

L9-10. Let's Mix (the methods)!

Olivier Godechot
Sciences Po – Campus Reims
Inquiries in Sociology



Mix-methods

- A research design combining multiple methods
- Mixing materials
 - Materials: Interviews / Observation / Document analysis / Archival work / Questionnaire / Experiments / Administrative data / Internet data / Secondary data
- Mixing methods of analysis: generally qualitative and quantitative
 - Qualitative: Exemplification / Interpretation / Process tracing / Case Study
=> meaning, mechanisms
 - Quantitative: Standardization / Serialisation / Measurement Correlation => proofs, validation (internal & external validity)
- Having the best of all

Many articles somehow mix materials and methods

1. Mears, Ashley, 2011. “3. Becoming a look.” and “Appendix: The Precarious Labor of Ethnography”, *Pricing Beauty. The making of a fashion model*. University of California Press.
2. Peterson, Richard A., and Roger M. Kern. 1996. “Changing highbrow taste: From snob to omnivore.” *American sociological review* 61(5): 900-907.
3. Durkheim, Emile. *Suicide: A study in sociology*. Routledge, 2005. Introduction and Book 1. Chapter 4 p. 74-94.
4. Braun, Robert. 2022. “Bloodlines: National Border Crossings and Antisemitism in Weimar Germany.” *American Sociological Review* 87 (2): 202-236.
5. Tilcsik, András. 2011. “Pride and prejudice: Employment discrimination against openly gay men in the United States.” *American Journal of Sociology* 117 (2): 586-626.
6. Hochschild, Arlie Russell. 2018. “Preface”, “Traveling to the Heart”, “The Deep Story” & “Appendix A”, *Strangers in their own land: Anger and mourning on the American right*. The New Press, 2018.
7. Desmond, Matthew. 2012. “Disposable Ties and the Urban Poor”, *American Journal of Sociology*, 117(5): 1295:1335.
8. Estep, Kevin, and Pierce Greenberg. 2020. “Opting out: individualism and vaccine refusal in pockets of socioeconomic homogeneity.” *American Sociological Review* 85(6): 957-991.
9. Kreager, Derek A., et al. 2017. “Where “old heads” prevail: Inmate hierarchy in a men’s prison unit.” *American Sociological Review* 82 (4): 685-718.
10. Engels, 1887 [1845], “Introduction” and “The great towns”, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*

Different combinations

- All in one
- Qualitative for exploration and quantitative for confirmation
- Qualitative for understanding quantitative data

All methods at the same time

All means

- Qualitative and quantitative method done simultaneously
- No temporal nor hierarchical order
- All methods exploratory & confirmatory
- **Bourdieu. Pierre. 1984 [1979]. *Distinction*. Routledge**

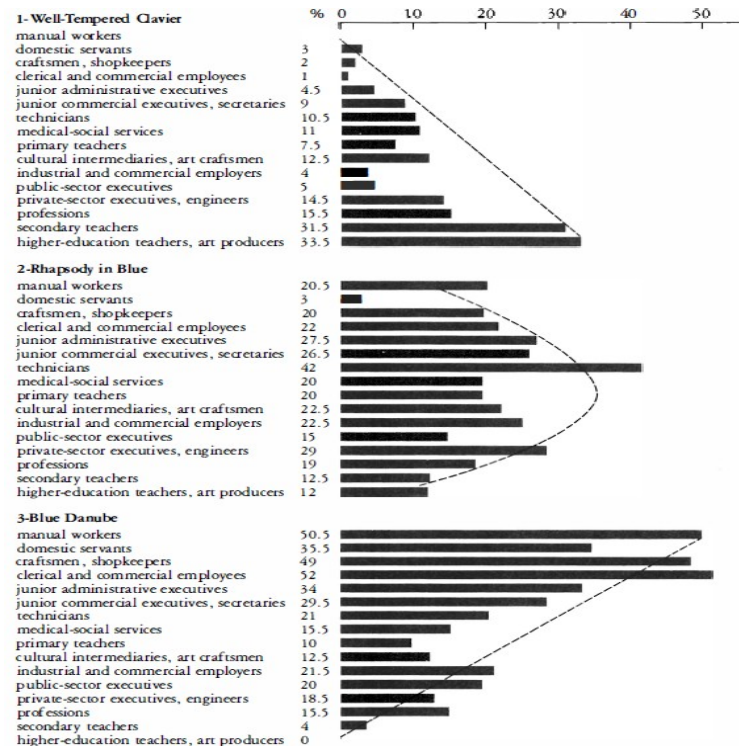
Questionnaire

20. Which of the musical works in this list do you know? In each case, name the composer, if you can.

Rhapsody in Blue
 La Traviata
 Concerto for the Left Hand
 Eine Kleine Nachtmusik
 L'Arlésienne
 Sabre Dance
 Firebird Suite
 Scheherazade
 Art of Fugue
 Hungarian Rhapsody
 L'Enfant et les sortilèges
 Blue Danube
 Twilight of the Gods
 Four Seasons
 Well-Tempered Clavier
 Le Marteau sans maître

known composer

21. Which are your three favourites among the above works?



Second hand surveys

Table 21 Class variations in sports activities and opinions on sport, 1975.

Sports characteristics of respondents	Positive responses (%) by class fraction					Positive responses (%) by sex	
	Farm workers	Manual workers	Craftsmen, small shopkeepers	Clerical, junior execs.	Senior execs., professions	Men	Women
Attend sports events fairly or very often	20	22	24	18	16	26	10
Watch or listen to sports events (on TV or radio) often or fairly often	50	62	60	60	50	71	47
Would like their child to become sports champion	50	61	55	44	33	52	47
Think that physical education ought to have a bigger place in the school curriculum	23	48	41	60	71	47	39
Regularly practise one or more sports (other than swimming if only on holiday)	17	18	24	29	45	25	15
Practise no sport now but used to	26	34	41	34	33	42	21
Have never regularly practised any sport	57	48	35	37	22	33	64
Regularly practise:							
tennis	0	1.5	2.5	2.5	15.5	2	2.5
riding	1.5	0.5	1	1.5	3.5	1	1
skiing	3.5	1.5	6.5	4.5	8	3	3
swimming	2.0	2.5	3.5	6.5	10	4	3
gymnastics	0.5	3	0.5	5	7	1.5	4
athletics	0	1.5	0.5	2.5	4	2	0.5
football	2.5	6	4.5	4	4	7	0.5

Source: C.S. XXXVIII (1975).

1. The statistics available (Source: 2. Compendium, 1975, p. 10).

on the respondents' statements and are no substitute for surveys of the sample population as presented in Table 1. For this reason, a separate table is

Interviews

A Grand Bourgeois '*Unique among His Kind*'

S., a lawyer aged 45, is the son of a lawyer and his family belongs to the Parisian grande bourgeoisie. His wife, the daughter of an engineer, studied at the Paris Political Science Institute and does not work. Their four children are at the 'best' private Catholic secondary schools in Paris. They live in a very big apartment (more than 300 square metres) in the 16th arrondissement: a very large entrance-hall, a spacious livingroom, a dining-room, a study, and the bedrooms (his office is not in the apartment).

In the living-room, modern furniture (big cushions, a large couch, armchairs), antiquities, '*a Greek head in stone, authentic and rather beautiful*' (a wedding present), an object which the head of the household calls his '*personal altar*' ('*a rather attractive religious thing I managed to get off my parents*'-his father collects all sorts of objets d'art, and has bought, among other things, '*all sorts of stuff, chalices, crosses . . . from a sort of Russian, a dealer*'), '*a terracotta thing from the Tang dynasty*', bought from an antique shop in Formosa where he went accompanied by ten specialists, several paintings, a Paul Serusier ('*It is rather charming but, that said, I'd just as soon put a modern picture in its place*'), in the dining-room a Dutch still life. '*Unique among its kind*' When he buys objets d'art, '*it's in no way an investment.*' What counts for him is '*first of all the beauty of the thing, the object, and secondly, not whether it is unique, but whether it's made in a craftsmanlike way: 'you can make it again, but you can also make a mess of it. So it becomes unique among its kind, because you can't copy the same object, the same subject, twice . . . What makes the beauty of a face, the beauty of a sculpture, is the smile, the look. . . . You can't do it twice. You can make a plaster copy but you can't do it again in the same material, the material counts more, anyway as much as the mass. I'd love to own a very fine bronze. There are bronzes that are absolutely extraordinary.*'

Observations

The cafe is not a place a man goes to for a drink but a place he goes to in order to drink in company, where he can establish relationships of familiarity based on the suspension of the censorships, conventions and proprieties that prevail among strangers. In contrast to the bourgeois or petit bourgeois cafe or restaurant, where each table is a separate, appropriated territory (one asks permission to borrow a chair or the salt), the working-class cafe is a site of companionship (each new arrival gives a collective greeting, 'Salut la compagnie!' etc.). Its focus is the counter, to be leaned on after shaking hands with the landlord-who is thus defined as the host (he often leads the conversation)-and sometimes shaking hands with the whole company; the tables, if there are any, are left to 'strangers', or women who have come in to get a drink for their child or make a phone call.

Observations (follow-up)

In the café free rein is given to the typically popular art of the joke-the art of seeing everything as a joke (hence the reiterated 'joking apart' or 'No joke', which mark a return to serious matters or prelude a second-degree joke), but also the art of making or playing jokes, often at the expense of the 'fat man'. He is always good for a laugh, because, in the popular code, his fatness is more a picturesque peculiarity than a defect, and because the good nature he is presumed to have predisposes him to take it in good heart and see the funny side. The joke, in other words, is the art of making fun without raising anger, by means of ritual mockery or insults which are neutralized by their very excess and which, presupposing a great familiarity, both in the knowledge they use and the freedom with which they use it, are in fact tokens of attention or affection, ways of building up while seeming to run down, of accepting while seeming to condemn-although they may also be used to test out those who show signs of stand-offishness.

Pictures



(Aesthetic) Experiments

“Confronted with a photograph of an old woman's hands, the culturally most deprived express a more or less conventional emotion or an ethical complicity but never a specifically aesthetic judgment (other than a negative one) : ‘Oh, she's got terribly deformed hands’ . . . There's one thing I don't get (the left hand) -it's as if her left thumb was about to come away from her hand. Funny way of taking a photo. The old girl must've worked hard. Looks like she's got arthritis. She's definitely crippled, unless she's holding her hands like that (imitates gesture) Yes, that's it, she's got her hand bent like that. Not like a duchess's hands or even a typist's! . . . I really feel sorry seeing that poor old woman's hands, they're all knotted, you might say’ (manual worker, Paris)”



Documents and Press Magazines

- *The Catalogue of New Sporting Resources*
 - “**Groovy football:** Alternative soccer is on the up-and-up. Spontaneity is the word: no clubs, no championships, often no grounds. The traditional team colours give way to multi-coloured tee shirts, even Indian shirts. Not many shorts to be seen, but lots of jeans. Heavy boots with studs and laces all over them are rare in the extreme, and when they do appear a crowd gathers to gawk at them before the match. Sneakers and desert boots are more like it.”
- A stupid press poll from *Le POINT* can help to describe social hierarchies

Politicians	Flowers						Animals					
	Chrysan- themum	Lily of the valley	Poppy	Narcissus	Lilac	Carnation	Ox	Ant	Grasshopper	Fox	Crow	Tortoise
Giscard d’Estaing	14	23	12	14	18	18	12	29	18	24	9	9
Poniatowski	24	16	8	16	16	20	38	11	8	13	17	12
Chirac	10	21	9	15	25	20	16	22	15	15	16	15
Servan-Schreiber	9	14	13	27	21	17	6	12	28	11	10	33
Mitterrand	16	16	21	17	13	16	9	14	21	22	16	18
Marchais	27	10	37	11	7	9	19	12	10	15	32	13

Intrication of qualitative and quantitative

- Statistics often in parenthesis as mixed with observations/interpretation.

“Manual workers and small employers also favour *coq au vin* (50 percent and 48 percent), a dish typical of small restaurants aiming to be 'posh', and perhaps for this reason associated with the idea of 'eating out' (compared with 42 percent of the clerical workers, 39 percent of the senior executives and 37 percent of the farm workers). The executives, professionals and big employers clearly distinguish themselves solely by choosing-from a list which for them is particularly narrow-the dish which is both relatively 'light' and symbolically marked (in contrast to the ordinary routine of petit-bourgeois cooking) , bouillabaisse (31 percent, as against 22 percent of the clerical workers, 17 percent of the small employers, 10 percent of the manual workers, 7 percent of the farm workers) , in which the opposition between fish and meat (especially the pork in sauerkraut or cassoulet) is clearly strengthened by regionalist and touristic connotations”

A distinctive style

“In this antithesis between two relations to music which are always defined, more unconsciously than consciously, in relation to each other—the taste for the artists of the past, Panzera or Cortot, loved even for their imperfections which evoke the freedom of the amateur, implies a distaste for modern performers and their impeccable recordings for mass production—one again finds the old opposition between the docte, who is bound to the code (in every sense) , the rules, and therefore the Institution and Criticism, and the hedonistic mondain, who, being on the side of nature, the 'natural' , is content to feel and enjoy, and who expels all trace of intellectualism, didacticism, pedantry from his artistic experience.” (P.76)

- Translation
- The hedonist mondain likes a “natural” style, not too constrained
- The docte likes a style, which follows exactly the musical code (rhythm, etc.)
- The two positions are relational to one another
- The mondain will like what the docte dislike, for instance imperfections, which are a sign of natural
- Example: Taste for old imperfect performances are a sign of this opposition
- Example, of the example : Panzera (singer) and Cortot (pianist performer)
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mjcgBrJr9QQ>

Bourdieu had a point!

Youtube Comments on Panzera and Cortot

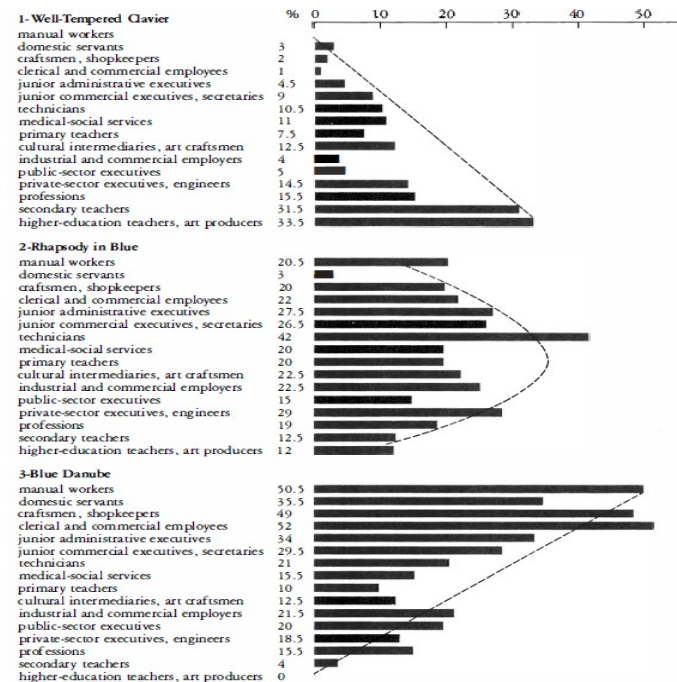
- “Joyce Little il y a 1 an
Unbelievably, miraculously wonderful singing and playing. Every note, phrase, shape and harmony is given extraordinary consideration, and **the soul of this masterpiece is thus communicated to the listener; a profoundly moving experience.** It takes quite a lot these days for me to be brought to tears, but this achieved it. **I simply don't care if people say that it is of its time and that we wouldn't approach the work this way. A: Why not? and B: Who cares? I treasure everything; how simply wonderful it would have been to hear these great artists in concert.**
- Roy Doughty il y a 2 ans
Panzera makes the poetry into music, instead of letting the music obliterate the poetry. He is almost reciting in some places. Very wonderful.

A distinctive style

- Long sentence
- Marcel Proust / Claude Simon / structuralism (cf. style from Lacan, Barthes, Derrida) inspired
- Sentence containing in the same time
 - A theoretical claim, its domain of validity, its limitation, and the reason of its limitation
 - Theoretical claims and empirical illustrations (especially qualitative through “short quotes” in parenthesis)
 - Many allusions for readers supposed to share the same culture
- Sign of reflexivity, smartness (never being naïve or overly reductionist)
- Anti-academic (antiscientific?) style => no concession to classical “academic” style (seen as boring and servile)
 - Never you will see “The article is organized as follows: in the first part I will elaborate the theoretical hypotheses...”
 - Outlines, order of progression never explicitly written down
 - Theoretical hypotheses never isolated as such
 - Core results hardly isolated
- Pro: Aesthetic seduction, sense of complexity (Mauger, 2010)
- Cons: Difficult to read. To summarize. To evaluate (test, confirm, infirm, falsify) (Heinich, 2010)
- **Advice: Don’t imitate P. Bourdieu**

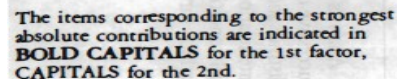
Distinction: Main contribution

- Logic of distinction
 - Socialization
 - Taste is a product of habitus, that is of long term class socialization
 - Formalism vs taste of necessity
 - Lower class aesthetics is in continuity with life (“practical” enhances beauty)
 - Relational
 - Imitation: we value the things (or the people) that value the people (or the things) we value
 - Demarcation: we disvalue the things (or the people) that value the people (or the things) we disvalue



262 / *Class Tastes and Life-Styles*

Figure 12 (shown in grey)
Variants of the dominant taste. Analysis of correspondences. Plane diagram of 1st and 2nd axes of inertia: the space of individuals of the different fractions.

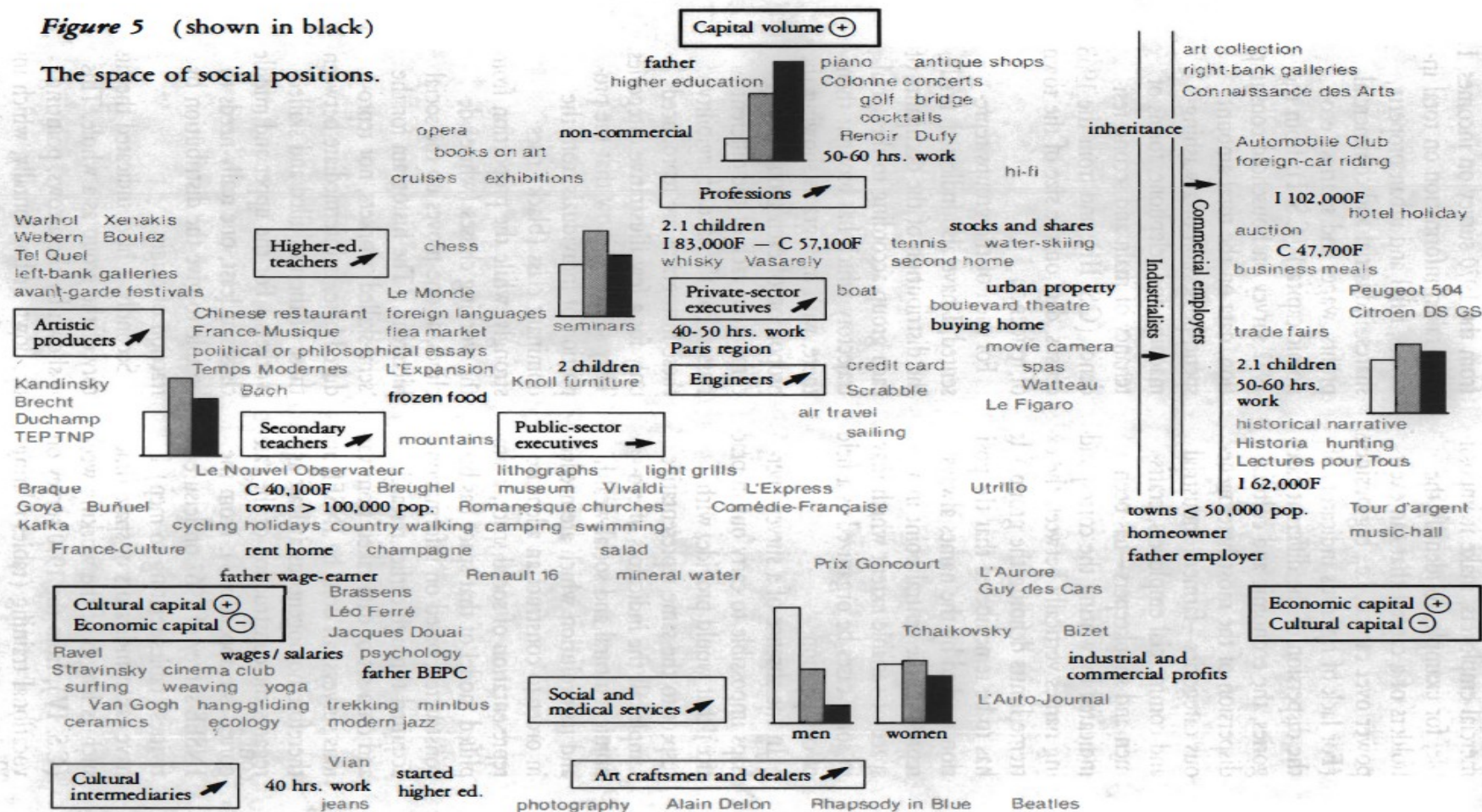


Bourdieu's field logic

- Bourdieu's model
 - $Practice = [(habitus) * (capital)] + field$
- Field : space of competition
 - imperfect competition logic
 - People observe one another
 - Demarcation & imitation
 - Unequal resources and positions
 - Initial capital
 - Habitus
 - Seeking profits strategies
 - Price making
 - Power on price
 - bidimensional universe
 - Not just one form of value, of capital and of prices
 - Opposition of specific (symbolic) capital, and general (economic) capital
 - Opposition of diverse types of profits and valuation
 - Practical positioning
 - Not perfectly rational.
 - Combination of calculation, and more or less unconscious hierarchies of taste and distaste
- Field logic through MCA
 - First Axis: volume of capital
 - Opposition of dominants and dominated
 - Opposition of elders and younger
 - Opposition of traditional powers and newcomers
 - Second Axis: structure of capital
 - Opposition of one form of capital over another
 - Cultural/economic
 - Symbolic/Material
 - Scientific prestige / Academic power

Figure 5 (shown in black)

The space of social positions.



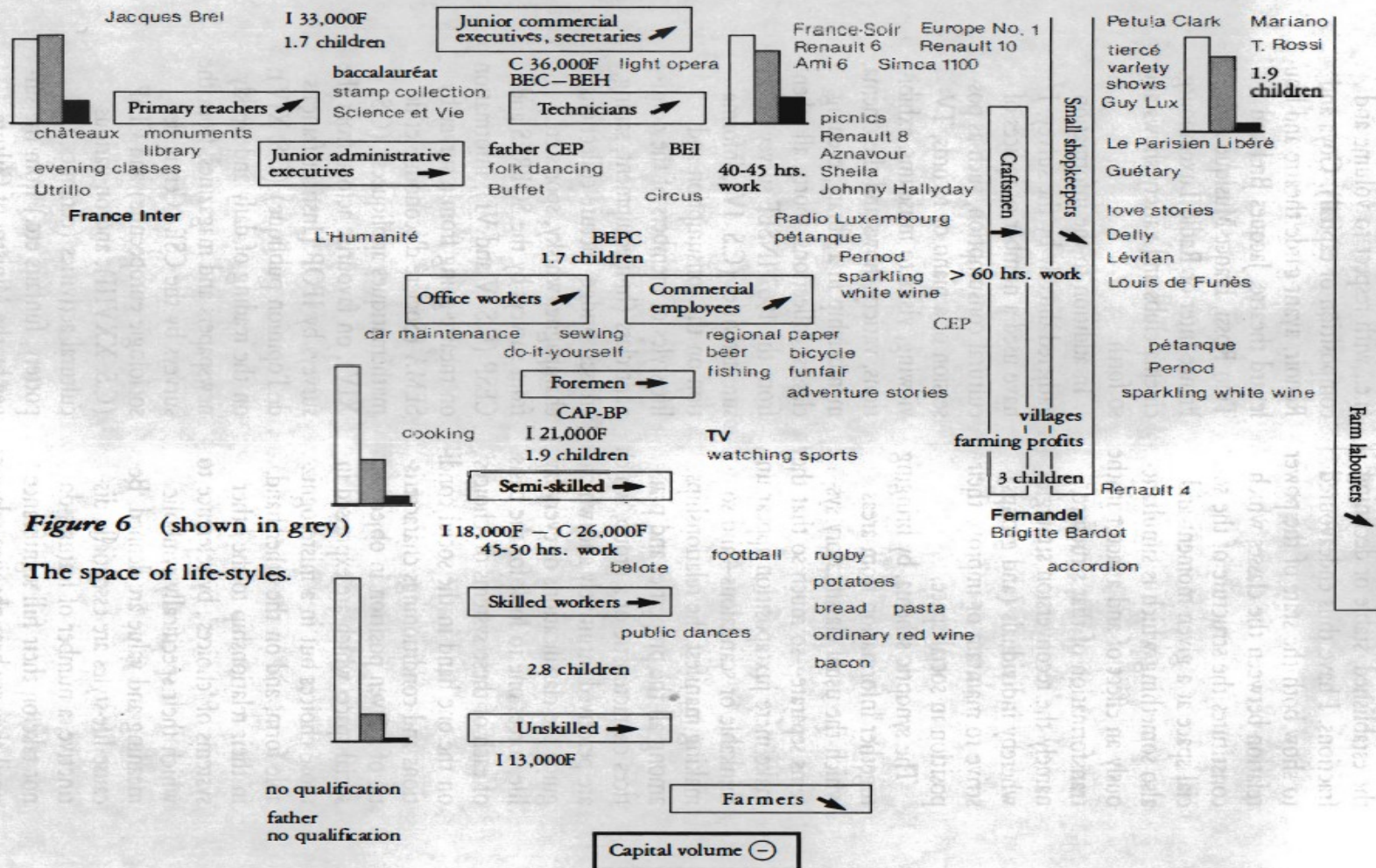


Figure 6 (shown in grey)

The space of life-styles.

Experiments with students: Parental highest occupation (2022)

	Well tempered clavier	Rhapsody in Blue	Emperor's waltz
Intellectual upper class	1 (14%)	2 (29%)	4 (57%)
Economic upper class	2 (18%)	3 (27%)	6 (55%)
Other classes	2 (29%)	2 (29%)	3 (43%)

Experiments with students: Parental highest occupation (2021)

	Well tempered clavier	Rhapsody in Blue	Emperor's waltz
Intellectual upper class	3 (38%)	3 (38%)	2 (25%)
Economic upper class	2 (29%)	0 (0%)	5 (71%)
Other classes	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5 (100%)

Experiments with students: Parental highest occupation (2020)

	Well tempered clavier	Rhapsody in Blue	Emperor's waltz
Intellectual upper class	2 (17%)	2 (17%)	8 (67%)
Economic upper class	3 (50%)	2 (33%)	1 (17%)
Other classes	4 (25%)	5 (31%)	7 (44%)

Experiments with students: Parental highest education

	Well tempered clavier	Rhapsody in Blue	Emperor's waltz
PhD or Master	1	0	5
Bachelor	1	1	0
Below	1	2	3

Experiments with students: practicing music

	Well tempered clavier	Rhapsody in Blue	Emperor's waltz
Yes	1	1	5
No	1	1	2

The canonical mix

Canonical mix

- Initial research question
- Qualitative exploration
- Hypothesis building based on fieldwork
- Quantitative proof through a confirmatory research design
 - Questionnaire
 - Administrative
- Temporal and logical order
- Hierarchy
 - Qualitative: Better for ➔ Meaning through interpretation/ theory building
 - Quantitative: Better for ➔ proof / confirmation

“Abductive” Approach. Hypothesis building

- Kreager, Derek A., et al. 2017. “Where “old heads” prevail: Inmate hierarchy in a men’s prison unit.” *American Sociological Review* 82 (4): 685-718.
- Qualitative analysis of follow-up question in questionnaire for building hypothesis in an abductive way
 - Coding + quotes
- Then quantitative analysis: network + ERGM
 - Time spent in unit is the main determinant of status

Network as a way of establishing trust

Uzzi, Brian. 1999. “Embeddedness in the Making of Financial Capital: How Social Relations and Networks Benefit Firms Seeking Finance”, *American Sociological Review*, 1999, 64: 481-505.

- Discussing Granovetter’s concept of embeddedness:
 - Granovetter Mark (1985). « Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness » *American Journal of Sociology*, 91(November): 481-510

- Embeddedness : “The degree to which commercial transactions take place through social relations and networks of relations that use exchange protocols associated with social, non-commercial attachments to govern business dealings.”
 - Why economic transactions become embedded in social relations influencing the allocation and valuation of capitals?
 - How bank-borrower relationships and networks affect a firm’s acquisition and cost of capital using a social embeddedness approach?

Research question and Research Design

- Embedded ties : social, personalized, repeated ties
 - Provide trust
 - Arm's-length ties : punctual exchange without any mutual obligations.
 - Provide information, help to monitor embedded ties
 - How firms use those two types of ties with banks in order to get access to credit?
- DATA
 - Qualitative
 - 26 Interviews in 11 mid market banks in Chicago. 26 hours of interviews
 - Quantitative design
 - 2300 firms National Survey of Small Business Finances, administered by the Federal Reserve Bank to investigate how market and organization characteristics affect capital costs and availability.

Analyzing interviews...

- Embedded ties provide
 - Trust
 - Reciprocity

varies. The more that commercial transactions are embedded in social attachments, the more expectations of trust govern exchanges. One RM expressed it this way:

[A] relationship [means] 'that you know a person like his family and you feel on a level with him—not pure friends—but that he trusts what you say. That you're taking care of him. . . . [So] the more I know a person, the more he understands why I'm asking these questions. He doesn't feel so defensive. Otherwise, with market ties it's a battle.

Other RMs noted that reciprocity characterizes embedded ties, an outcome that is bolstered by expectations of trust. As another RM explained,

On the golf course, at a ball game, or the theater, they'll let their guard down more often. We exchange information—not like a marriage—more like dating. I share information about me as a person. I let them see me and share with them our company's struggles. As I share that information, I get information back. It's kind of a quid pro quo.

- Qualitative evidence of advantages of embedded ties lead to hypotheses:
 - H1 & 2 : The more a firm's commercial exchanges with a bank are embedded in social attachments, the more likely the firm is to acquire financing at that bank (H1) and the lower the firm's cost of financing at that bank (H2).

... enable hypotheses setting

- Informational advantage of arm's length ties

Three banks were pitching on the same deal, and the company said to me “give us a creative idea on how you would structure this financing.” [W]e provided a very creative idea with term loans and revolving credit [factors affecting price and structure]. They said, “We really like this structure, but X has been our bank for 50 years and we don’t want to pull the agency from them.” When the term sheet came back from X bank, X bank had basically our term sheet with their name on it. Later, the CFO said to me, . . . “Look, you guys came up with the idea. So, we’d like to give you the first shot at our trust business or the private banking of the owners” [a conciliation prize for providing valuable ideas]. So, we gave the banking insight on the marketplace to the firm [but lost the deal].

- H3 : A firm’s likelihood of acquiring financing increases when it has a network with an integrated mix of embedded ties and arm’s-length ties and decreases when it has a network that tends toward either solely embedded ties or solely arm’s-length ties
- H4: A firm’s cost of financing decreases when it has a network with an integrated mix of embedded and arm’s length ties and increases when it has a network that tends toward either solely embedded ties or solely arm’s-length ties.

Turning embeddedness into variables

- Embeddedness
 - *duration of the relationship* in years
 - *multiplexity of the relationship*
 - as the number of business services (e.g., cash box services, wire transfers) *and* personal bank services (e.g., personal bank accounts, wills, estate planning) used by the entrepreneur
 - *network complementarity*
 - which operationalizes the degree to which a firm uses arm's-length ties, embedded ties, or a mix of ties to transact with the banks in its network
 - The measure is defined as $\sum(P_j)^2$, where j varies from 1 to N banks, and P_j is the proportion of the firm's banking business that is dedicated to bank j .
 - Imagine a firm giving 70% of its business to bank 1, 20% to bank 2 and 10% to bank 3 : Complementarity: $(.70)^2 + (.20)^2 + (.10)^2 = .54$

Table 4. Coefficients from the Heckman Selection Regression of Access to Credit and Interest Rate on Loan on Selected Independent Variables: U.S. Nonagricultural Firms, 1989

Independent Variable	Model 1 (Credit Accessed)		Model 2 (Cost of Capital)	
	Coefficient	S.E.	Coefficient	S.E.
Constant	1.164**	(.184)	11.233**	(1.155)
<i>Embeddedness</i>				
Duration of bank/firm relationship	-.001	(.002)	-.013*	(.005)
Multiplexity of bank/firm relationship	.005	(.008)	-.042*	(.018)
Complementarity of firm's bank network	1.772*	(.547)	-6.275**	(1.134)
(Complementarity of firm's bank network) ²	-1.119*	(.461)	5.030**	(.960)
Size of firm's bank network	.133**	(.020)	.039	(.053)
<i>Organizational Characteristics</i>				
Women-managed firm	-.189*	(.086)	.020	(.231)
Minority-managed firm	-.180	(.107)	.371	(.288)
Number of employees	.001	(.001)	-.002*	(.001)
Age of firm	-.007**	(.002)	—	—
Corporation	-.132*	(.063)	—	—
Cash in retained earnings	-.023	(.013)	—	—
Sales change (log)	.005	(.003)	-.022**	(.007)
Acid ratio	-.025**	(.004)	.028*	(.015)
Debt ratio	.004	(.038)	.070	(.150)
<i>Loan Characteristics</i>				
Prime rate	—	—	.155	(.096)
Term structure spread	—	—	-.020	(.106)
Collateral on loan	—	—	-.393*	(.175)
Fixed-rate loan	—	—	.709**	(.207)
<i>Region and Industry Indicators</i>				
Bank competition	-.140**	(.043)	.193	(.111)
Northeast	.264**	(.082)	—	—
North Central	.211**	(.085)	—	—
South	.138*	(.081)	—	—
Mining	.257	(.316)	—	—
Construction	.104	(.093)	—	—
Manufacturing	-.063	(.097)	—	—
Transportation, communication, public utilities	.124	(.164)	—	—
Wholesale trade	-.004	(.070)	—	—
Retail trade	.178	(.141)	—	—
Wald χ^2 (d.f. = 16)	131.31**			
Log-likelihood	-3363.2			
Rho	-.352			

Note: N = 2,226

Results

Access to credit

- Increases with the complementarity of bank-firm relationships up to a threshold and reverses

Cost of capital

- Decreases with the duration of the relationship
- Decreases with the multiplexity of the relationship
- Decreases with the complementarity of the relationship down to a threshold and reverses

Integrated network as an optimum

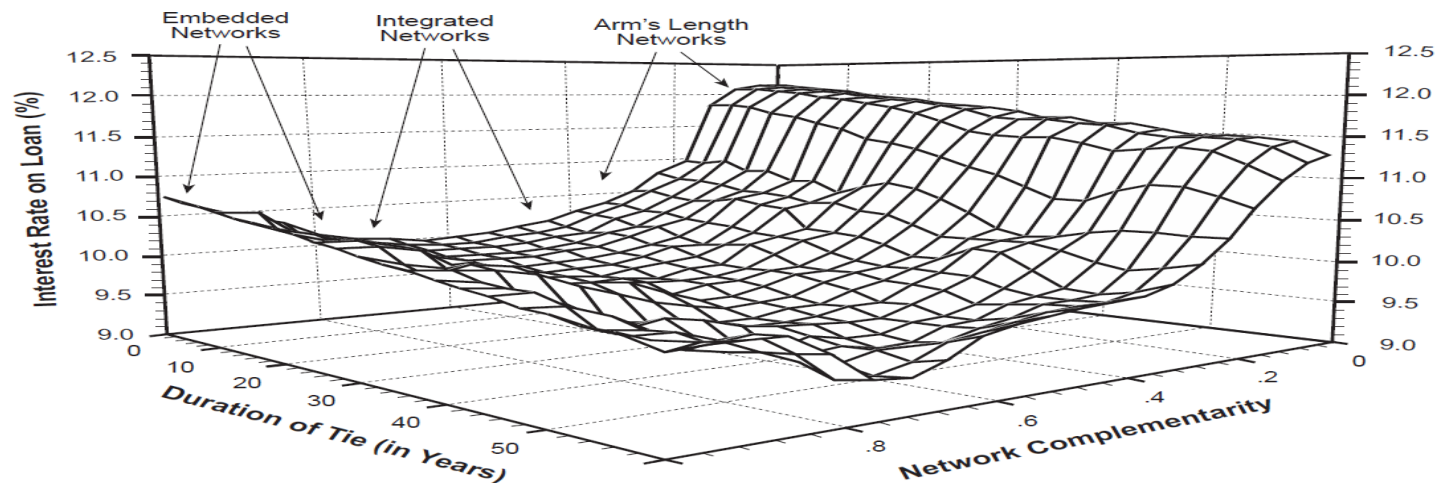


Figure 1. Social Embeddedness and the Firm's Cost of Financial Capital: U.S. Nonagricultural Firms, 1989

Qualitative for going beyond statistics

Understanding statistics with qualitative evidences

Gollac, M. 1997. "Des chiffres insensés? Pourquoi et comment on donne un sens aux données statistiques." *Revue française de sociologie* 38(1): 5-36.

- Increase in declaration of carrying heavy loads between 84 and 91
 - Especially Nurses
- Solving the puzzle. Historical qualitative evidence.
- 1988 Major nurse strike => conscientization of bad working conditions

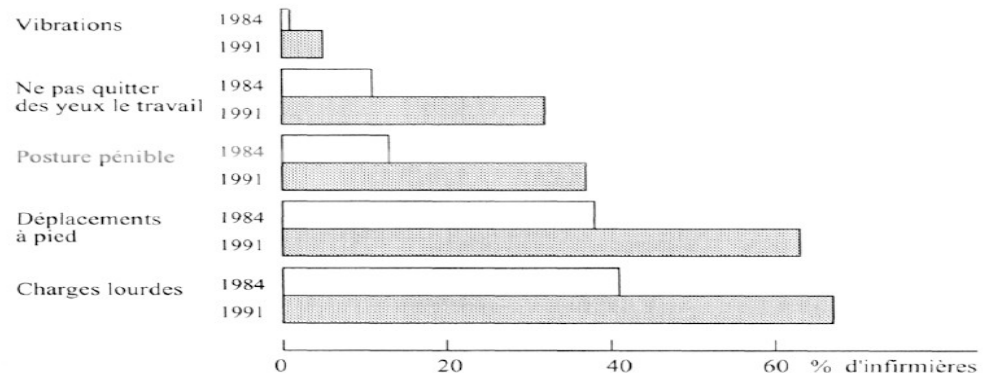
TABLEAU I. – *Proportion de...*

	en 1984	en 1991
... salariés déclarant risquer un accident de la route en cours de travail	17 %	25 %
... employés déclarant respirer des fumées	11 %	21 %
... ouvriers qualifiés disant manipuler des toxiques	23 %	32 %

TABLEAU II. – *Proportion de salariés déclarant...*

	en 1984	en 1991
... porter ou manipuler des charges lourdes	21 %	31 %
... faire des déplacements à pied longs ou fréquents	17 %	28 %

FIGURE V. – *Pourcentage d'infirmières déclarant une détérioration de leurs conditions de travail en termes de...*



Qualitative data within an experimental design

Pager, Western, Bonikowski, 2009, “Discrimination in a Low-Wage Labor Market: A Field Experiment”, *ASR*

- *Testing*
 - 10 testers selected (4 Whites, 4 Blacks and 2 Latinos) among 300 potential candidates, matched by groups of 3
 - Matched by age, education, physical appearance, and interactional skills
 - Identical fictitious CV
 - Group of 3 applying to the same job offers (319 announcements). In half of the job offers, the White says that he was convicted to prison for drug traffic

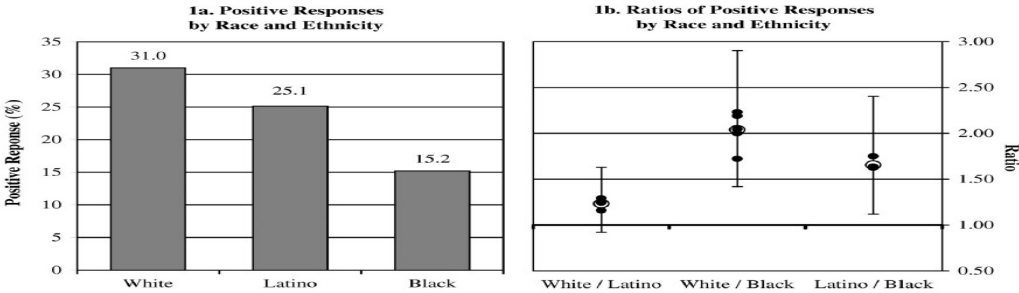


Figure 1. Positive Response Rates and Paired Comparisons by Race and Ethnicity

Notes: Positive responses refer to callbacks or job offers. Hollow circles in Figure 1b indicate point estimates of the ratio. Solid circles indicate ratios obtained by sequentially dropping testers from the analysis. We estimated 95 percent confidence intervals from a hierarchical logistic regression with employer and tester random effects. Number of employers = 171.

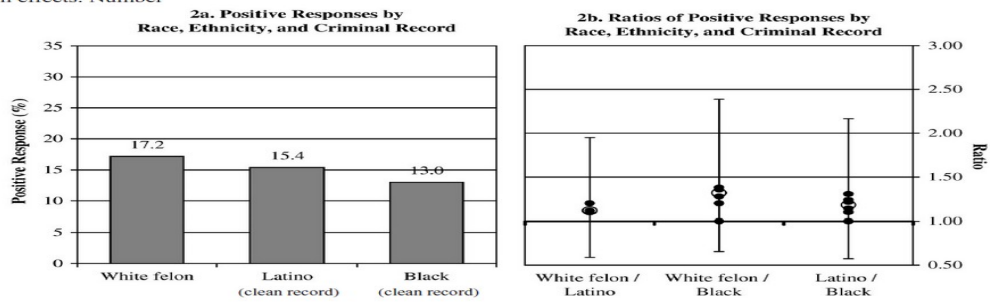


Figure 2. Positive Response Rates and Paired Comparisons by Race, Ethnicity, and Criminal Background

Notes: Positive responses refer to callbacks or job offers. Hollow circles in Figure 2b indicate point estimates of the ratio. Solid circles indicate ratios obtained by sequentially dropping testers from the analysis. We estimated 95 percent confidence intervals from a hierarchical logistic regression with employer and tester random effects. Number of employers = 169.

A qualitative dimension

- Exploring underlying Mechanism with qualitative data

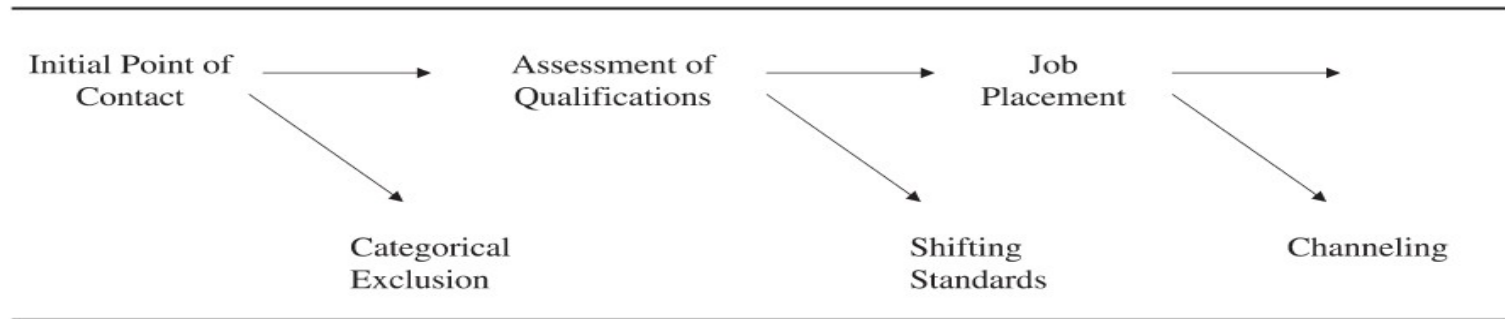


Figure 3. Discrimination at Three Decision Points

Qualitative for uncovering mechanisms

- Estep, Kevin, and Pierce Greenberg. 2020. “Opting out: individualism and vaccine refusal in pockets of socioeconomic homogeneity.” *American Sociological Review* 85(6): 957-991.
- Quantitative approach : Young age Vaccine refusal.
 - Stronger in homogeneous upper middle class community
 - And when surrounded by poor neighborhood
 - Gentrified niche effect
- Qualitative uncovers mechanism (11. interviews)
 - Individualism
 - Avoiding social criticism
 - Imaginary protection

Other combination of qualitative and quantitative methods

- Framing the qualitative research with quantitative data
 - Examples
 - F. Weber. *Travail à côté*
 - Joannie Cayouette, “De l’hétérogénéité des classes populaires (et de ce que l’on peut en faire) », *Sociologie*
- Illustrating the statistical results with qualitative results
 - Baudelot, Gollac et al., *Travailler pour être heureux*.

The difference between methods

- From all in one
 - Large utilization of materials
 - Depth / Production of meaning
 - But ... less rigor in methods explanation / proof giving
- Juxtaposition
 - Respecting the logic of each source and method
 - Explanation of methodology
 - Insisting on proof with each of the method
 - But ... towards lack of integration, division of labor,
 - How necessary is mix-methods when methods totally separated?

Why don't we have more mix-methods?

- Specialization in one type of inquiry over the other
- When doing everything, nothing is well done?
- Compatibility of methods and conflict in epistemology