A helping hand? FDI and training of local personnel

A case study of a Norwegian company in Vietnam

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Abstract

This is a case study of a Norwegian company and its affiliate in Vietnam. The purpose is to evaluate the knowledge and skill transfers that take place through training, and the benefits this has for the employees and the local society. There is a particular focus on technical and vocational education and training (TVET). The study is based on qualitative interviews with corporate employees in Norway, administrative employees and managers in Vietnam, operators and warehouse workers in Vietnam and representatives for organizations working with TVET and with support to Norwegian industry in Vietnam. However, the company is currently not involved in any cooperation with local TVET institutions. The findings show that the company is providing both informal and formal training to their employees and that they offer training courses at the local level as well as in the region and globally. However, lower educated employees, operators and warehouse staff are mainly receiving task specific on-the-job training. Still, the interviewees are mainly expressing appreciation about their job and their job conditions.
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# Abbreviations

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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APEC</td>
<td>Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Nations</td>
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<td>BMT</td>
<td>Basic Management Training</td>
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<td>CSR</td>
<td>Corporate social responsibility</td>
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<td>DOET</td>
<td>Department of Education and Training</td>
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<td>DOLISA</td>
<td>Department of Labor Invalids and Social Affairs</td>
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<td>EFA</td>
<td>Education for all</td>
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<td>EPZ</td>
<td>Export processing zone</td>
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<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign direct investment</td>
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<td>FOE</td>
<td>Foreign owned enterprise</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross domestic product</td>
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<tr>
<td>GSO</td>
<td>General Statistics Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>HCMC</td>
<td>Ho Chi Minh City</td>
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<td>HRD</td>
<td>Human resource development</td>
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<tr>
<td>HSE</td>
<td>Health, safety and environment</td>
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<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>JETRO</td>
<td>Japanese External Trade Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>LO</td>
<td>the Norwegian confederation of trade unions</td>
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<tr>
<td>M&amp;A</td>
<td>Merger and acquisition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHO</td>
<td>The Confederation of Norwegian Business and Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nordcham</td>
<td>Nordic Chamber of Commerce</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>Public private partnership</td>
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<tr>
<td>SME</td>
<td>Small and medium-sized enterprises</td>
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<td>SOE</td>
<td>State owned enterprise</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>TNC</td>
<td>Transnational Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>TVET</td>
<td>Technical and vocational education and training</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNEVOC</td>
<td>International Centre for Technical and Vocational Education and Training</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNIDO</td>
<td>the United Nations Industrial Development Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCCI</td>
<td>Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry</td>
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<td>VCP</td>
<td>Vietnamese Communist Party</td>
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<td>VSTS</td>
<td>Vietnam Singapore technical school</td>
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<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organisation</td>
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1. Introduction

Development is about increasing freedom and opportunities of individuals. It is a process towards a situation where people can have more choices on how to live their lives, increased prospects and increased dignity (Streeten 1994). Amartya Sen is concerned with the aspect of freedom for development and argues that: “Development requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over activity of repressive states” (Sen 2001:3). Development is about economic development and increased productivity, but this cannot be promoted on the expense of individual freedom and dignity. E. g. economic growth that does not lead to an increase in available jobs will only foster inequalities and exclusion (WCC 2000).

Education is one means to promote development and it is an important welfare good in itself. “Education for all” (EFA) as one of the millennium goals has given important attention to universal primary schooling. Education is a means for empowerment and increased economic prospects for the individual. It aims to empower individuals to be active participators in the society.

Some types of education and training are directly relevant for generating and stimulating economic growth. Technical and vocational education and training (TVET) is concerned with the development of human resources to initiate, attract or improve production. It is estimated that 80 % of all the work being done in the world today demands skills at technical and vocational level (Mclean 2009).

Facing an era with rapid scientific and technological changes, countries around the world are expanding and restructuring their education systems in order to meet the new challenges. Human resources have become one of the most important economic asset,s and education is considered to play a key role in the stimulation of economic growth and competitiveness.

Foreign direct investments (FDI) are one of the main features of economic globalization. Because of the perceived ability to deal with obstacles like shortages of financial resources and technology and skills, FDI flows are viewed as a major driver of economic growth (UNCTAD 2009, Miyamoto 2003, Dicken 2007). FDI constitutes capital flows to developing
countries several times as big as traditional aid. Transnational corporations (TNC) are controlling about 25% of total gross domestic product (GDP) in the world (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009 a). But does the inflow of FDI bring development?

Critics claim that FDI flows are detrimental to socio-economic development because it alternate for domestic savings and crows out domestic entrepreneurs. Extractions of profits generated from local resources are sent home to the mother company. It is well documented that TNCs operating in developing countries with weak government administrations and regulations have had negative effects on the host country. Local employees are exploited, given low wages and little social security. Environmental concerns are not attended to, and this has led to environmental damages and a ruining of the economic base for local farmers or fishermen. The use of child labour is also reported from time to time (Dicken 2007, Endressen and Jauch 2000, Tandoon 2008, WCC 2009).

Yet, many argue that FDI is among the most important contributions to development in developing countries. FDI contributes to employment generation, transfer of knowledge and skills, technology transfer through ideas and technical production equipment, development of local infrastructure, generation of income to the state and social progress in the local communities through philanthropic contributions from firms. Hence, many developing countries welcome and work to attract foreign investors. Because of this, FDI is increasingly receiving focus also from development workers (Dickens 2007, UNCTAD 2009).

To what extent FDI is good or bad remains a debate among the ones who oppose it and those who support it. However, the importance of appropriate national policies is increasingly recognised in order to be able to reap the benefits and avoid detrimental effects (Stiglitz 2008, Pham 2004)

In the development of the economy and welfare state of norway, foreign investors have also played an important role. The Norwegian economy is based mainly on natural resources like oil, natural gas, water power and fisheries. The country’s self governance is quite young as the country was under Denmark and later Sweden in a union that was ended in 1905.

In the first half of the 20th century the country was among the poorest in Europe. When oil was discovered on the Norwegian continental shelf in the seventies, the country had no skills in oil activity. But the government was proactive and able to ensure the national interests on
Norwegian shelf. To build a national petroleum industry was the goal, and foreign oil companies that wished to operate in Norwegian waters had to train local personnel. This was a part of contract conditions (The Norwegian Museum of Science and Technology 2009).

Today Norway has a successful oil industry covering all aspects of oil activity, including building of platforms, supply activities, development of new under water technologies etc. The Norwegian oil companies operate worldwide (Ibid). As we can see from history, Norway has benefited greatly from skills and technology transfer from international firms and this has again generated related activities and developments within the country.

1.1 Research questions

Referring to the Norwegian experience, it is interesting to ask how Norwegian TNCs behave abroad. What are their ethical principles? Do they act in a way that makes the host country benefit from their presence? To what extent do they provide skills and knowledge transfers for long-term gains? Do Norwegian companies contribute to human resource development (HRD) by the training of local employees? Do their activities contribute to increased livelihood for individuals?

The purpose of this study is to look at technology and skill transfers through training of local employees, and the benefits this may have for the individual worker and the local society. The study is a case study of Jotun, one of the largest international companies in Norway. Jotun owns production facilities in more than 40 countries. This study focuses on their affiliate in Vietnam.

The questions that this thesis will attempt to answer regard the scope and feature of the training Jotun offers, and the impact this has for TVET human resource development in the society: Does Jotun provide training for local employees? And if so, who gets training? What kind of training is given? Is there any coordination with national TVET provision and/or local TVET institutions? What is the motivation for training? Is it the company’s own needs, or are there any underlying philanthropic arguments? In which way does the training benefit the local employees? Does it lead to any benefits beyond the direct job-related needs? Can the
obtained knowledge and skills be used in other companies, for self employment or further education?

This report presents a study of one single case. Hence, generalisations based on the findings should be limited or at least done with ample care.

In order to answer the research questions a qualitative methods approach has been chosen. Semi structured interviews have been conducted with managers, operators and warehouse staff in Vietnam and with corporate employees in Norway. In order to understand the TVET system in Vietnam, the scope for partnership and the labour market situation, representatives for organizations and department working with TVET and with support to Norwegian industry in Vietnam were also interviewed. Various types of documents also constitute a part of the data material in this study.

TVET refers to interventions to bring about learning relevant to the world of work. There are slight differences between technical and vocational and between education and training. In this report the broad term TVET will be used. However, the focus is mainly on the vocational level.

The main focus regarding Jotun’s training efforts will be on the training given to employees without higher education, the operators and warehouse staff. Still the study will provide information about training for higher educated employees as well.

This study includes employees from different occupations and positions in Jotun. “Corporate employees” refers to employees at the headquarters in Sandefjord, Norway. “Administrative employees” refers to employees in administrative positions in Vietnam, while management refers to top level managers in the same company. “Workers” is sometimes used as a collective term for those who work in production, operators and warehouse staff. The affiliate in Vietnam, Jotun Paints (Vietnam) Co., Ltd will be referred to as Jotun Vietnam.

Vietnam is a country rich on skills and entrepreneurship, a vivid handicraft tradition and a proud culture. This study does not grant any appreciation to this aspect of human recourses in Vietnam as the focus is on industrial human resources for the globalised manufacturing industry. Neither does it deal with issues regarding skills development in order to improve and preserve the handicraft traditions or in order to increase productivity in agriculture, a sector in which the majority of Vietnam’s workforce is employed, the poorest included.
The further structure of this report will be as following: Chapter two is a background chapter that provides some insight regarding the main concepts that relates to this study: FDI, HRD, corporate social responsibility (CSR) and TVET. Chapter three gives a presentation of the case, Jotun and the affiliate in Vietnam. Chapter three also present information about the context in which the firm is operating. Vietnam’s economic globalisation will be briefly described together with the labour market situation and the TVET system. Chapter four provides a review of previous studies that concern enterprise-based training and partnerships for TVET. The review provides insight about factors that determine enterprises training decisions; what kind of training that is given, and to whom, and what the benefits are for the employees, the firm and the society. The review also touches upon initiatives to support training in the workplace and cooperation for TVET. However the attention that is given to this large field is quite modest. Chapter five describes the methodology that has been used in this study and how the data were collected. The chapter gives an account of choices and considerations that have been made in the process and how these may have affected the research. The validity and reliability of the study is discussed. In chapter six the findings are presented and discussed, and the research questions are answered in succession. Chapter seven provides a short summary and some concluding remarks about the findings.
2. Background

Increased economic integration and powerful transnational corporations, the aim of lifting people and countries out of poverty and the role of education and training in this; the first chapter were setting the scene for this study. This chapter will go deeper into some of the perspectives that are underlying the research topic in this study.

2.1 Foreign direct investments and human resource development

A direct investment is an investment made by one firm into another that implies that the investing firm gains a certain degree of control. A foreign direct investment is when this investment is made across national borders, when a firm buys a controlling investment in a firm or sets up a branch or affiliate in a foreign country (Dicken 2007).

FDI can take the form of either Greenfield investments or merger and acquisition (M&A). M&A are defined as the acquisition of more than 10% equity share and implies that a share of a company’s ownership goes from domestic to foreign holders. Greenfield investments involve investments in new assets, when a company is establishing subsidiaries or affiliates overseas. According to The World Investment Report, M&A investments give less benefit to the host country than Greenfield investments. They do not create more jobs at the time of entry, and are less likely to transfer new technologies (UNCTAD 2000).

From the middle of the 1980s FDI grew faster than trade. Today more than one third of global trade take place as intra firm trade (Ibid). Transnational corporations are one the most powerful actors in the global economy and through decisions about where to invest or where not to invest they are shaping the geography of the global economy. The TNCs impact on a country’s economic fortune can be profound and cause fierce competition between countries that attempts to attract them (Dicken 2007).

That countries compete for FDI can reduce positive effects. Policies that some countries implement to be attractive to foreign enterprises, may impact negatively their ability to finance their own development. “Over-reliance on external financing leads to dependence and to
types of 'mal-development'. Mal-development is characterised by ecologically destructive overconsumption by the wealthy minority and the concentration of power in the hands of private transnational corporations and international financial institutions which exclude the majority of people” (WCC 2009). Governments should rather impose requirements that commit foreign investors to contribute to national, regional or local content goals. It is the responsibility of states to ensure to control the development process and ensure sustainable development for all.

FDI policies are not costless for countries to implement. Infrastructure must be built, areas for industrial zones must be offered and sufficient supply of water and electricity must be made available. Under certain conditions FDI can give considerable payoff to the host country. The aim is that FDI contributes to technology and knowledge transfer, creates jobs and contributes to national socio-economic development aims.

Machinery, equipment, patent rights, in-house training and expatriate managers and technicians are all sources that can embody transfer of knowledge from the mother company to the affiliate. Backward and forward linkages between foreign owned enterprises (FOE) and local firms, demonstration effects from FOEs, and training of local employees are forms through which knowledge and skill transfer takes place. Transfers imply that knowledge and skills from the foreign firm are applied outside the firm. E.g. if trained workers apply the knowledge in other firms, or set up own business. Transfer of knowledge can lead to increased salary or promotion within the firm. Fosfuri, Motta and Rønde refer to this as pecuniary spill over (Kokko1992, Fosfuri, Motta and Rønde 2001).

According to Dicken (2007), there are two categories of motivation that explains why firms make investments abroad; market related and asset related motivations. Companies make market oriented investment decisions when they decide to locate production where products are sold. Size, structure and accessibility are attributes that makes a market attractive. Purchasing power and population size determine the market’s size. Type of demand constitutes its structure. Differences in accessibility are due to different trade barriers and transportation costs.

An asset related investment decision is made when assets that are needed to produce or sell products are deciding location. Natural resources are important assets. However, as
transportation has become less costly and time consuming, access to knowledge and labour has turned into a more decisive factor for many firms. Regarding labour different aspects are important to different types of firms. Some firms are looking for access to employees with a certain knowledge and skill level. Others are concerned with labour costs. Labour productivity, controllability and mobility are also important aspects (Ibid).

The quality and quantity of a country’s education and training is determining to what extent the country is likely to be involved in globalization, in the understanding of inward and outward FDI flows. The nature of FDI will also have a relation to the nature of human resources available in the country (McGrath 2007).

The fact that labour has turned into an increasingly important production factor makes workers more vulnerable. Where the workforce is low skilled, investing firms are more likely to provide low value-added jobs with low wages. Hence, to attract FDI should not be a government’s only concern. It is important to safeguard that knowledge and skills are transmitted into the host country’s workforce so that human resources are further developed. This may contribute to a broader socio-economic development in the country, which can attract higher value-added enterprises, which again will contribute further to HRD in the country (Miyomoto 2003).

2.2 Corporate social responsibility

CSR refers to decision-making linked to ethical values and norms. It commits companies to integrate human and environmental concern into their decision-making process, or even to let such concerns lead innovative processes. Enterprises should seek to promote public interests together with their own, and take responsibility for environment, consumers, employees and the local society. Responsible firms will monitor own activities in order to adhere to laws, ethical values and international norms (Crane, Matten and Spence 2008).

The last two decades CSR has received a growing interest from the public. Firms experience a growing demand to legitimate their practices. There is an increasing demand for information about the activities of companies, and large media reports when misbehaviour is discovered.
Milton Friedman argues that the only responsibility of a firm is to maximize profits within the given legal frames. By maximising profits companies will be able to create jobs and contribute to an overall welfare development. Charitable donations should come from individuals not from businesses he argues. Friedman further asserts that the business man should act only according to the interest of his employers, the shareholders. He further says that if the business man makes expenditures on social issued, beyond the obligations of the corporate, he is spending someone else’s money (Friedman 1970).

Edward Freeman (1984, in Crane, Matten and Spence 2008) on the contrary argues that the only way a business can become sustainable is by taking a broader perspective than the traditional shareholder view. Companies function within a society, to neglect this can lead to increased risks and declining profits. He says there are many cases where public and economic interests are aligned, e.g. productivity is dependent on well educated, safe, healthy and decently housed workers. Reducing pollution and waste leads to a more effective use of resources and building trust is one way to ensure that consumers will buy the products also in the future, etc (Crane, Matten and Spence 2008).

Most definitions of CSR include four components of responsibility, economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic. Hence “real” CSR is more than charity. It is about having an inbuilt responsibility that influences normal practices. The UK government defines CSR like this: “The voluntary actions that business can take, over and above compliance with minimum legal requirements, to address both its own competitive interests and the interests of the wider society” (UK government cited in Crane, Matten and Spence 2008:6)

CSR have become increasingly relevant because of globalization. Globalisation creates economic spaces outside of national control, grey zones with limited regulations or enforcement of these. Enterprises in developing countries may experience that governments are unwilling or unable to implement regulations that takes care of the public`s interests. There are companies that use developing countries as a source of cheap labour or low-cost material. Developing countries may have low standards for work conditions and environmental protection, and low levels of health care provision and education. Corruption may be widespread. It is a challenge for TNCs to behave in a way that would be regarded socially responsible at home. It might also be that in the new country expectations to a company or to social responsibility are different and even higher than what it is in the home
place of the company. This should also be considered when doing business abroad (Dicken 2007, Ministry of Foreign Affairs b 2009).

The meaning of CSR will be different in different countries as the social issues are different. The language and practice of CSR are said to have emerged in the US, a country with fairly unregulated markets for labour and capital, and a state without an extensive system of welfare provision. Due to this situation, corporate contribution to social issues such as education, health care and community investments have been at the core of CSR in the US. In Europe however these issues are considered primarily to be tasks for the governments, and CSR regarding these concerns has, for the European companies, appeared on the agenda first through operations in less regulated countries. There are reasons to believe that there are differences in how CSR is practiced that are due to the different origins of the companies. To obtain information about the situation in the host country is of utter importance (Dicken 2007)

2.3 TVET and sustainable development

…there is overwhelming evidence to demonstrate that TVET can play an essential role in promoting economic growth and the socio-economic development of countries, with benefits for individuals, their families, local communities and society in general. Improving education for the world of work can help improve the incomes of poverty-stricken farmers, provide citizens with more choices in their lives, help alleviate poverty, and help empower individuals who would otherwise be marginalised. (UNESCO-UNEVOC 2003:5)

The main purpose of TVET is to prepare for an occupation or a group of related occupations. TVET provides skills and competences for empowerment, for the labour market or self employment. TVET is an important institution in the development of a diversified workforce, which is vital for any country’s development and economic prospects. In the overall education system TVET is a practical alternative, suitable for individuals who want a more practical approach to learning, who have a desire to create and see immediate results of their work. TVET is also a good preparation for further engineering studies. According to the International Centre for Technical and Vocational Education and Training (UNEVOC), TVET is: “...a comprehensive term referring to those aspects of the educational process involving, in addition to general education, the study of technologies and related sciences,
and the acquisition of practical skills, attitudes, understanding and knowledge relating to occupations in various sectors of economic and social life” (UNESCO-UNEVOC 2003:5).

TVET has also shown to be suitable for the needs of a society’s vulnerable groups, a means for improving the livelihoods of the marginalized. Hence, TVET is a broad term, including so different things as two weeks sewing courses for poor women, a firm’s on-the-job training of its employees and national TVET system with secondary vocational courses, adult training and technical schools (Ibid).

Modes of TVET provision have a variety of structures and different locations. Lauglo (1993) distinguishes between three different vocational training modes according to their organisational proximity to industry and work life. School based TVET is the mode that is closest to general academic education, and that has least contact with the work place compared to the other modes. The “dual system” has both the work place and the school as arena for learning; Enterprise-based training policies hold the workplace itself as the location for training. In the Latin American countries, enterprise-based training centres are quite common. These centres function independent from schools, but are closely linked to the labour market and industry as youths are sent on internships in the end of their training period (Castro and Alftan 1992). Though one form of TVET provision may be dominant in a country, most countries have several different, parallel variants within their system.

Education is about bringing an individual into a society. It is driven out of care for the individual and demands that the society holds. The aim is to equip the learner for future life in the family and the society. Education is preparing for a variety of human activities and situations, and has a central role both in preserving and changing societies.

Education is considered to play a significant role for the well-functioning of societies. However, King and McGrath (2002) warn about making simplistic claims about the development impact of education. They argue that more focus regarding education for development must be directed towards curriculum and pedagogy. Education must equip individuals and societies so that they can be able to respond to globalization. Because of this the development of competencies rather than rote learning is important, they argue. If education and skill development enables individuals to be active partakers in globalisation, skills development could, according to King and McGrath, be a possible solution to the
apparent tension between poverty and growth accounts of development. TVET is a natural
complement to education in the development of human resources. Training can play a key
role in supporting local industry and enable industry and individuals to take advantage of the
new opportunities that the economic changes bring. However this presupposes that training
institutions are able to respond to current demands and provide learners with relevant skills
and knowledge.

To provide relevant training in times of modernisation and industrialisation requires complex
forms of training. Developing countries with a high level of FDI inflows face high expectations in
order to equip individuals with relevant skills for empowerment and for the country’s growth and
prosper. At the same time as countries must make considerations about how to allocate scarce
resources. Partnerships between industry and TVET institutions can take some of the cost burden
away from the state and can improve the functioning of the TVET system.

TVET is an expensive type of education. Training must respond to the labour market demands and
provide the learners with skills that can be applied in the local business sector. It must have up to
date technology in order to supply flexible and qualified workers. With school based TVET the
costs are usually multiple the costs of general education. Classes are smaller, and the costs of
equipment, materials and specialized facilities are high. It is difficult and costly for schools to stay
updated (Verspoor 2008). Enterprises on the other hand have to follow up innovations in order to
maintain position in a competitive market. Public private partnership (PPP) is a win-win situation
for both schools and enterprises that increases the effectiveness of training and reduces public
costs. Through partnerships with private sector, the education system can get access to up to date
technology which again gives learners updated knowledge. The enterprises get graduates with
relevant knowledge and experience for employment.

2.4 On-the-job training

On-the-job training is training that is planned, organized and conducted on the employees’
worksite (UNEVOC 2009). The fundamental view in a work-based TVET tradition is that
knowledge and skills are organic, complex and entwined. Techniques cannot be broken down
to independent single components that can be taught isolated from each other or the context
of the craft. Pride of workmanship, values and norms are closely related to skills and
knowledge (Lauglo 1993).
The intimacy between training and the job it is preparing for is considered the strength of on-the-job training. This type of training is personal and practical, well suited for developing competences and confidence with the skills and knowledge in question. The disadvantage though is that the acquired knowledge easily be taken for granted. The learner may not be aware of the competence he or she had developed. Training may also be too context dependent so that it does not encourage innovative thinking, creativity and knowledge to bring about improvements (Engen 1992).

Learning in the workplace takes different forms. Peer learning is one of them. Peer learning means that the learner have a co-worker close at hand that can show how work is done be provide guidance when needed. Independent learning, or learning by doing, is also an important part of learning in the workplace. The learner gets the time to practice and repeat the task until he/ she masters the assignment. By trying out and finding solutions on his/her own the learner gets to discover and explore the equipment, techniques and surroundings (Clematide and Sørensen 1992).

It is however important for the quality of work-based training to get instructions and explanations from a master or work leader. Such instructions should be a base that peer learning and independent learning can build on. The transferability of the training learners get depends on the broadness of the instructions that are given. Whether these only provide information about how the work shall be carried out, or if they also explain why certain processes must be undertaken and to what extent there is room for variation (Ibid).

To understand the characteristics of learning in the workplace and vocational knowledge is important if one wants to evaluate training that is given in a workplace. Many of the studies that have looked at workplace learning are mostly concerned with formal training, and have not looked into what is learned through daily work. Some argue that formal training correlates with informal training so that formal training is a proper indicator of overall training (Hansson 2008). However, Johnson and Adams (2004) state that most firms take new employees through some kind of initial training, and hence they indicate that also those who do not receive formal training get training.

In search of the distinctive character of vocational knowledge it is relevant to make the distinction between tacit knowledge and codified knowledge. Codified knowledge is when
knowledge is translated into verbal statements or some kind of symbolic form. Codified knowledge has the advantage of allowing people to talk about their knowledge, to discuss it and share it. To codify knowledge also makes it easier to evaluate. However, to assume that all knowledge can be codified would be to downgrade the aspect of practical and tacit knowledge (Stevenson 2001).

Tacit knowledge is not formulated in words; rather it is the foundation that our actions are based on. Tacit knowledge can also be experienced competence, skills, values, attitudes and feelings. Tacit knowledge is not only related to vocational knowledge, but a large part of vocational knowledge is tacit. An example can be the machine operator that can detect by the sounds if everything is all right. The tacit part of vocational knowledge is related to situations where several different senses are needed at the same time (Ibid).
3. Jotun in Vietnam

This chapter will provide a description of the case and the context in which this is functioning. In order to better understand and evaluate the findings in this study, a description of the economic situation and the labour market situation and the TVET system in Vietnam is provided.

3.1 Presentation of the case

With production in 24 countries throughout the world and agents, branch offices and distributors in more than 70 countries, Jotun is together with StatoilHydro, Telenor and Statkraft among Norway’s most international companies (Ministry of Foreign Affairs a 2009). The corporate has 71 companies, 40 production facilities and employs 7200 people worldwide (Jotun a 2009).

Jotun is developing and producing paint for protection and decoration of residential, marine and industrial markets. A large part of their activities are also about marketing and sales of paint systems as well as technical service during preparation and application of larger projects (Ibid).

The Jotun Group is a merger of what were Norway’s four biggest paint producers in the post war period. The fusion took place in 1972. Today the corporate is mainly owned by the Gleditsch family, descendants of the founder Odd Gleditsch, and Orkla. The Gleditsch family is the major shareholder. Jotun is not listed on the stock market. Sandefjord, one of the most important Norwegian shipping towns in the first half of the 1900 century is where the story started in 1926, and the site where the corporate has its headquarters today (Jotun a 2009, Bryn 1998).

Jotun has twice received award as the company of the year in its county. The award was given among other things because of a good company culture (Tønsbergs Blad 2009).

The international activities of the company started in 1962 with the establishment of a joint venture production plant in Libya. This first foreign establishment was not free from
problems. After the revolution in Libya in 1969 it became gradually more and more difficult to be a foreign investor in the country and Jotun ended their Libyan activity in 1984. Through the Libyan Norwegian Industrial Company Ltd. the company got valuable experience about internationalisation. One of the important lessons was the importance of understanding and respecting local culture, and to employ local employees (Bryn 1998).

Expanded markets are the expressed reason for the company’s internationalisation (Jotun a 2009). The company is devoted to research and development in a scale that would have been difficult to finance if it had remained purely Norwegian. Cost per litre of the final product would have been too high. Today, international activities are contributing to more of the company’s total income than the domestic Norwegian activities. Also market structures are decisive when decisions about location are made. Proximity to where ships are being built or in dock for maintenance is of importance. The decorative market is still largest in Scandinavia; abroad the company is often listed within the marine sector.

Jotun established a sales office in Vietnam in 1992 and the first factory, worth 6.3 million USD, was opened in 1998. In 2004 a new factory was built in the Song Than industrial Zone in the Binh Duong province. The factory has the capacity to produce 13 million litres of paint per year. It can produce both solvent and water borne products and has a sophisticated fire fighting system. Jotun Vietnam is not a big manufacturer in the Vietnamese context (Ibid). The company employs nearly 200 people and has a Vietnamese General Manager. The company has one Norwegian manager (Jotun b 2009).

Jotun Vietnam has a leading position both in the marine and the industrial coatings market. The company is working to get a stronger position in the decorative market, and has introduced the automatic computerized colour-tinting system to Vietnam. This can be found at 35 dealers throughout the country (03.2.09/AdmV4/Int).

In the Asia Pacific region Jotun also have activities in Australia, China, Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand. The regional research centre is in Malaysia. There are quite close relations between the different companies in the region and between the companies and the headquarters (Jotun a 2009).
3.2 Vietnam`s globalization

From the unification of Vietnam in 1975 until the beginning of the Doi Moi reform process in 1986, Vietnam’s economy was a plan economy. The country is therefore quite new in the global world and the world of FDI. Doi moi means renovation and is the name of a reform process that consists of several different social and economic reforms (Pham 2004).

The integration of Vietnam into the global economy has been a gradual transition, inspired by the Chinese success. In agriculture cooperatives were replaced with farm household and long-term land use rights. In the industrial sector state owned enterprises (SOE) were given more autonomy and responsibility for production and profit, and private enterprises were encouraged. In finance the state now control prices only on a few selected commodities; otherwise the free market is endorsed. Trade is liberalised, decentralised and controlled by market mechanisms such as taxes, quotas and tariffs. The integration of Vietnam’s economy into the global economy is also evident through memberships in several economic and trade agreements. Vietnam became a member of the Association of South East-Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1995, Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in 1998 and World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2007 (Ibid).

Jotun has production facilities on all continents. The reason for choosing the affiliate in Vietnam as the case for this study has to do with the present situation in the country. Vietnam is a developing country, but also a country with strong economic growth. The government work proactively towards socio-economic development goals with both FDI and education as means. During the last twenty years Vietnam has achieved admirable economic growth and poverty reduction.

Vietnam has gone from being a poor, closed and agricultural state to a country that has reduced poverty at one of history’s fastest rates. The country had an average GDP growth of 7.1 from 1997 to 2006 (UN 2008). In the seventies more than 70 % of the population were living in poverty, in 2006 the poverty rate was 16\(^1\) (GSO 2009). From being a rice importer before 1986, Vietnam was among the largest rice exporters in the world in the early nineties.

\(^1\)“General poverty rates have been estimated by monthly average expenditure per capita according to the poverty lines by GSO and WB with different standards as follows: 1998: 149 thous. dongs; 2002: 160 thous. dongs; 2004: 173 thous. dongs; 2006: 213 thous. Dongs” (GSO 2009)
The population’s literacy rate is high, 90% for adults in 2006 and 94% for youths. Also life expectancy at birth is high, 70.8 years in 2006 (UN 2008).

Politically the country has a socialist one-party system and is governed by the Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP). Vietnam is divided into eight regions and 61 provinces. Each province has a Peoples’ Committee that have education, health care and social welfare services as their primary responsibility. The Peoples’ Committees’ are also responsible for maintaining and building infrastructure, as well as issuing and allocating land use rights (Kerkvliet and Marr 2004).

There are four main city areas in Vietnam: Hanoi, Haiphong, Da Nang and HCMC. The country has more than 85 million inhabitants, and is approximately 331,211,6 km² in area. Although there is a concentration of people around the main cities most people live in the countryside. Of the 44.2 million people that makes the country’s workforce more than half of them work with agriculture and forestry (GSO 2009).

Vietnam has attracted significant inflows of FDI after the opening up in 1986. Initially the foreigners invested mainly in the oil and gas industry, but today most FDI projects are in the manufacturing sector. Manufacturing attracted 60% of the investment projects between 2001 and 2007. Real estate was the second largest sector and attracted 17% of total projects in the same period. Table 3.1 shows the composition of FDI projects regarding economic activity. Natural resources, human resources, a large market and a stable political environment are Vietnam’s comparative advantages in order to attract foreign investors. Low-cost and trainable labour is also attracting foreign entrepreneurs. FDIs have been contributing to the diversification of the economy and to economic growth. The foreign invested sector is today making up more than 17% of total GDP (GSO 2009).

Pham (2004) has studied the effect that the inward FDI flows have had on development in Vietnam. He concludes that appropriate governments policies have been able to minimize detrimental effects and make best use of these investments. The process of opening the economy to globalisation has been gradual, and legal and regulatory frameworks have been implemented and improved in order to attract to foreign investors and at the same time protect national interests.
Still there are many social and economical problems to address in Vietnam. And these also affect foreign investors. According to a survey conducted by the Japanese External Trade Organisation (JETRO 2006), establishment problems in Vietnam is due to complicated administrative procedures, inadequate legal frameworks and regulation performance, and difficulties to obtain local parts and components. A Norwegian report from 2004 also notes corruption and high cost of establishing business as negative aspects of the investment climate in Vietnam (Borgersen 2004).

Table 3.1 FDI projects in Vietnam licensed from 1988-2007 by kind of economic activity (Sorted by registered capital)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic activity</th>
<th>Number of projects</th>
<th>Total registered capital in mill USD</th>
<th>Charter capital in mill USD</th>
<th>Foreign side of charter capital in mill USD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9810</td>
<td>99596,2</td>
<td>43129</td>
<td>36413,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>6323</td>
<td>52345,4</td>
<td>21328,6</td>
<td>18598,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real estate, renting business activities</td>
<td>1341</td>
<td>14191,8</td>
<td>5252,3</td>
<td>4391,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels and restaurants</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>7620,6</td>
<td>3144,9</td>
<td>2474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>6808</td>
<td>2171,3</td>
<td>1600,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport; storage and communications</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>5072,3</td>
<td>3788,4</td>
<td>2918,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and quarrying</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>3742,8</td>
<td>2892,3</td>
<td>2525,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and forestry</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>3397,5</td>
<td>1512,2</td>
<td>1322,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity, gas and water supply</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1937,7</td>
<td>612,3</td>
<td>594,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreational, cultural and sporting activities</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>1683,5</td>
<td>769,4</td>
<td>603,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial intermediation</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>862,7</td>
<td>791,1</td>
<td>730,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and retail trade; Repair of motor vehicles,</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>641,9</td>
<td>292,2</td>
<td>192,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motor cycles and personal and household goods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and social work</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>591,4</td>
<td>224,8</td>
<td>188,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishery</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>515,1</td>
<td>249,3</td>
<td>188,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and training</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>146,8</td>
<td>72,7</td>
<td>60,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community, social and personal service activities</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>38,7</td>
<td>27,2</td>
<td>23,1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: GSO 2009)

The first foreign investors to Vietnam came mainly from Australia and Europe. Later investors were increasingly coming from neighbouring Asian countries. Today Korea, Singapore and Taiwan are the main counterparts.

Table 3.2 FDI projects in Vietnam licensed from 1988-2007 by country of origin. (Sorted by total registered capital)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of projects</th>
<th>Total registered capital in mill USD</th>
<th>Charter capital in mill USD</th>
<th>foreign side of charter capital in mill USD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9810</td>
<td>99596,2</td>
<td>43129</td>
<td>36413,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea Rep, of</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>14647,3</td>
<td>5334</td>
<td>4311,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>12575,2</td>
<td>4300,8</td>
<td>3398,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>12100,2</td>
<td>5077,3</td>
<td>4661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>9783,5</td>
<td>4215,8</td>
<td>3703,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Virgin Islands</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>9771,5</td>
<td>3315,4</td>
<td>2998,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong SAR (China)</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>7007,7</td>
<td>2729,8</td>
<td>2273,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>3509,6</td>
<td>1846,6</td>
<td>1605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>3128,7</td>
<td>1703,6</td>
<td>1469,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>3036,4</td>
<td>1988,1</td>
<td>1646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>3001,9</td>
<td>1778,4</td>
<td>1627,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>2146</td>
<td>1092,8</td>
<td>962,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>2075,4</td>
<td>802,6</td>
<td>662,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fed, Russian</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1866,4</td>
<td>1209,7</td>
<td>705,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China, PR</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>1814,8</td>
<td>901,4</td>
<td>713,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>1754,5</td>
<td>1081,4</td>
<td>866,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>61,1</td>
<td>30,9</td>
<td>22,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: GSO 2009)

Most of the FDI projects in Vietnam are located in the area surrounding HCMC, which are the biggest city, port and commercial centre in the country. The bordering provinces Binh Doung and Dong Nai are both attracting large amounts of foreign capital. Vicinity to HCMC, but cheaper land, a proactive provincial administration and a well developed infrastructure is what make these areas attractive. Large areas of land in these provinces have been changed into industrial zones attracting both domestic and foreign entrepreneurs. Hanoi, the capital, is also attracting investors, though less than HCMC and Binh Doung. Certain port cities as Hai
Phong and Vung Tau are also important commercial cities which especially attract business related to marine industry (GSO 2009).

3.3 The labour market situation

The quality of a country’s workforce is largely related to investments in education and training. The high literacy rate in Vietnam together with high enrolment rates in primary schooling, indicates that the country’s workforce has a solid base of general knowledge and skills. Hence, the labour force is also recognised for being trainable and of high quality. Vietnam’s population pose great appreciation on knowledge and education. This has helped the country restore after decades of war and lifted people out of poverty (Borgersen 2004, Mori 2009 and UN 2008).

The abundance of good, low-wage workers is considered one of the primary advantages Vietnam has and that attract FDI. Mori (2009) argues that most of the FOEs coming to Vietnam the latest years were attracted by low wage production line workers. However, he also argues that continued and sustainable industrialisation is dependent on the country’s ability to develop further higher level industrial human resources. In 2007 1.5 million people were employed in the foreign investment sector. More than half of the workforce is working with agriculture. Around 20 % is working in industrial sectors and more than 25% in service sector (GSO 2009).

According to GSO (2009) the workforce counted 44.2 million people in 2007. Vietnam has created a number of jobs the recent years. But despite the positive developments, unemployment and underemployment is still an important problem to address. The labour market situation in Vietnam is complex and characterised by both unemployment, large demands for skilled labour and graduated that have difficulties to find relevant jobs (The Vietnam Nation 2009). Vietnam’s is known for its achievements in providing basic education. It is important now that the country also increase enrolment in further education, and education that lead to work so the country can continue to reduce poverty.

In urban areas unemployment fell from 6 % in 1999 to 4.6 in 2007. It rose slightly in 2008 and is expected to rise more in 2009 as growth slows due to the financial crisis. The crisis is
not directly impacting Vietnam, but the indirect effects due to lower demand and less FDI projects etc. are causing job-losses and reductions in growth (GSO 2009, Innovation Norway 2009).

Vietnam is today at a crucial point. There are no guarantees that the inflow of FDI will continue, that foreign enterprises will expand or that they will continue to stay as the cost level in Vietnam is rising. Other neighbouring countries, as Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar, are also offering low-cost labour. Malaysia and Thailand are attracting higher value-added enterprises, and China and India have advantages in terms of larger markets. It is important for Vietnam to improve the skill level of the work force in order to attract value-added investors (Mori 2009, JETRO 2006).

Shortages of skilled labour are expressed by both domestic and foreign enterprises. Especially there is a request for skilled technicians and middle managers, workers that can initiate and manage improvements of production operations rather than just perform standard tasks. The future of Vietnam’s industrialisation is largely dependent on educational institutions being able to respond to labour market needs. At present there is an urgent need for industrial HRD in Vietnam (Mori 2009, JETRO 2002, Pham 2004).

Labour turnover is high in Vietnam. As new enterprises are constantly establishing and supply of workers are inadequate, companies are competing for workers. Many companies are using high wages to attract workers that are already trained by another company. The high demand for labour is pushing wages upwards. However since recent years inflation has been high, 23% in 2008, the monthly salaries some manufacturing companies are offering is regarded insufficient to cover living expenses by many workers (Than Nien Daily 2009). That wages are increasing is positive for the workers. However the worry is that is wages increases without an increase in productivity, the situation for domestic exporters will be more difficult and FOEs may start to look for other places to go (Mori 2009).

Due to industrialisation there is substantial migration from rural to urban areas. Dong Nai and Binh Duong are provinces with large labour demands and immigration. According to the head of DOLISA in Binh Duong the province has 1 million inhabitants and 800 000 jobs, the province has a lot of migrant workers and a constant demand for labour (05.02.09/DOLISABD/Int).
3.4 TVET in Vietnam

“The international and national background requires for vocational training innovation and development in order to train and provide high quality workforce for the cause of industrialization, modernization of the country, labor export and international economic integration, contributing to address the unemployment and improve labor living standard. Vocational training is therefore an objective and urgent requirement” (MOLISA 2008).

The government in Vietnam acknowledges the importance of TVET as a means to address social issues and maintain economic growth. To increase the supply of vocational trained individuals is an important aspect of MOLISA’s plan for innovation and development of vocational education. The plan includes an increase in vocational training with 7% each year until 2015, and aims at a situation where the share of vocational trained workers in 2015 will constitute 35-42% of the general labour force (MOLISA 2008).

It is widely recognised that Vietnam has high potential for developing a skilled and proficient workforce. However, the new economic situation requires new solutions for acquiring labour market information. As the country has opened up to the world and to the rapid technological development of modern industries, new skills demands are raised and new possibilities for TVET partnerships are introduced. The challenge remains for the public sector to involve the industry sector into fruitful collaborative activities (Mori 2009).

Before the renovation period, TVET institutions in Vietnam were state owned and training centres served the needs of SOEs. The reform process implied a shift to a situation where a variety of TVET institutions serve the demands of a diversified market. During the eighties and nineties TVET suffered from neglect to the benefit of basic education and higher education, in which Vietnam has made remarkable achievements (Ibid). Public TVET provision in Vietnam toady is mainly school based. Training is provided either in vocational schools or universities or regular colleges. However the situation is changing and more training centres are built in relation to industrial parks.

TVET provision is divided into three different levels according to duration and skill level. Short term, or primary vocational training, is supposed to give training at an elementary level. Courses range from three months and up to a year, depending on the previous experience of the learners. The primary level can be adopted also for learners without previous formal schooling. Vocational training centres, vocational secondary schools and vocational colleges,
universities, professional secondary schools and colleges as well as enterprises, cooperatives and other businesses who register may provide this kind of training (MOET 2009, Vietnam National Assembly 2006).

Secondary level vocational programs on the contrary can only be provided by intermediate level vocational schools, vocational colleges, specialized schools, colleges and universities. Students must have finished 9 years of basic schooling in order to attend, and courses range from 1 to 3 years according to the students background (Ibid).

**Figure 3.1 Vietnam’s system of education and training**

Source: MOET 2009

The third level consists of two or three years of vocational and technical education. It is referred to as Vocational Training Diploma (Vietnam National Assembly 2006). Only vocational education colleges, general education colleges and universities can provide training at this level. To enter the third level students must have graduated from upper secondary or vocational or professional secondary school. It is said that students after having finished the third level could advance to further education. It said that the third level should combine general education subject with occupational subjects and prepare the student for enrolment in higher education institutions (MOET 2009).
TVET strategies and laws are made at the national level, but implementation is handed over to provincial departments of the Peoples Committees, DOLISA and the Department of Education and Training (DOET). Responsibility for curriculum development is given to each TVET provider. According to MOLISA (In Mori 2009:9) there are 90 vocational colleges in Vietnam, 214 vocational secondary schools and 684 vocational training centres. Additionally, institutions under MOET also provide vocational training. These include universities, colleges, professional secondary schools and employment service centres, altogether more than 1000 entities. Evidently, the system is strongly decentralised.

The structure of Vietnam’s TVET system has a sound potential. There are links between most entities and it seems that there are no dead ends. However, in reality the picture is different. Vietnam’s TVET system is characterized by an unclear division of responsibilities: “The TVET system is under state administration of MOET, MOLISA and other line ministries in the central level. In the local level, it is controlled by the local authorities - it is a quite complicated system” (MOET 2009). Connections between vocational education and higher education or between the different vocational levels are difficult due to this situation.

At the output level there is also a diverse situation. The Vietnamese TVET system lack national skill standards for its 300 vocational occupations. However, the situation is about to change. In the development plan for TVET, the aim is to have 200 skill standards within 2015 (MOLISA 2008). Through a project in cooperation with the Asian Development Bank (ADB) skill standards for 48 occupations were developed in the period between 1998 and 2008 (ADB 2008). ILO is also currently working on a pilot project where skill standards for welders are being developed (10.2.09/ILO/Int).

Outdated technology, outdated curricula, teaching methods focusing mainly on theory, trainers with little practical experience and insufficient number of training staff are problems that TVET is facing. Due to these shortcomings, it is difficult for training centres and vocational colleges to deliver autonomous and flexible workers that are able to adapt to continuous new technological developments. This situation engenders a gap between employers’ expectations and graduates’ skill levels, and graduates are often retrained when they enter the labour market (MOET 2009).
Today there are few formal links between the public TVET provision and the world of work. But the situation may be about to change as the governments is giving increased attention to this issue. Strengthening ties to the business sector is among the efforts MOLISA is focusing on in the innovation and development strategy of TVET (MOLISA 2008). Building partnerships for skill standards development is one of them.

Outsourcing of training is the most common way for training institutions and enterprises to interact. A company orders a number of workers from a vocational centre or college. They can specify what kind of knowledge and competence they want the graduates to have at the end of their training, and in return the companies provide equipment, funding and/or work placement for students. There are also enterprises that run their own training centres in relation to own production (Mori 2009).

Some training centres or vocational colleges exist in relation to an industry park, and hence serve the needs of the enterprises in that park. The Vietnam Singapore Technical School (VSTS) is an example of such partnerships. VSTS was established in relation to the Vietnam Singapore Industrial Park (VSIP) in 1997. The project is an official development assistance project based on agreements between prime ministers in Singapore and Vietnam (Ibid).

A meeting place for different interest groups are also the job fairs. DOLISA in each province hosted meetings where job seekers, companies, schools and training centres can meet and express labour needs, discuss training and also conduct interviews with job seekers (05.02.09/DOLISABD/Int).
4. Literature review: Training for what, how and whom?

The workplace is an important arena for learning, and employer sponsored training is for many people the most important source of further education and training. If we include independent learning and learning from co-workers, the work place is probably the most important site for lifelong learning for most of us.

This chapter will present findings from previous research that has been done on enterprise-based training. These findings illuminate the concern of this study; the determinants that make firms train, the character of the training that is given, who it is given to and the benefits that this training provides for the firm and the employees. This chapter will also look into issues regarding PPP and interventions that are used to make firms provide more training. Much of the research that is done on these topics is carried out by international agencies like the World Bank, ILO, and OECD etc. Much of the empirical data come from studies conducted in the nineties. Current reports on enterprise-based training are often referring to the same studies, and existing data is updated to a limited extent.

In the theoretical debates firms are said to have few reasons to invest in training. Compared to other investments, it is argued, investments in HRD has more uncertain outcomes as the employee may leave the company or engage in wage bargaining after having received training (Becker 1962). Becker divided work-based training into general and specific training. General training provides knowledge and skills that also can be useful in other firms than the current, while specific training that is specific the work in the enterprise that provides the training. As specific training leads to productivity growth in the company, but does not affect the market value of the workers, Becker argues that this type of training should be provided and paid by firms. General training on the other hand should be paid by the individual as he or she is the one that will reap the benefits of increased wages or labour market opportunities.

Becker’s theory is based on the idea of a perfect competitive market. In reality however, information about training is not symmetric. A person’s market value is not created by human resource investments alone, but also through bargaining strength and institutional
arrangements. Empirical data contradicts both the predictions regarding who receives the benefits of training, and who pays for it (Hansson 2008).

4.1 Determinants of enterprise-based training

On-the-job training is an effective way of preparing for vocational occupations. To involve enterprises in training partnerships and to support them to conduct training for their employees is important for the development of a proficient workforce within vocational occupations. Enterprise-based training also reduces public costs. But why would firms provide general training for its employees? And what is the reason why some firms provide considerable training while others do not?

Not many empirical studies deal with the issue of why firms train, or reversely, why they do not train. The World Business Environment Survey have collected information from more than 10 000 firms and among other things, asked them about factors that have influenced their training decisions negatively. According to the survey East Asian firms gave mature technology, adequacy of informal training and labour turnover as the three most decisive reasons for providing little training or no training at all (Miyamoto 2003).

The survey also indicates that it is more likely that small firms cannot afford training and that they engage less in formal training in particular. Financial problems are less likely to be experienced by larger firms (Ibid). Also Johanson and Adams (2004) points to firms size in a report that summarise findings from studies about skill development in Sub Saharan Africa. Findings from their studies show that firm size, measured by number of employees, is positively correlated with amount of formal and informal training given. Amount of money invested in technology also correlates with the amount invested in training.

According to Johanson and Adams, FOEs are active trainers. That foreign ownership correlates with more training is supported also by Miyamoto (2003). Miyamoto refers to easier access to capital and more information about training organization and techniques as explanations. FOEs may also have the ability to prevent labour turnover by providing attractive benefits, e.g. insurance, to employees. The findings in these studies are not supported by Endressen and Jauch (2000) in their report about the conditions for workers in
FOEs in Namibia’s export processing zones (EPZ). They found that most of these workers got basic on-the-job training that was mostly focused around specific skills. The survey does not compare foreign and domestic companies, but still it provides a critical view on the FOEs training impact. The argument that foreign ownership not necessarily is an advantage is supported also by Blunch and Castro (2007) in a study of training determinants in five developing countries. Their study shows that foreign ownership may have both positive and negative effects on training.

According to the World Bank report by Johanson and Adams (2004), export orientation is likely to correspond to increased training. It is argued that exporters are faced with a competitive international market that puts high demands on productivity and quality. Investments in research and development are usually also causing more training. Firms using sophisticated production processes and firms that have a lot of new developments ought to train workers to be able to adapt to the modes of operation (Miyamoto 2003). However, Blunch and Castro (2007) and Endressen and Jauch (2000) provide a less positive picture about export oriented firms.

White-collar employees and already skilled workers are likely to get more training than less skilled workers. However, there are no reason to deduce from this that a large supply of trained workers will make firms train more, as there are also evident that many firms substitute for training by hiring already trained employees (Miyamoto 2003, Blunch and Castro 2007, Johnson and Adams 2004). An explanation to why educational level of workers correlate with training received may be that higher educated workers may be more trainable and also cheaper to train as they may be more self-regulating.

Blunch and Castro (2007) have looked at the role of ISO certifications as a determinant for firm sponsored training. They conclude that firms certified after such international standards do invest more in training. According to their findings, ISO certifications are an important factor also when controlling for other determinants as firm size, ownership, workers education level etc. However when looking at the impact of ISO certification for unskilled workers it shows negative impact for two of the countries in the study; Ethiopia and Honduras. According to Blunch and Castro, unionisation has some impact on training. This is supported by Tan and Batra (1996) who found positive effects from unionisation in their study of enterprise-based training in Colombia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mexico, and Taiwan.
4.2 Type of training given by enterprises

This section will look at what kind of training that is given, who it is given to, and by whom. Enterprises may train their employees in-house or they may rely on external training providers. They have the choice of inviting external trainers to the firm or to send their employees abroad to receive training. What kind of training employers choose to provide depends on the surrounding TVET system and firm related characteristics (Tan and Batra 1996).

Most companies take new employees through some kind of initial training. The duration and nature of this training is largely dependent on the complexity of the work tasks. Complex tasks and danger related tasks require more thoroughly training. Larger companies tend to put new employees through more formal initial training than smaller firms as the previous section showed (Johnson and Adams 2004). However that does not necessarily imply that workers learn more in larger companies. According to a Norwegian study that maps conditions for learning and skills development for employed adults within the workplace in Norway; informal training was the most important source of learning (Dæhlen and Nyen 2009).

To what extent informal learning is taking place is difficult to measure, at least in big scale. However, a good learning environment and learning intensive work facilitates learning and are indications of informal learning. Hansson (2008) on the contrary, refers to some studies that have showed correlation between formal and informal training, and argues that formal training is a good approximation of the overall learning.

Upgrading of skills is from time to time provided to experienced workers. Firms provide further training in order to maintain or improve skills, or when new skills are needed. To what extent such upgrading is taking place as in-house training or training given by external training providers depends on the local training infrastructure. External training is more prevalent in areas with more training centres (Johanson and Adams 2004).

Apprenticeships are a quite common and successful mode of training, widespread both in the developed and the developing world, however almost not existing in larger manufacturing companies where there are no supporting policy structures for it (Johnson and Adams 2004).
Training methods are chosen according to the competence level of employees. Employees with higher levels of education can more easily pick up complex and detailed written instructions and manuals. Self-teaching materials can be used for these employees; hence, training for workers with a higher education level may be done cheaper (Ibid).

Strong linkages between the parent company and the affiliate with regards to training are increasingly common. Many TNCs have their own schools or “corporate universities”. Training policies, practices, and materials are provided by the parent company, sometimes together with training requirements. Companies that have such linkages are more likely to send employees abroad to get training, or to have representatives coming from the parent company to give courses or seminars for local employees (Ibid).

So far we have looked mostly at factors embedded within the company, the education level of the employees, exporting status, the size of the firm etc. According to the findings referred to in this chapter, there are some firm characteristics that correlate positively with training. But, the evidences are not unequivocal and there are a string of external factors that are significant for training as well. Training quantity in FOEs has showed to differ with the level of development in a country. Training is also related to the public training systems. Countries that have a better developed public training system and that get involved with the industry sector able to encourage more firm-sponsored training. As TNCs are concerned, it is also likely that the training system in the home country of the company affects what they regard as their responsibility towards their workers.

Different country characteristics attract different types of foreign investors. E.g. low-skilled countries are likely to attract mostly low-skilled industries that provide low-skilled jobs. Countries with weak labour legislation are more likely to attract firms that exploit workers. The previous chapters discussed, among other things, how investment policies made by governments are critical for what kind of investors countries attract. The argument about FOEs positive impact is fragile. The evidences from the study of FOEs in Namibia’s EPZs show that not all FOEs or exporting companies contribute significantly to HRD (Endressen and Jauch 2000). It is reasonable to assume that investment policies are an important determinant both for amount and type of training enterprises provide.
Mobilizing TNCs to transmit their knowledge and skills to their employees and the society should be an important agenda for governments in countries that strive to attract or already have a considerable amount of FDI. The following sections will look into the issue of public private cooperation for TVET.

4.3 Public-private partnerships

Alliances between the interested parties have become the key strategy to improve the relevance, efficiency, effectiveness, equity and sustainability of training policies and systems. Training is increasingly conceived as a cooperative effort in which the various public and private institutions share responsibilities. The partners concerned contribute to the overall training effort, and articulate their inputs to make the best use of their respective strengths and comparative advantage (Mitchell 1998).

There are many reasons why it is desirable to have employers engaged in TVET, and there are a variety of areas where such engagement would be rewarding. By taking part in planning and development, by expressing demands, identifying needs and developing strategies and policies; training can be improved at the system level. By stimulating employers to provide training, the cost burden of governments can be reduced. It is also argued that training will be improved when employers are involved in curriculum development, testing, development of standards, qualification frameworks etc. Firms may also provide important contributions into schools and training centres in the teaching and learning process. Yet, and with reference to the citation above, leaving training totally to the market forces would not be a preferred solution. It is the combination of public equity aims and private productivity aims, the combination of individual, societal and professional focus that makes cooperation attractive (Mitchell 1998).

Communication makes the foundation for most well-functioning partnerships. Communication between education and the world of work allows those who provide TVET to know what kind of knowledge and skills that are in demand. This is important in countries in transition, where the labour market is in change and technology and production methods also are changing rapidly.

The generation of networks for communication is an important aspect of public-private partnerships (PPP). Institutional mechanisms through which the partnerships may develop and
function will increase their quality. Hence reforms aiming at establishing effective partnerships normally require a lead agency to promote the process. However there are also cases where the impetus for partnerships comes from dynamic local actors who initiate networks and create forums for communication (Ibid).

In Norway, as in many of the northern European countries, vocational training was historically provided for in guilds. This has impacted today’s TVET situation where the guild tradition still is strong. Employers and branch organisations are a natural part of the decision-making. At the system level there is a well established cooperation between educational authorities, the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) and the Confederation of Norwegian Business and Industry (NHO), commonly referred to as a “tripartite system”. The industry sector is involved in curriculum development and evaluation, and do also provide training through practice placement and apprenticeship training. The dual-system in Norway is largely government funded, and enterprises receive monetary support for employing apprentices.

According to Johnson and Adams (2004), the surveys included in their review of skills development in Sub Saharan Africa detected a clear disengagement by enterprises in partnership with public training provision. The enterprises felt pushed to take in unwanted graduates from vocational schools, but excluded from participation in organisation, curriculum development or allocation of training taxes. Governments that want to include enterprises into partnerships for TVET must, in order to make the partnership function, be open for the needs and aware of the limitations of the enterprises.

The level of PPP is largely dependent of the private sector development in the country. There are therefore clear differences between how this is found in high-income countries, middle-income countries and low-income countries. The specific characteristics of the private sector in the country will also affect the function of partnerships. To transfer a system from one country to another has shown to be difficult as the TVET system in a country carries strong relations to the structures and values in that society (Kempner, Castro and Bas 1993).

We have seen that there are weaknesses in training provided by enterprises. Enterprise-based training is driven by firms’ need to increase efficiency and quality of production. Enterprises tend to emphasize more on better skilled workers, the training they provide is often mainly
job specific and unsystematic (Michell 1998). As a result enterprise based training fails to develop flexibility and mobility of workers. Additionally it contributes to increase the inequality in access to knowledge as it unequally distributed.

Talking about deficiencies in enterprise-based training it is important to note this is not only about a conflicting situation between individual or societal interests and firm interests. Firms also have an interest in having broad and systematically trained workers. However, firms have internal conflicts between short term objectives of keeping costs down and long-term goals of being innovative, keeping abreast of technology and staying competitive in a tough market (Ibid). Flexible and mobile workers are an advantage for enterprises as flexibility and mobility also makes people able to “think outside the box” contributing to efficiency gains, innovations and improvements in production. Hence, it is likely that schemes to support enterprise-based training will be a welcomed initiative also from firms.

4.4 Initiatives to support enterprise-based training

PPP is a cost-sharing device. In most developing countries there is a need for larger overall investments in training. Wealthier countries can afford more government financing of TVET, but even there employers are expected to share some of the costs. As employers have often proved not to invest satisfactory in training, incentives and even compulsory training schemes are used by governments in the attempt to haul out more employer investments in training. There are a wide variety of ways to motivate HRD in firms. In the following some financial incentives and schemes will be presented and discussed.

Modern apprenticeship systems are characterised by an apprenticeship agreement. An employer agrees to train and often give a small payment to an apprentice who gives his/hers untrained labour in return. The apprenticeship agreements are regulated by law concerning the training curriculum, payment and duration. In formal apprenticeship systems wages are subsidised in order to positively influence the quantity of apprentices employed by firms (Lauglo 1993). The apprenticeship scheme holds a danger of employees being exploited as cheap labour and not being given training as intended. To avoid this, many systems require that companies have a license that showing that they are approved to provide placement for
an apprentice. Hence, the apprenticeship scheme is quite complex to administer (Kempner, Castro and Bas 1993).

Training expenses are deductible from tax in most countries. Many countries are furthermore offering tax dispensation up to a certain level beyond the usual deduction. With this system it is the government that indirectly carries the cost of training in form of lost tax income (Herschbach and Gasskow 2000, Mitchell 1998).

Payroll tax schemes makes enterprises pay for public training. A payroll tax is collected and used to support national TVET institutions. This has been the most dependable source of TVET funding for countries that face shortages of public financing. It is widespread in Latin America and the Caribbean. However the tax collection solution demands a sufficient number of taxpaying companies and that companies that are willing to pay. Hence it may be a difficult solution for low income countries. Another weakness of the system is the lack of influence that the enterprises have regarding how the money for training are used.

With levy grant schemes levy proceeds are used to encourage training conducted by the firms themselves. The levy grant scheme can be carried out in different ways. Some countries have a system where levy incomes are gathered in a training fund that again is used to cover firms’ training expenses. Other countries have a system of redistribution where training levies are distributed away from firms that do not train, and given to firms that do. In such a system firms that are considerably involved with training may receive grants that are significantly larger than their training costs. In this way training is encouraged (Ibid).

The last form of levy grant schemes that will be presented here is a scheme where levy exemptions are given to firms that provide training adequately. The strength of this form of levy grants is that it makes it possible to avoid a cumbersome process of tax payment and grant claim (Herschbach and Gasskov 2000).

All of the schemes described above require a well developed administrative system with capacity to collect taxes, lead inspections and monitor costs. In order to fulfil the purpose, incentives and schemes must not only be carefully developed but also sufficiently carried out.
4.5 Benefits of training

Enterprise-based training gives substantial benefits both to the enterprises and their employees. According to Johanson and Adams (2004), all forms of learning within the enterprise effects productivity in a positive way. This is found to be a fact both in large and high-skilled enterprises as well as in small, low-skilled enterprises.

Many companies consider training as both costly and time-consuming. Yet, the long-term gains of training are significant; investments in education and training give results in terms of increased profit. Improved skills lead to better performance which ensures better quality products and more satisfied customers. Training may save supervisory time and cost as trained staff are more autonomous. The overall impression is that training saves firms for costs and labour, increases profits, performance and workers motivation (Hansson 2008)

According to theories on enterprise-base training, it is argued that firms will be reluctant to invest in general training as they fear workers will leave or engage in wage bargaining. Clearly this is a relevant concern as training increases the market value of workers. Yet several studies show that the opposite is more common. Training creates a learning environment and an atmosphere where workers feel appreciated. Thus training may be a way of keeping workers in a competitive labour market (Ibid).

There are not many studies that evaluate the benefits of enterprise-based training for workers. Johanson and Adams (2004) say that workers often receive wage increases after training. From those studies showing that training gives better quality performance one may assume that workers also feel more confident and that work is more satisfying. Training will increase the security as workers will know more about their environment, the materials and equipment they use. To have broader knowledge about the daily work one is doing is also contributing to increased self-esteem, feeling of mastery and inclusion.

In order to evaluate the impact of training for workers’ further employment or self-employment there is a need for tracer studies. One may assume that training accrues labour market opportunities. However, this also depends on what kind of documentation the employees are provided with, how they able to communicate their competence in the labour market. Content and quality of training is not the only factors that are significant for the benefits training can lead to: “The lack of transferable general skills coupled with a lack of
certification renders employees vulnerable when they look for work elsewhere. They are likely to be treated as unskilled workers when they seek employment elsewhere” (Endressen and Jauch 2000).

4.6 Certification of learning outcomes

Certification is a way to assure that individuals have the right competences to perform a specific job. It may also encourage further training if it links different levels of education and training together. In the labour market certifications serve as a cost saving device for employers to evaluate the competence of the job seeker. Herschbach and Campbell write that certification serves the purpose of proving individual proficiency: “Certification assesses the knowledge and skill qualifications of individuals to verify that they have met predetermined requirements and can competently perform in a particular craft” (Herschbach and Campbell 2000:53). Hansson (2008) argues that return to training is connected with the ability to communicate the received training to other employers.

The term competence is used to indicate that one is qualified to manage certain tasks in a designed area of the society (Lysne 1999). Certification is the documentation of a specified competence. To use Stevenson’s (2001) terms, certification is an attempt to codify knowledge in order to attest it and give credit to it. Clearly there are problems related to the certification of vocational knowledge as there are many competences that are hard, if not to say impossible, to describe and measure. All kind of evaluations have shortcomings. Still it has the advantage that it makes knowledge and competences explicit and making them somewhat easier to communicate.

The importance and use of education and training for the individual and the society, depends on the institutions involved. The education system, the labour market and the organisation of production influence the development and use of education. It is the same with a certificate. Its value and how it can be used depends on the surrounding structures in the education system, and the labour market.

Boel Berner (1992) differentiates between educational systems according to their degree of internal coherence. There are systems with a high degree of standardisation and consensus,
and there are systems that are differentiated and pluralistic. Systems with high degree of standardisation and consensus have either agreements between the most important stakeholders, or decision-making is strongly centralised. In a differentiated and pluralistic system we find the opposite. Education is to a large extent privatised and there are a number of parallel subsystems that function independent from each other.

Weakly integrated systems hold a greater diversity in content and outcome as curriculum and learning structures is largely decided locally. Curriculum can respond more rapidly to technological changes and innovation, but changes will spread slowly to other areas. Transferability of skills and diplomas will be weak, and hence it will be difficult to use certifications from one institution into another. In stronger integrated systems content, evaluation and enrolment are predetermined and agreed upon by different interest groups, broad generic competences are preferred and the transferability of skills is strong. However adaptations to new knowledge, skills and innovations will be slower (Ibid).

Certification can play a role in preparing for change as it may be a link through which labour market demands can be integrated into training programs. Herschbach and Campbell are writing: “At a time of intense global economic competition, and rapid technological development and altering forms of work and work organisation, certification provide an essential link between workforce preparation and the changing nature of work” (Herschbach and Campbell 2000:52). In countries where human resource demands are in transformation, certification and skill standards may work as guidelines for labour market developments and demands. However, unless skill standards are kept current they will soon be outdated, dysfunctional and a hinder for development rather than a promoter of it.
5. **Methodology**

5.1 Selection of case

A case is a functioning specific with working parts and patterned behaviour. The study of a case is a study of operations; it is descriptions and interpretations regarding the functioning of a demarcated system. A case may be chosen because the unit itself is of interest or because it helps our understanding of something else. Most normally, a case study is both intrinsic and instrumental. Impling that it is communicated by the researcher in a way that makes the case interesting in itself and so that other things can be learned through it (Stake 1994).

This case study is mainly instrumental; the case plays a supportive role through which we may understand more about firms’ training activities and how these facilitate spillovers to workers and society. The context dependent knowledge that the case provides is important for the process of learning about this topic.

In order to understand the critical phenomenon, the choice of case is important. In this study the case is primarily serving the function of giving real life information about Norwegian companies abroad and their development impact for the host country with a special focus on education and training. The reason for selecting Jotun is given more thoroughly in chapter one and three. To look at the affiliate in Vietnam was considered interesting because of the situation in the country. Vietnam is in the beginning of industrialisation and has achieved remarkable socio-economic achievements in recent years.

To look at several Jotun affiliates would indeed have been a preference, or alternatively to look into several Norwegian companies in Vietnam. However, due to the time limit and limited resources the decision of having only one case was made.

The purpose of this research is to understand how and why Jotun is involved with training, why they do it the way they do and to evaluate the benefits for the workers and the local society. Most companies make training decisions based on a mix of internal and external reasons. The complexity of the issue was the reason for choosing the case study approach. This approach provides an opportunity to investigate ordinary practices in their natural
settings and at the same time see it in a broader perspective of existing knowledge, theories and literature. The broader perspective and concerns will illuminate the experiences and attitudes of the case and vice versa.

5.2 Research strategy and design

Qualitative methods provide the framework for this study. As a research strategy the qualitative approach emphasizes “the understanding of a social world through an examination of how participants of that world interpret it” (Bryman 2004:266). It provides access to people’s opinions, experiences and perceptions on a different level than a quantitative approach. By the use of qualitative methods phenomenon are understood through the study of subjective explanations and reasons for action (Ibid).

According to Patton (2002), purpose is the controlling force when decisions about research design are made. To meet the purpose of this study it was necessary to obtain information from several sources and stakeholders; general information about the labour market and TVET system in Vietnam, and knowledge about the training Jotun supply.

An attempt to understand the value of the training Jotun provides without taking into account the surrounding context and how the situation is experienced and explained by different stakeholder would be problematic. The qualitative interview allows the informants to tell about their experiences and elaborate on the background for their answers. In the interview situation the interviewer and the interviewee have the opportunity to reflect upon questions together. The interviewer may make clarifications and the interviewee may use examples to support his or her answers.

Knowledge about the labour market and the TVET system has been obtained through interviews with stakeholders and policymakers, and studies of Vietnamese laws and strategy papers. Interviews with managers and HR employees Vietnam and corporate employees in Norway provided information about the company’s training provision and the motivation for this. Through interviews with operators and warehouse staff in Vietnam, knowledge about their background, present work, received training and perceptions of benefits due to this was obtained.
Decisions about data collection must suit the purpose of the study; it must take into regard the time span, the available resources and other contextual factors. “The first set of design decisions has to do with what is studied, under what circumstances, for what duration of time and with whom” (Janesick 1994:211). The greater part of the data in this study is collected during a four weeks field study in Vietnam, from January to February 2009. General information about Jotun and information about the company’s competence development strategy was obtained during two visits to the corporate in Sandefjord, one before and one after the fieldtrip.

Before going to Vietnam, an overall research plan was made. This included what kind of topics to illuminate and questions to ask as well as what kind of persons to interview. Some appointments were made on beforehand, while others were made there. Together with some scheduled interviews, the plan included categories of people it was regarded enviable to talk to. E.g. managers and administrative employees in Vietnam, operators and warehouse staff, representatives from organisations and offices working with TVET, and from organisations working with support to Norwegian enterprises in Vietnam. Interview guides which listed topics of requested information were made for each group of informants. The plan was always kept open for changes, opportunities and further development as the research went along and opportunities came about. Since the fieldwork was to be conducted in Vietnam, a country quite unfamiliar to me, I considered it necessary to have an open mind regarding what to expect and how to get about. Semi structures interviews were chosen as the best way to meet the research intentions, based on the information that was available at that time.

5.3 Triangulation and sampling

The term triangulation is taken from geometry in mathematics and refers to a method that determines the location of a point according to two or more known points. In research methods triangulation is often referring to the use of several methods and is based on the premise that different methods reveal different aspects of reality. However triangulation can also refer to the use of a variety of data sources (Patton 2002). A phenomenon or a situation is often experienced differently by different part takers. It is likely to assume that the training offered by Jotun is not experienced the same way by those who receive it, those who plan it and those who conduct it. Through the use of data triangulation the different perspectives are
taken into account. To be able to understand and evaluate the use of training in the society and the labour market, stakeholders outside the firm are also included in the study.

As previously written, the idea of what kind of informants to include in the study was developed before leaving for fieldwork. Contact was established with a few, among them a contact person who was assigned to coordinate my visit at Jotun. This person had also confirmed that workers and staff would be available for interviews. In the following a more detailed account for sampling of participants will be given.

The selection of informants includes eleven workers, five managers and administrative employees from Jotun Vietnam, three corporate employees and representatives from UNIDO, ILO, VCCI, Innovation Norway, Nordcham and DOLISA in the Binh Duong province.

The different informants were selected by the use of purposeful sampling and snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is, according to Bryman, “when the researcher samples on the basis of wanting to interview people who are relevant to the research questions” (2004:34). By asking people about whom to talk to that would provide knowledge about the topic and the situation in Vietnam, the number of informants increased as the study went along. And as the research progressed I was continuously looking for informants that could contribute to broadened understanding of the case and the topic of concern. The representative and even the organisations UNIDO, VCCI, ILO and Nordcham were selected through snowball sampling. In UNIDO there were one person specially working on the issue of industrial human resource development in Vietnam and partnerships between TVET institutions and companies. ILO is at present working on a labour market project which among other things includes a pilot project where skills standards for welding will be made.

Purposeful sampling means that informants are selected because they are considered information rich and provide useful manifestations about the research problem. Purposeful sampling is concerned with gaining insights about the phenomenon of attention. Generalisations based on purposefully sampled informants should not be made (Patton 2002). The different managers in Jotun Vietnam and the shift leaders were selected purposefully.

Regarding the selection of operators and warehouse staff some important remarks should be made. Due to language differences, a production area with strict safety rules and the fact that interviews were conducted during work time, I did not select the workers myself, but had to
rely on a person who arranged the interviews with the workers that were available at that time. Hence, the selection is not a result only of the researcher’s sample but also other things as availability at the time when the interviews were conducted. There is also a possibility that other factors unknown to me can have a played a part. What was done in order have a selection as balanced as possible was to interview workers from both shifts and to select workers with a long time in the company and workers with shorter time. However, neither the sampling size nor the sampling methods make it appropriate to make generalisations. Though having said this, it is reasonable to believe that the information that was given about the training that is provided by the firm is applicable for all the workers. It is experience of the working environment and things that regards feelings one should be most careful to making generalisations about.

Documents also constitute a part of the data in this study. This includes internal documents received from Jotun and unpublished policy documents from the government in Vietnam. These documents are cited as “internal documents” and “unpublished documents” in the reference list.

5.4 Interviews

“An interview is a conversation that has a structure and a purpose. It goes beyond the spontaneous exchange of views in everyday conversations, and becomes a careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge” (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009:3). Qualitative interviews are professional conversations, more or less structured dialogues between a researcher and interviewees about their lives and experiences. The interview is a purposeful conversation, a method to obtain information about things that cannot be observed. Conversations are knowledge sharing. People meet and invite each other to see the world with their perspectives. Through conversations knowledge are transmitted and preserved from generation to generation or communicated from one culture to another (Ibid).

The semi-structured interview is the main method for data collection in this research. A semi structured interview is conducted according to an interview guide but where the sequence of the questioning may vary. The researcher may ask follow-up questions in response to the informant’s replies (Bryman 2004).
The following sections will describe how the interviews were carried out and the setting in which this was done. Reflections about the use of translator are also given a section.

5.4.1 The setting

Jotun’s factory in Vietnam, and parts of the administration, is located in the Binh Duong province that is neighbouring HCMC in the north. The company plans to move all administrative staff to this province and to the factory area, but at the moment the top management is situated in the city centre of HCMC. The company employs, by January 1st 2009, 184 people including 9 operators at temporary contracts (Jotun b 2009). Almost half of the employees are working outside the Binh Duong province, mostly with sales and technical service. The company has sales offices Hanoi and Haiphong City in addition to the main activities in the HCMC area.

All the interviews in this study were semi structured, which implies that they were directed by an interview guide that listed important topics and questions. Five different guides were mainly used depending on what kind of informants that were interviewed and what kind of information they could provide (see appendix A). As the informants were relevant for different parts of the topics, the guides were adjusted accordingly during preparations prior to each interview. As a result the interviews differed in length and structure; some were almost informal while others were closer to the standardized open-ended interviews.

At the company there was one person that functioned as my gatekeeper and made appointments for me. According to Bryman (2004) a gatekeeper is often needed in order to gain access to an organisation or institution. Bryman further argues that a gatekeeper could try to influence how the research should be done. Punch (1994) is also concerned about the use of gatekeepers and the probability that a researcher can be perceived as an extension of his or her gatekeeper, as if they are having the same interests. I never felt that anyone tried to influence my decisions about how the research should be done. Still as the gatekeeper was a person working in the administration, my ties to the management became somewhat stronger than my relations to the workers.

All together five days were spent at the factory. I was given a visitors office while I was there which gave me the opportunity to look at the findings and ask follow up questions. I was in
the beginning mainly speaking with employees at the HR department. They made available documents with quantitative data about the employees in the company. I was also provided access to the company’s intranet and e-learning system. The interviews with the HR staff were at times informal and conversational. Questions were asked about the topics listed in the interview guide and questions related to information on the intranet and in the documents were added. I was also given a guided tour in the factory. The most formal part of these interviews was taped, other times the information was written down immediately after. After these “start up” interviews that provided an overview of the organization, more structured interviews were conducted with the other informants.

At the beginning of every interview I was telling about myself, my research and the purpose with the interview. All the informants were assured that the information I collected would only be used for the purpose of this thesis. The workers were also assured that their information would be treated with confidentiality. I asked to record the interviews, which was ok for most of the informants, and took notes in those cases where recording was unwanted.

In the factory the language barrier was a hinder. I brought a translator for two days and during these days we conducted interviews with workers. The interviews with operators and warehouse workers were carried out in an office close to the production area. The first day we were sitting in an office where other activities were going on at the same time and people were going in and out. With the second group a smaller office was used which was quiet and with no other ongoing activities. However, as far as I could notice the first group of respondents were not acting more reserved or in any way different than the second group.

Due to some changes in the schedule I had to use two different translators. But both of them had Vietnamese as their mother tongue and spoke English fluently. We went through the questions and the purpose of the interviews on beforehand and during the interviews the translators were therefore able to make probes on their own. Issues regarding the use of translation are further discussed in the next section.

DOLISA and DOET in Binh Doung were visited together with one of the translators. We had not been able to get an appointment, but had been in contact with them and been told to come. They would consider then if they could take the time. We got a long interview with the
head of DOLISA, but not with anyone at DOET. My translator assumed it would be difficult to get time with the department officials; she had therefore translated and written down all the questions so the interviewee could know beforehand what he/she said yes to. At both departments they were therefore given the exact same questions.

The organisations ILO, UNIDO and Innovation Norway were in Hanoi, Vietnam’s capital and the city where most of the international organisations are located. While being there, I also tried to get in contact with MOLISA and MOET but I did not manage to make an appointment. It would clearly have been an advantage for the study to have an opinion about the research topic from the government level.

The language barrier is an issue when both the informants and the interviewer are using their second language. Misunderstandings and misinterpretations are more likely to occur. Because of this I often repeated the respondents’ answers during the interviews to make sure that I had heard the answer correctly. I also asked about words I thought there could be different interpretations of. Altogether I felt that the language barrier was not a big problem as my respondents were communicating well in English. However, when interpreting information that is being given in a language foreign to both the researcher and the informant, this should be taken into consideration.

Conducting interviews is not an easy way of doing research. Although going out in the field and talk to people can appear relatively simple, interviewing needs extensive preparation on beforehand together with focused attention when the interviews are carried out. This study was my first study of such size, and should therefore be regarded as a pilot study. Adding to this the complexity of conducting research in a culture one has limited knowledge about; it is clear there are limitations to this study. As was said previously, snowball sampling was the main method for gaining knowledge about the TVET system and the labour market. This part could have been made more thoroughly if there were more time and resources available. As was said in previous chapters, 3.4, the TVET system in Vietnam is complex. The findings in this area should not be considered as an exhaustive presentation, but as a draft of the surroundings in which the findings from within the company can be applied.
5.4.2 The use of translators

The interviews with operators and warehouse staff had to be conducted with the use of a translator. Through an acquaintance, a Norwegian volunteer working at a university in HCMC, two translators were engaged and they worked with me one day each. Both of them had good proficiency in English and had Vietnamese as their mother tongue. They were both able to establish a genuine contact with the informants and through probes and encouragements guide them into the topics that were at the interest of the study. On beforehand we had talked about the topic and the questions, made clarifications and discussed topics that might come up, that should be followed up.

The translators that were used were professional in that sense that they took the job seriously and did a good job. Both had previous experience with translating. Despite our short preparation time and working time together we also cooperated well. Despite this, the use of translator is an aspect of the study and the interviews worth commenting upon. One of the difficulties that occur with the use of a translator is the establishment of trust between the researcher and the informant. The directness in the contact is lost when what is said goes via another person; the spontaneity of the conversation is also reduced. In most literature about qualitative research the value of making probes, nodding and encouraging the informant with body language is emphasized (Patton 2002). However with the use of translator this opportunity is reduced.

The second issue about translation is that the researcher does not have access the exact choice of words that the informants were using, and hence it is difficult to make interpretations due to choice of words. In the translation from one language to another it can be that words have a slightly different hermeneutic meaning in the different languages. However, such differences can exist even though the researcher and the informant use the same language. A word might have different interpretations according to geographical of social backgrounds.

The positive aspect with the use of translator was to have a person that was a local Vietnamese but situated outside the research case. We could discuss the answers and the information obtained after the interviews, and I was able to have my understanding confirmed or adjusted by a second independent opinion.
5.5 The role of the researcher

“The quality of the information obtained during an interview is largely dependent on the interviewer” (Patton 2002:341).

In qualitative research methods, the interviewer is the research tool. As the purpose of interviewing is to see a situation through the interviewee’s perspective, the researcher’s ability to establish contact and ask good questions is crucial. Meaningful data comes from meaningful questions and trust between the interviewer and the respondent. In this section my own role in the data collection work will be looked upon, and my capacities as a researcher will be discussed.

My relationship with Jotun is an important aspect of my role. The relationship was established when I contacted them and told about my research topic and asked if they would be willing to participate. My knowledge about this company before that time was no more than an average Norwegian citizen. After their approval, my contact person at the corporate established contact between me and the affiliate in Vietnam and further arrangements were made with them. To conduct the research I was neither sent nor funded by Jotun. This gave me freedom to arrange and design the fieldwork according to own limitations only and gave me a neutral position as a person looking at everything from the outside. However when I came to Vietnam I often felt the need to reiterate my neutral position regarding the corporate. Being Norwegian I sometimes felt that there was assumed to be close ties between me and the Norwegian parent company. This confirms Punch’s (1994) concern (see section 5.4.1), that a researcher can be perceived as an extension of its gatekeeper. The head office in Sandefjord functioned in this context as my gatekeeper by establishing contact between me and the company in Vietnam.

Evaluating my role as a researcher Kvale and Brinkmann’s (2009) ten qualification criterions for interviewers are useful. Kvale and Brinkmann argues that a researcher should be well-informed about the topic, should be structured, clear, friendly, attentive, open minded, guiding, critical, clarifying and with a good memory.

That the quality of a study is related to the researchers previous knowledge about the topic, correspond with Patton’s (2002) arguments that a qualitative report should provide information about the researchers previous experience, training and perspectives. About
TVET, I have experience both from own education and from working as a teacher in a vocational school and in a trade office in Norway. Regarding FDI and Norwegian business in developing countries I had limited knowledge before this project started and no other agenda than to find out more about an interesting and current issue. Concerning production in a chemical factory and training in chemical processing my knowledge is limited to the most basic concepts and some very incomplete insight gained through working in a small family-run rubber factory. One may rightfully discuss if this limited knowledge about the internal functioning in a paint factory limits my ability to gain knowledge about and evaluate the training given in such an environment.

An important aspect of my role as a researcher is the fact that I, previous to the study, was little familiar both with the country and the culture in which the case is located. Patton says this about cross-cultural interviewing: “...Economic and cultural globalization (...) may simply make miscommunications more nuanced and harder to detect because of false assumptions about shared meanings” (Patton 2002:391). There is always a chance that the researcher will misunderstand the answers of the informants, that words carry different meaning in different cultures and that what may seem to be clear cause and effect relations for one person is not perceived the same way by another. When research is conducted in another context than the researchers own, the requirement of clarity is maybe even more important.

Additional to the language and cultural differences there were also cultural differences due to gender and occupational status, especially regarding the operators and warehouse staffs. One may discuss to what extent the sum of all these differences affected the contact that was established between the interviewer and the interviewees.

Training is a necessity for becoming a good interviewer. And as a part of the preparations pilot interviews should have been conducted. This was not done. However the questions were reviewed together with the translators who came with constructive feedback. Together we agreed upon what part of the topics to go deeper into, what kind of issues that could come up that we should be prepared for etc. Still to be attentive the moment and to be sensitive towards all the possibilities that are implicit in the respondents’ answers are indeed a complicated task. Every interview was evaluated in the aftermath so that lessons could be learned from what went well and the things that could have been better.
5.6 Validity and reliability

To what extent are the findings in this study true? To what extent does the data reflect the reality? Would another researcher get to the same conclusions? Were the right questions asked? All these questions consider the validity and reliability of this study, the extent of its “trustworthiness” (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

Credibility, or internal validity, concerns the question of whether the findings are believable not only to the readers of the study, but also to the members of the reality that is studied. It regards the question of whether the researcher has understood the situation correctly. Respondent validation and triangulation are recommended techniques to ensure credibility (Bryman 2004). The use of triangulation in this study is explained in section 5.3. Respondent validation was not done, however an interim version of the study was sent to the contact persons at Jotun in Norway and Vietnam so that they could comment and make corrections before the report was finalised.

Transferability and external validity are parallel concepts. In quantitative inquiry this is expected to ensure that the results are applicable also for other samples of the population. However, qualitative research is often concerned with the study of a small group where depth is preferred over breadth. Findings are therefore context dependent and directed towards uniqueness rather than universality. Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that if there is to be transferability, the judgements about this lies more with the person that applies the findings elsewhere than the initial researcher. By providing a thick description about the context of the case and the circumstances in which the study took place, a base is provided for other users to decide if the findings can hold in another context (Bryman 2004). The context of this study has been described in this chapter 5.4.1 and in chapter 3.

Reliability is concerned with the question of whether the results are repeatable. Would another researcher get the same findings if the study was conducted in the same way? This poses two demands: that concepts measured are defined in a clear, understandable way, and that there are kept records of the different phases of the project. Some would argue that such a demand is based on an understanding of a predictable, constant world. Reality however is that behaviour and opinions change by time and context. However with a well made context description and research records theses changes could be made “trackable” (Erlandson et.al
1993). In this study, documents, transcriptions of interviews and a research journal provides the information about the project development.

Objectivity is an aspect of research which is given great value as the opposite to being biased, unreliable and irrational (Patton 2002). Traditionally objectivism was thought to be assured by keeping distance to the setting and the people that were investigated. However Lincoln and Guba (1985) has suggested to replace the traditional understanding for an emphasis on being balanced, fair and careful to take several perspectives into account. It is a common view among scholars today that no methods are totally objective. Descriptions of the inquiry progress, reflections of choices made, behaviour, utility of results etc. should therefore be presented for the reader so that they themselves may choose whether to be convinced by the trustworthiness of the researcher’s work (Patton 2002).

Birgit Brock-Utne (1996) argues that when a researcher from a western country conducts a study in a southern country on issues that concerns development; it is commonly the researcher that sets the agenda. The researcher brings the topic and the questions and thereby directs the research according to what he or she thinks is relevant. However for the participants in the study, or the ones that the study is supposed to serve, there might be quite different concerns that are more pressing. Or there might be factors that could contribute to a more true understanding of the topic that did not come to the surface because the researcher did not ask the right questions. Brock-Utne’s criticism is relevant for this study as the topic and the design was developed in Norway based on considerations and issues that were perceived to be important. The Vietnamese workers were never asked what they wished that their employer would do for them in order to increase their social welfare. To what extent the right questions were asked concerns the ecological validity of the study, to what extent what is observed in one context can be generalised to another.
6. **Findings: A global, regional and local training structure**

In the following, the research questions will be presented in succession. Within each section the findings will be discussed in relation to the previous given literature review and theoretical issues.

6.1 **Who gets training?**

Previous studies about enterprises’ training provision have shown that management staff and higher educated employees are more likely to receive training than those less educated in lower positions. This case study supports these previous findings (Johnson and Adams 2004).

Jotun has its own corporate academy. This academy organises a number of courses in relation to the different functions in the company. The next section will describe the academy more detailed.

From 1999 and until today, more than 100 courses have been provided to Jotun employees in Vietnam. These courses have been conducted within the country and in other countries in the region. Most of the employees who have attended long courses and courses abroad are top managers, but also coating advisors and mid-level managers have received training abroad. Most courses are short and last from 1-5 days. However, there are also more extensive courses, e.g. coating training and intermediate management training. Employees working with sales and technical service have received the most courses. All middle managers have attended Basic Management Training (BMT) and the top managers have received additional management training (Jotun c 2009).

The training that is incorporated in the corporate academy is what is referred to here as the global part of Jotun’s training. These courses are developed in the Competence Development Department in the headquarters. The courses contain the same and are provided in the same way to employees all over the world. The courses are delivered by approved trainers and most commonly carried out locally or regionally. The top level courses are arranged globally with participants from all over the world. Jotun’s training structure is contributing to close
regional relationships, as many of the courses are conducted at regional level with participants from the different Jotun companies.

An important element of the regional training structure is the regional laboratories. Jotun have five regional laboratories: in Norway, USA, Dubai, Korea and Malaysia. From the research centre in Malaysia, which is the research centre for the Asia Pacific region, engineers come to inform and share knowledge about innovations with the Vietnamese engineers and salesmen. This happens regularly, usually once or twice a year.

Above, it was said that this study support the findings from previous studies regarding lower educated employees receiving less training. The employees in Jotun that have the lowest levels of education, operators and warehouse staff, are not included in the global or regional training structure. Hence they receive little formal training, i.e. training that is given according to predefined goals and evaluated and documented in the aftermath.

The fact that the operators and warehouse workers are not included in the formal training system does not imply that they do not get any training. But the training they receive is informal, as well as developed and carried out at the local level. The managers in the factory and the workers’ nearest leaders plan and carry out this training. The workers also get access to knowledge and updates from the regional laboratory through the local engineers who share the training they have attended on new products or technology developments. According to Hansson (2008), formal training is supposed to be a good indicator also of informal training. If true, those who receive most formal training should also receive most informal. As data about informal training for those who have attended the academy courses was not gathered, it is beyond the scope of this study to make comparisons. However, it is reasonable to assume that if training of operators and warehouse staff were given more formally, or if it had been led by competence goals, more informal training within daily work would have been encouraged.

The employees at Jotun Vietnam are well educated. Except from those working as operators and warehouse staff, the majority have at least a bachelor degree. The majority of operators and warehouse workers have finished higher secondary school, which means they have completed twelve years of general schooling.
6.2 What kind of training?

Jotun’s Competence Development Department as established in 2006. It is located in the corporate headquarters in Norway, and is among other things responsible for the training programs in the corporate academy. Many of the courses that today are joined under one umbrella in the have existed for a long time, but without a common coordination (9.4.09/AdmN3/Int).

The different “schools” within the academy are divided into four different areas: Sales and marketing, operations, technical and management. Courses are organized in modules that build on each other; this is illustrated in the training portfolio below. Some of the courses are also provided in cooperation with Jotun’s second largest owner, Orkla (Jotun a 2009).

Figure 6.1 Jotun Academy, training portfolio

In addition to the courses seen in the model, the academy also includes an e-learning system where employees can attend self-studies. Some of these courses are independent, not attached to the regular courses, but the e-learning system also includes self-study material that functions as preparation and evaluation of the courses in the portfolio. Most of the e-learning studies are voluntary, while some, e.g. about how to use the e-mail system, is compulsory. All e-learning courses include a final test that employees may take after having studied the material. When a test is passed this is registered in the employee’s file in the database. Within
the e-learning system there is also an English study program called “English-town” where one can log on to an online English-speaking community which is active 24 hours a day (20.1.09/AdmV1/Int).

Structured job assessment interviews are considered the most important tool for dialogue about development and training needs in the company. Department managers annually conduct such interviews with each individual staff at their department. Together the manager and employee discuss the department’s needs, set job objectives for the year to come and agree upon training needs and how these should be fulfilled (20.1.09/AdmV1/Int).

The studies offered in the Jotun Academy are the most formal part of Jotun’s training activities. Still these represent only a part of the overall training that is given. On-the-job training is another part that constitutes a large share of the knowledge transfer that takes place from the company to its employees.

There is no education specifically directed towards paint production, neither in Norway nor in Vietnam. For work with paint production, education and training related to chemistry, machine operations and the like is the most relevant. Further paint-related knowledge is acquired through work and seminars. Working with paint production demands a wide range of practical skills, and the workplace is therefore an appropriate arena for learning. The skills needed are closely related to machinery and materials, a working area with high temperatures, pressures, difficult body conditions and hazardous chemicals.

The operators receive most training during their two months of probation. They learn how to reduce the risk of static electricity, how to run machines properly and how to carry out the different tasks for their working area. They learn how to handle chemicals and how to protect themselves according to the requirements of the more than 300 raw materials that are found at the factory. Production is organized in steps and newcomers are usually trained to work in the fuelling step. In this work, they do not need to know the process of paint production as their task is simply to pour the paint into cans. As they move to another step in the production they will receive new training. After several years in the company, and depending on how much they have been moved around to different areas, they may be familiar with the whole process of production. Training in health, safety and environment (HSE) constitutes a major part of both initial training and training updates.
According to the four warehouse workers interviewed, their training is mainly informal and task specific. Training of warehouse staff does also emphasize HSE. They receive training about the different chemicals, how they are coded and their characteristics. Knowing how to protect themselves according to the degree of danger related to the material, is vital for them as well. Warehouse staff gets training in computer skills, software, storing of products, how to import and export, how to store and share data etc. Preparing containers with products, printing labels and wrapping is also among the work tasks of the warehouse workers. According to the HR department some of the warehouse workers have also received training to get a forklift truck driver certificate (20.1.09/Adm1/Int).

According to the data, production workers get initial training through instructions from technicians and managers and guidance and help from colleagues. The workers are saying that their initial training is given both through theory and practice. The practical part is the major, and is given by more experienced workers. Peer learning is a quite common form of work-based learning (see chapter 2.4). The workers help each other during tasks and more experienced workers guide and support new colleagues. According to the data it seems like peer learning is the most common form of learning in this factory. One worker said that when he was new, he was not completely confident. Many issues came up. But at that point he could ask advice from the shift leader or his friends and they would help him overcome the difficulties (05.02.09/O1/Int). Another said that during the probation period old workers will help new ones, and that everybody is accustomed to helping (13.2.09/O4/Int). A warehouse worker who has been in the company for a while says that taking part in the training of new workers is a good way of gaining knowledge for oneself as one learns new things by teaching others (13.2.09/WH4/Int).

Further training and upgrading of skills and knowledge is given regularly. Production workers get three days of training every year. One day deals with first aid and safety, one is about fire fighting and is conducted by local firemen, and one day is about paint technology. Based on the training and updates received from engineers in Malaysia, the local engineers plan and provide seminars for the workers.

The feature of vocational training is its practical focus (Stevenson 2001). Vocational competence is to take pride in cleanliness, to take care of tools and equipment, to use materials in the most cost effective way etc. Handiness and mastery is important; to handle
machinery and tools. In a chemical factory the use of the senses is important; to smell, to observe etc. Stevenson (2001) is talking about the ability to hear that something is wrong with a machine as an example of machine operator’s skills. In a chemical factory the role of attitudes is also an important competence; to work precisely, methodically and to avoid sloppiness that can cause danger. The types of skills described here are often called tacit knowledge; they are not codified so that they can be transmitted through lectures or study material (see section 2.4). Vocational competence comes through repeated exercises and good guidance. Good physical health is important for most vocational occupations, and the development of strength is also an important part of an initial training period. Undeniably the aspect of guidance is essential. Handiness is not only learned by repetition, guidance is important in order to find the most effective methods and those that prevent bodily or other harm.

It is evident that the workers regard practical training as an important part of their training. One is saying that to work in a factory you have to know and do things properly (05.02.09/O1/Int). Another is talking about the importance of accuracy (05.02.09/WH1/Int). One of the warehouse staff said that learning the code, recognizing the smell and colour of the materials were an important part of initial training (13.2.09/WH4/Int).

A recent Norwegian study (Dæhlen and Nyen 2009) indicates that to most employees, informal training is a more important source of learning than formal courses. That a job has learning intensive tasks is important for the development of employees’ skills and knowledge. The present gives no reason to conclude that employees learn little because they receive only limited formal training. However the workers experiences are different, some express to have learned a lot, others that they only know what they are doing.

In small factories there is often shorter distance between shop floor workers, laboratory workers, managers and others. Hence, more learning opportunities may arise after the training period, compared to larger firms with more distance between occupational groups. The distance between the learner and the work leader is an important determinant for learning opportunities in daily work as it affects the opportunity for the learner to receive instructions (see section 2.4). Two workers in the study specially mentioned this. One said that since they were so few people in the production area they became almost like family and it was therefore easy to ask others for advice. This was said with reference to shift leaders and managers as
well as peer workers (05.02.09/O1/Int). Another said that everybody was like brothers and they could help each other (05.02.09/O2/Int).

Learning is not a phenomenon that exists isolated in a learning situation. Culture, atmosphere, leadership style, firm size etc. are important features that can promote or obstruct learning. If knowledge and skills are transmitted mostly through informal relations and peer learning, it is important that the work environment is of a character that encourages questioning and gives responsibility to the workers. According to the obtained information it seems like the workers like their job, and several of the interviewees expressed appreciation of their colleagues. The majority of the workers did say that they applied for a job in the factory because they knew someone there. This may clearly be one reason for the friendly environment. The fact that managers are given management training may also be an advantage for the learning environment as it gives managers time to reflect more upon their role. BMT is one of the courses within the corporate academy and it is given to all managers that have personnel responsibility. The course lasts for three days and is concerned with transmitting corporate values, leadership, structured job assessment interviews and local employment laws, sick leave etc (9.4.09/AdmN3/Int).

6.3 Jotun`s motivation for training

“If I have a secret weapon, it is my ability to find able employees and to listen, and listen carefully, to their thoughts, suggestions and ideas” (Gleditsch in Jotun 2009).

In the debates about FDI it is argued that the characteristics and objectives of the FOEs are important determinants regarding their positive impact. According to the World Investment Report (2000) Greenfield investments are more likely to have positive impacts on the host country (see section 2.1). Jotun’s investment in Vietnam is a Greenfield investment. The company has established an affiliate and built a factory, hence it has also created workplaces that previously did not exist. The company has long-term plans in the country and aims towards a stronger position both in the marine and the decorative market. We have seen in the previous section that Jotun is providing training both through courses developed at the headquarters in Norway, through the communication of innovations and developments from
the regional research centre and through on-the-job training. This section will look at the motivation that underlies Jotun’s training activities.

Jotun regards their employees as their most important resource. Hence their well-being plays a crucial role for the well-being and prospect of the firm. Jotun’s values “respect, loyalty, boldness and care” (Jotun 2009) indicate what the company wants to be to its employees, customers and the society. To provide employees with broad knowledge, understanding about the company and about the work each employee is doing, is an aspect of respectful treatment.

The wish to communicate and safeguard corporate values is an important factor that promotes training. The values of the firm are an ethical commitment and regarded as a necessity for the sustainability of the firm. Jotun wants to be known as a trustworthy company (Bryn 1998). Hence, it has to treat its employees well and the employees have to treat customers and relations well. Jotun is in this regard in line with Edward Freeman (1984, in Crane, Matten and Spence 2008) who said that neglecting the society in which the firm functions can lead to decreased profit and increased risks (see also section 2.3).

Training is important in order to succeed with the work that is to be done. The corporate expresses a need for constantly developing competences in order to be prepared for future assignments. Quality is a fundamental element in the corporate philosophy. Jotun’s goal is to deliver products that keep a high standard regarding quality, environmental standards and trends, and to provide technical service of high quality. This demands creative, responsible and skilled people (Bryn 1998).

According to Blunch and Castro (2007) companies that are certified according to international standards tends to provide more training for employees. According to information obtained at the factory in Vietnam the company was certified according to ISO standards and this had an impact on training.

Quality of production and products is an important determinant for training. The element of risk that exists in chemical production is another: “Because you know that in a paint factory, safety is the first priority. So any people working there, they must know what to do, how to handle themselves and in a proper way follow safety rules” (22.1.09/AdmV3/Int). Much of the training for factory workers is concerned with the HSE aspect. There are reasons to
believe that the workers get more training because of the hazardous environment they are working in, and the importance of knowledge to avoid dangers and injuries.

In the previous section it was stated that the lack of training and education directly related to paint made it necessary to provide this kind of training for new employees. Technicians and engineers that have a background from chemistry have a broad basic knowledge, but need paint-specific knowledge. Operators and warehouse staff are often not familiar with chemical production at all. As the company is also, through its research centres, continuously developing and improving products, innovations and developments must be communicated to employees and customers.

At the shop floor level it is said that paint production does not require too a high level of skills. And this might explain why the operators and warehouse workers are not included in the corporate academy. However, the company in Sandefjord contributed vastly to training for their operators and warehouse workers the latest years, for which they received an adult learning award in 2004 (Vox 2009). What kind of training production workers receive is mainly decided locally in each factory. In Vietnam most of the training is based on the present needs within the work area of the worker. However, the training days arranged every year and the updates about new products and technology provides the workers with more general knowledge about paint and paint production.

Training in Jotun primarily serves the function of safeguarding the company’s needs. However, there is also a willingness to invest in training that goes beyond this and which is based on individuals’ own desires and requests. An example of this is the written instructions that follow the schemes for structured job assessment interviews, stating that the interest and motivations that the employee has regarding training should be taken into account (9.4.09/AdmN3/Int).

By opportunity the corporate is also open to get involved in partnerships for training, or to pay for training that the employee would like to take part in. This is however more practiced in Norway where the structures for partnerships are better developed and the system is more eager to adapt to the needs of the enterprises and their employees than in Vietnam.

According to Dicken (2007), it is increasingly common that companies employ workers on preliminary contracts or through manpower companies. Hence, only core personnel are on
permanent contracts. The permanent employees will lead the company’s activities and are the ones that receive training. Very limited time will be spent on training for temporary workers. This trend is obviously not positive for workers. Jotun’s business principles states that the company: “*have employees who act as Jotun ambassadors and who strive to maintain Jotun’s reputation when engaged*” (Jotun a 2009). The trend to have many workers on temporary contracts conflicts with the business principles of the corporate and the aim of creating an image as a long-term and trustworthy actor. Last year Jotun in Vietnam had twenty salesmen on contract. When this was ended it was with the argument that permanent employees will represent the company better as these can get better training in corporate values and products. Today the company is only hiring labour from manpower companies in times with high demands due to seasonal variations. E.g. nine operators were on short term contracts before “Tat”, the celebration of the Chinese New Year.

To sum up, the motivation for training is based on several factors. First it is the company’s need for ensuring corporate values, the delivery of quality products and quality service. Second, to conduct training for employees, encourage and promote their thoughts and ideas is also a way of treating them with respect. Providing training is not only to ensure corporate values, but it is also a result of those values. It was said at the headquarters in Norway that Jotun had CSR encapsulated in the values that had followed the company since its beginning (28.10.08/AdmN1/Int). Thirdly, the need to ensure the safety of personnel, machinery and buildings require a high level of HSE training.

While looking for training based on more “philanthropic” reasoning, this is more likely to be found in Norway than in Vietnam. In Norway the company is adapted for training of production workers so that they could take a crafts diploma within the public education system during work hours. Further adaption was made for employees with reading and writing difficulties.

6.4 Does the training benefit the local employees?

We have seen in the previous section that Jotun provides substantive training for their employees, but that the formal part, the training programs that are developed at the corporate headquarters, are only directed towards employees in higher-skilled occupations. However
HRD is important for Jotun and training is given also to operators and warehouse staff. The difference is that this is developed locally, provided mainly through on-the-job training and not documented with certifications or diplomas.

One of the research questions in this study was how the given training benefited the local employees and the production workers in particular. This question has developed as a response to the argument that FDI contributes to a country’s HRD through FOEs training activities. It is also related to CSR, and the argument that Norwegian firms abroad should treat its workers well and contribute to their welfare and personal development, as they do at home.

In this chapter the question of what benefits training may have for the workers will be answered. There are four aspects of benefits that will be discussed in the following. These are:
To what extent does training improve the working environment and reduce the degree of danger related to work? Is the training improving the career opportunities within the company for the individual employee? Does training increase workers’ opportunities in the labour market? Does training provide the workers with skills that can also be used in their daily lives?

6.4.1 “Jotun is a company that cares for the people”

To what extent does the training give advantages for the workers in their daily work life?

In a chemical factory safety is an important issue. Accidents may have fatal outcomes, lack of knowledge or imprudence can cause dangerous situations. Workers are surrounded by materials that may be hazardous for their health and they must know how to protect themselves. It is with this knowledge the workers are saying that “accuracy” and “to do things properly” is the most important skills in their work (see section 6.2). One worker states that if you are not sure about the job you must not do it, because the chemicals are dangerous and it may easily explode (05.02.09/O1/Int).

The quote that makes the headline for this section was given by one of the managers in Vietnam. When being asked about the benefits for the workers in the company he brought up three aspects: The potential and long-term interests Jotun have in Vietnam means that the workers can have a long-term future in a secure workplace. Jotun cares for people and want
to treat them well both regarding salaries and other benefits. And third, it is an important issue for the company to care for workers’ safety (20.1.09/AdmV2/Int).

Training in HSE was stated by most of the workers as the main part of their training. Two of their annual training days are devoted to this. Also a large part of the workers initial on-the-job training is concerned with how to handle the different raw materials, how to protect them and how to avoid electric static. Most of the workers also expressed that they were ok with the toxic working environment because they felt that they had the equipment and knowledge they needed. However one of the interviewed workers said that the working environment regarding HSE could have been improved (13.2.09/WH2/Int).

The image the corporate has of itself as a good employer corresponds well to the information obtained from the workers. When they were asked about advantages and disadvantages related to working for Jotun, several brought up the insurances they got; health insurance, social insurance and 24 hour working insurance as a benefit. The social work environment was also brought up as a positive side of the job. The workers were saying things like “I like working here because I feel appreciated” (05.02.09/O6SL/Int), “everybody are like brothers and the environment is good” (05.02.09/O2/Int). Several said they knew the environment was toxic, but because they knew how to protect themselves and because they were provided with gloves, masks, good clothes etc. they felt ok. The data clearly indicate that safety training is being taken seriously in the company, and that the training in this area attends to the safety of the workers in a way that makes them feel safe and taken care of.

It is worth to mention though that the information gained through this study comes solely from currently employed workers. It is these workers who are saying that they have received training to be confident and to feel safe. The experiences of those who have chosen to quit may be different. One of the informants said that most of those who quit were new workers and he anticipated that difficulties in adapting to the work pressure were one of the main reasons. Factory work is hard work and it is clearly possible that employees quit because they do not like the character of the job. However, and based on the information given by this present worker, it is appropriate to ask if initial training could have been made more thoroughly to ease the entrance for new workers. It is however beyond the information of this study to answer to what extent lack of training, or insufficient training, has contributed to some previous employees’ mal-adjustment.
6.4.2 “Growing people” – opportunities within the company

There are a range of job opportunities and different occupational groups in Jotun: research and development, production, engineering, sales and marketing, logistics and warehousing, technical service and a variety of others. This section will deal with the question of career opportunities. How are career opportunities inside the firm for the employees? Does the company provide a training which give employees the opportunity to rotate or be internally promoted? The expression “growing people” refers to the development of the employees’ talents and capacities. Hence this chapter evaluates the opportunities workers at Jotun in Vietnam have to grow.

Jotun`s corporate academy is preparing for advancement within the company`s structure as the courses are building on each other in modules. Jotun also provides support to employees who want to attend further studies, if these can be relevant for future work in the company. E.g. the company in Vietnam is at the moment supporting part of the school fee for one employee who is attending a MBA study. This employee is bound to work for the company for a certain time afterwards, depending on the amount of support he is receiving. In Norway there has been possibilities for operators and warehouse workers to take a crafts diploma by giving them the opportunity to study much of the theoretical part within regular working hours. Some of these have continued and have later become technicians and engineers. Vacant positions are announced internally so that present employees may apply if they have the relevant skills.

According to a manager in Vietnam, growing people at all levels, from factory workers to managers, is important for Jotun: “First when they come, they have simple tasks. But maybe a few years later if we find that they are hard working and if they have some knowledge so they can become a shift leader, no problem. That depends on how they want to grow with Jotun” (22.1.09/AdmV3/Int).

In the interviews many of the workers expressed that they hope to advance within the company, and that they hope they will get different tasks and learn more. Others were saying that they felt confident in their area and that they were happy with their present job.

On-the-job training is first and foremost related to specific work tasks. Based on data from the interviews, training given to warehouse staff and operators is mainly equipping them with
relevant skills and knowledge to be able to perform these tasks safely, effectively and with quality. One worker is making this quite explicit by saying that he only knows what he is doing (13.2.09/WH2/Int). The workers are initially not informed about the whole process of production, rather this understanding is something they achieve over time as they are moved around to different working areas and get new training. Apparently, learning opportunities are given individually to the workers through opportunities to rotate or be promoted within the factory, in a process led by the managers’ selection. According to the data it seems like learning opportunities are related to promotions or rotation, and that this is decided by the managers. In the quote above it is said that workers are promoted if they are hard working. One of the workers are also saying this, that his opportunities to get different work tasks and learn more depend on the managers and how they evaluate his abilities and attitudes.

This way of providing on-the-job training is more work-centred than people-centred, as it only develop peoples’ knowledge when there is a need for it in the company. One may argue that both the factory and the workers would benefit from providing a broader base of training to as many workers as possible. Human resources are an important resource for any organisation. However no one knows what kind of talents and contributions each individual can bring unless they are given the trust and space to bring themselves forth. Providing as many of the workers as possible with a broad base of knowledge would imply a quality lift for the company and a motivational lift for the workers.

If most of the workers have broad, general training and knows most of the working areas in the factory, they will also be more flexible for job rotation when needed. It can be argued that to provide training piece by piece is an advantage as one get the time to internalise some information before one gets more. This is surely true, yet on the other hand if there are no goals related to training beyond the daily needs, training is more likely to be narrow and specific. Chapter 2.3 pointed to the value of TVET in ensuring access to skilled workers that can improve and develop production. Engen (1992) is arguing that one of the weaknesses of on-the-job training is that it can be so narrow that it does not enable the workers to promote innovative or independent thinking (see section 2.4). Training workers according to skill levels will improve production as the workers, by knowing not only how to do their work but also why they do it the way they do, may be better equipped to improve productivity and avoid errors.
There are many ways in which broad training can be provided. At one of the two factories in Sandefjord, job-rotation is used as a training method. All workers are trained in all areas so that they know the whole production process and can be able to work wherever needed. For the factory workers in Sandefjord it has also been developed an internal diploma which includes four days of theory and a certain amount of practical training. In the end there is a final test that, when passed, gives the workers a competence proof. A similar course and diploma could be included in the corporate academy and offered to operators all over the world. As the employees in Vietnam have a high level of general education, quite similar to those in Norway in terms of years, it is likely to assume that pretty much the same material can be used in Vietnam as in Norway.

Another aspect regarding blue-collar workers’ opportunities within the company is that there seems to be a limit to how far they can reach. When management is talking about opportunities for operators they are talking about becoming a group leader or shift leader. One of the shift leaders are saying that he thinks he has reached as far as he can come, as he, to reach a higher position would need to have a certificate (13.2.09/07SL/Int). And one of the managers was saying: “I think it is very difficult to grow a worker to become a sales manager, it is impossible. But many of them now become a shift leader or a group leader. They are growing” (20.1.09/AdmV2/Int).

To move from one occupation to another is something that takes time and resources as it demands considerable training and maybe also further studies. The studied company in Vietnam is a rather young company and only a few employees have been there more than ten years.

The surrounding education system will also impact the opportunities for workers within an enterprise. In Norway there are examples of people who have started in production and ended up in an administrative or technical position. However in Norway it is easier to take additional education while one is working. Cooperation between schools and work places are more structured, and schools are more eager to adapt for studies to be taken together with employment. There are better developed structures for transition from vocational education to technical education and to tertiary level engineering. It is likely to assume that opportunities within the company are affected by this. When there are no skill standards in the larger society it is difficult to have training received in a company accepted as a basis to take
further. The fact that education is more costly in Vietnam than in Norway also makes transition from one area to another more resource demanding.

Another aspect that can alleviate or obstruct workers` ability to shift from a blue-collar to a white-collar job is the status of practical experience. In a society where practical experience is valued higher it is more likely that one can get a white-collar job even though one does not have the proper schooling.

6.4.3 Transferability - skills for further employment

In section 6.2 we saw that production workers at Jotun in Vietnam said they had received a fair amount of training both in HSE, general knowledge about paint production, technology and composition of paint as well as practical experience. However to predict something about how and to what extent this received knowledge would be beneficial for a possible future employer was difficult for most of the workers. Many of them said that they thought they would need retraining, but still that they would be considered attractive because of the experience they had gained. They reckoned that the paint-composition would be different in another firm, but also that there would be some similarities regarding the general knowledge. Also HSE training was considered transferable.

The question of transferability raises the question of what is broad and transferable versus what is specific. Relating to the discussion in 6.2 about tacit and codified knowledge, it seems that tacit knowledge such as industrial manners, ability to work accurately, practical skills etc, is regarded more transferable by the workers in this study. The workers assume that the training they get is mainly specific for their present work. The theoretical paint related knowledge is especially considered as specific. The HSE training is regarded transferable by both workers and managers. The workers also evaluate their practical skills as beneficial if they were to move to another factory. As one worker expressed it, he thought he would be more attractive for another employer now, as he had gotten industrial manners, had been growing up, matured and gotten healthier. It is evident from the interviews with the workers that many of them are aware of the value of their practical competences and regard the development of these as an important part of their training.
As production is organized in steps and one is trained in one area at the beginning of employment and moved to other areas after some years, workers having been in the company for many years have learned more about production than those that have a short working time in the company. Hence the training received by the oldest operators is broader than what the newest workers have gone through. One of the shift leaders, having been in the company from the beginning of production, was saying that he had received training to become a skilled worker. This reflects that his total competence today is broad and transferable (05.02.09/O6SL/Int).

According to the warehouse workers, their training is also task specific. However one of them is saying that the way to work in a warehouse is quite similar in different places, and that work experience hence is an advantage (13.2.09/WH3/Int). This may imply that he has more knowledge about warehousing than he is aware of, that he has a fair amount of tacit knowledge. This worker had worked with warehousing also before he joined Jotun.

The interviewed managers held training for operators to be mainly task specific and not transferable (22.1.09/AdmV3/Int, 20.1.09/AdmV1/Int). Still, both managers and workers supposed that the market value of the workers was increased due to training and that they would now be more attractive for future employers. One manager expressed it like this: “...because the labour market in Vietnam is very complicated now, lot of foreign companies invest in Vietnam. They invest money here, they have the machines, the factory. They need workers so they are willing to pay a high salary to get the experienced people from us” (22.1.09/AdmV3/Int).

The value of training is not only dependent on the specific characteristics of the given training, the surrounding system also plays an important role in determining how training is valued and used. Lack of skill standards and documentation characterises the labour market for production workers in chemical industries in Vietnam. The formal training opportunities for this group are also quite limited. According to one of Jotun’s managers, Vietnam does not have any relevant schools or any training related to chemical production at the vocational level (22.1.09/AdmV3/Int). Another manager was saying that to find people with paint experience was hard and that most of the job seekers were farmers from rural areas or workers with experience from other production areas (13.2.09/ AdmV5/Int). In the light of this it is reasonable to assume that work experience from a chemical factory gives advantages
on the labour market regardless of how you are trained. If there are few training institutions that provide training within this occupation, workers with experience will be in demand.

However, when it is difficult to communicate ones actual knowledge and competence there is a possibility that one is treated as unskilled also in a new job. Even though another employer offers a higher salary, do they offer salaries according to the training the worker has received previously? In Vietnam it is not common to provide a letter of recommendation for blue collar workers. It was said at Jotun that they would provide an employment confirmation if someone asked, but none of the informants were able to recall that previous workers had asked for this. The lack of documentation makes the opportunities for communication of skills even more complicated.

Due to the lack of information about training and competences employers have reasons to distrust job seekers. Innovation Norway were saying that Norwegian employers from time to time experienced that CVs were not reflecting the reality and that the job seekers did not have the competence that they claimed to have (12.2.09/INNOR/Int). The present situation can indeed be difficult at least for foreign employers who are used to attestation and diplomas as devices for labour market information. It is a common solution to this problem to recruit new workers through present employees. Job-seekers presenting themselves with more skills that they have is one side of the problem. It is also possible that the opposite option exists, that workers are not acknowledged for what their skills actually are worth because they have no means to communicate their real competence.

This study does not go deep enough into the labour market culture or the overall Vietnamese culture to be able to infer what the value of certificates would be. Beyond the fact that many Scandinavian companies hire employees that are relatives and friends of current employees and that there are companies that work with contact making between employers and job seekers, little knowledge is obtained about this aspect of the labour market structure in this study. However at the moment the labour market situation in Vietnam is characterized by transition and change, it is likely to assume that the value of and need for competence proofs also will change and that it will become increasingly important. If this is true, to equip employees with documentation of their received training and their present competence would be a way present employers can increase their opportunities and their bargaining strength in the labour market.
To ensure that training for operators and warehouse workers is broad and that it leaves them with a certificate as a skilled worker would be a positive contribution to the company’s workers and the local society. The way that the training system in Jotun is functioning today, it contributes to widening the gap between those with higher education and those without, as the already educated are provided with more formal training and more documentation, whereas the lower educated are not.

### 6.4.4 Skills for life

The knowledge and skills we acquire through school or work can also be beneficial for our leisure time, in the family and the society. As humans we have many roles to fill, education and training should prepare for all aspects of life.

According to the interviewed workers they considered the training they received in safety, fire fighting and first aid as good and beneficial also in their daily life. Apart from that no other skills gained through work was mentioned in the context of being relevant outside work.

To evaluate educational outcomes regarding increased self esteem, awareness about ethics, health, safety and environment is a complex matter. To identify such skills can be difficult as they constitute a part of our learning not clearly spelled out.

Competences like accuracy and responsibility are also something that workers gain during work, and warehouse workers are trained in computer skills. It is likely that these skills will be relevant in the daily life as well. However none of these skills were mentioned specifically with reference to usefulness outside work.

Regarding personal development, development of self esteem, self confidence etc. we may see indications in the answers given. Most of the workers were positive about their job. They are saying that they are confident in what they are doing, some explicitly say they feel appreciated, one is saying that they have a learning environment where one can ask for advices and overcome difficulties together. Such experiences described in these answers are contributing to the development of self worth and self esteem. A good working and learning environment is important for well-being in everyday life.
When discussing how training and a good work atmosphere affects the learning environment and the workers’ self perception, it is worth mentioning that most of the interviewed workers have applied for a job at Jotun because they knew someone there, a friend or relative. Hence a good working environment can not only be ascribed to good leadership. The horizontal, inter-personal relations seem to be even more important.

6.5 Coordination with local TVET institutions

The lack of contact with the realities in the enterprises is causing much of the deficiencies in school-based vocational training in Vietnam (see section 3.4). Schools lack updated equipment and teachers have little practical experience. Vietnam’s TVET system is pluralistic and diversified. Responsibility is dispersed between different stakeholders both at the central and local level. Training is weakly controlled at the input level, curriculum plans are the responsibility of each training provider. The output is weakly controlled as well as there are few national skill standards and hence, each TVET provider certifies their graduates according their own standards. For Vietnam to be able to meet the goal of having a 40% share of the workforce being well trained in a vocation by 2015, more partnerships for TVET must be established. Mori (2009) is talking about the need to accelerate technology and skills transfer from FOEs through TVET partnerships.

Today’s outsourcing of training is the most common form of partnership between enterprises and training centres. Big firms order bulks of trained personnel from vocational colleges or training centres close to them, they describe what kind of needs they have and what kind of competence they request in workers. In return these companies provide funding, equipment, training places within production etc.

According to VCCI both industry and training centres are complaining about each others’ involvement in TVET. The training centres and universities complain because enterprises do not provide training places in production, and the industry complains that training centres and universities do not supply workers with relevant skills for the labour market. However VCCI has the impression that there have been great improvements in cooperation recently, and that both sides are starting to realize the need to establish relations and talk together. The VCCI representative were expressing concerns about the present situation where inward FDI is
mainly labour intensive and demands low skilled workers, and stressed the importance of HRD in Vietnam in order to attract higher value-added industries (21.1.09/VCCI/Int). Accordingly, incentives and legislations that promote cooperation for TVET should be developed. Today, it is the responsibility of universities, training centres and industry to communicate and find solutions together.

Jotun’s cooperation for training is in the start-up. The company is starting an internship program, and between the factory manager and some university professors who have studied together, an informal agreement have been made that the professors can send students to Jotun to get practice. This is anticipated to start next year.

The qualities and extent of enterprises involvement in TVET cooperation are shaped by political, economic, social and cultural surroundings. For a small company to contribute in a system that is not yet adequately developed is indeed complicated. The TVET system in Vietnam does not have any incentives or support arrangements for firms who conduct training, and as we have seen, outsourcing of training is the most common mode of partnership with institutions. But this is not a suitable mode for small and medium-size enterprises (SME)\(^2\). When asking the management at Jotun Vietnam about cooperation with local education institutions, the answer was that the company is too small for such tasks. They would be positive if they were approached, but for them to make contact they regarded themselves as too small and too busy: “No, so far we didn’t have any of this. And also, I think the education here is different from Norway so I don’t see that they have come so far. At least the universities they are not active enough. If they are active this will come” (20.1.09/AdmV2/Int).

As we have seen in section 3.4, there are no incentives or support schemes from the government to stimulate training arrangements. There is neither anything like this at the local level. Hence training conducted by enterprises and the partnerships they are involved in is at their own initiative. It may be a result of social responsibility or the fact that they see the benefits for their own activity. For other it may be because they have been approached by a local institution.

\(^2\) According to the EU definition small enterprises are enterprises with less than 50 employees, and medium sized enterprises are those having less than 250.
Public private partnerships for TVET may take many forms and enterprises may engage on different levels and through different connections. Employers’ involvement in TVET does often take place through organisations, national employers’ organisations, sector employers’ organisations or industry level organisations (Mitchell 1998). Jotun in Vietnam is joining Nordic Chamber of Commerce (Nordcham), an employer organisation for enterprises from the Scandinavian countries Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway and Iceland. Norcham is committed to supporting companies from these countries in their establishment and operations.

Among the activities of Norcham, being a contact link between their members and the government is one of them. Annually the organisation have two set meetings with the central government, and in addition they are called on to participate in subsidiary meetings as well. Before the two annual meetings they have meetings with their members so the enterprises can express their concerns. So far the topics on the agenda in Nordcham’s meetings with the government have mostly concerned environmental issues, ethics, educational awareness, health awareness etc. Nordcham also argue for higher demands towards foreign investors. Through Nordcham the members have a link through which they can influence or engage in TVET issues, however up till now there are other concerns that have been the focus of attention (16.2.09/NORDC/Int).

As is evident from these findings, assistance from Jotun to local TVET institutions to help improving and expanding vocational training is at the moment not existing. However a few initiatives are in the process and the company are expressing that they would be positive if they were approached. The surrounding system is not well accustomed to promote partnerships, there are no traditions for such partnerships and the different parties do maybe also hold some scepticism towards each other. Some say that many enterprises in Vietnam chose to train their workers themselves as they do not trust the quality of the training centres. Even more difficult is it for SME as most of the cooperative activities take the form of enterprises outsourcing training of workers to a training institution. This would not be a feasible partnership for Jotun as they, as the manager above was saying, is not a large company.

The fact that there are no training institutions that provide education for chemical production at the vocational level is of course also a reason for the lack of cooperation at this level.
However according to the ADB project completion report Ho Chi Minh City University of Industry have second and third level vocational training program for Basic Chemical Equipment Operators³.

To provide placement for students to get practical experience is one way Jotun can assist training centres in the present situation. In order to do so one has to take contact with a training centre or a university. When relations are as informal as they are here, the value of having local employees are demonstrated. The contact that does exist between Jotun and an educational institution was established on the basis of personal acquaintance. The head of DOLISA in Binh Doung were saying that they aim for better cooperation between education institutions and enterprises, and that placement for students in an enterprise was one of the main issues (05.02.09/DOLISABD/Int). It could maybe also be possible for Jotun if they want to contribute, to take direct contact with DOLISA in the province and express that they are open for cooperation.

³ This information was obtained in the end of the fieldwork period when there was no time to investigate more upon it. The informants were not referring to this institution.
7. Concluding remarks

Transnational companies are the main drive force of globalization, and have considerable impact on the economic situation in the countries where they are located. Hence, attracting FDI forms part of the agenda in many poor countries. Economic growth is however only one aspect of development. Equally important is how this growth is distributed.

The business sector is an important aspect of development as it contains ability to create jobs and generate income. That acting in a just and responsible manner is necessary for the sustainability of a firm is increasingly recognized. Many companies also regard the question of responsibility as an ethical more than an economical concern. However, negative consequences due to irresponsible behavior of companies do also exist. The essential question in the end is how to ensure that developing countries benefit more from FDI.

This study has been concerned with how a foreign company can contribute positively in the host society through education and training related activities. The focus has been twofold. The first concern has been to look at skill and knowledge transfer through training of local employees and the benefits that accrue to the workers due to this. The second focus has been if and how Jotun is contributing to HRD in the country by cooperating with local TVET institutions.

CSR is about good conduct; to adhere to local laws and norms. Additionally the CSR agenda encourages positive contributions that exceed the legal obligations the companies have.

The findings in the study indicate that Jotun is a responsible actor that cares about the rights, safety and well being of their employees. It is evident that skills and knowledge transfer from the company to the employees do take place through training. The company is investing in training of employees both through the global training program as well as through local in-house training. The regional research centre in Malaysia is also an important training provider. The production workers who were interviewed in this study did express that they over and about were satisfied with their job and their employer.

Regarding cooperation for training, Jotun is currently not involved in any partnerships or activities of this kind. The government in Vietnam has neither developed any incentives that
would encourage more enterprise-based training, nor is this a requirement imposed on foreign direct investors. However if Jotun wants to increase their positive impact on the host society, more can be done in this area. TVET is a type of education that is appropriate for partnership with enterprises. Some may even say that this is a requirement to achieve a well-functioning TVET. The labour market situation in Vietnam today is faced with unemployment and underemployment at the same time as enterprises express difficulties to find skilled labour. Hence, initiatives to help smooth out the mismatch between supply and demand would also benefit the enterprises.

There is a variety of ways through which enterprises can help TVET institutions. And as Jotun is involved in TVET in Norway, they have means that can be used also in Vietnam. Jotun has access to curriculum plans that cover education for the kind of occupations they employ. Hence these plans can be used to develop courses together with local training institutions. With the knowledge and experience Jotun has with vocational training for machine operators, chemical processing and logistics, they can contribute important knowledge into curriculum making and course developments.

With the decentralised TVET structure Vietnam has, partnerships for curriculum development can be established between one school or training centre and a company. Hence, Jotun can establish contact with a institution in their vicinity. However in order to contribute to more wide ranging changes Jotun may associate with other companies that are in demand for employees with similar skills and training. In this way they can contribute to more standardised skills development in certain occupations. Joining forces with other Scandinavian companies is also an alternative. In these regards Nordcham is a convenient contact.

Other ways Jotun can contribute to increased TVET quality is by providing practice placements. The company has an agreement with a university, and will probably be involved in this area in the near future.

The criticism raised in this report regards the lack of including operators and warehouse staff into the global training structure of the company. The production workers are mainly receiving task specific on-the-job training. It is argued that the lack of certification contributes to widening the gap between those with higher education and those without. To ensure that training for operators and warehouse workers is broad and that it leaves them with a
Certificate as a skilled worker, would be a positive contribution to the workers. Documentation of competences increases their opportunities and bargaining strength in the labour market. To have workers with competences above a certain level would also benefit the company, as the workers would be more flexible and mobile within the company. As the factories in Norway already have developed an internal diploma for their operators, to include something similar into the corporate academy would be achievable⁴.

Contributing in the shaping of training courses or other TVET related activities requires that the company leaves some time in some employees working hours for this. Hence it fulfils the requirements of being an act of CSR. It exceeds what one can expect or require from a firm. In Norway Jotun have a long tradition of cooperation with TVET institutions and in a country where the state is encouraging partnerships most enterprises are involved in one way or another. The difference to the Vietnamese situation is that the company must take the initiative.

The effects of contributions that are within the competence area of the company are probably larger than of charitable contributions that bears no relations to the activities of the company, although such initiatives also are positive. CSR is about making voluntary actions that adhere to the interests of the larger society. These voluntary actions should make use of what the company is good at.

⁴ At the end of the work with this study it was known that Jotun is currently developing two courses in relation to the “Operations” section in the corporate academy; Jotun Academy Operation Basics and HSE Basics. These will be provided from October 2009.
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## Appendix A: Interview guides

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<th>Interview guide 1</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Informant:</strong> Headquarters employees in Norway</td>
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| **Topics:** General information about the corporate  
General information about paint production  
Establishment abroad  
Training strategies and programs  
Jotun Academy  
Motivation for training  
TVET partnerships |
| **Questions:** Can you tell about Jotun, activities, structure, values etc.  
What are the qualification needs for workers in paint production,  
What decides location abroad?  
To what extent are local employees employed?  
What are the thoughts and contributions regarding CSR?  
What kind of training is given to employees? (Norway and Vietnam)  
What kinds of education have operators and warehouse staff in Norway?  
Is the training mostly specific or general and transferable?  
Does Jotun cooperate with TVET institutions in Norway?  
If so, in what way? |
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<th>Interview guide 2</th>
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**Informant:** Managers and administrative employees in Vietnam

**Topics:**
- General information about the company
- Composition of the workforce
- Recruitment of employees
- Training of employees
- Vietnam's education system
- Labour market situation
- Partnerships for training

**Questions:**
- How many employees does the company have?
- What kind of education/experience do they have? (Educ level/are any special institutions preferred/previous employment?)
- How are employees recruited?
- What are the qualification needs for workers in production, logistics and maintenance?
- What kind of services does the company employ from outside? Maintenance, transport, cooperation because of sale/delivery of projects to customers?
- Are any workers on short term contracts or hired through manpower companies?
- Who receives training?
- How are new workers trained? (in the job/courses inside the company/courses outside)
- How much time is spent on training of new workers?
- Who prepare training for workers?
- How is this training carried out?
- In-house training: Content, methods, organization, scale
- Courses outside: Where, by whom, to whom
- What are the learning outcomes of training?
- Do you consider the training the workers get transferable or mainly specific for work in the factory?
- How would you characterize the quality of the education system in Vietnam? What are the strengths and weaknesses?
- Is the company involved in any TVET partnerships?
- How did these develop?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview guide 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Informant:</strong> Employees, operators, warehouse staff and shift leaders in Vietnam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Topics:** Working time in the company  
Previous background: Education and work  
Training received  
Type of work tasks  
Perception of training and working environment  
Perceived advantage/usefulness of training  
Transferability of training  
Working conditions |
| **Questions:** How long have you been working here?  
Can you tell about the training you got when you started?  
Who gave you training?  
How did they teach or instruct you?  
What topics did the training cover?  
Have you gotten any further training after the initial training?  
What do you think one need to know to work here? (Knowledge, competence, manual skills, character)  
Were you familiar with this type of work before you started to work here?  
What kind of education and earlier work experience do you have?  
Do you think that if you continue to work here that there will be more for you to learn?  
In your opinion what is the benefits of working here?  
What are the negative aspects of this job?  
What is your opinion about: working conditions  
working environment  
safety  
salaries  
If you moved to another workplace do you think that what you have learned by working here can be used in another job? |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant:</th>
<th>Organisations and offices working with TVET in Vietnam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Topics: | Structure of TVET system  
Curriculum development  
Skill standards  
Partnerships  
Adaptation to labour market needs  
Achievements in TVET the latest years  
Current problems and shortcomings  
Strategies and plans for development |
| Questions: | What are the major challenges in the Vietnamese TVET system?  
What kind of partnerships/cooperation exists between TVET institutions and business/enterprises?  
(Information channels, cooperation about training centres, curriculum development, student practice, teacher visits, etc.)  
Are the any efforts to develop more such partnerships? And in such case how will this be done?  
What makes Binh Duong attractive for foreign and domestic industry?  
Can you tell something about the labour market situation in the country/Binh Duong?  
What characterizes the labour force?  
What is being done to meet the need for skilled workers?  
What is this organization or department working with regarding TVET?  
How is knowledge about the enterprises needs obtained? |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant:</th>
<th>Organisations working with support to Norwegian enterprises in Vietnam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topics:</td>
<td>Norwegian enterprises in Vietnam, features and characteristics</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Information and support given to Norwegian companies in Vietnam</td>
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<td>Activities regarding TVET/education</td>
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<td>Labour market</td>
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<tr>
<td>Questions:</td>
<td>What is the role of Innovation Norway/Nordcham?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>What kind of help does this organisation provide for Norwegian</td>
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<td>companies in Vietnam?</td>
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<td>What kind of information about the labour market is given to</td>
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<td>Norwegian companies that are in the establishing phase in Vietnam?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>How do you regard Norwegian enterprises engagement in the local</td>
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<td></td>
<td>society? Do they play any role in education or organization life in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vietnam?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Do you see any differences in how the enterprises act abroad compared</td>
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<td>to home?</td>
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<td>To what extent do you experience that the enterprises are motivated to</td>
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<td>contribute in the society?</td>
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<td>How do the Norwegian companies consider the access to qualified</td>
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<td>human resources?</td>
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<td>How is the labour market situation? Positive aspects and challenges</td>
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## Appendix B: Guide for interview references

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Code</th>
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<td>O5</td>
<td>Operator</td>
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<td>Operator – Shift leader</td>
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<td>O7SL</td>
<td>Operator – Shift leader</td>
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<td>DOLISABD</td>
<td>Department of labor, Invalids and Social Affairs</td>
<td>Head of DOLISA in Binh Duong</td>
<td>(05.02.09/DOLISABD/Int)</td>
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<td>VCCI</td>
<td>Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry</td>
<td>Director - Bureau of Employers Activities</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organisation</td>
<td>Consultant – Labour Market Project</td>
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<td>UNIDO</td>
<td>United Nation Industrial Development Office</td>
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<td>INNOR</td>
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<td>NORDC</td>
<td>Nordic Chamber of Commerce</td>
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