Public Opinions in Contemporary Vietnam Digital Newspapers. Case Study: Vnexpress and Tuổi Trẻ Digital Newspapers

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Abstract

Journalism and politics are intertwined in Vietnam and throughout the globe. This assumption is evident in Vietnam, where newspapers are viewed as political instruments of the party that educate and inform the public about national policies and national will. In the era of social media, where non-state media and anyone with a smartphone and social network account can express their opinions on social issues, the objectives of state-run newspapers have been profoundly challenged. In 2011, the politburo added a new objective for journalism in Vietnam, which is to criticize social issues for the general public. This paper examines the relationship between the three fundamental actors in the Vietnamese mediascape: newspapers, audiences, and the state. From the two case studies of the Vietnamese newspapers Vnexpress and Tuổi Trẻ, the mechanism of contemporary Vietnamese public opinion will be uncovered.

Keywords: *Public Opinion, Criticism, Digital Newspaper, Vietnam.*

Introduction

The Communist Party of Vietnam acknowledged and required the Vietnamese revolutionary press to assume the role and responsibility of social criticism at its eleventh congress. The Resolution of the Congress states clearly: "Focusing on elevating the ideological character and enhancing the power of the information, education, organization, and social criticism functions of the mass media for the benefit of the people and country" (Đảng Cộng Sản Việt Nam, 2011, p. 32).

Since its inception, regardless of era or institution, the press has been closely associated with politics. Press life and political life are entangled and difficult to separate. No press in the world is capable of complete objectivity with regard to political values. The system of press political roles and functions determines the press's role as a social critic and public opinion guide. State institutions and social relationships are always the most essential issues from the perspective of political media, and press agencies pay special attention to them.

In recent years, the advancement of technology and the global proliferation of information within the context of the Fourth Industrial Revolution have presented substantial challenges to information workers in general and journalists in particular. Issues of information competition, information control, social opinion orientation, etc., necessitate daily adaptations by governments and media organizations to keep up with the development and transformation of society.

In addition to its numerous benefits, Internet information, including social networks, is increasingly disclosing its negative aspects. The dominance and popularity of entertainment and sensational news can sometimes form a "matrix" that dominates and influences social criticism news in the newspaper. Particularly, this information has a significant impact on public preferences, diminishing its value for the general public. In this context, the impact of various press information categories on social criticism and public opinion becomes even more significant.

Electronic publications thrive in the press categories of social criticism and influencing public opinion. Electronic newspapers are increasingly dominating the global media system, demonstrating their capacity to meet the requirements of all public segments. People have never before witnessed the widespread and rapid implementation of social criticism since the advent of the internet and electronic newspapers.

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Electronic newspapers, with all of their benefits (including the ability to transmit information without restriction, the ability to constantly update, the ability to multi-media, and the ability to interact directly), have altered the nature of international journalism. With undeniable advantages, electronic periodicals are becoming the preferred mode of communication for a growing number of individuals, thereby creating a "space" where all social sectors can participate in social discussion and criticism.

Social criticism emerged and prospered very early on in Western societies, becoming a crucial criterion for the democratization of sociopolitical life. In Vietnam, research on social criticism of the press began more than a decade ago, with Tran Dang Tuan's *Social criticism: Questions Raised from Life* (2006) being one of the earliest works. Since then, hundreds of articles, dozens of books, and dozens of scientific works have been devoted to the study of social criticism and the function of social criticism in the press from a variety of perspectives.

One of the aspects of social criticism of the electronic press that has received little attention is the evaluation of the influence of social criticism on public opinion in the newspaper industry. In reality, social criticism and public opinion guidance have a close, complementary, and reciprocal relationship in promoting the social criticism values of electronic newspapers and serving as the basis and platform for realizing social criticism's ideals.

The efficacy of social censure and public opinion guidance provided by the press, in general, and the electronic press, in particular, requires further investigation. Using novel approaches, this extremely difficult and complex problem can be viewed from new perspectives.

Literature Review

Criticism

In a variety of social sciences, including sociology, philosophy, political science, etc., the term "critical theory" is frequently employed. It is the theoretical foundation of social criticism. In the 1930s, this theory was devised in Germany. In his 1937 essay on traditional and critical theory, Max Horkheimer is credited with being the first to formally propose "critical theory." Horkheimer desired to differentiate between critical theory and Marxist theory. He characterized social criticism theory as an essential theory in the pursuit of the ideal "to free man from enslaving circumstances" (Horkheimer, 1982, p. 244).

In actuality, however, the content of this "critical" theory derives from Kant and Marx. Kant is recognized as the originator of the term "criticism" due to his use of the term in his trilogy of works titled *Critique*: *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788), and *Critique of Judgment* (1790). Marx used the term critique in *Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Konomie (Critique of Political Economy)*.

Four periods can be identified in the evolution of social criticism theory (social critical theory) from its inception to the present:

The initial phase, also known as the premise phase, begins with Kant, Hegel, and Marx. Three philosophers challenged Enlightenment theories by employing the concept of critical thinking.

For them, enlightenment is the analysis of whether each attained state is free or not, i.e., contemplation, the foresight into the means and objectives most likely to bring about the realization of freedom in the future. (Thai, 2004)

Beginning in the 17th century (the first half of the 20th century), the period of "classical modernism," or Alte Moderne (also known as the First Modern), begins the second phase. In 1923, the Institute for Social Studies (Institut fur Sozialforschung; also known as the Frankfurt school) was established in Frankfurt.

This period's critical theory was primarily based on the ideas of five Frankfurt School theorists: Herbert Marcuse, Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Walter Benjamin, and Erich Fromm. The three main

concerns of this period's criticism are the economy as the foundation of society, the psychological growth of the individual, and culture.

Their primary objective is to oppose "the world in which they live as the collapsed world of objective reason, or a rational worldview." One could say that they lament the old capitalism, which still retains the great movement of rationalization, the world of economic crisis, and the world of great industry and Taylorism. With the rise of Nazism and Stalinism, the world is no longer a world of power and wealth driven by material interests that ruin spiritual life without adhering to the noble principle of rationality." (Touraine, 2003, p. 255).

Members of the Frankfurt School inherited the foundations of contradiction theory and studied contemporary society critically. In numerous instances, "criticism" is accentuated to the extent of obliterating "contradiction," hence the abbreviated name "criticism."

The Third Period commences in the 1970s with the "Second Modern" period, or Zweite Moderne (also known as Second Modernity). This period is associated with the post-industrial period's development. Ulric Beck, a German sociologist, dubbed this society the Risk Society. Beck contends that if in the "second wave" (as Alvin Toffler refers to it), i.e. the First Modern, society followed the logic of wealth production, then in the "third wave" it follows the logic of risk production. And this is accompanied by a shift from the logic of wealth distribution to the logic of risk distribution' (Beck, 1986).

This third phase is distinguished by the critical theory of second-generation Frankfurt School critics like Jurgen Habermas, Albrecht Wellmer, Georg Lukacs, and Antonio Gramsci. Habermas desired to use the "critical intelligentsia" to implement "radical" reforms in the spirit of "democratic socialism" (Nguyen, 2016, p. 49).

The outstanding contribution of Habermas to critical theory is the clarification of its "dual" constitution and function. According to him, social science theory is intended, on the one hand, at social reality and, on the other, at the very sciences that reflect this reality.

Similar to the three categories of knowledge, Habermas distinguishes three forms of social action. Productive action, communicative activity, and political activity are the three categories of action. There are three categories of knowledge: empirical (based on observation), historical (based on perception), and critical (based on struggle). He composes:

Social critical theory has nothing to do with established lines of research as a competitor; it is tasked with explaining the specific limitations and relative rights of such approaches, based on its conception of the emergence of modern societies (Habermas, 1993, p. 339).

The postmodern era is associated with the fourth level of critical theory. Philosophers, sociologists, art critics, and society use the term postmodernity to characterize cultural conditioning. Modern art, culture, commerce, and society shaped the fundamental characteristics of human existence at the close of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first. These characteristics include globalization, consumerism, the decentralization of power, and the ease of knowledge dissemination.

Walzer defines social criticism as the cultural activities of discussion and affirmation that can be carried out by a wide range of characters, including clerics, sages, instructors, storytellers, poets, historians, and so on. As soon as the aforementioned character types were born, the society began to demonstrate signs of critical capacity. However, the concept of criticism does not imply that these individuals will form a permanent antagonistic class or become members of a hostile culture. In contrast, Marx observed that while they share cultural values, they produce intellectual works for the administrative class. And so long as they produce knowledge, they will initiate an adversarial social criticism proceeding.

Public Opinion

Public opinion is a topic that has been intensively and for a very long time studied around the globe. There is currently no record verifying the origin of the concept of public opinion. Numerous researchers identified the landmark as 1922, the year in which Walter Lippmann and Ferdinand Tonnies published their influential works on public opinion.

Nguyen Quy Thanh divides the process of developing opinions about public opinion in the world into three stages: the period before 1922 (including the period before the 1830s of the 19th century and the 1930s of the 20th century); XIX to 1922; and the period after 1922; From 1922 until World War II; From the end of World War II to the present day.

Prior to 1922, there were relatively few in-depth investigations of public opinion. According to Solsbery, the term public opinion first appeared in the 12th century. Prior to the term social opinion, the connotation of this viewpoint was frequently conveyed by valuing the positions of others.

Prior to the emergence of the concept of public opinion in Eastern societies, authors conveyed their views on the topic by recognizing the position of the people through phrases such as "people's heart," "people's will," "people are the root," etc.

Mencius remarked, "The people are valuable, the society is low-key, and the military is abhorrent." Xun Tzu stated, "The relationship between the king and I is analogous to that of a boat and water; water can both lift and capsize a boat." In general, from a Confucian perspective, "the king has the right, and this right will be strengthened if the people consent." (Nguyen, 2008, p. 81)

During the Middle Ages (16th–18th centuries), Western researchers, such as Daniel Defoe, William Tempee, etc., came to concentrate on public opinion research. J.J. Rousseur's 1762 work Social Contract was influential during this time period. He developed the concept of people's sovereignty in this work. According to him, every government issue must be presented for public consideration and vote. The consensus of the people also contributes to the nation's fortitude.

The strength of a political structure can be measured in two ways: either by the size of the landmass or by the population, and the proper relationship between the two will result in a genuinely potent nation. Man creates nations, and land nourishes men; therefore, there is a correlation between having sufficient land to sustain the people and a sufficient population to populate the territory. The population's greatest vitality can be found in this proportion. (Rousseau, 2013, pp. 93–94)

The era between the 1930s of the nineteenth century and 1922 is associated with the beginning of sociology. Sociologists continue to pay little heed to the issue of public opinion, however. August Comte did not specialize in the study of public opinion, but he was interested in several aspects of public opinion, such as how it is formed and its function in society.

From 1922 to the Second World War, two works are considered to have marked the birth of public opinion as an independent study in sociology: Ferdinand Tonnies's Criticism of Public Opinion (Kritik de offentliche Mainung) and American journalist and sociologist Walter Lippmann's Public Opinion.

In observing the transition from a consensus society to a conflicted industrial urban society, as did Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, and others, Ferdinand Tonnies sought to comprehend and adapt to variables. Transform society's deviations. He contends that public opinion is a crucial factor in this process.

Tonnies classifies public opinion as (1) solid, (2) liquid, (3) gas, and (4) bubble. According to him, opinions are expressed in public; for instance, mass media opinion is not public opinion. Similarly, opinions expressed in public opinion surveys that reflect the attitudes of various public groups are not representative of the general public. Public opinion is defined by its essence of consensus. (Nguyen, 2008, p. 84)

Social Opinion by Walter Lippmann is still extensively used in American universities today. He discussed a variety of topics, such as the directional filtering mechanism used by the mass media to shape public opinion in accordance with the media's perspective. He was also somewhat influenced by Hegel regarding the function of public opinion. He was unaware of the significance of public opinion in society. He believes that the multitudes of mass media are passive and incapable of grasping the diversity of social life on their own. The public must therefore embrace and consume the media's biases. He believes that thought patterns propagate public opinion.

From the end of World War II to the present day. This is the heyday of diverse, multivariate, and specific public opinion research. Numerous important studies exist, including those by Jurgen Habermas on the theory of public space, Luhmann on the relationship between public opinion and the law, Noelle-Newmann on the Silent Vortex Theory, the Hovland faction with its propagandists, etc.

In global studies of public opinion, it is impossible to avoid mentioning the Marxist perspective. Marx frequently referred to public opinion as public opinion. "The delegates frequently call for the support of public opinion, which will allow the people to express their true opinions" (Marx & Engels, 2016, p. 161).

Marx's views on the role of the people in history, in general, and public opinion, in particular, were bequeathed in the former Soviet Union and had to be developed for a long time. The leading authors researching social opinion according to the Marxist school in the former Soviet Union, such as Uledov, Korobeinikov, Grushin, Levada, etc., Since 1977, theoretical studies and public opinion polls have been conducted in the former Soviet Union. However, it has only flourished since the late 1980s in the former Soviet Union. Following are the primary tenets of the Marxist approach to public opinion:

The characteristic manifestation of social consciousness is public opinion.

The characteristics and properties of the society's fundamental infrastructure govern the characteristics and properties of the society's superstructure, which is public opinion. However, because it is relatively independent of the social infrastructure, it can also serve as a catalyst for social change.

The decisive role of the populace throughout history gives public opinion its material strength. In other words, history is created by the majority. Therefore, if the voice of the people is bolstered, so will be the influence and effectiveness of public opinion.

Social opinion is predicated on class. It serves various purposes in social life. However, it protects the subject's interests. (Nguyen, 2008, p. 98)

Methodology

In-Depth Interview

The author of the thesis has conducted in-depth interviews with 17 individuals, including editors, board leaders, columnists, correspondents, and direct section managers, using direct conversation with audio recording and answer pages. In two online publications, Tuổi Trẻ and Vnexpress, continued or original articles were published. After processing, the samples are allocated the codes T1 through T9 for members of the Tuổi Trẻ newspaper and V1 through V8 for members of the Vnexpress newspaper.

The accompanying matrix displays demographic information about the codes.

Table 2. Code Table and Subject Demographics for in-Depth Interviews

Number	Code	Position	Degree/Title	Qualification
1	T1	Deputy chief of editors	Journalist	Bachelor's degree
2	T2	General secretary	Journalist	Bachelor's degree
3	T3	Deputy Head of Representative Office	Journalist	Master's degree
4	T4	Reporter/Author	Journalist	Bachelor's degree
5	T5	Reporter/Author	Journalist	Bachelor's degree
6	T6	editorial secretary	Journalist	Bachelor's degree
7	T7	Editor	Journalist	Bachelor's degree
8	T8	Editor (Response management)	Journalist	Bachelor's degree
9	T9	Reporter	Journalist	Bachelor's degree
10	V1	Chief Officier	Journalist	THPT
11	V2	Author	Master of communication management	Master's degree
12	V3	Author	Journalist	Bachelor's degree
13	V4	Author	Master of communication	Master's degree

14	V5	Author	PhD in education management	PhD
15	V6	Author	Journalist	Bachelor's degree
16	V7	Author	Master of Journalism	Master's degree
17	V8	Editor (Response management)	Journalist	Bachelor's degree

The semi-structured interview method was utilized for the thesis' in-depth interviews. The author of the thesis has prepared a list of queries for the interview procedure. However, the process of direct discussion with respondents is not solely dependent on the content and organization of this set of queries. The nature of the interview depends on the subject's editorial office position and duties, as well as the nature of the survey.

Content Analysis

In the thesis, the method of content analysis is used to analyze the content of the surveyed journalistic works (Vnexpress and Tuoi Tre) in order to approach the content and methods of the social criticism process and direct the public opinion of journalists.

Findings

From Individual Perspective to Social Norms

The Categories of Góc Nhìn (Perspectives) And Thời sự Suy nghĩ (current views) include brief commentaries and political essays. Frequently featured in works of this genre are the author's personal arguments. Individual explanations, sanctioned by social conventions, even serve as the criterion for two distinct categories of works.

The Góc Nhìn section of Vnexpress features articles from two sources: 1: The author writes and submits an opinion piece on a current issue to the editorial office. The editorial office needs to convey its own opinion on an issue, so it should "order" articles to be written by well-known authors with strong arguments and expressions. However, whether it is a self-submitted article or a "ordered" editorial, each work must be consistent with the editorial's point of view on the issue, including explanations and personal experiences, in addition to meeting the criteria. This factor is responsible for the varied writing styles in this section.

Although each author's perspective and narrative are unique, the article's argument must adhere to two criteria. It meets both societal and editorial standards.

Góc nhìn's ideology is characterized by combativeness and originality, promoting multidimensional perspectives on both political and civic issues. It is both a foundation for personal references and an open viewpoint for discussion. Thus, the observer can engage in social criticism as a subject with greater depth. The conclusion of Góc nhìn is not a closure but an opening. As a writer, I frequently peruse this entry without missing a single comment. The respondent's perspective is as intellectual and well-informed as the article's author's. [Comprehensive interview, code V6]

Like Tuổi Trẻ, Suy nghĩ Thời sự is the editorial office's "argumentative" column. And in order to select and develop a topic for the column, the editorial staff must discuss it at the daily editorial board meeting. Suy nghĩ Thời sự's path from personal opinion to social norms differs from that of Góc Nhìn's.

At Tuổi Trẻ, an issue that wishes to be published in Suy nghĩ Thời sự must satisfy two conditions: first, public concern must exist, and second, the youth must voice out. The ultimate objective is to discover a workable solution to the issue at hand. This imposes a stringent requirement on the issues mentioned in the section. There are matters of public interest, but the editorial office cannot speak (or, if it does, cannot speak comprehensively). In contrast, there are issues about which Tuổi Trẻ wishes to speak out, but public opinion is not particularly concerned; therefore, the editorial office does not produce articles for Suy nghĩ Thời sự.

This regulation is what defines the article, despite the fact that it is the property of each individual author. However, the editorial's thought and purpose are the editorial's opinion. The editorial's perspective influences the author's viewpoint. In other words, although it is the author's argument, the opinions and perspectives have been filtered through a collective discussion. Therefore, the message on Thời sự Suy nghĩ is occasionally less angular than in Vnexpress's Góc nhìn, but it is representative and harmonious in many arguments and interpretations.

Tuổi Trẻ advocates following the trend of analytical journalism, press commentary, and press solutions for the purpose of analyzing and commenting on a matter of public interest that Tuổi Trẻ must address in order to find the most suitable solution. This Thời sự Suy nghĩ is the instrument for achieving all of these objectives. In contrast to the past, the press today is inundated with information from online publications and social networks. Then, it is not certain that newspaper consumers require a great deal of information. How does one know where the essence of the problem resides and what its solution is in such a sea of information? The initial step in attaining the objective is to determine the nature of the problem and its solution. [Deep interview, T1 code]

The path from an individual's argument to the editorial's perspective, from a private story to a public one, and from personal standards to editorial standards and social norms is the same for both categories. In addition, this is how newsrooms "set the agenda" for their messages.

From Incident to Event

In terms of categories, the articles in the two Thời sự Suy nghĩ categories and the Góc nhìn category are varieties of Political commentary articles. In actuality, it is difficult to differentiate the works in these two categories, which are fixed in any genre, because the distinction depends on the author's manner of information construction and interpretation. On the other hand, based on the way the information is organized, the structure of the work, and the editorial's objectives for the two sections, it can be asserted that these works are political commentary. That is, the types of articles that prioritize argument and informational profundity over informational density, as opposed to other genre categories.

In the political group, individual events and phenomena must be considered systematically and in an organic relationship to one another in relation to the general trajectory of social life's development. The political group is required to have a keen mind, a comprehensive perspective, and the ability to draw accurate conclusions. (Tran Quang, 2005, p. 29)

Therefore, connecting organic events to the entirety of social life issues is a crucial requirement for the work on these two items. In the work on the two preceding narratives, frequent associations, connections, and comparisons of events are made. Almost all of the works contain this characteristic, particularly the articles in the Góc nhìn section.

Developing connections and parallels between facts and events in a work has two effects: 1/ Broadening the scope of associations and analysis of the issue This comparison broadens the dimensions of thought

when the audience approaches the work and the presented arguments in numerous directions. Create substance within the work. Typically, in both research and political writing, comparison and contrast add depth to the work.

The spatial axis is the primary associative axis. This type of association is used when comparing events horizontally in order to make comparisons between regions, regions, or countries. This comparison is frequently used to illustrate the distinction between factors such as culture, customs, perspectives, beliefs, and behaviors, such as east and west, wealthy and impoverished, progressive and regressive...

In the article *Another definition of wealth* published in Thời sự Suy nghĩ on August 6, 2016, author Duyen Truong used the tale of the wife of the Singaporean prime minister's visit to the United States as a spatial axis association.

Ha Tinh, the wife of Singapore's prime minister, caused a commotion in the media during her official visit to the United States by carrying a purse containing eleven dollars. This image was used by the author as another "definition" of affluence. The 11-dollar purse belonging to Ha Tinh was created by a young person with autism; it has a modest monetary value, but the prosperity here is abundant in affection and appreciation for each child's worth. The story is compared to other "definitions" of prosperity, such as driving a luxury vehicle, donning designer clothes, carrying a pricey purse, etc.

Nguyen Quoc Vuong, in his article *How Japan Reformed Education* published on Góc nhìn on May 13, 2014, used the Japanese case as a comparison to evaluate the Project on Fundamentally Comprehensive Education Renovation of the Ministry of Education and Training of Vietnam. Effective use of the spatial axis for comparison has been demonstrated. When reading the article about Japanese education reform, readers naturally drew parallels to the educational reform in Vietnam.

Not only are domestic and international comparisons utilized effectively, but also domestic case comparisons. Example: Vo Van Thanh's Thời sự Suy nghĩ article from September 23, 2013, *A half-chicken in Northern Europe.*

The author has used a humorous local anecdote to illustrate the story in question, thereby not only emphasizing the implausibility of the incident but also establishing a jovial tone for the narrative.

The time axis is the second association axis. In this method, the author compares an event, phenomenon, or character from the past to the event, phenomenon, or character being discussed in the article. This construction is frequently employed when contrasting traditional cultural elements or historical experience with analogous issues.

In the article *February still has a day...* published on Thursday, February 18, 2013, Le Duc Duc utilized the past on multiple occasions to accentuate the current narrative. The current generation is reminded by the actions of their forefathers to be respectful of those who have sacrificed for the integrity of the fatherland. Using past events to create a chronological axis for the tradition of consuming water and remembering its source has proven effective at gently but profoundly reminding readers of gratitude.

Straight Criticism

Journalistic works that have the value of social criticism and guide public opinion are replete with criticism. As a distinguishing characteristic of the works of Góc nhìn and Thời sự Suy nghĩ, the authors make extensive use of various facets of the critical process. Even in the majority of the surveyed works, the application of reasoning, interpretation, comparison, or analysis methods leads to the ultimate aim of criticizing issues, events, phenomena, and individuals mentioned in the work.

The most prevalent form is forthright criticism of the issue at hand. This is the most prevalent form because it is both a condition and a method for highlighting the "political" character of the works in these two

categories. Without evading or employing metaphor, the author mentions and uses critical language directly in the work. Oftentimes, the criticism of these articles is extremely robust, and at times it is scathing. Directly critical writing frequently accomplishes immediate criticism in terms of words, but lacks indirect criticism's tenderness, flexibility, profundity, and flourish.

Article *How can there be a golden season without planting seeds?* On October 13, 2014, in Thời sự Suy nghĩ, author Quoc Phong explicitly conveyed his dissatisfaction with the performance of the Vietnamese sports delegation, which placed 21st out of 45 competing nations. The direct use of the phrase "so disappointing" by the author emphasizes the critical tone of the article.

In the June 12, 2015 article titled *Golden headquarters: head and tail stuck* on Thời sự Suy nghĩ, the author Thanh Tuyen used direct critical phrases such as "it's unsightly," "denied," and "good meaning" to emphasize his harsh criticism of the current state of building administrative centers in local communities.

The second type of indirect criticism is based on another component. This form is used when a piece deals with "sensitive" or complex issues and the author does not find it expedient to address them directly or explicitly. The condition of the work is inappropriate for direct mention. In this form, criticism is frequently conveyed by citing the opinion of another individual, using an allegory, or making a comparison to the criticism of a similar issue...

The September 12, 2016 article *Mid-Autumn Festival for Adults* on Góc nhìn by Pham Trung Tuyen discusses the evolution of the mid-autumn festival and moon cake. Using analysis and comparison, the author makes the story profound with a refined and refined writing style. Particularly, the associative image system generates a critique that is both profound and compassionate.

Duc Hoang, in *The Crafty Handshake* published on Góc nhìn on October 1, 2016, sarcastically employed the "tricky words" of several industry executives.

Once, I lost a pocketbook containing numerous money-like objects on the road from Nga Tu So to Nga Tu Vong that gently curved. When I attempted to turn around on the road's gently curved construction zone, I lost my balance and collapsed. The pavement automatically reached my ankles. Following a series of accidents, this ankle now aches with every vigorous exercise. This passage describes an actual event. And if any discerning reader is going to protest about the style of this passage, I must confirm: it employs a variety of vocabulary that has evolved into a new writing style. (Duc Hoang, 2016)

In the process of critical argumentation, Duc Hoang's passage made indirect use of the remarks of officials at the time of publication to "slap his back with a stick." Previously, a traffic official referred to the curvature in Truong Chinh Street that allowed drivers to avoid the generals' residences as a "soft curve" for Truong Chinh Street. Or, police officers in Hanoi have referred to their subordinates punching a reporter in the face as "hitting the cheek." The author has enumerated numerous instances in the same manner in which they are still employed. All of these indirect criticisms allow the author to reach the following conclusion: "If a manager's statement is deceitful, it can become a 'trick' and erode the public's trust."

Conclusion

With the establishment of two categories, Góc nhìn and Thời sự Suy nghĩ, Vnexpress and Tuổi Trẻ serve as more than just press agencies. In addition, they become platforms, similar to extant social networks. These columns are written not only by newspaper employees, but also by specialists and authors from outside the editorial office. This enables Vnexpress and Tuổi Trẻ to represent the opinions of their readers in a more comprehensive manner.

The columnists have been very inventive with the format of their opinion pieces, particularly because it allows them to be more personal. Between a personal experience and a macrosocial issue, the author can

compare the worth of his beliefs with social norms. They are even permitted to use their own writing to discuss previously politically taboo topics.

However, the opinions expressed in these newspapers are not those of the general public. In actuality, the editorial office steered these perspectives in conjunction with the newsroom's position and the national political climate. Therefore, it can be said that the two columns of Vnexpress and Tuổi Trẻ only indirectly express the opinion of the editor and do not elaborate on it explicitly, despite being more diverse than the previous method of expressing editorial office opinions. thoroughly. In the political and commercial context of Vietnam, this is both a limitation and a benefit. These periodicals filter opinions for the benefit of their consumers, as opposed to social networks which provide as many perspectives as feasible.

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