TELEVISION IN POST-REFORM VIETNAM

NATION, MEDIA, MARKET

Giang Nguyen-Thu

Media, Culture and Social Change in Asia
Series Editor
Stephanie Hemelryk Donald

The aim of this series is to publish original, high-quality work by both new
and established scholars in the West and the East, on all aspects of media,
culture and social change in Asia.

For a full list of available titles please visit: https://www.routledge.com/
Media-Culture-and-Social-Change-in-Asia-Series/book-series/SE0797

Television in Post-Reform Vietnam

Nation, Media, Market

Giang Nguyen-Thu

For Mom, Dad, Hà, Khôi, and especially for Tuấn.

Contents

Preface

I am a member of the first Vietnamese generation that literally grew up with a TV set at home. My age group, the so-called '8x generation' (*thế hệ 8x*), famed for its innovative spirit in Vietnam, was the first batch of post-war babies born in the 1980s, just in time for the rapid development of the television industry. In 1986, the newly bought JVC TV, a second-hand item sourced from Japan, was perhaps the most valuable appliance in our tiny apartment in Hanoi, a symbol of our improved lifestyle after a decade of food shortage and cultural isolation. We turned the television on any time we could (at night mainly and if there was electricity) because its visual appeal immediately added excitement to our formerly boring evening ritual.

For many years, around the dining table, my parents took every opportunity to relate to us stories of their past, many of which were inspired by the content on the small screen. One story led to another: Half-forgotten memories re-elaborated, sorrowful tragedies brightened up by joyful details, bitter disappointment mixed with delightful nostalgia. With television as our backdrop, I learned about my parents and my grandparents' survival journeys, blended with various collective milestones: The devastating famine in the mid-1940s, several wars, waves of political migration, and decades of destitution. I had never witnessed most of these events myself, but somehow they still formed a part of my personal memory through my intimate connection with my parents. In this way, television stimulated dialogues that connected me with the older generations, guiding my appreciation of my family's private biographies as already infused with the national history.

But the daily ritual of gathering in front of a TV set also exposed a mismatch among our family members. My parents, who had been born in the 1940s, loved to repeat heart-rending memories of warfare and hunger, whereas I and my two older brothers often built our conversations on more entertaining and contemporary topics: A fancy cartoon in the late 1980s, a game show for youth in the 1990s, and the ongoing glamour and scandal from numerous celebrity-endorsed reality shows in the 2000s. Our dining table hosted many avid debates between parents and children, with each side holding opposite views on what was considered proper and useful on television. Stories on television also invited us to share our different opinions

on numerous topics, ranging from macro issues, such as communist politics and education policies, to banal matters, like food safety, cosmetic surgery, and celebrity gossip. For decades, television served as an important stimulant for our conversations at home, setting the subject matter upon which we built our talks, whether in dissent or agreement.

When I started working as a media researcher at the Vietnam National University in 2005, I became increasingly curious about the work of television upon post-Reform ordinary living, particularly about the way television facilitated the relationship between personal and collective identification. I noticed that my parents' generation had spent a major part of their lives under the direct influence of socialist nationalism, but they had never had a TV set in their early years. On the other hand, my peers and I had experienced television as our primary source of information and pleasure since our childhoods, but we had also witnessed the waning of socialist ideals with the pervasive pace of marketization and globalization. Television was indeed one of the key things that marked the difference between the pre-Reform and post-Reform eras.

In hindsight, I also realized that many of the debates I had with my parents around our dining table were intrinsically conditioned by our differences in appropriating the national past and anticipating the national future. For better or worse, I inherited my parents' identification of being 'Vietnamese'. The nation used to guide the way my parents spent their youth under socialist warfare, and the nation continued to be a major topic in our post-Reform dialogues. But my way of relating to the nation diverged greatly from that of my parents. Whereas my father was obsessed with the loss of a socialist utopia (in an ambivalent mixture of regret and anger), I often found myself busy grasping new opportunities offered by the Reform: Learning English, enjoying pop music, watching a Korean drama, or applying for an oversea scholarship. When extreme political turbulence was no longer the main feature of contemporary life in Vietnam, my 'Vietnameseness' was accumulated more through cultural practices than through the political heroism that was my parents' experience. I suspected that the media, particularly television, should play a significant role in reflecting and negotiating such difference between the two generations. I am urged to conduct research in response to my curiosity about how television enabled the reimagination of the nation in the post-Reform era. Such inquiry should be fruitful because the combination of television and the nation cut across post-Reform life in ways that could reveal important changes enabled by the entanglements of old values and new technologies in contemporary Vietnam.

When I started reading existing literature on Vietnamese media, I had a bizarre feeling of being alienated from my own experience as part of an ordinary media audience. I realized that local and daily interactions with the media were almost completely neglected. In both academic and journalistic discourses, stories about Vietnamese media were mainly centred on

the criticism of ideological censorship under socialist and late-socialist politics. The role of the media in regulating banal living, like the way television stimulated daily discussions in our family, was reduced to an insignificant topic under the shadow of an authoritarian regime. Existing literature often depicted dire images of Vietnamese media practitioners struggling to maintain a balance between parroting the party state or being put in jail and viewers (if they were ever mentioned) being passive receivers of state-controlled propaganda. I found this perception to be rather simplistic, a kind of half-truth that refused to take into account how post-Reform media production and consumption had extended beyond the boundary of political instrumentalism. I realized that it would be vital to suspend stereotypical presumptions in order to investigate the complexity of the local media landscape in Vietnam. In saying this, I had no intention of erasing the question of top-down violence; rather, I wanted to problematize the concept of state power itself, which so far had been largely taken for granted in relation to Vietnamese media practices. I was curious about the way in which novel and banal media practices coexisted, unsettled, and negotiated with the legacy of socialist censorship. The results of such negotiation, I believed, would add much more interesting and unpredictable nuances to the oft-repeated story of top-down oppression.

My wish to tell local stories posed its own risk. Too much personal attachment to the local context might prevent me from maintaining a critical distance in relation to the research object. I constantly warned myself about the danger of overly celebrating grass-roots agency and bottom-up resistance. Such a move would only further essentialize the dichotomy between the oppressed and the oppressor, thus reinforcing the cliché about top-down instrumentalism that I wanted to resist. The deeper I went into my fieldwork, the better I saw how networks of power relations that regulated media practices in Vietnam not only took the two directions of 'up' or 'down'. Power relations more often took a crooked and mercurial trajectory, and, in conjunction with other forces, led to a contingent and situated field of power with changing outcomes. New forces of marketization and globalization enabled unsettled effects that fluctuated between escaping old norms of socialist oppression and advancing new forms of capitalist subjugation. In the name of the nation, the boundary between the oppressed and the oppressor became highly undetectable. On the one hand, I was prompted by my local experience to trace the post-Reform dynamics of television as part of daily pleasure and to acknowledge the capacity of television to engender positive social and cultural changes. On the other hand, I was aware of the need to maintain critical room to reflect upon new forms of exploitation that were no longer centred on the old model of socialist politics. This book thus embraces my local experience as a keen viewer of Vietnamese television since 1986 and precisely thanks to my personal history that I am motivated to turn my everyday life into a site of critical investigation.

Acknowledgements

This book, in large part, is the result of my work at the School of Communication and Arts, University of Queensland, where I received great support from the faculty, friends, and staff. I wish to express my profound gratitude to Maureen Burns for her intellectual inspiration and thoughtful mentorship. Maureen's academic generosity and emotional encouragement were of enormous value when I proceeded through different stages of this project. I also benefited greatly from stimulating conversations with David Carter, whose wisdom and humour aided me greatly in maintaining my intellectual energy. I thank Gay Hawkins for inviting me to many enlightening events organized by the Centre for Critical and Cultural Studies at the University of Queensland and for the theoretical inspiration of her works. I thank Angela Tuohy for her effective support on all bureaucratic matters related to this project.

Catherine Lawrence has been the most wonderful friend I could ever wish for in a foreign land. I appreciate her spending time with me over a cup of coffee, talking about our families, our works, and our dreams. I thank her for her careful reading of many of my chapters and her charming gifts for my little daughter each time we met.

I thank Ien Ang and Kim Huynh for their precious comments on an earlier draft of the book.

My thanks also to Nguyễn Như Huy, a special friend in Vietnam who encouraged me to embark on an academic career. Only through our endless discussion about Vietnamese society could I formulate the very first ideas of this project. Huy reminded me that the task of an academic person is to raise a local voice in ways that can build a bridge between Vietnam and the world.

My sincere gratitude is due to the interviewees who participated in this study and allowed me to use their real names: Mã Diệu Cương, Nguyễn Danh Dũng, Đỗ Thanh Hải, Đỗ Minh Hoàng, Nguyễn Khải Hưng, Bùi Thị Lan Hương, Tạ Bích Loan, Nguyễn Hương Ly, Trần Ngọc Minh, Nguyễn Hồng Nga, Phạm Thanh Phong, Tạ Minh Phương, Bùi Thu Thủy, Nguyễn Phạm Thu Uyên, Trịnh Long Vũ, Nguyễn Thành Vũ, and Nguyễn Thu Yến. All of my interviewees are busy television producers, so I truly appreciate

their participation. I thank Bùi Thu Thủy, Nguyễn Thu Yến, Tạ Bích Loan, and Bùi Thị Lan Hương for their efforts to help me connect with many producer interviewees and for their help that allowed me to access the archive of Vietnam Television.

I owe special thanks to my teachers, colleagues, and friends at the University of Social Sciences and Humanities (Vietnam National University, Hanoi), particularly those at the Faculty of Journalism and Communication, for their encouragement and support during my studying and working there. I am also indebted to numerous friends, colleagues, and family members in Vietnam who have kindly tolerated my unusual curiosity about their television experience.

I thank the Shephard family for their wonderful hospitality and love. Particularly, I thank Russell Shephard and Karen Shephard for being my most needed family in Australia.

All my love and gratitude is to Tuấn, my precious life partner. His care, calmness, and maturity eased so much stress during my academic journey. I thank him, deeply, for always supporting my intellectual work, much of which is inspired by the everyday life that we share. I thank my daughter Hà, who patiently waited for me every night to finish my work before I turned to her for reading and chatting. I thank Khôi, my newborn son, for bringing so much joy and hope during the final stage of the book. I thank my father and my mother-in-law for their love. I thank my mother, who passed away in the very first week of this project, for her unconditional support of all the choices I made, particularly the choice to be a scholar. I thank this book, a mourning project, for its therapeutic power, which has allowed me to reconcile with the almost unbearable reality of losing my mother.

A note on diacritics and names

Vietnamese words have vastly different meanings and sometimes are unpronounceable without diacritical marks. I thus include the original diacritical marks when I refer to Vietnamese names and texts. There are some exceptions with popular terms widely known outside Vietnam, such as Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh, Viet Cong, Hanoi, Saigon, Hue, and Da Nang. These exceptions are for practical purposes to reduce confusion for readers who are unfamiliar with the Vietnamese language.

I refer to my Vietnamese interviewees and those appearing on Vietnamese television by their first name instead of their surname because this is how we properly identify people in Vietnam. In television shows or dramas, the surnames of participants and characters are normally unknown. Non-Vietnamese people are all referred to by their surnames, following the Western norm. Names of television programmes are all translated into English after the first reference to their original Vietnamese names.

Introduction

Nation, television, and cultural government

In the Western world, television has long served as the key medium used to perpetuate the imagining of Vietnam as a war-torn nation under communist leadership. What America refers to as the 'Vietnam War' was the first 'televized war', haunting numerous living rooms in the West many years before and after the 1975 fall of Saigon. The effects of television were combined and amplified by a large number of Hollywood films on the topic. The consequence, as Lawrence (2004, p. 919) stresses, is that the word 'Vietnam' is 'usually affixed to pejorative words like "war", "debacle" or "syndrome"'. In the international world, television has propagated an understanding of Vietnam as little more than the twin spectres of warfare and communist dictatorship.

In 1995, 20 years after the end of the Second Indochina War, Warren Christopher (1995), the former US Secretary of State, ushered in the re-establishment of United States–Vietnam diplomatic relations by announcing that 'we look on Vietnam as a country, *not a war*'. After this debut, the redefinition of 'Vietnam as a country, not a war' became a well-known saying in international discourse to introduce the new face of Vietnam. This pronouncement is mostly made by and for non-Vietnamese, typically war veterans, diplomats, and tourists. Emphasizing that Vietnam is 'a country, not a war' may be a way for speakers to reflect their struggle to leave behind the abject image of Vietnam and to hint at the prospect of reconciliation and prosperity under a civil future. The irony is that the declamatory redefinition of a nation as being '*not* a war' only reconfirms what the speaker seeks to forget. Even in its absence, warfare continues to serve as a defining factor in Western perceptions of Vietnam.

In contrast to the international imagining of Vietnam, the declaration of 'a country, not a war' is redundant in Vietnam, particularly among ordinary Vietnamese. For these people, the everyday presence of peace is already an obvious celebration of the absence of war. When there is no constant threat of gunfire or political turbulence, banal living begins to emerge as an extensive and uncertain space for national formation. This new realm of ordinary living complicates existing political definitions of Vietnam, demanding a

re-examination of the concept of Vietnam as something that might be much more curious and exciting than merely being 'not a war'.

   This book responds to such a demand by relocating the concept of Vietnam in the space of everyday practice shaped by the post-Reform context of marketization and globalization. The entry point of this inquiry is television, established in Vietnam as a genuinely mass medium only in the early 1990s. Interestingly, while television in the West (predominantly in the United States) affixed notions of warfare and political violence to the imagining of Vietnam, television in mainland Vietnam only proliferated with the restoration of peace and market liberation. Before 1986, television was mainly restricted to news and current affairs, with extremely limited broadcast hours. After 1986, television rapidly permeated Vietnamese homes, with a high level of popularity coinciding with greater availability, increasingly diverse content, and escalating hours of transmission. Popular genres such as drama, the game show, the talk show, and the reality show soon became the most important and well-received component of televised content. The extensive development of popular television is indeed one of the most distinctive cultural achievements of the post-Reform era. Just as 1970s Western television was a place to understand the notion of Vietnam as a Cold War battlefield, Vietnamese television after the 1990s is an ideal site to explore the idea of Vietnam in the new era of peace and global integration.

Everyday nationhood: Beyond the politicized image of Vietnam

In 1882, Renan (1990, p. 19) posed the question 'What is a nation?', answering that a nation is less a predestined entity and more a 'spiritual principle' based on collective memory and amnesia. As Renan (1990, p. 20) asserts, nations 'are not something eternal' because 'they had a beginning and they will end'. In stressing that a nation is historically formed by collective labour instead of being a primordial and transcendent reality, Renan's classic essay sets the fundamental framework for the study of nation and nationalism.

   A century after Renan's first inquiry, there was a renewal of interest in the question of nationhood, with the burgeoning of critical works on the topic. In the 1980s and 1990s, the scholarship on nationalism saw multiple debates over the defining features of 'a nation', questioning whether a nation is premodern or modern, objective or subjective, political or cultural, radical or banal, secular or spiritual. As more researchers engaged in these debates, it became evident that these binary structures served more as analytical frameworks, based on idealized contradictions, than as actual oppositions. While the nation is fundamentally a modern phenomenon (Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm 1992b; Anderson 2006), its historical formation always involved the recombination of premodern forms of ethnicity (Smith 1986; Guibernau Montserrat & Hutchinson 2004; Hutchinson 2004). The nation appears as an objective fact to the citizenry, something as natural as 'having a nose and two ears' (Gellner 1983, p. 6), but such a naturalized

truth is always the work of imagination and invention (Hobsbawm 1992a; Anderson 2006). Nationalism can be understood as 'primarily a political principle' (Gellner 1983, p. 1), mainly referring to 'political movements seeking or exercising state power' (Breuilly 1993, p. 2), but the nation only achieves political control over its subjects once it is banally embedded in everyday practice (Billig 1995). In Europe, the nation first became possible due to the secularizing imagination of 'empty, homogenous time' (Anderson 2006, p. 26); however, for many colonial subjects, the nation is always spiritually possessed (Chatterjee 1993). The nation, to borrow the words of Nairn (1975), is 'a modern Janus' that employs multiple faces and is inherently self-contradictory in its modes of existence.

These debates significantly inform the study of Vietnamese nationalism, particularly on the questions of modernity and politics. Vu (2007) traces the scholarship from the 1960s onwards, demonstrating how nation and nationalism have been the primary topic in the field of Vietnamese studies. In many early studies, particularly those appearing at the peak of the Second Indochina War, scholars on Vietnamese nationalism were radically engaged in political matters and failed to adopt a suitable academic distance. As Vu (2007) emphasizes, it was only at the end of the Cold War that studies of Vietnamese nationalism reached their scholarly maturity under the influence of recent theories on nationalism, particularly the work of Benedict Anderson.

The main achievement of post-Cold War scholarship on Vietnamese nationalism is that many authors have conducted empirical studies to expose the multiple and conflicting processes of national formation in the distinctive context of Vietnam. Zinoman (2001a) examines the role of colonial prisons and communist prisoners in enabling spatial and ideological imagination of the modern Vietnamese nation in the era of French settlement. Goscha (1995) explores networks of transport, newspapers, and schools to argue that the development of Vietnamese nationalism was a byproduct of multiple failed projects aimed at controlling the whole of Indochina, not only Vietnam. Kelley (2005) goes back to feudal times from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries to challenge the belief that modern Vietnam is based on any inherently 'national' tradition. While feudal dynasties were conscious of territorial borders with China, these dynasties mainly identified themselves as belonging to Chinese culture rather than embracing their own cultural identity. Pelley (2002) shifts the focus to the 1960s, when the new socialist regime rewrote nationalist history. Multiple nationalist myths, particularly those of shared ancient origin and repetitive peasant resistances against foreign enemies, as Pelley argues (2002, pp. 140–57), were wilfully fabricated by the party state from a wide range of historical sources to legitimate their communist leadership in the name of the nation. Ninh (2002) also attends to the cultural dynamics of Vietnamese nationalism, examining the uneasy struggles of Vietnamese intellectuals from 1945 to 1965 in seeking to balance their nationalist aspirations with the socialist ideology imposed by

the party state. As Vu (2007, p. 211) concludes, these recent studies avoid essentialist assumptions about the birth and development of Vietnamese nationalism, demonstrating 'the nation as a social construct and cultural artifact' while modifying existing theories of nationalism by adapting them to the particular case of Vietnam.

Recent studies of Vietnamese nationalism establish the historical background for this book, particularly in identifying the deep-seated nationalist legacies upon which the post-Reform nationalist discourse is built. But this book also responds to a problem of existing scholarship on Vietnamese nationalism, that is, the overt attention paid to the political nature of the nation. This politicizing tendency typically focusses on the role of communist revolutionaries, the impact of other political actors in the colonial period, and the centralized power of the party state in the postcolonial era. Such a heavy focus on politics is legitimate, particularly as there has been considerable political violence in the name of Vietnam and as one-party rule persists. However, the overemphasis on political struggles, especially on state power, led to the neglect of the cultural and ordinary dimensions of national formation, which always exists alongside the political sphere and has a potent role in sustaining and transforming the individual and collective senses of nationhood.

This politicizing tendency leads to a theoretical impasse in the study of national formation in contemporary Vietnam, now that political power has become much less concentrated than it was before. The party state no longer works as the only locus of power and increasingly operates through heterogeneous and contingent assemblages of discourses, technologies, social practices, administrative logics, and political procedures, which are neither inherently unified nor always powerful. This theoretical impasse is evident in the lack of interest in the problem of cultural nationhood in post-Reform Vietnam, although there are a wide range of works published about the birth and historical vicissitudes of Vietnamese nationalism. The sole focus on the party state's power normally fails to reveal any major new findings, merely reinforcing views that the party state persistently maintains the intention of controlling the production of national myths. For example, Gillen (2011) argues that there has been no significant change in the state's cultural policy after the reform. Salomon and Vu (2007) also confirm the party state's ideological inertia when stressing that history lessons in Vietnamese schools still preserve all the main features of the socialist nationalism. These studies reveal the conservatism of the state system in the post-Reform era. In my view, though, such conservatism not only indicates the persistence of socialist politics but, more importantly, highlights the practical weakness of the party state in seeking to expand its governing capacity over the vast changes occurring in all aspects of post-Reform life. The failure of the party state to transform its mode of cultural governance does not indicate that changes are not happening elsewhere, outside the elite zone of state politics. The sphere of cultural and social transformation beyond direct control from above is precisely the space for the national formation targeted in this book.

It is perhaps important to ask whether nationalism, state-centric or not, is still a useful concept in understanding Vietnamese society, present or past. Some scholars say 'no'. McHale (2008), in a vivid study of the colonial archives in Vietnam, suggests that too much focus on nationalism fails to explain how ordinary Vietnamese people experienced daily life during colonial times. McHale (2008) demonstrates that, in the early twentieth century, ordinary Vietnamese people were engaged with penny literature and popular religious activities rather than burdening themselves with communist ideology or nationalist revolution, as is often suggested by studies of Vietnamese colonial politics. Taylor (2001) also challenges the homogenous, linear, and top-down perspective of the modern Vietnamese nation. As Taylor (2001, p. 22) argues, writing about multiple realities of modernity in Vietnam, 'the ontological category of time is not the preserve of the social scientist, nor the national leader, but is constantly up for grabs in the negotiation of existence'. In the Southern land in the early 1990s, as Taylor observed, life was bursting beyond the restricted zone of socialist culture. Local people found their own ways to enjoy daily pleasure, in mundane activities such as singing sentimental songs in an impromptu *karaoke* competition or watching smuggled tapes of Western and diasporic music (2001, p. 24). Taylor thus proposes that we focus on the richness and ambivalence of local and regional life instead of relying on static narratives about the Vietnamese nation. In so doing, Taylor investigates contesting ideas of the modern Vietnam without having to think through the concepts of 'nation' or 'nationalism' at all.

Still, McHale (2008) suggests walking away from the concept of the nation only because, in arguing that modernity in Vietnam should not be equated with nationalist communism, he also assumes that nationalism equates with radicalism and revolution. McHale's assumption is evident in the statement that '[W]hen one examines what Vietnamese published and read between 1920–1945, it becomes clear that Vietnamese thought about far more than revolution and the nation. Morality tracts and lowbrow fiction circulated far more than revolutionary writings' (2008, p. 7). Here, 'nation' is naturally paired with 'revolution' and consequently is seen as inherently contradictory to banal interests, such as those of 'moral tracts and lowbrow fiction'. The mutually exclusive pairing of nationalism and ordinariness suspends the analysis of how the 'nation' might also be immersed in penny literature and mass religion. In moving beyond the politicized nation, McHale risks rejecting the nation as a whole.

I am much inspired by the approach of McHale and Taylor, especially their focus on ordinary people and the complexity of everyday politics. But I suggest moving beyond the politicized nation without abandoning the question of nationhood, thus avoiding the risk of throwing the baby out with the bathwater. I assert that the concept of 'nation' is still useful in understanding contemporary ways of living in Vietnam, providing that the concept is no longer limited to the political and radical features that have become clichés about Vietnamese nationalism. This is necessarily

a methodological suggestion, seeking to widen the scope of national for-mation so that it can tolerate a more diverse set of practices than merely that of political antagonism. Neither detouring from the much-discussed concept of Vietnamese nationalism nor taking it for granted, this book seeks to unpack the persistent influence of nationalism in post-Reform Vietnam by investigating the contingency and necessity that make such persistence possible.

Consider, for example, the recent rise of popular nationalist sentiments, centred on the dispute over the Spratly and Paracel Islands, which reminds us that nationalism stays solid in post-Reform times. Many patriotic activi-ties regarding the Vietnamese territorial claim over these islands are now happening outside, if not explicitly against, the direct manipulation of the party state. Such a fact contradicts the lasting assumption that Vietnam-ese nationalism is heavily manipulated by top-down politics. Nationalist practices in Vietnam also exceeded the binary frame of state/anti-state politics. In many cases, being nationalist has very little connection with the sphere of political struggles. In 2013, a ten-minute YouTube clip made in a flashy graphic style by a young student in Ho Chi Minh City attracted 200,000 hits in just three days by proudly and 'coolly' presenting a nation-alist history of Vietnam, arousing patriotic excitement among teenagers who had been born long after the war (Minh 2013; Phong 2013). Abundant nationalist appeals are now found in tabloid media, on topics with few obvious political connections, such as beauty contests, celebrity fashion, online gaming, and even the glamorous franchised television programme *Vietnam Idol* (for example Hạ 2014; Lan 2014; Phạm 2014; Quốc 2014). Decades after the wars, Vietnamese people, young and old, continue to hold on to the idea of the nation as a meaningful form of collective mem-bership that allows them to navigate between the burden of the past and the promise of the future.

These scattered 'outbreaks' of nationalism do not emerge from a vacuum. As Billig (1995, p. 46) argues, nationalism is not something waiting to be awakened or that simply 'comes and goes'. National reproduction is always latent in the unnoticed way of everyday living from which outbursts emerge. Billig introduces the influential term 'banal nationalism', emphasizing the ordinariness of nation-making. Hobsbawm (1992b, p. 11) also stresses that national formation is always rooted in everydayness; he asserts that 'official ideologies of states and movements are not guides to what it is in the minds of even the most loyal citizens or supporters'. Billig and Hobsbawm's frame-works of banal nationalism or everyday nationhood reveal the complexity of national identification in both radical practices and the virtually unnoticea-ble continuity of ordinary living, emphasizing how the pedestrian quality of everyday life is indispensable for a few moments of radical eruption. A focus on banality thus implies no opposition between the radical and the diurnal dimensions of nationhood, and instead confirms the inherent connections between its extraordinary and ordinary features.

Television and the nation: Questioning the prohibition model

Ordinary nationhood is where television enters this inquiry. I examine post-Reform television as an important site of everyday politics, where the idea of nationhood is banally perpetuated, mutated, and reinforced. Regarding post-Reform television, once again I need to defend my curiosity against the politicizing approach that has long occupied debates about Vietnamese media, something similar to the problem of Vietnamese nationalism studies. This politicizing approach focusses mainly on the question of state power and censorship, and largely ignores how the media, particularly television, in Vietnam have thoroughly pervaded ordinary ways of living outside the political sphere. For years, the *World Press Freedom Index* has ranked Vietnam among the 'least free' countries for media (Reporter Without Borders 2016). In this ranking system, press freedom in Vietnam causes persistent alarm as Vietnamese leaders are described as continuing to 'tighten their grip on news and information and adapt their methods of radical censorship to the digital era' (Reporter Without Borders 2014, para. 26). International reports on the arrests of anti-state journalists, bloggers, and protestors further reinforce the grim vision of media freedom in Vietnam. A sole focus on political censorship gives the impression that media practices in Vietnam are all about the antagonism between the party state and dissidents, hinting that, despite a long period of market reform, the media system remains structurally unchanged from the pre-Reform model of socialist propaganda.

In academic discourse, studies of recent developments in Vietnamese media are surprisingly rare. Among the few available studies, the media are also defined mainly in terms of their relationship with the party state. Heng (1999), for example, describes Vietnamese media as being 'of the state, for the state, yet against the state'. McKinley (2007, p. 26) also poses the question, 'Can a state-owned media effectively monitor corruption?' answering that Vietnamese media are 'becoming increasingly assertive' while still navigating within 'boundaries set and monitored by the state'. Cain (2014) examines the media as selecting between the options of being 'for' or 'against' the party state, stressing how fluctuations between the state's ambition to reduce corruption and the need to maintain political prestige have led to uncertainties in the censorship system, permitting a half-free, half-repressive model of media governance in the post-Reform era. Hayton (2010, p. 166) asserts that Vietnamese journalists already had 'a sniff of freedom', meaning that they have been perceptive enough to absorb the more advanced standards of the liberal-democratic West, but the question of whether such 'sniffing' could turn into systemic practices of political reform remained unclear. The common finding among recent studies is that the Vietnamese media strive to escape top-down limitations and that they have partly succeeded in doing so. Nevertheless, they have consistently failed to achieve 'full' freedom because the party state can impose strict censorship at any

time if a political threat from public critique is sensed. The quest for media freedom in Vietnam is thus always a half-success, depending on the political mood of the soft-authoritarian regime.

While I do not refute the conclusions of these discourses, I question their reductionist assumptions about the effects of Vietnamese media (and the hidden assumption of the readily available 'media freedom' in the West, a model that Vietnamese media need to follow but never quite get close to). Both journalistic and academic discourses are based on what Kuhn (1988, p. 2) terms 'the prohibition model', in which power of the media is understood as concentrated in the hands of certain actors/institutions and is restricted to the juridical act of selective approval, exclusion, and punishment. This approach consequently treats media practices as mainly defined by relationships with legal organizations whose laws are followed, resisted, or (ambivalently) both followed and resisted. The key research question is who possesses power rather than how the actors involved, including both the state and the media, are themselves the effects instead of the source of power. As a result, studies of media practices are mainly about the binary story of either obedience or rebellion. In the words of Kuhn (1988, p. 4) when exploring the practice of cinema censorship in Britain, the prohibition model 'allows only one story, and not necessarily the most interesting or important one, to be told'.

In challenging the prohibition model, I by no means reject the manipulative intention embedded in laws and policing systems imposed by state institutions in Vietnam. I argue alternatively that such juridical practices indicate only one among many forms of media management and thus cannot represent the complex, uncertain, and changing effects of post-Reform media. The prohibitive assumption of state power leads easily to the neglect of the way in which media practices have long extended beyond the zone of state-centric politics and how involved actors are emerging *with* the unfolding of power relations rather existing *prior to* power. Many media practices after the reform, typically those on popular entertainment and mundane interests, might be too pedestrian to be included in the arena occupied by state institutions and activist dissidents, but such media practices offer insights into wider and deeper effects on the way ordinary Vietnamese people govern and make sense of their own lives. These practices are certainly constrained within the boundaries set by the policing system, but the restriction based on political taboos leaves a significant space for the emergence of new discourses that appear politically unthreatening to state power. Assumptions about restricted freedom thus cannot be applied equally to different types of media practice in Vietnam.

In a recent study of the style of state governance in Vietnam, MacLean (2013) convincingly demonstrates that the Vietnamese state has never reached the status of a centralized system and has never been able to control the actual effects of its own policies, even in the socialist era defined by political oppression and economic centralization. MacLean (2013) argues that

the failure to achieve full dictatorship is unintended and is the result of the state lacking the human, financial, and technological resources to ensure that centralized plans can reach the grass-roots citizenry. A combination of monopolistic intention and deficient implementation thus leads to a state that 'could be "strong" and "weak" in the very same geographic spaces at the very same time' (MacLean 2013, p. 9). So, the Vietnamese state can be selectively repressive regarding its political sovereignty and some economic privileges, but, at the same time, multiple levels of state governance can depend on the 'profoundly disorganized assemblage of conflicting policies, contradictory plans, and competing projects' (MacLean 2013, p. 207). There is consequently 'a significant degree of flexibility' tolerated by state power, allowing social, economic, and cultural practices to flourish outside the direct control of centralized regulation (MacLean 2013, p. 208). MacLean's research confirms the possibility of a space of negotiation where Vietnamese media can operate on their own terms and achieve their own strategic goals. Building on MacLean's research, my study attends specifically to the ways in which media organizations make use of the space of 'flexibility' beyond the direct intervention of the party state, which grows much larger after the reform. In doing so, I complicate the possibilities of media power in post-Reform Vietnam beyond the binary options of obedience and rebellion without rejecting the existing reality of juridical restriction.

I propose, following Foucault, that we leave behind the prohibition model to attend to the productive nature of power. I explore the media's internal logic of power performance, that is, the ways in which Vietnamese television produces what Foucault (2003f, p. 138) terms 'the possible field of action of others' whereby people are invited to organize and make sense of their individual and collective living by referring to the common idea of a national community. Seen as a programme of cultural government, national formation works less through direct acts of domination, exclusion, or punishment than through an indirect mechanism that shapes human conduct from afar on the basis of subject formation. Nationalist practices thus operate productively instead of repressively: They produce meanings, truths, and subjectivities.

In relation to television, a nationalist practice is always situated within specific networks of texts, contexts, and actors. As such, nationalism can be weak or strong and can include ruptures and continuities, structures and chaos, macros and micros, differences and similarities. That is, at the unfolding relationship with television, national formation is the work of both normativity and creativity, aiming at the production of homogeneity in a manner that is inherently heterogeneous, fragmented, and unpredictable. The key question addressed in this study is thus not whether the party state or television possesses more power in the bargaining between structural censorship and media freedom but how television enables plural networks, both statist and non-statist, of media genres, techniques, producers, and viewers in ways that actualize different forms of national membership. Put otherwise, this book does not simply assume the inevitability of nationalism

but investigates the historical emergence of novel conditions upon which the idea of shared nationhood becomes sayable, thinkable, and governable at particular conjunctures of television, marketization, and globalization.

The case studies: Text and context

I approach the question of television and nationhood in a thematic way, focussing on three case studies of various television programmes, each of which demonstrates a specific blending of television and national imagination in post-Reform Vietnam. These case studies are set against a historical analysis of the birth and development of television in Vietnam since its inception in the late 1960s, with a focus on the post-Reform burgeoning of popular genres and programmes. In so doing, I have no ambition to provide a comprehensive account of the interplay between television and the nation. Rather, through detailed and intensive analysis, I investigate remarkable instances of everyday nationhood mediated by television. Through the case studies, I acknowledge that the idea of the 'nation' is neither fixed nor homogenous but always changing due to the contingent and plural enfoldment of texts and contexts. But I also use the case studies to diagnose some of the key trajectories of national formation in post-Reform Vietnam. My selection of the case studies thus negotiates between difference and coherence.

The chosen programmes include two dramas, *Hanoian* ('Người Hà Nội') and *The City Stories* ('Chuyện Phố Phường'); the talk show *Contemporaries* ('Người Đương Thời'); and the reality show *As if We Never Parted* ('Như Chưa Hề Có Cuộc Chia Ly'), all of which are produced by Vietnam Television (VTV), the national network. This selection inevitably reflects my personal experience of being an urban viewer in Hanoi. The experience dates back to 1986, when my family was the first in our neighbourhood to own a colour TV set, which was the result of my father's increased income after a brief time working in Africa. Being a media researcher, however, I have three further justifications for my case study selection.

First, the case studies reflect the development of a broad variety of television genres in the post-Reform period, beginning with the triumphant arrival of television dramas, then talk shows, and finally the now all-pervasive reality shows. Each selected television programme marks a specific milestone in the development of national television in Vietnam: *Hanoian* was one of the first television dramas to be made in Vietnam by Vietnamese producers; *Contemporaries* is among the longest-running talk shows, lasting for over 11 years, with more than 400 interviewees; and *As if We Never Parted* is a rare domestic reality show that continues to attract public attention and resists competition from imported reality formats. These programmes demonstrate the progression of Vietnamese television from a monotonous means of political propaganda centred on news and current affairs into a complex, audience-oriented mechanism with diverse channels and programmes, and a strong emphasis on popular content.

Second, driven by a curiosity about everyday nationhood, I focus on television shows with popular themes or/and ordinary participants. I exclude news and current affairs whose content is still heavily manipulated by macro politics. News programmes on VTV usually dedicate the first and largest part of their airing time to advocate state agendas under tight political censorship, thus having little space for creativity. On the contrary, the realm of popular programmes enjoys much more 'freedom' than news. In the 1990s, entertainment shows started arriving in Vietnam and soon outweighed news in quantity and popularity. Aiming at pleasing the audiences instead of the party state, popular programmes quickly became the most watched television content and a daily source of pleasure for ordinary people. In their early years, popular programmes were made fully by in-house producers. Today an increasing number of popular shows are outsourced to private companies under the regulation of the market without much manipulation from above (Hồng 2015; Lê 2015). The rapid expansion of popular television in Vietnam coincides with the rise of entertainment genres and the decline of news and current affairs at the global scale (Hargreaves & Thomas 2002; Bonner 2003; Turner 2005; Thussu 2007).

The flourishing of popular television in Vietnamese, however, is generally neglected in discussions of Vietnamese media due to an overt concern about political censorship and dissent. In choosing popular programmes over news and current affairs, I emphasize the fact that the most fascinating transformations of post-Reform television are happening outside or at least not squarely located within the domain of macro politics. In deliberately concentrating on popular programmes introduced after the reform, I target the most dynamic but also the most under-studied sector of Vietnamese television, where the complexity of nation-making can be revealed beyond lasting political clichés.

Third, among a large pool of non-news programmes in Vietnam after 1986, I narrow my investigation to prominent programmes written and produced domestically. In so doing, I exclude imported programmes (which often achieve the highest ratings, as in the cases of many franchised reality shows) to focus on domestic cultural production. The soap operas *Hanoian* and *The City Stories*, the talk show *Contemporaries*, and the reality show *As if We Never Parted* all use local stories to achieve popularity and success. My selection thus prioritizes the role of local agents in adopting new media genres to tell their own stories on their own terms. In choosing what I describe as the in-between programmes, that is, programmes that are neither extremely propagandist nor purely commercial, I aim to unpack the remaking of nationhood that flows between the control of the state, market impulses, and local experiences of producers and viewers.

My choice of the programmes has its limit: I mainly deal with programmes produced and broadcast by the national network, that is, VTV. Although considered 'national', VTV is heavily associated with Northern production teams and claims more popularity in the Northern and Central

parts of Vietnam. In the South, the television industry inherited a rich legacy from the previous American broadcasting system and thus maintains a very strong provincial network that outweighs the popularity of VTV. Still, after the Reform, Southern television has more or less followed the same trajectory as the national network, growing from a rare cultural activity in the 1980s into an inherent part of the everyday fabric in the 1990s and 2000s, with a strong focus on popular content. So, while I acknowledge my neglect of regional variations, my study of the national network can serve as a useful reference for readers who seek to understand the general development of contemporary Vietnamese television. My geographical limit, I hope, is not necessarily a limitation as it allows me to take advantage of my long engagement with television in the North. The partial nature of this research invites further studies of the complex media landscape of Vietnam, which so far receives little academic attention.

Setting the scene of the Vietnamese television industry

An overview of the television landscape in Vietnam is necessary to set the background for this book, particularly at a time when there is a complete absence of literature on the Vietnamese television industry. This rather sketchy report attends mainly to administrative issues, censorship procedures, and commercial settings. More analysis on the historical vicissitudes of Vietnamese television is provided in Chapters 1 and 3, with a focus on genres and content.

In Vietnam, all broadcasting entities are state institutions by law, meaning that there is strictly no private ownership of television. After the merger of the Northern and Southern media systems in 1975, the broadcasting services were vertically structured into national and provincial networks. The national system, VTV, operates as a ministerial-level agency and currently runs nine free-to-air channels, including one for an international audience and one for ethnic minorities. All provinces have their own television networks under the monitor of the provincial government, resulting in 64 local stations across the country. There are also newly registered broadcasters that do not belong to the traditional vertical structure. VTC (Vietnam Television Corporation), for example, was the first television network belonging to a state-owned enterprise; it was licenced in 2004 and aimed primarily at profit making. At a time when analogue television was still a norm, the digital terrestrial service provided by VTC quickly achieved financial success by selling digital receivers with accompanied copyrighted sports programmes and entertainment shows. In the 2010s, when the television industry suffered from harsher competition with more pay service options, VTC lost its momentum and was transformed into a network under the management of Voice of Vietnam (VOV), the national radio system. Newly licenced television networks, particularly paid content providers, have significantly complicated the television landscape in Vietnam, creating an intense sense of

rivalry and attracting more business-minded players into the broadcasting game. Overall, Vietnamese television has tremendously transformed within a few decades. In 1990, Vietnam had only one national channel, some provincial networks in major cities, and no pay television. In 2017, there were 104 free-to-air channels at the national, regional, and provincial levels; 91 channels produced exclusively for pay services; and 55 licenced international channels (Hiền 2017).

The broadcasting system is governed by two main regulatory bodies: The Department of Radio, Television, and Electronic Information (*Cục Phát Thanh, Truyền Hình và Thông Tin Điện Tử*), and the Central Propaganda and Education Commission (*Ban Tuyên Giáo Trung Ương*). The Department of Radio, Television, and Electronic Information was newly formed in 2008 as an executive unit under the Ministry of Information and Communication, mainly regulating the legal, technical, and economic aspects of the broadcasting and digital industries. One of this institution's key responsibilities is licencing new broadcasters, television channels, online games, and digital content services. The Department of Radio, Television, and Electronic Information also sets general requirements for production, oversees commercial services, monitors infrastructure investment, and performs punitive measures against common violation of media law. The establishment of the Department of Radio, Television, and Electronic Information in 2008 was the state's response to the rocket expansion of the television industry, the burgeoning of online games, and the arrival of new digital platforms, such as YouTube and Facebook in the 2000s. Before 2008, all Vietnamese media, including prints, television, radio, and the Internet, were monitored by the Department of the Press (*Cục Báo Chí*), a long-established unit traditionally supervising only print media.

Whereas the Department of Radio, Television, and Electronic Information focusses more on technical matters, the Central Propaganda and Education Commission deals exclusively with ideological gatekeeping. Operating directly under the Communist Party, the Central Propaganda and Education Commission is the top media censor in Vietnam, working hard to ensure that, despite extensive changes in media technology and economy, media practitioners remain loyal to the party's propagandist agenda. Although censorship, by nature, operates in secrecy, there is at least one publicly known censoring mechanism in Vietnam: The weekly and compulsory meetings in Hanoi between the Central Propaganda and Education Commission and leaders/representatives of all media institutions. At the local level, similar meetings are organized by provincial Propaganda and Education Commissions to monitor local media. In the Hanoi-based meetings, media leaders are provided with a review of the previous week and are informed about what should and should not be published in the coming week. For sensitive or controversial topics, there will be specific guidance on what angles and narratives to focus on. Understandably, television is the most easily censored medium because it operates through centralized management with

multiple content filters. So, whereas some Vietnamese newspapers occasionally take the risk of punishment to reach beyond the censorship limits imposed from above, Vietnamese television is significantly controlled, with almost no space for a critical voice. Television producers are not only controlled by layers of gatekeepers before the final airing of their programmes, but they also master the art of self-censorship. The result is that all political programmes, such as news, current affairs, and documentaries, are strictly aligned with the top-down agenda. Television coverage of controversial issues, if any, mainly aims at stabilizing rather than stirring social debates.

Strict political control, however, does not prevent television producers from making all kinds of entertainment shows without much restraint. In other words, a defining characteristic of contemporary Vietnamese television is the raw combination of political surveillance and entertainment liberty. To be able to exist at all, television must adequately perform the political duties required from above, but the state no longer provides regular funding in return. As the television industry develops, the commercialization of entertainment emerges as a convenient solution for both sides. Producers have the freedom to expand their team and cover the production cost themselves by selling popular content to advertisers or outsourcing entertainment shows to private production companies, while the state is increasingly excused from the heavy burden of subsidizing the broadcasting system without sacrificing its political grip. Since 2005, VTV has become fully independent in financial terms, and television stations in many cities have significantly funded themselves since more or less the same time. Vietnamese television thus flexibly blends state-owned elements with commercial ones, manifesting the most intense form of late-socialist media management: Heavy censorship combined with blatant marketization. This model is similar to China's but differs significantly from the public services in other countries, such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), and the Canada Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), where broadcasters strive to promote public values rather than the state-imposed agenda while still significantly relying on taxpayers for funding.

Commercial sponsorship is highly common on both national and provincial networks, which is most easily detected by popping logos on the backdrops of almost all popular shows and sometimes even in news programmes. Securing a commercial sponsor is one of the key criteria to grant permission for a new show, and rewriting the content to fit the taste of the sponsor is also highly common. Consider, for example, the case of Oppo, a Chinese smartphone brand that recently obtained a great expansion in Vietnam. For several years since 2015, the green logo of Oppo has pervaded many top-rated game shows, comedy shows, and reality shows on the national airwave, where participating celebrities are unsurprisingly the brand's commercial ambassadors. In 2017, Lê Bình, a senior reporter at VTV specializing in financial news, also stirred heated debates in the

journalist community by publicly declaring in an interview that she signed three 'consultancy contracts' with three different commercial banks, from which she received monthly payments not only for herself but also for her whole team at VTV (Hiếu & Phạm 2017). While the nature of this 'consultancy' service was never disclosed, it is now a public secret that the media in Vietnam rely on their relationship with businesspeople for financial incentives, either through direct sponsorship or through more concealed forms of public relations.

Advertisement is another key source of funding for free-to-air television, and rating has consequently become the most important criteria to determine the success of a television show. Rating data is made available to production teams on a daily basis, silently and unsparingly pushing television workers into a never-ending race to attract more viewers. In 2016, the Department of Radio, Television, and Electronic Information created its own audience measurement team to collect and sell rating data to broadcasters, meaning that the state is now directly competing with Kantar TNS, the international market research company that has long monopolized the audience measurement service in Vietnam.

Pay television service was first launched in 1995 but only flourished in the late 2000s, thanks to better living standards and an extensive investment in the cable and Internet infrastructure. Since around 2010, the pay television industry has been growing at a rocket speed, sometimes at the rate of 100 per cent more subscribers a year (M. Q. 2015). With the market getting more competitive, the pay television industry witnesses constant rise and fall of new and old investors. In 2017, there were about 13 million subscribers to pay television, meaning that half of the total 26 million Vietnamese families now have access to pay service at home (Hiền 2017). The pay television market is mainly occupied by cable service, but Internet Protocol TV is now the latest trend, with major telecommunication companies recently joining the market (Đình 2017).

At a highly affordable fee of about six to ten dollars a month, a family can enjoy about 200 domestic and international channels on premium cable services, among which there are 91 domestic channels made exclusively for pay services, primarily dedicated to dramas, sports programmes, lifestyle, comedies, and game shows. There are also 55 international channels licenced for pay television, including many global news channels, such as BBC World News, CNN International, Bloomberg, and NHK World, and popular entertainment channels, such as MTV, HBO, Star World, Cinemax, Fox Sports, and Cartoon Network. In terms of censorship, all providers must take full responsibility in gatekeeping their content. In the case of the pay service provided by VTV, for instance, 'sensitive channels', such as BBC World News and CNN International, are subject to ten to thirty minutes delay for political screening. All news and features related to Vietnam are checked beforehand to ensure no politically unwanted messages are seen on pay television. But it seems that after the end of the 'Vietnam War', stories

related to Vietnam rarely entered the agenda of BBC or CNN, so the two channels are watched with extremely rare interruption. A major censored content in 2016 was the coverage of Fidel Castro's death. To prevent potential harm to socialist prestige, most reports and documentaries about the Cuban revolutionary leader on BBC and CNN were omitted, leaving the screen blank with a simple message: 'The program is disrupted due to inappropriate content'. The all-exciting reports of the 2016 presidential race to the White House that happened at the same time as Castro's death, interestingly, were broadcast fully without any interference. Entertainment channels on pay television are also subject to cultural censorship, and most popular programmes are shown with Vietnamese subtitles. This means that Vietnamese viewers were enjoying *Games of Thrones* more or less at the same time as American viewers but certainly with much less sex and nudity. The coming and going of international channels on pay television in Vietnam is most of the time a problem of financial or copyright negotiation rather than a matter of political restriction.

In 2009, the state officially gave the green light for television stations to collaborate with private partners in their production activities (Bộ Thông Tin và Truyền Thông 2009). This legal move allows the state to better regulate an already common practice in the television industry, in which an increased number of entertainment programmes were outsourced to external media companies. These collaborative practices are informally referred to as the 'socialization' (*xã hội hóa*) of television production, a euphemism for 'privatisation'. Whereas in-house producers are subject to multiple levels of bureaucratic management, private companies enjoy far greater flexibility in arranging their financial and human resources. These companies also own franchise licences of major global formats that most television stations cannot afford to hold. The result is that private ownership of television is strictly banned in Vietnam, but private production of television content has become a norm. A large part of popular content shown by VTV3, the top entertainment channel in Vietnam, is now produced by private companies, particularly the prime-time shows. In these collaborative activities, VTV3 mainly provides the airwave and plays the gatekeeping role, and in return it gets a negotiated share of the advertising revenue. The in-house team still produces their own edutainment and lifestyle shows, often with much less popularity, to fill up their round-the-clock airing time.

The state, predictably, refuses to loosen its political control regarding the privatization of television production. While allowing entertainment content to be produced by external companies, the state forbade the outsourcing of news and current affairs (Tuân 2016). This restriction nevertheless further promotes a television landscape with a little constraint for entertainment programmes and plenty of strict boundaries for news and current affairs. In ensuring that the whole population gets access to official news, the state also requires all national and provincial stations to rebroadcast the

7 pm newscast produced by VTV1, the top political channel. This evening newscast consequently maintains a stable rating, being the only news programme that can compete with celebrity-endorsed shows.

In terms of consumption pattern, television is still a top medium for news and entertainment in Vietnam, with more than 90 per cent of households having at least one TV set at home (Tổng Cục Thống Kê 2012). Viewers in the North generally enjoy the national channels of VTV, whereas Southerners mainly watch local programmes, with most popular content produced by Vĩnh Long and Ho Chi Minh City provincial stations. Game shows, comedies, and dramas maintain the highest ratings across all major cities (Vietnam Tam 2018).

Being one of the countries with the fastest Internet growth in the world, Vietnam is now joining the global trend of post-broadcasting viewing practices. Whereas in the 1990s and 2000s, television was extremely welcomed, nowadays more people are watching videos online (Nielsen Company 2016). While data on the Vietnamese television industry is relatively limited, one can still detect that television has surely passed its heyday. More programmes were produced, but the total advertisement revenue has experienced a marked decline in the last few years (Tiến 2017). More options were available for pay television, with more subscribers each year, but pay service providers did not necessarily earn more (Hữu 2018). The market is thus getting more saturated, while viewers continue to walk away from traditional television (Nguyên 2015). In sharp contrast to the stable growth and social respect for television in the 1990s, Vietnamese television, as in anywhere else in the world, is now struggling to cope with a more uncertain future. Television thus remains an important mass medium in Vietnam, albeit with much-destabilized production and consumption patterns.

Organization

In Chapter 1, I review the birth and early years of television in Vietnam. I then focus specifically on the advent of television dramas in the 1990s and its associated cultural effects. I argue that television drama, being the first popular genre of the reform era, marked the rapid penetration of television into an extensive zone of ordinary living, transforming television from a rare cultural activity into an essential part of everyday practice. Television dramas allowed viewers to enjoy the new condition of post-Reform 'normalcy' that had gradually replaced their previous experiences of warfare and poverty. In doing so, the genre of television drama significantly extended the sayable realm of television into the quotidian concerns of domestic life, leaving behind the previous discourses of socialist heroism that systematically excluded the topic of domesticity. As the fabric of everyday life, television dramas engaged viewers in a pleasurable deviation from the party state's ongoing cultural orthodoxy. Such a tactical practice of freedom led viewers to a new space where private spheres of everyday existence were exposed to the possibilities of reprogramming.

Based on the context of television dramas, Chapter 2 offers an analysis of the relationship between television dramas and nationalist memories, as seen in the two early Vietnamese dramas *Hanoian* (1996) and *The City Stories* (2002). In this chapter, I consider how post-Reform television dramas enable different ways of remembering the national past, leading to a pluralizing of senses of national belonging, each established in a distinctive setting of collective memory. *Hanoian* presents a memory *dispositif* that nostalgically recalls what is presented as a simple but righteous life during socialist wartime to express moral dissatisfaction about the corrupting power of money in contemporary situations. In contrast, *The City Stories* skips any recall of the socialist past to seek a 'better yesterday' that can ethically engage viewers with the present of marketization and globalization, with which the socialist past embedded in *Hanoian* is no longer compatible. The new past celebrated by *The City Stories* is located within the sphere of national 'traditions', based on an exotic combination of feudal and colonial values. Although adopting divergent paths, both dramas use ordinary family conflicts to connect personal memories with national histories in performing plural modes of cultural government in the present.

Chapter 3 provides a historical account of the emergence and development of what Frances Bonner terms 'ordinary television'. In Vietnam, genres of 'ordinary television', typically, the game show, the quiz show, the talk show, and the reality show, gradually outweighed television dramas in terms of popularity, becoming the key television products from the 2000s onwards. The proliferation of ordinary television intensified the work of cultural government when new television genres reached widely and deeply into many aspects of daily living that had previously been untouched by television dramas and current affairs. Through a dialogue between existing scholarship on Vietnamese media and the theoretical accounts of ordinary television, I argue that the development of ordinary genres in Vietnam generated new spaces for subject formation based on the practice of personal choice, which was significantly different from previous socialist practices that sought to suppress individual freedom. Put otherwise, new ordinary genres promoted the language of governmental ethics, that is, the active care of the self, in contrast to the moralist language of socialism, which eliminated the possibility of auto-control. Ordinary television operated as a site of tension between participatory and commercial impulses, reflecting how the neoliberal promotion of self-empowerment gradually pervades the popular discourse, existing alongside, if not overshadowing, the pedagogic discourse of political loyalty. Chapter 3 sets the context for the next two chapters, which focus on two specific instances of how different ordinary programmes altered the process of national formation, following the new logics of marketization and globalization.

In Chapter 4, I explore the content and production of *Contemporaries*, one of the most famous talk shows on the Vietnamese small screen. *Contemporaries* showcased an extensive variety of successful personalities,

with 400 interviewees appearing to share their journeys to success. Mainly focussing on stories of businesspeople, who accounted for about one-third of the total number of guests, I identify the ways in which *Contemporaries* directly connected the personal with the national by promoting individualist contributions instead of political duty. Such connection reflects the way *Contemporaries* enabled a new form of nationalist attachment in Vietnam, one that followed the logics of private entrepreneurship. This new form of nationalist bonding, while departing from the socialist discourse of national collectivism, deflected the potential for political tension and social inequality under capitalist transformation and further naturalized the concept of the nation in the name of personal values.

Chapter 5 incorporates Foucault's concept of biopower with recent theories of affect to analyze the neoliberal conjuncture of the text, the body, and the politics of national reconciliation in post-Reform Vietnam. The case-study programme is *As if We Never Parted*, a well-known domestic reality show that reunites missing people. The majority of the missing people in the programme are victims of previous national tragedies, including multiple wars, various waves of forced migration, and prolonged poverty. In this case study, I demonstrate how the reality genre allows *As if We Never Parted* to work as a technology of affect, turning traumatic texts into a means to intervene in the visceral aspect of self-formation. The televised trauma in *As if We Never Parted* becomes the point where the body and the nation are intimately enfolded in two contrasting ways. On the one hand, the revelation of silenced pain indicates an implicit resistance to the Vietnamese party state's prolonged repression of past tragedies. On the other hand, the focus on traumatic feelings actually reduces collective violence to a matter of private victimhood. *As if We Never Parted* enables a soothing of the latent wounds of the country, but this is only achieved at the scale of intimate consolation, leaving intact the continuity (if not the expansion) of political and social injustice under post-Reform capitalist privatization.

The Conclusion summarizes the key arguments of this book, focussing on the similarities and differences between the case studies. I review the way the idea of the nation is increasingly embedded in ordinary living. Thanks to the work of television, national formation becomes more deeply entwined with the individualized sphere of homemaking and is increasingly associated with intimate stories of self-formation. I then highlight the resistance and complicity between sovereign and governmental power, emphasizing how these two modalities of power are actually more compatible than antithetical in the context of post-Reform marketization. This book thus confirms the pertinence of nationalism in Vietnam, while it reveals how such pertinence inherits as much as deviates from previous norms of warfare patriotism.

References

Abu-Lughod, L. 1990, 'The Romance of resistance: Tracing transformations of power through Bedouin women', *American Ethnologist,* vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 41–55.

Abu-Lughod, L. 2002, 'Egyptian melodrama – Technology of the modern subject?', in F. D. Ginsburg & B. Larkin (eds), *Media worlds: Anthropology on new terrain*, University of California Press, Berkeley, pp. 115–133.

Ahmed, S. 2004, *The cultural politics of emotion,* Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

Ahmed, S. & Stacey, J. 2001, 'Testimonial cultures: An introduction', *Cultural Values,* vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 1–6.

Anderson, B. 2006, *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism,* Verso, London.

Andrejevic, M. 2004, *Reality TV: The work of being watched,* Rowman & Littlefield, Maryland.

Ang, I. 1985, *Watching Dallas: Soap opera and the melodramatic imagination,* Methuen, London.

Appadurai, A. 1996, *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization,* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Aronczyk, M. 2009, 'How to do things with brands: Uses of national identity', *Canadian Journal of Communication,* vol. 34, no. 2, pp. 291–296.

Baldwin, K. 1995, 'Montezuma's revenge: Reading *Los Ricos Tambien Lloran* in Russia', in R. C. Allen (ed.), *To be continued…: Soap operas around the world*, Routledge, London, pp. 285–300.

Ban Văn Hóa Báo Dân Trí 2013, 'Sống lại ký ức với những bộ phim truyền hình cũ', *Dân Trí*, 23 July, viewed 10 September 2015, http://dantri.com.vn/van-hoa/song-lai-ky-uc-voi-nhung-bo-phim-truyen-hinh-cu-1343415141.htm.

Banet-Weizer, S. 2012, *Authentic™: The politics of ambivalence in a brand culture,* New York University Press, New York.

Barr, M. 2012, 'Nation branding as nation building: China's image campaign', *East Asia: An International Quarterly,* vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 81–94.

Basu, L. 2011, 'Memory *dispositifs* and national identities: The case of Ned Kelly', *Memory Studies,* vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 33–41.

Bell, D. & Hollows, J. 2005, *Ordinary lifestyles: Popular media, consumption and taste,* Open University Press, Maidenhead.

Berlant, L. 1997, *The queen of America goes to Washington City: Essays on sex and citizenship,* Duke University Press, Durham.

Berlant, L. 2008, *The female complaint: The unfinished business of sentimentality in American culture,* Duke University Press, Durham.

Berlant, L. 2011, *Cruel optimism,* Duke University Press, Durham.

Berlant, L. & Warner, M. 1998, 'Sex in public', *Critical Inquiry,* vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 547–566.

Bích, V. 1991, 'Ma-ri-a-na, E-xte: Hai đối cực', *Hoa Học Trò,* vol. 25, p. 15.

Billig, M. 1995, *Banal nationalism,* Sage, London.

Bộ Văn Hoá Thể Thao Và Du Lịch 2011, 'Thông tư quy định chi tiết về tiêu chuẩn, trình tự, thủ tục, hồ sơ công nhận Danh hiệu 'Gia đình văn hóa'; 'Thôn văn hóa', 'Làng văn hóa', 'Ấp văn hóa', 'Bản văn hóa', 'Tổ dân phố văn hóa' và tương đương', *Hệ Thống Văn Bản Quy Phạm Pháp Luật,* viewed 27 October 2015, http://www.moj.gov.vn/vbpq/Lists/Vn bn php lut/View_Detail.aspx?ItemID=27229.

Bộ Văn Hoá Thông Tin 2002, 'Quyết định số 01/2002/QĐ – BVHTT ngày 02/01/2002 của Bộ trưởng Bộ Văn hoá – Thông tin về việc ban hành Quy chế công nhận danh hiệu Gia đình văn hóa, Làng văn hóa, Khu phố văn hóa', *Bộ Văn Hoá, Thể Thao Và Du Lịch,* viewed 27 October 2015, http://cinet.vn/documentdetail.aspx?sitepageid=612&documentid=378.

Bộ Văn Hoá Thông Tin 2006, 'Quyết định của bộ trưởng bộ Văn hoá - Thông tin về việc ban hành Quy chế công nhận danh hiệu 'Gia đình văn hóa', 'Làng văn hóa', 'Tổ dân phố văn hóa'', *Hệ Thống Văn Bản Quy Phạm Pháp Luật,* viewed 27 October 2015, http://www.moj.gov.vn/vbpq/Lists/Vn bn php lut/View_Detail.aspx?ItemID=15660.

Bộ Thông Tin và Truyền Thông 2009, 'Thông tư: Quy định về việc liên kết trong hoạt động sản xuất chương trình phát thanh, truyền hình', *Hệ Thống Văn Bản Quy Phạm Pháp Luật,* viewed 20 March 2018, http://moj.gov.vn/vbpq/lists/vn%20bn%20php%20lut/view_detail.aspx?itemid=12016.

Bonner, F. 2003, *Ordinary television: Analyzing popular TV,* Sage, London.

Borneman, J. 2003, 'Why reconciliation? A response to critics', *Public Culture,* vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 199–208.

Boym, S. 1995, 'Post-Soviet cinematic nostalgia: From 'elite cinema' to soap opera', *Discourse,* vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 75–84.

Boym, S. 2007, 'Nostalgia and its discontents', *The Hedgehog Review,* vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 7–18.

Bratich, J. Z. 2006, ''Nothing is left alone for too long': Reality programming and control society subjects', *Journal of Communication Inquiry,* vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 65–83.

Breuilly, J. 1993, *Nationalism and the state,* Manchester University Press, Oxford.

Brown, M. E. 1994, *Soap opera and women's talk: The pleasure of resistance,* Sage Publications, California.

Brown, W. 2003, 'Neoliberalism and the end of liberal democracy', in W. Brown (ed.) *Critical Essays on Knowledge and Politics*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, pp. 37–59.

Brunsdon, C. 1995, 'The role of soap opera in the development of feminist television scholarship', in R. C. Allen (ed.) *To be continued… : Soap operas around the world*, Routledge, London, pp. 49–65.

Brunsdon, C. 2000, *The feminist, the housewife, and the soap opera,* Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Bui, L. 2012, 'Globalization and the public cartographies of Vietnam Idol', *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique,* vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 885–910.

Cà Phê Sáng Cuối Tuần 2013, television broadcast, Vietnam Television, Hanoi, 31 March. Interview with Lại Văn Sâm.

Cain, G. 2014, 'Kill one to warn one hundred: The politics of press censorship in Vietnam', *The International Journal of Press/Politics,* vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 85–107.

Cargill, M. T. & Huynh, J. Q. (eds) 2000, *Voices of Vietnamese boat people: Nineteen narratives of escape and survival,* McFarland, North Carolina.

Chakrabarty, D. 2010, 'Belatedness as possibility: Subaltern histories, once again', in E. Boehmer & R. Chaudhuri (eds), *The Indian postcolonial: A critical reader*, Routledge, New York, pp. 163–176.

Chatterjee, P. 1993, *The nation and its fragments: Colonial and postcolonial histories,* Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Chính Phủ Việt Nam 2006, 'Nghị định số 56/2006/NĐ-CP về xử phạt vi phạm hành chính trong hoạt động văn hoá - thông tin', *Hệ Thống Văn Bản Quy Phạm Pháp Luật*, viewed 8 August 2015, http://www.moj.gov.vn/vbpq/Lists/Vn bn php lut/View_Detail.aspx?ItemID=16071.

Christopher, W. 1995, 'U.S. - Vietnam relations: A new chapter', *U.S. Department of State Speeches/Testimonies 1995*, viewed 14 April 2016, http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/ERC/briefing/dossec/1995/9508/950806dossec.html.

Couldry, N. & Littler, J. 2011, 'Work, power and performance: Analysing the 'reality' game of The Apprentice', *Cultural Sociology,* vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 263–279.

de Certeau, M. 1984, *The practice of everyday life,* University of California Press, Berkeley.

de Tréglodé, B. 2012, *Heroes and revolution in Vietnam, 1948–1964,* NUS Press, Singapore.

Deleuze, G. 1988, *Foucault,* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F. 1987, *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia,* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Di Giovine, M. A. 2009, 'Revitalization and counter-revitalization: Tourism, heritage, and the Lantern Festival as catalysts for regeneration in Hội An, Việt Nam', *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events,* vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 208–230.

Đình, A. 2017, 'Năm 2017: Truyền hình trả tiền lao vào cuộc chiến OTT', *ICTNews*, 31 Janurary, viewed 20 March 2018, http://ictnews.vn/vien-thong/so-hoa-truyen-hinh/nam-2017-truyen-hinh-tra-tien-lao-vao-cuoc-chien-ott-148685.ict.

Dovey, J. 2000, *Freakshow: First person media and factual television,* Pluto Press, London.

Drummond, L. 2003, 'Popular television and images of urban life', in L. B. W. Drummond & M. Thomas (eds), *Everyday life and popular culture in contemporary Vietnam*, Taylor and Francis, Hoboken, pp. 155–169.

Drummond, L. 2004, 'The modern 'Vietnamese woman': Socialization and women's magazines', in L. Drummond & H. Rydstrom (eds), *Gender practices in contemporary Vietnam*, Singapore University Press, Singapore, pp. 158–178.

Dzenovska, D. 2005, 'Remaking the nation of Latvia: Anthropological perspectives on nation branding', *Place Branding,* vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 173–186.

Earl, C. 2013, 'Saigon style: Middle-class culture and transformations of urban life-styling in post-Reform Vietnamese media', *Media International Australia,* vol. 147, pp. 85–97.

Edkins, J. 2003, *Trauma and the memory of politics,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Felski, R. 1999, 'The invention of everyday life', *New Formations,* vol. 39, pp. 15–31.

Foucault, M. 1990, *The history of sexuality - Volume I: An introduction,* Vintage Books, New York.

Foucault, M. 1996, 'Film and popular memory', in S. Lotringer (ed.) *Foucault Live - Collected Interviews, 1961–1984*, Semiotext(e), New York, pp. 90–106.

Foucault, M. 1997, 'Self writing', in P. Rabinow (ed) *The essential work of Foucault - Vol 1: Ethics: Subjectivity and truth*, New Press, New York, pp. 207–222.

Foucault, M. 2003a, 'The Ethics of the concern of the self as a practice of freedom', in P. Rabinow & N. Rose (eds), *The essential Foucault: Selections from essential works of Foucault, 1954–1984*, New Press, New York, pp. 25–42.

Foucault, M. 2003b, 'Lives of infamous men', in P. Rabinow & N. Rose (eds), *The essential Foucault: Selections from essential works of Foucault, 1954–1984*, New Press, New York, pp. 279–293.

Foucault, M. 2003c, 'Nietzsche, genealogy, history', in P. Rabinow & N. Rose (eds), *The essential Foucault: Selections from essential works of Foucault, 1954–1984*, New Press, New York, pp. 351–369.

Foucault, M. 2003d, 'On the genealogy of ethics: An overview of work in progress', in P. Rabinow & N. Rose (eds), *The essential Foucault: Selections from essential works of Foucault, 1954–1984*, New Press, New York, pp. 102–125.

Foucault, M. 2003e, *Society must be defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–1976,* Picador, New York.

Foucault, M. 2003f, 'The subject and power', in P. Rabinow & N. Rose (eds), *The essential Foucault: Selections from essential works of Foucault, 1954–1984*, New Press, New York, pp. 126–144.

Foucault, M. 2003g, 'Technologies of the self', in P. Rabinow & N. Rose (eds), *The essential Foucault: Selections from essential works of Foucault, 1954–1984*, New Press, New York, pp. 145–169.

Fruhauf, C., Gupta, A. & Zimmerman, T. 2008, 'Relationship advice in the top selling women's magazine, Cosmopolitan: A content analysis', *Journal of Couple & Relationship Therapy,* vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 248–266.

Gandhi, L. 1998, *Postcolonial theory: A critical introduction,* Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Gellner, E. 1983, *Nations and nationalism,* Basil Blackwell, London.

Gibbs, A. 2001, 'Contagious feelings: Pauline Hanson and the epidemiology of affect', *Australian Humanities Reviews*, viewed 25 May 2017, www.australian humanitiesreview.org/archive/Issue-December-2001/gibbs.html.

Gill, R. 2009, 'Mediated intimacy and postfeminism: A discourse analytic examination of sex and relationships advice in a women's magazine', *Discourse & Communication,* vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 345–369.

Gillen, J. 2011, 'A battle worth winning: The service of culture to the Communist Party of Vietnam in the contemporary era', *Political Geography,* vol. 30, no. 5, pp. 272–281.

Goscha, C. E. 1995, *Vietnam or Indochina? Contesting concepts of space in Vietnamese nationalism, 1887–1954,* Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen.

Grossberg, L., Miller, T. & Packer, J. 2003, 'Mapping the intersections of Foucault and cultural studies: An interview with Lawrence Grossberg and Toby Miller', in J. Z. Bratich, J. Packer & C. McCarthy (eds), *Foucault, cultural studies, and governmentality*, State University of New York Press, Albany, pp. 23–46.

Guggenheim, M. 2009, 'Building memory: Architecture, networks and users', *Memory Studies,* vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 39–53.

Guibernau Montserrat & Hutchinson, J. 2004, *History and national destiny: Ethno-symbolism and its critics,* Blackwell, Oxford.

Hạ, H. 2014, 'Áo dài Hoa hậu Thùy Dung mặc bị cho là giống Trung Quốc', *Báo điện tử Thể thao & Văn hoá*, 5 July, viewed 8 August 2015, http://thethaovan hoa.vn/van-hoa-giai-tri/ao-dai-hoa-hau-thuy-dung-mac-bi-cho-la-giong-trung-quoc-n20150705044627996.htm.

Hargreaves, I. & Thomas, J. 2002, *New news, old news,* ITC and BSC, London.

Harms, E. 2012, 'Neo-Geomancy and real estate fever in post-Reform Vietnam', *positions,* vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 405–434.

Harris, D. S. 2012, 'Chairman Vu, Vietnam's coffee king', *Forbes*, 25 July, viewed 1 July 2014, http://www.forbes.com/sites/forbesasia/2012/07/25/vietnams-coffee-king-dang-le-nguyen-vu/.

Hartley, J. 1999, *Uses of television,* Routledge, New York.

Hawkins, G. 2001, 'The ethics of television', *International Journal of Cultural Studies,* vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 412–426.

Hayton, B. 2010, *Vietnam: Rising dragon,* Yale University Press, New Haven.

Heng, R. H. K. 1999, 'Of the state, for the state, yet against the state: The struggle paradigm in Vietnam's media politics', PhD thesis, Australian National University Library, Canberra.

Henley & Partners 2017, 'The Henley & Partners visa restrictions index 2017', *Henley & Partners*, viewed 1 August 2017, https://henleyglobal.com/files/download/hvri/HP_Visa_Restrictions_Index_170301.pdf.

Hien, N. 2012, 'Ho Chi Minh city's beauty regime: Haptic technologies of the self in the new millennium', *Positions,* vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 473–493.

Hiền, T. 2017, 'Doanh thu của báo chí và truyền hình trả tiền đạt hơn 21.000 tỷ đồng', *Vietnamplus*, 23 December, viewed 23 March 2018, https://www.vietnamplus.vn/doanh-thu-cua-bao-chi-va-truyen-hinh-tra-tien-dat-hon-21000-ty-dong/480891.vnp.

Hiếu, D & Phạm, Đ 2017, 'Video phỏng vấn trực tiếp nhà báo Lê Bình', *Zing*, 30 March, viewed 26 March 2018, https://news.zing.vn/video-video-phong-van-truc-tiep-nha-bao-le-binh-post732909.html.

Hill, A. 2002, 'Big Brother: The real audience', *Television & New Media,* vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 323–340.

Hồ, B. N. 2012, 'Gặp lại nữ diễn viên của 'Đơn giản, tôi là Maria'', *Dân Trí*, 18 July, viewed 23 July 2013, http://dantri.com.vn/van-hoa/gap-lai-nu-dien-vien-cua-don-gian-toi-la-maria-1342900424.htm.

Hồ, C. M. 2000, *Hồ Chí Minh toàn tập,* Chính Trị Quốc Gia Publishing House, Hanoi.

Ho, H.-T. H. 2001, 'Faces of remembrance and forgetting', in H.-T. T. Ho (ed.) *The country of memory: Remaking the past in late socialist Vietnam*, University of California Press, Berkeley, pp. 167–195.

Hobsbawm, E. J. 1992a, 'Introduction: Inventing traditions', in E. J. Hobsbawm & T. O. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 1–14.

Hobsbawm, E. J. 1992b, *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Hoffer, T. W. 1972, 'Broadcasting in an Insurgency Environment: USIA in Vietnam, 1965–1970', Australian National University, Canberra.

Holland, P. 2000, *The television handbook,* Routledge, London.

Hồng, H. 2013, 'Tuyên dương 225 gia đình văn hóa tiêu biểu', *Tổ Quốc*, 18 December, viewed 27 October 2015, http://toquoc.vn/sites/vi-vn/details/11/di-san/120940/tuyen-duong-225-gia-dinh-van-hoa-tieu-bieu.aspx.

Hồng, T. 2015, 'Khi truyền hình thực tế bị 'thả nổi' cho đối tác', *Báo Nhân Dân*, 14 October, viewed 10 April 2016, http://www.nhandan.com.vn/vanhoa/dien-dan/item/27699302-khi-truyen-hinh-thuc-te-bi-"tha-noi"-cho-doi-tac.html.

Hutchinson, J. 2004, 'Myth against myth: The nation as ethnic overlay', *Nations and Nationalism,* vol. 10, no. 1 2, pp. 109–123.

Huy Đức 2013, *Bên thắng cuộc I: Giải phóng,* CreativeSpace.

Huỳnh, V. T. 2010, 'Theo đoàn quân giải phóng', in Vietnam Television (ed.) *Sống với nghề truyền hình - Hồi ức, tư liệu (40 năm truyền hình Việt Nam)*, Lao Động Publisher, Hanoi, pp. 121–125.

Hữu, T. 2018, 'Thị trường truyền hình trả tiền 2018: Cuộc đua… xuống vực thẳm', *Đầu Tư Online*, 4 March, viewed 30 March 2018, http://baodautu.vn/thi-truong-truyen-hinh-tra-tien-2018-cuoc-dua-xuong-vuc-tham-d77729.html.

Johnston, D. D. & Swanson, D. H. 2003, 'Invisible mothers: A content analysis of motherhood ideologies and myths in magazines', *Sex Roles,* vol. 49, no. 1, pp. 21–33.

Kaneva, N. & Popescu, D. 2011, 'National identity lite: Nation branding in post-communist Romania and Bulgaria', *International Journal of Cultural Studies,* vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 191–207.

Kania-Lundholm, M. 2014, 'Nation in market times: Connecting the national and the commercial - A research overview', *Sociology Compass,* vol. 8, no. 6, pp. 603–613.

Kelley, L. C. 2005, *Beyond the bronze pillars: Envoy poetry and the Sino-Vietnamese relationship,* University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.

Kenedy, L. B. & Williams, M. R. 2001, 'The past without pain: The manufacture of nostalgia in Vietnam's tourism industry', in H.-T. T. Ho (ed.) *The country of memory: Remaking the past in late socialist Vietnam*, University of California Press, Berkeley, pp. 135–166.

Kraidy, M. 2010, *Reality television and Arab politics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Kraidy, M. & Sender, K. 2011, *The politics of reality television: Global perspectives,* Routledge, New York.

Kuhn, A. 1988, *Cinema, censorship, and sexuality, 1909–1925,* Routledge, London.

Kuhn, A. 2002, *Family secrets: Acts of memory and imagination,* Verso, London.

Lâm, V. B. N. 1999, 'Diễn viên Hải Điệp và Chuyện nhà Mộc', *Sài Gòn Giải Phóng*, 23 January, p. 5.

Lan, A. 2005, 'Truyền hình VN: Từ VKT đến 5V', *Tuổi Trẻ Online*, 3 January, viewed 26 March 2016, http://tuoitre.vn/tin/van-hoa-giai-tri/20050103/truyen-hinh-vn-tu-vkt-den-5v/62085.html.

Lan, A. 2014, 'Flappy Bird, sự sáng tạo và lòng yêu nước', *Vietnamnet*, 11 February, viewed 8 August 2015, http://vietnamnet.vn/vn/tuanvietnam/160975/flappy-bird--su-sang-tao-va-long-yeu-nuoc.html.

Lawrence, M. A. 2004, 'The uses of Vietnam in the age of terrorism', *International Journal,* vol. 59, no. 4, pp. 919–928.

Lazzarato, M. 2009, 'Neoliberalism in action: Inequality, insecurity and the reconstitution of the social', *Theory, Culture & Society,* vol. 26, no. 6, pp. 109–133.

Lê, Q. V. 2015, 'Liên kết truyền hình: Đừng đánh mất khán giả', *Tuổi Trẻ Online*, 21 May, viewed 10 April 2016, http://tuoitre.vn/tin/van-hoa-giai-tri/20150521/

viet-tiep-loat-bai-lien-ket-truyen-hinh-trong-nho-duc-chiu-dung-danh-mat-khan-gia/749922.html.

Lê, T. T. 1999, 'Như mất một người bạn thân', *Sài Gòn Giải Phóng*, 30 January, p. 5.

Lemma, A. 2013, 'Entrepreneurs of the self: Some psychoanalytic reflections on the psychic and social functions of reality TV makeover shows', *Organisational and Social Dynamics,* vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 55–68.

Leshkowich, A. M. 2006, 'Woman, Buddhist, entrepreneur: Gender, moral values, and class anxiety in late socialist Vietnam', *Journal of Vietnamese Studies,* vol. 1, no. 1–2, pp. 277–313.

Leshkowich, A. M. 2014, 'Standardized forms of Vietnamese selfhood: An ethnographic genealogy of documentation', *American Ethnologist,* vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 143–162.

Li, H. 2008, 'Branding Chinese products: Between nationalism and transnationalism', *International Journal of Communication,* vol. 2, pp. 1125–1163.

Livingstone, S. M. & Lunt, P. 1994, *Talk on television: Audience participation and public debate,* Routledge, London.

Logan, W. 2010, 'Protecting the Tay Nguyen gongs: Conflicting rights in Vietnam's central plateau', in M. Langfield, W. Logan & M. Nic Craith (eds), *Cultural diversity, heritage, and human rights: Intersections in theory and practice*, Routledge, New York, pp. 189–207.

Long, C. 2003, 'Feudalism in the service of the revolution', *Critical Asian Studies,* vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 535–558.

Long, H. 2012, 'Những phim nước ngoài một thời 'gieo mưa gợi gió' ở Việt Nam', *Giáo Dục Việt Nam Online*, 10 May, viewed 24 August 2013, http://giaoduc.net.vn/Van-hoa/Phim/Nhung-phim-nuoc-ngoai-mot-thoi-gieo-mua-goi-gio-o-Viet-Nam-post58218.gd.

Lý, H. T. 1999, 'Tú Xảo yêu và ghen', *Sài Gòn Giải Phóng*, 23 January, p. 5.

Lý, V. S. 2010, 'Đài truyền hình trung ương những năm đầu khó khăn, gian khổ', in Vietnam Television (ed.) *Sống với nghề truyền hình - Hồi ức, tư liệu (40 năm truyền hình Việt Nam)*, Lao Động Publisher, Hanoi, pp. 126–136.

Ma, K. 2013, 'Những show truyền hình Việt khiến khán giả bật khóc', *Cổng thông tin điện tử Zing*, 10 October, viewed 8 August 2015, http://news.zing.vn/Nhung-show-truyen-hinh-Viet-khien-khan-gia-bat-khoc-post358535.html.

MacLean, K. 2008, 'The rehabilitation of an uncomfortable past: Everyday life in Vietnam during the subsidy period (1975–1986)', *History and Anthropology,* vol. 19, no. 3, pp. 281–303.

MacLean, K. 2013, *The government of mistrust: Illegibility and bureaucratic power in socialist Vietnam,* University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

Malarney, S. K. 2002, *Culture, ritual and revolution in Vietnam,* Routledge, London.

Malarney, S. K. 2007, 'Festivals and the dynamics of the exceptional dead in northern Vietnam', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies,* vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 515–540.

Marr, D. 1998, 'Introduction', in D. Marr (ed.) *Mass media in Vietnam*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, pp. 1–26.

Marr, D. 2000, 'Concepts of 'individual' and 'self' in twentieth-century Vietnam', *Modern Asian Studies,* vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 769–96.

Martin, F., Lewis, T. & Sinclair, J. 2013, *Lifestyle media and social transformation in Asia,* University of Queensland, Brisbane.

Martín-Barbero, J. 1995, 'Memory and form in the Latin American soap opera', in R. C. Allen (ed.) *To be continued… : Soap operas around the world*, Routledge, London, pp. 276–284.

McAllister, P. & Luckman, T. C. T. 2015, 'The kitchen God returns to heaven [Ông Táo Về Trời]', *Journal of Vietnamese Studies,* vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 110–150.

McHale, S. F. 2008, *Print and power: Confucianism, communism, and Buddhism in the making of modern Vietnam,* University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.

McKinley, C. 2007, 'Can a state-owned media effectively monitor corruption? A study of Vietnam's printed press', *Asian Journal of Public Affairs,* vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 12–38.

Meeker, L. 2010, 'How much for a song? Local and national representations of Quan Ho folksong', *Journal of Vietnamese Studies,* vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 125–161.

Michaud, J. & Turner, S. 2006, 'Contending visions of a hill-station in Vietnam', *Annals of Tourism Research,* vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 785–808.

M. Q. 2015, 'SCTV hay VTVcab dẫn đầu thị phần truyền hình trả tiền?', *ICTNews*, 29 April, viewed 25 March 2018, http://ictnews.vn/vien-thong/so-hoa-truyen-hinh/ sctv-hay-vtvcab-dan-dau-thi-phan-truyen-hinh-tra-tien-125663.ict.

Minh, N. 2012, 'Những phim truyền hình gợi nhớ thập niên 1990', *VnExpress*, viewed janu, http://giaitri.vnexpress.net/tin-tuc/phim/sau-man-anh/nhung-phim-truyen-hinh-goi-nho-thap-nien-1990-1919475.html.

Minh, T. 2013, 'Sử Việt 'rất ngon'!', *Tuổi Trẻ Online*, 5 February, viewed 10 March 2013, http://tuoitre.vn/tin/ao-trang/20130205/su-viet-rat-ngon/531245.html.

Nairn, T. 1975, 'The modern Janus', *New Left Review,* vol. 94, pp. 3–29.

Nam, K., Lee, G. & Hwang, J.-S. 2011, 'Gender stereotypes depicted by Western and Korean advertising models in Korean adolescent girls' magazines', *Sex Roles,* vol. 64, no. 3, pp. 223–237.

Người Đương Thời 2002, television broadcast, Vietnam Television, Hanoi, 19 January. Interview with Đặng Lê Nguyên Vũ.

Người Đương Thời 2004, television broadcast, Vietnam Television, Hanoi, 7 June. Interview with Lâm Tấn Lợi.

Nguyen, T. 2015, 'Người Việt bỏ bao nhiêu thời gian xem TV mỗi ngày?', *Cafebiz*, 2 June 2015, viewed 2 April 2018, http://cafebiz.vn/cong-nghe/nguoi-viet-bo-bao-nhieu-thoi-gian-xem-tv-moi-ngay-20150602171243641.chn.

Nguyễn, M. H. 2010a, 'Đưa phim truyền nước ngoài lên màn ảnh truyền hình', in Vietnam Television (ed.) *Sống với nghề truyền hình - Hồi ức, tư liệu (40 năm truyền hình Việt Nam)*, Lao Động Publisher, Hanoi, pp. 329–343.

Nguyễn, S. N. 1996, 'Những tín hiệu phản hồi quý giá', *Tạp chí Truyền hình*, vol. 11, p. 17.

Nguyễn, V. H. 2010b, 'Liên hoan truyền hình toàn quốc lần thứ nhất', in Vietnam Television (ed.) *Sống với nghề truyền hình - Hồi ức, tư liệu (40 năm truyền hình Việt Nam)*, Lao Động Publisher, Hanoi, pp. 324–328.

Nhóm Phóng Viên Thế Giới Trẻ 1997, 'SV 96- Một cuộc chơi lớn nhất của sinh viên', *Thanh Niên*, 12 January 1997, pp. 7.

Như chưa hề có cuộc chia ly số 9 2008, television broadcast, Vietnam Television, Ho Chi Minh City, 2 August. Presented by Nguyễn Phạm Thu Uyên.

Như chưa hề có cuộc chia ly số 13 2008, television broadcast, Vietnam Television, Ho Chi Minh City, 6 December. Presented by Nguyễn Phạm Thu Uyên.

Như chưa hề có cuộc chia ly số 48 2011, television broadcast, Vietnam Television, Ho Chi Minh City, 5 November. Presented by Nguyễn Phạm Thu Uyên.

Như chưa hề có cuộc chia ly số 56 2012, television broadcast, Vietnam Television, Ho Chi Minh City, 17 July. Presented by Nguyễn Phạm Thu Uyên.

Nielsen Company 2016, 'Người Việt ngày càng có xu hướng xem 'VOD' bên cạnh các kênh truyền hình truyền thống và đang tìm cách né các quảng cáo', *Nielsen*, 22 March 2016, viewed 28 March 2018, http://www.nielsen.com/vn/vi/insights/2016/nielsen-vod-survey.html.

Ninh, B. K. N. 2002, *A world transformed: The politics of culture in revolutionary Vietnam, 1945–1965,* University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

Nora, P. 1989, 'Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire', *Representations,* vol. 26, pp. 7–24.

Ong, A. 1997, "A momentary glow of fraternity': Narratives of Chinese nationalism and capitalism', *Identities,* vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 331–366.

Ong, A. 2007, 'Neoliberalism as a mobile technology', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 3–8.

Ong, A. & Zhang, L. 2008, 'Introduction: Privatizing China: Powers of the Self, Socialism from Afar', in L. Zhang & A. Ong (eds), *Privatizing China: Socialism from afar,* Cornell University Press, Ithaca – London, pp. 1–19.

Ouellette, L. & Hay, J. 2008a, *Better living through reality TV: Television and post-welfare citizenship,* Blackwell, Malden.

Ouellette, L. & Hay, J. 2008b, 'Makeover television, governmentality and the good citizen', *Continuum,* vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 471–484.

Özkan, D. & Foster, R. J. 2005, 'Consumer citizenship, nationalism, and neoliberal globalization in Turkey: The advertising launch of Cola Turka', *Advertising & Society Review,* vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 173–186.

Palmer, G. 2002, 'Big Brother: An experiment in governance', *Television & New Media,* vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 295–310.

Palmer, G. 2008, *Exposing lifestyle television: The big reveal,* Ashgate, Aldershot.

Pelley, P. M. 2002, *Postcolonial Vietnam: New histories of the national past,* Duke University Press, Durham.

Pettus, A. 2003, *Between sacrifice and desire: National identity and the governing of femininity in Vietnam,* Routledge, New York.

Phạm, L. 2014, 'Nhật Thùy gây xúc động với ca khúc 'Tự nguyện'', *Vietnamnet*, 12 May, viewed 8 August 2015, http://vietnamnet.vn/vn/van-hoa/174916/nhat-thuy-gay-xuc-dong-voi-ca-khuc--tu-nguyen-.html.

Phong, Đ. 2013, 'Sinh viên gây sốt với clip về lịch sử Việt Nam ', *Vietnamnet*, 9 January, viewed 10 March 2013, http://vietnamnet.vn/vn/giao-duc/104444/sinh-vien-gay-sot-voi-clip-ve-lich-su-viet-nam.html.

Puar, J. K. 2007, *Terrorist assemblages: Homonationalism in queer times,* Duke University Press, Durham.

Qian, G. 2008, 'A trip down memory lane: Remaking and rereading the red classics', in Y. Zhu, M. Keane & R. Bai (eds), *TV Drama in China*, Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong, pp. 175–186.

Quốc, K. 2014, 'Đau lòng khi Hoa hậu là trò cười về lòng yêu nước!', *Báo điện tử Giáo dục Việt Nam*, 27 May, viewed 8 August 2015, http://giaoduc.net.vn/Van-hoa/Dau-long-khi-Hoa-hau-la-tro-cuoi-ve-long-yeu-nuoc-post145086.gd.

Renan, E. 1990, 'What is a nation?', in H. Bhabha (ed.) *Nation and narration*, Routledge, London, pp. 8–22.

Reporter Without Borders 2014, 'World press freedom index 2014', viewed 6 February 2016, https://rsf.org/en/world-press-freedom-index-2014.

Reporter Without Borders 2016, 'Vietnam', viewed 6 February 2016, https://rsf.org/en/vietnam.

Rofel, L. 1995, 'The melodrama of national identity in post-Tiananmen China', in R. C. Allen (ed.) *To be continued… : Soap operas around the world*, Routledge, London, pp. 301–320.

Rose, N. 1996, 'The death of the social? Re-figuring the territory of government', *International Journal of Human Resource Management,* vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 327–356.

Rose, N. 1999a, *Governing the soul: The shaping of the private self,* Free Association Books, London.

Rose, N. 1999b, *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Rose, N. & Miller, P. 2010, 'Political power beyond the State: Problematics of government', *The British Journal of Sociology,* vol. 61, no. s1, pp. 271–303.

Salemink, O. 2007, 'The emperor's new clothes: Re-fashioning ritual in the Huế Festival', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies,* vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 559–581.

Salemink, O. 2008, 'Spirits of consumption and the capitalist ethic in Vietnam', in P. Kitiarsa (ed.) *Religious commodifications in Asia: Marketing gods*, Routledge, London, pp. 147–168.

Salomon, M. & Vu, K. D. 2007, 'Doi moi - Education and identity formation in contemporary Vietnam', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education,* vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 345–363.

Sassen, S. 2006, *Territory, authority, rights: From medieval to global assemblages,* Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Schwenkel, C. & Leshkowich, A. M. 2012, 'How is neoliberalism good to think Vietnam? How Is Vietnam good to think Neoliberalism?', *Positions,* vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 379–401.

Seigworth, G. J. & Gregg, M. 2010, 'An inventory of shimmers', in M. Gregg & G. J. Seigworth (eds), *The affect theory reader*, Duke University Press, Durham, pp. 1–25.

Shannon, K. 2009, 'Evolving tourist topographies: The case of Hue, Vietnam', in J. Traganou & M. Mitrašinović (eds), *Travel, space, architecture*, Ashgate, Aldershot, pp. 230–250.

Skeggs, B. 2005, 'The making of class and gender through visualizing moral subject formation', *Sociology,* vol. 39, no. 5, pp. 965–982.

Skeggs, B. & Wood, H. 2012, *Reacting to reality television performance, audience and value,* Routledge, New York.

Smith, A. 1986, *The ethnic origins of nations,* Blackwell, Oxford.

Stan, L. 2003, '*Living La Vida Loca* - Telenovelas and post-communist transition', *Sfera Politicii,* vol. 105, pp. 50–54.

Surborg, B. 2006, 'Advanced services, the new economy and the built environment in Hanoi', *Cities,* vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 239–249.

Swyngedouw, E. 2010, 'Apocalypse forever? Post-political populism and the spectre of climate change', *Theory, Culture & Society,* vol. 27, no. 2–3, pp. 213–232.

Taylor, P. 2001, *Fragments of the present: Searching for modernity in Vietnam's South,* Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest.

Thanh, H. 2013, 'Không nước nào hăm hở làm 'Gia đình văn hóa' như ta!', 7 April, viewed 15 July 2015, http://baodatviet.vn/chinh-tri-xa-hoi/201304/Khong-nuoc-nao-ham-ho-lam-Gia-dinh-van-hoa-nhu-ta-2344832/.

Thanh Trúc 2015, 'Thuyền nhân Việt Nam: Thảm trạng lịch sử chưa thể sang trang', *Đài Châu Á Tự Do*, 30 April, viewed 7 August 2015, http://www.rfa.org/vietnamese/programs/OverseasVietnamese/boat-poep-stori-nevr-fade-04302015054249.html.

Thomas, M. 2002, 'Out of control: Emergent cultural landscapes and political change in urban Vietnam', *Urban Studies,* vol. 39, no. 9, pp. 1611–1624.

Thomas, M. & Heng, R. H. K. 2001, 'Stars in the shadows: Celebrity, media, and the state in Vietnam', in S. Yao (ed.) *House of glass: culture, modernity, and the state in Southeast Asia*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, pp. 287–337.

Thornborrow, J. & Machin, D. 2006, 'Lifestyle and the depoliticisation of agency: Sex as power in women's magazines', *Social Semiotics,* vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 173–188.

Thussu, D. K. 2007, *News as entertainment: The rize of global infotainment,* SAGE, London.

Tiến, M. 2017, 'Doanh thu quảng cáo gameshow giảm mạnh', *Sài Gòn Giải Phóng Online*, 4 September, viewed 21 March 2018, http://www.sggp.org.vn/doanh-thu-quang-cao-gameshow-giam-manh-465611.html.

Tô, H. 1995, 'Phim truyện truyền hình VTV3: Liệu có vượt qua được sự thách đố của thời gian', *Lao Động*, 28 September, p. 9.

Tô, H. 2009, *Hồi ký của một thằng hèn,* Tiếng Quê Hương, California.

Todorova, M. N. & Gille, Z. 2010, *Post-communist nostalgia,* Berghahn Books, New York.

Tổng Cục Thống Kê 2012, 'Kết quả khảo sát mức sống dân cư Việt Nam năm 2012', *Tổng Cục Thống Kê*, viewed 7 March 2018, https://www.gso.gov.vn/default.aspx?tabid=417&idmid=4&ItemID=13886.

Trần, L. 1995, *Truyền hình Việt Nam, một phần tư thế kỷ,* Chính Trị - Quốc Gia Publishing House, Hanoi.

Trần, L. 2010, 'Phát sóng truyền hình, nhu cầu cấp bách của đất nước', in Vietnam Television (ed.) *Sống với nghề truyền hình - Hồi ức, tư liệu (40 năm truyền hình Việt Nam)*, Lao Động Publisher, Hanoi, pp. 111–115.

Trần, H. Q. (2000), *Truyền thông đại chúng và công chúng – Trường hợp thành phố Hồ Chí Minh (Mass Media and Audience: The Case of Ho Chi Minh City)*, PhD Thesis (Vietnam: Vietnam Institute of Sociology).

Trần, M. T. 2011, 'Broadband in Vietnam: Forging Its Own Path', *Infodev*, viewed http://www.infodev.org/infodev-files/resource/InfodevDocuments_1127.pdf.

Tuân, V. V. 2016, 'Cấm các đài truyền hình liên kết sản xuất chương trình thời sự', *Tuổi Trẻ Online*, 14 March, viewed 15 April 2016, http://tuoitre.vn/tin/van-hoa-giai-tri/20160314/cam-cac-dai-truyen-hinh-lien-ket-san-xuat-chuong-trinh-thoi-su/1067155.html.

Turner, G. 2005, *Ending the affair: The decline of television current affairs in Australia,* UNSW Press, Sydney.

Turner, G. 2010, *Ordinary people and the media: The demotic turn,* Sage, Los Angeles.

Turner, G. 2016, 'Setting the scene for commercial nationalism: The nation, the market, and the media', in Z. Volčič & M. Andrejevic (eds), *Commercial nationalism: Selling the nation and nationalizing the sell*, Palgrave, New York, pp. 14–26.

Vietnam Tam 2018, 'Top 10 chương trình có nhiều lượt xem nhất tuần 11 năm 2018 (12/3/2018-18/3/2018)', *Vietnam Television Audience Measurement*, viewed 1 April 2018, http://vietnamtam.vn/bao-cao-thong-ke/top-chuong-trinh/bao-cao-chuong-trinh-theo-tuan/138-2018-reach-week-11.

Vietnam Television 2005, *35 năm đài truyền hình Việt Nam,* Vietnam Television Publication, Hanoi.

Vietnam Television 2010a, *40 năm đài truyền hình Việt Nam (7/9/1970–7/9/2010),* Vietnam Television Publication, Hanoi.

Vietnam Television (Ed.) 2010b, *Sống với nghề truyền hình - Hồi ức, tư liệu (40 năm truyền hình Việt Nam),* Lao Động Publisher, Hanoi.

Viettronics Thu Duc (n.d.), 'Giới thiệu', *Viettronics Thu Duc Webpage*, viewed 30 April 2018, http://www.vtd.net.vn/gioi-thieu.html.

Vinh, Q. 1994, 'Ơi, VTV3…', *Lao Động*, 13 December, p. 5.

Võ, K. 2009, 'Không phải là giấc mơ', *Thanh Niên Online*, 21 December, viewed 8 August 2015, http://thanhnien.vn/van-hoa/khong-phai-la-giac-mo-100732.html.

Vo, N. M. 2011, *Saigon: A history*, McFarland, North Carolina.

Volcic, Z. & Andrejevic, M. 2009, 'That's Me: Nationalism and identity on Balkan reality TV', *Canadian Journal of Communication*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 7–24.

Volcic, Z. & Andrejevic, M. 2011, 'Nation branding in the era of commercial nationalism', *International Journal of Communication*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 598–618.

Vu, T. 2007, 'Vietnamese political studies and debates on Vietnamese nationalism', *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 175–230.

Vu, T. 2014, 'Triumphs or tragedies: A new perspective on the Vietnamese revolution', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 236–257.

Weber, B. R. 2009, *Makeover TV: Selfhood, citizenship, and celebrity*, Duke University Press, Durham.

Williams, R. 1989, 'Drama in a dramatized society', in A. O'Connor (ed.) *Raymond Williams on television: Selected writings*, Routledge, London, pp. 3–13.

Yang, F. 2015, 'Rethinking commercial nationalism: The 'Chinese dream' in neoliberal globalization', in Z. Volcic & M. Andrejevic (eds), *Commercial Nationalism: Selling the nation and nationalizing the sell*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, pp. 65–85.

Yang, F. I. 2008, 'Rap(p)ing Korean wave: National identity in question', in C. B. Huat & K. Iwabuchi (eds), *East Asian pop culture: Analysing the Korean wave*, Hong Kong UP, Hong Kong, pp. 191–216.

Zha, J. 1995, *China pop: How soap operas, tabloids, and bestsellers are transforming a culture*, New Press, New York.

Zhu, Y. 2008, '*Yongzheng Dynasty* and totalitarian nostalgia', in Y. Zhu, M. Keane & R. Bai (eds), *TV Drama in China*, Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong, pp. 21–32.

Zhu, Y., Keane, M. & Bai, R. 2008, 'Introduction', in Y. Zhu, M. Keane & R. Bai (eds), *TV drama in China*, Hong Kong UP.

Zinoman, P. 1994, 'Declassifying Nguyen Huy Thiep', *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 294–317.

Zinoman, P. 2001a, *The colonial Bastille: A history of imprisonment in Vietnam, 1862–1940*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Zinoman, P. 2001b, 'Reading revolutionary prison memoirs', in H.-T. T. Ho (ed.) *The country of memory: Remaking the past in late socialist Vietnam*, University of California Press, Berkeley, pp. 21–45.