

**THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF
VIETNAM NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, HANOI
FROM A BOURDIEUSIAN PERSPECTIVE**

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ABSTRACT

This study into the historical development of a specific university, Vietnam National University, Hanoi (VNU-Hanoi), aimed to produce insights into and theorise the development of this institution of higher education. In terms of the theorisation, I adopted Bourdieu's three constructs of capital, field and habitus, and his themes on French universities. This was because these constructs had explanatory strength into development processes, and the themes on French universities offered an interpretation window into the development of VNU-Hanoi as a university.

Through a single, qualitative historical and contemporary study design that utilised archives and interviews as the main data sources, the study drew rich, in-depth data on the development of VNU-Hanoi. These data were then analysed and synthesised using Bourdieu's theories. Key findings in this study were that VNU-Hanoi experienced two major phases of change in its history. The first phase from the 1950s to the 1970s observed the early formation of VNU-Hanoi with the establishment of its three founding institutions: Hanoi University, Hanoi University of Education and Hanoi University of Foreign Language Education. VNU-Hanoi's development in this phase reflected the conditions and changes in the politics and the role of intellectuals in the North of Vietnam. In the second phase of change from the 1980s, VNU-Hanoi as a field moved towards autonomy. There were changes in the university's relations with the Communist Régime and the economy, and a consolidation of the power relations and the way of working inside the university.

The development of VNU-Hanoi resulted from academics' interactions inside the university and the interactions between the university and the Communist Régime. This development showed that Bourdieusian field, habitus and capital and his themes on French universities illuminated the development process of a university. As well, the case of VNU-Hanoi demonstrated that these constructs shifted and were contested in varying political and economic contexts. The case furthered Bourdieu's construct of social fields in terms of the shaping influence of fields of power and economy. It showed that

incorporation and transformation of this influence was the key for a social field to exist and develop. The case also contributed to Bourdieu's themes on university development as a field and the role of academics in this process.



Declaration

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This Thesis/Dissertation/Research Project is submitted in partial fulfilment for the requirements for the Unitec degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education

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- The contribution of supervisors and others to this work was consistent with the Unitec Regulations and Policies.
- Research for this work has been conducted in accordance with the Unitec Research Ethics Committee Policy and Procedures, and has fulfilled any requirements set for this project by the Unitec Research Ethics Committee.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

VNAC1	-	Vietnam National Archive Centre No.1
VNAC3	-	Vietnam National Archive Centre No.3
VNUs	-	Vietnam National Universities
VNU-Hanoi	-	Vietnam National University Hanoi

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Rationale

The Second World War marked the beginning of an explosion in higher education. This began initially in Europe and North America and expanded to other parts of the world. One of the indirect results of this explosion was that universities increasingly became accessible to a wide range of students and accordingly enlarged the range of programmes offered.¹ This was not a unique event as universities have experienced a number of changes throughout their history.² For example, functions of universities have shifted and changed. In particular, there has been a recent emphasis on education for the professions as well as on the promotion of sciences and technologies.³ As well as their engagement in research and teaching, academics too have had to accommodate new and diverse groups of students and new and emerging disciplines.⁴

The relationship between universities and their environment has shifted. For example, governments and the public have demanded that universities assist the country to advance and be competitive in terms of skilled human resources and scientific development but have provided universities with fewer resources.⁵

¹ Schofer, Evan and Meyer, John W. 'The Worldwide Expansion of Higher Education in the Twentieth Century', *American Sociological Review* 70, no. 6 (2005): 898-920.

² Patterson, Glenys *The University: From Ancient Greece to the 20th Century* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1997).

³ Booth, Clive 'The Rise of the New Universities and Britain', in *The Idea of a University, Higher Education Policy Series 51*, ed. Smith, D. C. and Langslow, Anne Karin (London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley, 1990), 106-23; and Hambly, Frank 'Some Perceptions of Australian Higher Education: Past, Present and Future', in *Australia's Future Universities*, ed. Sharpham, John and Harman, Grant (New South Wales: University of New England Press, 1997), 137-55.

⁴ Becher, Tony 'Higher Education in a Context of Change', in *Routledge International Companion to Education*, ed. Moon, Bob, Ben-Peretz Miriam and Brown, Sally (London: Routledge, 2000), 705-22.

⁵ Baert, Patrick and Shipman, Alan 'University under Siege?' *European Societies* 7, no. 1 (2005): 157-85; and Deem, Rosemary 'Globalisation, New Managerialism, Academic Capitalism and Entrepreneurialism in Universities: Is the Local Dimension Still Important?' *Comparative Education* 37, no. 1 (2001): 7-20;

Governments have also imposed requirements in terms of quality, effectiveness and utilitarianism on universities.⁶

Like other universities, Vietnam National University Hanoi (VNU-Hanoi) and its predecessors have experienced significant change. For example, the university expanded its body of staff and students along with the introduction of a diverse range of teaching programmes. Its functions are complicated. They include professional training, scientific research, political propaganda and economic activities.⁷ The university has faced demands to improve the quality of training and research. These demands have originated from the Vietnam Communist Government and the public. The university has also experienced prolonged resource shortages and a lack of financial resources.⁸

The above changes point to a fundamental question about the VNU-Hanoi as a university, that is, why did this university experience such developments? These issues have not been fully researched and it is the intention of this project to redress this imbalance in the literature. The historical development of VNU-Hanoi is also under-researched particularly from the perspectives of those who were involved in the early years.

This study is significant because it brings to light the various aspects of VNU-Hanoi's historical development. The study has provided theoretical insights into this development through three core concepts, namely 'field', 'habitus' and 'capital', as ascribed to Bourdieu.⁹ 'Field' applies to enable a deep understanding

⁶ Deem, 'Globalisation, New Managerialism'; Deem, Rosemary and Brehony, Kevin J. 'Management as Ideology: The Case of New Managerialism in Higher Education', *Oxford Review of Education* 31, no. 2 (2005): 217-35; and Preston, David S. 'Managerialism and the Post-Enlightenment Crisis of the British University', *Educational Philosophy & Theory* 33, nos 3 & 4 (2001): 343-63.

⁷ Vu, Minh Giang et al., *Mot the ky phat trien va truong thanh* [A Century of Development] (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội, 2006).

⁸ Trinh, Ngoc Thach, Nguyen Thi Thanh and Nguyen, Kieu Oanh 'Nghien cuu co che quan ly dai hoc da nganh, da linh vuc chat luong cao theo mo hinh dai hoc dinh huong nghien cuu [A Study on the Management Mechanism for a Multi-Disciplinary, Multi-Sector, and High Quality University That Is Modelled After the Research-Oriented University]' (Study Report, Vietnam National University Hanoi, 2005).

⁹ Bourdieu, Pierre *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990); Bourdieu, Pierre 'The Market of Symbolic Goods', in Bourdieu, Pierre *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Johnson, Randal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 112-41; Bourdieu, Pierre 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices', in *The Blackwell Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed.

of a university and its environments. 'Habitus' refers to dispositions of individuals and groups. 'Capital' denotes exchangeable possessions. 'Habitus' and 'capital' explain the academic ways of life and work inside universities. These new insights were a significant contribution to the historiography of higher education.

VNU-Hanoi: Brief historical background

VNU-Hanoi and other Vietnamese universities developed in particular economic, political and social era. The circumstances were of a complicated and shifting nature. These shifts primarily occurred because different parties were struggling with each other for power and control of Vietnam. The parties included, for example, the French and communist and non-communist Vietnamese factions. As a result, the power balance changed several times in Vietnam.¹⁰

Under these complicated and shifting circumstances, higher education in Vietnam underwent significant transformations. These transformations were shaped with the involvement of different parties besides the academics. The French colonial administrators established the Indochinese University, the first European-style university, in Vietnam in 1906.¹¹ In the post-colonial era, various Vietnam governments, including the Hochiminh Government, or the Communist Government, and non-communist governments set up and supported their universities with the help of their alliance governments from China, Russia, and the United States.¹²

These powerful parties controlled and used universities differently. Consequently, university functions varied, and so did their scale, ways of working and other

Elliott, Anthony (Malden: Blackwell, 1999), 107-18; and Bourdieu, Pierre 'The Forms of Capital', in *The RoutledgeFalmerReader in Sociology of Education*, ed. Ball, Stephen J. (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004)., 15-29.

¹⁰ Nguyen, Quang Ngoc *Tien Trinh Lich Su Vietnam* [Vietnam Historical Process] (Hanoi, Vietnam: Nha xuất bản Giao Duc, 2006).

¹¹ Kelly, Gail Paradise 'The Myth of Educational Planning: The Case of the Indochinese University, 1906-1938', in Kelly, Gail Paradise *French Colonial Education: Essays on Vietnam and West Africa*, ed. Kelly, David H. (New York: AMS Press, 2000), 27-44; and Vu, Tam Ich *A Historical Survey of Educational Developments in Vietnam* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1959).

¹² Nguyen, Dang Tien et al., *Lich su Giao duc Viet Nam* [Vietnam Education History] (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Giao Duc, 1996).

aspects. For example, at first, the Indochinese University mainly produced indigenous graduates to fill indigenous positions in the French Indochinese Administration. This university also served as a symbol of civilisation for French colonial propaganda.¹³ In the early years, the French Indochinese Administration was involved in the organisation, staff appointments, student enrolment and programme preparation of the university. The university teaching staff consisted of administration officials. These officials taught part time in the university and still maintained their civil or military services. Administration officials also formed part of student examination panels. During the 1940s, however, the Indochinese University grew larger. This was to accommodate French colonials in need of a local education within a local (Vietnamese) environment, as well as to meet the demands of the Vietnamese. The university also had a certain degree of autonomy. For example, full-time university professors took charge of student enrolment, programme preparation, and student exams.¹⁴

After the French Colonial Régime was removed, the Indochinese University ceased to exist. The post-colonial régimes in Vietnam developed their own universities. Under the Communist Régime in the North, universities were small and specialised and the Communist Government provided finance and other resources. The state education officials were involved in university programme preparation and appointed university staff and assisted with student intake. These officials, together with state officials in other government services, decided on the appointment of graduates to state agencies and state enterprises.¹⁵ Besides human resource training, universities also propagated government directions and policies through political education and other political activities. This explained the fact that academics turned communist and politics became part of university activities. Under the non-communist régimes in the South, universities were large and experienced a level of autonomy. They consisted of general schools and

¹³ Kelly, 'Myth of Educational Planning'.

¹⁴ Trinh, Van Thao *L'école française en Indochine* (Paris, France: Karthala, 1995).

¹⁵ Le, Van Giang *Lịch sử giáo dục 1000 năm Giáo dục Việt Nam* [A Brief History of Over 1000 Years of Vietnamese Education] (Hanoi: Nhà xuất bản Chính trị Quốc gia, 2003); and Tran, Chi Dao, Lam Quang Thiep, and Sloper, D. W. 'Organization and Management of Higher Education in Vietnam: An Overview', in *Higher Education in Vietnam: Change and Response*, ed. Sloper, D. W. and Le, Thac Can (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 74-94.

professional schools. Students were offered free choices as to programs and timing.¹⁶

After the 1975 unification, all universities in the South were reorganised along the same lines as the North model. Specifically, they split into small, specialised schools under government control. This was in harmony with the education, economic and political systems of the Communist Régime. The social and economic crisis in the 1980s, however, placed pressures on all universities in Vietnam. These universities faced the challenge of having insufficient resources to operate. There was less demand from the government for graduates for state employment. This was because state positions were already filled up and the government did not need more staff. Inside universities, academics were struggling with poverty.¹⁷

From the mid 1980s, the economic, social and political reforms in Vietnam started to have their effects on universities. In particular, the government loosened its control on universities and universities were able to enrol students who could pay the tuition fees themselves. Universities could also engage in businesses and other activities with entities outside the government.¹⁸ There were growing demands for, and pressures on, university education in terms of both quality and quantity, from the middle-class people. Thanks to the economic recovery, these people had more finance and resources for university education in order to advance the career and life of themselves or their children.¹⁹ The recovering economy and foreign aid brought more income for the government and thus increased the resources of the universities.²⁰ In these circumstances, VNU-Hanoi was founded and developed.

¹⁶ Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*.

¹⁷ Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*; and Sloper and Le, *Higher Education in Vietnam*.

¹⁸ Pham, Lan Huong and Fry, Gerald W. 'Universities in Vietnam: Legacies, Challenges and Prospects', in *Asian Universities: Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Challenges*, ed. Altbach, Philip G. and Umakoshi, Toru (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 301-31; and Sloper and Le, *Higher Education in Vietnam*.

¹⁹ Dang, Ung Van *Phat trien giao duc dai hoc trong nen kinh te thi truong* [University Education Development in a Market Economy] (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội, 2007).

²⁰ Vu, Ngoc Hai et al., *Giao duc Viet Nam: Doi moi va phat trien hien dai hoa* [Vietnam Education: Renovation and Development towards Modernisation] (Ho Chi Minh City: Nha xuất bản Giáo Duc, 2007).

Research problem

In its history, VNU-Hanoi experienced a number of significant changes. There were changes in the university's relations with and resources from the environment. There were changes in the university academics and their ways of life and work. For example, like other universities in the North of Vietnam, the university underwent hardship and resource shortages during the wars and the economic and social crisis in the mid 1980s. The university was limited to the relations within the Vietnam Communist Government for a long time.²¹ Inside the university, academics endured a long period of hardship and poverty. It was a struggle for survival.²² More recently, VNU-Hanoi has been able to establish relations outside the government with private enterprises and non-governmental organisations. These relations have provided more resources for the university. Academics increased their incomes with extra teaching jobs.²³ However, at the same time, they were facing demands for improvement of training quality and scientific development.²⁴

The existing accounts of VNU-Hanoi's development do not fully address these issues. Firstly, the accounts focus on the chronological description of certain events, individuals, numbers and statistics. For example, the historical accounts of Le²⁵ and Vu et al.²⁶ attended to the specific circumstances of the university and factors that influenced the university. These factors included the wars, the economic, political and social conditions and government policies. The accounts often highlighted related actions of national leaders' visits and talks. These authors gave significant attention to related government policies and the university's

²¹ Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*; Pham and Fry, 'Universities in Vietnam'; and Sloper and Le *Higher education in Vietnam*.

²² Vu, *Mot the ky phat trien va truong thanh*.

²³ Tran, Thi Tam Dan 'Toan van Bao cao tham tra của Ủy ban Văn hóa, Giáo dục, Thanh niên, Thiếu niên và Nhi đồng của Quốc Hội ngày 15 tháng 11 năm 2004 [The Assessment Report of the National Assembly Committee on Culture, Education, Youth, Teenager and Children on the Government's Education Report of November 15, 2004]' http://www.ctu.edu.vn/~dvxe/doc/GD_TranThiTamDan.pdf (accessed June 6, 2006).

²⁴ Dang, *Phat trien giao duc dai hoc trong nen kinh te thi truong*; and Trinh, Nguyen, and Nguyen, 'Nghien cuu co che quan ly dai hoc da nganh, da linh vuc chat luong cao theo mo hinh dai hoc dinh huong nghien cuu.'

²⁵ Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*.

²⁶ Vu et al., *Mot the ky phat trien va truong thanh*.

contribution to national causes such as students' enlisting in the military during the wars.

Secondly, there was little attention paid to the actual life inside VNU-Hanoi. There was insufficient coverage of the interactions among relevant individuals and groups under the influence of the existing circumstances that worked to realise the university's development. Vu et al. described the academics of VNU-Hanoi as a united, homogeneous community with no conflicts or differences. This community always worked hard to fulfil the functions which the Communist government assigned to the university.²⁷ Consequently, there was insufficient theoretical framework for interpretation of the historical development of higher education institutions. A particular lack was in terms of the linkage between individuals, groups and their relations in a university, including how and why patterns of relations and behaviours of these people were formed, reproduced and changed over time.

Finally, there were few voices of the participants in the university's development process. The studies of VNU-Hanoi, historically and contemporaneously, such as Le²⁸ and Vu et al.²⁹ combined mainly the authors' observations and government decisions. Furthermore, the archive evidence has not been examined in full.

In summary, I found the literature to have three major gaps. These are (1) the lack of insights into life and work inside VNU-Hanoi; (2) the inadequate theoretical explanations for the university's historical development; and (3) the absence of observations and viewpoints of those people involved. This project, therefore, set out to examine and analyse the historical development of VNU-Hanoi to fill in these gaps. I made use of both archival materials and interviews of witnesses and participants. This brought to light observations and views of insiders. I have adopted the theoretical tools of Pierre Bourdieu to theorise this university's development.

²⁷ Vu et al., *Mot the ky phat trien va trung thanh*.

²⁸ Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*.

²⁹ Vu et al., *Mot the ky phat trien va trung thanh*.

Bourdieu's theoretical tools

I have adopted some of Bourdieu's theoretical tools for this study because of their capacity to illuminate the development of universities and the role of and linkages among influencing factors and parties. These tools included the three key concepts of field, habitus and capital which Bourdieu developed in his studies in education, anthropology and sociology.³⁰

The 'field' concept permits the consideration of VNU-Hanoi as a 'field', or a separate social universe. The university had its own functions in its relations with other entities and received influence and resources from these relations. The university had its ways of functioning which framed the struggles among academics. These academic struggles were to defend or improve the positions of the academics, to fulfil the university functions, and to reproduce or change the ways of functions. Like other fields, VNU-Hanoi was structured by the fields of power and economy which dominated society.

The two concepts 'habitus' and 'capital' elucidate the interaction of academics and their relations inside VNU-Hanoi and its founding institutions. Each academic or academic group had their own positions in the university. They had certain 'habitus', or dispositions based on past experiences.³¹ These dispositions (habitus) included cognitive orientations and strategies of actions and explained why academics tended to act in their usual ways. Academics also had 'capital' that they accumulated and used in their interactions. Capital is the material and social-cultural inheritance with exchange value. There are four forms of capital: economic (material wealth), social (influential relations), cultural (various kinds of legitimate knowledge) and symbolic (the amount of honour or prestige).³² As accumulated labour, capital takes time and effort to be produced or acquired but it can produce profits, be prolonged and reproduce itself.

³⁰ Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*; Bourdieu, 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices'; and Bourdieu, 'Forms of Capital'.

³¹ Bourdieu, 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices'.

³² Bourdieu, 'Forms of Capital'.

The development of VNU-Hanoi was a process in which academics struggled to improve their positions. They worked to reproduce or change the university under the influence and resources from outside the university. The change or reproduction depended on the situation inside the university and the balance of forces among academics and academic groups. All these resulted in the complicated and conflicting development and the shifting nature of this university.

Bourdieu offered some themes on French academics as a window of interpretation to VNU-Hanoi and its development. These themes include:

1. Academic and scientific power and power systems and the associated struggles of academics and academic groups; and
2. Series of change to universities which were realised by academic struggles under influences of the fields of power and economy.³³

These themes together with the three key concepts of field, habitus and capital served as a preliminary framework. I then developed this framework along with the research process to theorise VNU-Hanoi's development.

The central aim of this study was to examine and theorise the historical development of VNU-Hanoi. The underpinning research questions were:

1. What historical developments has VNU-Hanoi experienced?
2. How did these developments take place?
3. How can the historical development of VNU-Hanoi be theorised?

Thesis outline

This thesis has nine chapters. The first chapter provides a rationale for the study together with the research problem, aims and questions. Briefly, I chose this topic to provide insights into and a theoretical explanation for VNU-Hanoi's development through the lense of Bourdieu. This is my research contribution to the historiography of higher education.

³³ Bourdieu, Pierre *Homo Academicus*, trans. Collier, Peter (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988).

An overview of three core concepts of field, habitus and capital and the notion of the academic habitus of Bourdieu is presented in Chapter 2. The location of this theoretical outline in Chapter 2 is necessary because I appropriated these theoretical tools for data analysis and for my examination of data collection in archives and interviews. In Chapter 2, I first argue that these concepts illuminate the interactions among individuals, groups and the social structure and demonstrate why they are suitable as tools to examine and analyse the development of one particular institution of higher education. Bourdieu's notion of academic habitus provides another window of interpretation to the development of a university. Secondly, I examine possible ways to apply the theoretical tools of Bourdieu for the research which the chapter will detail.

The three chapters that follow Chapter 2 are about methodology. Chapter 3 is an overview of the study methodology. Briefly, I adopted a qualitative, historical methodology because of its suitability for the research problem and aims. The research design is an historical and contemporary study because this permits examination of issues of the past and the present. Retrieved data included both contextual data and data of VNU-Hanoi's development. Details of the methods of data collection and analysis are presented in this chapter.

In Chapter 4, I examine the nature of archives and their relations with evidence. Through the use of evidence from my archive works, I argue that archives are contested and shifting. These are the result of the struggles among involved parties. Archive evidence is of a partial, fragmented and contested nature. This nature is linked with both the past and the form and functions of archives as storage of the past. I also argue that Bourdieu's notions of habitus, capital and field can be used to theorise the above nature of archives and their evidence.

In Chapter 5, I discuss the nature of interviews and oral evidence from interviews. This chapter demonstrates the complicated and conflicted nature of the interviews which is the result of the interactions between interviewees and interviewer within the interview context. Consequently, interview data are biased, complicated, conflicted and multi-faceted. Therefore, it is necessary to subject interview data to critical use and to cross-check against biases. As well, I point out that

Bourdieusian concepts of capital, habitus and field illuminate interviews and oral evidence from interviews. This is because these concepts provide insights into interactions among individuals, groups, and their relations.

Chapter 6 analyses the contemporary history of higher education in Vietnam. This chapter follows the methodological chapters because it draws on the literature and evidence from archives and interviews. This history enables the location of VNU-Hanoi in time and space within higher education in Vietnam. This history started with the French Indochina Colony and its higher education institutions in the 1900s and ended with the present situation. Throughout this period, higher education experienced significant changes and academic struggles under the influential power and economic factors in Vietnam. This chapter also examines the existing literature on VNU-Hanoi and identifies the knowledge gaps that this study aims to cover.

The key themes that emerged from the data analysis are detailed in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8. These two chapters demonstrate that the overall theme of a university as a field, and the constructs of habitus and capital, are appropriate as theoretical tools to analyse the historical development of VNU-Hanoi. In Chapter 7, I analyse the development of VNU-Hanoi from the 1950s to the 1970s. This period recorded the university in its early formation, and reflected the changing power relations in the North of Vietnam under the Communist Régime. Externally, the university became dependent on and subject to strong control of the government. This was part of the domination that the Communist Regime established and maintained in the North of Vietnam during this period. Internally, the university changed in accordance with the intention of the Communist Regime. Still, there was a trend in the university to distinguish itself from other surrounding field by its claims for training in certain specialisations that the chapter will detail.

Chapter 8 examines the second period of VNU-Hanoi's development which was from the 1980s to the present. There was a crisis in the university which was part of the social and economic crisis in Vietnam in the 1980s. This social and economic crisis changed the power and economic relations in Vietnam which, in turn, resulted in changes to the university. The university became less dependent

on the government and engaged in for-profit activities in the economy. Inside the university, power relations were consolidated. Overall, the university moved towards autonomy, as demonstrated in its development from the 1990s to the present.

The final chapter discusses the findings of this study. It argues that VNU-Hanoi's development can be theorised with Bourdieusian field, habitus and capital. This case demonstrates that these constructs apply to explain university development. VNU-Hanoi as a field developed as a result of the interactions between the field and the fields of power and economy and the interactions among individuals and groups that were involved in the university. These interactions explained the complicated changes in the university. The case of VNU-Hanoi also shows that Bourdieusian constructs are contested and complicated in varying economic and political contexts. Therefore, VNU-Hanoi's development and its particular contexts advance these constructs in a way which is detailed in this chapter.

This thesis constitutes a significant, original contribution to the knowledge base of higher education historiography. The findings tease out the particular nature of VNU-Hanoi as a university and its development in the Vietnam context. Theoretically, the thesis includes an advancement of Bourdieu's notions of field, capital, and academic habitus with the use of VNU-Hanoi as a case study to theorise university development.

CHAPTER 2

FIELD, HABITUS AND CAPITAL

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of three key Bourdieusian concepts, field, habitus and capital,¹ and how they might be adopted for this study. The main argument in the chapter is that field, habitus and capital illuminate social change which underlie the formation and development of a university.

The chapter has four sections. The first section provides a summary of Bourdieu's biography. This is useful as background information for a fuller understanding of Bourdieu's theories which are deeply connected with his biography and his intellectual journey. The second and third sections analyse the contents of field, habitus and capital and Bourdieu's themes on French universities² which offer a window of interpretation for VNU-Hanoi's development. The final section seeks to adopt these themes and concepts for this study.

Pierre Bourdieu: A biographical summary

Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) was born and raised in a lower-middle-class family in a small rural town in southeast France. In the early 1950s he attended the prestigious *Ecole Normale Supérieure* in Paris. He received a degree in philosophy but did not write a thesis in protest against the mediocre quality of his education and the authoritarian structure of the school. Bourdieu then taught in a provincial school until 1956 when he was drafted into the army and sent to Algeria. During his four years in Algeria (the first two years with the French army) he wrote a book on his experiences there. This marked his conversion to

¹ Bourdieu, Pierre *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Johnson, Randal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Bourdieu, Pierre 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices', in *The Blackwell Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed. Elliott, Anthony (Malden: Blackwell, 1999), 107-18; and Bourdieu, Pierre 'The Forms of Capital', in *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Sociology of Education*, ed. Ball, Stephen J. (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 15-29.

² Bourdieu, Pierre *Homo Academicus*, trans. Collier, Peter (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988).

social science which coincided with the rise of social science in France at the time. Later he returned to France and gradually became a renowned international scholar. He also held powerful positions in a number of French universities. He became Director of Studies at *L'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* in 1964 and the first director of *Centre de Sociologie Européenne* of this institution in 1968. In 1981 he was appointed to the Chair of Sociology at *College de France*.³

Bourdieu's work covered a number of fields including education, anthropology and sociology. He firstly focused on an ethnological study of the social organisation and culture in Algeria for which he drew on his experience in that country as well as in rural France.⁴ From the mid 1960s he turned to the sociology of schooling, art, intellectuals and politics which continued to develop during the 1970s as he focused on French society. From the mid 1980s Bourdieu further expanded his study in the sociology of symbolic goods and other topics of politics and policy.⁵

Bourdieu aimed to critique the social world politically and scientifically. He focused on its politics, power and domination. He was critical of scholars' work including the influence of the background of scholars, their accepted beliefs and ways of thinking. Theoretically, his work was 'antidualistic'. Specifically, he tried to overcome important existing oppositions in social science. These oppositions included those between subjectivism and objectivism, between materialism and the symbolic, between qualitative and quantitative methods, and between micro and macro levels of analysis. He realised this, on the one hand, by his development and application of the three key concepts of habitus, field and capital to explain the interaction and linkage between social actors and social structure in his fields of study. On the other hand, he bridged the methodological divide by a successful combination of qualitative and

³ Wacquant, Loic 'Pierre Bourdieu', in *Key Sociological Thinkers*, ed. Stones, Rob (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 214-29.

⁴ Reed-Danahay, Deborah 'Tristes Paysans: Bourdieu's Early Ethnography in Beam and Kabylia', *Anthropological Quarterly* 77, no. 1 (2004): 87-106.

⁵ Wacquant, 'Pierre Bourdieu'.

quantitative methods and reflexivity, that is, the self-questioning of these methods in his studies.⁶

Bourdieu's theories are powerful in explaining social reproduction and social change.⁷ The three concepts of field, habitus, and capital are relevant to the study of social change in general and, therefore, for this study about university development in particular. These concepts together illuminate the causes and processes of social change, including the historical conditions and roles of individuals, groups, institutions and their interaction in these processes. Application of these concepts promises a full explanation of the development of universities. This was evident in Bourdieu's study of French academics⁸ that I will return to later.

Bourdieu's theory faces competition from other existing theories on social changes. Neo-Marxism, in particular, provided a deeper view into the class relations and the state in relation to social changes, given its focus on the relationships among social issues, the labour process and class reproduction. This theory considers class consciousness and class struggles and conflicts as the key to changes.⁹ In the class relations, the state was a dominating, historical entity with its own apparatus, for example, the state administration. The state was formed in, and subject to class struggles. It acted for itself and for the dominating class. In contemporary society, the state shaped society by its policies and other forms of interventions that were underpinned by its visions and practices.¹⁰

Michael Apple, for example, argued that education policies, institutions and practices were shaped by on-going class struggles. Education, in turn, served to

⁶ Robbins, Derek *Bourdieu and Culture* (London and Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2000); and Wacquant, 'Pierre Bourdieu'.

⁷ Robbins, *Bourdieu and Culture*; and Wacquant, 'Pierre Bourdieu'.

⁸ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

⁹ Ball, Stephen J. 'The Sociology of Education: A Disputational Account', in *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Sociology of Education*, ed. Ball, Stephen J. (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 1-12.

¹⁰ Torres, Carlos Alberto 'The Capitalist State and Public Policy Formation. Framework for a Political Sociology of Educational Policy Making', in *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Sociology of Education*, ed. Ball, Stephen J. (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), p.156-176.

reproduce classes and domination because it transferred knowledge and skills in ways that reproduce the social division of labour. In the United States in the latter half of the twentieth century, the dominating class used education as a privilege not available to the working class. They mobilised the public and altered education policies to favour marketisation, individual choice, standards, and Christianity. These practices were part of the neo-liberalism movement which associated with inequality and less democracy in education. This movement brought advantages in terms of prospective careers and social status to children of the dominating class.¹¹ The state and its change in nature from welfare to neo-liberal were crucial to this development.¹² In Australia, New Zealand and England, for example, schools and universities became market-oriented. They adopted private business practices such as cost-effective measures and marketing as educational policies changed toward neo-liberalism.¹³

Postmodernism offers insights into the interactions between actors in their contexts. It addresses society and culture as a text or system of signs such as texts and language that make our agency possible.¹⁴ In this way, postmodernism is more powerful than Bourdieu's theory in the examination of texts and languages and their mutual relationship with actors and social structures in particular contexts. For example, post-modern literature demonstrated that the way to measure work results, such as that by statistics and indices, of today organisations might transform the practices of that organisation as well as way of life and thought of people inside that

¹¹ Apple, Michael W. *Educating The "Right" Way: Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2001).

¹² See, for example, Ball, Stephen J. *Politics and Policy Making in Education: Explorations in Policy Sociology* (London: Routledge, 1990); Ozga, Jennifer *Policy Research in Educational Settings: Contested Terrain* (Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1999); and Torres, Carlos Alberto 'The State, Privatisation and Educational Policy: A Critique of Neo-Liberalism in Latin America and Some Ethical and Political Implications', *Comparative Education* 38, no. 4 (2002): 365-85.

¹³ Ball, Stephen J. *Education Reform: A Critical and Post-Structural Approach* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1994); Brooks, Ann and Mackinnon, Alison eds., *Gender and the Restructured University* (Buckingham and Philadelphia: The Society for Research into Higher Education & Open University Press, 2001); Burtcher, Christian, Pasqualoni Pier-Paolo, and Scott, Alan 'Universities and the Regulatory Framework: The Austrian University System in Transition', *Social Epistemology* 20, no. 3/4 (2006): 241-58; and Peters, Michael and Roberts, Peter R. *University Futures and the Politics of Reform in New Zealand*, (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1999).

¹⁴ Ball, 'The Sociology of Education'.

organisation. This is because staff and leaders attended to the measurement in their work instead of the work itself. This measurement, however, made public organisations appeared more transparent with reports and numbers.¹⁵ In universities, for instance, academic managers and academics' current concerns are about funding, costs and benefits, and performance. This explained why they gave less attention and resources to liberal education and humanity research in favour of human resource development and market competitiveness.¹⁶ In this context, Blackmore and Sachs found that female academics in particular had to incorporate rational calculation and competition into their feminist self which favoured sharing and cooperation. This left them in a conflicting and stressful state.¹⁷ Male academics, however, were in a better condition because the change was in support of masculinities.¹⁸

While other theories have their own strength to illuminate social changes, I have chosen Bourdieu's field, habitus and capital for my study. This is because these concepts have particular advantages that apply to my study that other theories do not. One advantage is that Bourdieu developed these concepts in his study in Algeria when this country was moving from a tribal society to a colonial one. This study attested that field, habitus, and capital might illuminate development in traditional societies and colonial contexts, which Vietnam once was under the French domination. Another advantage is that Bourdieu's research into French universities which I will discuss later exemplified how field, habitus and capital could explain behaviour and thought of actors and changes that occurred in French universities. The interactions within universities are between groups of academics that go beyond the class struggles of Neo-Marxism because

¹⁵ Ball, Stephen J. 'Performativities and Fabrications in the Education Economy', in *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Sociology of Education*, ed. Ball (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 143-155.

¹⁶ Deem, Rosemary and Brehony, Kevin J. 'Management as Ideology: The Case of New Managerialism in Higher Education', *Oxford Review of Education* 31, no. 2 (2005): 217-35; and Preston, David S. 'Managerialism and the Post-Enlightenment Crisis of the British University', *Educational Philosophy & Theory* 33, no. 3 & 4 (2001): 343-63;

¹⁷ Blackmore, Jill and Sachs, Judyth 'Women Leaders in the Restructured University', in *Gender and the Restructured University*, eds. Brooks and Mackinnon, p.45-66.

¹⁸ Hearn, Jeff 'Academia, Management and Men: Making the Connections, Exploring the Implications', in *Gender and the Restructured University*, eds. Brooks, Ann and Mackinnon, Alison (Buckingham and Philadelphia: The Society for Research into Higher Education & Open University Press, 2001), 69-89.

academics form part of the dominating class in society.¹⁹ These interactions also encompass signs and symbols that were the focus of post-modernism. Moreover, French universities had a close relationship with Vietnamese universities, given the fact that Vietnam was once a French colony and the French were the first to develop a Western-styled university in Vietnam.²⁰ Therefore, Bourdieu's concepts and themes on French universities promise illumination to VNU-Hanoi development.

Field, habitus and capital

According to Bourdieu, a field is a separate social universe. Inside, a field consists of individuals and groups who have certain dispositions. These dispositions consist of past experiences and strategies of actions which Bourdieu termed habitus. These disposition systems are durable and transposable and include cognitive orientations and strategies of actions.²¹

Habitus explains why people tend to take 'normal' actions because they rely on their past experience and strategies. However, habitus is flexible because there is no fixed formula of actions. Habitus is also pre-adaptive in that it allows people to adjust to the outcomes of their actions and the situation. Usually, people with suitable habitus are attracted and retained in the field. This is realised with the process of recruitment and promotion.²² The field also shapes the habitus of individuals and groups inside it. This is because people are born, or are incorporated into the field, in a process of co-option and slow initiation. In this process individuals and groups slowly learn and adjust themselves to develop suitable habitus.²³

Individuals and groups have their capital; the material and social-cultural inheritance with exchange value that are at their disposal. Bourdieu adopted the

¹⁹ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*; and Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

²⁰ Le, Van Giang *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam* [A Brief History of over 1000 Years of Vietnamese Education] (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Chinh tri Quoc gia, 2003).

²¹ Bourdieu, 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices'; and Bourdieu, Pierre *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

²² Bourdieu, 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices'.

²³ Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*.

notion of capital from economics, where it is used solely for economic activities to indicate the material or financial wealth which Bourdieu termed economic capital. Bourdieu expanded this notion to all other activities and called this the economy of practices. Capital still retains its original meaning as accumulated labour which takes time and effort to be produced or acquired but which can produce profits, be prolonged and reproduce itself. However, besides economic capital, there are other forms of capital including social, cultural and symbolic capital. These forms of capital can be converted to economic capital and vice versa at certain costs and with specific strategies.²⁴

Social capital is influential relations that an individual actor owns and from which he/she can mobilise resources for his/her action. This, therefore, depends on the size of his/her effective social networks and the amount of capital of the members of these networks. Cultural capital consists of various kinds of legitimate knowledge, for example, expertise and educational qualifications. Cultural capital takes three forms. The first is the embodied form which are lasting dispositions in the mind and body of individuals,. The second is the objectified form which includes cultural goods like books and works of art. The third form is the institutionalised form, or educational qualifications. Symbolic capital is the amount of honour or prestige actors have, such as a famous name, or nobility, which allows actors to wield authority and resources.²⁵

Inside a social field individuals and groups occupy positions within certain power systems which are at work. These power systems control resources, or capital, and interests within the field. As part of their habitus, people believe that they belong to and have a vested interest in the field. People, therefore, struggle to define field membership, to retain or improve positions and even to change relations among positions. They are unaware that in doing so, they follow the field's law of function, or logic, which governs activities within it. Their struggles might reproduce the field by the repetition of existing power systems,

²⁴ Bourdieu, 'Forms of Capital'.

²⁵ Ibid.

positions and relations and they reproduce capital and interests. Their struggles might change the field by the alteration of these field components.²⁶

The field logic and people's interactions inside the field work to fulfil the field's functions towards other surrounding fields, that is, what the field does to other fields in return for resources. The field logic and people's interactions also work to incorporate and transform influence from outside. This ensures the field's autonomy which is the field's capacity to transform external factors such as those of demography, fields of power and economy into itself according to its logic.²⁷

A social field is a product of a history in which they have formed and gained their autonomy in their relationship with other fields. This process involves the interactions of individuals and groups in the field and interactions between the field and other fields that surround it. Fields of power and economy are dominant and work to structure other fields, for example, through the introduction of new conditions or actors to these fields. Consequently, in other social fields, there are two trends at work. One trend is the evolution to distinguish the field from other fields. The other trend is the incorporation of factors from the fields of power and economy.²⁸

Field, habitus and capital are closely connected. First, habitus is embodied capital for it consists of dispositions that actors possess and can deploy to realise their purposes. Secondly, capital is regulated and structured by social fields. The total amount of capital and of each type of capital one actor has, at a given time, forms his/her temporal position as well as his/her potential positions in these social fields. Each field determines what form of capital is effective or not, that is, what can define positions and mobilise power in that field. For example, in the academic field, cultural capital is dominant while in the economy, economic capital is the key. The field's law of function regulates strategies for converting other forms of capital into effective forms. This law of

²⁶ Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*; and Bourdieu, Pierre 'The Field of Cultural Production, Or: The Economic World Reversed', in *Field of Cultural Production*, Bourdieu, 29-74.

²⁷ Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*; and Bourdieu, 'Economic World Reversed'.

²⁸ Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*; and Bourdieu, 'Economic World Reversed'.

function specifies accompanying costs as well as chances of profit which are offered by that effective capital. Thirdly, capital and habitus are the bases that provide the means, resources, cognition, and strategies for actors to take actions both to improve their own positions and influence other actors and the structure of social fields.

The three concepts of field, habitus and capital together form a powerful device for study into social processes which are the core to this study of university development. They illuminate how and why individuals and groups interact and their linkage with existing social relations. In particular, fields are specific parts of society which consist of individuals, groups and their relations. Fields have a differential influence on given social issues and related individuals and groups and their actions. These people, at a certain time, occupy certain positions in these fields. They also have certain dispositions (habitus) which inform their way of life. This way of life draws on people's past experiences and thus conforms to existing relations. Individuals and groups interact with each other within certain fields to protect or advance their own positions. In interactions, people base their strategies (way to act) on their dispositions (formed habitus). They also adjust their strategies to outcomes and present social conditions. These strategies are realised by the use of disposable capital as means and resources for actions. In this way, people might retain stability and realise change in specific fields. They also change their own positions in such fields as well as their habitus and capital.

Field, habitus and capital resolve a number of questions on roles of social actors and social structures and their linkages in social change. In particular, Bourdieu's field is the mediator between the general social structure and actors. 'Social structure', first defined by Merton, is the pattern of social interactions and persistent social relationships.²⁹ Social structure is created by 'actors' who are socialised individuals and groups formed by these individuals. In turn, social structure constrains actors and maintains the social system's unity and

²⁹ Ritzer, George *Contemporary Sociological Theory and Its Classical Roots: The Basics* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2003).

functions.³⁰ However, actors' actions might also induce instability, conflict and change to social structure.³¹ Social structure is, therefore, continuously produced and reproduced in its interaction with actors. This production and reproduction process results in social change as well as stability over time.

Social fields are specific parts of the social structure which have a differential influence on given social issues and related actors and their actions. The location of a social issue in a certain field permits the localisation of external forces (from within and outside the field) working on such an issue, particularly through the field's law of function, effective capital, and positions.³² This helps to operationalise the social structure.

Bourdieu's concept of capital explains the fact that social structures are not mere exchange and chance of actors. They are accumulated, that is, they are produced, reproduced and expanded with labour and materials, and in time. They are transferable and inheritable. Interactions of actors are to exchange or accumulate capital, based on their existing capital which they inherited or have accumulated previously.³³

Bourdieu's habitus illuminates the role of social structure and human intention in social actions. It bridges the gap between objectivism and subjectivism that he was concerned about. Particularly, objectivism holds that social actors' wills and freedom are determined by social structure. Subjectivism, to the contrary, posits that actors' actions are pre-determined by the intentions of the actors themselves.³⁴ Bourdieu's concept of habitus shares some ideas with objectivism and subjectivism. He defined habitus as general dispositions built on past experience. Habitus is, thus, a mechanism through which external forces from social structure in the past apply to actors. Habitus also explains the fact that

³⁰ See for example Blumer, Herbert 'Society as Symbolic Interaction', in *Readings in Social Theory : The Classic Tradition to Post-Modernism*, ed. Farganis, James 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996), 359-66; and Mead, Herbert G. 'Mind, Self and Society', in *Readings in Social Theory*, Farganis, 160-79.

³¹ Dahrendorf, Ralf 'Toward a Theory of Social Conflict', *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2, no. 2 (1958): 170-83.

³² Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

³³ Bourdieu, 'Forms of Capital'.

³⁴ Ritzer, *Contemporary Sociological Theory*.

actors never apply fixed norms and practices mechanically nor act purely on rational calculation. They combine flexible cognition, norms, practices and adjustment. Their actions might, therefore, retain or modify the past social structure and create new social conditions. Their actions might also enhance or change their habitus, for example, through the incorporation of new experience.³⁵

Bourdieu's theory is not without weaknesses. One weakness is that Bourdieu took personal interests and calculation as the centre of the model of field, habitus and capital. This might leave untouched some irrational aspects of social actions and might not apply to offer insights into specific areas such as religions. Another weakness is that Bourdieu's model tended to focus on stability more than changes, given his research took place in times when things started to change in Algeria and France. In Bourdieu's studies, change started from outside but not inside a field. Social structures tended to be closed and stay firm and so did habitus. This might make actors in Bourdieu's model adopt a passive position with little purpose and self-reflection. However, as I will elaborate below, Bourdieu's research into French universities demonstrated that field, habitus and capital could explain the behaviour and thinking of actors and the changes that occurred in universities.

French academics and the university field

In his study of French academics, *Homo Academicus*, Bourdieu examined universities in France as a field. Specifically, the universities formed a separate social universe. This universe had its own functions: production and reproduction of scientific truth and power reproduction.³⁶ This universe had two power systems, academic and scientific. The academic power referred to the capacity to control the organisation and the operation of the universities; for example, institutional control over appointments and funding. Usually, the university director, dean, and head of school held academic power. The scientific power referred to the capacity to control or influence scientific

³⁵ Bourdieu, 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices'.

³⁶ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

development, for example, the scientific prestige and intellectual renown. A director of a research unit or a scientific review had such power.

In universities, an individual or a group occupied certain positions in the academic and scientific power systems. These positions combined to form the overall position of this individual or group in the university field. Such an overall position was determined by a number of properties that were counted in two power systems. These properties included, for example, education and training, qualifications and status, and solidarity or membership of a certain group within a university. As individuals and groups tried to sustain or improve their positions, they used their capital to exchange and accumulate capital and academic and scientific power. They competed with each other for recruitment and promotion according to existing criteria as well as for changes to these criteria.

Bourdieu found that, in the struggle for recruitment and promotion, academics divided into certain groups, namely the dominating group and the dominated group, in respective power systems. In French universities, for example, the dominating group consisted of university professors. These professors had power over the training of successive generations of university staff. The dominated group consisted of those university people who were suppressed by the control group scientifically and academically. These people continually fought for their presence in the university.

The struggle between the control and opposition groups served to form and strengthen the habitus, or disposition, of each of these groups. For example, individuals and groups in universities accepted and followed university rules with regard to recruitment and promotion. One such rule was that professors often selected their successors from their students because these people had been trained by them and had learnt their habitus in this way.³⁷

³⁷ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

Bourdieu examined the 1968 student revolt in France. He found that this event initiated change in the university field. This started with an increase in the student population and universities expanding accordingly with an increase in employment opportunities. Careers for middle-aged teachers with doctorate degrees for existing subjects were accelerated. Before, they had had to queue for a long time for promotion because of the limited number of senior teaching posts. For the new subjects, there were new modes of recruitment. The new academic population entered universities and transformed the university field as a whole. Bourdieu termed this whole process the “lost in the crowd” effect.³⁸

Adopting Bourdieu

I have adopted Bourdieu’s concepts of field, habitus and capital and his themes on French academics for this study. The notion of field applies to a university as a separate social universe. Habitus and capital apply to explain individuals and groups inside the university as a field, and their actions and interactions under the field’s conditions.

A university as a social field consists of, for example, the university director, administrative staff, deans of faculties, professors and associate professors, lecturers, and other teaching, research and support staff. They have suitable habitus for the university. Particularly, they meet the recruitment or promotion criteria and have the required attributes. For example, to be a lecturer, one should have at least the required minimum education, training and qualifications. The habitus is also formed in a process of co-option and slow initiation.³⁹ In a university, professors often select their successors from their students. These people have been trained by them and have learnt their habitus in this way.⁴⁰ The habitus in turn allows individuals and groups in a university a certain degree of freedom of action within limits of past experience and the cognition of the present situation and possibilities.

³⁸ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

³⁹ Bourdieu, ‘Structures, ‘Habitus’, Practices’.

⁴⁰ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

A university as a field has certain power systems. These power systems control the distribution of capital, or resources, and interests.⁴¹ Different power systems have their own principles of hierarchisation. These principles determine the positioning of individuals and groups in these systems on the basis of their 'counted' attributes. These positions combine to determine the overall positions of these people in the university.⁴²

Individuals and groups try both to improve their overall position in the university, and to change the criteria for each position in their favour. They acquire power with the investment of time and effort and by accumulation and exchange of capital. In French universities, for example, a person had to invest time, effort and other resources in scientific research in order to acquire scientific power. A person had to develop relationships and secure support from his/her colleagues in order to acquire academic power. In addition, "capital breeds capital".⁴³ Specifically, promoted people got to know others thanks to their position and had more chance to accumulate their cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital for further promotion.

In their efforts to improve their positions, individuals and groups inside the university interact with each other in a certain way. In French universities, for example, professors controlled teaching and the recruitment of their successors. Consequently, applicants for university posts had to invest in building relations with these professors.⁴⁴ The mode of interaction is the university's logic of function that works to implement the university's functions. These functions, in turn, are the base of the university's relations with other fields surrounding it.⁴⁵

As a particular social field, a university is subject to fields of power and economy which dominate society and encompass all other fields.⁴⁶ The fields of power and economy control and distribute capital to the university and make the

⁴¹ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, 79.

⁴⁴ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

⁴⁵ Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

university comply with their functions of capital control and distribution. This is achieved through individuals and groups with the power and economic habitus to influence their actions in the university.⁴⁷ For a university as a field, I find it necessary to study its network which cuts across the two fields of power and economy. This is because the university network influences and provides resources to the university, including finance and other materials, as well as human resources. This network also receives and uses the university's products. Figure 2.1 below shows the university diagrammatically.

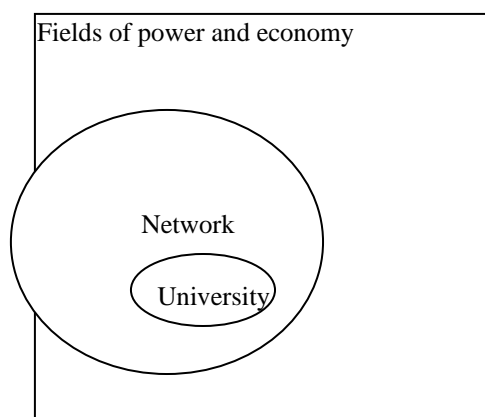


Figure 2.1 A university (adapted from Bourdieu)⁴⁸

As a field, a university develops and distinguishes itself from other organisations in its network. Externally, the university's relations, functions and resources change over time. For example, the history of universities in Europe shows that medieval universities such as Oxford and Cambridge started with a liberal education and a human resource training function but currently have training and research as well as business functions. Chinese and Vietnamese universities performed human resource training, doctrine propaganda and maintenance of élitist culture.⁴⁹ Before the Second World War, most universities

⁴⁷ Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Min, Weifang 'Chinese Higher Education: The Legacy of the Past and the Context of the Future', in *Asian Universities: Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Challenges*, eds Altbach, Philip G. and Umakoshi, Toru (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 53-83; Pham, Lan Huong and Fry, Gerald W. 'Universities in Vietnam: Legacies, Challenges and Prospects', in *Asian Universities*, Altbach and Umakoshi 301-31; and Vu, Tam Ich *A Historical Survey of Educational Developments in Vietnam* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1959).

in Europe were privately-funded with scarce resources but post-war many universities were state-funded with rich resources.⁵⁰

Internally, the university power systems with associated positions, habitus and capital of individuals and groups are reproduced and changed as a result of these people's struggles for promotion. As Bourdieu commented, change depended on the state of the system and the balance of forces among individuals and groups.

*... the existence, form and direction of change depend not only on the 'state of the system'... but also on the balance of forces between social agents who have entirely real interests in the different possibilities available to them as stakes and who deploy every sort of strategy to make one set or the other prevail.*⁵¹

Before the 1968 student revolt, the French university field stayed relatively stable. This field catered for a small portion of the population so recruitments for university positions were limited. University professors were dominant. They recruited and trained people with similar habitus from a large number of candidates to the university field. These people, in turn, followed and repeated the existing way of working and maintained the structure of the university field.⁵² After the 1968 student revolt, universities expanded with an increase in professorships and new members with habitus different from the old members. This changed the power balance to favour the new professors who transformed universities all over.⁵³

Influence and resources from the university network and surrounding fields of power and economy are shaping universities. For example, an individual or group might set up a university and define in the first place its functions.⁵⁴ Individuals and groups outside a university, for example, the states, might

⁵⁰ Dunbabin, Jean 'Universities C.1150-C.1350', in *The Idea of a University*, eds Smith, D. C. and Langslow, Anne Karin (London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley, 1999), 30-47; and Patterson, Glenys *The University: From Ancient Greece to the 20th Century* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1997).

⁵¹ Bourdieu, 'Economic World Reversed', 34.

⁵² Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ See for example Patterson, *University from Ancient Greece*.

change the university's functions and resources. The Chinese Communist Government, for example, required universities to provide teaching in Marxism, Leninism and Maoism.⁵⁵

Another case in point covered universities in Europe and North America. Since early the 1990s, states have been in financial debt and have sought to reduce funding to universities. The marketplace has a high demand for skilled workers and knowledge products but there are more providers of these goods and services who compete with universities for private resources.⁵⁶ As a result, universities have begun to adopt techniques, values and practices from the private sector such as business-oriented university management. Economic activities are combined with natural sciences and technologies to compete with teaching and research in social sciences and humanities. In this process, universities have become the so-called managerialism and entrepreneurialism universities.⁵⁷

The university network might work to alter a university in a more direct way. For example, the government might remove or add parts of a university, including groups and individuals and change its power structures. This, in turn, disturbs the state of the system and the balance of forces inside the university and causes further changes inside the university. In the case of Australian universities, the government enforced a merger among universities and technical colleges which caused disturbances inside these universities and colleges.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Pan, Su-Yan 'Economic Globalization, Politicocultural Identity and University Autonomy: The Struggle of Tsinghua University in China', *Journal of Education Policy* 21, no. 3 (2006): 245-66

⁵⁶ Clark, Burton R. 'Collegial Entrepreneurialism in Proactive Universities', *Change* 32, no. 1 (2000): 10-9; and Donnelly, Roisin 'Critical Evaluation of the Impact of Global Educational Reform: An Irish Perspective', *The International Journal of Educational Management* 18, no. 6 (2004): 351-9.

⁵⁷ Deem, Rosemary and Brehony, Kevin J. 'Management as Ideology: The Case of New Managerialism in Higher Education', *Oxford Review of Education* 31, no. 2 (2005): 217-35.

⁵⁸ Curri, Gudrun 'Reality Versus Perception: Restructuring Tertiary Education and Institutional Organisational Change- a Case Study', *Higher Education* 44, no. 1 (2002): 133-51; and Henry, Miriam 'Life on the Coalface: The Aftermath of Amalgamation', *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 8, no. 4 (1987): 357-77.

In his studies on fields, Bourdieu often focused on the capacity of a field to transform external factors according to its logic of function, which is the field's autonomy.⁵⁹ This might be because this features most in his subjects, including French universities and the world of arts and written works which had a long history of development. An example of this is the autonomy of the field of cultural production in France, which Bourdieu termed the economic world reversed. In this field, individuals and groups were positioned based on "a systematic inversion of the fundamental principles of all ordinary economies...of business... power... and... institutionalized cultural authority".⁶⁰ This meant that people with economic, political and institutional cultural power might not have much power in the field of cultural production and vice versa. This autonomy developed on the basis that the field was recognised by society for its cultural functions.

In applying the 'field' notion to a university, I find that besides transformation, the incorporation of factors from other fields into the university is of equal importance. This is because they provide an explanation for the university's development. Following Bourdieu, incorporation and transformation of external factors was the result of interactions of individuals and groups inside the field.⁶¹ This is evident in studies on changes inside universities that occurred amidst changing economic, political and social circumstances in Europe, North America and other developed regions after the Second World War.⁶²

⁵⁹ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*; Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*; and Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

⁶⁰ Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

⁶¹ Bourdieu, 'Economic World Reversed', 38.

⁶² See for example Brooks, Ann and Mackinnon, Alison eds, *Gender and the Restructured University* (Buckingham and Philadelphia: The Society for Research into Higher Education & Open University Press, 2001); Deem and Brehony, 'Management As Ideology'; Hambly, Frank 'Some Perceptions of Australian Higher Education: Past, Present and Future', in *Australia's Future Universities*, eds Sharpham, John and Harman, Grant (New South Wales: University of New England Press, 1997), 137-155; and Trowler, Paul *Academics Responding to Change: New Higher Education Frameworks and Academic Cultures* (Buckingham and Bristol: Society for Research into Higher Education & Open University Press, 1998).

Conclusion

The chapter presented an overview of Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, and capital and his themes on universities. It offered a combination of these concepts and themes to form a theoretical framework for this study which illuminates a university and its historical development. Briefly, a university is a social field with its relations with its network and surrounding fields of power and economy. It performs functions and acquires resources and influence from these fields. Inside a university, academics with their habitus and capital interact to fulfil the university's functions, and reproduce or change the university under resources and influence from outside the university.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology that was used in the study. Briefly, I used the interpretive paradigm and qualitative methodologies for reasons that the chapter will explain. Based on this, I adopted a qualitative historical and contemporary study design to fit with my research aims, which were to carry out an in-depth investigation into, and theorise, VNU-Hanoi history and development.

The first section of the chapter gives an overview of the history of educational research which is the background of this study. It argues that the field of educational research offers multiple choices of methodologies and methods along with an open opportunity for the inclusion of new ideas and initiatives for new studies. The following sections of the chapter discuss the study methodology. The final section examines the ethical and cultural concerns that were related to the research process and the way I dealt with them.

Overview of educational research methodology

Educational research started around the 1880s and gradually became a distinctive discipline.¹ One thing that makes this discipline distinctive within the social sciences is its targets which are to address educational concerns.² These include questions about teaching, learning, and other knowledge-related issues for the development of individuals, groups, sectors, and society as a whole.

For a long period, these concerns were limited to education at primary and secondary levels. University and university education remained largely

¹ Pring, Richard *Philosophy of Educational Research* (London and New York: Continuum, 2000).

² Keeves, John P. 'Methods and Processes in Educational Research', in *Educational Research, Methodology and Measurement: An International Handbook*, ed. Keeves, John P. 2nd ed. (New York: Pergamon, 1997), 277-85.

untouched until the Second World War when they became a new focus. This was partly due to the growth and significant changes in higher education, in general, and university education in particular, and the increasing challenges and demands for these higher education institutions from society. This focus locates this study of university development rightly in the field of educational research.

Along with expansion in terms of concerns, educational research borrowed and adapted various research issues from other social sciences. These sciences include, for example, history, ethnography, economics, management, and sociology. Educational research issues thus cover a wide range, from the history of a school or certain subject of teaching, to the national policy on a public education system.

Social sciences also lent their methodologies to educational research which gave this field of research a rich and flexible methodological background. Particularly, there are a variety of research paradigms. A research paradigm is a set of beliefs and guidance for the choice of problems, methodology and methods.³ A paradigm answers macro questions about what knowledge is available from the world (ontology) and how this knowledge can be obtained (epistemology). Paradigms which were developed in social sciences and have been appropriated in educational research, include positivism, post-positivism, critical theory, and constructivism.

Following Lincoln and Guba, the positivist paradigm considers that it is possible to understand the world objectively.⁴ This paradigm associates with the following research methodology: controlled experiments and hypothesis tests using quantitative methods, such as in surveys. The post-positivist paradigm agreed with the positivist paradigm that there is one reality about the world. However, this reality is only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendable.

³ Bryman, Alan *Social Research Methods* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁴ Lincoln, Yvonna S. and Guba, Egon G. 'Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions and Emerging Confluences', in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonna S. 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2000), 163-88.

Therefore, researchers should have critical views of multiple aspects of the reality. They might combine quantitative and qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews for rich and deep data. Critical theory considers that knowledge about the world is shaped by history. Various factors, including social, political, cultural, economic, ethical and gender influence people's understanding about the world. Therefore, dialogue and critique should be included as part of research methodology. The constructivist paradigm sees that realities are constructed and created by people with their subjective views. Because of this, it is necessary to adopt interpretation and critique towards these constructions in research.⁵ These paradigms are briefly summarised in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1 Major paradigms in social sciences⁶

Paradigm	Ontology	Epistemology	Methodology
Positivism (normative)	Naïve realism- 'real' reality but apprehendable	Dualist/ objectivist; findings true	Experimental/ manipulative; verification of hypotheses; chiefly quantitative methods
Post-positivism (interpretive)	Critical realism- 'real' reality but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendable	Modified dualist/ objectivist; critical tradition/ community; findings probably true	Modified experimental/ manipulative; critical multiplism; falsification of hypotheses; may include qualitative methods
Critical Theory and others	Historical realism- virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values; cristallised over time	Transactional/ subjectivist; value-mediated findings	Dialogic (dialogue)/ dialectical (critique)
Constructivism	Relativism-local and specific constructed realities	Transactional/ subjectivist/ created findings	Hermeneutical (interpretation)/ dialectical (critique)

In the history of the field of education and other social sciences, the positivist (or normative) paradigm was the first to be applied and thus to dominate. This was

⁵ Lincoln and Guba, 'Paradigmatic Controversies'.

⁶ Ibid.

followed by the interpretive paradigm and the 'war' between these two which resulted in co-habitation between these two paradigms and the coming of newer paradigms. While the first two paradigms still dominate educational research and other fields of social research,⁷ the use of other paradigms, including critical theory and constructivism is not rare in these fields. Choice of paradigms is not a must, as proven by the possibility to combine some paradigms such as the normative and interpretive paradigms in certain research, but can be made based on the research questions and the personal view of the researchers.⁸

A methodology is a theory and philosophy of knowledge that determines standards and processes for research. Following Lincoln and Guba, the respective methodologies of the four paradigms are quantitative, qualitative, dialogic/dialectical, and hermeneutical/dialectical.⁹ These methodologies entail a variety of designs. A design is a framework for data collection and analysis that links research questions, data and conclusions. There are also many accompanying methods of data collection.¹⁰ All these have been applied in educational research. Also, similar to paradigms, combinations among these methodologies are possible, based on research questions and researchers' perspectives.

As briefly presented above, educational research has the advantage of previous methodological achievements in other social sciences which came before it. In addition, it has continued to be open to and to absorb new developments in these fields along with developing its own features. This results in a wide range of options to ensure a methodologically sound approach to research. Based on the research questions and my personal view, I made the specific choice as detailed below.

⁷ Cohen, Louis, Manion Lawrence, and Morrison, Keith *Research Methods in Education*, (London and New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2000).

⁸ Bryman, *Social Research Methods*.

⁹ Lincoln and Guba, 'Paradigmatic Controversies'.

¹⁰ For details of the prominent designs and methods see Bryman, *Social Research Methods*.

Interpretive paradigm, qualitative methodology and research design

The interpretive paradigm and qualitative methodology were appropriate for this study. This was because the study aimed at explaining the development of a specific university, VNU-Hanoi. To understand the development of this university required a holistic view, with emphasis on the development context and process, and rich and deep data which come from close scrutiny and/or participants' views.¹¹ Theoretical illumination for understanding was also a must, which should be induced and generated from the case itself and the literature. All these fit well within the interpretive paradigm and qualitative methodology. This is in contrast to scientific modelling and testing and the quantitative data that apply to a population of phenomena/social units, for example, a number of universities, under the normative paradigm and quantitative methodology.¹²

The development context of VNU-Hanoi included first of all the university network, which included other organisations that had relations with this university. There was the larger socio-economic and political situation in Vietnam, possibly with influences from other countries. The development process included interactions among involved individuals and groups who stayed inside and outside the university, and the social structure of the university and its environment.

Close scrutiny of VNU-Hanoi and its development was made possible through direct observation, study of relevant historical materials as well as information provided by living witnesses. Views of participants were obtained from interviews and personal documents. These views enabled me to understand subjective meanings of social actions by people who had been involved in VNU-Hanoi's development. With this understanding and my own views that were formed from observation and documentary study, I was able to obtain deep insights into the case. These included a close picture of VNU-Hanoi's

¹¹ Merriam, Sharan B. *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1998).

¹² Bryman, *Social Research Methods*.

development with details of individuals and groups and their habitus, capital, positions and actions.¹³

This study aimed to develop a theory based on existing relevant theories. Through a continuing process of testing and adjustment that used data from the case, the conceptual framework was finalised as a theoretical explanation for VNU-Hanoi's development.

As an existing qualitative methodology, the historical methodology played an important role in this study. This was because the methodology enabled me to seek insights into VNU-Hanoi's development over its history. It helped to trace all development phases along with changes in all aspects of the university throughout its history and all related inside and outside factors.

The historical methodology required adherence to three principles. The first one was the "principle of historical specificity".¹⁴ This principle demands that a study of any social issue should take into account the larger society, its location, phases and time in history. This larger society should be considered in its relations with other periods and in comparison with other societies. This principle also requires a full use of historical materials and explanatory theories. The second principle is "thinking historically", that is, viewing "the structures and the taken-for-granted assumptions" with their historical roots.¹⁵ The third principle is a critical view of relations among sources of evidence and between them and history.¹⁶ This requires asking such questions as those about the accuracy, legitimacy and compatibility of sources of evidence and about how they serve to tell or obscure history.

¹³ Bourdieu, Pierre 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices', in *The Blackwell Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed. Elliott, Anthony (Malden: Blackwell, 1999), 107-18; and Bourdieu, Pierre 'The Forms of Capital', in *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Sociology of Education*, ed. Ball, Stephen J. (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 15-29.

¹⁴ Mills, C. Wright *The Sociological Imagination* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 156.

¹⁵ McCulloch, Gary and Richardson, William *Historical Research in Educational Settings* (Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University, 2000), 5-6.

¹⁶ Burton, Antoinette 'Archive Fever, Archive Stories', in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, ed. Burton, Antoinette (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 1-24.

I, therefore, considered VNU-Hanoi's development in its historical context. This included the university network in history, Vietnam conditions and any possible influencing trends from outside Vietnam. I then critically analysed available historical materials, which came from documentary sources such as archives and publications, as well as living witnesses. I also critically reviewed literature within this scope, particularly underlying assumptions on the selection and interpretation of relevant periods and facts. In terms of evidence, archives and interviews were reported together. This combination was part of data cross-checking and triangulation to ensure trustworthy and holistic data.

In addition to the historical study, this research included a contemporary study which inquired into current issues. This was justified on the basis that VNU-Hanoi and its development were both historical and contemporary. I designed the study, taking this into account. The case for examination was VNU-Hanoi and its development. Research questions were about VNU-Hanoi's development and the explanations for it. These were the basis from which I developed questions for data collection and analysis (see details in appendices). In order to guide the data collection and analysis, I built and employed a conceptual framework, or guiding theories, based on a critical review of the available literature.¹⁷ This framework was based on the core concepts of field, habitus and capital of Bourdieu which were presented in Chapter 2. This framework evolved through the research process toward a theoretical explanation for the research questions.

Data collection

Retrieved data included the contextual, historical data. I collected information about the network of VNU-Hanoi and the broad social, political and economic trends in Vietnam during VNU-Hanoi history. There were case data about VNU-Hanoi. Data sources included documents, records, and personal accounts and viewpoints of involved individuals and observers. Methods for data collection

¹⁷ Bryman, *Social Research Methods*.

were mainly searching of documents, that is, archival works and interviews, with some observations made during the field trip.

Documents and records provided details with broad coverage in terms of time, events and settings. Yet, as McCulloch and Richardson point out, they represent top-down official views which often ignore or distort actual practices and need to be balanced by accounts of individuals and observers in their various positions.¹⁸ In addition, this data source is also strongly influenced by record-keeping practices in history.¹⁹ Documents and records were retrieved from archives in Vietnam during my field trip, and from relevant websites that I consulted throughout the research. Table 3.2 lists major sources of documents from which I collected data on VNU-Hanoi, including their location and retrieval time.

Table 3.2. Utilised archives, collections, and online documentary stores

Archives/ Collections	Location/ Address	Time of Retrieval
Vietnam National Archive Centre 1 (VNAC1)	Hanoi	February to August 2008
Vietnam National Archive Centre 3 (VNAC3)	Hanoi	February to August 2008
VNU-Hanoi Office & Office of University of Social Sciences and Humanities	Hanoi	February to August 2008
VNU-Hanoi Website	http://vnu.edu.vn/	Throughout the research
Vietnam Communist Party Website	http://www.dangcongsan.vn/ http://cpv.org.vn/	Throughout the research
Vietnam Government Website	http://www.chinhphu.vn/	Throughout the research
Vietnam National Assembly Lawdata Website	http://vietlaw.gov.vn/	Throughout the research

I interviewed 13 people in total. These people used to be involved deeply in VNU-Hanoi and its predecessors in various capacities and for long periods. Most of them used to be former students of the university who became lecturers, professors, faculty deans, non-teaching staff, university leaders, and

¹⁸ McCulloch and Richardson, *Historical Research*.

¹⁹ Burton, 'Archive Fever'.

state officials on education. Personal accounts and viewpoints of individuals who had a long history with VNU-Hanoi enabled an in-depth understanding of the university's development. This was because they focused directly on and provided insights from various informal perspectives into the topic which were not covered and constrained by public accounts. Details of these research participants are presented in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Research participants

Interviewee	Date	Position
# 1	June 29, 2008	State Official, Ministry of Education
# 2	July 2, 2008	Senior University Official, University Professor
# 3	July 12, 2008	State Official, Ministry of Education
# 4	July 14, 2008	University Professor
# 5	July 21, 2008	University Administrator
# 6	July 22, 2008	University Lecturer
# 7	July 26, 2008	State Official, Ministry of Education
# 8	July 31, 2008	Senior University Official
# 9	July 31, 2008	State Official, University Professor
# 10	August 6, 2008	State Official, University Professor
# 11	August 6, 2008	Senior University Official, University Professor
# 12	August 9, 2008	Senior University Official, University Professor
# 13	August 10, 2008	Senior University Official, University Professor

Interviews have limitations such as question and answer biases and inaccuracies due to poor memories. Interviewees might tend to provide answers that they think the researcher wants from them.²⁰ In addition, both interviewees and the researcher are subject to certain personal distortion.²¹ Interviewees might also suffer from political constraints.

Developing trust and rich dialogues with interviewees on non-sensitive issues helped to overcome some of these constraints. I also searched for and took into account underlying assumptions and constraints of interviewees and their

²⁰ Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2003).

²¹ Bryman, *Social Research Methods*.

context in conducting and analysing interviews.²² I also sought to triangulate data from interviews with archival materials of VNU-Hanoi to check convergence of evidence. The assistance of key informants was of great importance for data verification in this situation.²³

Given the strengths and weaknesses of the two data sources and their capacity to complement and be cross-checked with each other, I chose to combine them together. This combination was useful and necessary to enable a comprehensive, valid and reliable view of the development of VNU-Hanoi.

Data analysis

There were three steps in the data analysis. The first step was the evaluation of data sources. The second step was the coding and development of themes based on Bourdieu's theories. The third step was the synthesising of themes to answer the data collection questions.

In the evaluation of data sources, I followed McCulloch²⁴ and McCulloch and Richardson's²⁵ advice on analysing data in documentary form which applies to interview transcripts and visual data as well. Particularly, I evaluated document legitimacy and reliability and searched for its meaning and theorisation.

I was able to obtain the above information from interviews without many difficulties because conversations were about the interviewees themselves and their involvement with, and observation of, VNU-Hanoi. It was more difficult to ascertain the above information for documentary data, particularly about the authorship. In archive files, for example, drafts often bore no name or signature of authors. Official materials were signed by government officials who authorised them. The biographies of these officials were unknown officially

²² Fitz, John and Halpin, David 'Ministers and Mandarins: Educational Research in Elite Settings', in *Researching the Powerful in Education* ed. Walford, Geoffrey (London: UCL Press, 1994), 32-50.

²³ Yin, *Case Study Research*.

²⁴ McCulloch, Gary *Documentary Research in Education*, in *History and the Social Sciences, Social Research and Educational Studies Series*, ed. Burgess, Robert G. (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004).

²⁵ McCulloch and Richardson, *Historical Research*.

because the archive did not allow access to their records, if there were any. This was one method the government adopted to control their knowledge and the use of knowledge about themselves.

This also applied to official documents from VNU-Hanoi. For example, internal regulations, instructions, and reports had no signature or only the signature of a head of a section. My observation and interviews show that an internal regulation, for example, had often been drafted and revised several times by both relevant university staff and officials before it was approved for application. The application might give rise to difficulties which would trigger another round of revision and so on.

The above process of document drafting and approval was indicative of a common practice used by the government and VNU-Hanoi of hiding people and their involvement and publishing official decisions only. This practice reflected, on the one hand, the lack of, and avoidance of individual responsibility in the government and state sector. On the other hand, with this practice, the government and its agencies, including universities, constructed and consolidated a unified image about themselves and their decisions²⁶ as the right representative of the country as a whole. Again, this pointed to the key role of the government in controlling knowledge and history.

Data were coded and themes drawn from the collected data were related to the first two research questions. I applied Bourdieu's key concepts and themes for this process. Briefly, the three key concepts involved were field, habitus and capital. The key theme was that a university was a field. I elaborated on these concepts and separated the key theme into smaller themes and codes and finally fitted them with non-overlapping and inclusive data units.²⁷ For example, the key theme that a university was a field had, among others, a small theme of functions of the university. This theme answered the question as to what a university was for and what it did to fulfil that function. Table 3.4 that follows

²⁶ Fitz and Halpin, 'Ministers and Mandarins'.

²⁷ Ryan, Gery W. and Bernard, Russell H. 'Data Management and Analysis Methods', in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. Denzin and Yvonna, 769-802.

shows the code of functions of the university. In this way, I developed a code book which contained the codes/themes, their content and an example of data units (see attached appendices).

Table 3.4. Coding book (excerpt)

No.	Code/ theme	Content	Example
1	Functions	What a university is for/ What did it do?	Government assigned: to contribute to the socialist society building in Vietnam, including: 1) teach socialist science state workers; 2) research for socialist production; 3) provide social services and join socialist construction movements in society Perceived/ observed by involved parties: to teach basic sciences, to lead other universities

The fitting of data units into codes/themes and comparison of themes across different data sources helped me to adjust and develop my own theory on universities, based on Bourdieu's guide. From discrepancies that arose between the guide and the data coding, I developed new themes or removed inapplicable themes. For example, following Bourdieu, two systems of power in operation in French universities were academic and scientific. The academic power system controlled institutional resources and activities. The scientific power system controlled scientific development.²⁸ I found in VNU-Hanoi there were different groups in control of institutional resources and activities and the control of scientific development. The relationship between these two systems shifted over time. Sometimes they closely attached, sometimes they were conflicted. This differed from the conflicting state of the academic and scientific power systems in French universities.

The next step was interpreting themes to provide answers to data collection questions. This step also used the conceptual framework to address research questions about the development of VNU-Hanoi and insights from this case. This involved forming generalised answers about processes of VNU-Hanoi's

²⁸ Bourdieu, Pierre *Homo Academicus*, trans. Collier, Peter (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988).

development and theoretical explanations for them. For instance, from the above themes on VNU-Hanoi's functions, I found that VNU-Hanoi became socialist and took part in the propaganda and domination of the Communist Régime. The university later engaged in businesses. This was because in VNU-Hanoi there were economic and political factors. The university incorporated and transformed these factors in its development. For example, from the 1950s, the Communist Régime introduced political education and propaganda in the university. This Régime also removed opposing professors from the university. It later introduced political and class-based criteria for student enrolment and university staff recruitment and promotion. These factors together led to further changes inside the university and made it socialist and adhering to the Communist Régime.

I found that the three steps of coding, interpretation and data evaluation were not in a linear process. They revolved until my theory was finalised.²⁹ Specifically, themes were adjusted and tested against the data. With new themes, there were new questions and a search for new data and coding. For example, the theme on economic power raised questions about how this power interacted with other power and power systems. There were also questions about groups and their positions in terms of economic power, following Bourdieu's theories.³⁰

Embedded in these steps were my assumptions in reading the data as well as interviewees' assumptions in the data which, according to Ball, should be fully exposed and explained.³¹ These assumptions were about the meanings of experiences and interpretations of reality and experience.³² There were also assumptions underlying the common, taken-for-granted issues that I and my interviewees made in interviews. These included, for example, avoidance or

²⁹ Strauss, Anselm L. *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

³⁰ Bourdieu, 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices'; and Bourdieu, 'Forms of Capital'.

³¹ Ball, Stephen J. 'Political Interviews and the Politics of Interviewing', in *Researching the Powerful in Education*, ed. Walford, 96-115.

³² Silverman, David 'Analyzing Talk and Text', in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. Denzin and Lincoln, 821-34.

indirect reference to political matters, a loss of face, and special languages of anecdotes and rumours and gestures in conveying one's response.

Ethical and cultural concerns

The research was historical in that it related to a particular institution and its development. This made the participants the central actors who could be identified with ease. This was particularly true for public figures such as state officials and leaders of VNU-Hanoi. Risks to participants in this case included "exposure and embarrassment, as well as loss of standing and self-esteem"³³ if their sensitive views or accounts of issues related to VNU-Hanoi were made public. To minimise these risks, Unitec Research Ethics Committee (UREC) required that informed consent be obtained from all participants and that the anonymity principle be applied for all participants in the whole research process.

Regarding informed consent, I was able to obtain written/verbal agreement from my interviewees for interviews and use of interview information for my research. In Vietnam, written agreement forms that required signatures were sensitive and, in one interview, my research participant denied this. This was because signing a paper is commonly thought to impose a legal obligation on the person being requested to do so. Therefore, while I tried to get written consent, verbal consent recorded on a tape record was appropriate in case the interviewee insisted on not signing the consent form. All participants had the opportunity to view their interview transcripts after the interview. They were advised that they could change, cancel or request that I did not use any of the information in research reports. They could also withdraw themselves from the project within three weeks after receipt of their interview transcripts.

When I reported the research's findings I did not disclose the identity of the interviewees. I blended and converged data reported to avoid the possibility of associating such data with certain interviewees. All the information that

³³ Stake, Robert E. 'Case Studies', in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. Denzin and Lincoln, 435-454.

interviewees provided will be kept securely for five years before being destroyed.

Another important ethical consideration was the risk for VNU-Hanoi as an organisation. The study might have revealed some sensitive issues that the organisation and its leaders did not want to disclose publicly. UREC required me to obtain organisation consent from VNU-Hanoi before any fieldwork commenced. This requirement was fulfilled.

In terms of the cultural aspects, there are two issues that needed to be considered. The first issue was the use of the Vietnamese and French languages in interviews and documents. Due to the research setting, most relevant documents were written in Vietnamese and some were in French. This required me to use Vietnamese and French as the languages for the field trip. All relevant documents and interview transcripts were then translated into English in the research reporting phase.

There were certain protocols that were followed in working with VNU-Hanoi. For example, flexible timing, formal respect and politeness were required in approaching VNU-Hanoi personnel. These applied as well to those individuals who came from the élite and scholarly world in Vietnam. As a member of this community I was well acquainted with, and sensitive to, these protocols. This enabled smooth progress of data collection.

These protocols, however, placed some limits on data collection. The first limit was the length of time required to gain permission and access to information and interviews. This had been taken into account in the research schedule. The second limit was that some sensitive questions/issues such as personal conflicts and politically-sensitive issues had to be avoided in interviews. Some of these issues were solved with the use of other data sources, including archives and other documentary sources.

Conclusion

This chapter presented the research methodology, its historical background and details together with justification of its selection and use for the study. In summary, I selected the interpretive paradigm and qualitative methodology as the overall research philosophy. With these, I used a qualitative historical and contemporary study design with observation, documentary materials, artifacts, and interviews as data sources. These data sources were linked with research questions and conclusions through a theoretical framework that developed in parallel with the data analysis. The research process was accompanied by a number of measures such as data engagement, data triangulation, and the use of constructive critics and consideration of ethical and cultural issues. These helped ensure that the research was methodologically, ethically and culturally sound.

CHAPTER 4

ARCHIVES AND EVIDENCE

Introduction

This chapter examines the nature of archives and their relationship with evidence. Through the use of evidence from my archival data I argue that archive evidence is partial and fragmented which, in turn, points to its contested nature. This nature is directly linked with both the past and the form and function of archives as storage of the past. This is seen acutely in the collection and examination of archival evidence.

The first section of the chapter offers an overview of archives. As this section will elaborate, the central function of archives is to collect and store remains of the past for retrieval. This function depends on three processes: collection, maintenance and retrieval. Archives have been sites of struggle for knowledge of the past as well as repositories of that knowledge. These struggles highlight the extent of the contested and changing nature of the archive. The second section of this chapter reviews the nature of archive evidence with reference made to the evidence of VNU-Hanoi's development. It points out that archive evidence is shaped by the past, the archives and involved individuals and groups. The third section explores the use of Bourdieu's notions of field, capital and habitus and how these theoretical tools can be applied to archives and their evidence.

Archive overview

The word 'archive' originated from the Greek word *Arkheion*. In Ancient Greece, Arkheion meant a house of archons. This is the place where state documents are stored for retrieval and use by state officials to interpret and justify their power.¹ Arkheion, therefore, has the specific function of keeping government records safe for use by government officials. It has a specific location: a private

¹ Derrida, Jacques and Prenowitz, Eric 'Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression', *Diacritics* 25, no. 2 (1995): 9-63.

house. It has a specific ownership: the archon. Its storage contents and access are also clear: Arkheion stores state documents and only archons can have access to it.

The archive as a place of storage and retrieval of data of the past shifted from the private (house of Archeon) to the public.² In the case of VNU-Hanoi, the archive of VNU-Hanoi's past development moved from this university to the state, as in the case of the national archive and to the private, as in individuals' possessions. These shifts involved individuals and groups other than the archeon in the archive. Archives therefore are contested places as any number of interested individuals and groups want to shape their contents. These individuals and groups include power régimes, cultural and ethnic groups, and individuals, including state officials, archivists, and researchers. Their varied interests can be linked with the functions of the archive. For example, individuals and/or groups can be subject to shifting patterns of interest and control. They can have different reasons for the storage of materials or indeed in making decisions about which material is worthy of storage.

The primary function of the archive is the collection, storage and retrieval of remains of the past and with it the knowledge of the past.³ The past and its remains are fragmented and shared among different individuals and groups who are related to that past.⁴ For example, VNU-Hanoi as a university developed over 50 years. Its past development was shared and divided among all university staff, state officials and all other individuals and groups that had relations with the university. There were limited resources in terms of time, effort, capacity and space for storage and maintenance of physical materials in archives. These resource limits might have prevented the storage of all of the past's remains. Consequently, individuals and groups have had to struggle to incorporate their desired past in archives.⁵ The desired past includes fragments

² Fitzgerald, Tanya 'Archives of Memory and Memories of Archive: CMS Women's Letters and Diaries 1823–35', *History of Education* 34, no. 6 (2005): 657-74.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Fritzsche, Peter 'The Archive and the Case of the German Nation', in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* ed. Burton, Antoinette (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 184-208.

⁵ Featherstones, Mike 'Archive', *Theory, Culture & Society* 23(2006): 591-6.

of past remains that individuals and groups wish to have in storage and to be used to tell about the past.

For example, the Vietnam National Archive only retained part of the remains of VNU-Hanoi historical development. This part related to the Communist Régime because régime officials, including state archivists, considered only this part worthy for archiving while other parts were not. The university and some individuals had also kept documents and photographs and other fragments of the past of VNU-Hanoi in storage which I was able to access during my field trip. The university stored these materials to prove its development, as in the case of its historical museums, and to use these materials to serve its current work, as in the case of documents in its administrative offices. Individuals and groups kept materials as proof of their involvement with the university and as resources for their current works.

The example of the archive in my research demonstrated that not only the powerful, in this case the Communist Régime in Vietnam, but also the less powerful, in this case VNU-Hanoi and its staff, might set up their own archives to preserve their desired past. This is a way that individuals and groups who are interested in the archive contest with each other. Fritzsche provides another example of this in relation to Jewish community. This community, as the less powerful, incorporated the Holocaust past into archives by the set-up, maintenance and use of their own archives, against the archive of German states.⁶

In the struggle to incorporate their desired past in the archive, the powerful might impose their preferred versions of the past. They might set up and define their archives, as in the case of the French Indochina Administration Archive. Specifically, archive materials of French Indochina were first selected and organised by the French Indochina Archive authority. This authority only chose materials that were produced within the French colonial administration or from this administration and other entities in Indochina, for example, the Indochinese

⁶ Fritzsche, 'Archive and Case of German Nation'.

University, to be archived. This authority kept these materials in files under its related administrations and services and by doing this tied these materials closely with the French colonial Régime.⁷ Moreover, the language of documents served to secure the access to the evidence for those who possess the French dispositions. Most documents were in colonial French of the late twentieth century. This effectively prevented the people who did not speak French from reading and deciphering the evidence. The desired past included not only what remains of French Indochina but also the ways these remains could be read and included in historical accounts of French Indochina.

The powerful might add to, close, remove or neglect certain sections of the archive and archival materials. This was what successive Uzbek political régimes have done to the Uzbek archives.⁸ The French Indochinese Archive experienced similar changes. After the Vietnam Communist Régime took control of the archive, this régime closed and neglected it for a period. This was because the Communist Régime became opposed the French and pro-French Vietnamese and denied any French-related past.⁹ The French Indochinese Archive contained the past that was not desired by this régime and, therefore, was neglected.

In the 1990s, the Communist Régime reorganised and opened the archive of French Indochina with support from the French government. Archive materials were put into a new filing system with new identities. A bilingual guide *Guide des fonds d'archives d'époque coloniale* was published in Vietnamese and French to facilitate consultation and retrieval.¹⁰ The archive also set up translation and consultation services for readers which reduced the language barrier which was inherent in these materials. This was the result of a reversal of a trend that had started in the mid 1980s in which Vietnam tried to gain

⁷ Vu, Thi Minh Huong 'Paul Boudet: Fondateur Des Archives De L'indochine', *Valorisation de l'Écrit en Asie du Sud-Est* (V.A.L.E.A.S.E.), <http://www.valease.org/articles.php?lng=fr&pg=37> (accessed September 15, 2008).

⁸ Sahadeo, Jeff "'Without the Past There Is No Future": Archives, History, and Authority in Uzbekistan', in *Archive Stories*, ed. Burton, 45-67.

⁹ Le, Van Giang *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam* [A Brief History of over 1000 Years of Vietnamese Education] (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Chính trị Quốc gia, 2003).

¹⁰ Ngo, Thieu Hieu et al., *Guide Des Fonds D'archives D'époque Coloniale* (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Văn hóa- Thông tin, 2001).

support from France and Francophone countries to break its isolation and raise its position internationally. What became preferred was France's colonial involvement in and contribution to Vietnam which might lend support to France's present and future engagement with Vietnam.

Changes in policies towards the archive by the Vietnam Communist Régime exemplified how this régime contested previous régimes, specifically the French Indochina Administration, as well as régimes in France over the archive in terms of the desired past. Contests over colonial archives are well documented by Ann Laura Stoler.¹¹ She found colonial archives inscribed power relations and ruling technologies. Particularly, these archives mirrored colonial politics. They were both products and technologies of colonial states. This could be seen through the ways archival materials were produced and then stored in archives.

My finding about the archive in Vietnam furthered Stoler's argument. It shows that colonial archives continued to be shaped and utilised by post-colonial states in relation with the former colonial empires. The case of the French Indochinese Archive demonstrated that post-colonial politics featured through the varied handling of archival colonial materials, including the closure, reorganisation and reopening of this archive. It showed that this handling was linked closely with the changing state of post-colonial régimes in Vietnam and the relations between these régimes and the colonial empire of France. The changes to the French Indochinese Archive reflected efforts of both Vietnamese and French authorities. The Vietnam Communist Government attempted to own the archive and the archive's materials on behalf of the Vietnamese. The French Government wanted to rebuild its influence in Vietnam.

Not only colonial archives but also post-colonial archives were shaped by post-colonial politics and post-colonial régimes, as my example of the Vietnam National Archive proved. The fact that only documents and materials that state officials, including state archivists, considered to be relevant are stored in this archive demonstrated the power of the Communist Régime over Vietnam and

¹¹ Stoler, Ann Laura 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance', *Archival Science*, no. 2 (2002): 84-109.

its history. This archive collected and produced what this régime considered to be legitimate knowledge of the past. That was, the régime's desired past. This archive rejected other types of knowledge of the past that was not preferred or was considered irrelevant by this régime. For example, in its relationship with VNU-Hanoi, the desired past of the Communist Régime was its control and use of this university but not the lives and experiences of academics.

Not only the particularly powerful régimes in colonial and post-colonial states, but also the less powerful such as local cultural groups, struggled with each other over the archive. The work of Antoinette Burton well illustrated this point.¹² According to Burton, individuals contested the nature of the archive as well as the material that was considered an archive itself.¹³ The case of *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* was an example of this.¹⁴ In this text, the Gitksan and Wet*wuwet*en people used oral evidence against the British Columbia state who used archive documentary evidence in their claim over aboriginal land rights in this state. The less powerful might also use archive, documentary evidence as my research demonstrated. Specifically, some individuals, for example, Le¹⁵ used documentary evidence in his possession to protest against the appropriation of the Indochinese University and its archive materials into the history of VNU-Hanoi by the Vietnam Communist Government and the university's leaders.¹⁶

The contests over the archive might alter its functions. For example, the Communist Régime in Vietnam closed the French Indochinese Archive and shifted its functions from active to inactive for a period. Then the régime reorganised and opened the archive and this again shifted the archive's functions from inactive to active. This régime and other individuals and groups involved in this archive also used the archive in different ways. The French

¹² Burton, *Archive Stories*.

¹³ Burton, 'Archive Fever'.

¹⁴ Perry, Adele 'The Colonial Archive on Trial: Possession, Dispossession, and History in *Delgamuukw V. British Columbia*', in *Archive Stories*, Burton, 325-350.

¹⁵ Le, Van Giang 'Tuoi DHQG Hanoi: 100, 60 hay 50 [the Age of VNU-Hanoi: 100, 60 or 50?]', *Vietnamnet*, May 26, 2006, <http://vietnamnet.vn/thuhanoi/2006/05/574603/> (accessed August 8, 2007).

¹⁶ Vu, Minh Giang et al., *Mot the ky phat trien va truong thanh* [A Century of Development] (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội, 2006).

Indochina Colonial Administration and various post-colonial régimes in Vietnam set up part of this archive primarily to preserve their past existence. The Communist Régime used this archive as evidence of its connection with France and Francophone countries. VNU-Hanoi as a university relied on this archive to find evidence of its historical development. Such different usages made archive functions complicated. Sahadeo provided another illustration in Uzbekistan. Here, the non-communist régime in Uzbek neglected part of the archive that stored the past of the previous communist Régime. In this way, the régime stopped part of the function of the Uzbek archive.¹⁷

Access to archives can be contested because individuals and groups that have control over archives impose altered conditions of access to archives.¹⁸ Archive access varies across archives. Regulated and restricted access to state archives is common, particularly where there has been a colonial administration, as Stoler proved¹⁹ and the Vietnam National Archive demonstrated. On the contrary, public materials in private hands might not be limited to private access.²⁰ My access to VNU-Hanoi relevant materials in the possession of VNU-Hanoi staff and related individuals illustrated this. While individuals possessed and kept them I was able to access and retrieve them for my own research with the permission of their owners.

Archive access can vary according to readers and their relations with archives, as shown in my research in the Vietnam National Archive. Specifically, as a researcher, I had to follow certain procedures and restrictions. I obtained an introduction letter from a local public entity and provided this letter with my proof of identity and a clear statement of my research purposes. All my requests for retrieval of archive materials complied with these stated purposes and were reviewed and approved by the archive's director. This was to ensure that documents provided did not contain national secrets or any sensitive national or private information. Some of my requests were denied on the grounds that

¹⁷ Sahadeo, 'Without the past'.

¹⁸ Robertson, Craig 'Mechanisms of Exclusion: Historicizing the Archive and the Passport', in *Archive Stories*, Burton, 68-86; and Sahadeo, 'Without the Past'.

¹⁹ Stoler, 'Colonial Archives'.

²⁰ McCulloch, Gary *Documentary Research in Education, History and the Social Sciences* (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004).

materials were national-sensitive or private-sensitive. Clearly, as a Vietnamese researcher, my access to this archive differed from that of a state official, or a person who wanted to retrieve their personal information. A state official might have access to materials of national importance or national secrets, and an individual might access their personal dossiers in the archive while I did not have such access.

These differentiated conditions of access that the Government of Vietnam imposed on this archive were based on the national-sensitive or private-sensitive categories. The control of access to and use of archival materials, in turn, served to hide these sensitive issues and worked towards maintaining the Communist Régime's desired past. According to Stoler, such 'sensitive' categories exposed the national politics. They reflected the rules and practices that state officials adopted in producing materials for the archive, and that state archivists adopted in storage and retrieval of these materials.²¹ This thesis of Stoler, therefore, was applicable to post-colonial archives, as the case of the Vietnam National Archive demonstrated.

Archive location and ownership are not always consistent. This is because archives might be acquired and transferred and owners of archives might close, relocate and reopen archives.²² Archives might also belong to more than one individual and/or group. In my research, I found that the French Indochina Administration Archive was transferred and owned by successive post-colonial régimes in Vietnam. This entailed a number of shifts in terms of ownership and location. This archive is now part of the Vietnam National Archive which belongs to Vietnam as a whole, and with the Communist Government acting on the country's behalf. There were some materials that belonged to families and clans who had deposited their materials in this archive. Access to these materials required written approvals from these families and clans. This is similar to identification materials in the Passport Office of the Department of State in the United States.²³ These materials belonged to both the Department of State and

²¹ Stoler, 'Colonial Archives'.

²² Featherstones, 'Archive'.

²³ Robertson, 'Mechanisms of Exclusion'.

the individuals who have applied for United States passports. These complications in ownership were used as the reason to deny researchers' access to this archive.

Archive processes change along with the ownership and location of archives.²⁴ These processes include the selection of evidence; consignment, that is the co-ordination of evidence to form a unified archival body with a pre-existing frame; and retrieval of evidence.²⁵ Founders of archives usually specified the selection, storage, and retrieval processes which reflected their desired past. When archive ownership changes and there is a new owner or successor, this owner or successor might alter the archive's processes to meet their interests, as in the case of the French Indochinese Archive.

In summary, individuals and groups that are involved and have an interest in the archive attempt to shape the archive to meet their desires for knowledge of the past. In doing so, they turn the archive into a contested place among themselves. They also change the functions, access, location, ownership, and processes of the archive. Along with the passage of time, there are new individuals and groups with new concerns, while the old ones have gone. These people bring about further change to the archive. Colonial and post-colonial archives exemplified the contested and changing nature of archives. As sources of legitimate knowledge, these archives are part of colonial and post-colonial politics and are subject to changing power relations.

Archive evidence

Arguably, remains of the past are part of the evidence of the past. These remains were produced or used by people or witnesses to the past. They might include documents, artefacts, photographs, paintings, audio and video records.²⁶ As remains of the past, evidence is partial and fragmented. This is

²⁴ Featherstones, 'Archive'.

²⁵ Derrida and Prenowitz, 'Archive Fever'.

²⁶ McCulloch, Gary and Richardson, William *Historical Research in Educational Settings*, (Buckingham [England] and Philadelphia: Open University, 2000).

because the past itself was shared and divided among individuals and groups,²⁷ including, for example, an organisation like VNU-Hanoi, or a country like Vietnam. Each individual and group might keep or discard parts of the past's remains. Part of this is kept in archives which I refer to as archive evidence. Archive evidence is therefore partial and fragmented, as the examples from my research well illustrated.

I retrieved data on VNU-Hanoi and its founding institutions from the Vietnam National Archives (Centre 1 and Centre 3 in Hanoi), VNU-Hanoi campus and website, and repositories of individuals. These archive materials were fragments of the remains of the past of VNU-Hanoi. Particularly, the evidence consisted of mainly documents such as related decisions, reports and correspondence from this university and various state agencies. There were also internal correspondence, meeting records, papers, and personal notes that were produced and used within the university.

Materials from the national archive and the VNU-Hanoi office included documents and records of the university which were produced or used, and later put into the national archives by related state agencies. There were no verbal proceedings or manuscripts. From individuals that were involved with the university there were fragments about the past life and work of the related individuals in their relations with the university. There were personal notes. Details of these notes depended on each person's note-keeping practices and their position. I found, for example, that some personal notes included details of events and people. Other notes consisted of only lists of tasks that needed to be done. The richness of contents depended much on the note-keeper's positions. Personal notes of faculty staff, for example, only contained his/her work assignments and faculty gatherings. A faculty dean's personal notes contained many managerial and professional tasks and appointments and meetings within the faculty and between the faculty, its partners, the school and the university. These notes provided much more information about the network and development of the faculty and the school.

²⁷ Fritzsche, 'Archive and German Nation'.

Archive evidence is contested as different parties selected, retained and used different evidence that suited their interests which linked to their desired past. The national archive selected evidence that focused on the Communist Régime. VNU-Hanoi retained evidence focused on the university and its promotion. Related individuals only stored evidence that was of use for their life and work. Because of these differences, archive evidence contained contradictory and multi-faceted facts about VNU-Hanoi. For example, evidence fragments of VNU-Hanoi in the national archive reflected, in part, the past interaction between the university and the state. The evidence in private collections of VNU-Hanoi staff was about life and work inside the university. Two types of evidence produced contradictory versions of VNU-Hanoi's past development. From the national archive evidence, the state played a patron role, ordering and instructing the university. The university was in a subject role, receiving and following orders and instructions. The private collection evidence reflected a relatively closed, self-centred community of professors, lecturers and administrative staff who were concerned mainly with their own activities and life.

The contradictory and multi-faceted facts that archive evidence contained might lead to conflicting interpretations as individuals and groups were aiming at their preferred versions of the past. For example, Vu et al. considered the Indochinese University as the origin of VNU-Hanoi and quoted supportive details from archive materials. They argued that the Indochinese University started the university tradition in Vietnam of which VNU-Hanoi was a representative.²⁸ Le, however, denied any linkage between VNU-Hanoi and the Indochinese University. He relied on archive evidence, including official decisions of the Hochiminh Government, to support his argument that the Vietnam Communist Régime set up VNU-Hanoi founding institutions after the Indochinese University ceased to exist. Therefore, VNU-Hanoi could not have originated from the Indochinese University.²⁹

²⁸ Vu et al., *Mot the ky Phat trien va Truong thanh*.

²⁹ Le, 'Tuoi DHQG Hanoi: 100, 60 hay 50'.

The fact that archive evidence is shaped by the archive classification process further contributes to the contested nature of archive evidence. Following Derrida and Prenowitz, the classification effected a shift in the evidence identity and connections.³⁰ Particularly, the evidence was classified with a file number and a respective location in the unified archival body that had a pre-existing frame which included the filing system, number, name and subject. In this way, the evidence was merged into this archival body and assumed connections with other files and their content evidence to facilitate archive control. This process removed at least part of the evidence's previous identity and connection. This process only retained the information together with the new identity that fitted with the archive's filing system.³¹ This was the case of the archive evidence of VNU-Hanoi founding institutions. In the national archive, this evidence was classified under the state system which was designated by the Vietnam government. This system included a number of central agencies, including the National Assembly, the Prime Minister's Office, various ministries and provincial authorities. Archive evidence of these universities was put under these sections based on relations between the evidence and these state agencies. This shifted the evidence identity and connection from that with universities to that with state agencies. In some cases, the identity and connection with universities was lost entirely, as in the annual correspondence file of various agencies.

The shaping of evidence is part of the knowledge production of the archive which Stoler had examined. She found that the archive selected and produced legitimate knowledge under the influence of power and politics.³² Changes to the archive and its classification that have been affected by successive owners of the archive might accordingly shape and reshape archive evidence, as shown in the example of the French Indochina Archive. This again pointed to contests over the archive which should be taken into account in examination of archive evidence.

³⁰ Derrida and Prenowitz, 'Archive Fever'.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Stoler, 'Colonial Archives'.

Archive and evidence: Field, capital and habitus

A way forward to theorise the archive and archive evidence is to use the notions of field, capital and habitus of Bourdieu.³³ This is because these concepts illuminate interactions among individuals and groups and their relationship with the archive and archival evidence.

The archive can be considered as a 'field', or a separate social universe. The archive has its own functions, which are the collection, storage and retrieval of the remains of the past. These functions are towards other fields, particularly the field of power.³⁴ For example, colonial archives reproduced the power of the state.³⁵ They shaped evidence of the past and the use of this in accounts towards the desired past of régimes in power. This was the case of archives in Vietnam. Particularly, under the French Colonial Régime, the archive in Hanoi was to preserve the history of the French presence in Indochina. Today, the Vietnam National Archive performs tasks that are set by the Vietnamese Communist Government. This includes shaping national history and strengthening the régime's legitimacy, disciplinary power and surveillance over the country and the population.³⁶

The field of power might shape the archive functions as different régimes impose different rules on the archive and archival materials. For instance, the case of Uzbek archives demonstrated this problem.³⁷ When a non-Soviet régime replaced the Soviet one, the new régime changed the state policies towards archives and archive evidence such a way that evidence of the Soviet Régime was neglected and removed. A similar example was at the French Indochina Archive in Vietnam which underwent different régimes in Vietnam, including French Colonial and Vietnam Communist. This archive had been

³³ Bourdieu, Pierre 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices', in *The Blackwell Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed. Elliott, Anthony (Malden: Blackwell, 1999), 107-18; and Bourdieu, Pierre 'The Forms of Capital', in *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Sociology of Education*, ed. Ball, Stephen J. (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 15-29.

³⁴ Bourdieu, 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices'.

³⁵ Stoler, 'Colonial Archives'.

³⁶ Featherstones, 'Archive'.

³⁷ Sahadeo, 'Without The Past'.

closed and reorganised, as I presented in the previous section. This was in line with Stoler's finding that colonial archives were products of the states.³⁸

Acts of adding, removing or transferring archive materials and archives by the government and other groups in society might alter archives entirely. The French Colonial Archive, for example, used to be occupied by French colonial archivists and functioned for the French colonial administrator.³⁹ This archive is now run by Vietnamese communist archivists who had different habitus compared with French colonial archivists. This archive also assumed a different function: serving the Vietnamese Communist Régime. Archive processes that were regulated by the Vietnamese Communist Government differed from those set by the French colonial administration. This applied to other archives which underwent changes with regard to ownership and location and reorganisation.⁴⁰

Within archives, archive knowledge and evidence are the key forms of capital. They are cultural capital, the various kinds of legitimate knowledge.⁴¹ The archive not only collected but also produced this legitimate knowledge as part of the power production function.⁴² This capital is the target of struggles among individuals and groups with interests in the archive. Particularly, the powerful and less powerful groups, archivists, and readers contested with each other to define and use this legitimate knowledge as well as the ways in which this legitimate knowledge is collected and produced in the archive. In these contests, these people might change processes, knowledge and evidence in the archive. The book *Archive stories: facts, fictions, and the writing of history* edited by Burton gave examples of such contests and their impacts on archives.⁴³ In one example, Sahadeo examined the contests among power régimes in Uzbekistan over Uzbek archives. He also explained how he and other Western colleagues were able to bypass bureaucratic procedures to get access to archive materials in this country with the support of Uzbek

³⁸ Stoler, 'Colonial Archives'.

³⁹ Vu, 'Paul Boudet'.

⁴⁰ Burton, 'Archive Fever'.

⁴¹ Bourdieu, 'Forms of Capital'.

⁴² Stoler, 'Colonial Archives'.

⁴³ Burton, *Archive Stories*.

archivists.⁴⁴ In other examples, readers felt constrained by archivists, like the case of Robertson when he was denied access to the archive of the Department of State of the United States.⁴⁵ Ghosh felt uneasy when she had to tell lies in order to obtain access to archive materials on inter-racial marriage. Part of the reason why she faced obstacles was that inter-racial marriage was not widely accepted in India. This was neither the desired nor preferred past for the Indian Government and people.⁴⁶ This, in turn, pointed to the influence of cultural groups on the archive and how they tried to include their desired past in the archive.

The desired past is part of the habitus, or dispositions based on past experiences, of individuals and groups that are interested in the archive. These dispositions include cognitive orientations and strategies of actions and explained why people tended to act in their usual ways.⁴⁷ As a field, the archive shapes the habitus of individuals and groups. The archive frames their interactions. It makes individuals and groups comply with its ways of functions. These include the rules of the archive in terms of the collection, storage and retrieval of archive materials.

Habitus might change along with other changes in the archive. For example the different rules applied to the French Indochinese Archive over time brought different archivists and readers with different habitus to this archive. Particularly, French colonial archivists with colonial ways of life and work were replaced by Communist archivists with communist ideology after the 1950s. The reopening of this archive in the 1990s offered access to international scholars which contributed to the multi-national nature of the readership of this archive.

Overall, archives, their functions, processes and capital are complicated. This is a result, on the one hand, of influences from fields of power and economy, and struggles of individuals and groups that have interests in archives and archive

⁴⁴ Sahadeo, 'Without The Past'.

⁴⁵ Robertson, 'Mechanisms of Exclusion'.

⁴⁶ Ghosh, Durba 'National Narratives and the Politics of Miscegenation: Britain and India', in *Archive Stories*, Burton, 27-44.

⁴⁷ Bourdieu, 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices'.

materials. They include governments, cultural and ethnic groups and others. All these struggles change and complicate archives in terms of their functions and logics of functions as well as the habitus of the individuals and groups.

Conclusion

This chapter represented an overview of the contested nature of archives and their relation with archive evidence which is partial, fragmented and contested. These points were illustrated with examples from my field work. These points proved the need for researchers to be aware of and critical of the nature of archives and evidence and the influencing factors. Researchers should also search for and adopt ways to triangulate data. In this study, besides strategies and tactics to make full use of archives, I combined archival works and interviews which provided me with sufficient evidence for my description and explanation for VNU-Hanoi. The reflection on my readings of archived evidence and contexts of my readings also serve as self-criticism. This is to discover biases and weaknesses in my data collection with archives.

CHAPTER 5

INTERVIEWS AND EVIDENCE

Introduction

This chapter discusses the nature of interviews and interview evidence. Through examples of my interviews with individuals to gather evidence of VNU-Hanoi's development and its historical context, I argue that interviews do not simply provide facts and figures. Interviews offer the opinions and interpretations of the research participants about these facts and figures.¹ Because research participants differed, interview evidence is complicated and multi-faceted and might contain conflicts and biases.

The first section of this chapter presents an overview of interviews and its complicated and conflicted nature. The second section examines the oral evidence that comes from interviews and my reflections on this. The third section explores the application of Bourdieusian capital, habitus and field to interviews and interview evidence.

Interviews: Overview

Interviewing has been recognised as a basic mode of inquiry to provide data and answers to research questions in social sciences and educational research.² An interview is a conversation with the stated purpose of evidence gathering that involves two parties: the interviewer and the interviewee. The stated purpose of my interviews, in particular, was to gather evidence of the development of VNU-Hanoi, an existing university. This regulated my selection of interviewees. My research participants needed to have had prolonged involvement and engagement, or to have played key roles, in this university's development so that they could provide evidence of this development. To identify the potential research participants and approach them, I followed

¹ Seidman, Irving *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences*, 2nd ed. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1998).

² Ibid.

McHugg advice.³ Specifically, I made use of recommendations by the VNU-Hanoi officials and staff I approached during my field trip as well as my network that I developed during my work with this university. I also relied, in part, on archive materials and existing historical accounts on VNU-Hanoi to identify key people that influenced VNU-Hanoi's development.

I interviewed 13 people in total. These people have been or used to be involved deeply in VNU-Hanoi and its founding institutions. They played various roles. They often started as former students and progressed to lecturers, professors, faculty deans, non-teaching staff, university senior officials, and state officials. Among these, there are three state officials from the Ministry of Education. From VNU-Hanoi, there is one vice-director, one administrator, two school rectors and one school vice-rector. There is one faculty dean, seven professors and one lecturer. These people are from different schools or units of VNU-Hanoi and belong to different generations, but all have a long history with this university.⁴

During an interview, the interviewer and interviewee not only ask questions and give answers, they exchange with each other ideas, meanings, and opinions.⁵ Interviews might uncover differences and conflicts which contribute to the complicated and conflicted nature of interviews. Schostak succinctly described such interactions in an interview as follows:

*It is a place where views may clash, deceive, seduce, enchant. It is the inter-view. It is as much about seeing a world - mine, yours, ours, theirs - as about hearing accounts, opinions, arguments, reasons, declarations: words with views into different worlds.*⁶

³ McHugg, J. Daniel 'The Lords' Will Be Done: Interviewing the Powerful in Education', in *Researching the Powerful in Education* ed. Walford, Geoffrey (London: UCL Press, 1994), 51-66.

⁴ Details of these research participants were presented in Table 3.3 in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

⁵ Holstein, James A. and Gubrium, Jaber F. 'Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns', in *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns*, ed. Holstein, James A. and Gubrium, Jaber F. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2003), 3-30.

⁶ Schostak, John F. *Interviewing and Representation in Qualitative Research, Conducting Educational Research* (Maidenhead: New York Open University Press, 2006), 1.

Observations and views are diverse because individuals have different positions concerning each issue and might interpret such issues differently.⁷ This applied to my research. In particular, my research participants brought to me their various accounts about VNU-Hanoi. State officials and senior university officials provided accounts of how they controlled and managed the university.⁸ They gave details and explanations for their roles and position-taking in the setting up and operation of the university and their interactions with other related people and parties. This was because university leaders and state officials often played the role of the planner and director of such events and issues. This is similar to what Blackmore and Sachs⁹ and Hearn¹⁰ found in universities in developed countries. Basically, university leaders were trying to manage various aspects of the university, including its social and power structures, their directions and relations with the government.

University staff provided accounts of how they struggled with each other to fulfil their job and to promote their positions inside the university.¹¹ They were mainly confined to and concerned with their work and localities, often in a faculty or department, or, for example, teaching, events and relations within the faculty.

Views of my research participants about VNU-Hanoi sometimes clashed. For example, a university senior staff member might see that VNU-Hanoi had advanced as a whole under their control. They offered examples of the growth in staff numbers, students, schools and improved infrastructure, such as new buildings, laboratories, and a library based on the university's statistics to support their view.¹² Some university professors, however, considered the

⁷ McHugg, 'Lords' Will Be Done'.

⁸ See, for example, interview with #1, June 29, 2008; and interview with #2, July 2, 2008.

⁹ Blackmore, Jill and Sachs, Judyth 'Women Leaders in the Restructured University', in *Gender and the Restructured University*, ed. Brooks, Ann and Mackinnon, Alison (Buckingham and Philadelphia: The Society for Research into Higher Education & Open University Press, 2001), 45-66.

¹⁰ Hearn, Jeff 'Academia, Management and Men: Making the Connections, Exploring the Implications', in *Gender and Restructured University*, ed. Brooks and Mackinnon, 69-89.

¹¹ For example, interview with #4, July 14, 2008; interview with #5, July 21, 2008; and interview with #6, July 22, 2008.

¹² For example, interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

university was in decline in terms of the quality of teaching and learning, drawing on their teaching experience and observation.¹³

I found that my research participants had contradictory views of themselves and their colleagues. For example, a university lecturer might consider university teaching was a noble job which was dedicated to education and sciences. Still, she complained about the improper behaviours of other teachers. She also complained about low pay and other economic concerns and that she had to struggle with this job and her extra job outside the university.¹⁴ This reflected the complicated and contradictory roles and representations of the research participants of themselves and of others.¹⁵

The various roles that the interviewee and the interviewer assume in an interview contribute to the complicated and conflicted nature of the interview.¹⁶ My research provided an illustration. For instance, I myself had three conflicting roles. One role was the researcher who wanted to find, and report answers to my research questions. My second role was as a trustworthy person to whom my research participants provided their personal thoughts and information. In this role, I felt a duty to protect their privacy. My third role was as a member of VNU-Hanoi who was under political and social pressure in reporting my research evidence. The university and authorities might question my research evidence and findings and I could be in trouble because of this. “There is nothing on paper to prove that it is true, you should be careful not to put yourself in trouble in the future”, one interviewee warned me.¹⁷

Implicit assumptions of the interview parties might combine with actual verbal transcripts to produce multi-faceted and multi-layered answers and meanings. These in turns complicate interpretations.¹⁸ For example, in terms of staff recruitment policies, some participants mentioned only two criteria ‘*hong*

¹³ Interview with #4, July 14, 2008; and interview with #9, July 31, 2008.

¹⁴ Interview with #6, July 22, 2008.

¹⁵ Holstein and Gubrium, ‘Inside Interviewing’.

¹⁶ Schostak, *Interviewing and Representation*.

¹⁷ Interview with #3, July 12, 2008.

¹⁸ Minichiello, Victor et al., *In-Depth Interviewing Principles, Techniques, Analysis* (Melbourne: Longman, 1995).

(literally means red) and 'chuyen' (literally means expertise). They did not explain what red and expertise were and assumed that I understood these criteria well because I was a VNU-Hanoi member.¹⁹ However, their examples of 'hong' and 'chuyen' pointed to different criteria. 'Hong' in particular might mean to embrace socialist ideology and values,²⁰ or might mean having good ethical attributes.²¹

The language, the use of metaphors and specialist terms, and body gestures by research participants might infer multiple layers of meanings which might be contradictory or vague.²² For example, a participant had the following comment on Hanoi University history:

This university was established in 1956 under the Régime of People's Republic of Vietnam of Uncle Ho. After some years, the university had to move to Bac Thai²³ for war evacuation, living in remote mountains, teaching, learning while building houses and air raid shelters. Hanoi University has grown up in this way. Each citizen was a soldier. Teachers and students were also soldiers. Nevertheless the university managed to exist and developed. Our Vietnam was too great!²⁴

The exclamation 'Our Vietnam was too great!' (*Vietnam minh vi dai qua!*) was confusing when the participant used it as a comment on the situation of hardship and wars that Hanoi University survived through and the multiple roles that university staff and students played during the wars: teachers, students and soldiers. We could ask, so what was great in here? Was it the university's capacity to survive the wars and hardship? Or was it the university's capacity to fight? Or both? And after all, the university was great for what?

Interviewees and interviewers might be in conflict because their relations are often unequal and because their interests are diverse. Interviewees want to voice their opinions and acquire support from the interviewer. Interviewers want

¹⁹ See interview with #11, August 6, 2008; and interview with #13, August 10, 2008.

²⁰ Doan, Dung Hue 'Moral Education or Political Education in the Vietnamese Educational System?' *Journal of Moral Education* 34, no. 4 (2005): 451-63.

²¹ Interview with #13, August 10, 2008.

²² Seidman, *Interviewing as Qualitative Research*.

²³ Bac Thai used to be a mountainous province in the North of Vietnam. It was split into two provinces of Bac Kan and Thai Nguyen in the mid of 1990s.

²⁴ Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

facts, figures and opinions from interviewees. Their struggles start from the interview initiation stage to the actual conversation. This applied to my research where I found that I had to invest much time and effort to get access to conduct interviews with state officials and VNU-Hanoi senior officials. These officials were in higher positions than I was, a young, female researcher and university lecturer. This was similar to what McHugg found in his research interviews with state officials in Britain.²⁵

I found myself trying to make the relationship more equal by seeking to “project a ‘professional’ image and manner”.²⁶ I had to prepare well in regard to my appearance, behaviour, background knowledge and research skill. I equipped myself with a sound knowledge of major contexts and events, and the key people involved in VNU-Hanoi, based on existing literature and archive materials. This helped me to start or continue conversations with my research participants. I used a brief interview guide which allowed the conversation to flow smoothly while important topics were not missed. This also allowed a flexible adaptation to the interviewee’s history with VNU-Hanoi which became clear before or during the interview. I also used a recorder for recording my interviews, with prior permission from research participants, so that I could follow the main flow of these interviews and later come back to the details. During these interviews, I took notes of important answers or suggestions for further probing.

In actual conversations, the powerful party might try to dominate the conversations while the less powerful might resist such domination.²⁷ My research was the case. State officials and university senior officials dominated my interviews. They raised topics and provided answers to these topics. These research participants often offered their personal interpretation of VNU-Hanoi, voiced their concerns and tried to influence my thinking and findings. I found the statement: “this is what they (the government, the university) should

²⁵ McHugg, ‘Lords’ Will Be Done’.

²⁶ Arksey, Hilary and Knight, Peter *Interviewing for Social Scientists: An Introductory Resource with Examples* (London: Sage, 1999), 137.

²⁷ Fitz, John and Halpin, David ‘Ministers and Mandarins: Educational Research in Elite Settings’, in *Researching the Powerful in Education*, ed. Walford, 32-50.

have done but because they hadn't, they failed" common in the conversations. My research participants also posed questions with regard to my research, and even suggested to me some topics which they thought might be 'more appropriate'.²⁸ I had to resist such domination by following the advice of McHugg.²⁹ Specifically, I went along with their talk with occasional questioning for evidence of their arguments, and gradually reintroduced my questions.

My interviews with the powerful were often a struggle with them to control the lines of the conversation. This was to elicit those facts that I wanted to know but my participants did not want to tell. Ball found political interviews to be similar, particularly with skilled politicians who resisted the interviewers. They tried to dominate interviews with their topics and arguments in order to realise their aims for publicity.³⁰ These struggles are a demonstration of the conflicted nature of interviews.

Relatively equal relations between interview parties might still complicate the interview as Platt examined in his peer interviews. Because peers were so familiar with each other, they might not treat the conversation seriously and they might assume more than in their relations with people who were not their peers:

*... there is a temptation to contribute discreditable stories about oneself in anticipation and legitimation of return, to appear to get the point quickly without requiring explicit statements, and to treat the interview situation as one no different from other conversations and so contribute one's own quota of gossip and comment to the discussion.*³¹

This was similar in my research. I found that in my interviews with university staff, the staff often assumed that I knew as much about the university as they did. They also attached gossip and comments to their observations.

²⁸ For example, interview with #9, July 31, 2008; and interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

²⁹ McHugg, 'Lords' Will Be Done'.

³⁰ Ball, Stephen J. 'Political Interviews and the Politics of Interviewing', in *Researching the Powerful in Education*, ed. Walford, 96-115.

³¹ Platt, Jennifer 'On Interviewing One's Peer', *The British Journal of Sociology* 32, no. 1 (1981): 77.

Interview contexts are a complicating factor in interviews. This is because the exact location and setting in which the interview takes place might affect the conversation negatively or positively.³² For example, a familiar, comfortable and secure place for research participants is advisable because they feel at ease and able to speak.³³ However, interviewers should also make sure of their safety. Therefore, a good setting should provide for both the interviewer and the interviewee.³⁴ This applied to my research. Specifically, I found interview contexts sometimes either facilitated or hindered my interviews. I conducted nine of the thirteen interviews at the private houses of my research participants. These interviews often took around two hours and we explored and discussed many issues freely. I found that the familiar, informal setting reduced the distance between the interview parties. The setting enabled me to have more contact with my research participants and to build trust, understanding and sharing with them. There was time and space for discussion and nobody could disturb, observe or interrupt our conversations. This lessened the pressures of external social and political contexts.

Only four interviews were conducted at the offices of my research participants. These four interviews tended to be shorter, more formal but less fruitful than those in family settings. These research participants were often in a hurry and were sometimes interrupted because they had to continue with their own work.

In summary, interviews are complicated and conflicted due to the differences between interviewer and interviewees. These differences are in terms of the observations and views of the interview parties in regard to the interview issues. There are also other complicating factors, for example, the relations between interview parties, their implicit assumptions and the interview contexts.

³² Adler, Patricia A. and Adler, Peter 'The Reluctant Respondent', in *Inside Interviewing*, ed. Holstein and Gubrium, 153-73.

³³ Seidman, *Interviewing as Qualitative Research*.

³⁴ Arksey and Knight, *Interviewing for Social Scientists*.

Oral evidence of interviews

The evidence gathered in interviews is oral evidence. Oral evidence of an historical episode contains facts and figures about various aspects of this episode.³⁵ Oral evidence also contains the observations and views of research participants which are biased, complicated and conflicting.³⁶ These link to the notion of memories which are of the same nature as oral evidence.³⁷

Indeed, oral evidence of the past draws on memories. Memories of an historical episode are things that are remembered about it, which might include evidence as well as beliefs and opinions about the historical event. The act of remembering belongs to individuals and groups. Memories are not fixed, but are repeated and reproduced overtime. Nora notes that:

*...memory remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived.*³⁸

Memories are multi-faceted and complicated because they belong to different individuals and groups. Memories of an individual or group of an historical episode depended on their positions in the episode. Because of their own positions, they might or might not be aware of some others' activities and might have different interpretations of such an episode.³⁹ For example, in this research I found that only people who used to be in controlling positions in VNU-Hanoi and its predecessors had wide and comprehensive access to important events and issues and thus had memories of them. Other people, such as faculty staff, were mainly confined to and concerned with their own work and localities and could only remember related people, things and events within their own localities.

³⁵ McCulloch, Gary and Richardson, William *Historical Research in Educational Settings* (Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University, 2000).

³⁶ Schostak, *Interviewing and Representation*.

³⁷ Nora, Pierre 'Between Memory and History: Les Leux De Mémoire', *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7-24.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁹ McHugg, 'Lords' Will Be Done'.

Memories are dependent and changeable because memories of an historical episode depend on the importance which individuals and groups placed on the episode personally. Particularly, I found that the research participants had poor memories of those events that had little impact on them. Faculty staff, for example, did not remember the establishment of VNU-Hanoi as well as a change to their faculty leadership. Memories also depend on the time gap between the memory and the episode, and a person's memory capacity. Old age also impacts on memories. Some individuals who I interviewed, such as the university director and state officials, tended to be older. Retired officials and directors, for example, were often over 65 years of age and tended to have forgotten minor details of the distant past.

Memories can often be distorted and biased because they are affected by personal distortions of events of the past.⁴⁰ Hindsight biases, that is, looking back with justification to one's decisions and roles in issues in questions based on the outcome of these events could also influence memories.⁴¹ For example, my research participants often provided their views on VNU-Hanoi and its predecessors, and then explained and justified their views based on what they actually did, or observed, or heard. Understandably, the facts and figures they provided fitted their views at the time of interview. This bias was common and was a demonstration of personal biases in interviews.

Besides memories, relations between interviewers and interviewees might make oral evidence complicated and conflicting.⁴² Following Kogan, the powerful often dominated and controlled interviews. Such domination and control might shape evidence towards supporting arguments of the powerful.⁴³ In my research, state officials gave accounts of VNU-Hanoi aspects that related

⁴⁰ Bryman, Alan *Social Research Methods*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁴¹ Blake, Chris *The Art of Decisions: How to Manage in an Uncertain World*, 1st ed. (New York: Financial Times Prentice Hall, 2007).

⁴² Holstein and Gubrium, 'Inside Interviewing'; and Schostak, *Interviewing and Representation*.

⁴³ Kogan, Maurice 'Researching the Powerful in Education and Elsewhere', in *Researching the Powerful in Education*, ed. Walford, 67-80.

to their control of the university. They also provided justifications for their actions and used the resulting development as illustrations.⁴⁴

Equal relations do not prevent conflicts and biases in interview evidence either, as peer interviews of Platt demonstrated.⁴⁵ Gossip and the comments of my peers in VNU-Hanoi were examples that supported this. Their implicit assumptions, the use of body gestures, metaphors, and jokes might leave a wide space of possibility for readings and interpretations of oral evidence. This is because these combine with these texts to produce multiple meanings and implications as demonstrated in my interviews. All of this makes oral evidence complicated and conflicting.

Interview contexts also impact on oral evidence in that they might facilitate or constrain the discussion in terms of what is discussed and how it is approached.⁴⁶ My research well illustrated this point. Specifically, a familial, informal setting allowed my research participants to express themselves more freely and brought out more evidence in comparison with a formal, office setting.

Interviews and evidence: Capital, habitus and field

The three concepts of capital, habitus and field of Bourdieu⁴⁷ are useful tools to illuminate interviews and oral evidence from interviews. This is because these concepts provide insights into interactions among individuals, groups, and their relations. Specifically, interviews are part of interactions between interviewers and interviewees. These people influence their interactions.⁴⁸ These parties have their own capital which they can use and exchange in interviews to realise

⁴⁴ See, for example, interview with #1, June 29, 2008; and interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

⁴⁵ Platt, 'On Interviewing One's Peer'.

⁴⁶ Adler and Adler, 'Reluctant Respondent'.

⁴⁷ Bourdieu, Pierre 'The Field of Cultural Production, Or: The Economic World Reversed', in Bourdieu, Pierre *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Johnson, Randal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 29-74; Bourdieu, Pierre 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices', in *The Blackwell Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed. Elliott, Anthony (Malden: Blackwell, 1999), 107-18; and Bourdieu, Pierre 'The Forms of Capital', in *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Sociology of Education*, ed. Ball, Stephen J. (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 15-29.

⁴⁸ Schostak, 'Interviewing and Representation'.

their aims. Interviewees have and want to voice their opinions and observations while the interviewer provides opportunities for them to do so. Interviewers also want to elicit the information that they expect from interviewees for their inquiries.⁴⁹

My interviews provided supporting examples for these interactions. Particularly, most of my research participants were interested in providing their accounts and views of VNU-Hanoi to me while I brought them such an opportunity.

*I appreciated exchanges with researchers like you... Your questions remind me and make me think and review of the past... I can talk about what had happened for days.*⁵⁰

I found that my research participants and I had different, sometimes conflicting, expectations of our conversations. I was interested in both the successes and failures of VNU-Hanoi. Some participants, however, only wanted to focus on the university's successes and to stay away from politically and privately-sensitive issues. We, therefore, struggled to focus the discussion on the contradicting topics that each of us preferred and at times created conflicts in the interviews.

The 'habitus', or dispositions of interview parties, informed the way interviewers and interviewees approached interviews and the information they provided.⁵¹ Conflicting habitus might make the conversation complicated and conflicted as struggles between interview parties to control the conversation demonstrate. My research provided an example. The use of metaphors and jokes by my interviewees was in contrast to my straightforward approach. I found sometimes my interviewees were frustrated when I interrupted their lines of conversations, repeated my questions or asked them for clarification. All these show that our conflicting habitus makes interviewing complicated.

On the contrary, common, or shared habitus through partnership is a sound basis for conversation to develop, as Fitzgerald demonstrated in the case of

⁴⁹ Holstein and Gubrium, 'Inside Interviewing'.

⁵⁰ Interview with #1, June 29, 2008.

⁵¹ Schostak, 'Interviewing and Representation'.

intercultural research.⁵² In my research, my research participants and I adhered to rules of behaviours and patterns of actions in the university. These formed a solid ground for the conversation to develop. However, the shared ground could also be problematic. For example, implicit assumptions might lead to multiple layered meanings, as I pointed out in the terms of *hong* (red) and *chuyen* (expertise) that my interviewees used to refer to university staff recruitment criteria.

The shared ground might limit areas of discussions, as my interviews proved. Particularly, practices to avoid sensitive issues such as politics and those that could lead to a loss of face to a person or entity, like failures and scandals, are traditional in Vietnam society.⁵³ I and my research participants shared this and this limited our interviews in terms of these topics. For example, some research participants did not want to mention the separation of Hanoi University of Education from VNU-Hanoi or the closure of the University of General Education. They simply said that “they all passed, we had better not to mention them”.⁵⁴ This was the usual way to avoid mentioning bad or sad memories in Vietnam. I myself found it difficult to overcome the above habits. It was quite embarrassing to ask about failures and mistakes and I often gave up after my research participants told me they did not want to discuss such things further.

Interviews are also influenced by interview contexts, which include relevant social relationships. The ‘field’ is useful here as a tool to examine these relationships because fields are different social universes that the interviewee and the interviewer belong to. They are specific settings which the literature widely discusses. For example, McCulloch and Richardson, and Ozga and Walford provided detailed discussions on education settings. As these authors

⁵² Fitzgerald, Tanya 'Powerful Voices and Powerful Stories: Reflections on the Challenges and Dynamics of Intercultural Research', *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 25, no. 3 (2004): 233-45.

⁵³ Duc Uy, *Bi an Tam ly Nguoi Viet Nam [Mysteries of Vietnamese Psychology]* (Thanh Hoa, Vietnam: Nha xuất bản giáo dục, 2002).

⁵⁴ Interview with #12, August 9, 2008; and interview with #13, August 10, 2008.

demonstrate, these settings have particular dominating relations which influence the researcher, research participants and their interviews.⁵⁵

My research was located in what Bourdieu referred to as the field of culture with influences from fields of power and economy.⁵⁶ Specific settings are VNU-Hanoi and its external and internal relations. Rules of behaviours within the university that I and my research participants follow constituted an example of influences of these settings on my interviews. Economic and political concerns that my research participants expressed⁵⁷ also demonstrated the influence of politics and the economy on them.

Overall, capital, field and habitus can explain the complicated and conflicted nature of the interviews and illuminate the same nature of interview data. All these are the result of interactions between the interviewer and the interviewee with their habitus and capital. These interactions are under the influence of those fields that these interview parties belong to.

Conclusion

The chapter demonstrates that interviews are complicated and conflicted as the result of interactions between the interviewer and the interviewee. These individuals differ in their aims, assumptions, behaviours, observations, interpretation and views on interview issues. These differences are due to their different positions in relation to the issues and the interview. Interview settings also influenced interviews. Consequently, interview evidence is biased, complicated, and multi-faceted. The nature of interview evidence about the past takes root in the similar nature of memories. Given the limitation of the interview approach outlined in this chapter, it is necessary to triangulate interview data and use them in combination with other data sources.

⁵⁵ McCulloch and Richardson, *Historical Research*; Ozga, Jennifer *Policy Research in Educational Settings: Contested Terrain* (Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1999); and Walford ed., *Researching the Powerful in Education*.

⁵⁶ Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

⁵⁷ See, for example, interview with #3, July 12, 2008; interview with #6, July 22, 2008; and interview with #9, July 31, 2008.

CHAPTER 6

HIGHER EDUCATION IN VIETNAM: FROM THE 1900s

Introduction

This chapter reviews contemporary higher education in Vietnam, drawing on the existing literature and archival evidence. This serves as a background for understanding the development of VNU-Hanoi, a specific university, in time and space of higher education in Vietnamese society. The main argument of this chapter is that higher education in Vietnam has experienced a complicated history. This history has been influenced by shifting power and economic relations in society. These relations continually shaped higher education institutions and resulted in significant changes in these institutions.

The first section of the chapter offers an historical overview of higher education in Vietnam from the early 1900s. The second section of this chapter examines factors that have historically influenced higher education in Vietnam. The third section reviews the existing literature on VNU-Hanoi and identifies the knowledge gaps that this study aims to cover.

Contemporary higher education in Vietnam: From the early 1900s

Around 1900, the French Indochina Administration set up the first *écoles supérieures* (or schools of higher education) in Hanoi, including the School of Medicine and the School of Public Construction.¹ Since then, higher education in Vietnam has undergone complicated, significant changes. In terms of external relations, higher education was first limited to its relations with the régime in power, namely the French Indochina Administration in the early years from the 1900s to the 1930s. During this period, higher education trained indigenous students according to the plans of this administration. Graduates

¹ Vu, Minh Giang et al., *Một thế kỷ phát triển và trưởng thành* [A Century of Development], (Hanoi: Nhà xuất bản Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội, 2006).

were appointed to indigenous positions in the administration and its services.² For example, the School of Medicine trained doctors and nurses for the health service,³ while the School of Agriculture and Forestry trained staff for the agriculture and forestry services.⁴ Higher education institutions, including the Indochinese University, also acted as a form of capital for French governors to strengthen and justify their presence in Indochina. It symbolised French civilisation and the civilising intentions of the French towards the Vietnamese people, as well as towards the region.⁵ Higher education, therefore, functioned to support the colonialisation of the French in Indochina.

From the 1940s to the 1950s, external relations and usage of higher education expanded and became complicated. Competing power forces, including the Hochiminh-led Communist Government, the Pro-French Bao Dai Government and the French Government became involved in higher education. They used their higher education schools and universities to train their staff, as in the case of the Communist Government.⁶ They also opened higher education up for free attendance by people and enrolled and trained students for professional degrees as with the Pro-French government and the French government.⁷ Higher education performed conflicting functions, as a result, because its graduates served opposing forces and opposing targets in their power struggles.

From the 1900s to the 1950s, higher education experienced complicated and significant changes in nature which was from colonial to nationalist. Specifically, under the French Indochina Administration, the schools of higher education and the Indochinese University were colonial institutions. They were set up,

² Kelly, Gail Paradise 'The Myth of Educational Planning: The Case of the Indochinese University, 1906-1938', in Kelly, Gail Paradise *French Colonial Education: Essays on Vietnam and West Africa*, ed. Kelly, David H. (New York: AMS Press, 2000), 27-44; and Trinh, Van Thao *L'école française en Indochine* (Paris: Karthala, 1995).

³ 'Reorganisation de l'école de médecine de l'Indochine (1910-1919)', in Fond du Residence Supérieure du Tonkin R.17.73414, VNAC1, Hanoi, Vietnam.

⁴ 'Creation a Hanoi de l'École Supérieure d'Agriculture et de Sylviculture de l'Indochine 1888-1920, in Fond du Service local de l' Agriculture au Tonkin N.31.24, VNAC1, Hanoi, Vietnam.

⁵ Mus, C. 'La Première Université Indochinoise', in *La Première Université Indochinoise*, ed. Direction Generale De L'Instruction Publique (Hanoi: G. Taupin & Cie, 1927), 1-11.

⁶ Le, Van Giang *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam* [A Brief History of over 1000 Years of Vietnamese Education] (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Chinh tri Quoc gia, 2003).

⁷ Vu et al., *Mot the ky phat trien va truong thanh*.

organised, reorganised and even closed down by the Indochinese governors. For example, Beau founded the Indochinese University in 1906 but Klobukowski closed it in 1907. This governor also reduced all existing schools of higher education to the status of schools of upper primary vocational training and delegated them to the regional authority (the Superior Residence of Tonkin, in particular). Sarraut reactivated the university in 1917 and enacted further changes to this institution.⁸

Academics inside the schools of higher education in French Indochina were mainly French and the language of instruction was French. In the early years, French colonial administrators provided part-time teaching in these schools beside their administrative jobs. Only from the 1930s were there full-time professors whose appointments were subject to the French Indochina Administration. The higher education life, therefore, reflected colonial power relations and struggles. The staff endorsed the French colony in that they followed the orders and regulations of French Indochina Administration and imposed their French values in higher education institutions. On the contrary, Vietnamese students tried to overturn the French domination by demonstrating against the French Indochina Administration. French academics also struggled against the impositions of the French administrators to gain control over higher education institutions.⁹

Higher education gradually assumed a nationalist nature when Vietnam entered the post-colonial era from 1945. This was because various nationalist régimes, including the Communist Régime and other non-communist régimes, set up and developed higher education institutions to serve their national targets which included their power targets. In areas under the communist control, the Hochiminh Government set up colleges to train their cadres. These colleges were taught by Vietnamese academics.¹⁰

⁸ Kelly, 'Myth of Educational Planning'.

⁹ Trinh, *L'école française en Indochine*.

¹⁰ Le, *Lịch sử gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*.

In areas under the French and Bao Dai Government, the University of Hanoi and the University of Saigon, successors of the Indochinese University, expanded from 1947 to 1954. These universities opened wide for middle and upper classes in Hanoi and Sai Gon respectively. These universities retained the organisation of the Indochinese University with a university directorate which administered professional schools. The University of Saigon was a branch of the University of Hanoi, and its schools shared teachers with schools in Hanoi. Most professors and the university rector were French and teaching was in French. These universities had autonomy in administration and finance with funding from France and the Bao Dai Government.¹¹ This meant these universities were more independent in their relations with the government. The French Government also recognised the equivalence between these universities' degrees and French universities' degrees. This distinguished these universities from the Indochinese University, which was subject to France's colonial control, and the degrees of which had a lower status than those of French universities.¹²

After 1954, the Communist government took control of Hanoi and moved their higher education institutions there. The existing Hanoi University moved southwards and a new Hanoi University was set up.¹³ This shift was the start of a new development of higher education. In particular, between the 1960s and the 1970s, higher education developed in two different directions along with the division of Vietnam into two regions, each with its own régime. In the North, the Communist Régime (or Hanoi Régime) placed higher education under its concentrated planification system which was common in socialist countries at the time.¹⁴ Particularly, the government set targets in terms of social, economic

¹¹ 'Bao cao cua Bo Giao duc ve Tinh hình Nén Giao duc Cao dang Vietnam tu thoi Phap thuoc den nam 1954 [Report of the Ministry of Education on Higher Education in Vietnam from French Colonial Era to 1954]', in Phong Bo Giao duc 2380, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam.

¹² Vu et al., *Mot the ky Phat trien va Truong thanh*.

¹³ Vu, Cao Dam 'Khao luan ve nhung chuan muc gia tri trong Khoa hoc o Viet Nam hien nay [A Preliminary Discussion on the Value Norms in Sciences in Contemporary Vietnam]' (paper presented at Hoi thao Khoa hoc va Cong nghe- Thuc trang va Giai phap sponsored by Tia sang Magazine, Hanoi, 2001).

¹⁴ Min, Weifang 'Chinese Higher Education: The Legacy of the Past and the Context of the Future', in *Asian Universities: Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Challenges*, ed. Altbach, Philip G. and Umakoshi, Toru (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004),

and political aspects, designed plans and organised the implementation of these plans. Accordingly, the government designed higher education to include small, specialised universities and colleges. These institutions received government funding to train students based on the government's student quotas. The government then appointed graduates to positions in the state sector.¹⁵ The government also designed training programs in which the study of Marxism, Leninism and the government's policies accounted for about one-fifth of the undergraduate section.¹⁶ The government directly appointed and promoted university staff and was involved in student enrolment. Staff appointment and promotion and student enrolment followed criteria on political attitude, that is, supporting the communist government and its socialisation targets, as demonstrated in archival documents.¹⁷

Under the Hanoi Régime, each university had a directorate board and administration which controlled all university affairs according to the Régime's direction. The directorate board might delegate power to faculties and their deans who, in turn, could assign tasks to chairs that delivered teaching under the communist party system that existed in parallel. Particularly, all university directors and deans of faculties were to follow the leadership of a secretary of the Communist Party at the same levels.¹⁸ The Communist Régime, therefore, shaped universities to control academics and their thoughts. These methods of

53-83; and Ree, Erik Van 'Socialism in One Country: A Reassessment', *Studies in East European Thought*, no. 50 (1998): 77-117.

¹⁵ Tran, Chi Dao, Lam Quang Thiep and Sloper, D. W. 'Organization and Management of Higher Education in Vietnam: An Overview', in *Higher Education in Vietnam: Change and Response*, ed. Sloper, D. W. and Le, Thac Can. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 74-94.

¹⁶ Doan, Dung Hue 'Moral Education or Political Education in the Vietnamese Educational System?' *Journal of Moral Education* 34, no. 4 (2005): 451-63.

¹⁷ See, for example, Quyét dinh cua Bo Giao duc v.v. xep luong cho can bo cac truong Dai hoc Tai chinh, Tong hop, Su pham Hanoi, Su pham Vinh, Truong Trung cap Ngoai ngu, Truong Bo tuc Ngoai ngu, Truong Bo tuc Van hoa nam 1960-1961 [Ministry of Education Decisions on Staff Salaries in University of Finance, Hanoi University, Hanoi University of Education, Vinh University of Education, Foreign Language High School, School for Foreign Language Supplemental Training, and Adult Education Schools in 1960-1961], in Phong Bo Giao duc 227; and Thong bao Hoi nghi va Quyét dinh cua Hoi dong Chinh phu v.v. cong nhan dot 1 cac chuc vu giao su, pho giao su trong linh vuc giang day dai hoc va nghien cu khoa hoc nam 1977 [Conference Announcement and Decision of the Government Council ref. Recognition for the 1st Time Titles of Professors and Associate Professors in University Teaching and Scientific Research in 1977], in Phong Phu Thu tuong 18748, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam.

¹⁸ Vu, 'Khao luan ve nhung chuan muc gia tri trong Khoa hoc o Viet Nam hien nay'.

control were well recorded in archival documents of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of University and Professional Education of the Communist government.¹⁹

In the South, the non-communist régime (or Sai Gon Régime) developed large, multi-disciplinary universities. Southern universities both retained French influence and incorporated American models. In particular, large universities, including the University of Saigon, Hue University and Can Tho University included an administration and professional schools. They provided training at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. There were community colleges, for example, those of Da Nang and Tien Giang which provided two-year training degrees to students to train as technicians and clerks. In addition, networking developed across the universities and colleges, for example, through visiting professors. Universities were also allowed to select students in their own ways, for example, by simple registration, selection or exams. Universities and colleges experienced a level of autonomy. Students were offered free choices as to programs and timing. Graduates from universities and colleges had to seek employment themselves in either state or non-state sectors. They could also choose to pursue further education in universities.²⁰ As French academics gradually withdrew from these universities, Vietnamese filled these university posts and used Vietnamese as the official language of instruction. This further contributed to the nationalist nature of the universities in the post-colonial era.²¹

Academics were also divided into two groups. Each group was under a different Régime, the Hanoi Régime in the North and the Saigon Régime in the South.

¹⁹ See, for example, Tap tai lieu cua Bo giao duc va cac truong dai hoc ve chuong trinh, ke hoach hoc tap tai cac truong nam hoc 1956-1957 1957-1958, 1958-1959 [Documents of the Ministry of Education and Universities on Study Programs and Plans in the School Years 1956-1957, 1957-1958, 1958-1959], in Phong Bo Giao duc 2404; and Bao cao cua Bo Dai hoc va Trung hoc Chuyen nghiep ve Tinh hình Nam hoc 1967-1968 va Nhiem vu nam hoc 1968-1969 cua cac truong dai hoc [Report of the Ministry of University and Professional Education on the School Year 1967-1968 and Tasks of The School Year 1968-1969 of Universities], in Phong Phu Thu tuong 18145, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam.

²⁰ De an quy hoach mang luoi cac truong dai hoc trong ca nuoc nam 1975 cua Ban Khoa Giao Trung uong va Bo Dai hoc va Trung hoc Chuyen nghiep [The Plan for Network of Universities in the Whole Country in 1975 of the Central Committee for Sciences and Education and the Ministry of University and Professional Education], in Phong Phu Thu tuong 18518, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam.

²¹ Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*.

Under the Hanoi Régime, academics turned socialist and communist. They pledged adherence to Marxism-Leninism ideologies and the Vietnam Communist Government's directions. This made them significantly different from those academics under the Saigon Régime, most of whom were neither socialist nor communist.²²

From the middle of the 1970s to the mid 1980s, universities and colleges in Vietnam underwent other major shifts. Particularly, the national unification in the 1970s placed all universities and colleges under the Communist Régime. This régime reorganised all the universities and colleges according to its centralised planification system.²³ This meant that the external relations of higher education were limited to those with the government, and the functions of higher education were solely to serve the government.

The reorganisation of universities in the South included a significant change in organisation, academics and ways of life in these universities. Specifically, they split into small, specialised schools under the government's control. Academic life inside universities in the South was disturbed. Vu described the situation as follows:

Academics disintegrated: those people who had joined movements against Saigon government were allowed to return and work in universities after one year of political education. Some others were put in long-term concentrated re-education camps. Remaining groups either stopped university careers to do other jobs, or retired, or went to work overseas. The whole Southern university system was replaced.²⁴

This meant that the Vietnam Communist government removed most of the existing academics from Southern universities and replaced them with their socialist and communist academics. These academics brought to the universities socialist ideologies and way of work which emphasised

²² Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*.

²³ Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*; and Tran, Lam, and Sloper, 'Organization and management'.

²⁴ Vu, 'Khao luan ve nhung chuan muc gia tri trong Khoa hoc o Viet Nam hien nay', 5.

administration, the teaching of Marxism and Leninism, and propaganda of government policies more than scholarship and scientific development.²⁵

In the 1980s, along with the economic and social crisis that occurred in Vietnam, higher education suffered from reduced functions because the government did not need more staff as state positions were already filled up.²⁶ Higher education faced its own crisis with reduced resources. The infrastructure was poor, partly because wars had destroyed the existing campus and left few resources for proper reconstruction. Teaching, research and materials in universities were of a low quality and out of date. By the 1990s, for example, most university text books, reference and programs, equipments and other teaching and learning facilities which were developed in the 1960s and the 1970s were still in use.²⁷ Academics suffered from economic difficulties and had to pursue extra work outside universities, or dropped their teaching job totally to pursue other jobs because they could not live on their state salaries.²⁸

From the middle of the 1980s to the present, along with the initiation of economic, social and political reforms in Vietnam, higher education experienced another transformation. The external relations and functions of higher education expanded beyond the state sector, for example, to a proportion of the population who could afford higher education and to the non-state sectors that developed in Vietnam after the 1980s.²⁹ This was because the government loosened its control on the higher education and permitted universities and colleges to enrol students who could pay tuition fees themselves. The

²⁵ Vu, 'Khao luan ve nhung chuan muc gia tri trong Khoa hoc o Viet Nam hien nay'.

²⁶ Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*; and Sloper and Le, *Higher Education in Vietnam*.

²⁷ Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*; and Nguyen, Thi Tri, Pham Quang Sang and Sloper, D. W. 'Physical Facilities and Learning Resources', in *Higher Education in Vietnam*, Sloper and Le, 182-99; and Vu, Ngoc Hai et al., *Giao duc Viet Nam: Doi moi va phat trien hien dai hoa* [Vietnam Education: Renovation and Development towards Modernisation] (Ho Chi Minh City: Nha xuất bản Giao Duc, 2007).

²⁸ Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*.

²⁹ Dang, Ung Van *Phat trien giao duc dai hoc trong nen kinh te thi truong* [University Education Development in a Market Economy] (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội, 2007).

government also allowed universities and colleges to engage in businesses and other activities with entities outside the government.³⁰

Universities experienced some reforms and counter-reforms by the Vietnamese government. For example, from 1987, the Ministry of University and Professional Training reorganised undergraduate programs into two phases: foundational study and professional study.³¹ The government also merged some state universities together to form multi-disciplinary universities, including two national universities (VNUs) and some regional universities, in the early 1990s.³² In the late 1990s, the Ministry of Education and Training (the successor of the Ministry of University and Professional Training) switched undergraduate programs back to single phase.³³ All along, the government withdrew or removed some parts of the two VNUs and other regional universities.³⁴

³⁰ Pham, Lan Huong and Fry, Gerald W. 'Universities in Vietnam: Legacies, Challenges and Prospects', in *Asian Universities*, Altbach and Umakoshi, 301-331; and Sloper and Le, *Higher Education in Vietnam*.

³¹ The Ministry of University and Professional Training of Vietnam, 'Phuong Huong, Muc Tieu Chuong Trinh Hanh Dong 1987-1990 [1987-1990 Directions, Targets and Action Plans]', *Journal of University and Professional Training* (1987): 1-82.

³² See the Government of Vietnam, 'Decree No.97/CP of December 10, 1993 on the establishment of Vietnam National University-Hanoi [in Vietnamese]', in the Administration Office, University of Social Sciences and Humanities, VNU-Hanoi; and the Government of Vietnam, 'Decree No.30/CP of April 4, 1994 on the establishment of Hue University [in Vietnamese]'; 'Decree No.31/CP of April 4, 1994 on the establishment of Thai Nguyen university [in Vietnamese]'; 'Decree No. 32/CP of April 4, 1994 on the establishment of Da Nang university [in Vietnamese]'; and 'Decree No. 16/CP of January 27, 1995 on the establishment of Vietnam National University Hochiminh City [in Vietnamese]', in the Lawdata of the Office of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, <http://vietlaw.gov.vn/LAWNET/> (accessed October 10, 2008).

³³ Nguyen, Minh Hien 'Thuc hien Nghi quyet Trung uong 2: Tiep tuc doi moi, nang cao chat luong va hieu qua dao tao dai hoc dap ung yeu cau cong nghiep hoa, hien dai hoa dat nuoc [Implementing the Central Resolution No.2 of the Communist Party of Vietnam: To Continue Renovation and Improve Quality and Effectiveness of University Training to Meet the Requirements of the Industrialisation and Modernisation in the Country]' (Report of the Minister of Education at Hoi thao Dao tao Dai hoc by the Ministry of Education and Training of Vietnam, April, 1998).

³⁴ See the Government of Vietnam, 'Decree No.67/1998/ND-CP of September 1, 1998 of the Government to change the organisation of VNU-Hanoi, VNU-Hochiminh City, Hue University, Thai Nguyen University and Da Nang University [in Vietnamese]'; and 'Decision No.201/199/QD TTg of October 12, 1999 of the Prime Minister to withdraw two education universities from two national universities [in Vietnamese]', in the Lawdata of the Office of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, <http://vietlaw.gov.vn/LAWNET/index.html> (accessed on November 1, 2008); and the Government of Vietnam, 'Decree No.07/2001/ND-CP on the VNUs of February 1, 2001 [in Vietnamese]', in the Administration Office, University of Social Sciences and Humanities, VNU-Hanoi.

Government control and economic pursuits resulted in tensions and conflicts within higher education which added to its complicated development. Universities and colleges had conflicting functions. One function was the teaching of Marxism, Leninism and Ho Chi Minh thoughts and propaganda for the Communist Régime. The other function was to serve the people and private enterprise who were primarily concerned with good jobs, good pay and qualifications for skills and knowledge. These people were opposed the ideology teaching and treated them superficially.³⁵ This put two functions in contradiction. The profit-making function was also in conflict with teaching, for example in terms of what should be valued most in universities, money, knowledge or ethics.³⁶

As part of the shift after the 1980s, higher education became a focus of public debate which featured in daily newspapers and electronic news websites.³⁷ Public debates focused on the nature of training and research, the competence of graduates, large demands for higher education and qualifications and the small capacity of higher education in Vietnam. At the same time, the negative aspects of university education such as bribery and corruption developed and became widely known.³⁸ Public debates provided opportunities for the development of public relations for universities and academics. They were also subject to greater pressure and scrutiny. Universities in Vietnam now began to invest in a public face and public relations, which had previously not existed.³⁹

Along with the above shifts, there were periods of increases, stability and decline in the number of universities and colleges and enrolling students. This is part of the complicated development of higher education. For example, from 1921 to 1931, enrolment remained relatively the same at around 500-600

³⁵ Doan, 'Moral Education'.

³⁶ Dang, *Phat trien giao duc dai hoc trong nen kinh te thi truong*.

³⁷ See <http://diendan.edu.net.vn> for the different opinions on education in general and university education in particular.

³⁸ Tran, Thi Tam Dan 'Toan van Bao cao tham tra của Ủy ban Văn hóa, Giáo dục, Thanh niên, Thiếu niên và Nhi đồng của Quốc Hội ngày 15 tháng 11 năm 2004 [The Assessment Report of the National Assembly Committee on Culture, Education, Youth, Teenager and Children on the Government's Education Report of November 15, 2004]', *Website of Can Tho University*, www.ctu.edu.vn/~dvxe/doc/GD_TranThiTamDan.pdf (accessed June 6, 2006).

³⁹ Dang, *Phat trien giao duc dai hoc trong nen kinh te thi truong*.

students. This reflected the limit control on higher education by the French Indochina Administration in those years. Enrolments experienced massive expansion from the 1940s to the 1980s by around 145 times (from around 1,000 to around 145,000 students). From 1980 to 1985, however, enrolments reduced due to the social and economic crises. From the 1990s to 2005, there was another massive expansion in enrolment by about ten times. This was partially due to economic recovery and growth after the crisis that increased demands and resources for higher education from the middle-class people. The loosened control of the Government of Vietnam on higher education also contributed to this growth. Universities were permitted to open wide for students who could pay tuition fees themselves. Overall, higher education enrolment expanded significantly from around 500 in the 1920s to 1.3 million in 2005. Table 6.1 that follows demonstrates this.

Table 6.1 Higher education in Vietnam from the 1920s⁴⁰

Academic year	No. of higher education institutions	Enrolment	Population (approx. in millions)
1921-1922	7	525	15,5
1931-1932	10	571	17,7
1941-1942	7	1035	20,9
1955-1956	5	3,441	25,1
1975-1976	59	92,097	47,6
1980-1981	60	145,636	
1984-1985	60	124,120	59,9
1990-1991	103	144,000	
2004-2005	230	1,319,754	83,1

The complicated development of higher education in Vietnam lends support to Altbach's thesis on higher education in post-colonial Asia. He argued that the history of higher education in Asia was marked with colonial and post-colonial

⁴⁰ Higher education data for 1921-1942 were from Trinh, *L'école française en Indochine*; data for higher education in 1975-1985 were from Vu et al., *Giao duc Viet Nam: Doi moi va phat trien dien dai hoa*; data for 1990-1991 were from Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*; Data for higher education in 2004-2005 were from the Ministry of Education and Training of Vietnam, *Education Statistics*, <http://www.edu.net.vn/Data/ThongKe/> (accessed October 10, 2006); and data on the population from 'Dan so Vietnam: van hoi va thach thuc [Vietnamese Population: Opportunities and Challenges]', *Communist Party of Vietnam Online Newspaper*, November 9, 2007, http://www.cpv.org.vn/tiengviet/danso/details.asp?topic=52&subtopic=150&leader_topic=&id=BT9110759643 (accessed November 28, 2008).

institutions. If colonial institutions bore the impositions of European colonial powers, the post-colonial institutions were subject to the control and manoeuvring of post-colonial governments. Universities and colleges suffered from resource shortages. Academics suffered from high workloads and low morale and low pay. The expansion of higher education aggravated these problems because this expansion imposed further demands, both in qualitative and quantitative terms, on the already overloaded and impoverished higher education system.⁴¹ The complicated development of higher education in Vietnam also confirmed the changing nature of university development that occurred worldwide, as the literature has well documented.⁴²

Influencing factors

Power shifts have been a major factor contributing to the complicated development of higher education in Vietnam. Particularly, shifting power relations, including changes in power régimes and power forces, led to changes of influence of power régimes and power forces on universities and colleges. For example, when French Indochina broke apart and Vietnam as a country regained its independence, the French Colonial Régime ceased to exist and so did their own higher education institutions which were colonial in nature. National régimes created their own higher education institutions and brought to these institutions nationalist values and practices, such as the use of Vietnamese as the official language of instruction and the promotion of nationalism.⁴³ When the Hanoi Régime unified Vietnam under its force in 1975 and the Saigon Régime failed, the Hanoi Régime replaced the existing higher education system in the South by its own system designed with socialist and

⁴¹ Altbach, Philip G. 'Twisted Roots: The Western Impact on Asian Higher Education', *Higher Education* 18, no. 1 (1989): 9-29; and Altbach, Philip G. 'The Past and Future of Asian Universities: Twenty-First Century Challenges', in *Asian Universities*, Altbach and Umakoshi, 13-32.

⁴² See for example Eisenmann, Linda and Hutcheson, Philo A. 'A Conversation: Historiographic Issues in American Higher Education', *History of Education Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (1999): 291-4; and Patterson, Glenys *The University: From Ancient Greece to the 20th Century* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1997).

⁴³ Vu et al., *Mot the ky Phat trien va Truong thanh*.

communist values. These values undermined scientific development in universities.⁴⁴

After the economic and social crisis in Vietnam in the 1980s and the disintegration of the group of socialist countries in Eastern Europe, the Vietnam Communist Régime had to seek relations, both political and economic, with non-socialist countries, particularly those in Western Europe, North America, and Asia Pacific.⁴⁵ Along with this process, higher education in Vietnam faced competition from higher education in these regions because they attracted students with promises of international qualifications instead of the poor quality training at home.⁴⁶ This resulted in efforts to develop internationally-ranked universities or higher education programs which were comparable to those in advanced regions with international languages of instruction, for example English or French but not Vietnamese.⁴⁷ This was a reversal of the nationalist shift in which the language of instruction changed from French to Vietnamese in the 1950s.⁴⁸

Changing economic relations were another factor that influenced higher education in Vietnam. The war and economic poverty in the country led to prolonged resource shortages and poor infrastructure in higher education institutions. This, in turn, contributed to the poor quality of teaching and learning and scientific development.⁴⁹ The social and economic crisis in the 1980s intensified these problems. This crisis impoverished academics in universities and colleges and forced academics to undertake extra jobs to increase their incomes.⁵⁰ Social and economy recovery in the 1990s led to improvement in

⁴⁴ Vu, Cao Dam *Suy nghi ve Khoa hoc va Giao duc trong Xa hoi duong dai Viet Nam* [Some Thoughts on Sciences and Education in Vietnamese Contemporary Society] (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Khoa hoc va Ky thuat, 2007).

⁴⁵ Brown, Frederick Z. 'Vietnam since the War (1975-1995)', *Wilson Quarterly* 19 (1995): 64-84; and Wright, Sue 'Language Education and Foreign Relations in Vietnam', *Language policies in education: Critical issues* (2002): 225-44.

⁴⁶ Cohen, Margot 'It Pays to Learn', *Far Eastern Economic Review* 164, no. 9 (2001): 22; and Pettus, Ashley S. 'Vietnam's Learning Curve', *Far Eastern Economic Review* 157, no. 33 (1994): 36.

⁴⁷ Cohen, Margot 'Open Minds Open Doors', *Far Eastern Economic Review* 165, no. 30 (2002): 28.

⁴⁸ Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*.

⁴⁹ Nguyen, Pham, and Sloper, 'Physical Facilities'.

⁵⁰ Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*.

higher education infrastructure and other resources. Resources came from the government's increased budget and foreign aid.⁵¹ Resources also came from middle-class people who had more finance and resources for university education and an increase in demand for it.⁵² All these factors worked to improve the life of the academics and the quality of teaching and learning.⁵³

Among power and economic relations, power régimes had a key role in the changes inside higher education in Vietnam. They enacted major changes and provided resources for them. For the Indochinese University and other schools of higher education before 1945, French Indochinese Governors and their administrators were the designers and controllers who implemented various changes to these colonial institutions.⁵⁴ The Vietnam Communist Government played the same role in universities and colleges in Vietnam after 1975. Major government-led changes included with reorganisation of the Southern higher education system and the loosening of control of higher education as a whole in the 1980s.⁵⁵

The influence of changing power and economic relations on higher education development featured throughout its history and this was well documented in the literature. Patterson, for example, found that universities prospered with economic growth, and were in ruin during wars and economic poverty and recessions. She also found that throughout the history, the powerful, for example, the Church in Europe in the Middle Ages, or states in Modern Europe, manipulated universities for their power targets.⁵⁶ In the case of Asian universities, Albatch found that European colonial powers imposed their academic models and languages on higher education in Asia but did not allow autonomy and academic freedom. Following national governments also had strong power over higher education systems in Asia.⁵⁷ The development of

⁵¹ Vu et al., *Giao duc Viet Nam: Doi moi va phat trien hien dai hoa*.

⁵² Dang, *Phat trien giao duc dai hoc trong nen kinh te thi truong*.

⁵³ Vu et al., *Giao duc Viet Nam: Doi moi va Phat trien Hien dai hoa*.

⁵⁴ Kelly, *French Colonial Education*; and Trinh, *L'école française en Indochine*.

⁵⁵ Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*

⁵⁶ Patterson, *University: from Ancient Greece*.

⁵⁷ Albatch, 'Past and Future of Asian Universities'.

higher education in Vietnam universities provided further support to this conclusion of Altbach.

With power and economic shifts and power régimes as key external factors that influenced higher education, academics played a decisive role in changes to higher education. They and their ways of life worked to transform influence from outside higher education into the higher education itself.⁵⁸ For example, while various post-colonial régimes in Vietnam advocated the use of Vietnamese as the language of instruction instead of French after the 1950s, Vietnamese scholars had prepared required conditions for this usage from the 1900s, such as the translation of foreign language teaching materials into Vietnamese and the preparation of language dictionaries. They actively used Vietnamese in their teaching after the French Indochinese Administration was overthrown in 1945. The scholars also engaged in teaching students about nationalism, for example, through the history of Vietnam.⁵⁹ In this way, they worked to turn higher education from colonial to nationalist in nature.

Under the Communist Régime, university teaching staff accepted and embraced socialism and communism along with other government policies, and this worked to fulfil the functions of higher education that this Communist Régime assigned to them. These were to train socialist human resources and to contribute to the socialism construction in Vietnam.⁶⁰

From the 1980s, university officials and staff embraced economic values and pursuits. They implemented the adjustment of universities to the economic shift

⁵⁸ Bourdieu, Pierre *Homo Academicus*, trans. Collier, Peter (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988).

⁵⁹ Among these academics were Pham Dinh Ai, Dao Duy Anh, Nguyen Duong Don and Hoang Xuan Han see Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*; Phan, Huy Le 'Gs. Dao Duy Anh: Nha su hoc va Van hoa lon [Prof. Dao Duy Anh: A Big Historian and Culturalist]', in *100 chan dung Mot the ky Dai hoc Quoc gia Ha Noi* [Portraits of One Hundred VNU-Hanoi Related People in a Century], ed. Ban chinh tri va cong tac hoc sinh sinh vien DHQG Hanoi (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội, 2006), 16-23.

⁶⁰ Nguyen, Duy Trinh 'Nhiem vu va Phuong huong cua ke hoach 5 nam lan thu nhat phat trien nen kinh te quoc dan (1961-1965). Bao cao bo sung tai Dai hoi dai bieu toan quo clan thu III do dong chi Nguyen Duy Trinh trinh bay, ngay 7-9-1960 [Tasks and directions of the first five-year plan on national economic development (1961-1965), Supplemental report at the III National Congress of Communist Party of Vietnam on September 7, 1960]', in *National Congress Documents*, by Communist Party of Vietnam http://www.dangcongsan.vn/tiengviet/tulieuvankien/vankiendang/details.asp?topic=191&subtopic=8&leader_topic=220&id=BT990537150 (accessed October 27, 2008), para. 237.

of the country. In the shift from a centralised, government-controlled system to a market-oriented system, the government allowed people to own and run businesses and compete with each other and with state-owned enterprises for profits. Universities could have relations with individuals and non-state groups and perform activities for them in return for resources. They accepted fee-paying students along with state-supported ones. They developed various programs to cater for the growing demands of the population, enterprises and even the state. These included, for example, in-service training, and short courses and certificates. Universities even became involved in money-making activities, such as importing or producing goods or services and selling them to make money.⁶¹

The literature on higher education worldwide provided similar findings about the role of academics in the development of universities and colleges under an external influence. Pan, for example, pointed out that academics in Tsinghua University in China actively adopted and made use of the Chinese Government's policies in order to gain government funding and preferential treatment.⁶² Clark provided examples of European universities that transformed themselves and became entrepreneurial and engaged in businesses in order to exist and survive when governments cut funding.⁶³

VNU-Hanoi in the literature

As part of contemporary higher education in Vietnam, VNU-Hanoi shared its complicated development which was caused by significant changes in itself and its external relations. Hanoi University, Hanoi University of Education (set up in 1956) and Hanoi University of Foreign Language Education (set up in 1967) were three founding institutions that constituted VNU-Hanoi in 1993. VNU-Hanoi

⁶¹ Dang, *Phat trien giao duc dai hoc trong nen kinh te thi truong*; and Pham and Fry, 'Universities in Vietnam'.

⁶² Pan, Su-Yan 'Economic Globalization, Politicocultural Identity and University Autonomy: The Struggle of Tsinghua University in China', *Journal of Education Policy* 21, no. 3 (2006): 245-66.

⁶³ Clark, Burton R. 'Collegial Entrepreneurialism in Proactive Universities', *Change* 32, no. 1 (2000): 10-9.

thus experienced that part of the history of Vietnamese higher education from the 1950s until now.

The existing accounts of VNU-Hanoi, however, did not provide deep insights into the changes that took place inside this university and how these changes occurred. Historical accounts, for example, those of Le and Vu et al., provided chronological descriptions of celebrative events, such as the government's decisions to set up or reorganise the university.⁶⁴ There were descriptions of key individuals and their actions, for instance, the national leaders who visited the university, or university professors and students who received scientific awards and social awards. There were also statistics that highlighted achievements, for example, increases in the number of students and staff and resources. Yet, these accounts provided little about academics and their way of life and work inside the university. These accounts mentioned little about interactions among academics under external influence. Vu et al. described academics of VNU-Hanoi as a united, homogeneous community with no conflicts or differences. This community always worked hard to fulfil the functions which the Communist Government had assigned to the university.⁶⁵ As a result, this account attributed major changes in the university to related government policies which served as guidance, and to the academic community as a whole who followed this guidance. McHale provided a detailed account of the life of Tran Duc Thao, a philosopher who worked in Hanoi University in the 1950s and was removed and paralysed by the Communist Government in the following period. This account provided valuable insights into the life and work of Tran Duc Thao and other individuals involved within and outside Hanoi University under state control.⁶⁶

Like other historical studies, however, no theoretical framework was developed or adopted to illuminate the historical development of this university. This was because these accounts followed an historiography style of writing which

⁶⁴ Le, *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam*; and Vu et al. *Mot the ky phat trien va truong thanh*.

⁶⁵ Vu et al. *Mot the ky phat trien va truong thanh*.

⁶⁶ McHale, Shawn 'Vietnamese Marxism, Dissent, and the Politics of Postcolonial Memory: Tran Duc Thao, 1946-1993', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 1 (2002): 7-31.

tended to be descriptive with no theoretical framework for interpretation.⁶⁷ These accounts also lacked the voices of participants in the university's development process. They combined mainly their authors' observations and secondary materials such as government decisions and published books and news articles. Archive evidence has not been examined in full.

These issues were explored in social studies that used VNU-Hanoi as a case study. Dao, for example, focused on the social movements of academics inside a part of VNU-Hanoi, the University of Social Sciences and Humanities, and found that movements of academics were shaped by economic and scientific relations that existed in this member of VNU-Hanoi and in the environment.⁶⁸ Nguyen examined a case in which the university directorate tried to abandon the year-based training and adopt the credit-based training in the university and how academics reacted to this change.⁶⁹ Nguyen found that academics were opposed this change and voiced their criticisms. They were slow to implement the designed plan for change and, in this way, hindered the change process.⁷⁰ These studies adopted social theories: theories of social movements in case of Dao, and organisation theories in case of Nguyen to explain changes inside the university. They provided insights into academics and their interactions inside the university in its relations with the environment. However, these studies focused on the university at present. They paid insufficient attention to the history of the university as a whole and how previous development contributed to the current state. Social surveys, statistics and in-depth interviews were the main methods of data collection in these studies. There was little or no attention

⁶⁷ Rothblatt, Sheldon *The Modern University and Its Discontents: The Fate of Newman's Legacies in Britain and America*, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and Silver, Harold "'Things Change but Names Remain the Same": Higher Education Historiography 1975-2000', *History of Education* 35, no. 1 (2006): 121-40.

⁶⁸ Dao, Thanh Truong 'Di dong xa hoi cua can bo khoa hoc Truong Dai hoc Khoa hoc Xa hoi va Nhan van, Dai hoc Quoc gia Hanoi [Social Movements of Scientific Staff at University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi]' (master's thesis, University of Social Sciences and Humanities, VNU-Hanoi, 2004).

⁶⁹ Nguyen, Thi Kim Nhung 'Qua trinh chuyen doi cua to chuc: Su khang cu va thich ung (Nghien cuu trong hop ap dung mo hinh tin chi o Truong Dai hoc Khoa hoc Xa hoi va Nhan van, Dai hoc Quoc gia Ha Noi [Organisational Transition: Resistance and Adaptation - a Case Study into the Application of Credit-based Training at University of Social Sciences and Humanities, VNU-Hanoi]' (Students' research report, Faculty of Sociology, University of Social Sciences and Humanities, VNU-Hanoi, 2007).

⁷⁰ Ibid.

paid to historical methodology and historical materials such as archive evidence.

The literature, therefore, has three significant gaps in terms of the historical development of VNU-Hanoi. These are: (1) the lack of insights into the life and work inside VNU-Hanoi; (2) the inadequate theoretical explanations for the university's historical development; and (3) the absence of observations and viewpoints of those people involved. These gaps formed the justification for this study.

Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the history of higher education in Vietnam. Through the details presented in the chapter, it became clear that this history was complicated with many significant developments. This reflected the changing nature of Vietnam society, particularly in terms of power and economy, and the response of universities, colleges and academics toward these changes. The literature on VNU-Hanoi, however, has not captured the interactions between the following three factors: individuals, groups and their relations in the university. This study was to fill in these gaps.

CHAPTER 7

VNU-HANOI'S DEVELOPMENT: FROM 1956 TO THE 1970s

Introduction

This chapter analyses the development of VNU-Hanoi from 1956 to the 1970s based on archival and interview evidence. The chapter draws on the key construct of the university as a field and the intersectionality of the two concepts of habitus and capital.¹ As documented in Chapter 1, there are three primary research questions that have underpinned this project:

1. What developments has VNU-Hanoi experienced?
2. How have these developments taken place?
3. How can the historical development of VNU-Hanoi be theorised?

In this chapter, I argue that, as a field, VNU-Hanoi in its early formation reflected the conditions and changes in the field of power and the field of intellectuals in the North of Vietnam from 1954 to the end of the 1970s. The university depended on the government. Power relations inside the university changed in line with the power struggles in society. Along with these there were changes in the effective forms of capital and habitus of VNU-Hanoi staff. Still, this formation of VNU-Hanoi demonstrated a trend in the field to distinguish itself from other surrounding fields by its claims for training in certain specialisations that the chapter will detail.

Establishment in 1956

As with any other social field, VNU-Hanoi developed from its historical contexts. Hanoi University, Hanoi University of Education (set up in 1956) and Hanoi University of Foreign Language Education (split from Hanoi University of

¹ Bourdieu, Pierre *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Johnson, Randal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Bourdieu, Pierre 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices', in *The Blackwell Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed. Elliott, Anthony (Malden: Blackwell, 1999), 107-18; and Bourdieu, Pierre 'The Forms of Capital', in *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Sociology of Education*, ed. Ball, Stephen J. (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 15-29.

Education in 1967) were three founding institutions that constituted VNU-Hanoi. Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education founded in the context of Hanoi and the North of Vietnam after 1954: France and the France-supported Bao Dai Government withdrew from the North of Vietnam and the Communist Government took control of Hanoi and the North of Vietnam. This power transition was demonstrated in the establishment of Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education. Particularly, the Communist Government set up these universities to replace the former Hanoi University. France and the Bao Dai Government developed this university from the Indochinese University and moved it to the south in 1954. A Ministry of Education report in 1954 summarised this situation as follows:

In taking over the liberated capital, the government tried to revive universities. Though campus and laboratories were not destroyed, the reviving had many difficulties in many other aspects:

1- A majority of professors, office staff and some students were persuaded to move to the South;

2- Most documents, office instruments and machines for medicine and sciences were taken away by the opposition régime.

3- The Vietnam Student Hostel was destructed by the opposition régime... and needed repairs

... (in two months) a new university system was set up.²

This is verified by the following as described by one research participant:

By the end of 1954, the resistance against France achieved victory. We [Communist Government] returned to Hanoi. We received all infrastructures that France and the Bao Dai Régime left. In terms of universities, there was the French-Vietnamese University (or Hanoi University) which consisted of some schools... When they [France and the Bao Dai Régime] withdrew [to the South], they brought with them these schools. This included part of teaching staff, materials and students but not the campus. Therefore, we received the campus and part of students and staff who stayed in Hanoi.

...

Our policy in receiving [the infrastructure and staff of France and the Bao Dai Régime] was to create stability as soon as possible but not create disturbances.³

² 'Bao cao cua Bo Giao duc ve Tinh hình Nén Giao duc Cao dang Vietnam tu thoi Pháp thuoc den nam 1954 [Report of the Ministry of Education on Higher Education in Vietnam from French Colonial Era to 1954]', in Phong Bo Giao duc 2380, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam, 5-6.

³ Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

The Communist Government established Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education as part of its effort to establish the Communist Régime in the North. This government, however, had to make use of the existing infrastructure. It employed people who worked for France and the Bao Dai Régime and stayed in the North after 1954. This was not only because these people were of use to the government but also because their presence worked to assure society of a peaceful power transition. The Communist Government pursued this policy to generate support from the population in a peaceful unification of Vietnam. Such reason was stated in a policy document of the Communist Party of Vietnam in 1954 as follows:

Given the new situation in the country and the world, the Conference [of (extended) Central Steering Committee of Communist Party] absolutely agree with the direction proposed by President Ho Chi Minh and the Politburo: to use negotiation to re-establish peace in Indochina.... Our slogan is: Peace, Unification, Independence, Democracy. In order to realise this slogan, we should strengthen the farmer-worker coalition, unify other people's strata, utilise scholars who love the country, love peace and democracy, establish a wide front against imperialist United States, warlike France and their disloyal Vietnamese agents.⁴

This direction of peaceful negotiation guided the five-year plan of the Communist Government. According to the report of the Ministry of Education in 1954, this plan included reconstruction of the North from 1955 to 1956 when a general election was supposed to take place in both the North and the South (which later proved not)⁵:

Based on the five-year plan that the government has just put forward to revive and construct the nation, Ministry of Education also set up a five-year plan to develop colleges and professional schools. This plan has two phases:

1- The first phase (1955-1956) to revive the North and with attention to the South, and to prepare for the next phase.

⁴ 'Hoi nghi Ban chap hanh Trung uong lan thu sau (mo rong) tu ngay 15 den ngay 17-7-1954 [The Sixth Conference of (extended) Central Steering Committee of Communist Party July 15-17, 1954]', in Tu lieu ve Dang [Documents of the Party], *Communist Party of Vietnam Online Newspaper*, <http://www.dangcongsan.vn/details.asp?id=BT3180662745> (accessed January 30, 2009), para. 12-13.

⁵ Nguyen, Quang Ngoc *Tien trinh Lich Su Vietnam* [Vietnam Historical Process] (Hanoi, Vietnam: Nha xuat ban Giao Duc, 2006).

*2- The phase of three following years (1957-1958-1959) to develop and construct the whole country, after the unification.*⁶

Accordingly, the two universities took over the campus of the former Hanoi University and some of its students and staff. There were also students and staff from some higher education institutions that the Communist Government developed during the war from 1946 to 1954. These people moved to Hanoi after 1954. This was shown on the list of professors, lecturers and assistants in the school year 1954-1955 by the Ministry of Education.⁷ This is supported by interview evidence:

*During the resistance against France, we [the Communist Régime] developed higher education schools in our control areas... When we moved to Hanoi, we moved these schools to Hanoi and merged them with the former University of Hanoi. These later formed Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education.*⁸

In addition, the Communist Government relied on some French-educated professors in design and set up the two universities. These professors followed the Communist Government during its resistance against France. Some of them attended meetings of the Ministry of Education in 1954 on construction of universities. As showed in the minutes of these meetings, they included, for example, Dang Thai Mai, Hoang Xuan Nhi, Nguyen Manh Tuong, Nguyen Xien, Tran Duc Thao, and Le Van Thiem.⁹ This was understandable as these professors had the cultural capital necessary for the universities. This consisted of the expertise and qualifications for setting up and operating universities, as the minutes of one of the meetings stated:

On November 27, 1954 at 8 a.m. ministers of education, health, legislation, industry and commerce, propaganda, university professors

⁶ 'Bao cao cua Bo Giao duc ve Tinh hình Nén Giao duc Cao dang Vietnam tu thoi Phap thuoc den nam 1954 [Report of the Ministry of Education on Higher Education in Vietnam from French Colonial Era to 1954]', 8.

⁷ 'Danh sach giao su, giang vien va tro ly cua cac trung dai hoc nien khoa 1954-1955 [List of University Professors, Lecturers and Assistants in The School Year 1954-1955]', in Phong Bo Giao duc 1120, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam.

⁸ Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

⁹ 'Bien ban cac buoi hop cua Bo Giao duc nam 1954 ban ve van de xay dung nén dai hoc [Minutes of Meetings of the Ministry of Education in 1954 on Construction of Universities]', in Phong Bo Giao duc 2385, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam.

and some scholars in Hanoi Capital met at the Ceremonial Room of Ministry of Education to discuss on universities.

...
Minister of Education said the purpose of the meeting is to exchange ideas to find a direction to develop and organise new universities.¹⁰

A research participant explained this further, as follows:

[the professors] because they were talented, they were assigned tasks and responsibilities. For example, Mr. Nguy Nhu Kon Tum was the university rector. Mr. Dao Van Tien was the dean of faculty. They did professional jobs. They taught students, wrote books, and carried out research. They contributed opinions to such issues as student intake quantities and school opening.¹¹

The intentions of the professors and the government in the design of Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education differed. The government wanted to use universities to train its staff and advocated professional training in universities only. The professors wanted universities that provided the basic sciences with research which contributed to the development of sciences and humanities other than professional training schools. The advocacy for research and science development was part of the professors' habitus which could be attributed to what they learnt from French universities, according to Bourdieu.¹² These differences in intention were recorded in the minutes of one of the meetings on higher education of the Ministry of Education in 1954, as follows:

The discussion by Mr. Le Van Giang [Director of Professional Education Department, Ministry of Education] clearly pointed out that construction of specialised-based higher education is the basic direction of people's republic countries and socialist countries... The focus was (on required work forces: Medicine, Pharmacy, Teacher Training, Economics and Finance... other needs).

...

Prof. Nguyen Manh Tuong:

- *University and professional education should be in harmony*
- *Students should be guided into research*
- *Professors should attach profession and research...*

...

Prof. Tran Duc Thao:

¹⁰ Bien ban hop ban ve van de dai hoc ngay 27-11-1954 [Minutes of Meeting on Universities on November 27, 1954], in Phong Bo Giao duc 2385, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam, 1.

¹¹ Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

¹² Bourdieu, Pierre *Homo Academicus*, trans. Collier, Peter (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988)

There is a need for literature... there should be a school on literature with a research section in parallel with teaching section to provide professors with teaching topics... and contributed to cultural studies of Vietnam...

...

Prof. Le Van Thiem:

.. There are School of Medicine and Pharmacy and School of teacher Training but not other higher technical schools. We might open classes to train people in sciences, for example chemistry analysis who could work in other technical professions such as mining, food industry, water, agriculture...¹³

The above excerpt showed that the view of the Communist Government was dominant with the focus on professional training. This excerpt also pointed to the influence of “*people’s republic countries and socialist countries*” on the design of universities. According to a research participant, these countries are the Soviet Union, particularly Russia:

This [study and setup of universities] was carried out by officials of Ministry of Education who consulted with professors such as Dang Thai Mai, Tran Van Giau, Le Van Thiem... as well as Russian experts... Ministry of Education then reported to Prime Minister who forwarded it to the Politburo for approval.¹⁴

The influence of Russia on the design and establishment of Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education was evident in a plan by the Ministry of Education to request foreign aid from Russia. This plan suggested Russia could provide advisors in organisation, teaching, teaching programs and materials for universities.¹⁵ Given Russia’s influence on the Communist Régime in Vietnam from this time onward, it was understandable that state officials looked for

¹³ ‘Bien ban buoi hop ngay 1 thang 12 nam 1954 cua Bo Giao duc nam 1954 ban ve van de xay dung nen dai hoc [Minutes of Meeting of the Ministry of Education on December 1, 1954 on Construction of Universities]’, in Phong Bo Giao duc 2385, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam 1-3. The professors who participated in this meeting later taught in Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education, as shown in ‘Danh sach Can bo Khang chien, Viet Kieu va Luu dung tu Ky su va Cu nhan tro len dang giang day o Truong nien khoa 1957-1958 cua Truong Dai hoc Tong hop [List of Staff Who Worked in The Revolutionary Period, Who Are Overseas Vietnamese That Have Engineer/ Graduate Qualification or Above Who Teach In Hanoi University in 1957-1958]’, in Phong Bo Giao duc 1197, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam. Bibliographies of some of these professors are presented in *100 chan dung Mot the ky Dai Hoc Quoc Gia Ha Noi* [Portraits of One Hundred VNU-Hanoi Related People in a Century], ed. Ban chinh tri va cong tac hoc sinh sinh vien DHQG Hanoi (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội, 2006).

¹⁴ Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

¹⁵ Nguyen, Khanh Toan ‘Ke hoach xin vien tro cua nuoc ban (Lien Xo) [Plan for Request for Foreign Aid from USSR]’ of November 12, 1954, in Phong Bo Giao duc 184, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam, 1-2.

models and examples from Russian education. Moreover, it was impossible to follow the French model and obtain resources from France in the context of the opposition between this régime and France.¹⁶

The two universities reflected the intention of the government, that is, they were part of the professional training school system that the government set up in the North, as one research participant noted:

.. [the university system consisted of] a basic science university and specialisation universities which attached to respective ministries... Why education universities belonged to Ministry of Education? This was because education universities trained general education teachers.¹⁷

Training was the primary task of Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education. The timetables of these universities in 1956-1959 showed that Hanoi University provided undergraduate training in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, literature, history and geography. Hanoi University of Education provided teacher training in these sciences for general education.¹⁸ This is in accordance with one research participant's observation:

Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education that were set up in 1956 were totally different from previous schools and former Hanoi University. There were differences in terms of targets, contents, programs ... Hanoi University provided training in basic sciences, Hanoi University of Education trained teachers for general education. That was not new. Previous schools under French colonial Régime did the same thing. However, training periods increased from 2-3 years to 4 years... training programs combined French programs and Russian programs, particularly those of Moscow University...

The focus on basic sciences and research at Hanoi University was part of the professors' intention and reflected a compromise by the government towards the professors. According to a report from Hanoi University on the jobs of its graduates from 1959 to 1961, graduates from this university were to work as

¹⁶ Le, Van Giang *Lich su gian luoc 1000 nam Giao duc Viet Nam* [a Brief History of over 1000 Years of Vietnamese Education] (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Chính trị Quốc gia, 2003).

¹⁷ Interview with #3, July 12, 2008.

¹⁸ 'Tập tài liệu của Bộ giáo dục và các trường đại học về chương trình, kế hoạch học tập tại các trường năm học 1956-1957 1957-1958, 1958-1959 [Documents of the Ministry of Education and Universities on Study Programs and Plans in The School Year 1956-1957, 1957-1958, 1958-1959]', in Phong Bộ Giáo dục 2404, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam.

researchers or teachers (in higher education and general education) or could receive further training to be engineers.¹⁹

In the beginning, the composition of Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education reflected the power conditions in the North of Vietnam at the time and the domination of the Communist Régime. The list of university teaching staff in 1957-1958 showed that a majority of university professors and support staff followed the Communist Régime and supported its resistance against France from before 1954. A few others worked under France and the Bao Dai Régime and stayed in Hanoi after 1954. They were retained to work by the Communist Régime.²⁰ A report of Hanoi University in 1960 described this as follows:

When the university was just created, there were 42 teaching staff to be shared between Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education. Of these, some people were from revolutionary areas, but most of them were trained in French education system. Some staff used to work for the previous régime. And some staff just graduated from Hanoi University of Education.²¹

There were differences in terms of power among the professors who worked for the Communist Régime before 1954 and the professors who worked for France and the Bao Dai Régime before 1954. The former professors were in charge of the two universities. They contributed to their set-up as demonstrated in the minutes of meetings on university construction at the Ministry of Education in 1954.²² They were university directors, heads of faculties and included the secretary of the university's Communist Party Cell, as shown in the list of university teaching staff in 1957-1958.²³ The latter professors were constrained

¹⁹ 'Bao cao cua Truong Dai hoc Tong hop ve Tinh hình phân phối Sinh viên Tốt nghiệp từ 1959-1961 [Report of Hanoi University on Distribution of Graduates from 1959-1961]', in Phong Bo Giao duc 1364, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam.

²⁰ 'Danh sách Cán bộ Khang chiến, Việt Kiều và Lưu dụng từ Kỹ sư và Cử nhân trở lên đang giảng dạy ở Trường niên khoa 1957-1958 của Trường Đại học Tổng hợp [List of Staff Who Worked in The Revolutionary Period, Who Are Overseas Vietnamese That Have Engineer/ Graduate Qualification or Above Who Teach in Hanoi University in 1957-1958]'.

²¹ 'Bao cao thành tích 4 năm xây dựng trường của Trường Đại học Tổng hợp [Report On Achievements of Four Years of Construction of Hanoi University]', in Phong Bo Giao duc 475, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam, 1-2.

²² 'Bien ban cac buoi hop của Bộ Giáo dục năm 1954 ban về Vấn đề xây dựng nên đại học [Minutes of Meetings of the Ministry of Education in 1954 on Construction of Universities]'.

²³ 'Danh sách Cán bộ Khang chiến, Việt Kiều và Lưu dụng từ Kỹ sư và Cử nhân trở lên đang giảng dạy ở Trường niên khoa 1957-1958 của Trường Đại học Tổng hợp [List of Staff Who

and supervised. They had to be careful in their actions in order to assure the government of their faithfulness to the Communist Régime. The following excerpt from an article by a university professor reflected such a situation. He made a mistake in his chemical lab and realised he and his relatives would suffer if he was convicted of plotting against the Communist Régime:

That explosion [inside the chemical lab] did not damage much but it had such a big noise and it was easy to be condemned a destruction plan. And if this was so, at that time, for a retained worker, imprisonment would be obvious... If I run away, it meant I accepted that I had a destruction plan, and this could impact on my parents and siblings.²⁴

Besides the professors, there were support staff who carried out logistic work, for example, typists and administrators. Most support staff used to work or had relatives in the Communist Government. Many of them had low levels of education and insufficient skills for their jobs. The use of politically-qualified staff with low expertise in the government and state sectors could be explained by the need to set up the power base of the Communist Régime. This was in line with the class-struggle and also applied to the core forces of workers and farmers under the Communist Party's leadership that this régime advocated. Such policies were documented in the Communist Party documents.²⁵ This was not unique to Vietnam as the case of China demonstrated. Particularly, Richman found that the Chinese Communist Régime used to employ its workers, managers and state officials based on their political achievement and especially in times of political extremism. The consequence was that businesses and industries were not running smoothly due to poor management practices but the government had support for its social campaigns instead.²⁶ VNU-Hanoi and other universities in the North at the time had to hire more

Worked in The Revolutionary Period, Who Are Overseas Vietnamese That Have Engineer/ Graduate Qualification or Above Who Teach in Hanoi University in 1957-1958]'.²⁴

²⁴ Ngo, Quoc Quynh "'Vu No Lon" trong Phong thi nghiem vat ly gay kinh hoang toi ca Bo truong [The Big Explosion in The Physical Laboratory Frightening even The Minister]', in *Ky niem 50 nam Truong Dai hoc Khoa hoc Tu nhien* (2006), http://www.hus.edu.vn/50namTH/bai_viet/bv_nqq.htm (accessed November 10, 2008), Para.16.

²⁵ See for example, 'Hoi nghi Ban chap hanh Trung uong lan thu sau (mo rong) tu ngay 15 den ngay 17-7-1954 [The Sixth Conference of Central Steering Committee of Communist Party July 15-17, 1954]'.²⁶

²⁶ Richman, Barry M. 'Ideology and Management: The Chinese Oscillate', *Columbia Journal of World Business* 6, no. 1 (1971): 23-33.

workers to cover the jobs of these politically-qualified but low-productivity staff. A personnel report by the Ministry of Education in 1957 provided the following details of this circumstance:

Compared with the regular staff in 1956, in general, agencies and universities had sufficient staff but because the quality was too low, many agencies and universities had to employ extra staff.

...

Hanoi University had two typists in the regular staff but now had 16 typists.

...

With this much larger number of staff but the works were not fulfilled...

...

Most staff in organs and universities [of Ministry of Education] are state cadres from the South or wives or children of these people... They were often sick. They worked one day and took sick leave in three or four days. Some people had small children, from three to four children. These children were often sick in turns ... Mothers had to take leave for months to take care of their children... Because of that work results were poor... universities had to contract with workers from outside to carry out tasks inside universities... Some staff has very poor professional skills and qualifications. Some nurses do not know all names of common medicines. They use wrong medicines and cause abscesses. Accountants cannot fulfil their tasks because of their low level of education.²⁷

The above ways of working by the support staff differed from university professors. Because all university professors were French-educated their ways of working followed the model of French universities. This was despite the government's intention to adopt a Russian model. Particularly, the professors in charge taught, researched and managed their faculties. They were used to the idea that they should be leading universities and be independent in their work without the government's interference. They opposed the communist leadership inside their university and the political imposition of the Communist Régime. This was part of their habitus that they learned from French universities.²⁸ Their actions were described in the report of Hanoi University in 1960 as follows:

²⁷ 'Bao cao Tinh hình Cán bộ và Công nhân viên các Cơ quan và các Trường trực thuộc Bộ Giáo dục năm 1957 [Statistics Report on Personnel in Agencies and Universities of the Ministry of Education in 1957]', in *Phong Báo Giáo dục* 1194, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam, 3-4.

²⁸ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

At first the Ministry of Education wanted to build Hanoi University after the Russian model with two levels. The university had to fight against wrong directions of some professors who wanted to follow the university model of France (in which each faculty is a separate school, each chair is an insulated locality, preparation of programs, plans, and teaching contents was at the subjective will and capacity of each professor).

... [some professors and their disciples] always demanded professional independence and rejected the Communist Party's leadership in this aspect... They selected their assistants only on the base of their professional qualifications and did not pay attention to their political stance.²⁹

As part of their habitus the professors followed a French-style of working inside these universities. This would serve as an example to train other university staff and students of this French habitus, as one interviewee put it:

I sat in the same room as my professor, each at a separate table. Each started and finished work without any charts or cups of tea. It was a Western-style of working. If I wanted to discuss something with him, I should register in advance at the faculty office. My professor would meet students from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. every Saturday.³⁰

Moreover, despite the government's intention that the two universities were to train the state's future staff, the professors insisted on sciences and science development. A note from a Ministry of Education archival file on these universities suggested that professors lacked attention to teacher training when Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education shared location, professors and staff from 1956 to 1958:

Hanoi University controls the organisation of faculties... Faculties were shared between Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education... Students' study focused on scholarship, not skills.

...

Most professors of Hanoi University of Education worked for Hanoi University. They paid little attention to teaching skills.³¹

²⁹ 'Bao cao thanh tich 4 nam xay dung trung cua Truong Dai hoc Tong hop [Report on Achievements of Four Years of Construction of Hanoi University]', 1-2.

³⁰ Interview with #4, July 14, 2008.

³¹ 'Ghi chép về Đại học Sư phạm [Notes on Hanoi University of Education]', in Phong Bộ Giáo dục 2404, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam, 1-2.

One research participant provided more insights into this situation:

[The relationship between Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education] likes that between parents and children. As these two universities co-existed, Hanoi University overshadowed Hanoi University of Education... The location, campus, laboratories, and equipment belonged to and were managed by Hanoi University. Hanoi University of Education was like a free-rider.³²

In summary, Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education and their establishment exemplified the initiation of a field from its environment. They were founded and bore the characteristics of their contexts, particularly the power relations and intellectual relations in transition in Hanoi and the North of Vietnam after 1954. The Communist Régime controlled the power relations with influence from Russia. In the intellectual relations, French-educated people stayed dominant. The Communist Régime utilised the intellectuals as a tool to set up its domination and generate support from the population, awaiting for a general election that could bring the whole country under its control. Consequently, the university professors at the beginning assumed power over the university as an organisation and the teaching with their cultural capital which was their expertise and qualifications. These professors followed their French-trained habitus in which they claimed superiority over the university.³³ They, however, had to co-exist with the support staff with a particular form of capital: association with the Communist Régime and its core forces of farmers and workers. This confirmed Bourdieu's thesis of the linkage that universities had with the power field and the intellectual field.³⁴ Similar to the relations between the Communist Régime and the world of intellectuals in the North of Vietnam, such a state of co-existence did not last for long. They soon changed along with the development of Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education from 1956 to the 1970s.

³² Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

³³ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

³⁴ Ibid.

From 1956 to the 1970s: In early formation

The early formation of VNU-Hanoi, or the development of Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education from 1956 to the 1970s, reflected the power struggle in the North of Vietnam. In this struggle the Communist Régime used the communists and people from working-class origins to propagate itself and suppress any opposition. This began with the Land Reform that took place in 1953. This reform was to mobilise farmers to fight against landowners and consolidate and strengthen the communist party and its power base. By 1956 the Land Reform had proven to be brutal with people's trials, allegations and executions among rural populations and internal purges among communists. The Communist Party's leadership recognised these as 'serious errors', according to a resolution of the Communist Party of Vietnam.³⁵ Meanwhile, some intellectuals and artists, including some professors of Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education, openly criticised the Communist Régime and demanded democracy and better governance. This open criticism and public denouncing of the régime again was part of the French-trained habitus of the intellectuals that Bourdieu found in French academics.³⁶ According to the Hanoi University report in 1960, the professors and students expressed their ideas in the periodicals *Nhan van (Humanities)*, *Giai pham (Masterworks)*, and *Dat Moi (New Land)*.³⁷ One research participant described these activities as follows:

*They [professors] publicised their opinions on politics more, for example, on the Land Reform.*³⁸

The Communist Régime did not tolerate such opposition and suppressed it through the *Kiem thao va Chinh huan* (criticism movement) that applied to

³⁵ 'Nghị quyết của hội nghị trung ương lần thứ 10 mở rộng về công tác cải cách ruộng đất và chỉnh đốn tổ chức [Resolution of the 10th Conference of (Extended) Central Committee of Communist Party of Vietnam on the Land Reform and Organisation Consolidation] September, 1956', in Tu lieu ve Dang [Documents of the Party], *Communist Party of Vietnam Online Newspaper*, http://www.dangcongsan.vn/tiengviet/tulieuvankien/vankiendang/details.asp?topic=191&subtopic=9&leader_topic=&id=BT2090532056 (accessed January 30, 2009).

³⁶ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

³⁷ 'Báo cáo thành tích 4 năm xây dựng trường của Trường Đại học Tổng hợp [Report on Achievements of Four Years of Construction of Hanoi University]'.
³⁸ Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

artists and writers.³⁹ The Communist Government also imposed censorship on the mass media to ensure that all publications were supportive of the Communist Régime.⁴⁰

From 1957 to 1958 the government applied the criticism movement to Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education. This entailed state officials, university staff and students criticising these *Nhan van Giai pham* people and pledging their adherence to the Communist Party leadership in meetings and publications. An academic witness wrote of these meetings as follows:

*The criticising of Nhan van- Giai pham was strong in Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education and was in an organised manner... [some professors] were criticised for days... There were the Minister of Education and [other state officials] and professors from Natural Science Faculty and Social Science Faculty involved... After that, criticised professors and their disciples were disciplined... Relations between these professors and university staff, including myself, deemed terminated... It was ashamed and difficult.*⁴¹

The criticism movement in the two universities suppressed opposition and strengthened support for the Communist Régime. It also changed the classification and classification criteria inside universities.⁴² The classification was about who had control over the universities and based on what attributes or capital. Specifically, the opposing professors had expertise and qualifications. At the time they held university positions and were in charge of the social sciences and humanities in the university as shown in the list of staff who worked in Hanoi University in 1957-1958.⁴³ According to the Hanoi University

³⁹ Details of these affairs can be found in McHale, Shawn 'Vietnamese Marxism, Dissent, and the Politics of Postcolonial Memory: Tran Duc Thao, 1946-1993', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 1 (2002): 7-31. Articles of *Nhan van* and *Giai pham* Periodicals can be found in *Talawas* <http://www.talawas.org/talaDB/suche.php?res=50&rb=> (accessed January 30, 2008).

⁴⁰ 'Sac lenh cua Chu tich phu so 282-SL ngay 14 thang 12 nam 1956 [Decree No. 282-SL of the President's Office of Vietnam of December 14, 1956]', Lawdata of Office of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam <http://vietlaw.gov.vn/LAWNET/docView.do?docid=935&type=html&searchType=fulltextsearch&searchText=> (accessed January 30, 2008).

⁴¹ Nguyen, Dinh Chu 'Triet gia Tran Duc Thao "nhung ngay ay" [Tran Duc Thao the Philosopher "in Those Days"]' (paper presented at the Conference to Celebrate the 90th Birthday of Tran Duc Thao, Hanoi, Vietnam, 2006), 7-9.

⁴² Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

⁴³ 'Danh sach Can bo Khang chien, Viet Kieu va Luu dung tu Ky su va Cu nhan tro len dang giang day o Truong nien khoa 1957-1958 cua Truong Dai hoc Tong hop [List of Staff Who

report in 1960, they advocated for the priority of this expertise and qualifications in the university over propaganda and campaigns by the Communist Party, and they dared to criticise the government.⁴⁴ One research participant said that, by the end of *Nhan van Giai pham Affairs*, the government removed the opposing university professors and staff from Hanoi University and appointed them to other positions in the state sector:

*Nhan van Giai Pham affairs were around 1957-1958. Because the Land Reform had mistakes, huge mistakes, some people [intellectuals] were dissatisfied and they criticised. They overstated and had unaccepted behaviours. These led to conflicts. The government had to intervene. Some professors were not allowed to teach, but they were appointed to other suitable jobs. Some young people who were not professors were stopped. But later all of them were restored. Some became well-known professors.*⁴⁵

Communist academics took charge of the teaching of social sciences and humanities, as observed by the same research participant:

*Leaders of Communist Party in Hanoi University included Tran Van Giau [an historical and philosophy professor] and Dang Thai Mai [literature professor]. Leaders of Communist Party in Hanoi University of Education included Pham Huy Thong [historical, geographical and literature professor]... The course books on Vietnam History with Tran Van Giau as the chief editor received an award from Ministry of Education.*⁴⁶

With the support of these communist academics the Communist Government introduced and enforced political education. This included the teaching of Marxism and Leninism and the dissemination of propaganda for the Communist Régime. The political education was intended to indoctrinate academics and students with the Communist Régime's arguments and policies. These activities were evidenced in reports of VNU-Hanoi and the Ministry of Education.⁴⁷ Before

Worked in The Revolutionary Period, Who Are Overseas Vietnamese That Have Engineer/ Graduate Qualification or Above Who Teach in Hanoi University in 1957-1958]'.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ 'Bao cao thanh tich 4 nam xay dung trung cua Truong Dai hoc Tong hop [Report on Achievements of Four Years of Construction of Hanoi University]'.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ See Communist Party documents and various reports of these universities and the Ministry of Education for example, 'Bao cao thanh tich 4 nam xay dung trung cua Truong Dai hoc Tong hop [Report on Achievements of Four Years of Construction of Hanoi University]'; and 'Bao cao cua Bo Dai hoc va Trung hoc Chuyen nghiep ve Tinh hinh Nam hoc 1967-1968 va Nhiem vu Nam hoc 1968-1969 cua cac truong dai hoc [Report of the Ministry of University

the 1960s, political education accounted for 15% to 20% of undergraduate programmes, as shown in an archival record of university programmes from 1957 to 1959.⁴⁸ According to my research participants, political indoctrination was weaved into social sciences and humanities and remains until the present day.

From the time the Communist Government returned to Hanoi [1954] we had to attend to political education... In those days, life was hard with wars so people needed [political education to strengthen their thinking]. Now things changed but the amount of political education was not reduced.⁴⁹

In VNU-Hanoi today, one-fifth of the programme is spent on Marxism-Leninism... Moreover, they unified social sciences and politics. Philosophy was unified with politics. Social sciences were unified with politics. All had the colour of class struggles.⁵⁰

The removal of opposing professors was associated with the reduction of the power of university professors in general over the universities. The report of Hanoi University in 1960 stated that the Communist Party Cell was controlling the university:

The continuous fight against the above views [of opponent professors] has now achieved a total victory... In terms of organisation the university is a uniform body under the leadership of the University Directorate and Executive Committee of the Communist Party Cell in the university. Both leadership in terms of organisation and profession were unified in a system from the upper level to the lower level and had clear and concrete plan and direction.⁵¹

The above excerpt indicated that inside Hanoi University there were two official levels. As a research participant suggested, these levels were the university directorate and faculties. Faculties consisted of sections (or chairs) to which faculties assigned teaching and other related tasks:

and Professional Education on the School Year 1967-1968 and Tasks of the School Year 1968-1969 of Universities]', in Phong Phu Thu tuong 18145, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam.

⁴⁸ 'Tap tai lieu cua Bo giao duc va cac trung dai hoc ve chuong trinh, ke hoach hoc tap tai cac trung nam hoc 1956-1957 1957-1958, 1958-1959 [Documents of MOE and Universities on Study Programs and Plans in the School Year 1956-1957, 1957-1958, 1958-1959]'

⁴⁹ Interview with #7, 26 July, 2008.

⁵⁰ Interview with #9, July 31, 2007.

⁵¹ 'Bao cao thanh tich 4 nam xay dung trung cua Truong Dai hoc Tong hop [Report on Achievements of Four Years of Construction of Hanoi University]', 1.

It is still a three level system with the directorate, faculties and chairs. The director might merge or split departments in the directorate... Faculties had authorities under the direction of the university. Faculties assigned tasks to chairs, for example training. Chairs were not considered to be an administrative unit. Chairs could propose to faculties and faculties forward such proposals to the university.⁵²

The directorate managed the universities under the leadership of the Communist Party Cell in the universities. Reports by the Communist Party Cell in Hanoi University in 1960 revealed that the cell was actually managing university programs, extra-curricula activities of staff and students, for example, their involvement in social campaigns of the régime, and salaries of staff.⁵³ One report demonstrated attempts by the Communist Party Cell to control both the activities and thinking of VNU-Hanoi academics as follows:

The conference [of Communist Party Cell] agrees that propaganda tasks are the base to foster professional tasks. These two types of tasks are attached to each other. Only with political awareness could staff concentrate on professional tasks and vice versa to serve society.

The education of political awareness has two aspects:

- *General education in many forms, measures and by social activities...*
- *Education through the professional tasks where staff and students can implement political tasks... professional tasks should be attached to reality and should serve political tasks in a realistic way.*

The concrete measure is to study by heart Marxism-Leninism and attach this with social activities.

To always check and evaluate political awareness of professors as well as students through professional tasks and motivation and attitude in study.⁵⁴

One research participant pointed out that the secretaries of the Communist Party Cell in Hanoi University in the 1960s were from the military. This demonstrated a clear separation between the communists as the dominators, and the academics as the dominated in the university:

⁵² Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

⁵³ 'Tap tai lieu cua Dang bo Truong Dai hoc Tong hop ve cong tac Dang nam 1960 [Documents of Hanoi University Communist Party Cell on Communist Party's Works in 1960]', in Phong Bo Giao duc 493, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam.

⁵⁴ Trinh, Thuan 'Bao cao tong ket Tinh hình tien hanh Dai hoi Dang bo Dai hoc Tong hop [Summary Report on Conference of Communist Party Cell in Hanoi University]', in Phong Bo Giao duc 493, Hanoi, Vietnam, 2-3.

Before [1970] secretaries of the Communist Party Cell in the university were always from the military... In the 1960s people feared communist party members.⁵⁵

The Communist Party Cell carried out regular checks of the behaviour of VNU-Hanoi staff. The power base of this Communist Party Cell consisted of students and staff from working-class origins. These people had the required attributes of being communist or supportive to the communists, as the report of Hanoi University in 1960 demonstrated clearly:

In the first year [1956] only 19% of students originated from farmers and workers. Therefore the tasks of political education and learning among students met with difficulties and obstacles. By the end of the academic year, it was necessary to remove from the university some bad students who originated from exploiting class that were not re-educated.

...

Farmer and worker students were the firmest support for university construction. They were the core force in general movements and the implementation of directions and resolutions of the University Communist Party Cell and Directorate. This made the university change its intake policies. Today, a majority of students were from farmers and workers' class ... only 5% of students were from exploiting class who were selected with consideration given to their work and efforts to improve their political stance.⁵⁶

The policies to include working-class students in VNU-Hanoi were part of the Communist Régime's promotion of working-class people. Government archival documents on student intakes demonstrated that this policy by the government continued until the end of the 1970s.⁵⁷ This resembled universities in other socialist countries such as China and Russia. This was in line with their

⁵⁵ Interview with #4, July 14, 2008.

⁵⁶ 'Bao cao thanh tich 4 nam xay dung trung cua Truong Dai hoc Tong hop [Report on Achievements of Four Years of Construction of Hanoi University]', 7.

⁵⁷ See for example 'To trinh cua Bo Dai hoc va Trung hoc Chuyen nghiep va cong van cua Phu Thu tuong ve quy che tuyen sinh vao trung dai hoc, cao dang va trung hoc chuyen nghiep nam 1977 [Report of the Ministry of University and Professional Education and Correspondences of the Prime Minister's Office on The Regulations on Intake of Students to Universities, Colleges and Professional Training Schools in 1977]', in Phong Phu Thu tuong 18726; and 'Ho so ve viec to chuc thi tuyen vao cac trung dai hoc nam 1972-1973 [File ref. Organisation of University Intake Exams in School Year 1972-1973]', in Phong Phu Thu tuong 18367, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam.

communist régimes' policies to rely on the working class as their main force.⁵⁸

Some research participants provided the following insights into these policies:

The Ministry of Education suggested [to the government] and got approval for the foundational school for workers and farmers. Workers, farmers and state cadres could attend this school to prepare for the universities.⁵⁹

That was history. There were the land reform and movement against capitalists... That led to differentiation of classes and social strata. If in a state organ many staff came from the strata of landowners and capitalists, most of them would have a grudge and they might disturb or act against the organ operation and development. Therefore, the university should [recruit people from lower classes] to balance and harmonise the relations.⁶⁰

As well as regular checks, the university took severe disciplinary action against any opposition. This served as a deterrent measure to all university staff and students. The removal of opposing students and staff from VNU-Hanoi, as the above report indicated, were examples of this. One research participant said that the university continued to adopt this measure for students thereafter:

I studied in the university from October 1959 to July 1962. My class at first had 99 students. In my time, there were Nhan Van Giai Pham Affairs. Therefore, any students who spoke improperly, or did not have a clear family background, or only stole a shirt, could be removed from the university. In three years, 18 students were removed because of these.⁶¹

The threat was real and serious, as another research participant explained, and opponents of the Communist Régime suffered imprisonment or capital punishment.

... if you were condemned to be an opponent of the Communist Party, that was not simple. Like in the Land Reform, as you know, they

⁵⁸ Andreev, D.A. 'The Soviet College Student in the First Half of the 1920s: Characteristics of Self-Presentation', *Russian Education and Society* 50, no. 6 (2008): 77-90; and Fernandez-Morera, Dario 'Materialist Discourse in Academia During the Age of Late Marxism', *Academic Questions* 4, no. 2 (1991): 15-29; and Pan, Su-Yan 'Economic Globalization, Politicocultural Identity and University Autonomy: The Struggle of Tsinghua University in China', *Journal of Education Policy* 21, no. 3 (2006): 245-66.

⁵⁹ Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

⁶⁰ Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

⁶¹ Interview with #4, July 14, 2008.

*criticised you for two or three nights, they fabricated and slandered for you a criminal record. After that, you could be imprisoned.*⁶²

Consequently, the control by the Communist Party Cell in Hanoi University effectively changed the habitus of university staff. According to some research participants, they never spoke openly and publicly about their opinions, particularly those that were contrary to the régime's policies:

*People never spoke directly in meetings or public places. They whispered with each other in private conversation.*⁶³

The control by the Communist Party and the fear and self-controlled behaviours of university academics reflected the situation of intellectuals and artists in their relationship with the Communist Régime in the North after *Nhan van Giai pham Affair*. A research participant described this relationship to be in a state of distrust:

*There is distrust... The intellectuals did not trust the Régime. They experienced too many lies from the Régime... The Régime did not use intellectuals or used but not give them responsibilities and authorities.*⁶⁴

This pointed to the fact that while the Communist Régime might consider cultural capital, including knowledge, expertise and qualifications, of value, this regime found it necessary to control university academics because of their subversion. Being communist, that is, following the Communist Party and of working-class origins, was considered good for the régime. It was because these ensured the régime's domination. Understandably, being communist became an effective form of capital in VNU-Hanoi. Expertise and qualification as cultural capital had less value than before in the university. According to a research participant, university recruitment and promotions required both these forms of capital:

*To have good political stance and expertise were prerequisite conditions for recruitment and promotions in the university.*⁶⁵

⁶² Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

⁶³ Interview with #9, July 31, 2008.

⁶⁴ Interview with #1, June 29, 2008.

⁶⁵ Interview with #12, August 9, 2008.

The control of the Communist Party Cell over VNU-Hanoi, as shown in its reports in 1960, was subject to the control of the government and the Central Communist Party of Vietnam. The Communist Party Cell received directions from related ministries, including the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of University and Professional Education (which was set up in 1965 from a department of the Ministry of Education) as well as directions from the Vietnam Communist Party. This was in line with the principle of 'Communist Party as the leader' in the Communist Régime.⁶⁶ One research participant attested to this:

*In all, since the beginning, the Communist Party has been in leadership and organs of the Communist Party took care of affairs ... communists in a university or a ministry group under a unit to discuss policies on that agency's affairs. They informed and persuaded non-communists to follow and implement their decisions... That is the general principle... The Ministry had the final decision on big issues, the Communist Party in universities decided smaller issues.*⁶⁷

The leadership of the Communist Party was linked with the domination of the Communist Régime over the North of Vietnam as a whole. Development of this domination can be summarised in the Communist Régime's endeavour to make the North socialist. This was encompassed in the 1961-1965 economic and social plan which the Communist Régime devised in 1960:

...[To construct socialism] meant to combine class-struggle, the harnessing of the nature, and socialist revolution at the same time in fields of economy, politics, thoughts, culture and technology... It is necessary to use political leadership as a base, to take all efforts to improve society and people, to bring into play national love, to improve people's socialist awareness, to turn socialism into the ideology of the whole people, to fight against all manifestations of capitalism, to criticise small capitalism, to continue to erase all remnants of feudalism and other wrong ideologies; to destroy all factors that fight against socialism and people; to further and strengthen unanimous relations between

⁶⁶ See, for example, 'Hoi nghi Ban chap hanh Trung uong lan thu sau (mo rong) tu ngay 15 den ngay 17-7-1954 [The Sixth Conference of Central Steering Committee of Communist Party July 15-17, 1954]'; and 'Nhiem vu va Phuong huong cua ke hoach 5 nam lan thu nhat phat trien nen kinh te quoc dan (1961-1965). Bao cao bo sung tai Dai hoi dai bieu toan quo clan thu III do dong chi Nguyen Duy Trinh trinh bay, ngay 7-9-1960 [Tasks and Directions of The First Five-Year Plan on National Economic Development (1961-1965), Supplemental Report at The III National Conference of Vietnam Communist Party by Nguyen Duy Trinh on September 7, 1960]', in Tu lieu ve Dang [Documents of the Party], *Communist Party of Vietnam* Online Newspaper, http://www.dangcongsan.vn/tiengviet/tulieuvankien/vankiendang/details.asp?topic=191&subtopic=8&leader_topic=220&id=BT990537150 (accessed October 27, 2008).

⁶⁷ Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

*people and the state, to combine closely forces of the state and people, of the state economy and collective economy in order to further development of socialist economy and culture.*⁶⁸

*....it is necessary to propagate Marxism-Leninism and basic understanding of social sciences drawing on Marxism-Leninism among state workers and labour people in a systematic and focused way.*⁶⁹

To be socialist and to adhere to socialism meant to follow and be faithful to the leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party; to uphold and propagate Marxism and Leninism and directions of the Vietnam Communist Régime, including upholding the farmers' and workers' class-struggle; and to fight against non-communist ideologies and views in Vietnam and against the factors and forces that opposed this régime. This socialist notion was similar to what Lawrence and Pan found in China, with particular reference to universities and education. Specifically, being socialist and adhering to socialism meant to follow Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Régime and its leadership in the country at the same time.⁷⁰

In the process of making the North of Vietnam socialist, the Communist Régime outlawed activities that were non-state or non-collective. Resources, products and services were put under the state agencies or co-operatives. A co-operative was a community enterprise that produced goods and services in which people joined together and contributed funding and labour, and shared the profits. This control made the population conform to the régime because their activities and resources were under the supervision of the régime and its agents. This was similar to what happened in China and Russia which demonstrated the communist leadership's overall aim to control and develop the country according to their ideas.⁷¹

⁶⁸ 'Nhiem vu va Phuong huong cua ke hoach 5 nam lan thu nhat phat trien nen kinh te quoc dan (1961-1965). Bao cao bo sung tai Dai hoi dai bieu toan quoc lan thu III do dong chi Nguyen Duy Trinh trinh bay, ngay 7-9-1960 [Tasks and Directions of The First Five-Year Plan on National Economic Development (1961-1965), Supplemental Report at The III National Conference of Vietnam Communist Party by Nguyen Duy Trinh on September 7, 1960]', para. 91.

⁶⁹ Ibid, para. 237.

⁷⁰ Lawrence, Rod 'Education in China: Preparation for Citizenship', *Asian Affairs* 31, no. 3 (2000): 273-84; and Pan, 'Tsinghua University in China', *Journal of Education Policy* 21, no. 3 (2006): 245-66.

⁷¹ Ree, Erik Van 'Socialism in One Country: A Reassessment', *Studies in East European Thought*, no. 50 (1998): 77-117; and Richman, 'Chinese Oscillate'.

The process of making the North of Vietnam socialist further restricted the world of intellectuals and artists, who had been put under censorship since *Nhan van Giai pham* Affairs.⁷² Their restrictions were evidenced in VNU-Hanoi and other universities. Particularly, along with the direct control of the Communist Party Cell, the government imposed a number of other control measures on these universities so that they complied with and served the government's intention. Archival records on state policies on work of university staff showed that the government tried to regulate the activities of university staff. For example, in 1961, the Ministry of Education issued a guide which provided for both teaching and other tasks of university teaching staff as follows:

- 1) *The regulation on work of teaching staff in universities should cover all activities of this staff, inside and outside the universities, in terms of profession as well as social, political and union activities...*
- 2) *Each teaching staff in a university should be active in the following major tasks:*
 - *Teaching*
 - *Research (including delivery of scientific knowledge).*
 - *Labour and production (including fieldwork)*
 - *Study and self-study (education, profession, politics)*
 - *Liaison with related work units.*⁷³

From another document in this archive file it was clear that all university staff were state workers and they were to comply with the state's work regulations:

*Teaching staff in universities were state workers so in principle the policy of 8-working hours per day for state workers should apply to them.*⁷⁴

Appointment of university staff and officials rested with the government, according to the Communist Government's general personnel policies in this period. These policies worked to ensure that only people who satisfied the régime's policies could work for the state and join universities. In particular, based on its annual plan and forecast of human resource needs in the state

⁷² 'Sac lenh cua Chu tich phu so 282-SL ngay 14 thang 12 nam 1956 [Decree No. 282-SL of the President's Office of Vietnam of December 14, 1956]'

⁷³ 'De an Che do cong tac cua can bo giang day o cac truong dai hoc [Project on Policies on Teaching Staff in Universities]', in Phong Bo Giao duc 1369, 1.

⁷⁴ 'Thong tu huong dan thi hanh cac quy dinh trong ban du thao 'Che do cong tac cua can bo giang day o cac truong dai hoc' [Circular Providing Guidance on The Implementation of Policies on Teaching Staff in Universities]', Phong Bo Giao duc # 1369, 1.

sector, the State Planning Committee, in consultation with government ministries, decided on student intake quotas for higher education institutions, including universities. This process was recorded in a number of the Prime Minister's Office archival files.⁷⁵ The government appointed university graduates to vacant positions in the government and other state agencies, as shown in files on appointments of university graduates of the government and universities.⁷⁶ Moreover, ministerial reports on student intake examinations documented that the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of University and Professional Education organised student intake exams to enrol students for the universities.⁷⁷ According to some research participants, this lasted until the end of the 1970s:

Before the 1980s, the ministry [Ministry of University and Professional Education and Ministry of Education] appointed faculty deans and department heads in universities. The Prime Minister appointed directors of universities.

...

The State Planning Committee decided on appointments of every university graduate. The Ministry only proposed to this committee. For example, every year, the State Planning give detailed requirements as to the number and jobs of staff to be recruited. The Ministry just followed.⁷⁸

... the state planned, for example, to develop a work that needed a certain number of workers such as engineers and technicians... Based

⁷⁵ See for example 'Tap cong van cua cac bo, nganh ve viec xin chi tieu dao tao dai hoc trong nuoc nam 1979-1981 [Correspondences of Ministries/ Professions Ref. Asking for Domestic University Intake Quotas in The School Year 1979-1981]', in Phong Phu Thu tuong 19022; and 'Thong bao chi tieu tuyen sinh dai hoc nam 1970-1971 cua Uy ban Ke hoach Nha nuoc, Bo Dai hoc va Trung hoc Chuyen nghiep [Announcement on the Planned Intake Number of University Students in 1970-1971 of The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of University and Professional Education]', in Phong Phu Thu tuong 18251, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam.

⁷⁶ See for example, 'Bao cao cua Truong Dai hoc Tong hop ve Tinh hình phân phối Sinh viên Tốt nghiệp từ 1959-1961 [Report of Hanoi University on Distribution of Graduates from 1959-1961]'; and 'Quyết định, chỉ thị, báo cáo của Thủ tướng, Bộ Đại học và Trung học Chuyên nghiệp về tình hình phân phối học sinh tốt nghiệp năm học 1971-1972 và 1972-1973 của các trường đại học [Decisions, Instructions, Reports of the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of University and Professional Education on Appointment of Graduates and Situation of Universities in 1971-1972 and 1972-1973]', in Phong Quoc hoi 1917, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam.

⁷⁷ See for example, 'To trình của Bộ Đại học và Trung học Chuyên nghiệp và công văn của Thủ tướng về quy chế tuyển sinh vào trường đại học, cao đẳng và trung học chuyên nghiệp năm 1977 [Report of the Ministry of University and Professional Education and Correspondences of the Prime Minister's Office on The Regulations on Intake of Students to Universities, Colleges and Professional Training Schools in 1977]'; and 'Hồ sơ về việc tổ chức thi tuyển vào các trường đại học năm 1972-1973 [File ref. Organisation of University Intake Exams in school year 1972-1973]'.
⁷⁸ Interview with #1, June 29, 2008.

*on this plan, each university or college train a number of students. Graduates would be distributed to state agencies and enterprises accordingly.*⁷⁹

As well, there were efforts by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of University and Professional Education to take over the work of programme and course book preparation from university professors. This is not unique to Vietnam. Michael Apple found that the state in such countries as the United States had a vested interest in knowledge production and delivery. This was a part of their control of society.⁸⁰ Archival records showed that from 1957 the Ministry of Education organised committees to review and approve the programs of Hanoi University of Education.⁸¹ A research participant provided more details of these efforts:

*In terms of training programs...under Ministry of Education [until 1965] universities prepared their training programs. In universities, university director and professors prepared programs and there was contribution from the Communist Party Executive Committee. Under Ministry of University and Professional Training [from 1965], the ministry took more control over programme issues. This ministry organised sub-committees which consisted of university professors. These committees prepared programme frameworks and distributed these frameworks for universities. This work continued till the present.*⁸²

All along, the government continued to be the sole provider of resources, including campus and campus construction, to these universities. According to a research participant, these resources were scarce which practically limited the university's development:

At that time, the state was very poor, not as [rich] as now. Therefore state budget could only cover living conditions for university staff and study conditions for students and minimum conditions in terms of infrastructure, equipment and administration... In terms of basic construction, universities implemented. The Ministry allocated land and construction budget. The Ministry of University and Professional

⁷⁹ Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

⁸⁰ Apple, Michael W. *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

⁸¹ 'Bien ban Hoi dong xet chuong trinh Dai hoc Su pham hop tu Sau 18.1.57 hoi 14g45 tai Van phong Bo Giao duc [Minutes of Committee to Review and Approve Programs of University of Education at 14:45 January 18, 1957 in the Office of the Ministry of Education]', in Phong Bo Giao duc 2404, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam, 1-2.

⁸² Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

Education created a University Design Institute. This institute designed and involved in construction of university campuses.⁸³

Despite all the above forms of control by the Communist Régime, university professors, particularly in natural sciences, retained some power over VNU-Hanoi. This confirmed the influence of the field of intellectuals on the university-field.⁸⁴ The professors controlled teaching and research, in reality, because they played a key role in the preparation of programs, course books, and the delivery of teaching. Some research participants pointed out that the professors were slow in producing these works: some course books took 10 to 20 years to complete. In instances where no official teaching course books were available, university staff were free to determine the teaching content and the way of teaching delivery. Following Apple, this was a way of 'taking back of power' from the dominant by the dominated.⁸⁵ In this relationship, the Communist Government and Communist Party Cell were 'the dominant' and the professors were 'the dominated':

At the beginning, there were hardly any course books. Professors relied on French and Russian books in their teaching. They taught and students took notes. My professor published his first volume of a course book at the beginning of the 1970s and the second volume of that course book by the end of the 1970s. From 1954 to the 1970s, it was about 20 years.⁸⁶

At the time, my professors were excellent, but training contents were not updated. Those people who studied overseas had good advantages. Those people like me with domestic training had to study on their own very hard to be able to assume the teaching. Training contents changed.⁸⁷

The university professors' power over university teaching took root in the professors' cultural capital which remained useful in the universities. This capital included the embodied form, or expertise, of the professors and institutionalised knowledge, or their qualifications, that I previously explained. This proved Apple's finding that official knowledge, including knowledge for teaching, was the result of compromises among social groups but not what the powerful

⁸³ Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

⁸⁴ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

⁸⁵ Apple, *Official Knowledge*.

⁸⁶ Interview with #4, July 14, 2008.

⁸⁷ Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

preferred.⁸⁸ The cultural capital of university professors was recognised by society and the professors used it as a form of power against the Communist Régime. They were able to carve out a space for themselves in the Communist Régime. In particular, the focus on teaching and research helped professors to avoid involvement in communist political issues and, thus, allowed them certain freedom of work. A research participant described one of them as follows:

*Until after he passed away, I discovered that he [my professor] was very clear from the beginning: to concentrate in profession, not to attend to politics. But every year, he was introduced to be active candidates for Communist Party. Later I knew that the upper level [Ministry and Government] did not want to give him communist party membership. He did not want this either.*⁸⁹

A Ministry report in 1968 confirmed this general ignorance of political issues and campaigns by the régime among university staff and their focus on science teaching and research:

*University staff were not fully aware of the task to self-study to improve political awareness. This was demonstrated in their tendency to simply focus on profession and expertise. They did not have the conscience to train themselves in terms of political stance in an active and regular manner.*⁹⁰

University academics claimed the superiority of their professions, or expertise, which were also their capital and power in the universities. They emphasised the quality of training. They opposed the enrolment of students with working-class backgrounds which was the key capital of the communists, as one research participant observed:

*They [professors] only said how to ensure and improve quality...[they suggested] to place strict control on student intakes, not to enrol so many worker and farmer students.. They said that many worker and farmer students led to poor study result.*⁹¹

⁸⁸ Apple, *Official Knowledge*.

⁸⁹ Interview with #4, July 14, 2008.

⁹⁰ 'Bao cao của Bộ Đại học và Trung học Chuyên nghiệp về Tình hình Nam học 1967-1968 và Nhiệm vụ Nam học 1968-1969 của các trường đại học [Report of the Ministry of University and Professional Education on The School Year 1967-1968 and Tasks of The School Year 1968-1969 of Universities]', 7.

⁹¹ Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

Moreover, the professors retained part of their role in the recruitment of university lecturers. This was because they trained, selected and recommended excellent students to the government. Some ignored the criteria of communist commitment and class origin that the Communist Régime advocated. Again, this was part of the opposition and the way in which university professors reversed domination of the Communist Régime. This was opposed by the communist academics and students and the government because such actions weakened their power and domination over the university. Some research participants provided the following observations of this conflict:

In Hanoi University disputes were about how to deal with worker and farmer students. These students generally studied poorly... What should be done to help them?... Some people said we should invest in excellent students. Some others said no, workers and farmers were the core. If they studied poorly, we should provide extra tuition, not to let them out. There were two sides. One side criticised the other to be farmer and worker-ism, not to attend to talents. The other side criticised the former to be talent-ism. There were conflicts.⁹²

In the 1960s, people feared members of communist party... Some worker and farmer students had preparation courses and entered the university. During undergraduate study, we provided extra teaching to them, mainly to suggest what would be examined... That was to focus on workers and farmers... Then in Hanoi University, people disputed... They called it rightist deviationism (huu khuynh), or no attention to worker and farmer class... Perhaps farmer and worker students did not get the attention they expected from the university, and they complained.⁹³

At the time, some people thought that in order to develop an excellent body of staff, it was necessary to adopt criteria on expertise (chuyen) and they took light political and communist party requirements (hong). But some people, particularly the communists, said that expertise should take priority over politics. These were two opposing views. The first view considered that a person who was excellent should be recruited regardless of his family background such as landowners or capitalists. The second view considered that the university should draw on the working class.⁹⁴

The conflict culminated in the 1968-1969 affair. There were meetings and discussions within Hanoi University and, again, the government's intervention.

⁹² Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

⁹³ Interview with #4, July 14, 2008.

⁹⁴ Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

According to research participants who witnessed these events, a compromise solution was reached: staff should be recruited based on good study results and acceptable political stance and family background:

To solve the problem, Pham Van Dong [Prime Minister] and officials from the Propaganda and Education Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, including To Huu, had to intervene. From Ministry of University and Professional Training, the Communist Party Cell and Youth Union had to involve as well. The solution was by mediation. We advised the extremists. We criticised both talent-ism and worker and farmer-ism. It was necessary to attend to both farmers and workers and talents in a moderate way. Gradually, things settled.⁹⁵

Around 1967-1968, University of Hanoi held hundreds of meetings among the university staff and university communists, nearly everyday but we could not find out the cause of rightist deviation...The situation was tense... Finally university staff was gathered at University of Polytechnics. A state official concluded that rightist deviation was the conclusion of the Communist Party. If communist party members did not recognise this, they would be against the party. If non-communist staff did not recognise this, they would be disciplined... After that people stopped.⁹⁶

Advocators of expertise view were moved out of the university. They failed because there were a small number of people who supported this view. Some of these people stayed. After a while, conflicts stopped and a compromise was reached among opposing views [expertise and politics].⁹⁷

The above change to staff recruitment criteria constituted a change to the academics' habitus in VNU-Hanoi. This applied because the government enforced the criteria through its involvement in student enrolment and staff recruitment. Academics who were recruited to the university after the 1960s not only pledged adherence to the Communist Régime. They were to act as advocates of the régime, as a research participant observed:

A majority of our staff were graduates from our university... These graduates had excellent study results and good ethical and political attributes... Related staff observed them along their study and recommended them... In the past, the ministry was in charge of staff recruitment. The ministry [Ministry of Education] assigned the recruitment quota to the university. The university might recommend

⁹⁵ Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

⁹⁶ Interview with #4, July 14, 2008.

⁹⁷ Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

*candidates or ask faculties to recommend candidates and forward to the ministry.*⁹⁸

While academics might have had good ethics and a sound political stance, their scientific endeavour was not strong. Weak research, in turn, undermined the university professors' research dispositions. This was another change to the academic habitus as seen by some research participants:

*During the war, scientific research had two tasks. The first task was to improve the teaching profession, not for scientific development. The second task was to serve the war resistance.*⁹⁹

*Scientific research is not good in universities, in part due to conditions and in part due to the government... the scientific system has been separated from universities. State budget allocation has been proportionate with programme levels. State budget has concentrated at national and ministerial programs which has been difficult to be involved with. State budget allocation on explorative research has been very little. All these resulted in few research results from universities.*¹⁰⁰

The above research participant suggested that the weak development of scientific work in VNU-Hanoi was partially because the government only advocated training but not research in VNU-Hanoi. Instead, the government set up research institutes to do research that it deemed necessary. This fits with Vu Cao Dam's observation of the science and technology system in Vietnam.¹⁰¹ Because of this, there was little government funding for research in VNU-Hanoi. The war, poverty, and limited connections to the outside world also prevented university professors from conducting strong research. The following excerpt from a report of Hanoi University in 1973 described the situation as follows:

Overall, equipment of Hanoi University only meets requirements of teaching, learning and some small, short-term studies. In order to carry out larger research, the university had to use equipment from outside, which was located in research units of the central government...

...

Most of the equipment existed from 1956. Parts were added in the following years. This is like patching. The equipment lacked basic

⁹⁸ Interview with #13, August 10, 2008.

⁹⁹ Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with #1, June, 29, 2008.

¹⁰¹ Vu, Cao Dam *Suy nghi ve khoa hoc va giao duc trong xa hoi duong dai Viet Nam* [Some Thoughts on Sciences and Education in Vietnamese Contemporary Society] (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Khoa học và Kỹ thuật, 2007).

*components to form in comprehensive sets. Some equipment passed expiry dates or was damaged in the war which the university could not replace.*¹⁰²

Changes in the academics' habitus and recruitment and promotion criteria brought about new changes to the university-field. According to a research participant, the same group of communist academics occupied positions in the Communist Party Cell and the university after the 1960s. They controlled power relations in the university:

*Before [1970], secretaries of the Communist Party Cell in the university were always from the military... After [the 1968-1989 affair], this stopped. The scientists assumed this post.*¹⁰³

These university officials wielded power in the university in terms of institutional resources and activities such as infrastructure and funding, recruitment and appointment. University staff were less powerful and subject to the control of university officials. The struggle between the professors and the Communist Party Cell came to an end. Non-academic communists stopped their control over VNU-Hanoi and gave way to communist academics. These communist academics struggled to be promoted to powerful positions inside the university. Both the powerful and the less powerful in VNU-Hanoi, however, were subject to the government.

Besides the reflection of the power struggle in the North of Vietnam, VNU-Hanoi's development from 1956 to the 1970s demonstrated an evolution trend to distinguish itself from other field.¹⁰⁴ Specifically, VNU-Hanoi founding institutions claimed their tradition from their overall specialisation. Hanoi University focused on sciences, Hanoi University of Education specialised on training teachers in general education and Hanoi University of Foreign Language Education concentrated on training teachers in foreign language

¹⁰² 'Bao cao Tinh hình va Nhu cau Trang thiet bi cua Truong Dai hoc Tong hop Ha noi nam 1973 cua Bo Dai hoc va Trung hoc Chuyen nghiep [Report on The Situation and Demand for Equipment of Hanoi University in 1973 by the Ministry of University and Professional Education]', in Phong Phu Thu tuong 18394, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam, 2-3.

¹⁰³ Interview with #4, July 14, 2008.

¹⁰⁴ Bourdieu, Pierre *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990); and Bourdieu, Pierre 'The Field of Cultural Production, Or: The Economic World Reversed', in *Field of Cultural Production*, by Bourdieu ed. Johnson, 29-74.

education, translators and interpreters.¹⁰⁵ These activities all drew on the cultural capital of academics which, again, confirmed the effectiveness of this capital in VNU-Hanoi. This is clear from a number of archival records, as shown below:

*Hanoi University ... was set up in 1965 to now with the tasks of training basic research workers for the state, teaching workers in basic sciences for universities and professional high schools and teachers in general education schools.*¹⁰⁶

*[Hanoi University of Education] was the place to train teachers for high schools.*¹⁰⁷

Observations of some research participants confirmed this:

*The historical mission of Hanoi University was to construct the largest, leading training centre for basic sciences in the country.*¹⁰⁸

*Hanoi University of Education not only trained and provided scientific knowledge... the university created models of relations among teachers, students and community which guided graduates in their teaching jobs. As Prime Minister Pham Van Dong said, 'proper schools, proper classes, proper teachers and proper students'.*¹⁰⁹

The specialisation of VNU-Hanoi was partially due to the Communist Government and the war, which confirmed Bourdieu's thesis of the influence of surrounding fields on the university-field.¹¹⁰ Briefly, the Vietnam Communist Government advocated universities to be professional schools as part of its use of universities to realise its domination over the North of Vietnam.¹¹¹ This led to

¹⁰⁵ Vu, Minh Giang et al., *Mot the ky phat trien va truong thanh* [A Century of Development] (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội, 2006); and Nguyen, Quang Hoc, Le Dinh Trung and Dinh, Quang Thu *Introduction to Hanoi University of Education* (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Đại học Sư phạm, 2006).

¹⁰⁶ 'Báo cáo Tình hình và Nhu cầu Trang thiết bị của Trường Đại học Tổng hợp Hà Nội năm 1973 của Bộ Đại học và Trung học Chuyên nghiệp [Report on the situation and demand for equipment of Hanoi University in 1973 by the Ministry of University and Professional Education]', 1.

¹⁰⁷ 'Nội quy Cán bộ Công nhân viên Trường Đại học Sư phạm Hà Nội [Internal Regulation for Staff of Hanoi University of Education]', in Phong Bộ Giáo dục 1369, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam, 1.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with #13, August 10, 2008.

¹¹⁰ Bourdieu, *Economic World Reversed*.

¹¹¹ 'Biên bản các buổi họp của Bộ Giáo dục năm 1954 bàn về Vấn đề xây dựng nên đại học [Minutes of Meetings of the Ministry of Education in 1954 on Construction of Universities]'.

the government's decision to establish Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education in 1956. During the war, the universities had to move from Hanoi and other cities to mountainous and rural areas to avoid American air bombing. To ease moving, the government split the universities, particularly the big ones including Hanoi University of Education, into smaller universities. A research participant explained this as follows:

Big universities such as University of Polytechnics were to move to a number of different areas. This university split into some universities such as Mining and Geographical University, Construction University, and Architecture University.¹¹²

Specialisation of VNU-Hanoi's founding institutions had the contribution of academics inside these universities. According to a research participant, in the case of Hanoi University of Education in particular, the director pushed for separation from Hanoi University when these two universities shared a location and staff from 1956 to 1958. This was because he and his university were in a lower and dependent position in relation to Hanoi University:

In 1956, Hanoi University was in Le Thanh Ton Street [Hanoi]. Hanoi University of Education was also there. But after some time, Hanoi University of Education proposed [to the Ministry] to separate for independence. Mr. Pham Huy Thong, the director of Hanoi University of Education proposed this... around 1957-1958. It's like a grown up child wanting to live separately [from parents] to develop easily... If [Hanoi University of Education] stayed together with Hanoi University, it would be overshadowed by this university.¹¹³

Archival records of the Ministry of Education in this period also provided supportive evidence to this issue, as follows:

The problem of Hanoi University of Education and Hanoi University: From assistant lecturers downwards wanted Hanoi University of Education to have a separate organisation. Direction was not smooth from the upper level to the lower level: Directorate decisions were not based on opinions of the lower level. Faculties: meetings of faculty council were only attended by professors and chairs. Teaching staff and other staff did not attend these meetings so they were not aware of the situation...

¹¹² Interview with #3, July 12, 2008.

¹¹³ Interview with #7, July 26, 2008.

*The administrators of faculties were managed by Hanoi University...*¹¹⁴

The wish to be independent and in control was part of the habitus of French-university professors. My interview with some research participants provided support for this:

*In the war when the government split universities many deans of faculties became university directors. After that the government wanted to reorganise and put them together in a larger university but no universities accepted.*¹¹⁵

*Universities in general wanted to be closed and independent. They wanted to keep their traditions. They didn't want things that disturbed their well-being.*¹¹⁶

Obviously, VNU-Hanoi founding institutions claimed their specialised training. This distinguished themselves from other fields, particularly other universities and the government. These universities drew on these functions to assure their existence and their particular functions and ways of working. Specialisation was, therefore part, of the habitus and capital of academics and of these institutions. This is, despite the fact that the Communist Régime controlled these universities and assigned functions to them.

Conclusion

Initiated in 1956, VNU-Hanoi bore the characteristics of the context of Hanoi and the North of Vietnam in a transition stage. The Communist Government tried to establish its power over the region but had to rely on the existing physical and social structure. This structure was built by France and the Bao Dai Government in which the intellectuals played an important role. VNU-Hanoi, following its development, well reflected this power struggle. The university founding institutions were first dominated by French-educated professors with their cultural capital of expertise and qualifications and their French-trained habitus. VNU-Hanoi soon turned socialist as the Communist Régime established their domination over the university and society. Being socialist

¹¹⁴ 'Ghi chép về Đại học Sư phạm [Notes on Hanoi University of Education]', 1-2.

¹¹⁵ Interview with #3, July 12, 2008.

¹¹⁶ Interview with #2, July 2, 2008

became an effective form of capital in VNU-Hanoi, while the role of cultural capital was reduced. Accordingly, academics incorporated socialist dispositions in their habitus. Still, VNU-Hanoi claimed specialisation in certain forms of professional training as its tradition which drew on the cultural capital of academics. VNU-Hanoi, in its early formation, confirmed Bourdieu's thesis about the influence of external fields, including the field of power and the field of intellectuals on the university-field. VNU-Hanoi also demonstrated the tendency of any social field to develop and rely on its function to claim its existence and difference from its environment.

CHAPTER 8

VNU-HANOI'S DEVELOPMENT: FROM THE 1980s

Introduction

This chapter analyses the development of VNU-Hanoi from the 1980s onwards. Development started with a crisis which was part of the economic and social crisis that took place in Vietnam in the 1980s. After this crisis, the university as a field changed in its relation with its environment. Academics' habitus changed as the university engaged in income-generation activities. All along, the university consolidated its power structure. During the 1990s, the university as a field reversed a number of attempts to shape the field by the government and maintained its power structure and way of working.

Based on interview evidence and documentary evidence, this chapter argues that VNU-Hanoi's development in this period continued to be influenced by the power and economic relations and factors in Vietnam. Inside the university, academics and their interactions transformed these influences to maintain the university autonomy. The development of VNU-Hanoi from the 1990s to the present supports the argument that the university as a field has achieved certain autonomy, as the chapter will examine.

Crisis in the 1980s

After a prolonged war from the 1960s to the 1970s, the Communist Régime unified Vietnam. The country soon got into an economic and social crisis. This crisis included inflation, shortages of food, produce and consumable goods, common poverty and degradation of confidence in society. A document of the Communist Party of Vietnam in 1991 summarised the crisis as follows:

For many years since before the National Congress VI [1986], our country have got into a deep economic-social crisis, the most obvious demonstration of which was high inflation; food, produce and

*consumable goods were always in a strain condition [shortage]; the population's life was very difficult; confidence degraded...*¹

This economic and social crisis was the result of a number of factors. According to a speech by Truong Chinh, a Communist Party leader, in a Communist Party Conference in July 1986, these factors included the wars that resulted in the destruction of the country and the ill-conceived directions and policies of the Communist Party of Vietnam:

*In the past years we were subjective and hasty; we did not respect and even did to the contrary of the objective laws; and at the same time we were conservative and stagnant to maintain for too long the management mechanism that was centralised, bureaucratic and subsidised. The result was that production forces were constrained and could not develop; the labour population could not utilise their rights as the owners in reality; many people consumed but few people produced; productivity, quality and effectiveness decreased day by day; society did not have or had few products, economic flows were blocked because the market were divided into separated sections; these put the economy in prolonged difficulties with continual inflation and unstable prices; life was unstable and ethic and spiritual values were undermined; social negative issues arose.*²

In the course of the social economic crisis in Vietnam, VNU-Hanoi's founding institutions suffered from reduced activities and a disintegration threat. Specifically, the number of students that these institutions trained decreased significantly. Hanoi University of Education in 1985 reported a reduction in its full-time student intakes in the period from 1970 to 1985 as follows:

Student intakes reduced noticeably. Around 1970-1975 the university enrolled 1000-1500 student each year, then around 1000-1200. In 1979 and 1980 the university did not enrol as many students as student

¹ 'Bao cao chinh tri Hoi nghi Trung uong lan thu 11 Ban Chap hanh Trung uong Dang (khoa VI) thang 1 nam 1991 [Political Report at the 11th Central Conference of the Central Steering Committee of Communist Party of Vietnam in January, 1991]', in Van kien Dang toan tap Tap 50, *Communist Party of Vietnam Online Newspaper*, http://www.dangcongsan.vn/tiengviet/tulieuvankien/vankiendang/details.asp?topic=191&subtopic=7&leader_topic=81&id=BT68076066 (accessed February 5, 2009), 399.

² Truong Chinh, 'Bai noi tai Hoi nghi can bo nghien cuu Du thao Bao cao Chinh tri se trinh Dai hoi Dai bieu toan quo clan thu VI cua Dang ngay 10 thang 7 nam 1986 [Speech at the Conference on Draft of Political Report to Be Submitted to the VI National Congress of Communist Party of Vietnam of July 10, 1986]', in Van kien Dang toan tap Tap 47, *Communist Party of Vietnam Online Newspaper*, http://www.dangcongsan.vn/tiengviet/tulieuvankien/vankiendang/details.asp?topic=191&subtopic=7&leader_topic=81&id=BT68076066 (accessed February 5, 2009), 144.

quotas because the results of entry exams were too low. From 1981 to now student quotas reduced significantly. The university only enrolled from 300 to 500 students per year. In school year 1984-85 the university had 1456 students (first year: 379; second year: 292; third year: 246; fourth year: 539)...³

A statistics report on university training of the General Department of Statistics shows the full-time student intake of Hanoi University was 812 in 1977.⁴ According to a research participant, this number was about 100 in 1986, compared to the university' staff of over 1,000. This person suggested it was because these universities, at the time, depended on the Communist Government for resources and use of graduates. This government was in crisis. It lacked the resources to run the universities. Its positions were filled so it did not require many university graduates. Accordingly, VNU-Hanoi's founding institutions were made redundant:

At the time the state assigned a student quota of 100 students for Hanoi University to train. This university had over 1000 staff. State budget allocation was based on the student quantity. How could the university survive? How could they divide students into classes? Who would teach and who would not? By the time the State Planning Committee argued that state positions had been filled up. Graduates would not have jobs so they should not enrol more students... Universities were about to disintegrate. Like in Hanoi University, after a while, all staff would leave universities because they did not have any job and income... All universities were in that situation.⁵

The economic and social crisis in Vietnam further contributed to the redundancy of VNU-Hanoi in that it altered public attitude towards skilled jobs, universities, and academics. As the following research participant reflected, society had low opinions and demands on university education and degrees. This was because the earnings of manual labourers and workers in commerce activities became higher than the salaries of skilled state workers:

³ 'Tong ket 10 nam (1975-1985) Truong Dai hoc Su pham Ha Noi I [A Summary of Ten Years 1975-1985 of Hanoi University of Education I]', in Phong Quoc hoi 5290, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam.

⁴ 'Bao cao cua Tong cuc Thong ke ve dao tao can bo cao dang dai hoc 1977-1978 [Report of the General Department of Statistics on Staff Training in Colleges and Universities in 1977-1978]', in Phong Phu Thu tuong 18864, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam.

⁵ Interview with #1, June 29, 2008.

There was the following joke. A primary teacher asked her pupils to tell the class about their families. A girl stood up, 'my mum was a grocer'. Pupils clapped hands and cheered. Another child said 'My dad was a truck driver'...All were full of prestige. One boy hesitated for long. He was the poorest and most miserable in the class. The teacher encouraged him: 'Uncle Ho said every job was glorious. Do speak.' Other pupils also encouraged him. The boy said, 'My father was a PhD'. The whole class laughed loudly. The teacher said, 'You pupils do not laugh. We should be sympathetic towards the miserable.' This joke was funny, but it reflected the reality at the time. So what was study for? Nobody wanted to teach or study.⁶

The economic and social crisis made resource shortages in education facilities acute. A resolution of the Ministers' Council on education in 1983 commented that 'the material conditions were impoverished, life of students and teachers were full of difficulties; investment in education was too little'.⁷ According to a research participant, the situation of VNU-Hanoi staff worsened and economic concerns were overwhelming. He himself could not earn enough to support his family:

From 1977 to the end of the 1980s, the economy and life were very difficult. It was so difficult that in 1981, I did not have enough money to buy two simple toys for my two children on children's day. We struggled to sustain our living standards, but they went down day by day. My elder son only dreamt of having some bread and milk for a meal.⁸

The economic and social crisis worked to restructure the field of power and the field of economy. It fostered changes in the power relations within the Communist Party. The group who advocated reforms and market economy took power.⁹ This group sanctioned a change in the Communist Régime's policies toward Vietnam society in response to the economic and social crisis. This consisted of loosening control on all sectors of society, and specifically the economy, and permitting it to follow its own way of operation. These measures are summarised in the following statements of the Politburo in 1986:

⁶ Interview with #9, July 31, 2008.

⁷ 'Nghị quyết của Hội đồng Bộ trưởng ngày 12 tháng 7 năm 1983 về công tác giáo dục trong những năm trước mắt [Resolution of Ministers' Council of July 12, 1983 on Education in The Coming Years]', in Phong Phú Thu tuong 19428, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam, 2.

⁸ Interview with #4, July 14, 2008.

⁹ Huynh, Son Phuoc et al. *Dem truoc Doi moi* [The Night before Renovation] (Hochiminh, Vietnam: Nha xuất bản Tre, 2006).

The strategic direction is to change from bureaucratic centralisation to socialist calculation and business, that is, to take a step from the control of the economy by subjective, directing method to the control mainly through application of objective economic laws (including economic laws of socialism and economic laws of planned socialist good production).¹⁰

The restructured economy and politics, in turn, reshaped the VNU-Hanoi-field. In particular, the government changed its form of controls over universities. The action plans of the Ministry of University and Professional Education specified that this ministry set up personnel criteria and procedures for universities to follow in recruitment and appointment of university officials and staff.¹¹ This new form of control over university personnel was looser compared with the previous form of control in which the government directly appointed staff and officials in the universities. The new criteria and procedures included certain powers for university staff and officials in the recruitment and appointment process. A report of the Ministry of Education in 1991 reported this as follows:

The biggest success ... is that there is a democratisation programme in place in schools with specific and realistic contents; election of university directors was implemented for the first time with good result and election of managerial posts in faculties and chairs was made regular and in an orderly manner... All these policies contributed to create a relative stability in terms of teaching and management staff in universities and colleges. These works positively increased the activeness and self-control of schools and created motivations for university staff and officials so they received responses from many schools.¹²

One research participant provided more insights into these changes. He said that the government involved university staff in the selection and appointment of their director by direct ballot or opinion polls. The government granted more power to university directors in their management of universities. This was the

¹⁰ Ket luan cua Hoi nghi Bo Chinh tri ngay 27 thang 1 nam 1986 do dong chi Truong Chinh trinh bay [Conclusion of The Politburo's Meeting on January 27, 1986 Presented by Truong Chinh], in Van kien dang toan tap Tap 47, *Communist Party of Vietnam Online Newspaper*, http://www.dangcongsan.vn/tiengviet/tulieuvankien/vankiendang/details.asp?topic=191&subtopic=7&leader_topic=81&id=BT68076066 (retrieved February 5, 2009), 13.

¹¹ The Ministry of University and Professional Training of Vietnam, 'Phuong huong, Muc tieu Chuong trinh hanh dong 1987-1990 [1987-1990 Directions, Targets and Action Plans]', *Tap chi Dai hoc va Giao duc Chuyen nghiep* (1987): 1-82.

¹² The Ministry of Education and Training of Vietnam, 'Bao cao tong ket thuc hien 3 Chuong trinh hanh dong cua Nganh Dai Hoc (1987-1990) [Summary Report on Implementation of the Three Action Plans of Universities 1987-1990]' (The Ministry of Education and Training of Vietnam, January, 1991), 21.

result of a struggle between the Minister of Education and officials in the Ministry of Education, as well as between this minister and the Prime Minister. The Minister of Education wanted to give more power to university officials but ministry officials did not. Ministry officials finally acceded to the Minister of Education. University directors, therefore, assumed a key role in the universities and in their relations with the government. According to this participant, university staff and officials welcomed this opportunity to take control of their universities:

The Prime Minister used to appoint university directors and vice directors. Ministry of Education appointed deans of faculties and heads of departments in universities... In late 1980s, Minister of Education permitted university directors to directly appoint their deans of faculties and heads of departments. This decision was at first opposed by ministry officials who argued that they had difficulties in managing the university. They had to accept this finally... Then Ministry of Education assumed the power to appoint university directors and vice directors in place of the Prime Minister... [based on the opinion poll or direct election of the university staff]... Hanoi University held its first director election in 1988. Prof. Nguyen An was elected and appointed this time. The move was welcomed by university staff when it was proven a genuine democratic development... These elected directors proved to be well-chosen leaders of the universities. Some of them later became state leaders.¹³

Another participant held the same opinion with regard to the first-elected director of Hanoi University:

Prof. Nguyen An was an excellent director. He had the vision and the skills to lead Hanoi University.¹⁴

Besides changes in personnel policies, the government permitted universities to provide training services to partners outside the government. Universities could also pursue business activities to generate income and resources in addition to the government funding. A policy document of the Ministers' Council on education in 1983 stipulated this as follows:

In terms of training of universities... besides student intake quotas that the state assigned, there should be intakes from contracts between

¹³ Interview with #1, June 29, 2008.

¹⁴ Interview with #8, July 31, 2008.

universities and units or local authorities that had training needs (enterprises, co-operatives, districts, provinces...).

...

The state encourages the development of pilots, research on sciences and technologies, labour and production to serve society of universities. Universities are permitted to use all incomes from these activities. Products are not taxed and state budget allocations for universities are not reduced.¹⁵

Consequently, university staff had extra jobs to supplement their incomes. The university, too, engaged in production and businesses. This was demonstrated by the business, consultation and production units in the brochure of Hanoi University in 1992.¹⁶ According to a report of the Ministry of University and Professional Education in 1985, this was part of efforts to generate income for the staff which was a major task for universities in this period:

In facing the very difficult living situation, most universities took the task of improving material and spiritual life of staff and student as their major political task... They utilised existing workshops, stations and farms to produce products for economic contracts with enterprises... They searched for measures to save materials and money to raise effectiveness and ensure economic profits of fieldworks... Some learnt from others to set up new production units ...¹⁷

Some research participants described these jobs in VNU-Hanoi as follows:

From 1980s to 1990s, economic difficulties forced us to engage in many income generating activities, some of which were not related to teaching and research functions, for example manual labour or commerce activities. Faculties also organised businesses, teaching or research for income generation... After 1990, research and teaching finally brought sufficient income.¹⁸

It depends. Some staff had simple labour work to earn extra money. Faculties often organised extra work. A faculty produced paint. Smoke covered part of the university campus. Some biologists raised quails and

¹⁵ Nghi quyết của Hội đồng Bộ trưởng ngày 12 tháng 7 năm 1983 về công tác giáo dục trong những năm trước mắt [Resolution of Ministers' Council of July 12, 1983 on Education in The Coming Years], 7.

¹⁶ *Introduction of Hanoi University* (Hanoi: Hanoi University, 1992).

¹⁷ 'Báo cáo của Bộ Đại học và THCN về Tình hình thực hiện Nhiệm vụ năm học 1984-1985 của Ngành Đại học và THCN ngày 15 tháng 7 năm 1985 [Report of the Ministry of University and Professional Education on Implementation of Tasks of School Year 1984-1985 of University and Professional Education Dated July 15, 1985]', in Phong Phú Thu tuong 19546, VNAC3, Hanoi, Vietnam, 14.

¹⁸ Interview with #8, July 31, 2008.

*worms as food for fish. Another faculty made china and pottery. Difficulties went on from 1980 to 1990, about ten years. Teachers had to walk out of the ivory tower of the academy and sciences. They had to join the productions, including the simplest ones, to earn money.*¹⁹

VNU-Hanoi engaged production and businesses in exchange for financial resources for the university and academics. These were similar to the entrepreneurial activities of universities in Europe, North America and other developed regions.²⁰ The literature pointed out that these activities were associated with change in academics' habitus, for example, the calculation and pursuit of profits. VNU-Hanoi was similar. Specifically, academics became oriented towards income generation and tried to get benefits for themselves. One research participant suggested that this was partially because after the war each person started to think more about his/herself. Economic difficulties added to this. This differed from during the war when people shared everything as only life and death mattered to them. This was an adjustment of academics' habitus towards the change in their situation:

*My generation respected teachers highly. Teachers were high up above us... During the war, teachers and students got closer and as the distance reduced, respect was lost... In the war, people often ignored protocols. Only life and death mattered... People shared and gave everything they had to each other. After the war, each person returned to his/ her house and each tried to get what possible for his/herself. Individualism was in the fore ...*²¹

The above policy changes by the government pushed the VNU-Hanoi's founding institutions towards more independence in their relations with the government. At the same time they permitted these institutions to expand their network and draw resources from their new relations. This was similar to the changes in state–university relations, from highly centralised systems to

¹⁹ Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

²⁰ Clark, Burton R. *Creating Entrepreneurial Universities: Organizational Pathways of Transformation Issues in Higher Education*, 1st ed. (Oxford and New York: Published for the IAU Press by Pergamon Press, 1998); and Yokoyama, Keiko 'Entrepreneurialism in Japanese and UK Universities: Governance, Management, Leadership, and Funding', *Higher Education* 52, no. 3 (2006): 523-55.

²¹ Interview with #4, July 14, 2008.

systems of loose central control in other countries in Asia.²² The linkage between the government loosening control on VNU-Hanoi and this university's engagement in production and businesses confirmed the influence of the field of power on the university-field and its relationship with the field of economy.²³

The government's policy changes placed more power in the hands of the university officials inside VNU-Hanoi. They included the university directors, deans of faculties and the secretaries of the Communist Party Cell at the university and faculty levels. University directors held most power. They decided on promotions within the university, after consultation with the Communist Party Cell's secretaries and the executive committee. For example, to be a dean of faculty, a person needed support from the faculty staff, the Communist Party Cell's executive committee and the university directorate, as a research participant explained:

In appointment [of deans of faculties], the university might appoint directly. The university might permit faculty staff to elect their dean and then issue formal appointment. Therefore, deans of faculties, head of the organisation department and the university directorate should have certain relations. Most cases should be approved by the Communist Party Executive Committee.²⁴

As a result, university officials and communist party secretaries controlled the university resources, particularly those resources that the university acquired from its production, businesses and services in the community. These sources of extra income were concentrated at the university level and faculty level. A demonstration of this was the distribution of tuition-fees between these two levels. According to some research participants, this was as follows:

In terms of tuition fees, there were two sources: state budget and fees paid by students. The university allocated state budget fees to faculties based on their training plans. Fees paid by students were divided

²² Altbach, Philip G. 'The Past and Future of Asian Universities: Twenty-First Century Challenges', in *Asian Universities: Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Challenges*, ed. Altbach, Philip G. and Umakoshi, Toru (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); and The World Bank Group, *Higher Education: The Lessons of Experience* (Washington, DC: The World Bank Group, 1994).

²³ Bourdieu, Pierre *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Johnson, Randal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

²⁴ Interview with #8, July 31, 2008.

*between the university and faculties according to a certain proportion. Then, the university merged this money into the training budget and divided it among faculties.*²⁵

*The university allocated training budgets to faculties based on the student number. This included payments for teaching, managements and other related items. Faculties might receive and use an advancement amount according to spending lists and regulations of the university and then returned invoices to the university. There was spending outside the state budget when there were in-service training and formal training accepted students who paid tuition fees themselves.*²⁶

Consequently, existing power relations inside VNU-Hanoi were strengthened. University officials and communist party secretaries dominated the university. University staff continued to have less power and be in dominated positions. The economic capital also became an effective form of capital in the university. This was demonstrated in the concern and motivation to create income and economic benefits for university staff. This illustrated how power and economic factors shaped the university field and how this process strengthened the university field's existing power structure.

From the late 1980s: Recovery and consolidation

From the late 1980s Vietnam as a whole recovered from its economic and social crisis. In the field of power, the Communist Régime and its reform-support group was able to reaffirm its power over Vietnam. In the field of economy, economic relations developed and generated more resources and demands. The Political Report of Communist Party in 1991 summarised this development as follows:

- 1. The most important result is that a multi-sector economy which operates following the market mechanism under the management of the state has formed in the first step... The centre, local, state, people, state-owned and other economic sectors jointly exploit potentials and meet demand of society...*
- 2. There were good developments in terms of foods and produce. From continual hunger, our rice production now meets our domestic demand, provides for reserve and export ...*

²⁵ Interview with #12, August 9, 2008.

²⁶ Interview with #8, July 31, 2008.

3. *In the market, goods are abundant and diverse and flow with ease...*²⁷

Economic recovery and growth and power consolidation in the Communist Régime strengthened the recovery and consolidation of VNU-Hanoi as a field. Particularly, these changes provided VNU-Hanoi with more resources. They enabled the field to recover from its crisis of resource shortages, reduced functions and the disintegration in the 1980s. On the one hand, the government had resources and funding for higher education. Universities might lobby state officials and national leaders to draw on these resources. A research participant explained this as follows:

*[In terms of government budget allocation for universities], training budget was based on student quota. There was routine budget for salaries, training and scientific research. There was budget for basic construction. There was budget for target programs, such as a lab. These target programs could provide universities with a lot of money. It depended on whether [the university director] excelled at application or not. The behind-the-stage and politicians were important. University directors should grasp the policies and approach the right people. It depended on personal relations and contacts with politicians.*²⁸

On the other hand, social interest in university education and professional training revived. Social demand increased and sections of the population had money to pay for higher education. This allowed universities to gain earnings from teaching and training-related activities.²⁹ VNU-Hanoi revived and developed its functions accordingly. Specifically, Hanoi University, Hanoi University of Education and Hanoi University of Foreign Language Education all offered full-time undergraduate training (or open university), for students who could pay tuition fees themselves, in professions that these universities focused on. According to its brochure in 1992, Hanoi University commenced its open-university programme in the academic year 1987-1988. This programme

²⁷ 'Bao cao chinh tri Hoi nghi Trung uong lan thu 11 Ban Chap hanh Trung uong Dang (khoa VI) thang 1 nam 1991 [Political Report in the 11th Central Conference of the Central Steering Committee of Communist Party of Vietnam in January, 1991]', 401-2.

²⁸ Interview with #2, July 2, 2008.

²⁹ Vu, Ngoc Hai et al. *Giao duc Viet Nam: Doi moi va phat trien hien dai hoa* [Vietnam Education: Renovation and Development towards Modernisation] (Ho Chi Minh City: Nha xuất bản Giao Duc, 2007).

became popular and its students numbered 5,000, totalling a half of the students at the university by 1992.³⁰

Apart from full-time undergraduate training, VNU-Hanoi's founding institutions provided short-courses and in-service training to generate income for the university and staff. These forms of training provided for students who could afford fees or whose companies or agencies could pay for them directly. For example, according to one research participant, Hanoi University of Foreign Language Education provided language preparation courses for students and in-service training and open language courses for adult learning:

*At the time the university made good business. The university offered language in-service training and open language training centres. There were good sources of incomes. Teachers' life was good.*³¹

Hanoi University of Education offered in-service training and skill-strengthening courses for teachers in co-operation with the Ministry of Education and provincial authorities. A research participant noted that demand for this service was strong:

*[by the 1990s] Hanoi University of Education started to stabilise and develop... There were two major sources of incomes, one from the state budget, the other from tuition fees that students paid... The university focused on training, supplemental training and re-training. The re-training generated large incomes. University staff received these incomes therefore their life was much improved.*³²

Besides training, from the 1980s Hanoi University carried on research, development, production and services. These drew on both the expertise and qualifications, or cultural capital of academics and the infrastructure of the universities, which was economic capital. Some research participants observed:

*Some [sections] like the library opened student canteens and bookshops to serve students. It brought good income.*³³

³⁰ Hanoi University *Hanoi University (A Brief Introduction)* (Hanoi: Hanoi University, 1992).

³¹ Interview with #2, July 2, 2008.

³² Interview with #13, August 10, 2008.

³³ Interview with #8, July 31, 2008.

[around 1990s] young academics were busy with their extra jobs... Social scientists taught outside universities. Natural scientists also had their ways of earning extra income from research and production projects.³⁴

The income-generation activities that VNU-Hanoi as a field carried out demonstrated a resumption of the evolutionary trend of specialisation that the university followed before the 1980s.³⁵ This was because these activities drew mainly on the cultural capital of the university, including the expertise and qualifications of the university staff and the university as whole and its teaching and research. This enabled VNU-Hanoi to strengthen their claim to teaching and research as their main function towards surrounding fields. This was similar to the field of cultural production in France where economic development led to more demand for cultural products and enabled this field of cultural production to develop.³⁶

Crisis recovery, increased resources and revived functions, in turn, strengthened the power relation inside VNU-Hanoi. This was because university staff and officials were satisfied with their situation. 'Their life was good and they did not want any change', as some research participants put it.³⁷ At the same time, the government gave more power to the university officials in terms of recruitment. According to some research participants, university officials were in charge of staff recruitment.³⁸ This strengthened the power of university officials who were already in control of resources and activities, including scientific development in VNU-Hanoi and the promotion. The following organisation chart, from the official website of VNU-Hanoi, showed the university official positions and their power relationship:

³⁴ Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

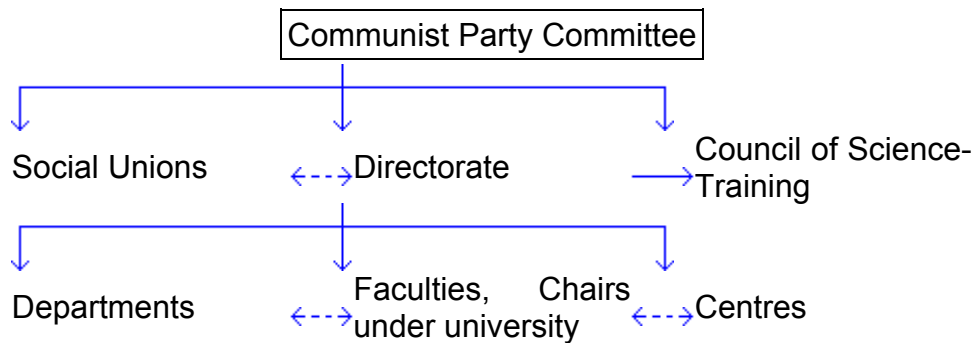
³⁵ Bourdieu, Pierre *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990); and Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

³⁶ Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

³⁷ Interview with #2, July 2, 2008; Interview with #13, August 10, 2008.

³⁸ Interview with #1, June 29, 2008; Interview with #13, August 10, 2008.

Organisation Chart of University of Social Sciences and Humanities
Vietnam National University Hanoi³⁹



Notes:

—>: Directing relation

<-->: Co-operation relation

The chart showed that the Communist Party Committee and directorate managed the university as a whole. Faculties, departments and centres managed sections of the university. According to some research participants, university directors, vice rectors and deans and vice deans of faculties were often members of the Communist Party Committee. These people together decided on the allocation and use of resources, and the planning and implementation of activities:

Until now, the Communist Party plays a decisive role for universities, as inscribed in its action plan 'The Communist Party holds the highest leadership and the highest responsibility in directions' not only for the central state level but also other lower levels, including universities. The government is to operate under the guidance of the Communist Party. The trade union and youth union are political organisations within a university... All are under the leadership of the Communist Party to carry out political tasks of the university.⁴⁰

The Executive Committee of Communist Party in the university consisted of communist party secretaries of faculties, who were often deans or vice deans of faculties and the directorate... In order to ensure unity in leadership, there is a tendency to appoint the dean of faculty as the communist party secretary in that faculty.

...

³⁹ So do to chuc Truong Dai hoc Khoa hoc Xa hoi va Nhan van [Organisation Chart of University of Social Sciences and Humanities], Vietnam National University Hanoi Website, <http://www.vnu.edu.vn/> (accessed February 6, 2009).

⁴⁰ Interview with #13, August 10, 2008.

*The directorate and secretary Communist Party Cell in university together decided on activities and use of resources for the university as a whole. At faculty level, the dean and secretary of Communist Party in faculty decided on faculty issues.*⁴¹

The university officials usually had a PhD degree, and the directors and vice directors often held professoriate titles, as shown in the historical book of VNU-Hanoi and the university website.⁴² Research participants observed that university officials were often in charge of major research projects and the core teaching and research activities of VNU-Hanoi.⁴³ This was in accordance with what Cao Dam Vu found in the Vietnam science and technology system.⁴⁴

The control of university officials over the Communist Party Cell and science development in VNU-Hanoi was partially due to the university's criteria for recruitment and promotion. The government applied these criteria to VNU-Hanoi as it gave more power to the university officials in the process. According to successive policy documents of the government in this period, these criteria continued from the previous period and required academics in general to be supportive and advocators of the Communist Régime and to have professional qualifications.⁴⁵ According to one research participant, the university selected its

⁴¹ Interview with #8, July 31, 2008.

⁴² Vu et al. *Mot the ky phat trien va truong thanh* [a Century of Development]; and Website of Vietnam National University Hanoi, www.vnu.edu.vn.

⁴³ Interview with #8, July 31, 2008; Interview with #9, July 31, 2008; and Interview with #10 August 6, 2008.

⁴⁴ Vu, Cao Dam 'Khao luan ve nhung chuan muc gia tri trong khoa hoc o Viet Nam hien nay [A Preliminary Discussion on the Value Norms in Sciences in Contemporary Vietnam]' (paper presented at Hoi thao Khoa hoc va Cong nghe- Thuc trang va Giai phap sponsored by Tia sang Magazine, Hanoi, 2001); and Vu, Cao Dam *Suy nghi ve khoa hoc va giao duc trong xa hoi duong dai Viet Nam* [Some Thoughts on Sciences and Education in Vietnamese Contemporary Society] (Hanoi: Nha xuất bản Khoa học và Kỹ thuật, 2007).

⁴⁵ See for example, the Ministry of University and Professional Training of Vietnam 'Phuong huong, Muc tieu Chuong trinh hanh dong 1987-1990 [1987-1990 Directions, Targets and Action Plans]'; Nguyen, Minh Hien 'Thuc hien Nghi quyet Trung uong 2: Tiep tuc doi moi, nang cao chat luong va hieu qua dao tao dai hoc dap ung yeu cau cong nghiep hoa, hien dai hoa dat nuoc [Implementing the Central Resolution No.2 of the Communist Party of Vietnam: To Continue Renovation and Improve Quality and Effectiveness of University Training to Meet the Requirements of the Industrialisation and Modernisation in the Country]' (Report of the Minister of Education at Hoi thao Dao tao Dai hoc by the Ministry of Education and Training of Vietnam, April, 1998); and Tran, Hong Quan 'Quan triet Nghi quyet Hoi nghi lan thu tu Ban chap hanh Trung uong Dang khoa VII: Tiep tuc doi moi su nghiep giao duc dai hoc [Implementing the Resolution of the Fourth Meeting of the VII Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam: To continue renovation of university education]' (The Minister of Education's Draft Report at Hoi nghi Hieu trung Dai hoc va Cao dang toan quoc, 1993).

staff from its graduates who had excellent study results and the required ethical and political attributes:

*A majority of our staff were graduates from our university... These graduates had excellent study results and good ethical and political attributes... Related staff observed them along their study and recommended them... Now the government assigned the staff recruitment university directors who delegated this to faculties.*⁴⁶

*In terms of staff recruitment, there were few graduates from other universities. This was because this university was proud and confident that its graduates were excellent and selected its graduates most.*⁴⁷

Remarkably, this was part of the selection and training of the middle-class intellectuals in Vietnam by VNU-Hanoi. This served the reproduction of the power structure through selection and indoctrination and was similar to what Bourdieu found in French universities.⁴⁸ A majority of the students of VNU-Hanoi came from middle-class families who could afford a proper study preparation for their children to compete in university intake examinations and tuition fees.⁴⁹ Professors expected most from middle-class students, as a research participant explained:

*Those people with thoughts who could be trusted, I think, are the middle-class. They have sufficient conditions. They are human-minded, to certain extent. .. They can afford their children's study. Their children's mind is clear.*⁵⁰

As demonstrated above, training and staff recruitment in VNU-Hanoi was a process of slow initiation and co-option. In this process potential members learnt the university habitus before those with suitable habitus were selected to the field.⁵¹ Promotion to a position required support from the Communist Party

⁴⁶ Interview with #13, August 10, 2008.

⁴⁷ Interview with #10, August 6, 2008.

⁴⁸ Bourdieu, Pierre *Homo Academicus*, trans. Collier, Peter (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988).

⁴⁹ Nguyen, Nguyet Nga *Trends in the Education Sector from 1993-1998* (Washington: The World Bank, 2002).

⁵⁰ Interview with #10, August 6, 2008.

⁵¹ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

Committee, staff, and directors at the higher level.⁵² This was also inscribed in the university plan for recruitment and promotion.⁵³ This led to nepotism because individuals needed support in order to be promoted, which was similar to the situation in French universities.⁵⁴ Therefore, in order to be promoted, academics had to invest in getting post-graduate degrees, particularly a PhD (which is cultural capital). Academics also had to build alliances and relationships with other academics, their managers/directors, the Communist Party Cell and state officials (which is social capital). This meant cultural capital and social capital remained the two effective forms of capital inside VNU-Hanoi. Some research participants attested to this as follows:

Degrees and titles were important, because firstly payments for teaching were according to degrees and titles. Secondly, people can sit in scientific councils only if they have the required degrees. For example, doctors can sit in marking panels for masters' degrees. Associate professors can supervise doctor candidates. In general, after people were accorded titles, things are different. A lot of benefits are attached. There are benefits associated with these works and responsibilities.

...

Relationship was important. The formation and operation of informal staff groups and entry to these groups were helpful and supportive. I am involved in many groups such as staff from the administration, deans of faculties. We sometimes have lunch together or go out for a picnic... It was an egg-chicken circle in that getting to a position helped to started relations which further the promotion.⁵⁵

You are young so you should get a position and you should invest in getting that... you should lobby this and that person.⁵⁶

One research participant pointed out that, once promoted, people were careful to shield their positions against competition from others. Plots against them were not rare. Because of this, leaders and managers assigned works and positions to their trusted staff in order to be secure:

⁵² See for example, the Ministry of University and Professional Training of Vietnam 'Phuong huong, Muc tieu Chuong trinh hanh dong 1987-1990 [1987-1990 Directions, Targets and Action Plans]'.

⁵³ See for example, University of Social Sciences and Humanities of VNU-Hanoi, '6 chuong trinh huong toi muc tieu chuan hoa, hien dai hoa cac hoat dong cua Truong Dai hoc Khoa hoc Xa hoi va Nhan van Giai doan 2003-2010 [Six Programs for Standardisation and Modernisation of Activities of University of Social Sciences and Humanities from 2003 to 2010]' (VNU-Hanoi, June 2003).

⁵⁴ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

⁵⁵ Interview with #8, July 31, 2008.

⁵⁶ Interview with #9, July 31, 2008.

In one case, some complaints were lodged to the government and an official investigation was conducted. The university director and some vice directors were removed from offices after this, for their wrong doings. This was a lesson for followers. When a person took office, he or she might choose those acquaintances that he or she trusted as staff. The director of university often appointed, or worked to get appointed to key positions their trusted-persons.⁵⁷

University staff were in a less powerful position in that they were under the control of university officials in university activities. They performed their duties of teaching, research and administrative tasks and became involved in other university activities. This worked to fulfilled university functions of production and reproduction of scientific truth toward its surrounding field.⁵⁸ University staff and officials accepted and reproduced the university relations as they accomplished their tasks and tried to be promoted. This illustrated the acceptance of and compliance with the university classification by people inside the university,⁵⁹ as a research participant observed:

In general people in the university had acceptable behaviours and capacity and they fulfilled their duties.⁶⁰

University staff followed and preserved the existing ways of life and work inside the university. For example, university staff avoided politically-sensitive issues and behaved in a self-surveillant manner in order to keep themselves in compliance with the Communist Régime, according to some research participants:

What I think differs from what I talk which, in turn, differs from what I publish. I cannot say or publish what I think and I cannot publish what I say. Academics had a common caution in speech given the conditions of this Communist Régime.⁶¹

There is nothing on paper to prove that it is true, you should be careful not to put yourself in trouble in the future.⁶²

⁵⁷ Interview with #8, July 31, 2008.

⁵⁸ Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

⁵⁹ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

⁶⁰ Interview with #8, July 31, 2008.

⁶¹ Interview with #10, August 6, 2008.

⁶² Interview with #3, July 12, 2008.

The university staff had discretion in their ways of working, despite the formal control of the university officials. They could determine their teaching content, scientific pursuits and their income generation activities, including extra jobs outside university. A research participant provided an example of the teaching delivery as follows:

*We, lecturers, could teach whatever we wanted, but that is at their [the government's] ignorance. If they checked, we were wrong, because we should teach according to their approved programme contents.*⁶³

While the fields of power and economy worked to revive the university and consolidate its power relations, they altered the academics' habitus. This was because academics adjusted to the new political and economic circumstances.⁶⁴ In particular, economic aims and calculations became entrenched in the university academics' habitus. Income generation took priority for all university staff. These people relied on their expertise, qualifications and positions in universities to earn incomes. This was also part of the trend to incorporate factors from the field of economy into VNU-Hanoi.⁶⁵ Some research participants attested to this as follows:

*People [staff] kept on complaining for difficulties and low incomes. They give priority to economic benefits, which related to general policies, such as those on salaries, teaching payments, and other spending items. Many, however, had high income, of which part was from the university and part was from outside the university... Each faculty had its own way of income generation. Some faculties provided preparation courses for student entry examinations. The language faculty provided language teaching courses. Some might provide research and consultancy services.*⁶⁶

*I tried and contributed, but my needs have not been met. So now I have to improve my life first before I can continue my contribution. I think the key issue was low incomes...The older teaching staff might rely on teaching to generate income because they have more opportunity to do so. Younger staff has less opportunity to teach and might have non-teaching jobs like assistants in other organisations.*⁶⁷

⁶³ Interview with #10, August 6, 2008.

⁶⁴ Bourdieu, Pierre 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices', in *The Blackwell Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed. Elliott, Anthony (Malden: Blackwell, 1999).

⁶⁵ Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*; and Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

⁶⁶ Interview with # 8, July 31, 2008.

⁶⁷ Interview with #6, July 22, 2008.

*If there had been no projects, staff would have been very poor because state salaries could not afford a living, given the current prices. Why the university still exists and staff are wealthy and happy? That is because they have taken initiatives themselves. They do not just sit and demand.*⁶⁸

Economic priority undermined the academics' scientific endeavours. This was because academics divided their time between university jobs and extra jobs, and prioritised themselves and their economic benefits over sciences, professions and the university. A report of VNU-Hanoi in 2003 reflected this situation:

Many staff were not fully aware of their responsibilities in preparation of course books and lectures for training. .. Some teaching staff were not determined and did not plan to follow further study and improve their expertise and qualifications such as completion of master's degree or PhD degree...

*...researches were slow to complete and the use of research results in training was not highly effective. Many researches were overdue because some teaching staff did not consider this as a major political task and the university dealt with breaks of signed research contracts in a rightest deviationism way.*⁶⁹

Some research participants observed the lack of attention to research and other science development activities among VNU-Hanoi academics. One of them thought that professional standards and attitudes had degraded in VNU-Hanoi. Staff and students were not serious about teaching, learning and research:

Some teaching staff I know is not used to reading books or professional meeting and discussion. I never found them attending scientific workshops or the faculty practical field work... Most scientists do not search in depth. Their quality is low...In workshop, there has been no straightforward discussion... people just voiced their opinions and that was all. No agreements, no oppositions.

...

*Students do not learn seriously. They copy... Teaching staff do not engage in scientific activities... There was plagiarism... Politics combined with sciences... The university has alarmingly degraded.*⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

⁶⁹ University of Social Sciences and Humanities of VNU-Hanoi, '6 chương trình hướng tới mục tiêu chuẩn hóa, hiện đại hóa các hoạt động của Trường Đại học Khoa học Xã hội và Nhân văn Giai đoạn 2003-2010 [Six Programs for Standardisation and Modernisation of Activities of University of Social Sciences and Humanities from 2003 to 2010]', 1-2.

⁷⁰ Interview with #9, July 31, 2008.

Research received little attention and investment. This was because research required time and effort. Teaching was much easier and brought quick money. The scarcity of staff led to overload teaching, and people complained that they did not have time for research and professional development.⁷¹

It was also evident that research participants observed differences between the young and old academics. These differences can be attributed to the development of the field of economy. The young academics appeared to embrace the for-profit attitudes and market-labour orientation, or the selling of skills and expertise in exchange for money. Old academics were more used to government support. This was another example of the influence of economic relations on VNU-Hanoi as a field, as one research participant observed:

There were contradictory views. For example, the elders often complain about low salaries and other difficulties that have prevented them from scientific pursuits. I thought this was unsuitable. The state could not pay you [high salaries] for teaching only... In this market economy, the university should change. Particularly, apart from teaching that the state pays for, teachers should both contribute in terms of sciences and technology to the state and generate income. Therefore, teaching staff should take initiatives, build relations with outside, think more internationally... The younger generations do not complain. They understand this.⁷²

The younger generation was divided among themselves in terms of aims and habitus. Their for-profit orientation had detrimental impacts on university teaching and research in general. This was because some of the younger generation in the university only cared about money and money-making. They failed to invest time and effort on qualifications, expertise and scientific development as a research participant pointed out:

The following generations are divided. Some are very talented and have good purposes [for advancing the university]. Some were opportunists and seek for economic means from politics. Some never attend to sciences and professions. Some just tried to get benefits from scientific and professional tasks. They were much worse than the elders. Teaching staff like this is very dangerous.⁷³

⁷¹ Interview with #10, August 6, 2008.

⁷² Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

⁷³ Interview with #9, July 31, 2008.

With changes in academics' habitus and in academic generations, relations among staff and between teachers and students inside the university changed. The way of life of the older generation was reduced. A new way of life prevailed in which people cared more about themselves and less about others in a crowded community. Some research participants described these changes as follows:

*In my faculty, it used to be very close relationship among staff. Later, the faculty became very crowded. I did not know the names of many staff. The teacher-student relations changed considerably. My generations respected teachers highly. Teachers were high up above us... During the war, teachers and students got closer and as the distance reduced, respect was lost... After the war, individualism was in the fore... My students would ignore me after I finish teaching them.*⁷⁴

*In my time, each teacher behaved in a dignified way. He used proper language with students. Education was formal and serious. Students were self-conscious. These days they are not.*⁷⁵

Tensions arose from the conflicting activities that VNU-Hanoi conducted in its relations with society. One research participant considered that the university should educate and promote models of proper teachers and students for society:

*[Hanoi University of Education] ... created models of relations among teachers, students and community which guided graduates in their teaching jobs, as Prime Minister Pham Van Dong said 'proper schools, proper classes, proper teachers and proper students'.*⁷⁶

Another research participant felt worried because students valued degrees more than knowledge, which annulled the worth of teaching. This participant pointed out that this was because promotion in the state sector was based on degrees but not capability:

A large part of people attended training needed a degree to add to their curricula vitae as much as, or more than knowledge, particularly those people that worked in the state sector. This was because work

⁷⁴ Interview with #4, July 14, 2008.

⁷⁵ Interview with #9, July 31, 2008.

⁷⁶ Interview with #13, August 10, 2008.

*promotions in the state sector were based on degrees and scientific titles.*⁷⁷

In summary, the development of VNU-Hanoi from the 1980s to the present included the consolidation of power relations inside the university and the expansion of the relations and activities of the university with its environment. There were changes in terms of academic habitus. This confirmed Bourdieu's theory of the structuring effects of the field of economy and field of power on the university as a social field.⁷⁸ The consolidation of power relations inside VNU-Hanoi and the revival of the university teaching and expertise-based services pointed as well to the field autonomy that I will analyse below.

Autonomy of VNU-Hanoi as a field

As a field VNU-Hanoi developed a certain level of autonomy. Specifically, the university demonstrated a capacity to incorporate and transform influence from its network according to its way of working.⁷⁹ This was shown in VNU-Hanoi's responses to a number of government attempts to alter the university's power relations and way of working. These attempts were included in the establishment of VNU-Hanoi in 1993 as a grouping of some existing universities in the North of Vietnam.⁸⁰ These attempts, in turn, reflected the consolidation of the power of the Communist Régime after the economic and social crisis.

VNU-Hanoi, as a field, incorporated and transformed the above attempts of the government through the interactions of academics inside the university and between academics and people from the university network. This started in the consultation and negotiations for the set-up of VNU-Hanoi in the 1990s. Academics' cultural capital underpinned this consultation. The government wanted this cultural capital from universities to fulfil its plan. Academics had this capital and used it to negotiate with the government. They rejected the

⁷⁷ Interview with #10, August 6, 2008.

⁷⁸ Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ See 'Decree No. 97/CP of the Prime Minister dated December 10, 1993 on the establishment of VNU-Hanoi [in Vietnamese]', in 'Tap cac quyet dinh, nghi dinh cua chinh phu ve Dai hoc Quoc gia Hanoi [The Government's Decisions on VNU-Hanoi]', ed. University of Social Sciences and Humanities of VNU-Hanoi (VNU-Hanoi, 2007).

government's proposal to join VNU-Hanoi. Their reason pointed to their desire to preserve their existing way of working as part of academics' habitus. Some research participants described this as follows:

*There were at least five universities in Hanoi were consulted. They included University of Polytechnics, University of National Economics, Hanoi University, Hanoi University of Education and Hanoi University of Foreign Language Education. University of Polytechnics and University of National Economics opted out. They wanted to develop in their way. University of National Economics opted out too.*⁸¹

*At the time the Vice Prime Minister visited the university [Hanoi University of Education] and suggested the plan of VNU-Hanoi... the university later refused to join this plan in writing.*⁸²

*In general, they [universities] did not want... not only Hanoi University of Foreign Language Education but also Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education wanted to keep their traditions.*⁸³

The government, therefore, had to merge three VNU-Hanoi founding institutions using both coercion and persuasion, as some research participants pointed out:

*There were both persuasion and coercion. The government offered more investment and more preferential treatments for universities to join VNU-Hanoi.*⁸⁴

*In general, the Prime Minister was authoritarian and determined. Once he determined to do anything, he would try hard until he got it. Besides, he had the charm of a leader. All people who worked with him were in obedience.*⁸⁵

Under the government's coercion VNU-Hanoi had to incorporate government-induced changes. As a result of the government's decision to set up VNU-Hanoi in 1993, changes included the establishment of the VNU-Hanoi directorate at the highest level of the university power structure. Before 1993, this power structure was a three-level system, headed by the university director, with faculties underneath and chairs (or sections) of faculties.⁸⁶ The government's action turned VNU-Hanoi into a four-level system, with the VNU-Hanoi

⁸¹ Interview with #1, June 29, 2008.

⁸² Interview with #12, August 9, 2008.

⁸³ Interview with #2, July 2, 2008.

⁸⁴ Interview with #1, June 29, 2008.

⁸⁵ Interview with #2, July 2, 2008.

⁸⁶ Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

directorate as the highest level and the member unit directorate as the second highest level. Under the member unit directorate were faculties and chairs (which were sections) of faculties.⁸⁷

The status of the VNU-Hanoi directorate reflected the preferential treatment of the government toward academics. According to one research participant, this status was the result of a negotiating process between the VNU-Hanoi directorate and the government:

*The first VNU-Hanoi director, Prof. Nguyen Van Dao, directly negotiated with the Prime Minister. He acquired for VNU-Hanoi a ministry-like status and its ministry-like stamp that bear the national emblem. All these allowed VNU-Hanoi a level of autonomy that other universities under Ministry of Education did not have.*⁸⁸

The directorate achieved a ministry-like status in its relation with the government. This included direct control of finance, international relations, and the initiative in new training professions and programs. For example, as specified in the decision to set up the university in 1993 and to reorganise the university in 2001, VNU-Hanoi could open/try new professions in training and could grant all undergraduate and post-graduate degrees. It could directly negotiate its finances with the government.⁸⁹

As well as the establishment of the VNU-Hanoi directorate, the government took part of the undergraduate sections of existing institutions of VNU-Hanoi to form a new University of General Education in 1995. The tasks of this university were to provide the first phase for students in VNU-Hanoi, as specified in the Project to Construct University of General Education in 1995.⁹⁰ This was in line with the Ministry of Education's two-phase training policy from 1987. According to this

⁸⁷ 'Decree No. 97/CP of the Prime Minister dated December 10, 1993 on the establishment of VNU-Hanoi [in Vietnamese]'.
⁸⁸ Interview with #2, July 2, 2008.

⁸⁹ 'Decree No. 97/CP of the Prime Minister dated December 10, 1993 on the establishment of VNU-Hanoi [in Vietnamese]'; and 'Decree No.07/2001/ND-CP on VNUs [in Vietnamese]' in 'Tap cac quyet dinh, nghi dinh cua chinh phu ve Dai hoc Quoc gia Hanoi [The Government's Decisions on VNU-Hanoi]', ed. University of Social Sciences and Humanities of VNU-Hanoi (VNU-Hanoi, 2007).

⁹⁰ Vietnam National University Hanoi, 'De an xay dung Truong Dai hoc Dai cuong ngay 25 thang 9 nam 1995 [The Project to Establish the University of General Education dated September 25, 1995]' (Hanoi, 1995).

policy, the first phase included general subjects that would provide students with foundational knowledge. Based on this knowledge, students would follow specific professional training in the second phase.⁹¹ This was confirmed by a research participant:

[University of General Education] had an administration of 20 staff... It shared the teaching staff and learning facilities with other VNU-Hanoi members... It co-operated with these members in management of students of the first phase...It drew on faculty staff of VNU-Hanoi members in preparation of programs, teaching contents and materials and teaching delivery.⁹²

Another research participant said that it was the intention of the Minister of Education at that time to reform universities to allow more choices for the population. This, in turn, reflected the power relations in the régime in which the reform-support group was dominating:

The University of General Education was a policy viewpoint. The Minister of Education wanted to focus on general training phase to improve its quality and to give less emphasis to the specialisation training phase... That would enable better choice and life-long learning for university graduates... Besides, a university of general education would save cost because all students were taught together in one place instead of in every faculty and unit. That was very good.⁹³

The removal of part of the undergraduate section constituted a loss of power and resources from the VNU-Hanoi founding institutions and their faculties. As some research participants pointed out, this included the loss of the tuition fees of students in the first phase:

A troubling point about University of General Education... was about tuition fees. Particularly, students of the Physical Faculty should give tuition fees to this faculty. In the first phase, they gave tuition fees to University of General Education. Any way, part of tuition fees was sent to VNU-Hanoi. However, University of General Education retained the remaining of tuition fees, like that previously retained by Physical Faculty. That was why nobody approved of University of General Education, though they did not tell that reason.⁹⁴

⁹¹ The Ministry of University and Professional Training of Vietnam 'Phuong huong, Muc tieu Chuong trinh hanh dong 1987-1990 [1987-1990 Directions, Targets and Action Plan]'.
⁹² Interview with #12, August 9, 2008.

⁹³ Interview with #1, June 29, 2008.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

There were changes in terms of tuition fee distribution among different administrative units. University of General Education had two years of training and took tuition fees for these two years. But this university only had few staff and relied mainly on other VNU-Hanoi members.⁹⁵

The establishment of the University of General Education reduced faculties' control, or power, over the whole training process. The faculties became passive towards students because after the first phase of general education students were permitted to choose and compete for different professions. In addition, the overall student numbers reduced because a portion of students failed in the first phase examinations. Consequently, popular professions, or the professions that a majority of students preferred, were able to select the best students. Less attractive professions might not have had enough students. A research participant explained this as follows:

Many students failed in the first phase examinations... For example, University of General Education assigned to the faculty two classes, but after the first phase examinations, students failed and there were fewer students attended. Moreover, some wanted to switch to another faculty. Such faculty was happy. Faculties that had few students felt angry. All related to their rights and benefits. That was why many people opposed [to University of General Education].⁹⁶

After incorporation of the government-induced changes, VNU-Hanoi transformed these changes. This transformation was through interactions among academics and between academics and people from the university network, particularly politicians and state officials of the Communist Régime. These interactions worked to preserve the power structure inside VNU-Hanoi member units. Particularly, VNU-Hanoi founding members and their faculties rallied against University of General Education. Faculties wanted to teach their subjects from the beginning. They argued that one phase did not provide enough time for professional development and that time was wasted in the general education. Again, cultural capital, particularly expertise of training, was used as the key in the struggle, as a research participant pointed out:

It did not solve anything in terms of the continuation of knowledge. Two years were on general subjects. The remaining time covered few

⁹⁵ Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

⁹⁶ Interview with #8, July 31, 2008.

*subjects. Therefore quality was poor and the amount of knowledge dispatched to students was less than at present [one phase training].*⁹⁷

Academics involved the Youth Union, which was a social and political organisation of the youth of the Communist Regime, and the mass media in this opposition. They used the failure of some students in the first phase of general education as a reason against University of General Education. Some research participants pointed out that this was because, on the one hand, society and the Communist Régime cared about youth unemployment and realised that students' activities could result in social disorder and the overthrow of the régime. This reflected the new power relations in the Communist Régime in which the population started to have certain power over the work of the government.⁹⁸ As detailed in state documents in this period, the Régime allowed people to voice their opinions and observations of the Régime, to a certain extent, through the mass media and complaint mechanisms.⁹⁹ On the other hand, some of the students who failed in the first phase were children of state officials who complained about this:

*As some students failed to enter the professional phase, some people complained and involved the Youth Union and the mass media in this campaign against the two-phase training and University of General Education.*¹⁰⁰

*I was a dean of faculty at that time. Failed students and their parents complained and demanded explanation. It was full of pressure.*¹⁰¹

Under the pressure of public opinion, the government dismantled the University of General Education after three years of operation in VNU-Hanoi, VNU-Hochiminh City and other regional universities. The government also made all universities return to one-phase training.¹⁰² This happened after the arrival of a

⁹⁷ Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

⁹⁸ Brown, Frederick Z. 'Vietnam since the War (1975-1995)', *Wilson Quarterly* 19(1995): 64-84

⁹⁹ See for example 'Chi thi cua Bo truong Bo Dai hoc va THCN ve viec Huong ung "Nhưng việc cần làm ngay" của đồng chí N.V.L [Instruction of the Minister of University and Professional Education to Response to 'Works Should Be Done Immediately' of Comrade N.V.L]', in 'Phuong huong, Muc tieu Chuong trinh hanh dong 1987-1990 [1987-1990 Directions, Targets and Action Plans]', by the Ministry of University and Professional Training of Vietnam: 38-39.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with #1, June 29, 2008.

¹⁰¹ Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

¹⁰² 'Decree No.67/1998/ND-CP of September 1, 1998 of the Government to change the organisation of VNU-Hanoi, VNU-Hochiminh City, Hue University, Thai Nguyen University

new Prime Minister and a new Minister of Education in office. Changes to VNU-Hanoi's undergraduate section were reversed. The university returned to its former way of training, with faculties directly in charge of the undergraduate training. The expression of opinions in the mass media and the use of mass media were, however, new for academics. This, again, was due to the loosening of the control of the régime in the late 1980s.

In terms of the power relations, VNU-Hanoi as a field incorporated the VNU-Hanoi directorate. However, existing power relations inside its founding institutions stayed intact, which worked against the directorate and its attempts to change these power relations. The result was that there was no clear hierarchy among VNU-Hanoi member units and the VNU-Hanoi directorate. The VNU-Hanoi directorate assumed the role of a ministerial agency with state management functions. Like the Ministry of Education, the VNU-Hanoi directorate distributed finance and other resources to its members, including the existing and newly created universities and centres/units. It issued regulations and strategies for VNU-Hanoi as a whole. The VNU-Hanoi directorate also dealt directly with the Vietnam Government and ministries. This was specified in the government's decision to establish VNU-Hanoi,¹⁰³ and was in line with the following observation by a research participant:

*VNU-Hanoi directorate managed VNU-Hanoi member units by sections, including sciences and technology, trainings, international relations, finance, staff and organisation. The directorate prepared and applied regulations for them. Recently, there were strategies to be made... VNU-Hanoi and VNU-Hochiminh City were only two universities that reported directly to the Prime Minister. Other universities were to report to certain ministries, such as Ministry of Education... The university co-operated with various ministries to implement its work, for example, with the Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment in the Science and Technology section.*¹⁰⁴

and Da Nang University [in Vietnamese]', Lawdata of Office of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam <http://vietlaw.gov.vn/LAWNET/index.html> (accessed November 1, 2008).

¹⁰³ 'Decree No. 97/CP of the Prime Minister dated December 10, 1993 on the establishment of VNU-Hanoi [in Vietnamese]'.
¹⁰⁴ Interview with #5, July 21, 2008.

The VNU-Hanoi directorate was not in control of the VNU-Hanoi member units in the university power system. The member units were loosely connected with each other and with the VNU-Hanoi director. They worked in their own ways and retained their power structure, as some research participants pointed out:

*[VNU-Hanoi] was like a bag of potatoes. These potatoes were together within the bag. If they were out, each of them would be in a different place. VNU-Hanoi member units sat inside VNU-Hanoi when they divided money. They received money and that was all. VNU-Hanoi directorate might decide something but member units might not do it and VNU-Hanoi directorate could do nothing about this.*¹⁰⁵

*There has been not much change inside member units. It is still a three-level system with the directorate, faculties and chairs.*¹⁰⁶

The similarity between the VNU-Hanoi directorate's role toward VNU-Hanoi member units and the government, and that of the Ministry of Education toward VNU-Hanoi's founding institutions and the government, showed that VNU-Hanoi as a field transformed external factors in its way of working. The university accepted the VNU-Hanoi directorate in the same way as the Ministry of Education, an existing partner in its previous network, while retaining the existing power relations inside it.

Similar to the govern-subject relations between the Ministry of Education and VNU-Hanoi's founding institutions before the 1990s, the VNU-Hanoi directorate and its member units were in conflict. This was because, like the Ministry of Education, the VNU-Hanoi directorate tried to dominate VNU-Hanoi member units. According to some research participants, the VNU-Hanoi directorate placed strict requirements on the work of its members in terms of finance and spending. The VNU-Hanoi directorate also built shared facilities among member universities, such as libraries and student hostels. These moves limited the resources and power of officials in the VNU-Hanoi member units:

*Relationships between VNU-Hanoi directorate and some members were uneasy. Works were not going smoothly and took time for solutions.*¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Interview with #2, July 2, 2008.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with #11, August 6, 2008.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with #8, July 31, 2008.

Before VNU-Hanoi, my university obtained more funding from Ministry of Education, based on quotas. My university might not enrol so many students, but it still received approved budgets. In VNU-Hanoi, there were stricter requirements and regulations...VNU-Hanoi tried a lot to develop shared facilities such as student hostels, libraries, and publishing house in order to formulate a multi-disciplinary university. Now they tried to develop shared teaching centres such as those on Marxism-Leninism and foreign languages. Those were steps toward harmonisation and interdependency, or linkages.¹⁰⁸

Moreover, the government funding to VNU-Hanoi was not as much as the government promised, as a research participant informed:

There was insufficient investment in VNU-Hanoi. The Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Education assessed that VNU-Hanoi might disintegrate because of this. Specifically, after a while, the VNU-Hanoi members would find that they received nothing in exchange for VNU-Hanoi membership, no investment, no preferential treatments.¹⁰⁹

Understandably, VNU-Hanoi member units wanted to break away from VNU-Hanoi. They wanted to be like other universities that were under the Ministry of Education so that they could deal directly with the Ministry of Education, and use the funding source from this ministry. The desire was to get more resources and be less controlled. This was because until now in Vietnam all universities were put under state management. This again highlighted the struggle between academics and the state over resources, control and cultural capital. Some research participants described this below:

The fundamental problem was that they [VNU-Hanoi members] did not want to be under VNU-Hanoi but wanted to be under the Ministry [of Education]. For example, in 2000 a VNU-Hanoi member still lobbied to withdraw from VNU-Hanoi... A national leader told me about this.¹¹⁰

In Vietnam, [the régime] used to think that ministries governed everything. Universities should be managed by ministries. The idea that universities are autonomous entities is out of the question.... Officials in Ministry of Education opposed the grant of more power to university directors.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Interview with #2, 2 July 2008.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with #1, June 29, 2008.

¹¹⁰ Interview with #2, July 2, 2008.

¹¹¹ Interview with #1, June 29, 2008.

The conflict among the VNU-Hanoi directorate and its member units, and the tendency to separate, were part of the struggle to retain or change university power relations and ways of working. The groups involved include on the one hand, the VNU-Hanoi directorate, its director and the administration, and, on the other hand, the VNU-Hanoi's founding institutions, their directors and staff. These groups got support from power groups in the Communist Régime who interacted to influence the government's decisions on VNU-Hanoi. Among VNU-Hanoi members, Hanoi University of Education was the most striking case. From the beginning, this university was openly opposed to VNU-Hanoi. One research participant observed that during its stay in VNU-Hanoi this university resisted the co-operation with Hanoi University that the VNU-Hanoi Director suggested:

At first, there were not many disagreements. During the operation, working styles and thoughts of Hanoi University of Education and Hanoi University were in contrast to each other, even with regard to the ways to carry out research and training. They could not reach a compromise.¹¹²

Clearly, such resistance was part of the effort to retain the power relations and way of working by Hanoi University of Education. The different working styles and thoughts pointed to the specialisation process in the 1960s and 1970s and the habitus of university academics in their claim to be different from other fields. When there was a new Prime Minister and a new Minister of Education, Hanoi University of Education openly requested to withdraw from VNU-Hanoi. According to some of the research participants, Hanoi University of Education argued that teacher training was important and should be developed separately with proper investment. Again, this university used the cultural capital of expertise in teaching in its struggle with the government and the VNU-Hanoi directorate. This struggle involved lobbying activities and a number of national leaders and state officials. Hanoi University of Education finally split from VNU-Hanoi:

¹¹² Interview with #2, July 2, 2008.

*Over 90% of staff in Hanoi University of Education supported the bid for withdrawal. They wanted to be independent and focus on teacher training as their traditions.*¹¹³

*They [Hanoi University of Education] reasoned that teachers were an important force in society. Education quality depended much on teacher quality. If [Hanoi University of Education was inside VNU-Hanoi], their fifty years' tradition would disappear. Many VIPs supported that idea. The university lobbied them and some how they reached people at the highest level. And when these people determined, things should be done accordingly.*¹¹⁴

*There were many meetings at the governmental office, the National Assembly, the Politburo [Communist Party... Hanoi University of Education got supports from some national leaders...VNU-Hanoi directorate opposed strongly ... It was also because there was a new Prime Minister and a new Minister of Education. The Politburo finally instructed the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education to withdraw Hanoi University of Education from VNU-Hanoi.*¹¹⁵

The withdrawal of Hanoi University of Education demonstrated succinctly how this university was able to get the government to reverse its initiatives to alter the university when the power relations of the régime turned favourable for them. This university returned to its former power structure and ways of working, as a result of both academics' struggle inside VNU-Hanoi and a power struggle in the Communist Régime. This again demonstrated the influence of the field of power on the university field.

While VNU-Hanoi's autonomy worked to preserve the university as a field, it threatened the existence of VNU-Hanoi as an organisation. This was because member units wanted to, and were ready to, separate from VNU-Hanoi. This was part of their habitus. The loose power relations between these member units and VNU-Hanoi also contributed to this state. The case of Hanoi University of Education was an example. As well, the government might alter VNU-Hanoi again because the university was within its control. This was part of the influence of the field of power on VNU-Hanoi. The establishment of VNU-Hanoi in 1993, the creation and then dismantling of University of General

¹¹³ Interview with #13, August 10, 2008.

¹¹⁴ Interview with #2, July 2, 2008.

¹¹⁵ Interview with #13, August 10, 2008.

Education within VNU-Hanoi, and the reorganisation of VNU-Hanoi in 2001, were examples of this.

Recently, the Ministry of Education proposed to the government that it should change VNU-Hanoi's status into that of other universities in Vietnam. This could lead to the dissolution of the university as an organisation because the VNU-Hanoi member units would be treated as faculties. This would be a reduction in the symbolic capital and positions of the university academics. These people would oppose and demand their units withdraw from VNU-Hanoi to be separate universities in order to preserve their positions and capital, as a research participant suggested:

*Recently, Ministry of Education was proposing to the Government to put VNUs under its control. VNUs directorates did not accept it. A threat was obvious. If the government signed this proposal, big members such as University of Polytechnics of Hochiminh City would not stay inside VNU-Hochiminh Cit. It would not accept being treated as a faculty in relations with other universities and colleges... VNU-Hanoi members would be similar.*¹¹⁶

The VNU-Hanoi directorate proposed a new direction for the university to reverse this disintegration threat. According to the above research participant, the direction was that each VNU would be a group of universities. This group would open its membership to other universities that met its quality criteria, for example, in terms of programs, teaching staff, and graduates. This group has loose administrative linkages but close academic and scientific linkage:

*VNU directorate recommends, and I find it reasonable, to turn VNUs to a university system, or a group. In this group, member universities have similar status like other universities. And other universities could join VNUs after they were examined to meet certain criteria in terms of quality, programme contents, teaching staff and others. This would be a flexible model with loose links in terms of administration but close links in terms of academy and sciences. This would create a shared strength without constraining the independence and creative capacity of each member university.*¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Interview with #1, June 29, 2008.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

While this new direction was only a plan, it again proved the autonomy of VNU-Hanoi as a field, in that the VNU-Hanoi directorate accepted the VNU-Hanoi member units as separate universities, and the possible removal of its power over these units.

Conclusion

The development of VNU-Hanoi from the 1980s to the present was shaped by the power and economic relations in Vietnam. This confirms Bourdieu's theory of the influence of fields of power and economy on other social fields. The economic and social crisis in the 1980s, and subsequent changes in the government's policies and economic recovery, led to the expansion of VNU-Hanoi's relations with society and its activities, or functions toward society. The university's involvement in money-making activities, in return for resources, resulted in the entrenchment of for-profit aims and calculation in the academic habitus, particularly among the young academics. In parallel, economic capital, that is, money and resources, became an effective form of capital in VNU-Hanoi. This is in addition to the two existing effective forms of capital: cultural and social. With the loosening control of the government, the power structure inside the university has consolidated. The university director and officials held the key roles and power, both in terms of institutional resources and activities and in the Communist Party. University staff members were less powerful but they still had some control over their own activities.

From the 1990s to the present, there were a number of government attempts to change VNU-Hanoi's power structure and ways of working. The university as a field incorporated and transformed these attempts through the academics' interactions with each other and with the people holding power in the régime. The result was that the university, as a field, retained its power structure and ways of working. This has demonstrated the university-field's autonomy.

CHAPTER 9

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of this study and theorises how the development of VNU-Hanoi can be explained. It argues that VNU-Hanoi's development provides a case for theorisation of university development with Bourdieusian capital, habitus and field.¹ This case demonstrates that these constructs are useful framework for interpretation of the university's development. Briefly, VNU-Hanoi as a field experienced a complicated development that resulted from the interactions between the field and the fields of power and economy and the interactions among individuals and groups that were involved in the university. These interactions explained the diverse changes in the university. The case of VNU-Hanoi also shows that because Bourdieu developed these constructs in context-specific studies, these constructs are contested and complicated in varying economic and political contexts. Therefore, VNU-Hanoi's development and its particular contexts advance these constructs in a way that this chapter will detail.

VNU-Hanoi's development: From a Bourdieusian perspective

VNU-Hanoi's development provides a case for theorisation of university development using Bourdieu's constructs of field, habitus and capital.² The case demonstrates that 'field' applies to a university. The university is a separate social universe.³ Inside the university there are individuals and groups with particular positions. These positions follow certain power systems that control the university's capital, resources and interests. In VNU-Hanoi, there were academics and non-academics. They were university officials and staff whose

¹ Bourdieu, Pierre *Homo Academicus*, trans. Collier, Peter (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988); Bourdieu, Pierre 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices', in *The Blackwell Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed. Elliott, Anthony (Malden: Blackwell, 1999), 107-18; and Bourdieu, Pierre 'The Forms of Capital', in *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Sociology of Education*, ed. Ball, Stephen J. (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 15-29.

² Bourdieu, 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices'; and Bourdieu, 'Forms of Capital'.

³ Bourdieu, Pierre *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Johnson, Randal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

jobs covered teaching, research, administration and services. University officials occupied leading positions in the Communist Party Cell. They controlled VNU-Hanoi in terms of institution capital, resources and interests as well as scientific development.

An individual/group who occupies a position in the university should have the right habitus, or dispositions, for it. These include a number of attributes which are specified by these power systems. After an individual is recruited, his/her habitus is shaped through his/her interaction and learning from other academics.⁴ In VNU-Hanoi, the right attributes of academics included expertise and qualifications for the teaching and research tasks. Academics should also display compliance with the Communist Régime and adherence to its ideologies, including Marxism-Leninism and Hochiminh's thoughts. Academics learnt these attributes through the training and recruitment process of the university.

As a field, a university depends on other fields for resources. The university has its activities, or functions, in relation to these fields. These functions are implemented by individuals, groups and their interactions. The university also bears influence from the fields of power and economy.⁵ VNU-Hanoi demonstrated such dependency and influence. The university was subject to the control of the Communist Régime and received resources from this régime. For example, the Communist Government designed the university organisation structure and regulated the university staff recruitment as well as the teaching contents. The university provided teaching of Marxism and Leninism and propaganda for the régime in combination with professional education in order to exist and receive funding from the régime. When the economy became market-oriented, the university produced goods and provided services to the market and the public in return for profits. This means that the university undertook a variety of tasks. These tasks depended on the relations between the university and its environment.

⁴ Bourdieu, 'Structures, 'Habitus', Practices'.

⁵ Bourdieu, Pierre 'The Field of Cultural Production, Or: The Economic World Reversed', in *Field of Cultural Production*, by Bourdieu, Pierre, ed. Johnson, Randal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 29-74.

The development of VNU-Hanoi as a field illustrates Bourdieu's theory that a social field was an historical product. He considered that a field developed from other surrounding fields.⁶ VNU-Hanoi history showed that from 1956 to the present, VNU-Hanoi as a field evolved from its historical contexts. The field development reflected the changing economic and power relations in Vietnam. From 1956 to the 1970s, VNU-Hanoi had a dependent relationship with the Communist Régime. The university's functions and logic of functions were in accordance with the intention of the Communist Régime. This included training of skilled workers and communist indoctrination according to the government's plans. This was part of the domination that the Communist Régime established and maintained in the North of Vietnam during this period.

The Communist Régime repressed all open opposition or non-compliance by the university toward the régime. This was obvious in the *Nhan van Giai pham Affair* in the late 1950s. Specifically, some university professors and students openly criticised the leadership of the Communist Party and demanded more democracy in state governance. The government applied *Criticism Movement* and a censorship of publication to writers and artists, including university staff and students. The government also removed the university professors and students from the university who openly criticised the régime. The Communist Party Cell, which consisted of communist staff and students, replaced professors in controlling the university.

University academics had to change their habitus. In the late 1950s, university professors criticised the Communist Régime and demanded democracy. This reflected their French-learnt habitus.⁷ From the 1960s onwards, university academics avoided politics and appeared to adhere to and espouse the Régime and its direction in order to regain control of the university from non-academic communists. Their subversion was limited to the focus on expertise and the claim of specialisation. This was in line with the design by the Régime for the university. Association with the Communist Party was an effective form of

⁶ Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

⁷ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

capital in the university, in parallel with the cultural capital of expertise and qualifications of the academics.

During the 1980s, VNU-Hanoi endured the economic and social crisis in Vietnam. The university suffered from reduced activities, severe resource shortages and a threat of disintegration. The university was made redundant by the government. The economic and power crisis, however, resulted in a change in power relations within the government that permitted the loosening of control of the Régime over society and the economy. The government also loosened its control on the university and permitted it to develop relations outside the government and to seek income and resources from these relations. The university and academics entered new struggles to draw resources from outside the government. To this end, the university took on production, businesses and services as its new functions. They had relations with fee-paying students, private and state enterprises and agencies. This significant change in terms of the university's relations and activities with its environment was part of the development of multi-sector economic relations in Vietnam in this period.

University officials and staff adopted economic dispositions, for example, for-profit aims and calculation, in their habitus. They gave priority to income generation and focused on teaching, production and services. They gave less attention to expertise development and political education and propaganda compared with the previous period. This shift in habitus helped them to survive through economic hardship and to prevent the university from disintegrating. Economic capital became effective inside VNU-Hanoi.

As the university recovered, university officials and staff demanded that the government reduce its control over the university. They invested in relations with state officials to lobby for changes in the government's policies. They also publicly announced their opinions about the government's education and university policies through the mass media. Again, this was part of the Communist Régime's loosening of control that allowed certain expressions of opinion in the mass media on the government's policies.

VNU-Hanoi as a field had a tendency toward internal evolution, that is, the university formed and developed to distinguish itself from the environment. The university claimed its own functions, or activities, towards the surrounding fields.⁸ Specifically, from 1956 to the 1970s VNU-Hanoi's founding institutions claimed the training of socialist human resources in certain professions as one of the reasons for their existence and for their demands for resources from the government. Hanoi University, Hanoi University of Education and Hanoi University of Foreign Language Education, respectively, trained basic science workers, general education teachers and foreign language workers. VNU-Hanoi continued these teaching activities. This is similar to the claim of production and reproduction of scientific truth by French universities.⁹

VNU-Hanoi developed its autonomy which was part of the field's internal evolution.¹⁰ This is proven by the university's reversal and transformation of a number of government attempts to alter the field in the 1990s. This included the establishment of the VNU-Hanoi directorate and the setting up of the University of General Education from part of the undergraduate section of VNU-Hanoi's founding institutions. These attempts started new struggles among academics and between academics and the government. Internally, officials of the member units of VNU-Hanoi contested with the VNU-Hanoi directorate over the power and way of working inside VNU-Hanoi. Externally, university officials utilised their relations with politicians and state officials to manoeuvre government's policies towards the university.

The University of General Education was dissolved after three years and VNU-Hanoi returned to one-phase training. This placed students back under the control of faculties and returned the tuition fees of those students to VNU-Hanoi training member units. The VNU-Hanoi directorate assumed the role of the Ministry of Education towards its member units. The member units retained their power structure and way of working. There was no clear hierarchy in the relationship between the VNU-Hanoi directorate and its member units. In this

⁸ Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

⁹ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

¹⁰ Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

way, the university preserved its power structure and way of functions. Moreover, an important function of VNU-Hanoi was to reproduce middle-class intellectuals in Vietnam which continued throughout its history. This power function of reproduction of middle-class intellectuals, which was similar to that of French universities,¹¹ also distinguished the field from its environment.

The two tendencies of VNU-Hanoi: to incorporate external factors and to evolve internally, intertwined and brought diverse changes together to complicate the university's development. There was complicated development in the university's relations with the surrounding fields. This included the university's relations with the government and other partners under the varying control of the government and the Communist Régime. There were complicated shifts in power relations in the university. Different groups held control over the university and activities in its history. This related to the way the university carried out its activities, or functions. In the 1950s, university professors led VNU-Hanoi and decided on university activities and organisation. The professors, however, had to co-exist with a group of working-class staff and students who had affiliations with the Communist Party.

During the 1960s, non-academic communists controlled VNU-Hanoi. University communists implemented socialist education and propaganda. University academics carried out teaching and scientific research separately. They were in a dominated position.¹² They were subject to the Communist Party Cell in the university, the Communist Government, and the Central Communist Party of Vietnam. Academics, however, retained control over the teaching process. They used their criteria of excellence to hinder the inclusion of working-class staff and students who formed the power base of the communists in the university.

From the 1970s, communist academics were in control of the university. They implemented all functions of the university. These functions included the economic activities which had started in the 1980s. There were two major groups in VNU-Hanoi. The powerful group consisted of university officials and

¹¹ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

¹² Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

communist party leaders. The less powerful group included the remaining university staff. The less powerful group had certain control of their own activities, for example, the delivery of teaching and the pursuit of income-generation activities. Again, this self-control was an aspect of the French-learned habitus that continued from the 1950s. The less powerful group, however, was dependent on the powerful group in terms of the resources and activities of the university, including recruitment and promotion.

The development of VNU-Hanoi was underpinned by the interactions of groups in the university and its relations with surrounding fields. These interactions worked to reproduce or change the field's relations, habitus and capital.¹³ In particular, academics and non-academics inside the university and the state struggled to gain control of the university and to define its activities, or functions, and the way of working, or logic of function of the university. The struggles between academics and the state took root in the capital and resources pertaining to the university. Academics had cultural capital which consisted of their expertise and qualifications that society recognised. The state had a vested interest in this cultural capital. It wanted to use the cultural capital in its domination of society,¹⁴ particularly that of the skilled workers in the case of VNU-Hanoi. The state had power and could control the resources and influence the university and academics. The state had social and economic capital that academics and the university need. The state, however, depends on the academics in terms of the university's cultural capital. This is because academics possess and control this cultural capital in terms of its accumulation and transfer.¹⁵

The interactions, or struggles, of groups were explained by the habitus and capital of these groups at each stage of their struggles. This proves the applicability of Bourdieu's habitus and capital, in addition to field, in illuminating university development.¹⁶ Specifically, throughout VNU-Hanoi's history,

¹³ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*; and Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

¹⁴ Apple, Michael W. *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

¹⁵ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

¹⁶ Bourdieu, 'Structure, 'Habitus', Practice'; and Bourdieu, 'Forms of Capital'.

academics acted on the dispositions, or habitus, that they had learned from their past experience. Academics also adjusted their habitus according to their current circumstances. For example, academics changed from resisting the Communist Régime to displaying acceptance of and then advocating the régime, its ideologies and policies. This helped them to survive and regain control of the university while under the domination of the Communist Régime. This is supportive of Bourdieu's thesis that habitus is pre-adaptive and is shaped in the interactions among individuals and groups.¹⁷ Besides, academics relied on the forms of capital that were at their disposal, particularly their cultural capital of expertise and qualifications. Academics also invested in and accumulated other effective forms of capital such as social capital in the forms of political affiliation with the Communist Party or relations with state officials and politicians. This was to enable them to retain and promote their positions in the university and their power over the university.

Similar to academics, other groups involved in VNU-Hanoi acted on their habitus and capital and adjusted their actions according to the circumstances.¹⁸ These groups included the non-academic communists inside the university and the Communist Régime. In the 1950s, the non-academic communists, for example, relied on their social and symbolic capital of being communist and of working-class origin to claim power over the university from the professors. They also gained the support of the Communist Régime because of these forms of capital. The linkage between struggles in VNU-Hanoi and struggles in Vietnam politics is similar to what Bourdieu found in the field of cultural production in France. Particularly, new groups inside this field only won with support from changes in the field of power.¹⁹ When non-academic communists held control of VNU-Hanoi in the 1960s, they promoted their capital through their power. They required university academics to embrace Marxism-Leninism and follow the Communist Régime. They set up their surveillance and disciplinary systems on university academics and students to realise this goal.

¹⁷ Bourdieu, 'Structure, 'Habitus', Practice'.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Bourdieu, 'Economic World Reversed'.

The non-academic communists inside VNU-Hanoi were a source of capital of the Communist Régime. In the 1950s and 1960s, the régime used these communists to establish control over VNU-Hanoi. This use was in parallel with the régime's use of academics to set up and conduct training inside the university. In the 1970s, the régime accepted communist academics to replace the non-academic communists in managing the university on the régime's behalf. This was an adjustment, both in term of the régime's habitus and capital, to fit the new circumstance in which academics turned communist. In the economic and social crisis in the 1980s the Communist Régime loosened its control over VNU-Hanoi. This was another adjustment to fit the circumstance of resource shortages and the habitus of the new group in power in the régime.

Development of VNU-Hanoi as a field supports Bourdieu's thesis that change or stability in a university field depended on the state of the university and the balance of forces among groups inside the field.²⁰ From 1956 to the end of the 1970s, power relations in VNU-Hanoi shifted because of the changes in the forces of groups inside the university with the government's intervention. Successive groups got control over VNU-Hanoi: the university professors in the late 1950s, non-academic communists in the 1960s and academic communists in the 1970s. From the 1980s, power was concentrated in university officials who were communist academics. As power stayed with the university officials and government officials, the university structure remained relatively unchanged. This was strengthened when the government gave more power to university directors. The for-profit activities of the university generated resources and these further added to the power of the officials who retained their control over the university.

The case of VNU-Hanoi demonstrates that Bourdieusian field, habitus and capital apply to provide insights into university development. It also shows that these constructs shift and are contested in varying political and economic circumstances. Specifically, Bourdieu developed these constructs from his studies in Algeria and France, with particular reference to the power and

²⁰ Bourdieu, 'Economic World Reversed'.

economic relations in those countries at particular time periods. When these constructs are applied to VNU-Hanoi, there are features unique to the shift in relation to Vietnam's contexts in the period of VNH-Hanoi's development. This shift resulted in other shifts within the constructs which, in turn, contested these constructs.

The political and economic relations in Algeria and France used to be settled and stable and started to change at the time of Bourdieu's studies. Algeria was a tribal society under a French colonial régime. The tribal political and economic relations also used to be stable. They, too, started to change under the influence of the colonial régime.²¹ France used to be a structured society, that is, a society consisting of groups which were different and distinguished from each other in terms of power, capital possession and habitus as well as access to these groups. For example, university professors held scientific and academic power in universities and occupied a prestigious position in society. They differed from other university staff and students who were under their control. Access to the university professor group required investment in cultural capital which included degrees and expertise and social capital, that is, support from the professors. France started to become less structured, as with university expansion that open access to the academics and students.²² Because the power and economic relations in Algeria and France used to be stable and had just started to change, Bourdieu formed his constructs of field, habitus and capital in those stable and settled conditions. A field, therefore, was separate from other fields. It had its own power relations, logic of function, habitus and capital that differed from other the fields, including the fields of power and economy. These two fields often had an indirect influence on other social fields.²³

On the contrary, VNU-Hanoi as a field developed in a period of shifting power and economic relations. There was a change from colonial to post-colonial relations in the 1950s when French Indochina dissolved. Independence

²¹ Bourdieu, Pierre *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

²² See for example, Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*; and Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

²³ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*; Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*; and Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

struggles removed France's colonial power over Vietnam. Power struggles followed in the post-colonial era among power factions. They included the communists and non-communists who received support from countries that had interests in Vietnam, including China, Russia, France, and the United States. From the 1960s to the 1980s, there was also a shift from non-communist to communist power and economic relations. This started in the North and moved into the South when the Communist Régime unified Vietnam in 1975. From the 1980s, the economy shifted from planned and controlled economic relations to market relations. In addition, there were conditions of prolonged wars, poverty and crisis in between these shifts.

In these circumstances, VNU-Hanoi as a field shifted when compared with those fields in Bourdieu's studies. Particularly, the field did not separate from other fields like universities and the field of cultural production in France.²⁴ French universities bore no clear influence on the field of economy. The field of power influenced French universities through the system of university posts and its power reproduction function.²⁵ VNU-Hanoi was part of the fields of power and economy. The government was directly involved in the university and held the power over the university institutionally. The university practised propagandism for the Communist Régime and placed academics under political surveillance. In this aspect, the university acted both as a propaganda and surveillance agency for the Communist Régime. From the 1980s, the university ran businesses and services to generate income and resources. This happened when the government loosened control of economic relations which then became market-oriented.

Inside the VNU-Hanoi field, the Communist Party held power over institutional resources and activities. Scientific development was weak. This was due to resource shortages, lack of investment in research by the government as well as a change in habitus of the academics. Throughout VNU-Hanoi history, academics struggled with the state to define the university functions, logic of functions, and capital. From the 1980s onward, academics also struggled to

²⁴ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*; and Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

²⁵ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

obtain resources from the economy. There was no parallel with the French universities in relation to resource shortages and government manoeuvring in Bourdieu's study.²⁶ This might be because these issues were not present in French universities at the time of his study. There have been recent changes in these aspects for universities in Europe and North America which the literature revealed. Examples include the discourse of quality, effectiveness and utilitarianism that many governments established in their universities today. These were to increase government control over universities and to reduce public spending and, thus, the welfare burden.²⁷ VNU-Hanoi's situation differed in that the Vietnam Communist Government intervened directly in the university and its founding institutions. This government designed and controlled these universities' functions and ways of functioning. The government's manipulation on VNU-Hanoi was similar to that in other countries in Asia which were the results of both colonial and post-colonial politics.²⁸

In addition to the above shifts, VNU-Hanoi differed from French universities in terms of academics' habitus and capital. VNU-Hanoi academics upheld scientific excellence but carried on socialist propaganda and combined it with social sciences and humanities. They cared as much about their own income as about their profession. They used cultural capital in combination with social and symbolic capital in particular forms for promotion, that is, association with the Communist Régime and adherence to Communist ideologies. In French universities, academics cared about scientific development and institutional promotions. They considered that their scientific teaching and research was impartial, despite the fact that these works were influenced by power relations. French academics also relied on their cultural capital and social and symbolic

²⁶ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

²⁷ Deem, Rosemary 'Globalisation, New Managerialism, Academic Capitalism and Entrepreneurialism in Universities: Is the Local Dimension Still Important?' *Comparative Education* 37, no. 1 (2001): 7-20; Deem, Rosemary and Brehony, Kevin J. 'Management as Ideology: The Case of New Managerialism in Higher Education', *Oxford Review of Education* 31, no. 2 (2005): 217-35; and Preston, David S. 'Managerialism and the Post-Enlightenment Crisis of the British University', *Educational Philosophy & Theory* 33, no. 3 & 4 (2001): 343-63.

²⁸ Altbach, Philip G. 'Twisted Roots: The Western Impact on Asian Higher Education', *Higher Education* 18, no. 1 (1989): 9-29; and Altbach, Philip G. 'The Past and Future of Asian Universities: Twenty-First Century Challenges', in *Asian Universities: Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Challenges*, eds Altbach, Philip G. and Umakoshi, Toru (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 13-32.

capital for promotion.²⁹ However, there was no specific attachment to the ruling régime and its ideologies as there was in VNU-Hanoi with the Communist Régime.

The shifts of the VNU-Hanoi field and its habitus and capital contested Bourdieu's construct of field. It showed that under the condition of strict government control over society, a social field was closely attached to the field of power. There were political power factors in VNU-Hanoi. Particularly, the government and Communist Party were involved in the university. VNU-Hanoi advocated and propagandised for the Communist Régime. The university indoctrinated its academics and students accordingly. VNU-Hanoi also showed that a social field might be closely attached to the field of economy. This depended on the condition of the field of economy. The conditions of poverty, scarce resources and limited government funding made VNU-Hanoi engage in businesses and production as part of the field of economy. VNU-Hanoi's development also contested the intersectionality of habitus and capital in a field. It showed that the habitus of people in a field might consist of political and economic dispositions. The effective forms of capital in a field might include economic capital and social capital in the form of political relations. This, in turn, reflected the conditions of the fields of economy and power and their influence on other social fields.

This case study demonstrates the complicated and contested nature of Bourdieusian field, habitus and capital in different economic and political contexts, and furthered Bourdieu's theme on social fields and development of social fields in their relations with fields of economy and power. VNU-Hanoi's development showed that fields of power and economy might condition other social fields through the political and economic factors presented in these fields. This is in addition to the influence of fields of power and economy on the habitus and capital of individuals and groups in these fields.³⁰ These political

²⁹ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

³⁰ Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*; Bourdieu, *Forms of Capital*; and Bourdieu, 'Structure, 'Habitus', Practice'.

and economic factors changed according to the development of the fields of economy and power. They, in turn, led to other changes in these social fields.

VNU-Hanoi's history showed that a field was changeable in terms of power relations, functions and ways of functions. The field was dependent and subject to control by other fields. The incorporation and transformation of external factors and resources were the key for the field to exist and develop in changing economic and power circumstances. This worked to adapt the field to its surrounding environment. For example, under the domination of the Communist Régime and its socialist plan, VNU-Hanoi adhered to the control of the Communist Régime. The university incorporated political education and propaganda as part of its functions. In the economic and social crisis in the 1980s and the period afterwards, the university engaged in for-profit activities to acquire resources and income. These adaptations ensured the university's existence, reproduction and its claim to excellent training as its function. VNU-Hanoi, therefore, demonstrated the flexibility of a field in its responses to the environment's influences and resources in order to survive and develop. Moreover, VNU-Hanoi proved that even under the strong control and influence of external fields, the university developed its own functions, way of function and autonomy.

VNU-Hanoi as a case furthers Bourdieu's themes on university development. It demonstrates that mobilisation of resources, control of institutional activities and scientific development are key activity areas of a university field. The types of power that were at work in the university were to control these activities and associated resources, capital and interests. Therefore, the university field is linked not only with the field of power and the field of intellectuals³¹ but also with the field of economy. The university's linkage to the field of power explained the presence of the Communist Party and its control over VNU-Hanoi institutionally. The university's linkage to the field of economy is shown in its involvement in businesses and its for-profit activities. The linkage to the field of intellectuals explained the training and research activities with cultural capital as the

³¹ Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

prerequisite form of capital in VNU-Hanoi. Teaching of sciences, selection and indoctrination of middle-class intellectuals³² and resource generation were the three major functions of the university throughout its history.

In VNU-Hanoi's development, academics played a key role in the incorporation and transformation of external factors. They adapted themselves and the university to the surrounding environment. This was obvious through changes to the academics' habitus throughout VNU-Hanoi's history.

Reflections and suggestions for further research

Bourdieu's theoretical lens offered a possibility to critique and theorise the study processes and the data sources. During data collection and analysis, in particular, I found that I and my work were subject to the power relations in VNU-Hanoi. At the same time, this offered a new way to examine and interpret data in terms of these power relations.

First, the gathering of data from archives and interviews during my field trip showed that both the gathering process and the data gathered were shaped towards certain interests by the existing power relations. Archival evidence is of a complicated, contested, blurred and shifting nature. If the national archives provided evidence that supported the views of Vietnamese state officials and national leaders, the evidence accumulated and retained by individuals offered the views of those individuals from VNU-Hanoi.

In-depth interviewing provided selected facts and figures that matched the view of the interviewees and their power relations. Consequently, the multi-faceted accounts that arose from these interviews offered, on the one hand, a generally positive picture of VNU-Hanoi and its predecessors, and, on the other hand, their inherent and profound problems. These reflected the tensions of the Vietnamese contexts and the habitus of interviewees in their relations with VNU-Hanoi.

³² Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*.

Secondly, data evaluation and analysis revealed not only facts and figures, but also the habitus, practices and the power relations of the people who drafted, approved, used and retained the data. Examples included the drafting of official documents that hid the document drafters, and the way people leaked information using rumours.

The interviews and their results pointed to one important methodological lesson. The lesson is that interview data should be subject to critical use, with due attention given to the influence of the related factors mentioned above. Data should be cross-checked and triangulated with other data sources if comprehensive findings are to be generated. In this study, the combination of interviews and archival research was a way to overcome this.

Thirdly, I found it was useful to fully examine my assumptions about VNU-Hanoi and about my interviewees and the data. I found that power relations, that is, academic, scholar, economic and political, again played key roles in mine and the interviewees' assumptions. This was because they determined the positions of each individual and group in VNU-Hanoi. For example, underlying the claim to quality was an assumption of the right to authority of the élite scholars in opposition to communist domination as well as economic intrusion.

The study had the following limitations. First, while Bourdieu's theoretical framework was useful to interpret the actors and their interactions with social structures, for example, individuals, groups and their relatively stable social relationships, this did not take into full account other factors such as the natural environment and technologies that influenced these interactions. The literature provided some examples in which university development was affected by these factors. For example, Brockliss³³ and Logan³⁴ demonstrated that the university buildings and campus were influenced by the architecture, the political and other local conditions as well as specific requirements of university disciplines and activities and the popular university models of the time.

³³ Brockliss, Laurence 'Gown and Town: The University and the City in Europe, 1200-2000', *Minerva: A Review of Science, Learning & Policy* 38, no. 2 (2000): 147-70.

³⁴ Logan, William Stewart *Hanoi: Biography of a City* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2000).

Secondly, this study focused on VNU-Hanoi's development as a single case. While it teased out insights into and the uniqueness of this university, and added to the body of historiography of higher education and provided a case for furthering Bourdieu's theories, its findings could not be generalised for other universities in Vietnam.

One way to further this research would be to adopt Hatch's model for universities in combination with the theoretical lenses of Bourdieu. This would provide an understanding of the university's development in terms of organisation. This was because Hatch provided a detailed view of the following factors in her study on organisation theories. She defines the organisation with its goals and strategies and technological, social, cultural and physical aspects. The organisation is located within its environment which is comprised of a network of interacting or competing organisations. In addition, the general environment has inter-related social, cultural, legal, political, economic, technological and physical sectors.³⁵

Another way to offer more insights into VNU-Hanoi's development would have been to examine this development through other theoretical lenses. Post-modernism, for example, might illuminate more how certain practices and languages might shape the way of life of academics inside universities.³⁶ In VNU-Hanoi, the introduction of Marxism, Leninism and Ho Chi Minh thoughts to university teaching and practices as a prerequisite subject led to the fact that academics incorporated Marxism, Leninism and Ho Chi Minh thoughts in their published works and speeches. The introduction of the credit system along with large number of students resulted in more workload and a more stressful life for university academics.

³⁵ Hatch, Mary Jo *Organization Theory Modern, Symbolic, and Postmodern Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

³⁶ Ball, Stephen J. 'The Sociology of Education: A Disputational Account', in *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Sociology of Education*, ed. Ball, Stephen J. (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 1-12.

Themes of globalisation and neo-liberalism in relation to higher education could deepen the analysis of developments in VNU-Hanoi and the Vietnamese university system. A case in point is that globalisation demonstrated in the form of higher education trends that occurred in the world which explained how VNU-Hanoi and other Vietnamese universities shared similarities with those universities elsewhere.³⁷ This included enrolment expansion and diversification of training programmes that VNU-Hanoi recorded in its history.

Neo-liberalism denotes the adoption of market practices and languages by the state in the public sector, including education. This started in Europe and North America and became widespread in the world.³⁸ Analysis might tease out how this movement featured in higher education policies and practices in Vietnam. My study data shows some demonstration of neoliberalism. In particular, the Government of Vietnam changed its policy towards VNU-Hanoi and other public universities from total funding and total control and management to partial funding and decentralisation of control and management and allowed these universities to seek for resources from society. VNU-Hanoi responded to these changes by developing businesses and enrolling self-funded students. This response was similar to those entrepreneurial universities in Europe and elsewhere.³⁹

Concluding notes

This study into VNU-Hanoi's historical development had three main findings. First, I found that VNU-Hanoi and its predecessors had experienced complicated development in a changing context. The complicated development

³⁷ Altbach, Philip G. 'Globalisation and the University: Myths and Realities in an Unequal World', *Tertiary Education and Management* 10, no. 1 (2004): 3-25; and Pham, Lan Huong and Fry, Gerald W. 'Universities in Vietnam: Legacies, Challenges and Prospects', in *Asian Universities: Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Challenges*, eds. Altbach, Philip G. and Umakoshi, Toru (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), p.301-331.

³⁸ Davies, Bronwyn and Petersen, Eva Bendix 'Neo-Liberal Discourses in the Academy: The Forestalling of (Collective) Resistance', *LATISS- Learning and Teaching in the Social Sciences* 2, no. 2 (2005): 77-98; and Torres, Carlos Alberto 'The State, Privatisation and Educational Policy: A Critique of Neo-Liberalism in Latin America and Some Ethical and Political Implications', *Comparative Education* 38, no. 4 (2002): 365-85

³⁹ See, for example, Clark, Burton R. 'Collegial Entrepreneurialism in Proactive Universities', *Change* 32, no. 1 (2000): 10-9; and Yokoyama, Keiko 'Entrepreneurialism in Japanese and UK Universities: Governance, Management, Leadership, and Funding', *Higher Education* 52, no. 3 (2006): 523-55;

of the university was the result of the interactions between the university and the government, other entities that related to it, and the fields of power and economy, and the interactions among university staff. On the one hand, the university received impacts and resources from its environment to fulfil its functions towards the government and other entities, and the fields of power and economy. On the other hand, university staff interacted to distribute and use resources and interests to fulfil the university's functions. These interactions also reproduced, or changed, the university power relations and the academic habitus, subject to the influence and resources that the university received from outside.

Secondly, VNU-Hanoi's development could be theorised using Bourdieusian field, habitus, and capital. It illustrated the development of a university as a field that shifted under the influence of surrounding fields. The three fields of intellectuals, power and economy link to the university field in particular. The university performs functions towards these fields and takes resources and capital from them. The change that occurred inside VNU-Hanoi was the result both of factors from these three fields and struggles among academics and related groups. The change headed the university towards autonomy.

Thirdly, VNU-Hanoi's development provided a case to advance the constructs of Bourdieusian field, habitus, and capital. It demonstrated that field, habitus and capital formed a useful framework to interpret development of a university. The study also contested the relatively stable nature of field, habitus and capital that Bourdieu developed. It showed that these constructs shifted according to shifts within the fields of economy and power. These two fields might condition other social fields through the power and economic factors presented in these fields. This is, in addition to the influence of fields of power and economy on the habitus and capital of these fields. These power and economic factors changed according to the development of fields of economy and power. They in turn led to other changes in these social fields.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Interview Guides

Guide for University Staff

Personal history with the university

1. Could you tell me about your history with Vietnam National University-Hanoi? (Years of experience, Positions, Activities and services)

Observations about the university's development

2. What development has your unit/ school/ university experienced? (including things that have changed and things that have been maintained), particularly in terms of:

The unit/ school/ university operation, including functions, works, ways of working, roles of involved parties

Its social relations and resources

Its recruitment of staff and promotion: who were recruited/ promoted?
Based on what criteria? And why?

The values and norms are shared by and act to reorient all members of the unit/ school/ university.

The unit/ school/ university relations with the environment, including with others related unit/ school/ university and organisations: who/ which, how and why.

3. Do you have any further information or insights you wish to add?

Guide for State Officials

Personal experience with the university

1. Could you tell me about your experience with Vietnam National University-Hanoi?

When were you working with the university?

In what capacity?

What were you doing with it?

Observations about the university's development

2. What development has the university experienced? (including things that have changed and things that have been maintained), particularly in terms of:

The university operation: functions, works, ways of working, roles of involved parties

Its social relations and resources

Its recruitment of staff and promotion: who were recruited/ promoted?

Based on what criteria? And why?

Its values and norms that are shared by and act to reorient all university members

Its relations with the environment and your agencies.

3. Do you have any further information or insights you wish to add?

Appendix 2. Coding Book

No.	Code/ theme	Code/ Theme Content	Example
1	Functions	What a university is for? What did it do?	Government assigned: to contribute to the socialist society building in Vietnam To teach To research To provide social services Perceived/ observed: teach and research basic sciences, political education
2	Ways of functions	How does the university function (processes and involved people)?	Professors provided teaching, prepared course books, selected and trained their successors, within the approved frame of the university academic board, director and Ministry of Education University community (staff, students) involvement in social campaigns
3	Capital (economic, social, cultural, & symbolic)	What is used in exchanges?	Support, promotion, gift exchange, labour work...
4	Capital accumulation	How capital is accumulated?	Exchange between people of equal ranking Invest of time and capital in relations and reputation buildings
5	Power		Scientific power, academic power, political power (communist party), economic power
6	Power system		Scientific, economic, academic, political
7	Hierachisation	The production and reproduction of the power systems	This combines the recruitment, promotion and competition in one power system.
8	Principles of hierachisation	How are people positioned in each power system?	Based on one's attributes such as titles, scientific achievements, political achievements, members of groups/ association with influential people...

No.	Code/ theme	Code/ Theme Content	Example
9	Mode of recruitment	How are people recruited? (criteria for selection, and who select whom)	Degrees, professoriate titles, age, political stance, association with influential people. For example, excellent students were selected and the way they became excellent (excellent study results, disciples of related professors, proper behaviour) Before the government appointed staff based on recommendation from university directors and communist party leaders. Now faculties carried out the pre-selection process and university directorate board organised official recruitment and approved the result.
10	Mode of promotion	How are people promoted (what sort of promotion, who promoted whom, based on what criteria)?	Scholar titles (lecturers, associated professors, professors) Academic titles (dean, director...) Communist party membership
11	Mode of competition	How did people compete (for what power)?	Communist intervention in appointment Capital breed capital for people in high positions
12	Values	What did people value?	Scholar titles, academic positions, finance, disguised personal autonomy, communist ideals
13	Groups	What groups and their functions and actions?	Generations: shared habitus, but no leadership Leaders (those with academic power) The less powerful staff Informal groups
14	Group habitus	Cognitive orientations and strategies of actions	Shared habitus: political adherence, economic calculations Personal autonomy in disguise (thinks different from talks different from writings)
15	Classification	The positioning of individuals and groups in a university	This abstract process is a combination of the positioning in the existing power systems

No.	Code/ theme	Code/ Theme Content	Example
16	Struggles for classification	Interactions between individuals and groups to retain/ promote their positions in a university and to change the positioning criteria	This includes struggles in different power systems
17	Open spaces	What rooms avail (for people to manoeuvre, for new things to be introduced)?	Knowledge indetermination Individual autonomy in disguise Need for resources from the government and society
18	External factors & resources	What factors and resources came from outside to universities?	Government policies to change university functions, power systems Funding and demand from students and private sectors
19	University Network	What agencies related to universities? What is the nature of the relation?	University- Government agencies University- Other universities University- Professional bodies
20	Change	What change occurred? What stayed the same?	Any change to the above issues
21	Change series	How change related to change?	What started? What followed as consequences? What happened in parallel and jointly produced the final result?
22	Field of power		This is demonstrated through the influences it exerted on a university
23	Field of economy		This is demonstrated through the influences it exerted on a university

Appendix 3. A Chronology of VNU-Hanoi

- 1956: Establishment of Hanoi University and Hanoi University of Education from some schools that were maintained by the Hochiminh Government throughout the French Resistance
- 1967: Hanoi University of Education was split into three universities: Hanoi University of Education No.1, Hanoi University of Foreign Language Education, and Hanoi University of Education No.2
- 1993: Establishment of Vietnam National University-Hanoi in a merger of three universities: Hanoi University, Hanoi University of Education No.1, and Hanoi University of Foreign Language Education.
- 1995: Establishment of University of General Education within VNU-Hanoi.
- 1998: Disolution of University of General Education within VNU-Hanoi
- 1999: Withdrawal of Hanoi University of Education No.1. This university took back its old name Hanoi University of Education.
- 2001: Reorganisation of VNU-Hanoi

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