’s relationships with spirits revealed a system of interpretation and action. In bringing together the individual and the group, the same and the other, order and disorder, natural and social issues, this system structures and legitimizes a link with the world, with oneself, with others and with power.

At the same time, I have worked on indigenous Kirant (the ethnic group of which the Kulung are part) movements in areas of immigration such as Kathmandu, Western Terai, Sikkim and West Bengal. I examine their rhetoric (centred on an affirmation of identity based on recalling a glorious past and on the affirmation of an indigenous root), its sources (English colonials, Hindu reformers, anti-Brahmin and tribal movements) and the way in which the link to religion and politics is rethought.

My research also led me to look at the emergence of introspection about religion and identity in the context of the opening-up of Kulung society to the outside world, notably through migration and inter-ethnic contact.

My current research looks at how the population of north Laos (Phongsaly province) see themselves and how they integrate into the multi-ethnic environment which they help to create, by analyzing interactions between them and with the regional power centres. It is based on the hypothesis that the relative unity of marginal Sino-Indian populations draws on the fact that these populations simultaneously create differences – which signal their identity and their existence as a separate entity – and unity – which leads them to see themselves as participants in a grouping which is more than local. This research could allow us to understand types of religious constructs and inter-ethnic negotiation in a wider area, that of the Sino-Indian fringes.
Catherine SCORNET

Email: Catherine.Scornet@univ-provence.fr

TITLES AND DIPLOMAS

2000: Ph.D. in demography at the University of Paris V-Sorbonne, “Fertility and politics in the Red River delta (Viêt-Nam)” under the direction of Professor Yves Charbit. Very honourable distinction with the unanimous congratulations of the jury, thesis prize. This thesis received a research grant from the Higher Education Ministry and a Lavoisier grant from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

PRESENT PROFESSIONAL POSTING

Lecturer at the sociology department of the University of Provence (Aix Marseille 1). Researcher at the LPED (Laboratoire Population Environnement et Développement), Mixed Research Unit 151 IRD (Institut de Recherche pour le Développement) and University of Provence.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

My research focuses on reproductive changes (fertility and regulation of fertility) and the policy context which surrounds them. The link between the dynamics of demography and policies on reproduction is studied through international rulings and national policies. Since the mid-20th century, population has become a central subject matter for the power structure in Viêt Nam. The country has established political management of life, or “biopolitics” (M. Foucault, lecture at the Collège de France, 1977-1978) through the construction of a bureaucratic apparatus for the planning of reproduction (at the individual level) and population (at the aggregate level). From the 1960s onwards, population control concentrated on quantitative limitation (limiting increase in and size of the population) then at the end of the 20th century turned towards the quality of that population.

Control is a power-economy which manages society according to overall conventional models integrated into a State apparatus. The internalization of the conventions indicates the very deep penetration by the power structure into the fabric of life. The conventions correspond to the appearance of a bio-power, i.e. a power over life: the emergence of a veritable “social medicine”: the establishment of a collective structure of medicalisation managing populations (control of health, control of population, contraceptive and abortion programmes; Scornet, 2009). This apparatus of collective medicalization (such as family planning and reproductive health) allows the application of a permanent distinction in society between the normal (for example, to have one or two children) and the pathological, and to impose a system of standardization of behaviour and existence. As regards the political management of life, it’s no longer a matter of treating or monitoring the bodies of individuals, but of managing populations by setting up programmes on health, hygiene and birth control (contraception and abortion).

What role does abortion play in the transformations which have affected
areas of life, in particular the conditions for reproduction, pregnancy and birth in a country like Việt Nam where the State is deeply involved in issues of procreation and abortion so as to manage the quantity and quality of the population in a rational way? These transformations touch on medical conventions, on changes to the role of women in society, on representations of the family, on relationships between the genders, on the terms of people’s sex life, on reproductive conventions (what does Vietnamese society define as the right conditions to have a child?), on conventions around abortion (what are the conditions defined by society for the termination of a pregnancy?) and more generally on the principal dimensions of private life.

Abortion thus has many dimensions. Moreover, one can’t embark on the subject of abortion without knowing its legal status, namely how the laws were shaped and how they evolved.

Another theme of research takes up the link between reproductive health, sexuality and gender relationships. The reduction in fertility (very rapid in Việt Nam: a Vietnamese woman brought on average 6.8 children into the world in the early 1970s, whereas the average according to the 2009 census is now 2.03) is accompanied by new attitudes to love and intimacy, and is the condition for and the result of a change in relationships of gender and sexuality.
Olivier TESSIER

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TITLES AND DIPLOMAS


SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

After being trained as a tropical agronomy engineer and four years of experience as the head of development programs (Burkina Faso, Haïti), I started a doctorate in Anthropology (Aix-Marseille University) in 1995 for which the field work was in the north of Việt Nam (Phú Thọ province). During his thesis, which was presented in 2003, I decided to show that the rural space Kinh (or Việt), generally perceived and described as an aggregation of villages which are total and exclusive units, takes on another aspect when it is considered from the angle of exchanges, of the dynamic of constitution and transformation of social and political spaces. Instead of the legendary attachment of peasants to their land, the reality is more complex and abundant, that of a mobile population which moves easily in order to follow opportunities.

Co-editor of the work “Le village en question” which finalized a multi-disciplinary research programme led jointly by the EFEO center in Hà Nội and the Việt Nam Academy of Social Sciences from 1996 to 2000, I coordinated, at the same time as my own research activities, two scientific cooperation programmes (1999-2004) for Louvain Catholic University in the mountain provinces of Sơn La and Hòa Bình. During the same period, I participated in different expert missions for international organizations (European Union, World Bank). Finally, from January 2005 to September 2006, I directed the FSP project, “Research Support on Economic and Social Transition Issues in Vietnam”, financed by the Foreign Affairs Ministry and implemented by the EFEO centre in Hà Nội.

For my work at the EFEO as a lecturer (September 2006), I pursued my research on the central question of the evolution of relations “State – peasant collectivities” during the 19th and 20th centuries by looking at them from the angle of water and hydraulic management, the omnipresence of which organized the countryside and permeated human culture. In practical terms, it is necessary to examine the social, political and economic conditions of the implementation of large scale hydraulics in the deltas of the Red and Mekong Rivers, to envision the possibilities of control on the land and man offered by such a coverage of...
space, to take an interest in the techniques of construction that have gradually led to a remodeling of the territory, to analyze the modalities of water supply implemented by the peasant collectivity on the one hand, and by the State through its specialized corporations and veritable technical services, on the other.

As head of the programme of archaeological cooperation between the EFEO and the VASS, I have coordinated various pieces of work to support the Institute of Archaeology in its conservation approach – development of the heritage aspects of sites. In parallel, for two years I led archive-based research in Việt Nam and in France on the history of the citadel of Hà Nội in the 19th century. Based on the Vietnamese imperial records and on the abundant sources, both written and iconographic (plans, maps, photographs) produced during the colonial era, this historical reconstitution prompted the organization of an exhibition and several lectures. A written publication is currently being drafted.
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TITLES AND DIPLOMAS

2006: Doctorate thesis in Anthropology, Institute of Sociology, Department of Political and Social Sciences, Free University-Berlin, Germany.
2000: Master's thesis in Anthropology, Department of Ethnology, Faculty of History, University of Social Sciences and Humanities (under Việt Nam National University, Hanoi).

PRESENT PROFESSIONAL POSTING

Deputy of the Editorial and Management Department, Institute of Anthropology; Việt Nam Academy of Social Sciences (VASS).
Co-director of the project on Cultural Sustainable Development of the Ethnic Groups in the Northeastern Region of Vietnam (VASS).
Member of the management board of the project on Some Fundamental Culture-related Problems in Sustainable Development in the Vietnam Border Provinces (VASS).

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

Most of my research continues to focus on current socio-economic evaluation and assessment of ethnic minority populations in order to eliminate hunger and reduce poverty in general and food security in particular. Since working at the Institute of Anthropology, I have accumulated a lot of experience in applied anthropology. Most of our research projects focus on participatory poverty assessment, especially the traditional knowledge of local people and their voice in poverty reduction. Each community-based research project includes an evaluation of the governmental policies and development programmes that have been implemented in the research community.

In the past five years, my working group and I have conducted projects relating to cultural preservation and sustainable development in Việt Nam. We have recommended five important criteria necessary for the success of Vietnam's cultural sustainability as a first step. The five criteria consist of: 1) admission of cultural diversity; 2) preservation of ethnic groups’ languages; 3) preservation of ethnic groups’ cultural identity; 4) ethnic self-identity; and 5) contributions of the culture to socio-economic development. Our ongoing research projects continue to promote and supplement these research criteria as follows:

- Learning about the current cultural characteristics and relationships within and between ethnic groups;
- Examining the cultural exchange and the inclusion of the national and external cultural influences in ethnic groups within Vietnam and along the border areas;
- Studying the impacts of culture on socio-economic development and national security.

To carry out the above-mentioned projects, we set up and keep close relationships with many central institutions and local
governments at every government level (provincial, district and communal) that are responsible for the implementation of culture-related policies at the local level. Our research projects are conducted in ethnic villages and in cultural centres which influence the culture of the selected ethnic groups.
Acronyms and Abbreviations

AFD  Agence Française de Développement
AIDELF  Association internationale des démographes de langue française –
  International Association of Francophone Demographers
AIRD  Agence inter-établissements de recherche pour le développement –
  Inter-Establishment Agency for Research for Development
ANSD  National Agency of Statistics and Demography (Senegal)
ASEAN  Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AUF  Agence universitaire de la Francophonie –
  Agency of Francophone Universities
BULAC  Bibliothèque universitaire des langues et civilisations –
  University Library on Languages and Civilisations
CEFURD  Centre for Research on Planning and Development
CEMA  Committee for Ethnic Minority Affairs
CEPED  Centre français sur la population et le développement –
  French Centre on Population and Development
CM  Chef de ménage – Head of Household
CNEARC  Centre national des études agronomiques en régions chaudes (Montpellier) –
  National Centre for Agronomic Studies in Tropical Regions
CNEP  Centre des nouvelles études sur le Pacifique –
  Centre for New Studies on the Pacific
CNRS  Centre national de la recherche scientifique –
  National Centre for Scientific Research
DIAL  Développement, institution et analyse de long terme –
  Development, Institutions and Long-term Analysis
EADI  European Association of Development Institutes
ECAF  European Consortium for Asian Field Study
EDS  Enquêtes démographiques et de santé – Demographic and Health Surveys
EFEO  École française d’Extrême-Orient – French School of the Far East
EHESP  École des hautes études en sciences sociales –
  School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences
EIU  Economist Intelligence Unit
ENSAE  École nationale de la statistique et de l’administration économique -
  National School of Statistics and Economic Administration
FSP2S  Fonds de solidarité prioritaire en sciences sociales –
  Priority Solidarity Fund in Social Sciences
GDP  Gross Domestic Product
GNI  Gross National Income
GNP  Gross National Product
GRAB  Groupe de réflexion sur l’approche biographique –
  Reflection Group on the Biographical Approach
GRET  
Groupe de recherche et d'échanges technologiques - Group for Research and Technological Exchanges

GSO  
General Statistics Office of Việt Nam

HDI  
Human Development Index

HRAF  
Human Relation Area Files

IDEAS  
Integrating and Developing European Asian Studies

IFAN  
Institut fondamental d'Afrique Noire – Fundamental Institute of Black Africa

IHEID  
The Graduate Institute, Geneva

ILO  
International Labour Organization

INED  
Institut national d'études démographiques – National Institute of Demographic Studies

INSEE  
Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques - National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies

IRASEC  
Institute for Research on Contemporary Southeast Asia (Bangkok)

IRD  
Institute of Research on Development

ISF  
Indice synthétique de fécondité – Total Fertility Rate

IUED  
Institut universitaire d'études du développement – University Institute for Development Studies

JTD  
Journées de Tam Đảo – Tam Đảo Summer School

LARTES  
Laboratoire de recherche sur les transformations économiques et sociales – Research laboratory on Economic and Social Transformations

LFS  
Labour Force Survey

LPED  
Laboratory on Population Environment and Development

MAFE  
Migration between Africa and Europe

MDGs  
Millennium Development Goals

NGO  
Non-governmental Organization

OECD  
Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

PPP  
Purchasing Power Parity

SDF  
Sans domicile fixe – No Fixed Abode

UNDP  
United Nations Development Program

UNFPA  
United Nations Population Fund

UNICEF  
United Nations Children’s Fund

USSH  
University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Hà Nội

VASS  
Việt Nam Academy of Social Sciences

VHLSS  
Việt Nam Household Living Standard Survey

WHO  
World Health Organization

WTO  
World Trade Organization
What is AFD?

*Agence Française de Développement* (AFD) is a public development finance institution that has been working to fight poverty and foster economic growth in developing countries and the French Overseas Communities for seventy years. It executes the policy defined by the French Government.

AFD is present on four continents where it has an international network of seventy agencies and representation offices, including nine in the French Overseas Communities and one in Brussels. It finances and supports projects that improve people’s living conditions, promote economic growth and protect the planet, such as schooling for children, maternal health, support for farmers and small businesses, water supply, tropical forest preservation, and the fight against climate change.

In 2011, AFD approved nearly €6.9 billion to finance activities in developing countries and the French Overseas Communities. The funds will help get 4 million children into primary school and 2 million into secondary school; they will also improve drinking water supply for 1.53 million people. Energy efficiency projects financed by AFD in 2011 will save nearly 3.8 million tons of carbon dioxide emissions annually.

www.afd.fr
Various authors

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Social Differentiation and Inequalities
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The Việt Nam Academy of Social Sciences (VASS), the Agence Française de Développement (AFD), the Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD), Nantes University, the École française d’Extrême-Orient (EFEO) and the Agence universitaire de la Francophonie (AUF) have decided to support the social sciences summer university called “Tam Đảo Summer School Week” as part of a partnership agreement for the period 2010-2013. The objectives of this partnership are to develop multidisciplinary training of an excellent standard, to create a policy discussion platform and to attract a large academic and non-academic audience from the entire Southeast Asian region.

This book is a verbatim transcription of the presentations and debates during the plenary sessions and workshops held from July 15 to 23, 2011 in Hà Nội and in the hill station of Tam Đảo on the issue of differentiation and social inequalities, with a particular focus on questions of gender and ethnicity. Four main axes of reflection were highlighted in thematic workshops:

i) ethnic and gender discrimination: measurement and methods of breaking down data;
ii) biographies: from quantitative survey to analysis;
iii) construction and management of ethnicities in Southeast Asia;
iv) field study methods in socio-economics and in anthropology.

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Regional Social Sciences Summer University
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