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Master's Thesis of Public Administration

**Comparing Governmental Media in
Vietnam's Policy Design Before and After
Innovation Process (Doimoi)**

**베트남의 혁신 과정 전후의
정책 설계에서 정부 매체의 비교**

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Abstract

Comparing Governmental Media in Vietnam's Policy Design Before and After Innovation Process (Doimoi)

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Innovation Process (Doimoi) launched in 1986 has successfully transformed Vietnam. Before the turning point, Vietnam, one of the poorest countries in the world, had a centrally planned economy.

There are three key points of Doimoi. Firstly, the country shifts from a centrally planned economy system to a multi-sector market economy. Secondly, it is the democratizing process by building a state on the basis of the rule of law. Thirdly, the government establishes and strengthens external cooperation with other countries.

Although obtaining achievements after more than 30 years of Doimoi, the low quality of public policy in Vietnam has not yet been significantly improved and become the country's development congestion. The most typical reason is the lack of an efficient mechanism to attract the public into policy discussions, from the designing step.

This research illustrates successful and unsuccessful cases of governmental media in policy design in order to take it as lessons and draw experience for other policy designs. Thereby, the study also confirms the changes and continuities of Governmental Media in Vietnam's public policy design as a wider and general view.

Keywords: Doimoi, Planned Economy, Policy Design, Governmental Media

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
ATI	Law on Access to Information
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CPV	The Communist Party of Vietnam
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GO	Government Office
IAP2	Association for Public Participation
LPLD	Law on Promulgation of Legal Documents
MARD	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
MIC	Ministry of Information and Communication
MOHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MOJ	Ministry of Justice
NA	National Assembly
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAR	Master Plan on Public Administration Reform
PM	Prime Minister
SEDP	Socio-Economic Development Plan
VGP	Vietnam Government Portal

VJA	Vietnamese Journalists Association
VNA	Vietnam News Agency
VOV	Radio Voice of Vietnam
VSTV	Vietnam Satellite Digital Television Company
VTC	Vietnam Digital Television
VTV	Vietnam Television
WB	The World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. Background of the study

1.1. Overview of the Vietnam context

Vietnam has made significant achievements in economic and social development. Within more than 30 years, Vietnam has shifted from one of the world's poorest countries (per capita income below \$100) to a lower middle-income country (per capita income of 2.590 USD, 2018). The country's rapid socio-economic development within the last several decades has been widely acknowledged. Vietnam is one of world leading countries in attaining the Millennium Development Goals (15 years achieving the Viet Nam Millennium Development Goals, 2015). Regarding the country's success, the United Nations mentions Vietnam as "A Success Story of Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction". Meanwhile, the World Bank concludes that "Vietnam is a development success story" in its overview about the country.

Political and economic reforms (Doimoi) launched in 1986 have successfully transformed Vietnam. Before that turning point, Vietnam had the center-planned economy, which caused a long period of crisis during the 1970s and. Under the center-planned economy, the central government decided output targets and prices, input supplies, domestic wholesale and retail trade, and international trade by plans. It was a vertically integrated economy with no commercial contact among individual production units horizontally. State economy is the only one force on the market. Such direction caused the economy crisis when inflation soared, economic growth slowed down, and export revenues covered only less than the total

value of imports.

There are three key points of the Doimoi. First and foremost, the country shifts from a planned centralized economy, which based on public ownership, to a multi-sector market economy. Second, it is the democratizing process by building a state on the basis of the rule of law. Third, the country has to establish and strengthen external cooperation with other countries. The three key points of Doimoi have been continuously implemented, and actually, fueled Vietnam's rapid growth. The percentage of people living in poverty dropped from almost 60% in the 1990s to under 6% today. Taking the economic development into consideration, Vietnam GDP in 2018 was summed up by 7.08% - the highest level since 2008 while CPI increased by less than 4%. Total export and import turnover in 2018 is estimated at 482 billion USD, a strong increase compared to 2017. Vietnam also has a trade surplus of 7.21 billion USD, higher than the figure of 2.11 billion USD in 2017 (Vietnam Overview, 2018). Vietnam joined the World Trade Organization in January 2007, which has promoted more competitive, export-driven industries. Since 2018, Vietnam officially joins the Trans-Pacific Partnership and Comprehensive Partnership Agreement (CPTPP). Vietnam's traditional labor-intensive manufacturing exports include garments, footwear and furniture. In addition, Vietnam is currently becoming the hot destination for world's giant investors in hi-tech and high-value products (cell phones, computers, electronics, and automobile parts) that help the country to maintain rapid growth (Business in Asia, 2017).

Besides the above mentioned recent achievements, the country is also facing a number of critical challenges. The economy has not yet developed sustainably. The quality of growth, productivity, effectiveness and competitiveness of the economy are still low. The macro - economic balance has not been really firm. The mobilization and effectiveness of using resources for development are still limited. The economic growth is largely based on the extensive development elements, especially foreign investment and technology.

In a closer look, the above mentioned challenges are rooted from the bureaucratic governance mechanism. Since late 1990s, the Government widely

admitted that the centralized and subsidized bureaucratic management system as a major cause of many problems, with pre-existing procedures, structures and habits continuing to hold back the adaptation of public administration to the new environment (Vietnam Government, 2001). A research by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) points out that the bureaucratic management system, with its bulky system of administrative procedure and a process of making public policy that lack public involvement, results in the inefficiency administration system and the low quality of public policy (OECD, 2010). Furthermore, the Government also widely admits that the investment environment, and the effectiveness of governance have been threatened by the low quality of public policy. Prime Minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc urged his cabinet members to upgrade the quality of public policy design.

Having experienced success as well as backwardness during development process, Vietnam Government thoroughly acknowledges the critical important lessons learnt for the next stages of development. First and foremost, it is to uphold democracy, effectively mobilize and use all resources for nation's development. The five-year Socio-Economic Development Plan (SEDP) 2016-2021 underlines the need to develop favorable conditions for the private sector and to gradually reduce the contribution of the state sector to GDP, while increasing the contribution from the private sector and FDI. Moreover, the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam in October 2018 continued to call for a more comprehensive approach to the country's renovation, decided to promote greater citizens' participation and unity within Vietnam, and to engage proactively in international integration.

To realize the above mentioned strategic development goals, the administration reform is centered as the breakthrough solution. The Master Plan on Public Administration Reform (PAR) from 2011 to 2020 has been successfully accomplished. PAR 2011 – 2020 demonstrates the strong political determination of the Government and the Prime Minister in building a democratic, transparent, powerful, effective and efficient business-and-individual-centered administrative system. Such a system also implemented international commitments in terms of improving transparency and accessibility to information on government regulations.

In details, PAR 2011 - 2020 have created a breakthrough in the administrative procedures reform process and brought about significant initial results. The national database of administrative procedures at four levels of government has been published on the Internet. Another significant achievement is the renovation of the process for promulgating administrative procedures. It is now aiming to improve regulatory quality and reduce the administrative burden, ensuring that procedures are controlled from the designing stage to implementation against four main groups of criteria: necessity, reasonableness, legality and effectiveness. In other words, the country is focusing on building a pure and strong administration system to ensure consistent, throughout and effective management.

In this process, upgrading the quality of public policy is believed to significantly contribute to the success of administration reform. Accordingly, public participation to the policy designing process is of critical importance. There are actually several ways to enhance public participation; however, in Vietnam, governmental media is undoubtedly the most significant mechanism. The governmental media, as the connector between policy makers and the people, can create the environment for them to discuss for mutual understanding.

1.2. Problem statement

After the 33 years of renovating, the low quality of public policy has not yet been significantly improved and become the country's development congestion. The most recent official report of the Government on the enforcement, guidance and detailed regulation of laws, ordinances and regulations admit that fact. "Some ministries have not strictly followed the regulations and procedures in the process of designing legal documents", the report says. It also admits that a number of tools and methods to ensure quality of policies such as impact assessments, surveys, attracting the participation of relevant ministries, opinions of those who are directly under the direct impacts of the policy, the process of evaluation and verification, have not been taken seriously and effectively. Moreover, some policy making in-

charge-agents do not acquire adequate revisions or comments to complete the policies. Particularly, there are some cases, due to the pressure required to ensure the timeline, documents with many content and format problems are subjected to be issued. Such situation has been negatively affecting the efficiency of the Government, in a larger scale, the efficiency of the whole country. Besides, it damages the trust among the public and executive agencies.

There are several reasons for the low quality of public policy in Vietnam. However, the most typical reason is the lack of efficient mechanism to attract the public into policy discussions, from the initial step is designing. Under current provisions of the Law on Promulgation of legal documents, public comment on the policy at the initial steps is required. “However, such a regulation has not always been taken seriously”, said Nguyen Minh Thuyet, a former member of the National Assembly. Normally, the whole final policies, which is sometimes hundreds pages long, is published on the Government Web Portal or website of line ministries –the policy makers - for public comment. However, such policies are no longer easy to understand. Not always can the public understand the main points of a long legal document or how the regulations may affect themselves by just reading the whole papers.

It is not the lack of speech freedom to be blamed. In contrast, the Government always encourages media, specially governmental media to play a more significant role. For many times, the Prime Minister and top executives often ask for a more active participation of the governmental media in connecting public to policy discussions. The regulations of posting policy’s final draft online, theoretically, allow the media to access the new policy at a quite early stage. In practice, governmental media in Vietnam are working hard to overcome the passivity in the past and perform their role. Thus, the public participation in policy design has been much more effectively facilitated than before.

However, in some cases, it is the lack of both legal basis and methods that the media in Vietnam cannot sufficiently involve the public in policy discussions. In details, it is the unclear regulation of the public policy making process; the lack of consistent frameworks for public participation in the policy process and the method

of involving the public in the policy process by the media system. In that logic, a thorough research is critically needed to comprehensively illustrate a successful case of government media in policy design, in order to take it as a lesson, to draw experience for other policy designs. Thereby, the study also confirms the positive changes and continuities of Governmental Media in Vietnam's public policy design after Innovation Process (Doimoi), and in a wider and general view, how the media can contribute to improve effectively the quality of public policy by enhancing public participation in the policy designing process.

The thesis aims at the two following objectives. Firstly, the thesis is exploring on how the media, governmental media in particular can actively contribute to enhance public participation in the policy design before and after Doimoi. This objective is expected to be realized by an investigation of the literature on the public participation in the policy design. Besides, a practical policy example from Vietnam in bridging the public to public policy designing process will be analyzed. The second objective is to recommend feasible solutions to promote and spread the effectiveness of Vietnam governmental media in public policy design.

The main research question is *“How does the governmental media in Vietnam's public policy design change and continue after Innovation Process (Doimoi)?”*

2. Scope of the study and methods

Due to the objectives of this research, the thesis has limited its scope with the following dimensions:

- Public Policy Design is mainly at the national level, including the Government and ministries.
- Media are limited among those to be defined by the governmental media, including press agencies in the state system, according to Vietnam's Law on media.
- Solutions, mechanisms for strengthening the role of governmental media in public policy design will be recommended and discussed basing on the current context of

Vietnam.

Qualitative and Case study analysis are the main research methods of this thesis. First and foremost, document analysis is used by the study. The literature from public policy studies is analyzed so as to have a fundamental basis about policy science, public policy process and especially, the roles and mechanism for the public, media to become involved into policy discussion at early stages. Policies, laws, newspaper articles in Vietnamese, about Vietnam by international scholars will be taken into consideration to clarify the theoretical and actual role of media in developing public involvement. The main document sources are from central government, including laws, laws drafts, ordinances, resolutions and decisions of the Government, Prime Minister and Ministries. In details, documents from the National Assembly (NA), Government Office (GO), Ministry of Justice (MOJ), Ministry of Planning and Investment (MPI), Vietnam Bank State (VBS) and datas from governmental media are focused on.

Moreover, there are some cases to prove the correlation, interaction between governmental media and Vietnam's policy designing efficacy as well as the actual roles of Vietnam governmental media in the country's public administration reform in general, and in upgrading the quality of public policy design in particular. The cases study contains "*Removing Unreasonable Conditions for Doing Business (Investment Law 2104)*", "*Land Reform Policy In The North in 1950s*", "*Money Exchange Policy in 1985*".

3. Significance of the study

By answering the research question, the thesis is expected to clarify the roles of governmental media in Vietnam 's policy design and the transformations of it after Innovation Process (Doimoi). Moreover, actual functions of Vietnam governmental media in the process will be figured. With analysing case studies, policy, the thesis will make an attempt to clarify the gap between actual roles of Vietnam's governmental media. Therefore, the thesis is significant in contributing to

future research in both media and policy designing process. The dissertation also will suggest solutions or mechanism for strengthening the roles of governmental media in building up Vietnam's the public policy. These are the solutions for the high demand of enhancing public involvement into policy discussion so as to improve the quality of public policy. In the long run, the thesis is expected to contribute to the academic discussions on the methods of improving the quality of public policy, especially by strengthening the role of the governmental media through the lessons from Doimoi. In other words, the thesis is of high significance to help the governmental media develop on the right track so as to stimulate changes and development to Vietnam context.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Roles of Governmental Media

1.1. Definitions

1.1.1. Media

The term Media is defined in the context of social and political science that focuses on the three-way relationship among the media, politicians/government and the public. According to Regina G. Lawrence, media can be defined as “organizations that control the means of mass communication” (Lawrence, 2011). Taking the definition into consideration, for instance, in the US, these organizations are mostly privately owned and for-profit businesses. Meanwhile in other industrialized countries, fully or partially government-owned-and-operated media are more common, and are parallel with the profit-oriented ones. It can be understood that the media are those who own and/or operate the technologies that allow mass communication. At present, these technologies include printing presses, airwave channels, cable networks and the Internet.

In a more specific perspective, media is defined as the “intermediary agency that enables communication, by which it meant the production and transmission to other parties of messages, information, knowledge, discourses, and culture in the broad sense” (Mazzoleni, 2011). From this view, media are classified into electronic and print media. Electronic media include radio, television and the Internet (the so-called new media or online media). Print media include books, newspapers, periodicals and individually produced publications.

To this point, there are two related terms, mass communication and new

media, that need to be clarified. During the 20th Century, cinema, radio, TV and recently the Internet became cheaper and cheaper, wider and wider. Moreover, these electronic media were naturally associated with public's demand of leisure, entertainment, education and so on. McQuail defines mass communication as "a network that connects very many receivers to one source, while new media technologies usually provide interactive connections of several different kinds" (McQuail, 2010). Earlier in the past, noticeably, Fredrick Elkin mentions the term mass media as the shortened form the phrase media of mass communication. "Mass media are all the impersonal means of communication by which visual and/or auditory messages are transmitted directory to audiences" (Elkin, 1988).

Similarly, new media are also considered as the result of the development of the Internet. However, until now, there are still debates about the roles of the Internet as the new media among scholars. Some insist that the technological revolution is producing an electronic democracy where the public can raise their own issues, attract or even mobilize public opinion on their topics, or citizens can act as a "watchdog" on the public power. On the other hand, however, there are assertions that the development of the Internet and its open space can even affect the intermediary function of other media. Having admitted that the new media can sometimes be a source of spreading opinions, contests and debates, however, Yves Laberge describes new media, including social networks and blogs, as less cohesive and grounded than other media. Obviously, Internet citizens have more access to diversified points of view, but blogs and social networks can easily spread unreliable information or misinformation. "By definition, blogs are not made to be neutral or comprehensive: Some writers of blogs are in reality partisans disguised as journalist", the author concludes (Laberge, 2011).

Vietnam shares the same concepts as the above mentioned definitions of media and its related terms. The current Law on media defines the media operating within the Socialist Republic of Vietnam as "the essential means of providing public information in relation to social life; is the voice of Party organizations, State bodies and social organizations, and a forum for the people" (Vietnam The Ministry of Planning and Investment). However, the Vietnam's definition is somehow focused

on the ownership of media and its functions. In Vietnam, there are no private media since all the media belong to state-owned organizations, and that is Vietnam's governmental media.

1.1.2. Governmental Media

It is no longer easy to compare or classify a media system. In 1956, the Four Theories of the Press was introduced and went a long way in establishing a typology in the minds of journalism educators and students (Frederick, Theodore and Wilbur, UIP 1956). Accordingly, media are classified into four models, the authoritarian theory, the libertarian theory, the Soviet-communist theory and the social responsibility theory. However, since 1991 with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the influential 'four theories' study of the press lost one of its four components, the Soviet communism. Moreover, the society development proved the fact that 'four theories' study lacked a model of development in which the media can assist in promoting social change (Sparks, 2007).

Thus, a broad conceptual model that covers the global media business that distinguishes between a 'market model' and 'public sphere model' was developed. In the Vietnamese context, where the market forces have led the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) to adapt to globalization and marketization, such a model can be applicable (David Croteau; William Hoynes, 2006). In his research, Robert W Vaagan (2011) adopted Croteau and Hoynes's model to include a column for the Communist Party (CP) conception of the media as shown in the following table. The model summarizes key characteristics of the media systems, including Communist Party ruling countries such as Vietnam.

TABLE 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF MEDIA MODELS

(Robert W Vaagan, Media Systems, Access to Information and Human Rights in China and Vietnam - Nordic Journal of Human Rights Vol. 29 No. 4. 2011)

Characteristics	Market model	Public sphere model	Communist Party (CP)
How is media conceptualized?	Private companies that sell products	Public resources serving the public	Instruments and voices of the CP
Primary purpose of the media?	Generate profits for owners and stockholders	Promote active citizenship via information, education, and social integration	Disseminate CP decisions
How audiences are addressed?	As consumers	As citizens	As citizens, consumers and CP members
What do the media encourage people to do?	Enjoy themselves, view ads, and buy products	Learn about their world and be active	Respect and be loyal to CP policies
What is in the public interest?	Whatever is popular	Diverse, substantive, and innovative content, even if not always popular	The CP represents the public interest
What is the role of diversity and innovation?	Innovation can be a threat to profitable standardized formulas. Diversity can be a strategy for reaching	Innovation is central to engaging citizens. Diversity is central to media's mission of representing the range of the public's views and tastes	Both are potentially dangerous if they conflict with CP rule and threaten CP conception of harmonious society

	new niche markets		
How is regulation perceived?	Mostly seen as interfering with market processes	Useful tool in protecting the public interest	Necessary tool to maintain CP control and rule
To whom are media ultimately accountable?	Owners and shareholders	The public and government Representatives	CP
How is success measured?	Profits	Serving the public Interest	Serving the CP

Governmental media or state-owned media is media for mass communication which is "controlled financially and editorially by the state" (Webster; David, 1992).

1.2 Functions

1.2.1. Media

Mazzoleni (2011) shows that kinds of media have the following common functions (1) they transmit knowledge to a heterogeneous and potentially limitless audience, (2) they are typical products of late modernity, (3) they are important agents of socialization, and (4) they perform essential role in democratic processes.

Indeed, media is playing important part in every condition of life now. It connects people with the scenarios in the world and informs us many things like news, history, entertainment etc. Which helps us lot in being an upgraded personality. The four functions of communications are: surveillance, correlation, cultural transmission and entertainment (Linda, 2019). From this perspective,

communication occurs to “see” and “tell”. Media maintains citizens knowledgeable of information and events. In times of crisis, role of media is offering warnings and instructions for both of public.

In additional point, the media should also function as the fourth estate. This role keeps the government accountable for its actions, even if a branch of the government is reluctant to open itself to public scrutiny. As much as social scientists would like citizens to be informed and involved in politics and events. So the media, especially journalists, keep an eye on what is happening and sounds an alarm when the public needs to pay attention (John Zaller. 2003). By informing the public about what government is doing and encouraging citizens to express their concerns over public issues, the media perform an essential function of two-way communication between citizens and their representatives.

Moving to another function, in the term of politic lines, the media engages is agenda setting, which is the act of choosing which issues or topics deserve public discussion. For example, in the early 1980s, famine in Ethiopia drew worldwide attention, which resulted in increased charitable giving to the country. Yet the famine had been going on for a long time before it was discovered by western media. Even after the discovery, it took video footage to gain the attention of the British and U.S. populations and start the aid flowing (Suzanne, 2014).

1.2.2. Governmental Media

First of all, governmental media is as functional as the general media. However, it focused on government’s executive direction. Owen (2018) demonstrates this kind of media aid several indispensable roles in a democratic society. Their main objective is to inform the public, delivering citizens with the information needed to make thoughtful decisions about leadership and policy. “The media act as watchdogs checking government actions” (Owen, 2018). It means they set the agenda for public conversation, and organize a environment for political illustration. Governmental media also help to people to explore mutual roots,

classify civic clusters, and work toward answers to social difficulties.

Taking part in the policy discussions is a major function of the governmental media to perform their role as social debate facilitators and their rights of access to information (Chanh, 2014). It means that information is no longer passively supplied by government agencies and then to be conveyed by the media. The governmental media, as the social debate facilitator, will encourage the policy actors such as business communities, social political organizations, experts, individuals, etc. to join discussions. By performing this role, the governmental media emerge from the propaganda channel to a major channel of information exchange between the State and the people. During the process, the media not only raise their voice, but more importantly, to facilitate the forum and encourage participants from different policy actors (Nghia, 2013). In other words, this kind of media facilitate the relationship between State and the civil society.

In Vietnam context, as the content mentioned above, there are no private media in Vietnam because all the media belong to state-owned organizations. Thus, governmental media can be used to represent Vietnam's media in general. Moreover, Vietnam is the party-party country led by the CPV. Therefore, Vietnam's governmental media has the same characteristics to CP model which was analyzed by Robert W Vaagan. Recently, the governmental media in Vietnam have been making efforts to perform their role as a "social debate" facilitator. Social debate is understood as the unification of community's power to solve social problems (Vinh, 2015). Thus, facilitating social debates is the process of democratization. In the single ruling party context, there is obviously the threat of being subjective, or ideological. Therefore, a clear mechanism for social debate is essentially necessary. In that sense, the governmental media are at the central of the social debates (Vinh, 2015).

2. Policy design

2.1. Definitions

2.1.1 Public policy

In general usage, the term policy designates the behavior of some actor or set of actors, such as an official, a governmental agency, or a legislature, in an area of activity such as public transportation or consumer protection. In a more specific way, policy is defined as “a relatively stable, purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern” (Anderson, 1994). This definition focuses on what is actually done instead of what is only proposed or intended. It also differentiates a policy from a decision, which is essentially a specific choice among alternatives.

From that perspective, it can be generally understood that public policies are those developed by governmental bodies and officials. Thomas Dye defines public policy as “whatever governments choose to do or not to do” (Dye, 2008). From a narrower perspective, Michael Krafts and Scott Furlong define public policy as “a course of government actions (or inaction) taken in response to social problems” (M. E. Krafts; S. R. Furlong, 2004). These two definitions address two constitutive elements. First, public policy refers to actions of public actors (typically government). Second, governmental actions are focused on a specific issue, meaning that the scope of activities is restricted to addressing a certain aspect or problem (C. Knill; J. Tosun, 2012).

Seeking for a definition that responds to the actions and exchanges of both people and the government in a dynamic, interdependent manner, Larry N. Gerston defines public policy as “the combination of basic decisions, commitment and actions made by those who hold or influence government positions of authority” (Gerston, 2010). In reality, this definition explains the linkage between those who

demand change, those who make decisions and those who are affected by the decisions. Most commonly, public officers in the government will respond to pressures from those outside, including the politicians, the public as well as from others within the government.

Some authors, however, adopt a narrower definition and consider government decisions or legal acts as public policies. Their argument is that Public Policies must be formulated and implemented within a nation's legal framework. Kilpatrick defines public policy as "a system of laws, regulatory measures, courses of action, and funding priorities concerning a given topic promulgated by a governmental entity or its representatives" (Kilpatrick, 2000). From this perspective, public policy is the means of the government to govern the society.

According to the above mentioned definitions of public policy, there are four common basic characteristics of public policy. First, the subject to issue public policy is the state, including legislative, executive and judicial branches. Thus, it can be said that public policy is the state's policy. Second, public policy is not only the "intention" of the maker, but also the actual actions for realizing such the intention. It means that public policy is not the legal document itself. Indeed, public policy includes the implementation and results. Third, public policy is to deal with a designated issue in the social life, targeting the definite goals. Therefore, public policy can be considered as a process of actions (of the government) to achieve its goals. Thus, public policy is a continuous process of planning, implementing and evaluating. In many case, modifications are needed for better implementation. Fourth, a public policy is not exactly a law, a resolution, a decree or any single type of legal documents. It is a group of legal documents. For instance, the policy of having a market economy has been continuously implemented in Vietnam since 1986 with hundreds of laws, and by-law documents.

2.1.2. Policy design

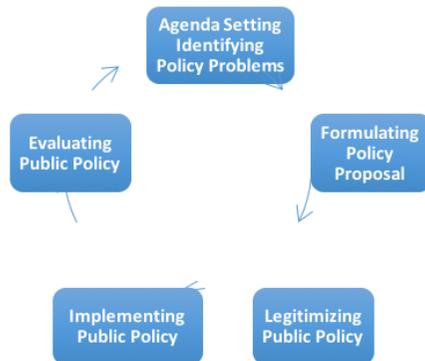


FIGURE 1: THE POLICY CYCLICAL PROCESS

Policy making is a cyclical process which includes different stages. Although it is not easy to have a clear-cut clarification between stages, political scientists have identified the five stages for analysis (Gerston, 2010). The first stage, Agenda setting or Identifying Policy Problems, is when public attention is focused on several public problems or issues that require the government to address. In the second stage, Formulating Policy Proposal, policy makers will formulate legislative, regulatory, or programmatic strategies to address these problems. This includes executive orders, budgets, laws and appropriations, rules and regulations, and decisions and interpretations that have the effect of setting policy directions. The policy proposal will then to be legitimized by the empowered agency in the third stage, Legitimizing Public Policy. Once adopted, executive agencies begin the task of implementing the policy. In the fifth stage, policies are evaluated by government agencies, by outside consultants, by interest groups, by the mass media, and by the public. Evaluation is to determine whether the policy is addressing the problem and weather the implementation is proceeding well or not. As a result, evaluation may reveal a need for revisions in policy, a need for changes in implementation, or even a whole new policy. It may also reveal new policy problems.

In academic literature, policy design appears a rather comprehensible and steady notion through the years (Steenhuisen, 2012). All definitions of policy design generally start with a desire, or at least an intention, typically embodied in a

problem situation and a problem owner. Following the most basic way, the policy design is the significant activity in policy making process. Policy design can be thought of as a specific procedure of policy formulation founded on the collecting of understanding about the impact of policy instrument use on policy goals and application of that knowledge to the development and implementation of policies aimed at the accomplishment of exclusively desired public policy results and ambitions (Bobrow, 2006; Montpetit, 2003; Weaver, 2009, 2010). Therefore, policy designs can comprise both of practical and procedural element. The practical element is a set of agreements that deal with some aspect of a policy issue, one or more of which eventually comes into practice. The procedural element is a collection of actions relating to ensuring some agreements among people who is responsible for developing, deciding, and operating that policy.

In fact, design sometimes overlaps and includes policy formulation, decision-making and policy implementation and contains actors, ideas and benefits active at each step of the policy process (Howlett et al 2009). However, it also posits a very specific form of interaction among these elements, driven by knowledge and evidence of merits and demerits in achieving policy goals rather than by other processes. Conceptually, a policy design procedure originates with the scrutiny of the abilities of different policy tools to affect policy outputs and outcomes and the categories of means required to allow them to work as intended.

What makes policy design?

There is a crucial question: “What establishes a design, what creates one effective and what makes one design better than other?”. About this term, Linder and Peters (1991) discuss that policy design can be seen as a multi-dimensional activity. That is “a systematic activity composed of a series of choices . . . design solutions, then, will correspond to a set of possible locations in a design space . . . this construction emphasizes not only the potential for generating new mixtures of conventional solutions, but also the importance of giving careful attention to tradeoffs among design criteria when considering instrument choices” (Linder, Peter,

1991). This means designing successful policies needs thinking about policy-making, in which, comprehensively mentioning purposes that policies can serve and the multiple levels of policy components creating a policy or context which policy formulators and decision-makers work in.

All of above theories beg the question of what a policy design looks like in fact. A logical design of policy can cover five stages of correlated but separate activities. Firstly, understanding, conceptualizing and analyzing the problem; Secondly, surveying the range of tools to solve the key roots of the recognized difficulty; Thirdly, congregating knowledge about the influences of the diverse instruments on policy targets and the application as well as the development of policies for achieving goals. Fourthly, appraising the resources necessary for putting the tools into effect. Lastly, ex-evaluate of the policy options following the common standards of efficiency, fairness, sustainability and implement ability.

On the other hand, Steenhuisen (2012) demonstrates the structure of policy design in eight common elements including Intention, Change, Complexity and Uncertainty, Design process, Knowledge, Intervention, Meta-design and Implementation.

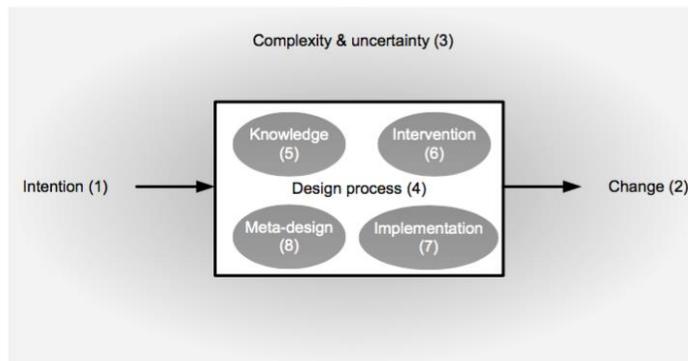


FIGURE 2: STRUCTURING POLICY DESIGN IN EIGHT COMMON ELEMENTS (Steenhuisen, 2012)

Figure 2 structures the policy design in a system model. Steenhuisen (2012) explained: “As input at the left, the model starts with an “intention” (element 1). As output at the right, it aims for “change” (element 2). “Complexity and uncertainty”

(element 3) is pictured as a ubiquitous condition overshadowing every other element. The system itself is the “social design process” (element 4) in which all kinds of dialogue, negotiation, decisions and non-decisions constitute the design process. Next, this social design process has the possibility of being structured by a “meta-design” (element 8). The social design process can either resemble a fixed problem-solving or a more open process approach. In both cases, “knowledge” (element 5) has a central role in the design process that eventually leads to an ‘intervention’ (element 6) that “effectuates’ during an ‘implementation” phase (element 7) with or without surprises”. This description outlines policy design, as an activity in policy making.

Apart from that, it is necessary to identify the challenge in design a good policy, which is the new goals and priorities may emerge anytime during the social design process. Policy designers should be aware of this constant source of uncertainty and suspect their pursuit of good policy design to be both comprehensive, requiring many different angles, and a quandary, as problems and solutions often co-evolve.

Role of policy design

Policy design has become a critical element of improving social - economic issues throughout policy formulation and enhancement, modification to ensure that policies successfully address policy problems by varying social behaviors (Dryzek, 1983; May, 1991). In addition, Bobrow & Dryzek (1987) also demonstrate that “Policy design is a broad field of study and many different avenues of exploration can be taken to explain and analyze existing policy design research, justification for policy design content, and well as the impact of policy design on specific target groups and members of society”.

Apart from that, Jarrod Shobe (2014) also illustrates that the roles of key actors of the designing process have changed over the years to make the evolution, to arrive at the practice of modern designing and those changes have affected the

creation of policies. A changing and evolving design process that has allowed the advanced government to begin to close the communication gap between itself and the public by hiring substantive areas whose jobs are to ensure that policies are fully vetted and clearly composed. Since sometimes policy designers do not fully understand the realities and complexities of the policy making process, they have underdeveloped or incorrect theories when comparing with reality. There is no doubt that paying scant attention to the designing process is a problem in making policy (Jarrod, 2014). Policy designers must first understand the institutional context of how government wants and works before they can create fully developed theories of statutory interpretation and fully informed prescriptive recommendations for how government and public could and should interact.

In case created deliberately, policy design can be formed as an ideal configuration of policy elements that can be applied to a specific context leading to a positive outcome (May, 1991). Effective policy design can lead to the identification of target groups in need of regulation and create programs that direct state efforts to benefit people in need (Ingraham, 1987; Linders & Peters, 1987; Lowi, 1979; & Schneider & Ingram, 1997). The strong support of a specific policy design by its architects is evident in the language and mandates included within the policy and will determine whether the policy is meaningful and leads to change or is simply symbolic (Koski, 2007a). Having the same opinion, the important meaning of policy design is to create a kind of special management decision for a period of socio-economic development (Van Tat Thu, 2017). Policy design created in a political context that does not support or deem important the proposed change in social behavior will most likely fail or exist ineffectively. Policy designs of this nature may include casual and nonprescriptive language or fail to include incentives for target groups to change their behavior (Koski, 2007a; Schneider and Ingram, 1997).

2.2. Designing public policy in Vietnam

2.2.1. System of public policies in Vietnam

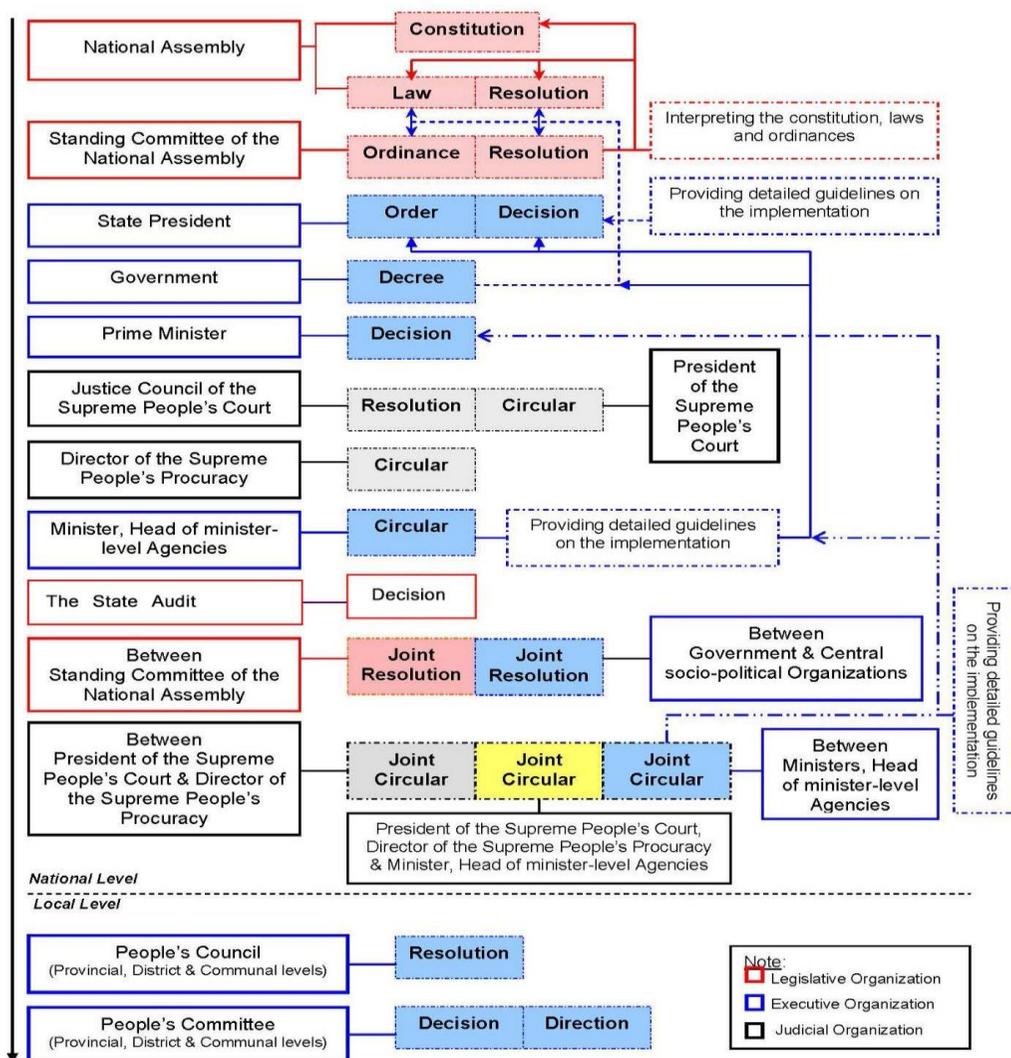


FIGURE 3: HIERARCHY OF LEGAL DOCUMENTS IN VIETNAM

The chart provides an overview of the current hierarchy of legal documents in Vietnam in accordance with the Constitution 1992 (amended in November 2013), the Law on Promulgation of Legal Documents (LPLD) (No. 17/2008/QH12).

Legal documents of Vietnam are divided into laws/regulations and secondary regulations. Laws/regulations are legal documents passed by the NA, the highest constitutional body of Vietnam. The procedure and formation of those laws/regulations are regulated by article 84, 88 and 147 of the 1992 Constitution. They consist of Constitution, laws and resolutions. They will be applied as regulations with the supreme legal force of the legal system in Vietnam.

Secondary regulations are issued by the state organizations (administrative and judicial organizations). They are legal documents of a lower rank than laws/regulations relating to legal force in the legal documents' hierarchy. An overview is provided below:

Ordinances of the Standing Committee of the NA will contain regulations on the tasks assigned by the National Assembly. These regulations will be proposed to be developed as laws after a certain period of implementation. Resolutions of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly will aim to interpret the constitution, laws and ordinances (Article 12 LPLD). Orders and decisions of the State President are issued to exercise tasks and competences defined in the constitution, laws and resolutions (Article 13 LPLD).

2.2.2. Problems of public policy designing process in Vietnam

In accordance with the current law regulations, Vietnam is having the same process of designing policy that has been discussed in Chapter 2. The question is, how the process is said to be inappropriate? The reason is, the public in general, policy affected groups in particular, may have no concept about what policy are being made. Most of the policy issues to be taken by policy makers are from their own perspective. In other words, the policy issue is put forward or backward because the policy drafters think that it is necessary. Here are the most significant problems facing the Vietnam's public policy writing process which have been delineated out: The lack of transparency and participation of governmental media, the inefficient mechanism for discussion.

The lack of transparency

The lack of transparency can be understood by two aspects. First, it is the possibility to understand a legal term in more than one perspective, which causes differences in implementation. Moreover, the policy's lack of transparency means its unknown formulation and/or implementation. Whichever aspects it belongs to, the lack of transparency results from the "closed" policy making process which limit the policy discussion among policy makers (Ohno, 2008). Despite the fact that the LPLD 2008 regulated that policy drafts must be discussed to listen to the public's ideas, in reality, there are many cases that the public are totally surprised on hearing about the newly adopted policy.

The inefficient mechanism for policy discussion

The 2008 LPLD has regulations to guarantee the democracy by attracting the contribution from interested parties, such as trade associations, political organizations or individuals. However, such the regulations are still too general. In fact, official reports from the Government and the NA are widely admitted the fact that there is no appropriate mechanism for policy discussion. Article 4 and 35, of the 2008 Law on Promulgation of legal documents says that:

The Vietnam Fatherland Front and its member organizations, other organizations, state agencies, people armed forces and individuals will have the right to provide comments on draft legal documents. In the process of developing legal documents, the lead designing agencies/organizations and other concerned agencies/organizations will be responsible for enabling agencies, organizations, groups and individuals to provide comments on the draft documents and organizing the collection of comments from the direct objects of the legal documents. Comments on the draft documents will be considered and taken into account during the process of improving and finalizing the documents. (Article 4)

In the process of designing the proposed laws/ordinances and draft resolutions, the lead designing agencies/organizations will collect comments from

concerned agencies/organizations and the direct objects of the legal documents; identifying issues relevant to each consulted agency/organization/object for them to comment on and specific addresses for receiving comments; posting the full texts of the draft legal documents on the websites of the Government and the lead designing agencies/organizations within minimum sixty days for agencies/organizations and individuals to provide comments on. Comments may be collected directly from the consulted agencies/organizations/individuals or by sending the draft documents to them for their comments or organizing consultative workshops, through the websites of the Government and the lead designing agencies/organizations or through the mass media. (Article 35).

Actually, there are several drafts of legal documents, but not all, are posted online for public comment. However, statistics in Vietnam Government Web Portal⁴⁹ – the organization who is regulated in law for drafts to be posted – show that, there are many drafts with no comment. There are several reasons for that situation. First, it is really challenging for interest groups, trade associations, enterprises or individuals to thoroughly read the whole draft, digest it and comment. Second, most drafts are posted only for a very short period. Third, drafts are posted “blindly” without any technique to make them more eyes catching to the readers.

However, there is still another reason, the most decisive one, that people are not really interested in policy discussion. The comments reception has not been seriously carried out (MOJ, 2014). In other words, people’s voices are not heard and responded to. The law says that policy maker will have to take people’s comment into consideration, but it does not regulate how comments are replied. Actually, there is always silence from policy designers to people’s comment (MOJ, 2014). The lack of an appropriate mechanism for commenting and comment reception makes the public comment stage to become formative (GO, 2014).

3. Literature Review

The critical media in public policy process has long been researched by

leading academics. Early in the 1960s, Cohen (1963) and Lippmann (1964) draw their focus on the assessment of links between the salience of issues on the media's agenda and those of the policy agenda (Cohen, 1963), or the relationship between the media coverage priority and public issues priority (Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, 1964). According to Cohen, the mass media "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about". Lately, researchers found strong correlations between the amounts of coverage issues received in the media and the public's level of concern with them (Rogers, 1993). Subsequent researchers have investigated the relationship between both the press and institutional agendas. They argue that media coverage is associated with public opinion. Whether the media really affect public opinion or not is less relevant than the fact that political actors believe that they do (Stefaan Walgrave, Peter Van Aelst, 2006). Political actors do not react to the media coverage itself but to the presumed public opinion about the issues.

Lambeth 18 (1978) structured the 10 possible media functions in the policy process, which then can be grouped into the five stages diagram as above mentioned in 2.1.1 of this Chapter. Accordingly, the 10 media functions in policy process are: (1) anticipating problems in advance of public officials, (2) alerting the public to problems on the basis of official warnings, (3) informing the public of the stakes the competing groups had in solving problems, (4) keeping various groups and the public abreast of competing proposals, (5) contributing to the content of policy, (6) deciding the tempo of decision making, (7) helping lawmakers decide how to vote, (8) alerting the public to how policies are administered, (9) evaluating policy effectiveness, and (10) stimulating policy reviews (Lambeth, 1978).

In the research, Lambeth (1978) also emphasized especially that media contributes to the crucial duty on informing affected groups of their own stakes in the problem, informing the public of proposal content, deciding the tempo of decision making. That means media has an essential role in building up and complete public policy drafts.

Fico19 (1984) adopted Lambeth's framework, replacing Lambeth's functions 4 and 5. In detail, Lambeth's function 4, 'keeping various groups and the

public abreast of competing proposals’, is replaced with ‘informing affected groups of their own stakes in the problem’. Function 5, ‘contributing to the content of policy’, is replaced with ‘informing the public of proposal content’. It can be understood that in Fico’s study, the media mainly play the role of information bridging between policy makers and the people, instead of directly contributing to the policy’s content. Reporters were more influential in the five functions involving their potential impact in transmitting information to the public than in the functions involving personal or professional influence in the legislative setting (Fico, 1984).

Among the different aspects of media in the policy process, those of the very first stages, policy proposal, are most frequently discussed. The political agenda refers to the limited space within which issues receive attention from policy makers and opinion-formers, such as the media, organized interests and the public (Kingdon, 1995). At this stage, the media can effectively “set” the public agenda by consistently and prominently featuring issues in their news coverage (McCombs, Maxwell, Donald L. Shaw, 1972). Actually, the press raises the awareness of both policy makers and their constituents. “When the media take an interest in a situation, they usually follow up on it, generating greater and greater attention and concern” (Roger W. Cobb, Charles D. Elder, 1972).

Beside the above reviewed critical role as a policy actor, the media are also questioned with several issues. First, media are likely to be biased for being too closely tied to official sources, for not providing their viewers with enough context to understand contentious policy options, and for a lack of technical proficiency in the matters about which they write (Farnsworth, Stephen J., S. Robert Lichter, 2011). Second, the media are blamed for being easily manipulated by policy actors, especially bureaucrats, politicians and interest groups. Third, media with norms of being equal, being simple, being fast, etc., are somehow insufficient in covering long-term, strategic policy issues.

In the relation of media and policy/governance system, Timothy E Cook (1998) points out that the news media are in fact a political institution integral to the day-to-day operations of the three branches of government. The formation of the press as a political institution began early when newspapers were sponsored by

political parties; the relationship is now so central that press offices are found wherever one turns. Media are not only structured as an institution that exercises collective power but also has become institutionalized within the political process, affecting policy and instigating, rather than merely reflecting, political actions.

In Vietnam, scholars in this research sector concentrate more practically on governmental media's impact on policy design. They display that governmental media is first to serve the State management, as the major channel for providing information to the people. In fact, the governmental media have been playing a very important role in explaining the Party and State's policies. It is estimated that 90% of new legal regulations or policies are conveyed to the people via the governmental media (Chanh, 2014). In addition, the media act as the observers to the operation of government agencies. The media can point out the limitations of policies, mistakes or wrong doing of governmental agencies to create the social pressure on authorities to explain or to correct.

Recently, the governmental media in Vietnam have been making efforts to perform their role as a "social debate" facilitator. Social debate is understood as the unification of community's power to solve social problems (Vinh, 2015). Thus, facilitating social debates is the process of democratization. In the single ruling party context, there is obviously the threat of being subjective, or ideological. Therefore, a clear mechanism for social debate is essentially necessary. In that sense, the governmental media are at the central of the social debates about policy design (Vinh, 2015).

Taking part in the policy discussions is a major function of the governmental media to perform their role as social debate facilitators and their rights of access to information (Chanh, 2014). It means that information is no longer passively supplied by government agencies and then to be conveyed by the media. The governmental media, as the social debate facilitator, will encourage the policy actors such as business communities, social political organizations, experts, individuals, etc. to join discussions. By performing this role, the governmental media emerge from the propaganda channel to a major channel of information exchange between the State and the people. During the process of designing, the

media not only raise their voice, but more importantly, to facilitate the forum and encourage participants from different policy actors (Nghia, 2013). In other words, the governmental media facilitate the relationship between State and the civil society.

Specifically, regarding Doimoi and its aspects as well as successes, there are many reputable scholars in Vietnam who have researched and analyzed this decisive progress of the nation. According to Nguyen (2016), the Doimoi decision which was set by the 6th National Congress of the Party (December 1986) is the result of practical testing and innovation of theoretical thinking. It is a revolutionary and revolutionary development in awareness and action with breakthrough policies and guidelines. In the perspective of economic side, an outstanding advantage of Doimoi is that Vietnam was early to overcome the situation of economic siege and embargo, from a country of only having economic and trade relations with former socialist countries, Vietnam has been active and proactive in regional and global economic integration, international relations and trade have expanded greatly, facilitating so that Vietnam can promote its advantages (Doanh, 2016). The biggest innovation obtained is the transition from centralized economy, planning and subsidies to a market-oriented market economy. From a country that must import rice, only a few years after the renovation, Vietnam has become major rice exporters (Hiep, 2015).

Apart from that, Vietnam has implemented economic reform while retaining the old political model but reforming in many aspects such as strengthening the role of the legislature. Administrative reform towards reducing the number of administrative staff and streamlining administrative procedures, judicial reform to get closer to the judiciary of the world, strengthening democracy such as gathering people's opinions in the constitutional and legislative process, contacting and dialogue with people of all strata, transparency of state activities (cited communist, 2011) ... According to Business Environment Report 2018 of the World Bank, during 2002-2017, Vietnam was the most reformed country in the world (39 reforms) to improve the business environment. In addition, Duc (2016) confirmed that in Doi moi, the goal of maintaining independence, autonomy and political

stability is at the forefront to ensure the success of this movement.

In general, the Doimoi process has completely changed the country in all the sectors. However, Nguyen (2015) showed number of complicated, limited and shortcomings issues need to be focused on solving and overcoming in order to help the country develop quickly and sustainably. For instance, practical and theoretical research has not been adequately attended, renovated theoretical thinking that is not resolute, still backward, limited compared to rapid changes of reality; Predicting the situation at times, there are jobs still slow and inaccurate affecting the quality of decisions; The management, education and training of officials at all levels on political ideology, morality and lifestyle have not been taken seriously regularly, properly and ineffectively. Hence, it is important for Vietnam to look at the successes as well as the existences to continue to have new ideas and actions, in line with reality, to create motivation for today's development.

Apparently, basing on literature review, there is not only a large number of studies on the role of communication in the policy process but also on Doimoi turning point in Vietnam. There is no doubt that the media in general and governmental media in particular in the process of policy proposal, design are mentioned as an indispensable part. However, comprehensive, focused and specific studies on changes and continuities of governmental communication with Vietnam context in the policy design after Doimoi are still lacking and missed. Therefore, this study is necessary and feasible.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN

1. Analytical Framework

In this thesis, Doimoi is the independent variable whereas Governmental Media in policy designing is the dependent variable. The key for question “*How does the governmental media in Vietnam’s public policy design change and continue after Innovation Process (Doimoi)?*” is explained by the following chart. Apart from that, this diagram also shows the correlation between variables.

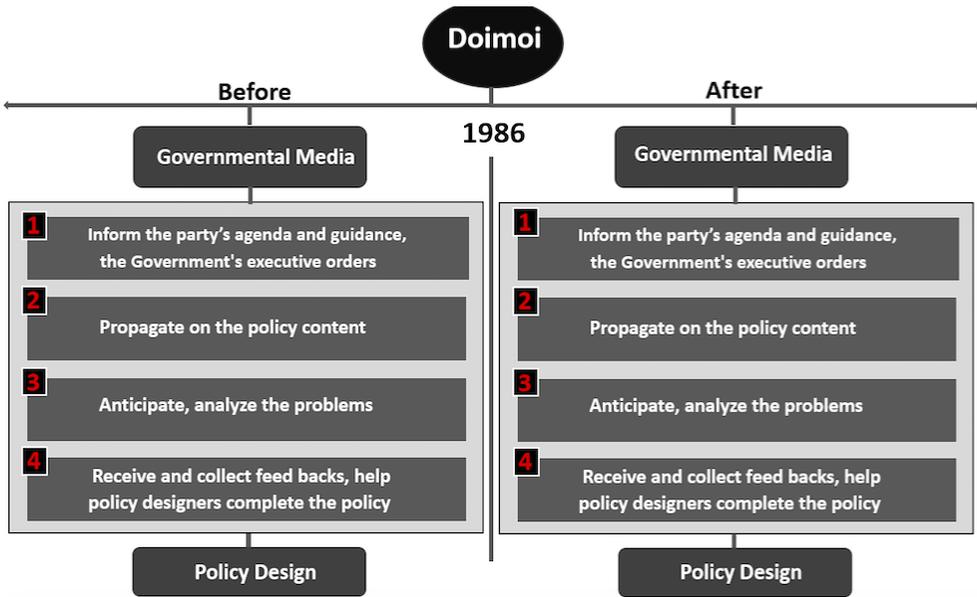


FIGURE 4: EFFECT OF GOVERNMENTAL MEDIA ON VIETNNAM’S POLICY DESIGN

The flow chart describes changes of governmental media in policy design before and after Doimoi through the influence of governmental media on policy design with 4 aspects. Firstly, Inform the Party’s agenda and guidance, the Government’s excutive orders. Secondly, anticipating, analyzing problems, alerting the public to problems on the basis of official warnings. Thirdly, propagating on the policy content. Moving to the next point, receiving and collecting policies’ feedbacks to help lawmakers, designers and composing committee complete the policies effectively and practically.

To prove the correlation between the independent and dependent variable, the 1986 timeline is given for comparison basing the effectiveness of governmental media's participation in policy design because 1986 with olitical and economic reforms (Doimoi) is the turning point of Vietnam's social – economic development.

According to the flow diagram, policy design is affected by governmental media throughout functions of the media in Vietnam's policy designing process. Thus, in the scope of this specific, in order to find correlation of independent and dependent variables, the dissertation concentrates on clarify effect and importance of 4 component variables in the relation with policy design and how they affect on quality of Vietnam's policy.

2. Doimoi in 1986

2.1. Significance and Characteristic

Innovation (Doimoi) is a comprehensive reform program covering the economy and many other aspects of social life initiated by the Communist Party of Vietnam in the 1980s. The Doimoi policy was officially implemented from the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, 1986. In Vietnam, Doimoi has come from the economic field, not accompanied by major political upheavals.

Before Doi Moi, especially in more than 10 years of building socialism on a national scale (1975-1986), the economy imbued with the agriculture identity was severely devastated by the war, the development model associated with the central planned mechanism has major shortcomings in addressing development tasks, especially in the economic field. Under the center-planned economy, the central government decided output targets and prices, input supplies, domestic wholesale and retail trade, and international trade by plans. It was a vertically integrated economy with no commercial contact among individual production units horizontally. State economy is the only one force on the market. Such direction

caused the economy crisis when inflation soared, economic growth slowed down, and export revenues covered only less than the total value of imports. The imbalance in the economy was getting worse; enthusiasm for labor and creative capacity of the people were not fully promoted, even eroded, resources also were untapped. Public confidence in the Party's leadership and the administration of the State was diminished. The country had really fallen into a socio-economic crisis. This situation had made innovation (Doimoi) an urgent requirement of life.

The specific contents of the Doimoi policy include the following main points:

- Innovating theoretical thinking about socialism, in order to make public servants and citizens aware of socialism properly, recognize the causes of backwardness, stagnation, theoretical and practical mistakes in socialist construction process. Changing the mind is a comprehensive renovation of awareness first of all about economics; Considering economic innovation as the center, giving of the right solutions for economic development is the most important.
- In terms of economy, the policy of consistently implementing the multi-sector commodity economy policy includes the state economy, collective economy, small owner, private capital, state capital, and foreign investment, in which the state economy plays a leading role. Eliminate the mechanism of centralized bureaucratic and shift to a multi-sector market economy under the direction of the Socialist Government. The economy had moved from “close the door” to opened and integrated with the world.
- Regarding society, promoting the human factor, ensuring constantly improving the material and spiritual life of all members of the society, implementing social justice. The State creates conditions for people to work, live, travel, study, rest, heal and improve physical conditions. Development of public welfare was enhanced.
- About culture, building an advanced culture imbued with national identity, inherit and promote the traditional culture, absorb the quintessence of human culture.
- Relating to politics, first of all, the Party must improve its leadership and fighting ability by renovating the organization and renewing the contingent of officials; innovate the way of leadership and work. Constructing a socialist rule-of-law state

of the people, by the people and for the people; democracy was implemented in all fields of politics, economy, culture and society. The political reform had been carried out steadily, ensuring consistent with economic renovation.

- In terms of external relations, consistently implementing the external policy of autonomy, openness, multilateralization and diversification of international relations. "Vietnam wants to be friends, reliable partner of countries in the international community, striving for peace, independence and development".

- On national defense and security, put the security of the country in the context of common security of the region and the world. The mission is to improve the country's defense power, defend the independence, unify sovereignty and territorial integrity, create a peaceful environment for labor to build the country.

2.2. Achievements

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Doimoi in Vietnam has gained many significant results: the country gradually escaped from the socio-economic crisis; socialist democracy is constantly expanding; Vietnam's prestige and position in the international arena is increasing; proactively and actively participate in international economic integration; etc... The percentage of people living in poverty dropped from almost 60% in the 1990s to under 6% today. Taking the economic development into consideration, Vietnam GDP in 2018 was summed up by 7.08% - the highest level since 2008 while CPI increased by less than 4%. Total export and import turnover in 2018 is estimated at 482 billion USD, a strong increase compared to 2017. Vietnam also has a trade surplus of 7.21 billion USD, higher than the figure of 2.11 billion USD in 2017 (Vietnam Overview, 2018). Vietnam joined the World Trade Organization in January 2007, which has promoted more competitive, export-driven industries. Since 2018, Vietnam officially joins the Trans-Pacific Partnership and Comprehensive Partnership Agreement (CPTPP). Vietnam's traditional labor-intensive manufacturing exports include garments, footwear and furniture. In addition, Vietnam is currently becoming the hot

destination for world's giant investors in hi-tech and high-value products (cell phones, computers, electronics, and automobile parts) that help the country to maintain rapid growth (Business in Asia, 2017).

These achievements are an important prerequisite for bringing Vietnam into the period of industrialization and modernization of the country. Although, Vietnam still has risks and challenges, which are obstacles to the renovation process: the risk of falling further behind the economy than other countries in the region and around the world; corruption; quality of public policy..., the positive and comprehensive influences of Doimoi on the entire field of Vietnamese society is undeniable, in which, there is a remarkable transformation of the media system and the role of government media in policy development in Vietnam.

3. Cases

Wilson (1979) displayed the case study is “a process which tries to describe and analyze some entity in qualitative, complex and comprehensive terms not infrequently as it unfolds over a period of time”. Case study analysis is the main research methods of this thesis. There are cases to prove the correlation, interaction between governmental media and Vietnam's policy designing efficacy as well as the actual roles of Vietnam governmental media in the country's public administration reform in general, and in upgrading the quality of public policy design in particular.

For above purposes, three cases in Vietnam was chosen. The thesis is going to analyse the attendance of governmental media in design process before and after 1986 by three cases including “*Removing Unreasonable Conditions for Doing Business according to Investment Law 2014*”, “*Land Reform Policy In The North in 1950s*”, “*Money Exchange Policy in 1985*”. These ones affect effectively on Vietnam business and investment and socio-economic environment. One of the keys for this issue is the different participation of governmental media between these policies' design process.

3.1 Land Reform Policy in North Vietnam in 1950s

3.1.1 Overview of Land Reform Policy in North Vietnam in 1950s

Before the August Revolution of 1945¹, based on the possession of land, the feudal landlords exploited peasants in various forms such as land rent, interest debt and labor exploitation. The French government also took advantage of the feudal exploitation method, but the colonial government apparatus also directly protected the rights of plantation owner. There are also other forms of exploitation by collection, taxes: tax, land tax, foreign exchange tax. According to the statistics of the distribution of land in the North before 1945, only 4% of the population occupied 24.5% of the total land⁵. In early 1945, the poor peasantry (with little or no land) accounted for 60% of the rural population, but owned only about 10% of the land. As for the feudal landlords of Vietnam, the French colonial landlords and the Catholic landlords accounted for less than 5% of the population but occupied 70% of the land². Since the late 1920s, Nguyen Ai Quoc (later President Ho Chi Minh) described Vietnamese farmers: *“The fields were occupied by the West, not enough but plowed. Rice was transported all of it, not enough to eat. Do more, get less, pay heavy taxes ... To starve to death, or sell your wives and children, or bring yourself as slaves like those they took to the New World ...”*³

In February, 1951, it was the first time the policy of the Vietnam Labor Party at the 2nd National Party Congress which affirmed the duty to eliminate feudal and semi-feudal remnants and thoroughly implement cultivators was published

¹Vietnam history outline, volume 3, Le Mau Han (Ed), Education Publishing House, 2007

²Changes of farmer levels and domestic relations, Lam Quang Huyen, 2015.

³Social policies during the August Revolution in 1945 and today's renewal career, Pham Xu an Nam, 2015.

by the Vietnam News Agency, the Nhandan Newspaper and announced on VOA⁴. Then, in November 1953, the Party Central Committee adopted the Land Platform and decided on Land Reform right during the resistance war. At the 3rd session (December 1953), the National Assembly passed the Land Reform Law. From this stage, the land reform policy in the North was officially begun. Land reform in Northern Vietnam is a program aimed at eliminating feudal culture, destroying the so-called "exploitation" and "treasonous" elements (follow French government, against the country), "reactionaries"(against the government) such as the counterrevolutionary landlord, the opposition parties ... were implemented by the Party and the Government of Vietnam in 1953–1956.

This program is a step in the process of resolving social conflicts since the French colonial period, implementing, systematizing and developing on a large scale: Confiscation of land properties left behind by the French, migrants, or Vietnamese people (French followers), or deserted because of the war; Division for tenant; Cutting ground rent; Abolish all land rent; Serving the supreme mission of the nation at that time was to bring the resistance against French colonialism to complete victory⁵

3.1.2 Result of implementing policy

In the early stages, the reform achieved good results, greatly boosting the morale of the people and army, making them excited and actively supporting the resistance against the French. However, in the later period (from mid-1955), due to the rush to replicate reforms to many localities, while the low educational level caused the implementation went out of control, leading a lot of harm and damage. In particular, extreme farmers in the localities have abused landlord trials to take revenge on individuals, even cases of people slandering and attacking both party

⁴Documentation on Land Reform, National Museum of History, published in 2014.

⁵" The leading party resolves the land issue in the democratic national revolution", Vietnam Communist Party electronic newspaper. September 28, 2015.

members and government officials. This extremism caused a tense atmosphere in the Northern rural area at that time, damaging the solidarity of the people, affecting the beliefs of some people of the people with the Vietnam Communist Party. The number of deaths due to this policy is impossible to accurately count and controversial.

The Land Reform Law stated that "it is strictly forbidden to carry out illegal arrest and killings, to beat, torture or use any other corporal punishment", the trial must follow the law⁶. However, the "special people's courts" were staffed entirely by local farmers, they were at low-level understanding so often judged according to the psychological hatred of the landlords of the majority of the people at that time, non-compliance with the law⁷, leading to cases where local people shot themselves arbitrarily. According to various sources, the number of people being executed firing ranged quite large:

- According to the Time newspaper in July, 1957, about 15,000 people were executed.⁸

- According to Gareth Porter: from 800 to 2,500;⁹ by Edwin E. Moise (after a more extensive study): about 5,000; according to history professor James P.Harrison: about 1,500 plus 1,500 were imprisoned.¹⁰

By early 1956, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, especially President Ho Chi Minh, discovered errors in land reform. In December 1956, at the 6th session of the First National Assembly, President Ho Chi Minh tearfully apologized to the citizens and on behalf of the government received defects in the land reform policy. The policy was suspended. General Secretary of the Communist Party, Truong Chinh resigned, and the two officers who directly

⁶ Land Reform Law, Vietnam National Assembly, December 4, 1953.

⁷ Nguyen Manh Tuong, Through mistakes in Land Reform - Building a leadership view, 1956.

⁸ "Land of the Mourning Widows". TIME. July 1, 1957.

⁹ Gavin W. Jones, "Population Trends and Policies in Vietnam: Population and Development Review", 1982.

directed him were also disciplined.

On December 20, 1956, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam issued a plan to correct the wrong things in land reform policy. The total statistics up to September 1957, the corrective campaign restored honor and returned assets to about 70-80% of the convicted. According to the Nhandan Newspaper, the campaign to correct errors also has damages when those who are restored to come back to revenge on those who have denounced them unjust. The movement of revenge spread and became violent in many places, causing the government to mobilize troops to quell. People's Army Newspaper stated that Catholic priests have gathered parishioners from Nghe An, Quang Binh, Ha Tinh and Thanh Hoa provinces to Nghe An province to protest against the land reform policy; Catholics arrested the corrective task force of the 269 Army Regiment, imprisoning them in church, causing the Vietnam People's Army's General Department ordered the 324 Division in Thanh Hoa to dispatch its forces to Nghe An province and the local force of Military Region 4 in order to resolve the incident. There was a scuffle between the army and the laity.¹¹

3.2 Money Exchange Policy in 1985

3.2.1 Overview of Money Exchange Policy in 1985

Currency exchange in Vietnam in 1985 was the third money exchange after the end of the 1975 war in Vietnam. This money exchange is a part of the economic plan named Price - Salary - Money to implement the socialist model in Vietnam, shifting the economy from centralization, bureaucracy, subsidies to socialist business accounting, which is essentially operating according to market regulations.

In 1985, the Vietnam state adopted a centrally planned economy, implementing a complete public-agricultural economy from the local level

¹⁰The Endless War: Vietnam Struggle For Independence, Columbia University Press, 1989, page 149.

¹¹Lesson from Catholic riots in Quynh Luu, Nghe An, People's Army Newspaper, 2004.

(districts), which led to a rather complicated development of the economy. Because at that time, the difference in price between the state market and the outside was very large. The market of organized goods spilled out, the price of outside markets increased rapidly, causing inflation to occur. The life of officials and employees was difficult; wages were not enough to live. The state cannot control the fluctuation of prices. Production decreased seriously, all localities faced difficulties. In particular, traders focus on "fighting" policies and plans on production and business of the State.

In this situation, the government wanted to rectify with the purpose of reforming price - salary - money to pull down prices, adjusting new price levels, altering the amount of money circulating outside, avoiding money in the hands of traders. Thus, the Government decided the major bottleneck for Vietnam's economy is the exchange of money on September 14, 1985 with the policy of 10 old currencies exchanging 1 new currency.

The policy was implemented comprehensively, including money in the bank and money circulated among the public. Circulation money must be returned within 3-5 days at the rate of 1 new đồng (VND) eat 10 old đồng. In addition to exchanging old money at the rate of new money, the money exchange in 1985 intentionally recovered banknotes of high denominations: VND 100, VND 50, VND 30 and VND 20 using low-value banknotes to increase the purchasing power of Vietnamese currency. However, because of the devaluation of the currency, the government subsequently issued banknotes with higher denominations such as the 200 bill in 1987; and then 500, 1000 and 2000 in 1989.

3.2.2. Result of implementing policy

The exchange of money at the new rate removes all accumulated in cash and puts everyone into an equal rank. In theory, the idea was equal for everyone, but the economic consequences were disastrous with inflation rising to a peak in 1986. The high inflation continued until the 1990s. With the currency devalued, people

tried to buy gold. The money in the bank when being withdrawn is lower than the original value. “Selling a motorbike before exchanging money in 1985, depositing money in a bank to save, until 1990 withdrew the money couldn't buy a bicycle tire” (Quan, 2017).

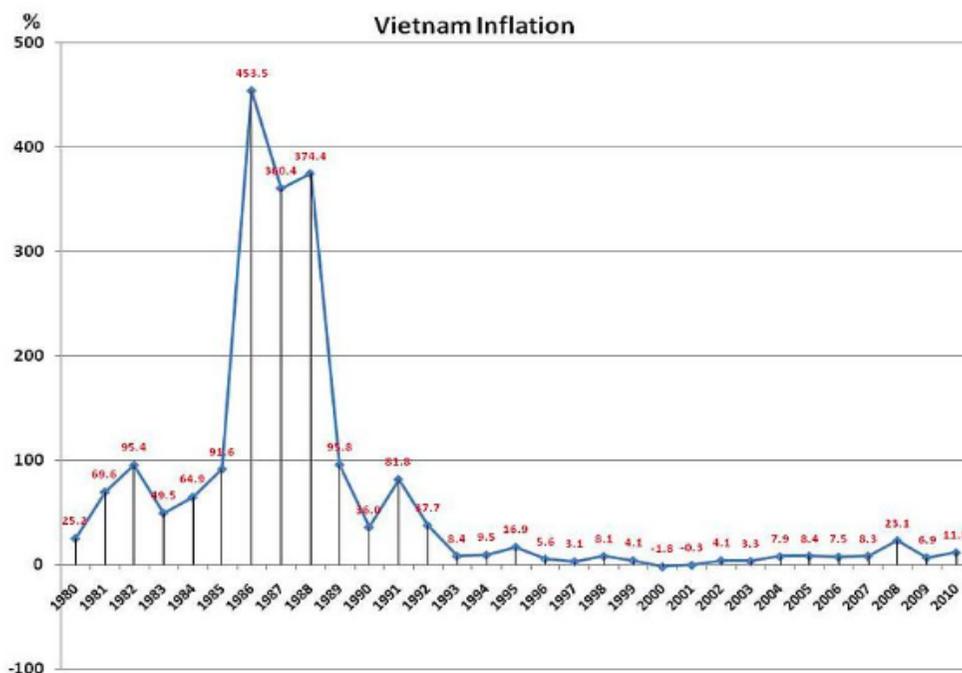


FIGURE 5: Vietnam's inflation rate in the period of 1980-2010

According to the chart, the time of 1985 marked the time when inflation erupted. The socio-economic life of Vietnam in the years after the exchange of money fell into chaos with a three-digit inflation rate in 1986, 1987, and 1988. This money exchange policy in 1985 caused devastating economic consequences with inflation rising rapidly in 1986 and continuing to be high for the next 3 years. Although the money exchange plan did not work as planned due to the patchwork of reforms with the old model, causing serious inflation, this made the government realize that radical reforms (Doimoi) were needed. It is also an important milestone, creating a catalyst for economic innovation under the market mechanism.

3.3 Investment Law 2014: Removing Unreasonable Conditions for Doing Business

3.3.1 Overview of Removing Unreasonable Conditions for Doing Business

The story of "One chocolate bar needs 13 business licenses to be produced" has been mentioned a lot by the Vietnamese press in previous years. Most media agencies such as Government Online Newspapers (a department of Government Portal, chinhphu.vn), Economic newspapers, Business Forums, Thanh Nien, Tuoi Tre, Investment, as well as News and Economic Categories on radio and television stations all provided about 450.000 news (MIC's database system) on this story as a typical example, warning and reflecting the difficulties of business, investment in Vietnam. Particularly, in the 13 licenses to produce chocolate, 12 kinds of raw materials need 12 types of licenses, the last one is a certificate confirming the final product. However, the overlapping-license-story is not unique to chocolate but is also common with many other commodities. This is one of the reason for the 2014 Law on Investment to introduce business environment reform regulations.

The most outstanding point of the 2014 Investment Law is regulatory reforms in areas of conditional business investment and business investment, which is a change of approach, instead of "opting for" (meaning what is said in the law), has changed to the "opt out" method (stipulating what is prohibited, the rest is businesses and investors are allowed to invest and do business in accordance with the law). Accordingly, Law on Investment 2014 has outlined the limits of prohibited business sectors: drug trading; trading in banned chemicals and minerals; trading in wild, endangered and precious and rare animals and plants of natural origin; sex work; buy and sell people, tissues, organs and human activities related to asexual reproduction. All 6 industries banned from business investment stipulated in this Law have been stipulated in the current legal documents but synthesized in the

Investment Law to clarify the regulations on economic freedom of citizens. In addition, the 2014 Investment Law has defined a list of 267 conditional business lines.

Moreover, in the 2014 Investment Law, the provisions of law application for foreign-invested economic organizations have been added. In addition, this Law also amended the procedures for the establishment of enterprises by foreign investors.

Specially, the Investment Law 2014 was a remarkable breakthrough on regulations of business conditions. “Conditional business lines” is not a new term in the Vietnamese legal system. Nevertheless, there had been no official definition for it until the Investment Law 2014. Prior to 2014, policymakers often introduced the conditions for business lines without further elaboration on the purposes, or if they did elaborate, they rarely referred to public interests. Since there had been no standards to evaluate the necessity of business conditions, several business lines, which practically needed no control by conditions, were still identified as conditional. This significantly hindered the freedom of doing business. According to the Law on Investment 2014, the List in the Law prescribes the conditional business lines, which affect public interests. However, reports by the Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry (VCCI), the Central Institute for Economic Management (CIEM) and feedbacks from the business community indicate that there are as much as 5719 conditions in 243 business lines, which are seen as mini-licenses that put burdens on the businesses. To create an enabling business climate, the Vietnamese Government is committed to undertaking stronger public administrative reforms, especially by slashing the unreasonable business conditions. Specifically, the Ministry of Planning and Investment has proposed the elimination of nearly 2000 business conditions that are seen as hindrances to the businesses. Nevertheless, translating the proposal into reality is a long journey while the businesses are still suffering from the burden of the unreasonable business conditions.

From 2014 to now, the 2014 Investment Law is being concretized by the Government's Decrees on amending and supplementing a number of decrees regulating investment and business conditions. Ministries, departments and

localities are directed to strictly implement these Decrees. In addition, it is necessary to mention the comprehensive and in-depth involvement of Governmental media in analyzing, informing and collecting feedbacks on this issue from economic experts, business community.

3.3.2 Result of implementing policy

As of the end of 2016, the ministries submitted and issued 21 legal documents; cut, simplify 6.776 out of a total of 9.926 specialized inspection lines, exceeding 36.5% of the assigned target. Regarding the reduction of business registration, there were more than 3.300 of the total 6.200 business unreasonable conditions were cut, simplified. Estimates, cutting down, simplifying business condition lines, administrative procedures help businesses and people save a total of nearly 18 million public days and more than VND 6,000 billion per year.

According to the latest report, many unnecessary and unreasonable business conditions have been cut. Until May 2019, the ministries and agencies have submitted and promulgated according to their competence 29 legal documents to cut 3.425 / 6.191 business conditions, saving 5.941.460 working days and 893.9 billion dong / year. After many reform efforts, the proportion of goods subject to specialized management and inspection of import and export goods has decreased significantly; from 82.700 items in 2015 to 70.087 items, as of March 2019, a decrease of 12.600 items.

Currently, Vietnam is a very attractive destination for both domestic and foreign investors. Since Doimoi, the business environment has been gradually improved. The initial success of the Investment Law with the reduction of conditional business lines has affirmed the strong actions of the Government to make Vietnam's investment environment transparent. These results are due, in part, to the contribution of governmental media to policy design and the role as a bridge between the Government and businesses.

4. Methods and database

4.1 Criterias of Evaluation

Qualitative, document analysis is the research method of the study.

In order to evaluate the roles of governmental media in Vietnam's the public policy design, the study cases prove the level of involvement of governmental media industrial structure in scheming process as said by above mentioned elements: Firstly, Inform the Party's agenda and guidance, the Government's executive orders. Secondly, anticipating, analyzing problems, alerting the public to problems on the basis of official warnings. Thirdly, propagating on the policy content. Lastly, receiving and collecting policies' feedbacks to help lawmakers, designers and composing committee complete the policies effectively and practically. The interaction between variables is measured by number of programs for each type in governmental media structure, quantity of feedbacks, amount of conferences about two above policies, times of revising drafts and result of implementing policies in the case.

The thesis efforts to analyze, compare between "before Doimoi" and "after Doimoi" to prove and confirm the correlation between governmental media's ingredients and 4 stages affecting policy design. From that, thesis elucidates the changes and continuities of governmental media in Vietnam's public policy after Doimoi. The estimation is given founded on the number, amount of the governmental media structure's participation from reports, interviews, documents.

4.2 Primary Data Collection

Basing on that governmental media and policy design are multifaced and intricate concept and consequently it indicates the existence of various challenges and barriers to verify the interaction of these two variables, the dissertation proposes the analysis founded on the theoretical background in literature review and the roles

of governmental media in Vietnam's policy design (Chapter 2). It is true that success of process depends on many factors such as political context, research platform, partnership between state and public or private's sectors, technological infrastructure, economical factors, etc. However, the proposal concentrations on only participation of governmental media.

For this thesis, the primary data will be collected from database of Vietnam National Assembly, Government Office, Vietnam Government Portal's system. Additionally, master plans to draft above laws and communication plan of Planning and Investment Ministry are significant and fundamental data sources the dissertation. Moreover, interviews were accompanied with leaders of policy designing committee to inform and collect comments on the policy and journalist specializing on business sector as an independent expert.

4.3. Secondary Data Use

From another approach, this thesis also mentioned to secondary data from different sources for analysis. Specifically, for unraveling the legislative background and numerical data, the dissertation explores the process of finalizing the draft of this the law through the contributions and reports of the policy feedbacks sent to Ministries and related parties such as the legal department, the Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and social organizations related to the beginning private business.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS, EVALUATION, DISCUSSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Comparing the structure and quantity of Governmental media system before and Doimoi (1986)

Structure	Quantity	
	<i>Before 1986</i>	<i>After 1986</i>
<i>Television</i>	1 station	67
<i>Radio</i>	1 channel	86 channels
<i>Print Newspaper</i>	4 newspaper	157 central and local daily/weekly newspapers, about 400 magazines and journals
<i>E- Newspaper</i>	0	125 e-newspapers

Although the Vietnam media in this early stage tried to become public resources which serve the public, it is still undeniable that media in Vietnam only serve the Party and State. At that time, Vietnam had only 6 press agencies, including the Voice of Vietnam Radio; Vietnam Television; Nhandan newspaper (People); People's Army Newspaper, Vietnam News Agency; Youth Newspaper (belonging to Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union). It is the fact that after turning point 1986, the development and expansion of governmental media agencies have been confirmed. The below detailed information will further prove these points.

4.1.1 Governmental media system before Doimoi

The voice of Vietnam Radio

The Voice of Vietnam Radio is the national radio directly under the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, is responsible for transmitting information, contributing to education, raising people's intellectual standards and serving the spiritual life of the people. The station is under the state management of the Ministry of Information and Communications on press, frequency, transmission and broadcasting activities¹². From 1990 to now, Voice of Vietnam is the most important media complex in the country, with all 4 types of press: radio, television, paper and online newspapers.

At 11h30 on 7/9/1945: Radio Voice of Vietnam was officially born. Before Doimoi (1986), VOV has only one channel is the first radio channel of Voice of Vietnam Television, broadcast on September 7, 1945 and the content was about integrated political news, broadcasting throughout the country.

Vietnam Television

Vietnam Television (VTV) is a national television station under the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, which is responsible for broadcasting television programs to transmit information and propagation of guidelines and policies of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the laws of the State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, contributing to education, raising people's intellectual standards and serving the spiritual life of the Vietnamese. On 7/9/1970, the Voice of Vietnam Radio had its first broadcast television. Afterwards, the Voice of Vietnam Radio established the Television Editorial Board in 1971. The television program was broadcast experimentally for 5 years, from 1970-1975. Moving to the next stages, 1975: Radio began broadcasting daily programs; 1976: Separated headquarters from Voice of Vietnam and moved to a new location; On

August 19, 1980, the Editorial Board of Vietnam Television and Radio split from Voice of Vietnam Radio and changed it to "Central Television Station". Then, On April 30, 1987, the Central Television changed its name to "Vietnam Television".¹³

Nhandan News (People)

The NhanDan Newspaper is the communication agency of the Communist Party of Vietnam. The paper received as "Central authority, voice of the Party, State and people of Vietnam". This newspapers is mainly issued long-term to the Party cell system and sold at newsstands. As a key news agency of the Vietnam Communist Party, untill 1996, Directive 11 requires party cells to buy, read and follow this party newspaper that has been in place for 15 years (as of 2012). This directive issued by the Politburo itself proves that the Communist Party highly values the role of the NhanDan newspaper in the Vietnamese political system.

The first issue was published on March 11, 1951 in Viet Bac battlefield¹⁴. Because the position is the voice of the Party, the State ..., the position of the NhanDan newspaper is very important in the current Vietnamese regime. Many famous politicians of the Communist Party of Vietnam have worked at Nhan Dan newspaper or participated in writing articles. The generations of Editor-in-Chief hold positions from Party Central Committee member upwards, concurrently holding other important positions in the Party.

Before Doimoi, VTV had only one channel with the broadcast time frame from 7p.m - 10pm, including 4 programs: Small Flowers for children; News; Categories (youth, ethnicity,...) and movies.

¹² Functions and duties of the Voice of Vietnam Radio, <http://tnvn.gov.vn/chuc-nang-nhiem-vu/chuc-nang-nhiem-vu-c2-14.aspx>

¹³ Nguyen Kim Trach, VTV - A romantic dream come true, Vietnam Television Newspaper

¹⁴ Viet Bac is a region of Vietnam north of Hanoi that served as the communist's base of support during the First Indochina War (1946–1954).

Vietnam News Agency

Vietnam News Agency (VNA) is the National News Agency, under the Government of Vietnam and the official information agency of the State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The Vietnam News Agency continuously provides information on political, economic, social, cultural, scientific and technological issues of Vietnam and the world. The purpose of the Vietnam News Agency is to reflect the views of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Vietnamese state on major domestic, regional and international issues.

The September 15, 1945 is considered to be the traditional day of News Agency. This is the day VNA officially released the Declaration of Independence and the list of Provisional Government members of the Democratic Republic Vietnam in 3 languages: Vietnamese, English and French.

From 1945 to 1975, the VNA actively disseminated information on the policies of the party and the state, as well as the Vietnamese people's two wars against the French and the America colonialism. In 1975, ending these two wars, nearly 260 reporters and employees of VNA died while on duty. After more than six decades of traveling with the country under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, today VNA has become a reliable national information center of the Party and the State, a reputable news agency. in the region, towards building a media corporation. The Vietnam News Agency constantly develops various forms of communication: information pages, radio and television news, paper newspapers, online newspapers ...

The People's Army Newspaper

The People's Army Newspaper under the General Department of Politics, the Ministry of Defense is the agency of the Central Military Party Committee and the Ministry of Defense of Vietnam, the voice of the Vietnam People's Armed Forces. The first issue was on October 20, 1950 in Thai Nguyen province. The development of the People's Army Newspaper is closely linked to the history and

maturity of the Vietnam People's Army. The People's Army Newspaper started at a time when the Vietnam War was in the most fierce period. Before Doimoi, although the People's Army Newspaper could not be published in the South, through the Voice of Vietnam Radio, section Introducing newspapers and Reading newspapers, the main content of People's Army newspapers is still on the battlefield.

Tuoi Tre Newspaper (Youth)

Tuoi Tre is the official news agency of the Ho Chi Minh City Communist Youth Union and was officially launched on September 2, 1975. The first issue of Tuoi Tre Newspaper was published with about 5,000 copies/week. The precursor of Tuoi Tre started from the leaflets and printed newsletters of Saigon students in the anti-American movement during the Vietnam War days.

By July 1981, Tuoi Tre was released two times/week (Wednesday and Saturday) with the number of 30,000 copies / term. On August 10, 1982, Tuoi Tre increased to three releases per week (Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday). On January 16, 1983, Tuoi Tre Sunday was born with the quantity of about 20,000 sheets per period. Seven years later, Tuoi Tre Sunday recorded a record of 131,000 in 1990. On January 1, 1984, "Tuoi Tre Cuoi" was born, the only satirical newspaper of Vietnam at that time. The initial circulation was around 50,000, then quickly increased to 250,000 by the end of the year.

In general, the media of the Vietnam Government before was very simple, less diverse and no competition. Information monopoly in each field is a prominent feature in this period. For instance, only VTV broadcasted on television, information about the military was only the People's Army newspaper in charge, Nhandan newspaper reported on the guidelines and policies of the Party, the State, and Tuoi Tre Newspaper is aimed at students and young intellectual class. It limited the development of the media system but is also an inevitable consequence because the central government at this stage was being consolidated, lacking of experiences and skills in operating guidance.

4.1.2 Governmental media system after Doimoi

Having general characteristics of the CP media model which has been discussed in Chapter 2, from Doimoi to now, the media in Vietnam have been emerging into either market model or public sphere model. For example, the Vietnam media are trying to become public resources which serve the public. It is undeniable that media in Vietnam serve the Party and State; however, they are trying to come up with people's demand for information and knowledge. Actually, Vietnam media are making effort in promoting active citizenship via information, education, and social integration.

All of the Vietnam's media are still state owned and regulated. At the national level, the Ministry of Information and Communication (MIC) is the regulating agency. The media are structured in levels. There are three central media who are equivalent to government ministries, affiliated structurally to the Prime Minister's Office, and ideologically to the central committee of the CPV, including Vietnam Television (VTV), Radio Voice of Vietnam (VOV), and Vietnam News Agency (VNA). There is another channel of central level newspaper/magazines/journals owned and published by the Party's central committee departments, central party and government institutions, ministries and social institutions. For example, Nhan Dan Newspaper is still a central organ of the CPV, Quan doi Nhan Dan (The People's Army newspaper) still belongs to the Ministry of Defense, or Thanh Nien owned by the Youth Federation of Vietnam, etc. These newspapers are nationally distributed.

There are 64 local newspapers, radio and TV stations which are located in 64 provinces and cities. These are the voice of local people and provincial CPV committees. At the provincial level, there are also newspapers, magazines or journals by local organizations, such as local police, local associations of poets, photographers, etc. These media are distributed within the local area. However, there is no barrier to limit the distribution of local newspaper. In fact, there are some local newspapers to be distributed nationwide. The distribution is indeed purely

dependent on the economic matters.

In terms of size, Vietnam has a large media system. According to the most updated data published by the MIC, up to December 25, 2018, there are more than 19,166 professional journalists¹⁵. Totally, there are currently 857 print agencies, of which 86 print agencies have 107 central agencies and 107 local agencies. The print magazine has 350 Central units, 134 local units. Online newspaper and magazine have 159 units. Additionally, the number of websites that the MIC has licensed until the end of June 2018 is 1,510. Most of them belong to news agencies. Recently, there are integrated online news websites owned by private companies. Social media, which are not officially defined by the Law on media, are developing rapidly. According to the MIC 2012 annual report, there are more than 2 million blogs, 191 social networks. Recently, together with 3G technologies, social networks, including Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Google+... are booming in Vietnam.

Moreover, Vietnamese viewers are enjoying 75 international channels including world's leading news channels such as CNN, BBC, TV5, DW, Australia Network, KBS, Bloomberg,... Currently, there are 20 international news agencies operating their representative offices in Vietnam. Many international newspapers or magazines are printed and widely distributed. Access to international news resources is open in the Internet.

Television

Television is the most popular medium in Vietnam. The networks consist of 67 stations, of which three are national and 64 are local stations. 105 TV channels and 75 radio channels are freely broadcasted by analog, digital, cable and satellite technology. Most of free channels are also broadcasted online so that any overseas Vietnamese and foreigners can reach. Pay TV system has been rapidly developed.

¹⁵ Those with Press card

¹⁶ Vietnam National Television – VTV; Vietnam Digital Television VTC; Hanoi TV and Ho Chi Minh City TV.

Totally, the 4 largest pay TV networks¹⁶ self-produce 73 pay channels. On pay TV system, there are 75 international channels, mostly are news and entertainment channels, including CNN, BBC, Reuter, NHK, CCTV, BBC, Aljazeera... Vietnam Television (VTV) is the largest network, broadcasting nine free-to-air channels. The first one VTV1 started broadcasting in 1990, focuses on news. The rest cover education, sports, ethnic, youth and southern issues. VTV also operates the largest cable network (VCTV) and a direct- to-home satellite service. These two systems carry the nine VTV channels, nine Vietnamese subscription channels (VCTV1 – VCTV9) and about 40 international channels. Since 2001, VTV adopted the international standard for terrestrial digital broadcast (DVB-T).

Unit: Channel

No.	Indicator	2015	2016
1.1.3.1	Number of Vietnamese radio channels	86	86
	<i>Number of free-to-air radio channels</i>	77	77
	<i>Number of radio channels on subscription broadcasting services</i>	9	9
1.1.3.2	Number of Vietnamese TV channels	178	181
	<i>Number of TV channels on free-to-air service</i>	103	103
	<i>Number of TV channels on subscription broadcasting services</i>	75	78
1.1.3.3	Number of foreign channels granted editing license to broadcast on subscription services	40	50

Source: MIC

FIGURE 6: NUMBER OF BROADCASTING CHANNELS
(*Vietnam ICT White Book 2017*)

The other major player is Vietnam Digital Television (VTC). Founded in 1988 by Vietnam Television to construct television stations, it was handed over to the Vietnam Ministry of Post and Telematics (currently the MIC) in 2003. VTC operates several channels, only two of them free to air. In 2009, VTC's Vietnam Digital Television officially broadcast eight Full HDTV channels through Vietnam's first satellite, Vinasat-1. In May 2008 VTC launched Vietnam Online¹⁷, a "two-way information channel that will communicate the policies of the Communist Party and

¹⁷ At <http://media.chinhphu.vn/video/chuyen-muc-viet-nam-online-6>

the Vietnamese State to the public, and will receive comments from the people and businesses concerning the management of the central government.” The 30-minute program is broadcast online¹⁸ on the Government Portal and simultaneously on VTC’s free-to-air-channels.

There are also several notable trends in Vietnam television. First, it is coverage expansion beyond administrative border by local TV stations. It means that local TV, especially in major cities, expands their coverage to nearby provinces or, in several cases, to all over the country. In that sense, local TV is national-wide broadcasted. The expansion of local TV is realized by cable, digital and satellite networks. Thus, in addition to national TV channels, viewers can watch other provincial ones. In that sense, local issues can easily become nation-wide.

The second trend in Vietnam television is the socialization movement. In fact, it is the contracting-out or out-sourcing activities by TV stations to private media companies in producing TV programs. The out-sourcing in TV business initiated in 2007 and peaked in 2010 when VTC and several local TV stations completely sold a channel to their partners. It means that the TV stations only hold the responsibility of licensed agency, while their partners, mostly private companies, are totally in charge of content and producing programs. The socialization focuses on entertainment and commercial channels. Obviously, socialization in TV industries brings huge economic benefits to both TV stations and their partners (Hoa, 2015). The TV station, who basically state owned, save their investment for producing programs while partnership companies benefits from selling advertisement on their outsourced programs.

As a result, TV viewers are benefited with new, interesting programs. It is the socialization in TV business that currently brings most of world attractive entertainment programs, such as *The Voice*, *Dance with Stars*, *The Millionaire*, *Vietnam Idol*, etc., to Vietnamese viewers. On the negative side, by transferring the

¹⁸ i.e. Access+ (70 SD channels) and Premium HD+ (74 SD channels and 12 HD channels)

right and responsibility of producing TV programs to out-sourcing partners, TV stations are facing the problem of weak content management that damage their reputation and viewers. For instance, in March 2015, the Department of Radio, Television, and Electronic Information under the MIC notified VTV that it would not license several programs that the VTV out-sourced to its partners. The reasons were repeated slip-ups in recent times, using culturally inappropriate language and images, and violating advertisement rules (TuoitreNews, 2015).

Cooperating with international partners in the TV business is the third notable trend of Vietnam TV. In 2009, the national broadcaster VTV and Canal+, a leading broadcaster in France and Europe established a joint ventured company, the Vietnam Satellite Digital Television Company (VSTV), of which VTV held 51 percent shares. VSTV aims at becoming the leading satellite digital television operator in Vietnam. Under the joint venture agreement, VSTV can produce TV channels, which used to be the monopoly of TV stations. To that end, Canal+ might be considered as a strategic international outsourcer of VTV. VSTV first focused on sport, film and entertainment channels. However, it gradually expanded the coverage to other fields, including social and cultural issues. VSTV is currently offering satellite TV service nationwide with two key packages¹⁸. Noticeably, the VSTV will directly coordinate with world leading television broadcasters in producing programs. By that way, it can be considered as the first step for foreign companies to invest into the Vietnam TV market, not limited within economic cooperation.

Generally speaking, it can be said that the coverage expansion of local TV stations, the socialization in TV program production, and especially, the operation of joint venture firm with foreign broadcaster bring the new environment to Vietnam's TV. Stations are self-motivated to improve their programs so as to attract more viewers. International news and entertainment channels are far easier to reach Vietnamese family. Private companies are given the chance to join the business of producing TV program. Moreover, international broadcasters are signaled for the

future cooperation in the promising market. Finally, the competition between TV broadcasters and TV program producing companies, surely, bring more choice to TV viewers.

Radio

The radios in Vietnam also grow stronger than the previous period and are structured into central and local levels. At the national level, Vietnam has the national radio station, now called the Voice of Vietnam (VOV). At local levels, Radio is combined with TV to form the TV-Radio stations. Radio stations are under the regulation of MIC in term of broadcasting, frequencies and transmission.

VOV is the biggest radio station in Vietnam with broadcasting range covering the entire territory of Vietnam and millions of frequent audiences. Moreover, broadcasting range of VOV can reach South East Asia, Africa, Europe and America. Local radio programs, normally, are broadcasted within the local area. Under the advancement of broadcasting technology, VOV programs now can be heard worldwide on the Internet.

Serving as the voice of Vietnamese government to people, VOV is currently playing various functions in different aspects. They include popularizing policies and orientation of the government; news reporting; educating the people with lessoning programs in different fields such as language, science or culture; entertaining the people. Recently, VOV has been operating its traffic channel, which helps to reduce traffic congestions and accidents. Most of programs are in Vietnamese, but there are also ethnic language programs for minor communities, as well as programs with foreign languages to serve foreign communities.

Nowadays, VOV is the representative of the trend to formulate the multi-media agency. Besides the traditional radio program, VOV is currently providing its TV channels, VOVTV. Unlike the above mentioned pay TV channels that focus on sport and entertainment, VOV-TV aims at becoming a TV news channel. The appearance of VOV-TV breaks the dominance of VTV in producing news channels. Recently, VOV has gone farther when it was given the project of building a new TV

channel for the National Assembly of Vietnam. With the newly established NA channel, there is an interesting competition among national news channel, including VTV1, VTC, VOV-TV and the channels under the Vietnam News agency (VNA). There is still another aspect to mention the VOV's expansion, the establishment of VOV's online newspaper. Not simply transcribed from radio news, the VOV's online newspaper with information and news in a wide range of areas in society independently develops and competes with other online newspapers for views, clicks and hits. With the integration of different medium, VOV is said to be a model of modern media agency.

Print

The current print media environment in Vietnam is diversified. It consists of 157 central and local daily/weekly newspapers, and about 400 magazines and journals. These include more than 20 magazines published in English, French and Chinese, and one national English daily newspaper, The Vietnam News. In addition to the printed newspapers and magazines, there is another kind of publication known as "news bulletins". About 1000 news bulletins are published by the Vietnam News Agency (VNA) and other government ministries and offices. VNA provides dozens of daily bulletins (in English, French and Chinese) on domestic and world events to local and foreign readers, to other media and research institutions.

Prior to Doimoi era, there were two daily newspapers from the central level, Nhan Dan, the Party's newspaper, and the Quan doi Nhan Dan, the Army's newspaper. The Nhan dan newspaper has the circulation of about 180.000 copies a day while the Quan doi Nhan Dan has approximately half that number. In recent years, three central newspapers - the Thanh nien owned by the Vietnam Federation of Youth, Tien Phong owned by the Central Committee of Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, and Lao dong owned by the Central Federation of Labor- have become competitive daily newspaper in the market. These three newspapers are popular and have been quickly increasing their circulation. For example, Thanh Nien doubled its circulation, from 165,000 to 330,000 between 2000 and 2006.

Figures show that newspapers based in Ho Chi Minh City, the country's economic center, have a wider circulation than those in Hanoi (Wagstaff, 2008). Tuoi Tre, a propaganda leaflets by students in Saigon during the Vietnam War, quickly grew to become the largest daily newspaper in the country with the circulation of 450.000. Besides the printed newspaper, it also runs high traffic online versions in English and Vietnamese. The top weekly is the Cong an Thanh pho Ho Chi Minh (Ho Chi Minh City's Police) newspaper. Being famous for police investigative reports, it is regarded as the most widely read tabloid with the circulation of more than 350.000.

It is widely known that Vietnamese newspapers are the voices of a government or party organization. For instance, the Tuoi tre is the voice of Ho Chi Minh City Youth Union, Thanh Nien is the voice of Vietnamese Youth Federation, or Lao Dong is the voice of workers and Labor Union.

However, such the expression of "being the voice of" has no longer been used in the past years. Under high pressure of competition from online newspaper, TV and the radio, printed newspapers expanded their audience by reporting wide range of topics. News and reports are required to be fast, neutral and vivid. Thus, instead of being the speaker for owner organization, newspapers have to focus more on social issues that help them to attract larger community of readers.

Besides the pressure of content competition, there is still another reasons to explain. Before, the owner organization covered all the expenses of a newspaper. Nowadays, newspapers are required to operate on their own income, mostly from advertisement. To that end, newspapers have no choice but to maximize their income, while minimizing their expense. Therefore, newspapers have no other choice but to change so as to meet the taste of readers. In reality, top print newspapers with high circulation are doing good business. Their incomes not only can cover all expense but also help them to invest in other business or open new medium, such as multi- media, weekend, quarterly or monthly editions. For example, Tuoitre is now running a comic edition, a weekly magazine and a web-integrated TV channel. Moreover, the newspaper has also opened its representative office in several Asean countries and has invested in real estate. However, there are

newspapers who are unable to cover their expenses and thus face the pressure to close.

Online

Vietnam’s online media appeared soon after the introduction of the Internet in 2007. Vietnamnet, the first online newspaper was established in 1997. During its first days, Vietnamnet had been viewed by skeptical eyes of the authority (Wagstaff, 2008). On one hand, the government recognizes the importance of the Internet as an essential element of the contemporary world. On the other hand, there was still suspicion on how to control the non-border media. At times, there have been many suspicious ideas on the fact that online media could be easily manipulated and might threaten the national security (Hang, 2007). However, the increase of online newspapers proved the undeniable advantage of the Internet in changing the structure of Vietnam media system.

Nowadays, it can be said that Vietnam has an up-to-date system of online newspapers. According to the Vietnam ICT White book 2017, there are 125 e-newspapers.

Unit: Channel

No.	Indicator	2015	2016
1.1.3.1	Number of Vietnamese radio channels	86	86
	Number of free-to-air radio channels	77	77
	Number of radio channels on subscription broadcasting services	9	9
1.1.3.2	Number of Vietnamese TV channels	178	181
	Number of TV channels on free-to-air service	103	103
	Number of TV channels on subscription broadcasting services	75	78
1.1.3.3	Number of foreign channels granted editing license to broadcast on subscription services	40	50

Source: MIC

FIGURE 7: NUMBER OF WEBSITES

Currently, the most visited e-newspaper is vnexpress.net, which rank 5th

among most visited websites in Vietnam, 522th in the world (Alexa ranking). While conventional media cannot operate outside the umbrella of a sponsoring Party or State organization, online has been a different story. Vnexpress, for example, is owned by FPT Group, Vietnam's leading software company. Dantri, the second most visited e-newspaper is owned by the Vietnam Study Promotion Association. Vietnamnet was set up by the founder of the Vietnamnet Media Group, a graduate of Harvard Business School. Noticeably, most of general information websites, which can somehow be considered as online newspapers, are private.

4.2 Participation of governmental media in three cases

4.2.1 Land reform policy 1950s

The entire political system implemented the program which was informed concentratedly on media system such as Nhandan, VNA and VOA radio content. Nhandan at that time set up a focus category called "Land Reform". Similarly, according to documentation on Land Reform, National Museum of History, published in 2014, the VNA published a weekly thematic newsletter entitled "Land Reform News".



“Land Reform” Category and News on Newspaper in 1950s



“Land Reform” Category and News on Newspaper in 1950s

In this period (1950-1953), the total number of news and radio programs published about The Land Reform policy was about 700.000 (NMH), mainly on the newspaper Nhandan, Vietnam News Agency, Voice of Vietnam, People's Army Newspaper. However, among them, mostly information on Government's direction and implementation related to this policy, praising the early achievements and experiences from typical locals which carried out the policy well. In addition, this information and communication was made exclusively, without competition because of the limited number of press agencies as well as the government's way of managing newspapers in Vietnam at the time.

In comparison with the analytical framework, it is not difficult to realize that in designing the Land Reform Policy in the North (1950s), governmental media in Vietnam was only a tool to convey the lines and guidelines of The Party, directing the Government in an exclusive and rudimentary way. There is no competition in process of propagating on the policy content. Besides, the lack of anticipating and analyzing problems from governmental communication instruments is one of the causes of the failure of this policy. The evidence is that the press at this stage did not give any warning or forecast about the problems of extreme farmers in the localities as well political and social instability due to this policy. Only when the leaders of the Government were aware of the challenges and spoke up to the deficiencies in the management, the Government media would report on this issue in a one-way information as the Government directs. But at that time, the consequences were too

bad, the involvement of Governmental media was only formal and informative. Certainly, the governmental media in these years did not have any mechanism to receive policy feedbacks, to help the Government complete, revise and amend the regulations. In general, government media in this period was merely a proprietary information tool of the Government, operated in a extremely simple way, lacking interaction, and did not keep up with policy development in the reality.

4.2.1 Money exchange policy 1985

In the fact, information in society and governmental media about this money exchange was very confusing and vague. Rumors of money exchange were already widespread among the public as the economic situation in the 1980s became increasingly difficult. So the authorities let all the media including VTV, VNA, VOA,... broadcast and reassure the people that there was no plan to exchange money. On September 12, 1985, the front page of Tuoi Tre newspaper also affirmed, "Breaking up the spread of rumors about exchanging information about exchange of money ..." but two days later, on September 14, there was an order to recover the old money and simultaneously change it into new money. The reason given is to enhance "the interests of the labours". All of the radio, television and press systems throughout the country suddenly reported the hot news "Change Money". "One early morning, outside the window, a loudspeaker sounded information about the exchange of money. The whole city awakened, worried as just two days ago, the press also reported "Smashing tricks to spread false rumors. The whole city seemed to wake up, bewildered, and panicked.". (Quan, 2017).

In terms of the governmental media's role and participation in the 1985 money-exchange policy, the media caused public frustration and confusion by the information ambiguity and heterogeneity. This case shows that the media only reported on policy following the way which Vietnam Government in this period wanted regardless of the exactness, accuracy of the information and the truth. In this policy design, governmental media only informed the Party's agenda and guidance,

the Government's executive orders. Monopoly status in propagating on the policy content took place and was common. The media could not do the task of analyzing problems, forecasting challenges and receiving policy feedback as the media theories mentioned. The failure of “Money Exchange in 1985” policy is an example of the negative influence and impact of information monopoly as well as the lack of information transparency, public participation in policy design, when governmental media in Vietnam could not properly implement and assert its indispensable role in policy designing process.

4.2.3 Removing and Reducing unreasonable conditional business lines, The Investment Law 2014

According to the MIC’s database system, from January 2018 to the end of the third quarter of 2019, the national governmental media including online, newspapers, TV, radio,... have been reported more than 14.200.000 news, articles and programs in process of reducing conditional business lines. Apart from that, portals to receive feedbacks from people and businesses about the limitation of this policy or the weak enforcement of the authorities are also opened in the media. Thereby, the press agencies synthesize, analyze these feedbacks, interview economic experts to supply policy recommendations to the ministries and Government on the amendment, supplement or removal of regulations. For instance, in 2018, the Government Online Newspaper’s system of receiving and responding to petitions of enterprises received 1.052 feedbacks and proposals of enterprises. The Government Office forwarded 685 feedback and proposals to ministries, ministerial-level agencies and localities and 274 feedbacks and proposals to specialized departments under the Government Office. From the beginning of 2019 until now (October 29, 2019), the system has received 1,029 feedbacks and recommendations of enterprises; transfer 791 feedbacks and recommendations to ministries, ministerial-level agencies, localities and 133 feedbacks and recommendations to specialized departments of the Government Office. In three

quarters of 2019, Vietnam Government Office received 652 documents from ministries, branches and localities to answer and respond to the policy of reducing business conditions.

The Law on Investment 2014 with “Conditional business lines” went through six drafts to be completed and come to consistency and promulgation. During the period from drafting, designing to promulgating, implementing policy, the media agencies of the National Assembly, the Government, relevant ministries and the Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry (VCCI) focused on to information and communication about policy’s content. In addition, the government media made articles about difficulties and problems of enterprises from the feedbacks and recommendations sent by businesses; information, guidelines, and answers to problems of enterprises from sources of replies of ministries, branches and localities; information and propaganda about the results of settlement and finalization of policies of the authorities. In 2014, the Ministry of Planning and Investment Portal published about 180.000 articles²⁰ about the 2014 Investment Law and the reduction of unnecessary business conditions. This number on the National Assembly's portal was about 210.000 news²¹. The VCCI’s Legal Department of Communication Division have received 134.000 opinions²² from citizens and entrepreneurs through seminars, discussions, rondtables and the website of VCCI.

The involvement and advancement of governmental media in policy design after Doimoi was illustrated by above case. There is no doubt that initial success of Law on Investment 2014 and removing conditional business lines has significant support of government media. Media system created a forum for the people, entrepreneurs and policy designers discuss, debate and give the perspectives about this policy process. The strong development of the domestic communication system is a premise for the media to show its role in policy design. Information methods of

²⁰ Database of Ministry of Planning and Investment Portal

²¹ Database of National Assembly Portal

²² from Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry

press agencies have been more diverse and competitive in conveying the party's agenda and guidance, the Government's executive orders; Anticipate, analyze the problems; Propagate on the policy content; and Receive and collect feedbacks. Communication in this case has attracted the public's participation in every step of policy design, shaped a social debate, thereby increasing policy implementation and effectiveness.

4.3 Comparing the involvement of governmental media in policy design before and after Doimoi

4.3.1 Continuities

Informing the party's agenda and guidance, the Government's executive orders and Propagating on the policy content that is designed

The general roles and functions of the Media in Vietnam are defined in the 1st article of the Law on Media (1999) as follow:

“The media operating within the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is the essential means of providing public information in relation to social life; is the voice of Party organizations, State bodies and social organizations, and a forum for the people”. (Article 1- Law on Media 1999)

Accordingly, media are first to serve the State management, as the major channel for providing information to the people. In fact, the media have been playing a very important role in explaining the Party and State's policies. As the major channel for providing information to the people, the media have been continuing to play a very important role in explaining the Party and State's policies. Both before and after Doimoi, governmental media perform this task. Before Doimoi, governmental media in Vietnam was a device to deliver the lines and guidelines of The Party, directing the Government in an exclusive and basic way.

Mostly information on Government's direction and implementation related to this policy, praising the early achievements and experiences from typical locals which carried out the policy well. In addition, this information and communication was made exclusively, without competition because of the limited number of press agencies as well as the government's way of managing newspapers in Vietnam at the time. Monopoly status in promulgating on the policy content was usual at that period.

After Doimoi, the role of governmental media in inform the party's agenda and guidance, the Government's executive orders and propagating on the policy content have been continuing to maintain and implement. In case of Investment Law 2014, only from January 2018 to the end of the third quarter of 2019, 14.200.000 news, articles and programs in process of reducing conditional business lines have been reported published by the national governmental media including online, newspapers, TV, radio,...Through that, confirming the role of media in Informing the party's agenda and guidance, the Government's executive orders and Propagating on the policy content that is designed.

4.3.2 Changes

It is estimated that 90% of new legal regulations or policies are conveyed to the people via the media (Chanh, 2014). In addition, the media act as the observers to the operation of government agencies. The media can point out the limitations of policies, mistakes or wrong doing of governmental agencies to create the social pressure on authorities to explain or to correct.

After 1986, the media in Vietnam have been making efforts to perform their role as a "social debate" facilitator. Social debate is understood as the unification of community's power to solve social problems (Vinh, 2015). Thus, facilitating social debates is the process of democratization. In the single ruling party context, there is obviously the threat of being subjective, or ideological. Therefore, a clear mechanism for social debate is essentially necessary. In that sense, the media are at

the central of the social debates (Vinh, 2015).

The fact is that since Doimoi, the development and expansion of governmental media agencies and the “opened thought” of the Government have been an important premise for media to actively and effectively join policy designing process in Vietnam, contributing to the success of the policies. The Investment Law 2014, especially, in which provides the reduction of unreasonable business conditions, is clear evidence for this perspective.

TABLE 2: Changes of Governmental media’s involvement in policy design before and after Doimoi

Policy Design	Governmental Media	
	<i>Before Doimoi</i>	<i>After Doimoi</i>
Inform the party’s agenda and guidance, the Government’s executive orders	Monopoly	Diversity
Anticipate, analyze the problems	None	Diversity
Propagate on the policy content	Monopoly	Diversity
Receive and collect feedbacks, help policy designers complete the policy	None	Diversity

Inform the party’s agenda and guidance, the Government’s executive orders:

Whereas before Doimoi, the monopoly of information was popular due to the poverty, inadequacy and limitations of the communication system, this mission after the reform was carried out in a diversified, competitive means, with information competition between press agencies, television and radio. This is clearly shown when comparing the propaganda and direction of the government in the 3 cases mentioned in previous Chapter. The number and method of making news, articles and reports have been much richer since before 1986. There is no more

monopoly on information for any press. Instead, the whole media system got involved, sharing information, explaining and analyzing the operating guidelines in government policy.

Anticipate, analyze the problems:

This is a role that media find hard to accomplish. To perform the role, media have to think beyond the current context so as to forecast the future policy issue. In the Vietnamese context, the media nature is quite passive, especially in policy issue. Government media before 1986 could not fulfill this role. There is no analysis, prediction and information merely as a notification of the Government, evidently shown in Land Reform Policy and Money Exchange Policy.

Normally, the media keep watchful eye until there are notifications from officials. However, there are also several issues in which the media can perform their role of forecasting policy problems. For example, in economy related topics, such as Law on Investment 2014 with reducing unreasonable conditional lines, the media can raise the problem before government agencies. The explanation is that, in economic related topics, policy problems can be seen from data and figures. Thus, with standardized data resources, such as data from listed companies on the market, journalist with the support from experts can investigate and find the inadequate points of current policies or suggest their own solutions. In short, from Doimoi to now, it can be said that Vietnam media are practicing for the future role of anticipating policy problems before policy designers.

Propagate on the policy content that is designed

There is nothing to prevent the media from best performing the role of informing the public of proposal content to the best of their ability. However, in fact, the media before Doimoi are in a very passive standing and exclusive/monopoly point.

In Reform Land Policy and Exchange Money 1985, there is no competition

in process of propagating on the policy content. Besides, the lack of anticipating and analyzing problems from governmental communication instruments is one of the causes of the failure of this policy. The evidence is that the press at this stage did not give any warning or forecast about the problems of extreme farmers and citizens in the localities as well political and social instability due to this policy. Only when the leaders of the Government were aware of the challenges and spoke up to the deficiencies in the management, the Government media would report on this issue in a one-way information as the Government directs. But at that time, the consequences were too bad, the involvement of Governmental media was only formal and informative.

After Doimoi, according to the LPLD, policy content continues to propagate the the plicy but are open for public comment. It means that in theory, the media can easily access the policy design and to inform the people about its content (Investment Law 2014). However, in the fact, policy is posted online in their entirety, while the media do not always have specific experts who can figure out the key issues which need focusing on. Moreover, the media still lack suitable methods of involving people in the public discussion. In most of the cases, the media simply announce that the line ministry A, for example, is asking for comment on the legal document entitled (name of the documents) which can be seen at (website address). This issue will be discussed later in the next part. But in general, the governmental media has demonstrated its position in promulgating the policy content that is designed more diversely and more progressively than before.

Receive and collect feedbacks, help policy designers complete the policy

While media system before Doimoi did not have any role in building up the two-way interaction between citizens, businesses and policy designers, the media after Doimoi can act as the observers to the operation of government agencies. The media can increase public participation in policy design, in order to point out the limitations of policies, mistakes or wrong doing of governmental agencies to create the social pressure on authorities to explain or to correct.

The case of Investment Law 2014 shows that press agencies synthesize, analyze these feedbacks, interview economic experts to supply policy recommendations to the ministries and Government on the amendment, supplement or removal of regulations. For instance, in 2018, the Government Online Newspaper's system of receiving and responding to petitions of enterprises received 1,052 feedbacks and proposals of enterprises. The Government Office forwarded 685 feedback and proposals to ministries, ministerial-level agencies and localities and 274 feedbacks and proposals to specialized departments under the Government Office. From the beginning of 2019 until now (October 29, 2019), the system has received 1,029 feedbacks and recommendations of enterprises; transfer 791 feedbacks and recommendations to ministries, ministerial-level agencies, localities and 133 feedbacks and recommendations to specialized departments of the Government Office. In three quarters of 2019, Vietnam Government Office received 652 documents from ministries, branches and localities to answer and respond to the policy of reducing business conditions.

Recently, the governmental media in Vietnam have been making efforts to perform their role as a "social debate" facilitator. Social debate is understood as the unification of community's power to solve social problems (Vinh, 2015). Thus, facilitating social debates is the process of democratization. In the single ruling party context, there is obviously the threat of being subjective, or ideological. Therefore, a clear mechanism for social debate is essentially necessary. In that sense, the media are at the central of the social debates (Vinh, 2015).

Taking part in the policy discussions is a major function of the media to perform their role as social debate facilitators and their rights of access to information (Chanh, 2014). It means that information is no longer passively supplied by government agencies and then to be conveyed by the media. The media, as the social debate facilitator, will encourage the policy actors such as business communities, social political organizations, experts, individuals, etc. to join discussions. By performing this role, the media emerge from the propaganda channel to a major channel of information exchange between the State and the people. During the process, the media not only raise their voice, but more

importantly, to facilitate the forum and encourage participants from different policy actors (Nghia, 2013). In other words, the media facilitate the relationship between State and the civil society. Media are more influential in the roles of information bridging between policy makers and the people than of direct contribution to the policy's content.

4.4 Discussions: Lessons learnt from cases

4.4.1 Discussions

This part is going to discuss about the challenges as well as some limitations of governmental media in modern Vietnam's public policy design and lessons learnt from the cases

Having been discussed in previous chapters, media in Vietnam are playing an increasingly important role in public policy making process. On one side, the media contribute to spread the state's policies to the people. Moreover, the media create the forums for people to contribute during the whole process. Despite the contribution of the media to the policy process differing from stages, it is asserted that the media have been trying to better perform their given roles. As shown in the case 3 in chapter 4, the governmental media have been exerting huge pressure for prompt actions on the authority.

However, Investment Law 2014 is only a successful example for the governmental media's impact on public policy design. On the other hands, media in Vietnam still has challenges and weakness in confirming its role. The discussions also show that the media do not always perform their roles sufficiently. The top most reason is that the lack of a legal framework that regulate the policy process, the public's participation and the roles of media in facilitating the public's participation into the policy design. Apart from that, sometimes the issue is lacking of transparency and participation of governmental media, the inefficient mechanism for discussion.

In addition, it is the clear definition of the role of the media as the key force for public debates. In the 11th Congress (2011), the CPV asserted it was going to "focus on improving and promoting the ideology and the functions of information, education, organization and social criticism of the mass media for the benefit of the people and the country". This viewpoint is a breakthrough of the CPV's ideology on the media. However, until now, such view is still principal and yet to be specified.

In this trend, there is the necessity to specify the role of media in conducting social debates in general and in policy design in particular. The media's participation in the policy process is different from any other actors. The media can create the platform for other entities to take part in policy discussions. Therefore, media's participation in facilitating public's participation to the policy design should be comprehensively regulated. A clear legal framework, with clear description of the media and other actors in the policy design, shall not only help the media to better perform their roles, but also prevent them from abusing their powers. Noticeably, there should also clear regulations on how people's comments on the media are replied. Only if the two ways of information exchange between the people and policy designers are guaranteed, can the media accomplish their essential roles.

The second legal basis for the more effective media contribution to the policy design is the regulations on the access to information. The Law on Access to Information (ATI) had been drafted in 2011; however, it was lately delayed. The lack of regulations on the ATI caused a situation of abusing the confidential seal. Legally, only information relating to the national security can be termed as confidential. Other documents, ranging from the guidelines, policies, laws or the stipulations on administrative procedures are open to the public. However, there is a fact that the top confidential seal is used on the agencies' own definitions. In that way, such the information can avoid being exploited by the media; nonetheless, it causes great difficulties for the media to convey adequate information to the people (Nghia, 2013).

Relatively, there is the necessity for clear explanations for the people on their rights and responsibilities in the process. People should be explained that their

comments on policy issues are their own rights, responsibilities and indeed the contribution to the country's development (Vinh, 2015). Having such understanding, naturally, people shall be encouraged to raise their comments on a wide variety of public policy, including the CPV's guidelines. However, the explanations cannot only be carried out by the media themselves. It requires the joint actions from the state, social organizations; and certainly, the pioneer of the media.

The third legal basis for the media to better contribute to the policy process is the regulations on promulgation of legal documents. A process of public consult should be the obligation to the issuance of new policy. Of which, the policy makers are not simply, silently post the whole draft of new policy on their website and wait for comments from the public without any explanation. Besides, the media should be encouraged to facilitate policy discussions so that the public can easily take part in. Moreover, the policy designers should be regulated to feedback on public's comments.

Besides, there is the necessity is to raise the awareness of the policy makers on the roles of media. Instead of avoiding the media, or regarding the media as troublemakers, policy makers should cooperate in order to achieve higher quality of public policy. It is not yet an easy task. The media must be equal and neutral when conveying comments or even criticism from the people. At the same time, policy designers should provide the media with equivalent information on the topic and be open for comments or criticisms. Such a situation, however, can only be achieved when there is a clear regulation that has been argued above.

In addition to the lack of legal frameworks, there is still a lack of methods that help the media to better contribute to the policy process. Within the current context, it is believed that the media can apply several practical methods from international experience to facilitate the two-way information exchange between the people and policy makers. For instance, the format of open, informal policy discussion on TV and radio; polls or open comments on online newspapers should be utilized. Nonetheless, it is the power of social networks. Despite the fact that social networks are not legally defined as medium, media agency can utilize social networks in either spreading their information or attracting people's comments.

These methods are discussed afterward in the recommendations.

Nonetheless, in order to successfully utilize methods of attracting public participation into the policy process, there is a need for improving the quality and ethics of journalists. Having important roles in the policy process, journalists easily to abuse their position. Hence, wrongdoings of journalist may seriously harm the participation of the media in the policy process. Moreover, the journalists should be well educated, especially in the roles of public participation in the policy design. Having equipped with relevant knowledge and experience on the issue, together with their occupational skills, the journalist can successfully maximize the media's roles in policy design.

4.4.2 Lessons learnt from cases

Having investigated the media in the three cases, the thesis aims at discussing practical and feasible lessons that governmental media can learn from. The following lessons are discussed from the Vietnam's policy designing process and the characteristics of Vietnam media. In details, practical and feasible lessons should have the following characteristics: (1) effective in attracting and facilitating the public into policy discussions, (2) suitable with the Vietnam's current legal basis and (3) feasible to be implemented, first by the Government Portal as the government official media outlet.

4.5 Recommendations

Basing on the above discussions, the thesis is recommending several solutions to strengthen the roles of media in policy making process in Vietnam. The following recommendations are divided into two groups. First, there are recommendations that fulfill legal frameworks regulating the media's participation. Having no intention of going deeply into legal issues, the paper therefore only raises general necessary points which are the current congestions for the media to

successfully perform their role in policy process. These recommendations, however, need to be more thoroughly researched and interpreted into laws and regulations. Second, these are some practical recommendations for the media to better contribute to the process within the current context. Recommendations are hinted of from lessons learnt in relevant countries and discussed in the Vietnamese context.

4.5.1 Recommendations for legal frameworks fulfillment

The following recommendations are expected to be contributive to the current discussions on related issues. According to the NA's law making agenda, the Civil Code, the Law on media, and the Law on Promulgating Legal Documents are under amendment. Moreover, the Law on Access to Information is also in its first designing stages.

The first recommendation is to establish clear regulations of the media's role, rights and responsibilities in promoting social debates. As discussed, the CPV's breakthrough in media's ideology has not been legalized. Having acknowledged the essential important of social debates in the development and the role of media in facilitating, conducting social debates, since 2011, the CPV has asserted that it is necessary to improve and promote the functions of information, education, organization and social debates of the mass media for the benefits of the people and the country. When legalizing the Party's guidelines, it is recommended to define to what extent the media can act to successfully attract and facilitate social debates. Especially, regulations on the responsibilities of the media, the journalists while conducting social debates should be focused on. From the writer's perspective, these regulations are critically important and urgent. At present, the lack of these regulations is the congestion that prevents media from effectively participation into the policy designing process. The above mentioned roles, rights and responsibilities should be legalized, first in the Civil Code and the Law on Media.

The second recommendation is to have clear legal regulations on the

information relationship between the media and government agencies. Ideally, it would come from the enforcement of the Law on Access to Information (ATI). In Vietnam, the first draft of ATI had been introduced in 2011; however, it was lately postponed. Earlier, since 2007, there was a regulation by the Government regulating the roles of a spoke-person at public entities which was then amended in 2013. However, these current regulations have not yet enough force to guarantee the rights of access to information of the people and the media. Moreover, the current regulations are insufficient to prevent the media from abusing of their roles.

The third recommendation is to amend the current LPLD in order to allow the media access to the policy process at earlier stages. Currently, the final draft is regulated to be posted online, but limited to websites/portals of designing agencies and the Government Portal. Thus, the media are late and passive in accessing such policy drafts. Moreover, there are no sufficient regulations to guarantee the policy designing agencies to strictly obey the law. In reality not every policy is opened online as regulated. The other point that should be amended is the method of attracting public comments. Obviously, posting the whole policy of a legal document, which may contain hundreds of technical terminologies, does not make sense to the public. The final critical important amendment to the LPLD is the clear and strong mechanism for public comments to be replied by the policy designers. Without such the mechanism, since public comments are unanswered or adopted, the media's participation in the policy designing process would be useless.

4.5.2. Recommendations for useful methods and mechanisms

Press club is a suitable model for Vietnam in terms of improving the media's access to information from governmental agencies. The press club can easily be established at central or local levels. Moreover, the press club model can satisfy the need of both the governmental agencies and the media. Once the press club can be established at line ministries, the policy makers may have many more chances to supply the media with detailed explanations on policy drafts. Thus, the

media are supplied with timely information on the policy issue, which help them to easily attract their audience with in-depth articles. On the other hand, the media can increase their impact on policy makers by directly raising the public's feedbacks to policy makers. In that way, the public shall be possibly involved in policy discussions with policy makers through the media.

At the government level, it is recommended that the Vietnam Government Portal (VGP) host the press club. Legally, The Government Portal is functioning to organize, manage and publicize official information issued by the Government and the Prime Minister. Having this function, the VGP has been coordinating with relevant agencies to ensure an information supply to serve the Government, the Prime Minister, and the GO; playing as a nerve center from which official information of the Government, the PM, and the GO are organized, managed, and publicized on the Government Online Newspaper and the website of the GO. For example, the VGP has been preparing press releases and organizing the monthly press conference, which is hosted by the Chairman of GO - the Government spokesperson. In addition, the VGP has been instantly publicizing newly issued documents by the Government, PM, DPM and the GO. These documents shall then become input information to other media. More importantly, the VGP is regulated by the LPLD to be the outlet of policy drafts for public comment. Hence, from the academic perspective, the author of this thesis raises the idea of the pilot establishment of a press club whose members are representative journalist from either central or local media.

The recommendation for a Policy advisory mechanism is raised purely from the academic perspective. Obviously, implementation of such a mechanism is by the authority of the Government. However, from the view of academic research in public policy and media, it would be a reasonable recommendation in the Vietnamese context. Within the current "closed" process of making public policy, there is a need for an advisory council that is fully supplied with information so as to prepare policy reports. These reports, which are independent from those of policy makers, shall be publicized on the media. In that way, the media are involved. Together with journalist techniques such as polls, surveys, open discussions,

interviews, etc., in-depth policy discussions would be stimulated by the media. In other words, people are involved in policy discussion at an early stage of the whole process. Ideally, in some cases, the media may be a member of such an advisory council.

The utilization of social media might be an effective solution to improve the capacity of media to involve the people in policy discussions. However, since there is a lack of a sufficient legal basis, social media should be consequentially utilized. At this stage, it is advisable for media to have an official social networks account, such as Facebook, twitter, Google+, and YouTube for TV and radio stations. In the beginning, these Facebook pages can simply post news or articles from the media. Later, there should be professional journalists or editors to produce content that is suitable for social networks. Also, these official social network accounts should encourage people to freely comment or discuss. As for online newspaper or online general information websites, techniques should be implemented so that article can easily be shared on social networks. Moreover, there is the responsibility of journalist to carefully check information sources while reporting from social networks.

The final recommendation is for TV and Radio stations to have the open policy discussions, of which the formats of late news, evening or weekend discussions or news-show might be implemented. Open, interactive policy discussions may attract the audiences with different tastes for political topics. Moreover, such open format can encourage them to raise their voice by different methods. For example, people can comment on the on-going discussions on social networks, on website, or by phone, messages. In some case, people may be encouraged to self- capture their video comment and send to the TV or radio stations. Another recommendation relating to that topic is the personalization of news program. The format of key news host with different personal styles has proved its attraction with the audience. Currently, news program in Vietnam are similar with neutral news anchors to introduce first, news come later. This rigid style just simply provides the audience with information. In that sense, a personalized news program would be interesting.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Conclusions

To sum up, this small and limited research has comprehensively analyzed the changes and continuities of governmental media in the Vietnam’s public design after more than 30 years of Doimoi process. The research then came up with several realistic and applicable recommendations. In other words, the research may provide significant inputs to the Vietnam Government and Vietnam media to improve the quality of public policy by encouraging more public participation in policy discussions by strengthening the essential roles of the media.

To this point, the thesis has comprehensively answered the main research question “*How does the governmental media in Vietnam’s public policy design change and continue after Innovation Process (Doimoi)?*”. The answers are withdrawn from theoretical discussions and case analyses in the Vietnamese context. Chapter 5 also bring about the comprehensive answer to “*how to strengthen governmental media in Vietnam’s public policy design?*”.

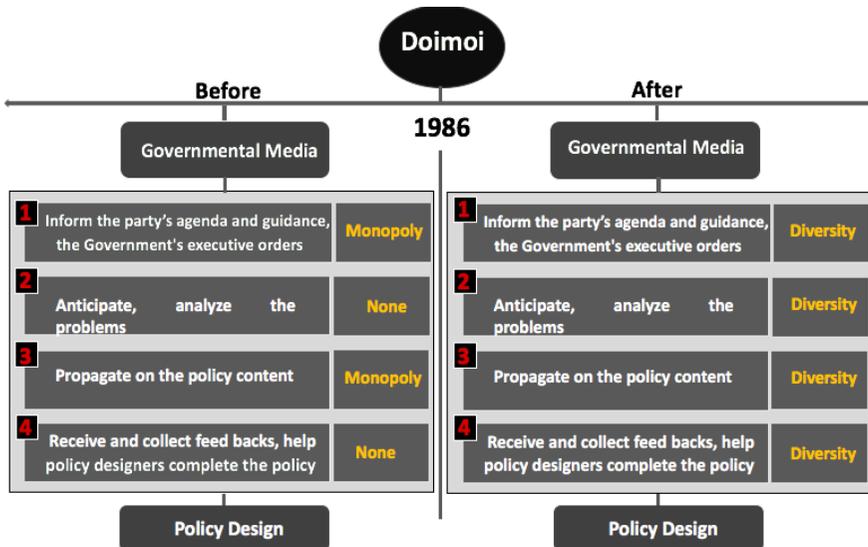


FIGURE 8: GOVERNMENTAL MEDIA IN VIETNNAM’S POLICY DESIGN

BEFORE AND AFTER DOIMOI 1986

Through the thesis's analysis, the chart shows the changes of governmental media in Vietnam policy design in general view. The governmental media before did not have any mechanism to receive policy feedbacks, to help the Government complete, revise and amend the regulations. In general, government media in this period was merely a proprietary information tool of the Government, operated in an extremely simple way, lacking interaction, and did not keep up with policy development in the reality. Monopoly status in propagating on the policy content took place and was common. The media could not do the task of analyzing problems, forecasting challenges and receiving policy feedback as the media theories mentioned. The failure of "*Money Exchange in 1985*" and "*Reform Lands 1950s*" policy is an example of the negative influence and impact of information monopoly as well as the lack of information transparency, public participation in policy design, when governmental media in Vietnam could not properly implement and assert its indispensable role in policy designing process.

The involvement and advancement of governmental media in policy design after Doimoi was illustrated by above case. There is no doubt that initial success of Law on Investment 2014 and removing conditional business lines has significant support of government media. Media system created a forum for the people, entrepreneurs and policy designers discuss, debate and give the perspectives about this policy process. The strong development of the domestic communication system is a premise for the media to show its role in policy design. Information methods of press agencies have been more diverse and competitive in conveying the party's agenda and guidance, the Government's executive orders; Anticipate, analyze the problems; Propagate on the policy content; and Receive and collect feedbacks. Communication in this case has attracted the public's participation in every step of policy design, shaped a social debate, thereby increasing policy implementation and effectiveness.

After Doimoi, being a developing country, Vietnam is actively transforming from a center-planned to market based economy. Consequently, different fields,

including the media, are said to be in their transitioning period. On one hand, old regulations, manners or mechanism cannot be completely abolished at once. On the other hand, the implementation of the new ones needs sufficient time and suitable procedure. From that perspective, the media in Vietnam have been gradually changing to meet the requirements context. Based on the current context, it can be asserted that despite some limitations, Vietnam media are becoming more and more contributive in attracting people's participation into the public policy making process. Therefore, the findings of this thesis have the potential to be successfully implemented so as to contribute to the country's development in general.

5.1 Limitation of research

Conducting a research in the transformations and roles of media in Vietnam's public policy design is no longer an easy task. Thus, limits of this study are unavoidable. For instance, although now all media system in Vietnam is being regulated by the government, private sector also is developing rapidly and will probably participate in Vietnam's policy media in near future. With the scope of this thesis, author has not been able to mention, supply analysis and forecasts for this situation. However, with the findings and policy proposals in this paper, the author believes that this study has its own value and contribution in strengthening the roles of Vietnam media in public policy designing process in the modern Vietnam after Doimoi. It is expected that this study may serve as the first step in the long journey for policy designers and media managers in Vietnam to better understand and to take more feasible measures to improve the public participation into policy discussion on the media. The ultimate goal, however, is to contribute to solve the country's development congestion by improving the quality of public policy.

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Abstract in Korean

베트남의 혁신 과정 전후의 정책 설계에서 정부 매체의 비교

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글로벌행정전공

1986년에 출범한 혁신 과정(Doimoi)는 베트남을 성공적으로 변화시켰다. 혁신(Doimoi) 전, 세계에서 가장 가난한 나라 중 하나인 베트남은 중앙정부 주도 하의 계획경제 체제였다. Doimoi의 핵심 요점은 세가지이다.

첫째, 베트남은 중앙정부 주도의 계획경제 시스템에서 다 부문 시장경제로 전환하였다. 둘째, 법치주의에 입각하여 국가를 건설함으로써 민주화를 하는 과정이다. 셋째, 정부는 다른 국가들과 외부 협력을 확립하고 강화한다. Doimoi는 30여 년 만에 성과를 거두기는 했지만 베트남의 낮은 수준의 공공정책은 아직 크게 개선되지 않았고 국가의 개발이 혼잡해졌다. 가장 대표적인 이유는 설계 단계에서부터 국민들을 정책 토론으로 끌어들이기 위한 효율적인 메커니즘의 부족 때문이다.

본 연구는 정부 매체를 교훈으로 삼아 다른 정책 설계에 대한 경험을 끌어내기 위해 정책설계에서 성공적이고 실패 적인 사례를 보여준다. 그리고, 본 연구에서는 또한 베트남의 공공 정책 설계에서 정부 매체의 변화와 지속성을 보다 광범위하고 일반적인 견해를 확인하였다.

주제어: Doimoi, 계획경제, 정책 설계, 정부 매체

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