

French Educational Reforms in Indochina Peninsula and the Appearance of the Western Intellectual Hierarchy in Vietnam in the Early Twentieth Century

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Abstract Educational reforms of French colonialism in the 19th century in Indochina Peninsula aimed at the goals of dominated country's rule, through the formation of educational systems according to the degree of domination achieved by French colonialists. Consequently, in Vietnamese society, there appeared a hierarchy of western intellectuals, an elite product of history, paving the way for the development of the Vietnamese intellectual class later.

Keywords: educational reforms, French, Indochina Peninsula, western intellectuals, Vietnam

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1. Introduction

Theories on educational reform have been developed since Greco-Roman times, in all three directions of reforms related to school, life, and society. Reform movements in the Middle Ages initially occurred on the basis of religious motivations or the desire of domination of colonialists on colonies. For examples, Heresy always promoted new education, since the divergences from the main doctrine picked out alternative forms of salvation as a central theme, to which the life of an own group had to be adapted. Education was not focused on children and youngsters, but it centered on religious and social renewal. It was envisaged that the 'new' education would bring about 'new people', a central theme which was developed in Baroque didactics into a program of holistic renewal of mankind. Proofs of this theme can be found in many contexts right up to the pedagogical reform of the twentieth century, in this respect ever more closely related to the mythology and cult of 'the child'. The original sacred theme was continuously secularized, without weakening the appertaining religious power. The division of education and religion had shifted Messianic expectations onto education which, since the seventeenth century, was supposed to ensure perfection in this world.

'Reform', therefore, was never just pragmatic; it was, on the other hand, a utopia that did not lose track of the salvation concept and could also understand education as a power and cause of the radical renewal. The success of this was considered to be all the better the more education could appear to be methodically mastered - a concept that

was developed by the 'inwardness' of belief within the European Reformation. The 'inner belief' should be granted by new education, and this required means of influence. The Baroque programs convinced by way of a mixture of 'wholeness' and 'method.' Similarly, sensualistic psychology in the eighteenth century was understood as a strengthening of the effectiveness of education, and pedagogical doctrines were developed with the promise of methodical innovation. At the same time a literary image of the child was created between Rousseau and the Romantic era which particularly excluded technical expectations. The reform movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries developed in this field of tension of 'natural education' and 'method.' (see [4]).

Along the human history, education reformations in different area in deferent period had specific characteristics. Some concrete education reformations in the history were of colonials on their colonies in the twentieth century. We focus on Southeast Asia, including Vietnam. Indigenous culture, colonialism, and the post-World War II era of political independence influenced the forms of education in the nations of Southeast Asia, including Myanmar, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

Before 1500 CE, education throughout the region consisted chiefly of the transmission of cultural values through family and community living, supplemented by some formal teaching of each locality's dominant religion, that were Animism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, or Islam. Religious schools typically were attended by boys living in humble quarters at the residence of a pundit who guided their study of the scriptures for an indeterminate period of time.

With the advent of Western colonization after 1500 and particularly from the early 19th to the mid-20th century, Western schooling with its dominantly, secular curriculum, sequence of grades, examinations, set calendar, and diplomas began to make strong inroads on the region's traditional educational practices. For the indigenous peoples, Western schooling had the appeal of leading to employment in the colonial government and in business and trading firms.

After World War II, as all sectors of Southeast Asia gained political independence, each newly formed country attempted to achieve planned development to furnish primary schooling for everyone, extend the amount and quality of post-primary education, and shift the emphasis in secondary and tertiary education from liberal, general studies to scientific and technical education. Although indigenous culture was still learned through family living and traditional religion continued to be important in people's lives, most formal schooling throughout Southeast Asia had become predominantly of a Western, secular variety.

Schooling in all these countries was organized into three main levels: primary, secondary, and higher. In addition, nursery schools and kindergartens, operated chiefly by private groups, were gradually gaining popularity. The typical length of primary schooling was six years. Secondary education was usually divided into two three-year levels. A wide variety of postsecondary institutions offered academic and vocational specializations. Beginning in the 1950s, informal education to extend literacy and vocational skills among the adult population expanded dramatically throughout the region. Most of the countries were committed to compulsory basic education, typically for six years but up to nine years in Vietnam. However, the inability of governments to furnish enough schools for their growing populations prevented most from fully realizing the goal of universal basic schooling.

In each country a central ministry of education set schooling structures and curriculum requirements, with some responsibilities for school supervision, curriculum, and finance often delegated to provincial and local educational authorities. Government-sponsored educational research and development bureaus had been established from the 1950s in an effort to make the countries more self-reliant in fashioning education to their needs. Regional cooperation in attacking educational problems was furthered by membership in such alliances as the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The problems that most Southeast Asian education systems continued to face were reducing school dropout and grade-repeater rates, providing enough school buildings and teachers to serve rapidly expanding numbers of children, furnishing educational opportunities to rural areas, and organizing curricula and access to education in ways that suited the cultural and geographical conditions of multiethnic populations (see [2]).

This paper will concentrate on the situation of Vietnam. The structure of the study is as follows. Section 2 discussed the literature review. Section 3 described the French educational reforms in Indochina peninsula. The appearance of the Western intellectual hierarchy in Vietnam in the early twentieth century is presented in Section 4. Section 5 covers the conclusion.

2. Literature Review

This interesting topic was raised far in the history by Alan Peshkin (see [1]). The author discussed about the difference between educational reform in colonial and independent Africa. In this topic of education reformations of colonials on their colonies in the twentieth century, Whitehead (see [6]) examined the rationale for ethnic schooling in former British colonial territories in East Africa and Southeast Asia. Critics, especially of British rule in Malaya and Singapore, had traditionally claimed that ethnic schools were established as part of a British political strategy of "divide et impera". An examination of the evidence suggested otherwise. There might be some support for the view that ethnic schooling was generated, at least in part, by a policy of benign neglect on the part of the British but the most plausible explanation lies in Britain's longstanding adherence to the principle of voluntarism and the accommodation of broad guiding principles to the practical realities of population distribution, language diversity, cultural traditions and mutual antagonisms, resistance to religious proselytization, and an ever-present shortfall of human and financial resources. To suggest that the British deliberately encouraged ethnic schools to maintain their colonial hegemony was to ascribe to colonial policy far more foresight and rationality than is merited by the available evidence. Adherence to the voluntary principle--the belief that anyone should be free to establish and operate a school provided it met minimum standards of construction, size and hygiene--had been a feature of English educational practice dating back to medieval times. Arthur Mayhew, Joint-Secretary of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education, drew attention to the fact that private enterprise and non-official agencies had been "a fundamental feature of English education policy at all times and in all places". They ensured a variety of aims and methods and a defence against official standardisation and rigid uniformity "which the English detest". Ethnic schools were also established for a variety of sound practical reasons including the fact that local ethnic communities helped shoulder the financial cost of establishing and maintaining schools. To have attempted to establish national systems of multiracial schools in the colonies, especially in the years between the two world wars, would have been impossible both financially and in practical terms. Instead, British colonial education policy was an exercise in pragmatism or what Lord Hailey described as the exercise of a traditional skill in accommodating principles to circumstances. Moreover, to argue that education policy was geared primarily to political ends is to imply that the British had a clear understanding of the role that education played in national life, a view vehemently denied by Sir Fred Clarke. British education policy both at home and abroad clearly reinforced social class divisions but to suggest that it was primarily motivated by ulterior political ends is to credit British officials with far more insight than they would have claimed or is warranted by the evidence.

Another study was of Tan Yao Sua (see [5]), who examined the educational policy implemented by the British for the Malays, the indigenous community of Malaya. Underpinned by the policy of divide and rule, the

British implemented a dualistic system of education for the indigenous Malays: one for the Malay peasantry and another for the Malay nobility. The two systems of education served different purposes and needs of the British. The Malay peasantry was provided with a rural-based Malay education which only had limited value in terms of educational mobility. This rural-based education was to serve as a means of social control for the British by entrapping the Malays in the semi-subsistence economy. On the other hand, the British provided the Malay nobility with an elitist English education that was intended to co-opt the ruling Malay traditional elites into their fold. But contrary to the intention of the British, the Malay-educated intelligentsia, in particular those from the Sultan Idris Training College became radical nationalists who adopted an anti-British stand. Such an unintended development was the result of the role played by O.T. Dussek (the college principal), the infusion of nationalistic sentiment from neighboring Indonesia and the threat posed by the Chinese immigrants. However, the radical stand of the Malay-educated intelligentsia was neutralized by the Malay traditional elites who adopted a pro-British stand. It was the Malay traditional elites who eventually led the Malays toward the independence of Malaya.

However, the similar situation for Vietnam has not been conducted yet. This paper aims to fill that gap.

3. French Educational Reforms in Indochina Peninsula

After completing the process of invading Vietnam, the French colonialists began to set up a new ruling apparatus to replace the Nguyen government apparatus. One of the first things that the French colonialists invested in was to build a new education system to train personnel for the colonial government apparatus. The concept, mechanism of training and using talents in the Western style gradually replaced the concept, mechanism of training and using talents according to Confucianism

As early as 1861, after capturing Gia Dinh. French colonialists decided to establish Pigneau de Behaine School (d'Adran Saigon School - Ba Da Loc School) to teach French to Vietnamese and teach Vietnamese to French with the purpose of training interpreters for the army. And secretaries for administrative agencies would be set up in the footsteps of the French colonialists. D'Adran Saigon was a private school, founded by missionary priests near the Saigon Zoo. High school taught at the secondary school, that was, it ended in "Thanh chung" at that time. The name of the school is named as Bishop Ba Da Loc, whose real name was Pigneau de Behaine, Bishop of Adran (évêque d'Adran). It was also the place to train teachers for later schools, as the French occupation system expanded. From here, hundreds of interpreters and secretaries trained, the first generation of Western intellectuals to learn from Vietnamese education. In 1874, the Cochinchina Administration was established to study and direct the education of the whole country. Luro, one of the leaders of the organization, commented that Western education in recent years had only trained "little boys who had just been trained in the first years when the French arrived, they can only read,

write and do four calculations; such knowledge of teachers, how to impart to students" (see [3], page 43). Since then, Luro advocated not closing Han Chinese schools but forcing Han Chinese teachers to learn the Vietnamese national language, using both Chinese and Chinese characters to spread French science and civilization into Vietnam. During the first 25 years of occupation of Cochinchina, France established a system of education and training to prepare for the long-term rule in Vietnam. This education and training system initially met the two basic goals of training interpreters and secretaries for the army and the ruling apparatus in newly occupied lands, while organizing an education popularizing French words and romanized languages to gradually replace Chinese characters. However, the above two goals only achieved very limited results. France did not easily impose Western-style education and French-style education and training system in Vietnam

After occupying all of Vietnam, until the early years of the twentieth century, the educational organization of French colonialists in Vietnam was really expanded. In 1906, France carried out the first educational reform to control the spiritual life of the people, to serve the colonial exploitation, to limit the influence of Confucian scholars who used Confucianism to spread the thought of loving country. The main content of the first French education reform in Vietnam was to increase the teaching of French and the national language at all levels. The basic subjects were writing, math, history, geography, morality, accounting ... The education system at that time consisted of three levels: elementary, secondary, college and university with two types. The schools included French-Vietnamese and Han ones. Basic textbooks were in national alphabets, kanji and french characters compiled by Truong Vinh Ky, Tran Van Thong, Do Than and some people in the Cochinchina main school of primary education. Especially, the separate program for girls' school had been completed with basic subjects such as reading, writing, math, morality, hygiene and housework for female teachers. Besides, a system of vocational schools had been established to train technical workers for capitalist enterprises. The first university of the Western higher education system founded in 1906 was Indochina University Institute, comprising three faculties: literature, law and science, a total of 94 students. However, the teaching had only been conducted for less than a year, it might be stopped without a decision and without notice of cause. There were sources, the tax resistance in Quang Nam, Central is a reason. Since 1908, there had been no expenditure in Indochina Federal government budgets. Some school facilities were also taken away. The former schools (Indochina Medical School and Public School, jointly founded 1902) founded the Indochina University Institute to return to its former position. The Indochina University Institute was actually dissolved. Ten years later, on December 21, 1917, the Governor-General of Indochina, Albert Sarraut made a decision which included the existing higher education institutions to establish Indochina University Institute. In addition to the original three faculties, the Indochinese University Institute opened in 1917 included: Medicine, Veterinary Medicine, Water Forestry, Education, Commerce, Finance, Law on Administration and Fine Arts. With relatively comprehensive

reforms in the form of organization, curriculum and learning, French educational reforms in 1906 achieved certain results, making French-Vietnamese education strongly penetrated and focused on feudal education, paving the way for the abolition of the traditional sending regime of Vietnam in the following years. The purpose of educational reform at the Franco-Vietnamese schools was to briefly train a number of technical workers and civil servants to assist the colonial government. And the purpose of reforming in the system of Han Chinese schools was to train the mandarin class with both a former degree and a new school, acting as a bridge between the people and the protective state that was not achieved by the quality of training. This class of intellectuals was trained in such a limping and patchy manner that they spoke French in such a way that no one said so and the level of Han Chinese stopped at not being able to write poems and riches like Confucian scholars system. Nam Phong magazine made an ironic comment about the training results of Han Chinese schools under the 1906 reform program as follows: "The same is the case of the National Literature. That is the quintessence of our country's talented people" (see [3], pages 80-81).

The new education and training system was really completed with the second educational reform initiated by the Governor-General of Anbe Xaro in late 1917 by the promulgation of the General Department of Education, which clearly defined the education guidelines. In Vietnam, it was general education and practical training with two systems: French schools and French-Vietnamese schools, specializing in teaching Vietnamese according to the native program. This educational reform allowed primary schools and lower years of elementary school to be taught and learned entirely in the national language to turn Vietnamese into a "vehicle used to transport French ideology and career in the Indochina" (see [3], page 89). The reforms of the canonical Archives of Anbe Lazarus had achieved many positive results after a period of implementation. In 1923, a total of 3039 high schools in the country with the number of students up to 163,110 people. Also during the 20s of the twentieth century, many professional schools and colleges were established such as College of Law and Legal Studies, College of Pedagogy, Public Works, Trade, Veterinary, Agriculture, and schools. vocational training in big cities... In the following years, the education system would continue to be strengthened and improved at all levels of education with the policy of universalizing primary education, strengthening secondary education and consolidate college education. Particularly, the training objectives of the college were clearly defined, such as: "Training of indigenous professionals who can assist or replace French employees in agroforestry agencies", "Training of agents in Indochina Post and Telegraph agencies"... depending on the specific school. But the most general purpose was to assert the superiority of the bourgeoisie dominating the French.

Thus, the education and training system of the colonial state had been increasingly reformed to suit the purpose of colonial administration, creating a landmark turning point in history education and training of Vietnamese talents. The proposals to renovate Nguyen Truong To's education in the late nineteenth century and the trend to build a generalized Westernized academic background in the

early twentieth century were made by the colonial state but for the purpose of enslavement, colonialists, in opposition to the purpose of patriotic artists who wanted to renovate, resilience, enhance the internal force of the country against invasion. However, the new education was gradually completed and became a driving force for the development at that time when gradually training the the new intellectual team would be equipped with updated scientific knowledge and methods, rich in practical competencies, meeting a certain level of social demand at that time.

4. The Appearance of the Western Intellectual Hierarchy in Vietnam in the Early Twentieth Century

With a highly structured system of education and training programs, diverse knowledge suitable for each educational level, the Western education system had provided society with a highly structured structure of Western education - the type of resources meeting the colonial social needs of the time. For those who had completed primary education, they might go to vocational training or join a team of small intellectuals and officials. This small class of intellectuals includes those who had just completed primary or secondary school, primary teachers, teachers, signers at departments... For those who had just finished high school, they could do as teachers, signers or assistants, officials in public and private offices... And for those who had graduated from college or university, the immense path of fame was also opened because they were actually trained. Created with high quality and became the talents of the country, they became upper class intellectuals, engineers, doctors, pharmacists or officials in the administrative ranks of the colonial government apparatus. With the structure of the teaching and learning program of The Franco-Vietnamese education system, the higher the person who had been trained, had the rich and comprehensive knowledge, the more he was promoted his personal strengths for social service.

Thus, one characteristic of the formation of Western intellectuals in the early twentieth century was the diversification and decentralization of intellectuals, large and small, making the Western intellectuals in this period a non-pure team. In addition, despite all efforts to legalize the Vietnamese intellectual contingent, France had encountered a long tradition of Vietnamese culture and patriotism. The contingent of new Western intellectuals, the new elite of society, was also differentiated according to many different social trends. Patriotic intellectuals such as Nguyen An Ninh, Nguyen Thai Hoc, Tran Huy Lieu, Dao Duy Anh and Hai Trieu had been able to refine the progressive ideas of mankind while still attending French school. French language and culture to propagate the national spirit and patriotic tradition among the people, and openly struggle with the French authorities. They played an important role in the ideological and cultural struggle in the early twentieth century, against the French cultural enslavement, and built a modern national culture. They became the first revolutionary intellectual class of

the Vietnamese independent state later. With intellectuals serving the colonial government such as Truong Vinh Ky, Nguyen Van Vinh, Pham Quynh ... on the social aspect, they were tools to assist the colonial rulers. But in a way, they were also people who wanted to use scientific knowledge in the process of civilization and national development and had played a certain role in the development of culture and education of the land countries in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Thus, with the establishment and completion of a new French education and training system, the colonial government trained a growing class of Western intellectuals. This class of intellectuals became the most important part of the bourgeoisie, and by 1929 there were nearly 400,000 people including teachers, officials, and students. Although it was intended to provide a source of officers for the French government in Vietnam, this goal did not achieve the goal in the first place. The most outstanding part of the contingent of Western intellectuals trained from the colonial government's education system had become the leading scientists who openly explored, expanded, and built scientific fields such as engineering in Vietnam. These were people like Professor Ho Dac Di, Ton That Tung in the field of Medicine, Truong Vinh Ky, Nguyen Van Vinh in the field of languages, Dao Duy Anh, Tran Huy Lieu in the field of history; Nguyen Van Huyen, Dang Thai Mai in the field of literature... A significant part of the generations of Western intellectuals full of patriotism had become the leading flags on the cultural front, using Western civilization with the aim of raising people's intellectual standards, developing people's awareness, directing them into the struggle for national independence and freedom, contributing to the failure of the French colonialist aggression on culture turning Vietnam into an east of France.

The period after 1925 was the period when the new intelligentsia class violently divided in two main directions: the direction of serving colonial culture, the orthodox culture and the direction of intellectual progress, revolution, searching and building new culture. This is also a prominent feature of intellectuals intersecting, intertwining between traditional cultural values and Western culture. Pro-French intellectuals such as Pham Quynh tried to propagate the "France-Vietnam proposition" and "Franco-South cooperation" ideas to support the colonial government in establishing a stable political atmosphere in favor of the French rule in Vietnam. In contrast, patriotic and advanced Western intellectuals like Nguyen An Ninh and Phan Van Truong... quickly absorbed Western cultural values such as freedom, equality, charity and taking advantage of the means. Western cultural press to fight against the trend of enslaved culture, building a revolutionary and progressive culture. The struggle for decolonization in the field of culture and ideology that took place during the 30s of the twentieth century was a struggle between two pro-French intellectual faculties and a progressive and revolutionary intellectual to eradicate false ideas, counterproductive, anti-revolutionary, become a path for new, progressive, revolutionary ideas, especially Marxism-Leninism, to penetrate into the masses, create conditions for the end of the crisis of the Vietnamese revolution in the first decades of the twentieth century,

when the Communist Party of Vietnam was born as the leader of Nguyen Ai Quoc-Ho Chi Minh. This shows righteousness in the conception of talent and the role of talented people in the social process of each sect. The pro-French intellectuals, typically Tran Trong Kim and Pham Quynh, recognized that talented people were those who "know both responsibility and ability", "were the source of all progress", and were "the upper class", had a "college education", "had both gained new European academic ideology, while maintaining the national ethics of the country, had nationalism and noble careers". These talented people included five grades: the old Confucian scholar, the young graduating from French colleges, the mandarins, the landlords, the merchants making the intellectual upper class of society. Typically, the upper class intellectual model was Pham Quynh, who studied both western and western Confucianism and became a mandarin of the Nguyen Dynasty. In contrast, revolutionary intellectuals set goals for training, education, and gathering patriotic people who were wise, loyal to the Fatherland and people, bringing all their talents and intelligence to fight for independence nation, freeing people from foreign oppression. All people regardless of gender, class, status, property, age, patriotism, siding with the people, enlightening the communist ideals, dedicating their lives for the cause of national liberation, class liberation is the intellectual essence of the country. The communists who absorbed the ideology of the proletariat revolutionary doctrine considered the working class to be the revolutionary advanced force of the new era, the class that held the historic mission of humanity and also the period levels with enough capacity, intelligence and power to make the proletarian revolution change the whole face of the world, permanently end the regime of oppressors exploiting people, bringing humanity into a civilized period really: Communism. The patriotic youths of the first half of the twentieth century had absorbed the quintessence of human knowledge, embraced ambition, ideologically communist ideals, questioned the promotion of national traditions, spiritual propaganda and methodological reasoning methods of world revolution, building revolutionary ideology for people as weapons to fight for national independence. Revolutionary movements of 1930-1931; 1936-1939; The revolutionary revolution of national liberation from 1939 to 1945 and especially the August 1945 revolution had the strong contribution of revolutionary intellectuals.

5. Conclusion

According to the historical process, thanks to French educational reforms and the awareness of Vietnamese people at that period, from revolutionary movements in the early twentieth century such as the Dong Du, Duy Tan, Dong Kinh Thuc movements ... of Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chau Trinh and their comrades to the struggle against their masters "Franco-Vietnamese proposition", "Franco-Vietnamese cooperation" of Phan Van Truong, Nguyen An Ninh... to the struggle against reformism, criticizing revolutionary peace ideology, fighting against futile nihilism network, propaganda of Marxism-Leninism,

building of the Communist Party, revolutionary theory and revolutionary movement of national liberation in Vietnam of Nguyen Ai Quoc and his comrades, all show us the unity between revolutionaries and intellectuals, between patriotism and scientific knowledge. It is also a typical social feature and the knowledge of the elite class in the first half of the twentieth century. Practical history of Vietnam shows that, in any era, Vietnamese intellectuals can only find their righteous place when they know how to combine wisdom with patriotism and when they are the first class style awareness of the needs of history, sided with the people, fighting for the rights of the people, the Fatherland.

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