

Higher Education in Market-Oriented Socialist Vietnam

New Players, Discourses, and Practices

Edited by Phan Le Ha · Doan Ba Ngoc

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Phan Le Ha · Doan Ba Ngoc Editors

Higher Education in Market-Oriented Socialist Vietnam

New Players, Discourses, and Practices



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SERIES EDITORS INTRODUCTION

We are pleased to introduce another volume in the Palgrave Macmillan International and Development Education book series. In conceptualizing this series we took into account the extraordinary increase in the scope and depth of research on education in a global and international context. The range of topics and issues being addressed by scholars worldwide is enormous and clearly reflects the growing expansion and quality of research being conducted on comparative, international, and development education (CIDE) topics. Our goal is to cast a wide net for the most innovative and novel manuscripts, both single-authored and edited volumes, without constraints as to the level of education, geographical region, or methodology (whether disciplinary or interdisciplinary). In the process, we have also developed two subseries as part of the main series: one is cosponsored by the East-West Center in Honolulu, Hawai'i, drawing from their distinguished programs, the Professional Development Program and the Asia Pacific Higher Education Research Partnership (APHERP); and the other is a publication partnership with the Higher Education Special Interest Group of the Comparative and International Education Society that highlights trends and themes on international higher education.

The issues that will be highlighted in this series are those focused on capacity, access, and equity, three interrelated topics that are central to

educational transformation as it appears today around the world. There are many paradoxes and asymmetries surrounding these issues, which include problems of both excess capacity and deficits, wide access to facilities as well as severe restrictions, and all the complexities that are included in the equity debate. Closely related to this critical triumvirate is the overarching concern with quality assurance, accountability, and assessment. As educational systems have expanded, so have the needs and demands for quality assessment, with implications for accreditation and accountability. Intergroup relations, multiculturalism, gender, health, and technology issues comprise another cluster of opportunities and challenges facing most educational systems in differential ways when one looks at the disruptive changes that regularly occur in educational systems in an international context. Diversified notions of the structure of knowledge and curriculum development occupy another important niche in educational change at both the pre-tertiary and tertiary levels. Finally, how systems are managed and governed are key policy issues for educational policymakers worldwide. These and other key elements of the education and social change environment have guided this series and have been reflected in the books that have already appeared and those that will appear in the future. We welcome proposals on these and other topics from as wide a range of scholars and practitioners as possible. We believe that the world of educational change is dynamic, and our goal is to reflect the very best work being done in these and other areas. This volume meets the standards and goals of this series and we are proud to add it to our list of publications.

> W. James Jacob Collaborative Brain Trust

Deane E. Neubauer University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and East-West Center



IN MEMORY OF DR. DOAN BA NGOC

Working on this book will keep me stronger and will help me win over my cancer. My brain needs stimulation and positive energy, and this book gives my brain the very nutrients it needs. I want to divert my mind to this meaningful endeavour. I want it to absorb me and I am enjoying it. It's joyful every morning waking up knowing that I can still read and write and think. I've made a lot of notes and I want to bring my thoughts together to write the Introduction chapter with you as the book is taking a clearer shape. (Dr. Doan said to me in a Skype conversation in 2019)

When this book is published, one of its co-editors, Dr. Doan Ba Ngoc, is no longer physically here with us to hold the book in his hands as he had been wholeheartedly longing for. Dr. Doan passed away in August 2019 right before we were about to send our comments back to the contributing authors for further revisions. His departure left all of us devastated. As our tribute to Dr. Doan and in honour of his dedication to this scholarly endeavour, the contributing authors and I were all committed to bringing this book project forward. Almost all of the contributing authors never met Dr. Doan. I was very touched by the commitments from everyone and by everyone's condolences.

I visited Dr. Doan's family in Adelaide, Australia in October 2018 while I was there to deliver a keynote at the ACTA 2018 Conference English Language Learning in a Mobile World. Dr. Doan, whom I referred to as "anh Ngoc—elder brother Ngoc", was then lecturing at the University of South Australia. His wife, "chi Van—elder sister Van" welcomed me with a feast of homemade Vietnamese food. Their elder

son—Tung Anh—amazed me with his fluent, sophisticated and eloquent Vietnamese, despite the fact that Tung Anh had been schooled in Australia since he was 10 years old. Joining us for dinner that evening was his mother from Vietnam and Min's family of three. Min was Ngoc's best friend in Adelaide, who was also a lecturer at the same university. Our conversation that evening went on for hours. I then discovered that Ngoc's wife's father had learnt English from my father in the 1980s in Vietnam. One story linked to another, one account led to another; and Vietnam in our memories was vivid, complex, far and near, happy, mixed, and very dear in our hearts.

We reflected on our shared experiences going through hardship and poverty until the early 1990s when Doi Moi started to bring about economic growth in the country. In our recollections of those days, we remembered being full of hopes and optimism about our country's future even when we had little to eat and little to wear. We recalled being cheerful, lively and full of energy. We talked about going to school with our empty bellies but ample eagerness in our hearts and minds. We all did our undergraduate in Vietnam and went overseas for further education. We all had held teaching positions in Vietnamese universities before doing our Ph.D. in Australia. As we were talking and recalling memories, we found ourselves so emotional, deeply attached to and appreciative of our education, our schools, our universities, our teachers, our students and our younger days in Vietnam.

We belong to the golden generation, a term my American friends have used to refer to those Vietnamese who grew up after 1975 when the Vietnam War or the anti-American War ended. We lived our childhood in the command economy and persevered extreme hardship and poverty in the 1980s; and we saw Vietnam transforming with the Doi Moi reform being introduced at the end of 1986. While our school and university curricula had taken much longer to incorporate change and images of a new Vietnam, what happened on the ground in our classrooms was constantly being altered to reflect and embrace the country's transformations and new energy, new spirit. If, for a long time, earning extra incomes in Vietnam had been viewed as a much discouraged practice associated with "the so-called low class traders" in the society, then by the time we were at universities, it was such a great joy and delight to earn beyond our government-funded scholarship as we were doing part-time jobs working as private tutors, teachers at language centres, translators, interpreters, and news reporters. No doubt we were the beneficiaries of the emerging market-oriented economy of our socialist Vietnam in the decade after Doi Moi. Upon graduating from universities, we were overwhelmed by a plenty of job options, as Vietnam was booming with opportunities. We also benefited from being sought after because of our fluency in English when international companies and organisations started to invest and establish offices in Vietnam in the 1990s and 2000s.

We had been witnessing and living major changes in Vietnam, as well as being subjected to many reform agendas as a result of Vietnam aspiring to embrace globalisation and international integration while being determined to maintain its distinctive national cultural identity. The reform agenda in higher education in the context of globalisation with a great emphasis on English, modern teaching methodologies, university autonomy, internationalisation, widening access and participation, and scientific research alongside teaching had contributed to shaping our student experiences and later to our own research interests in education studies, language issues, internationalisation and policy studies. ... During that dinner at Dr. Doan's house, we went on for hours reflecting on all those experiences and happenings, forgetting that the next morning I would have to give my keynote and everyone else had to go to work. ...

The many hours over dinner that we had spent together at Dr. Doan's house in October 2018 in Adelaide gave birth to this book project. Our email exchanges following that evening were filled with ideas, excitement, insights, and eagerness. Dr. Doan and I were overjoyed when all the prospective contributing authors agreed to join us. When the book proposal was accepted by Palgrave Macmillan and was recommended to be published under the *International and Development Education* book series, Dr. Doan said to me in a Skype conversation: this book project is a highlight of my career, a major scholarly accomplishment of this decade, and a dream come true. His eyes were tearful and filled with joys. I knew he treasured this book initiative so very much. Nothing was stronger than his determination.

Everything had been progressing as planned, and I was very confident that Dr. Doan's cancer had been under control and that he was recovering well. Then around mid-July 2019, I received an email from his wife telling me that he had been in so much pain that he could not sit up for long and couldn't type any more. She told me that he had wanted to talk to me. And we Skyped. Very little about his pain. All was about the many thoughts he had put together that he'd want me to bring

to our Introduction chapter. He was very hopeful that his pain would lessen once the new treatment started. He felt clear and his thinking was sharp. I was crying in my heart when he told me: I know that you've been working so hard for everyone. You hardly ever take rest, and you constantly shoulder a lot of responsibilities. I don't want to leave you carrying all the editorial tasks and leading the book on your own. Trust me, I'll survive and will fight till the last breath, but I need you to have confidence in me. I know you're going away for work soon, and I want to type our comments on the individual chapters so that we can send them back to the authors. I can type bit by bit. Don't worry and please do let me do this. I told him that I had been so grateful to him and to our friendship.

That was our last conversation. Dr. Doan was hospitalised after that. In late July, his wife emailed me on his behalf. She said he was very sad not being able to continue this project with me, and he wanted to apologise to me for leaving me alone to handle everything. I was crying so much as I knew I was losing him. He passed away in early August.

And our book has continued. ... I've assured him that this book will be published. This book project has been special and priceless to both of us and to all the contributing authors.

This book is dedicated to you—anh Ngoc—my dear friend, brother, and colleague! We miss you so much. RIP.

Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei January 2020 Phan Le Ha

Foreword

In the twenty first century, higher education in Vietnam has flourished in a dizzying cacophony of directions that are simultaneously confusing and exhilarating. There are the historic public universities that are moving from a Franco-Soviet model, heavily inflected, of course, by Vietnamese pedagogical traditions, toward more Anglo-inspired modes of higher education. Added to the mix are a myriad of initiatives spearheaded by, for instance, Vietnamese philanthropists attempting to create liberal arts colleges in the image of the Ivy League, Western-based universities establishing branches in Vietnam as part of a broader project of developing global, academic empires, and education entrepreneurs.

Given how nascent and explosive this educational transformation has been, it is understandable why scholars of higher learning have not kept pace. Over the past score, there have been just a handful of academic articles and books on higher education in Vietnam. Into this education studies void, step Phan Le Ha and Doan Ba Ngoc with their timely book, Higher Education in Market-Oriented Socialist Vietnam. Drawing on a breadth of scholarship, most of which generated by researchers who have been conducting research in Vietnam for decades, this volume helps to update and nuance a number of themes that have been examined to varying degrees within the existing academic literature, such as neoliberalism and the privatization of higher education. Equally important, this volume brings to light issues and analytical frameworks that have yet to be studied. Examples here include the new set of policies linked to the

notion of institutional autonomy as well as an obsession with global university rankings, which are perverting (rather than advancing) the quality higher education in Vietnam (and elsewhere).

As if the above were not enough, this volume offers a major contribution on yet another front, namely the epistemological. I believe that this influence is less obvious and so allow me to elaborate a bit more. Colonialism works on many levels. The physical occupation of a place is perhaps the most crude and certainly the most blatant form, which the Vietnamese people successfully brought to an end in 1975. Another mode is cultural. This has proven more insidious as it is built into aesthetics, habitus, social imaginaries, and symbols, and thus cannot so easily be remedied by seizing lands or expelling foreign armies. Given the different nature of this side of colonialism, it should not be surprising to learn that this epistemology was not completely uprooted with the Fall of Saigon. Complicating matters further is the fact that Western precepts and chauvinisms have been hard-baked into the sinews of the market-based global order into which Vietnamese policy makers decided it needed to enter (beginning in 1986) if their country was to survive let alone thrive.

What these colonial residues (both domestically and internationally) have meant for the academic study of Vietnam, including higher education, is that rather than assessing various aspects of Vietnam on its own terms, the country (like all of the Global South) has been juxtaposed to a Western standard, against which Vietnamese institutions and people inevitably fall short. Further, this benchmark is more idealized than real. For instance, I have often read and heard (in fact, I have probably been guilty of this myself) how students in Western institutions of formal education are taught to be more critical thinkers than Asian/Vietnamese students who tend to be instructed through a banking method of pedagogy. It is not as if there are not grains of truth to this generalization, but it largely hinges on an extremely selective image of the West as the vast majority of students in the US (where I teach) are taught via multiple choice exams based on rote memorization of facts gleaned from questionable secondary sources, namely textbooks. One could argue that this method of instruction is less common in the US than in Vietnam and then do some sort of quantitative study in an attempt to assess this distinction, but already one can see how nuanced differences get caste as reductive, binary oppositions against which many Vietnamese are told (and believe!) that their education system comes up short. More importantly, has anyone found that graduates of higher education in Vietnam are less critical thinkers than those in the US? I would be surprised if they have.

Another common distortion that I often hear revolves around academic freedom. It is true that the Communist Party polices academic work in Vietnam to a degree that political parties do not in the West. But to then presume that this means that academic freedom reigns in the West would be naïve at best. It requires ignoring how government and big business have used funding to shape the theoretical directions of disciplines that then self-discipline themselves. A prime example of this is economics, which the US government and industry (primarily in the 1920s and 1950s) worked hard to ensure that mathematical methods and neoclassical theoretical models would prevail. The outcome has been a discipline that tolerates little heterodoxy and has become the intellectual enabler of a global plutocracy. With this brief example (and there are many others), one can readily see the spin required to define the Western academy as a bastion of academic freedom. And yet, this is the myth against which much of the world, including Vietnam, is often judged.

What is so refreshing and exciting about Phan Le-Ha and Doan Ba Ngoc's edited volume is that it moves the conversation about Vietnam's higher education system out from under this Western, neocolonial, comparative gaze. This does not mean that higher education in Vietnam is spared critique but rather that the evaluation (critical or otherwise) is no longer tethered to the standard of a largely mythical Western education system. Absent this point of comparison, the reader is able to see more clearly the strengths and shortcomings of higher education in Vietnam. As a result, the more constructive and fruitful work of assessing the state of Vietnamese higher education on its own socio-cultural terms can begin. And it is no secret that the north star for most Vietnamese people and its policymakers is economic growth and that they believe, rightfully so, that higher education should and must play an important role in this project. The most pressing question, then, that the Vietnamese public poses to education scholars is how its system of higher education can be retooled and expanded to serve this goal. Higher Education in Market-Oriented Socialist Vietnam does not provide all the answers to this and other key concerns related to higher education, but it most certainly offers the best and most comprehensive place to begin, freed as it is from a colonial epistemology. Moreover, by shucking Vietnam's understudy status, this volume offers invaluable insights from which other societies, including the West, can and should learn. The final product is a book that is extremely useful for those working to improve higher education in Vietnam and elsewhere in the world.

Professor Jonathan Warren Jackson School of International Studies University of Washington Seattle, WA, USA

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I thank Chau Duong Quang for his generous help with formatting and referencing for all the chapters. You have always been helpful, despite your own busy schedules with your Ph.D. and other endeavours. Thank you, truly!

I thank Dr. Jenny Barnett from the University of South Australia, the South Australia TESOL (SATESOL), and the ACTA organising team for having invited me to deliver a keynote at the ACTA 2018 Conference *Learning English in a Mobile World* in October, 2018 in Adelaide. Without this opportunity, I would not have had the chance to visit Dr. Doan Ba Ngoc's family; and without that visit this book project could not have happened.

My gratitude goes to Dr. Doan's family for having been superbly supportive of our book idea since its conceptualisation stage. Ms. Van, Dr. Doan's wife, was our communication messenger whenever Dr. Doan was not able to email. She would write to me and deliver all what he had wanted to tell me. She continued to stay in touch after his departure. I admire her spirit and am grateful to her support and gracefulness. Thank you truly sister Van!

Min Pham, Dr. Doan's family's best friend, has also been a great support in the process. Whenever I couldn't contact Dr. Doan and his wife, I would reach out to Min. Min has also pushed through the loss and completed a chapter he had initiated with Dr. Doan for this book. Thank you so much Min!

I thank all the reviewers who have spent time reading and commenting on the book as a whole and on its individual chapters. Our work can only improve as a result of invigorating scholarly conversations and constructive critiquing from you.

I apologise in advance if there are errors or inaccurate information found in the book.

All in all, I hope you enjoy reading our work and I look forward to stimulating engagement in the days ahead.

Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei January 2020 Thank you, truly. Phan Le Ha



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