

Re-negotiating Radio: Vietnamese community media in a time of change.

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Chapter 1: "Thirty Years of Settlement"

Context, culture, community

In 2005, the Vietnamese community in Melbourne and other capital cities celebrated its "thirty years of settlement" in Australia. In Melbourne those who attended the many functions to mark this momentous occasion would not have missed the not quite traditional Children's Festival, held at Federation Square, in which the master of ceremonies spoke both Vietnamese and English and the performances from "other cultures" were almost as numerous as traditional Vietnamese acts. On the surface it would appear that the Vietnamese community has truly "settled" or integrated into their "host" country. The Vietnamese community in Melbourne has certainly made their presence known through the number of Vietnamese restaurants, shops, cultural organisations and services that have mushroomed over the years.

There has been considerable interest in the Vietnamese community over the years, and a number of studies and research reports have looked at its migration and settlement experience (see for example Gardner, Neville and Snell, 1983; Viviani, 1984; Coughlan 1992; Coughlan and McNamara, 1997; Thomas, 1999). Interest was intense as the Vietnamese were the "newly arrived" at the time, a historical moment coinciding with the implementation of multicultural policies in Australia. Since this time, discussions of migration and settlement experience have seen the emergence of expanded understanding and broader debate on topics such as diaspora, cultural identity formation, cultural representation, transnationalism, and the notion of cultural spaces (Bareiss, 1998; Waisbord, 1998; Cottle, 2000; Cohen, 2003; Georgiou, 2005a). Part of this multi-dimensional discussion is an increasing recognition of the central role of media in community and identity formation and change. It has become more apparent that to study community media and how it works is a particularly fruitful way of gaining broader and deeper insight into the experiences of migrants in Australia. In this context, it can be useful to ask beyond the obvious outward signs of achievement and self-expressed "success of integrating into the Australian society" (VCA/Vic, 2005), what are the cultural practices, discourses and representational strategies that give shape and sustain the Vietnamese community and how are these played out in a "mediascape" growing out of that community's historical circumstance in Australia?

After thirty years of "settlement", have there been shifts in cultural identity, both for individuals and the community more broadly? How do Vietnamese "settlers" see themselves and others and what are their relations to homeland? And importantly, how are these changes constructed and reconstructed in community based media?

This study focuses on one specific form of community media – radio. According to Bareiss (1998, p407) "local radio provides an ideal medium for the study of localism and identity, unlike most mass media." In Australia, study of multicultural radio (Forde, Meadows and Foxwell, 2001; 2002a; 2002b; 2003a; 2003b; 2005; Lawe Davies, 2005) has shown that this type of media has closer ties to the communities they serve and "thereby plays a greater role in enabling those communities to speak their histories, beyond the confines of consensual Anglophile paradigms." (Lawe Davies, 2005, p1). In particular, Lawe Davies notes that Vietnamese immigrants are "heavy users of radio". Furthermore, studies on community radio have indicated that community radio sector is growing (Forde, Meadows and Foxwell, 2005) and not only in Australia. In America, despite cuts in government funding, Bailey (2004) found that many community radio stations remained afloat due to listener donations, an indication of the personal attachment listeners had with their community broadcasters. He also found an increase in programming for Asians, including Vietnamese, particularly in highly populated areas like California, Minnesota, Texas and Wisconsin. According to Carlson (1997, p285), "ethnic programming has become an increasingly important component of radio broadcasting in America today" and is sustained because local ethnic groups have a strong desire for music, news and information, all of which related to the "preservation of an identity".

The present study aims to find out more about the function and potential of community based Vietnamese language radio in Melbourne. The research took place in three stages. The first stage explored broad patterns of media consumption among Vietnamese-Australians. The second stage required the profiling of all existing community radio based Vietnamese language programs in Melbourne. The final stage involved an in-depth discussion with members of the Vietnamese community based around a "radio scenario", where a sample of participants were asked to assume the role of radio producer for an imagined three hour Vietnamese language program to be broadcast on a community radio station.

Ang (1996, p134) explains that by using what she called a "cultural studies" approach, the researcher becomes "interested in historical and particular meanings rather than in general types of behaviour", and that research "is process-orientated rather than result-orientated, interpretive rather than explanatory." This is the kind of focus adopted for this project. From the start, the study has been conceptualized as small scale and exploratory, and as a result needs to be approached as investigative rather than definitive and broadly representative. However, if Cottle (2000) is correct in observing that there are relatively limited studies of ethnic minority media and audiences, and in the Australian context, even less on the Vietnamese migrants and diasporic experiences as manifested in media production and reception, it could be argued that this pilot project is, to use a timely analogy, the rare drop of rain in the drought stricken field of knowledge about "ethnic minority media" (Riggins, 1992). Nguyen and Cunningham's study (2000) is a rare example of research that looks at Vietnamese language media products, made locally and internationally that service the "Vietnamese diaspora" and how these products are consumed. However, the study is essentially an investigation of audience responses to existing media outputs and mainly focused on print and video. There does not seem to be any recent research specifically focused on Vietnamese immigrants in Australia in relation to community based multicultural radio. This study can be read as a small contribution towards an understanding of one particularly important medium of communication in the lives of the Vietnamese community, caught at a particular historical moment in its existence in Australia. Its reference point is the present, but the scope moves between the present, the past and the future. Its methodology is perhaps somewhat unusual – not focused on current producers of Vietnamese language radio or even on listeners' views of existing programming (Lind, 2001), but on members of the Vietnamese community who may or may not be Vietnamese language radio listeners, but who were given an opportunity, an "imaginary space", in which they were encouraged to explore and construct their "ideal" radio program as they would see appropriate. In providing this means of creative latitude, with free rein on the scope and content of an imagined program, a wealth of information could be gained on how media practices are translated and negotiated in reference to questions of community and identity at a time of social change.

The idea that community radio must be linked to the communities it serves by being committed to the notions of access and participation from both its members and a general listeners, makes this type of media an ideal ground for studying ethnic communities, their cultural identities and practices. For this reason, there have been a small number of studies conducted to investigate the production of community radio in relation to specific ethnic communities (see for example, Marshall 1995; Jeffrey, 2002; Cohen 2003; Echchaibi, 2003; Bamrungsri 2004). Across this research which focuses on radio broadcasters, a number of recurring themes circulate: "cultural identity", "particularism", "representation and "professionalism". However, as Jeffrey (2002) notes, those who tend to work for community radio are usually the most active members within their communities and have a wide network of social contacts. In other words, they are in a position of relative advantage, and their views and beliefs might not be entirely reflective of their communities. The present study draws on and follows from the findings of this type of research, but does so in a slightly different way. Its methodology premise is based on one of the key tenets of community radio – that every listener or potential listener can also be a producer, that there is no specific division between "receivers" of audio messages and "senders" of these messages (see Moran, 1995). Participants in this current study were specifically sought. They were neither broadcasters nor prominent figures in the Vietnamese community, but, by using the philosophical underpinnings of the community radio movement in Australia, it was assumed that every member of the community of listeners could potentially be broadcaster as well.

Belonging and identity

The approach taken here in studying community radio links with the wider field of communication and cultural studies, which has reshaped the thinking around issues of ethnicity, belonging and identity. Contemporary views in this field have argued that notions of culture, identity and migration need to be recognised as more flexible and fluid than has been previously assumed (Cunningham and Sinclair, 2000). Culture is no longer seen as fixed and unchanging and migration is conceptualised as "a complex process of cultural maintenance and negotiation, or resistance and adaptation" (Cunningham and Sinclair, 2000, p4). Viewed in this way, what is sometimes referred to as "diasporic culture" is no longer seen as primarily oriented to the country of

origin, distinct from the host culture (Cunningham and Sinclair, 2000; Anthias, 2001; Thompson, 2002). Diasporic identity is better understood in relation to how migrants create their sense of "home" rather than to a fixation on "homeland" (Tsagarousianou, 2004). This identity is made even more complex by shifting relations both within the migrant community and between the migrant community and the host culture. For example, Kawakami (2003), in a study conducted in Australia and Japan noted that Vietnamese refugees were subject to influences driven from forces and processes within their community as well as social, political and cultural factors of the host country, and these dynamics needed to be seen as "their life world". It has also been recognised that although personal identity is a function of cultural membership, each person possesses "multiple social identities, not one" (Sreberny, 2005, p444). According to Clement *et al* (2005, p401) ethnic identity can also be understood in terms of an "individual's subjective feelings of belonging to a particular ethnic group" which is situationally bounded but also a "person may slip in and out of an ethnic group membership depending on the demands of the situation." Culture and identity, historically speaking, cannot be essentialized, but it also has to be noted that within diasporic communities, for "strategic social purposes", collective identities can be claimed and articulated with certain boundaries defined by identity markers to address specific purposes (Anthias, 2001). For example, Naficy (1993) in a study of "Iranian exilic television" has shown that media productions can be particularized - tailored and specific to the community group, enabling an essentialization of exilic identity which could be used as a means for "conscious resistance" to mainstream media's portrayal of Iran and Iranians. This process of strategic particularisation and essentialization may have some connection to a vision of how Vietnamese language community radio might work in Melbourne in terms of community identity formation, and thus was an area explored in the imaginary radio scenario.

Set in this context, community media, and radio in particular, is taken as "one of the main public forums in which diasporic communities may develop relationships with their countries of origin while constructing their locality and presence in their new place" (Cohen, 2003, p 125). The media also helps to sustain commonality across distances and connect dispersed populations (Waisbord, 1998; Georgiou, 2005b). According to Peeters and d'Haenens (2005), the use and production of various media forms also have the capacity to resolve cultural differences as well as preserve and

support ethnic-specific culture and identity. Recent research reveals how media can no longer be seen simply as the means to assimilation and its recipients as passive consumers. According to Waisbord (1998, p 14) "[i]f ideas and images do not resonate with existing beliefs, it is unlikely that they will become accepted and incorporated into the formation of cultural identities". Perhaps this is the reason why researchers in this area so frequently note dissatisfaction felt by ethnic communities with mainstream media, especially in relation to their lack of representation and unreflective tendencies towards stereotyping (Gross, 1998; Cottle, 2000; Cunningham and Sinclair, 2000; Madiounou, 2005; Peeters and d'Haenens 2005).

An increasing number of studies have turned their attention to diasporic and ethnic media produced for both local and transnational consumption (Viswanath and Arora, 2000; Georgiou, 2005a; Husband, 2005; Rigoni, 2005). Ethnic media is typically defined as media "messages" that are tailored to particular ethnic or racial groups (Johnson, 2000) and according to Wenger and Nicholson (2004), journalism as it links with "ethnic media" has seen considerable growth over the recent past, opening up "spaces" for cultural practices, including identity construction. More broadly, it is now recognised that diasporic communities live within "specific locales, national and transnational spaces", that the social relations and communication within and beyond diasporic communities take place in these spaces (Georgiou, 2005a) and that these spaces are at the same time both geographically located and "mediated".

A number of studies have looked into the issue of "space" and "place" in relation to the formation of the idea of community. Bareiss (1998, p405), suggests that although communities can be imagined in many ways, they "share two basic dimensions: they claim some sort of space within which community members regularly interact, and they consist of recognized insiders who have commonly held interest, values and allegiances." In Australia, there have been a handful of studies, looking at the Vietnamese community and identity in terms of a complex and ambiguous relationship with homeland (see for example, Thomas, 1997; Carruthers, 2001; Carruthers, 2002; Kawakami, 2003; Thomas, 2004). As part of his study, Carruthers (2001) looked at the discourses and dynamics between the Vietnamese homeland and diaspora in reference to the increasing "border crossing flow of cultural products" such as music videos in the post *doi moi* era. This "crossing", he contends, generates the opening up

of previously closed spaces between homeland and diaspora, challenging both the state and the diaspora in relation to their ability to maintain exclusionary "territorial imaginings". Following on from Carruthers, it might be suggested that driven by global, political and technological change, a previously inaccessible homeland has become not only accessible in terms of the back and forth flow of cultural media products, but through a capacity for "border crossing" in virtual space and physical place.

Seeing cultural practices in this way seems to shed light on a process whereby ethnic and migrant identity, community and cultural space are, to start, shaped by existing discourses, but are also constantly being re-articulated, reinvented and re-negotiated. In order to understand the significance of these conceptualisations and to ground them in reference to the current study, it is worth providing a very short overview of the development of the Vietnamese community in Australia and specifically in Melbourne (Coughlan and McNamara, 1997; Thomas, 1999). Up until the late 1980's, the Vietnamese presence in Australia was that of an essentially exilic social collectivity (Thomas, 1999; Nguyen and Cunningham, 2000) and members of that collectivity tended to label themselves as part of a "refugee community". This self-perception is still a strong defining feature today. However, Nguyen and Cunningham (2000) have noted that currently there are cultural and political struggles within the community around competing tendencies – a desire to maintain "pre-revolutionary Vietnamese heritage and traditions", an impulse to find a "niche" in the dominant Australian culture, and a focus on generating some form of "hybrid culture". Within this framework, a highly "conflictual relationship" with homeland has emerged over the past years. According to Carruthers (2001, p120),

Identity in the diaspora has traditionally been dependent on an anti-communist homeland politics underpinned by a spatial imaginary of exile, wherein communist Vietnam plays the role of the Evil Other against whom the "Free Vietnamese" are defined in terms of unbridgeable spatial, ideological...even cultural difference.

Over some thirty years, however, this traditional view has changed, at least the relation to "unbridgeable...difference". The bulk of Vietnamese migration occurred between 1975 and 1995 with around half of the total diaspora settling in the United States and the remainder going to other major Western countries including France,

Canada, Germany, the Netherlands and Australia (Nguyen and Cunningham, 2000). According to Australian Bureau of Statistics Census data in 2001, there were over 174,000 people speaking Vietnamese at home, 154,000 of these born in Vietnam. Taking into consideration the second generation and those who might not elect Vietnamese as their main language at home, such as the case of some ethnic Chinese, this figure could be higher. Currently, the Vietnamese community claims that there are approximately 200,000 Vietnamese-Australians, which include second generation Vietnamese.

In Victoria, of the 63,816 people indicating they spoke Vietnamese at home, 56,563 were born in Vietnam (ABS, 2001 Census). Approximately ninety eight percent of this group resides within metropolitan Melbourne with close to twenty four percent living within the City of Brimbank, twenty one percent in Greater Dandenong and approximately twelve percent live in the Maribyrnong municipal (City of Brimbank 2006; City of Maribyrnong, 2006; City of Greater Dandenong, 2006). Outside of Sydney, Melbourne has the largest number of Vietnamese speaking residents in Australia. According to Clyne and Kipp (2002; 2003), Vietnamese ranked fifth in terms of most widely used community languages. In Melbourne, it is rated third, after Italian and Greek. Vietnamese is the best maintained of community languages in Australia with Vietnamese ranked the most used community language for speakers between 0-14 years old (Clyne and Kipp, 2002).

Vietnamese language radio in Melbourne

In Australia, there are several types of radio stations that broadcast community language programs. These include the state-run Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) and a number of community access radio stations. Of all the community languages being broadcasted nationally, Arabic, German, Greek, Italian, Spanish and Vietnamese have the highest number of broadcasting hours, over 6000 hours in one year (Clyne and Grey, 2004). In Melbourne, besides SBS, there are twenty one community access radio stations that broadcast programs in community languages. Of these, six have Vietnamese language programs, totalling fifty six hours a week, equivalent to 2912 hours a year. The stations and their share of Vietnamese language broadcasting hours are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Radio stations in Melbourne with Vietnamese language programs

	SBS 1224 AM	WYN 889 AM	CR 855 AM	WRB 97.4 FM	SER 97.7 FM	ZZZ 92.3 FM	Total hours
Broadcast time in hours per week	14	10	5	24	2	1	56
Percentage of weekly hours of Vietnamese language programming	25%	18%	9%	42%	4%	2%	

WRB, SBS and WYN account for 85% of all the Vietnamese language programs being broadcast in Melbourne. As AM stations, SBS, WYN and CR have a wider broadcast range whereas WRB, SER and ZZZ are FM stations with a broadcast license to service a relatively localized audience. WRB has the greatest number of Vietnamese language broadcasting hours, however, as it is an FM station located in the Western suburbs of Melbourne, only those who live in this area can pick up a clear signal. SER has the only Vietnamese language program servicing the Eastern suburbs of Melbourne. In the past, three other Eastern suburbs community radio stations – MDR, PVR and WBC – carried Vietnamese language programs but these were discontinued due to the lack of long-term committed volunteers. Table 2 shows the spread of programs over a single week.

Table 2: Broadcast times for Vietnamese language radio programs in Melbourne*

Time in one hour blocks	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday		
0:00 – 1:00									
1:00 – 2:00									
2:00 – 3:00									
3:00 – 4:00									
4:00 – 5:00									
5:00 – 6:00									
6:00 – 7:00		WRB	WRB	WRB	WRB	WRB			
7:00 – 8:00									
8:00 – 9:00									
9:00 – 10:00	SBS	SBS	SBS	SBS	SBS	SBS	SBS		
10:00 – 11:00			ZZZ						
11:00 – 12:00									
12:00 – 13:00					WYN				
13:00 – 14:00									
14:00 – 15:00									
15:00 – 16:00									
16:00 – 17:00									
17:00 – 18:00	WYN								
18:00 – 19:00									
19:00 – 20:00	SBS	SBS	SBS	SBS	SBS	SBS	SBS		
20:00 – 21:00		WRB	WRB	WRB	WYN	WRB	WRB	SER	WRB
21:00 – 22:00									
22:00 – 23:00			CR	CR		CR	CR		
23:00 – 0:00									

* At the time of data collection, there were two pay Vietnamese language radio stations, broadcasting 24 hours, 2VNR and VABC, not included above.

If the number of broadcasting hours and a station's coverage area are examined, technically speaking, those who live in the Western suburbs of Melbourne (especially the inner West) are best served as listeners. In this area, listeners are able to tune in to all of the Vietnamese language programs except the one on SER, and because WRB has the greatest amount of Vietnamese language air time, listeners located in the Western suburbs are able to access ninety six percent of the available Vietnamese language broadcasting hours. In comparison, those living in Melbourne's Eastern suburbs pick up the programming on all stations except WRB, thus accessing only fifty seven percent of broadcasting hours available. According to the 2001 Census, close to twenty one percent of Vietnamese born residents who live in the Greater Dandenong area would fall into this category.

SBS

Of the six stations broadcasting Vietnamese language programs in Melbourne, SBS is the only government funded station with a salaried staff. The Vietnamese language programs that run seven days a week is managed by two teams of broadcasters, located in Sydney and Melbourne. Each team has an alternating broadcasting roster - the Sydney team will do the morning segment while the Melbourne team does the afternoon, and vice versa. Despite the separate teams and differing locations, the programs' presenting style and structure remain consistent. The programs are broadcast twice daily from 9 to 10 AM and again from 7 to 8 PM using a radio magazine format – local and international news, and segments on lifestyle, science, education, health and children's issues typically feature in the programs. There are also one-off special programs, linked in with current topical issues or significant historical and commemorative events such as elections, Vietnamese New Year, the anniversary of the Fall of Saigon. There is very little talk-back, live reporting or music. All material put to air is well edited and well spoken, making what is usually thought of a "professional" smooth sounding product. Music is only used as a transition from one segment to the next or in a regular segment where the presenter reviews Vietnamese music both contemporary and folkloric. Given its regular budget and salaried broadcasters, it is not surprising that this program is considered by many members of the Vietnamese community as the most professional in Australia (see Appendix 1 for program detailed).

WYN

WYN is an AM station with ten hours of Vietnamese language radio programming spread over Sunday afternoon, Wednesday evening and Thursday noon. These programs are managed and presented by two volunteers who are not, as is characteristic of community based radio, professionally trained broadcasters or journalists. With the title *Viễn Xứ* which translates "Away from Homeland", WYN programs begin with music, followed by news which runs for fifteen minutes. The program does not include a tight format structure as in the case of SBS, with specified topics or designated special segments, however there are a few special features, sometimes presented between music and music requests, including story-telling, children stories, Vietnamese opera and musicals. The programs also carry interviews and current affairs topics that are of a political nature, often touching on anti-communist or pro-democracy activities taking place in the Vietnamese community in Australia or internationally. These political segments will frequently come from Vietnamese radio programs produced in America. Of all the Vietnamese language radio programs in Melbourne, *Viễn Xứ* seems to have the most overt political point of view.

CR

CR broadcasts five hours of Vietnamese language radio programming, spread over four nights, Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday. The program is called *VVV* and is managed and presented by three volunteers. The program does not have a specific format structure and usually one or two of the volunteers will present in each broadcasting block. The program mainly consists of broadcasting music and music requests with occasional story-telling and introductions to new musical talents with contemporary Vietnamese music dominating the play list. Unlike other Vietnamese programs, *VVV* has on-air music dedications and the occasional talk-back segment, mostly dealing with lifestyle and domestic issues. When stories are read, they come from written texts and generally relate to the experiences of Vietnamese people living abroad. Very little pre-recorded spoken word material is used, and unlike other Vietnamese language programs, *VVV* does not have a theme song and often begins without even an introduction from the presenters.

WRB

Out of the six stations that have Vietnamese language programming, WRB takes up most broadcasting hours, accounting for forty two percent of the total Vietnamese language broadcast time, with programs going to air six days a week, morning and evening. Targeting the West of Melbourne, the Vietnamese language programs on WRB are managed by a group of four community based volunteers, none of whom have professional training in media work. Programs do not have titles name which explains why members of the Vietnamese community identify programs by the radio station wavelength, 97.4 FM. The purpose of the programs is captured in the tagline which the presenters use at the beginning of each show: "Thông Tin, giá trị và nhạc nhẹ" (News, entertainment and music).

A show usually begins with a selection of music, sometimes in accordance with a certain musical theme to be explored during the broadcast. Music used is mainly Vietnamese contemporary. In the morning program, music is played for one hour and fifteen minutes, followed by ten minute feature segments taken from Radio Australia with titles such as "Around the World", "Sport", "Australia and Australians", "Science and Health". News usually follows, running for fifteen minutes devoted to Australian and international news and news on Vietnam. There is also time for music requests from listeners. The evening program follows a similar format – selected music, news, special segments and then music requests. Since the evening program is longer, extra segments are added, often running for thirty minutes or more. These might include commentary on current affairs, history, poetry, drama and comedy as well as story telling and Vietnamese folklore (see Appendix 2 for program details).

ZZZ

ZZZ is a long standing ethnic FM access radio station, broadcasting in a range of community languages (Dugdale, 1979). A Vietnamese language radio program goes to air once a week on a Tuesday morning between 11 and 12 AM, under the auspices of the Australia Vietnamese Woman's Association. The program uses of a magazine format, similar to that of SBS radio with more focus on family life and issues. It is well edited and usually has one or two presenters. The program does not include a news segment and

unlike all the other Vietnamese language community radio programs, does not have music segments.

SER

SER is the only radio station in the Eastern suburbs that has a Vietnamese language program. Currently, a two hour program is broadcast every Friday between 8PM to 10 PM. The program was previously under the auspices of SICMA (Springvale Indochinese Mutual Assistance Association) but now is managed by only one community based volunteer. The program is pre-recorded and uses a magazine format with segments devoted to news, interviews, community announcements and music. Much of the news and interviews are related to events in Australia or activities within the Vietnamese community. Music used is mainly contemporary or "struggle/anti-communist" music.¹

Re-negotiating community radio: a note on method

The study consisted of three different processes of data gathering in order to contextualize current Vietnamese language radio programming in Melbourne and to gain some knowledge that might assist in any future planning and directions for broadcasting in this significant community language. To begin, all currently available Vietnamese radio programs in Melbourne were "mapped" and profiled (see above). This process was initiated by accessing data from the National Ethnic and Multicultural Broadcasters' Council's website to find out which community access radio stations in Melbourne currently broadcast Vietnamese language radio programs (see Appendix 3). Then, the format and presentation particulars of each program were documented over a seven day period.

¹ Besides these free to air programs, there are two pay radio stations available in Melbourne, 2VNR and VABC (TNT) broadcasting Vietnamese language programs twenty four hours a day. Listeners must buy specialized radio receivers to pick up the station frequency. Programs on these pay stations are similar to ABC radio in Australia. VABC in particular is linked to many Vietnamese language radio stations around the world, which it crosses over to on a daily basis and has many talk-back programs, which can include national listeners only or listeners from around the world.

The second step involved a small survey of people from the Vietnamese community living in Melbourne in order to explore current trends in media preferences and consumption, especially as these related to Vietnamese language media. Respondents were also asked about their age, gender, marital status, education, and employment status with the aim of constructing a social demographic profile. As the Vietnamese community in Melbourne is primarily a type of diasporic community, some general questions were included which dealt with migration background and language use. Questions also focused on patterns of media consumption and usage of "new" and old media (see Appendix 4).

Like much research of an exploratory nature, certain constraints were operating in the search for respondents. Convenience sampling provided the best solution for generating the needed data as "[i]t is useful in getting general ideas about the phenomenon of interest" (Fridah, 2006). This method of sampling, unfortunately cannot claim to offer generalizability to an entire population. However, it was hoped that the approach taken would provide a "snapshot" and the basis for a more thorough investigation. The survey was conducted during the annual Vietnamese Tet festival held in January 2006, in an attempt to optimize the chances of obtaining a diverse range of participants. The Tet festival, organized by the Vietnamese Community Victoria Chapter, is generally considered the biggest annual event within the Vietnamese Community in Melbourne and often attracts Vietnamese Australians from all over Melbourne. A total of thirty one respondents answered the questionnaire and all age groups as well as differing regions of Melbourne were represented.

The third and most important stage of data collection was based on a role play "scenario" in which individual members of the Vietnamese community were asked to imagine that they were a manager of a community based Vietnamese language radio program, broadcasting for three hours once a week. This scenario setting was conceptualised as a device that could assist in getting an in-depth look at the Vietnamese community's sense of identity and connectivity, and members' perspectives, values and needs as practiced within the mediated spaces of community radio. Eleven of the original thirty one surveyed respondents agreed to participate in the scenario role-play. The scenario and a set of questions were given to each of the eleven role playing participants three days prior

to an arranged time for a discussion with the researcher. Areas explored as part of the in-depth discussion included how the imagined program would be formatted, its content, views on the role of media, in particular Vietnamese language radio as well as perceptions about the Vietnamese community in Melbourne as a whole (see Appendix 5). The questions provided beforehand offered a framework for the discussion, but a flexible approach was adopted in order to allow all participants to explore their ideas at their own pace and discretion. This more open-ended approach and the use of the scenario itself were meant to elicit more contemplative information, not normally accessible through a strict survey based method. Scenario interviews ran between thirty minutes and one and a half hours and were conducted in Vietnamese or English or both, whatever language register was most comfortable for participants. Interviews were recorded, then translated if conducted in Vietnamese and then transcribed to provide an accurate account of the participants' comments.

Chapter 2: Migration and Media Use

Some social demographic details

In order to contextualize the in-depth discussion of community language radio, a preliminary survey was done in order to gather some broad data about the Vietnamese community and its patterns of media preferences and consumption. Three areas were explored in the preliminary survey. Information was sought on a range of social and demographic details, issues connected to migration background and media preferences, especially as these pertained to Vietnamese language output. It was anticipated that people's migration experience and their social background and environment would unavoidably have an influence on their choices of media and how these would be utilized. In mapping out this information, it was also anticipated that issues such as hybridity, transnationality, community connectivity, the role of ethnic media, and the use of new media could be explored as a way of contextualizing the fuller discussion of Vietnamese language radio based around the "radio scenario".

Of the thirty one individuals who participated in the preliminary survey, almost two thirds (19) were below 46 years of age (see Appendix 6, Table 1). There were relatively even numbers of males (16) and females (15) and married (16) and single (14) respondents. Nearly all respondents (28) lived with their families or others. Close to two thirds of the respondents had tertiary education or were currently studying in university. Most of these were among the younger respondents, that is, the below forty six years of age.

Appendix 6, Tables 2a, 2b and 2c illustrate the migration background of the thirty one respondents. More than two thirds (24) arrived in the "four main waves of migration", that is, between 1975 and 1995 (Nguyen and Cunningham, 2000). Those who arrived after this date were mainly in a younger age group, part of a family re-union scheme. Several older respondents also came to Australia as part of the family re-union scheme. One respondent had come to Australia on a working visa, thus was not a permanent resident or Australian citizen. Nearly two thirds (19) lived in the Western suburbs of

Melbourne while the rest resided in the Eastern and Northern suburbs in areas with a less dense population of Vietnamese residents (see ABS 2001 Census).

When asked if they made regular contact with Vietnamese families and friends in Vietnam and in other parts of the world using various communication media, it was found that the majority made very little use of Internet related resources such as online forums, chat rooms and instant messaging. Surprisingly, almost two thirds of the respondents never or rarely used email to make contact with Vietnamese families and friends in Vietnam or in other parts of the world. Phone and fax seemed to be the most popular means of communicating internationally. What is interesting from this data is that although two thirds of respondents were in skilled or professional employment, having obtained tertiary education, it appeared that newer communication technologies were not so readily used in communication with families and friends.

Nearly all of the respondents (29) indicated that Vietnamese was the main language spoken at home. This figure coincides with census data from the Bureau of Statistics (2001), which found a close correlation between the number of people reported to be born in Vietnam and speaking the language. Eight of the respondents in the younger age group, below forty six years of age, indicated that both English and Vietnamese were equally spoken at home. One respondent indicated that she spoke Tagalog, a major language of the Philippines. More than two thirds of the respondents indicated their English and Vietnamese were good or very good, especially spoken Vietnamese. Those who stated that their Vietnamese was adequate or not very good were mainly in the younger age group. In comparison, those who reported that their English was adequate or not very good were in the older age group.

Media use

Limited skills in one of the languages seemed to have an impact on the respondents' choices of media. Of the nine respondents indicating Vietnamese language media as their preference, eight said it was easier to understand (See Appendix 6, Table 3a). As only five respondents reported their spoken Vietnamese to be adequate or poor and nine

thought of their Vietnamese written skills in the same way, it is not surprising that just seven respondents indicated a preference for English language media only. What is worth noting, however, is that of these, only three chose English language media because they found it difficult understanding Vietnamese language media. The rest chose English language media because it was more accessible, suited their personal tastes, helped to further improve English skills or because of discontent with existing Vietnamese language media. Of the remaining fifteen respondents who nominated a preference for media produced in both languages, seven said that their choice of Vietnamese language media was based on a desire for news and information on Vietnam and "Vietnamese people", consistently absent from mainstream media, and two were interested in improving their Vietnamese and in learning more about Vietnam.

A more elaborated "map" of the respondents' media preferences and consumption is contained in Appendix 6, Table 3a, 3b, 3c and 3d. From Table 3a, it appears that the majority of respondents chose television and radio as the preferred media for news and information, followed by newspapers (19) and the internet (13). However, younger respondents tended to show a wider range of media choices. Nearly all respondents (29) sought world news, while twenty four were interested in national news and news on Vietnam. Such a level of interest in news relating to Vietnam highlights what other research has discovered, that is, there is a strong link to "homeland" within the Vietnamese community in Australia (Thomas, 1997; Carruthers, 2002). Two thirds of respondents expressed interest in health related news and information, and close to half were interested in local and political/economic news.

The survey also aimed at investigating people's view and preferences in relation to a range of Vietnamese language media. Close to two thirds of the respondents (19) read either Vietnamese newspapers, English newspapers or both on a regular basis (see Appendix 6, Table 3b). Only four indicated that they did not read any of the currently available newspapers. When asked to indicate their choices in reference to currently available Vietnamese electronic media, close to two thirds of respondents (20) stated that they preferred radio. Only eight chose television. This differed greatly to the respondents' general choices of media where twenty four prefer television. This discrepancy could be

explained by the fact that at present only Channel 31, a community based television station in Melbourne, has a regular Vietnamese language program each week. This may also explain why the majority of respondents, when asked in which electronic media they would like more Vietnamese language programming, stated local television.

To estimate the volume of consumption of what might be described as Vietnamese language entertainment and cultural products, respondents were asked the frequency of reading books, listening to music, watching DVDs and videos, and accessing online information or web streaming. Accessing Vietnamese language online information and web streaming is least used by the respondents. Perhaps not unexpectedly, of those using the new communication media, the majority were in the younger age group. Close to half of respondents (16) reported that they hardly ever read Vietnamese books. Vietnamese music and DVD/video have more frequent use with twenty four respondents listening to Vietnamese music sometimes or frequently and twenty two using Vietnamese language DVDs and videos sometimes or regularly.

As the focus of this research is on Vietnamese language radio, respondents were asked about the radio programs they listened to. Appendix 6, Table 3d shows that almost all respondents (27) have listened to Vietnamese language programs on SBS radio, and of these, twenty listened to SBS radio more often than other Vietnamese language radio programs. Vietnamese language radio programs on WRB are also popular, with nineteen respondents stating that they had listened and eleven indicating that they listened to this community station's programs more than other available community radio Vietnamese language programs. Reasons for these listening patterns varied from respondent to respondent but in general, those who listened to SBS stated that they found the programs to be of "high standard", with "up-to-date news" and "diversity" in terms of content. Two respondents indicated that they listened especially to SBS because its programming has news relating to the Vietnamese community not included in other community programming. Another two stated that the programs on SBS were broadcast at an optimal time during the day. A regular listener to WRB Vietnamese language programs explained that the night-time broadcasts were ideal, and that the large number of hours in Vietnamese maximised listening opportunities. Another respondent stated that he listened

to WRB because of the use of humour while another said that as an FM broadcaster, WRB had better sound quality. Very few respondents had heard programs broadcasting on CR, WYN and ZZZ and none had a preference for these programs. Two of the older respondents were regular listeners of 2VNR, the pay radio station.

Chapter 3: Creating a Vietnamese language community radio program

Socio-cultural profile of "radio scenario" participants

All thirty one respondents to the general socio-demographic and media preference survey were asked if they would like to participate in the "radio scenario". Eleven of these agreed to role-play the producer of an imagined weekly three hour Vietnamese language radio program. Tables 3a, 3b and 3c summarize the socio-cultural demographic profile, migration background and media preferences and consumption patterns of these participants.

Four were under 25 years of age, three between 26 and 35 years of age, one each between 36 and 45 and 46 and 55 respectively and two were in the 56 to 65 age range. Six of the participants were female, creating an even spread between female and male participants. It needs to be noted that eight of these participants had tertiary education or were currently in tertiary education. Skewing the sample towards the more highly educated will of course have an impact on the emergent discussion of the imagined program. However, this sample of participants has to be set in context: tertiary study is overall considerably higher in the Vietnamese community, double that of students from English speaking background (Bobson, Birrell and Rapson, 1996). Nine participants lived in the Western suburbs while the remaining two lived Carlton and Camberwell respectively. It would have been better if a few more participants had come from the Eastern suburbs, but due to the limitations of small scale research and the voluntary nature of involvement, it was not possible. As Schnoder *et al* (2003) point out, every research design inevitably entails gains and losses which involve trade-offs. In this case, it seemed better to proceed even with sampling limitations, given the general lack of investigation in this critical area of media and ethnicity.

The participants' year of arrival in Australia varied considerably with four arriving in the early 1980s, two in the late 1980s, four in the early 1990s and one in 2000. Six came to

Australia as refugees while four came as part of the family reunion scheme. One respondent was here on a working visa. All participants identified Vietnamese as the main language spoken at home, however, four of the younger participants also included English as being used equally at home. Most of the participants reported that their Vietnamese was good to very good with the exception of three of the younger participants. Similarly, most of the participants felt their English to be good to very good except for three participants who rated their English just adequate. These three participants had lower formal education than other participants. In relation to communicating with other Vietnamese people in Vietnam, four of the younger participants indicated that they never or rarely make contact with anyone in Vietnam. Out of the remaining seven, six tended to make contact with families and friends in Vietnam via phone or fax, five used email, and only two reported using other internet resources. The pattern is more or less the same for communication with Vietnamese people in other parts of the world. These trends suggest that when international communication takes place, older technologies are still relied upon despite the growth of digital culture. Close to half of the participants still rely on "old media" like telephone and fax and moderately use email to communicate with other Vietnamese people around the world and in Vietnam. No more than half of the participants communicate with other Vietnamese outside of Australia on a regular basis.

With regard to media preferences, eight respondents chose television and/or radio as their preferred media for news and information, five chose newspapers, three chose magazines and/or internet, and two explained that they preferred to receive news and information from other people. Despite a preference for television and radio, nine participants reported reading newspapers on a regular basis. Four read both locally produced English and Vietnamese newspapers, three read only English newspapers, and two read only Vietnamese newspapers. Four participants indicated that they wanted more Vietnamese language radio programming of an international variety. In terms of other leisure and media preferences, seven participants reported occasionally reading Vietnamese books and eight enjoyed Vietnamese music, DVD and videos. Only five reported accessing Vietnamese online information and only one utilized web streaming. Nearly all participants have listened to at least one currently available Vietnamese radio program

broadcast in Melbourne. Nine had listened to WRB and SBS and five have listened to CR and WYN respectively while only one participant had listened to ZZZ.

Table 3a: Socio-cultural profile of "radio scenario" participants

Characteristics	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11
Age range	18-25	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	18-25	18-25	26-35	26-35	56-65
Gender	F	F	F	F	F	F	M	M	M	M	M
Marital Status	Single	Single	Single	Married	Married	Married	Single	Single	Single	Married	Married
Living arrangement	Alone	With others	With others	With others	With others	With others	With others	With others	Alone	With others	With others
Level of education	Tertiary	Tertiary	Tertiary	Year 7	Year 12	Tertiary	Tertiary	Tertiary	Tertiary	Year 12	Tertiary
Occupation	Scientist	Student	Stock controller	Machinist	Home duties	Interpreter	Student	Tech support	Podiatrist	Aged care assistant	Accountant
Area of residence	WS	WS	IC	WS	WS	WS	WS	WS	ICS	WS	ES
Year of arrival in Australia	1984	1995	2000	1987	1982	1992	1989	1990	1981	1990	1981
Reason for coming to Australia	Refugee	Family reunion	Work	Refugee	Refugee	Family reunion	Refugee	Family reunion	Refugee	Family reunion	Refugee
Language spoken at home	V, E	V	V	V	V	V	V, E	V, E	V, E	V	V
Vietnamese: Spoken Written	VG G	VG A	VG VG	VG VG	VG VG	VG VG	A NG	A A	G A	VG VG	VG VG
Language English: Spoken Written	VG VG	G G	G G	A A	A A	G G	G G	G G	VG VG	A A	VG VG
Communication with Vietnamese people in Vietnam: Phone/fax	N	F	F	S	F	R	N	N	N	S	S
Email	N	F	F	S	S	F	N	N	N	N	N
Other internet platforms	N	N	S	N	N	N	N	N	N	F	N
Communication with Vietnamese people in other parts of the world: Phone/fax	R	S	N	F	F	F	N	R	N	S	F
Email	F	S	S	N	N	F	N	N	S	R	F
Other internet platforms	N	N	R	N	N	N	N	N	N	F	N

Legend: F = female WS = western suburbs ES = eastern suburbs E = English A = adequate NG = not good N = never S = sometimes
M = male ICS = inner city suburbs V = Vietnamese VG = very good G = good R = rarely F = frequently

Table 3b: Socio-cultural profile of "radio scenario" participants

Characteristics	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11
Types of media preferred:	Internet Conversation	TV Magazine	TV Magazine Radio	TV Newspaper Radio	TV Newspaper Radio	Newspaper	TV Internet Radio	TV Magazine Radio	TV Radio Conversation	Newspaper Internet Radio	TV Newspaper Radio Internet Magazine
Preferred language of media:	V, E	V, E	V	E	V	E	E	E	V, E	V	V, E
Type of news/ information preferred:	World National News on Vietnam Health	World	World National Local News on Vietnam Sport Health Computer	World National News on Vietnam Health	World National Local News on Vietnam Political /Economic Sport Health Celebrity Science Arts	World National	World National Local News on Vietnam	Sport Health	World National Local News on Vietnam Political /Economic	World News on Vietnam Political Health	World National Local News on Vietnam Political /Economic Sport Health Celebrity
Newspaper read on regular basis	None	Herald Sun TV Tuan San	Herald Sun The Age Saigon Times TV Tuan San	Thoi Bao TV Victoria	Herald Sun Viet Luan Nhan Quyen TV Tuan San	Herald Sun The Age The Australian	Herald Sun	None	The Age	Viet Luan TV Tuan San	Herald Sun The Age Thoi Bao
Preferred Vietnamese language electronic media:	Online media	Radio	Radio Satellite TV Online media	Radio Satellite TV	TV Radio	None	Radio	Radio	TV Radio	Radio Online media	Radio Online media

Legend: V = Vietnamese
E = English

Table 3c: Socio-cultural characteristics of "radio scenario" participants

Characteristics	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11
Vietnamese Media type that participant would like more of:	Local TV	Local TV Local radio	Local TV Local radio Satellite TV Online media International radio	Local TV Local radio	Local TV Local radio	Local TV	Local TV Local radio	Local TV	International radio	Local TV International radio	Local TV Local radio Satellite TV Online media International radio
Reading books	R	S	S	F	F	F	R	N	R	S	S
Accessing online information	S	S	F	N	N	N	N	N	S	F	N
Listening to music	F	F	F	N	F	F	F	R	S	S	N
Using web streaming	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	F	N
Renting/buying DVD/Video	N	F	R	N	F	F	S	S	S	F	S
Awareness of Vietnamese language radio programming	WRB SBS CR	WRB SBS 3CR	WRB	WRB SBS CR	WRB SBS WYN ZZZ	N	WRB SBS 2VNR	WRB SBS CR VNR	WRB SBS	WRB SBS CR WYN	WRB SBS WYN 2VNR
Vietnamese language radio listened to the most	None, but would like to listen to SBS but can't due to work	WRB	WRB	SBS	SBS	N	WRB	SBS	WRB SBS	SBS	SBS

Legend: F = frequently
S = sometimes

N = never
R = rarely

The Program

Perceptions of the community

As part of the in-depth discussion, participants were asked about some of their views on the Vietnamese community in Melbourne as a whole in order to assist in understanding the ideas and comments emerging from the imaginary radio scenario. In order to think about radio as a medium of communication, indeed, to think about any media of communication requires the "sender" of the message to have some sense of who the "receiver" might be. According to Cohen (2003), ethnic media has the advantage in that the audience is often already identified, that is, in reference to specified ethnicity. However, what constitutes this ethnicity is contestable, and perceptions and assumptions about ethnic belonging vary depending on who is speaking about it and in what context. Thus it was crucial to obtain an "insider perspective" on who might be the prospective listener for the imagined radio scenario. If radio was to be community based, who was it that made up this community, according to the role playing producers.

In general, it was found that most participants thought that the majority of Vietnamese people living in Melbourne still view themselves as Vietnamese. For example, P10, one of the younger participants, indicated that most people "feel that they are Vietnamese" but what he termed "Vietnameseness" needed to be understood "in spirit nhiều hơn là nó tỏ ra bên ngoài...nó nằm trong cái mà mang tính truyền thống, tập tục truyền thống." [...it is more in spirit than being expressed externally... it is embedded in, characterized in traditions and customs...] However, three participants raised concerns about a trend among some young people to reject their cultural backgrounds. For P4, a 41 year old married woman, this rejection of cultural heritage is a result of a lack of knowledge about Vietnamese culture and history.

...có nhiều em ở bên đây...thường là chôn không muốn mình làm người Việt Nam cho nên chị nghĩ còn phải hướng dẫn các em hướng về nguồn gốc nhiều hơn để mình biết mình là tự hào nhiều hơn.

[...there are many youths over here...who often avoid, don't want to be Vietnamese. Therefore I think (we) have to guide them to return to their roots so (they) can be proud (of who they are).]

This kind of discussion encompassed a broader and often repeated theme in all radio scenarios – the question of cultural identity, which seemed to link a sense of self-identity with the overall identity and future of the Vietnamese community in Melbourne. Although all participants still viewed themselves as Vietnamese to varying degree, they also reported changes within themselves or in others within their community. This was expressed as concerns about the future of the Vietnamese community as a whole and the self-perceived identity of Vietnamese people living in Australia in particular. Many participants talked about "Vietnamese people" in Melbourne being influenced or exposed to other cultures and customs. The idea of a less fixed, singular cultural identity was predicted for future generations. According to P8, a young male, "...if we come to Australia...we're not really one hundred percent Vietnamese anymore because we adapt our lifestyle here. So we kind of combine our culture together." Some younger participants appeared to accept and embrace this tendency and spoke about a further shift towards a "westernized culture" in the future. P8 explained that, "in the long run we're just gonna lose our roots". But not all believed that this shift would eliminate cultural ties with homeland. P9, another young male commented that "...there might be renewed interest in youth about their belongingness because...they really want to find out what their history is all about...". P1, a young female alluded to identity this way: "That's what I mean by being more integrated. Comfortable being in their own skin, not shying away from what it means to be Vietnamese, and at the same time [being] very Australian, and knowing what's happening in Australia". P3, a young overseas worker from Vietnam believed that there are two community tendencies, "...Có những người á, họ tiếp nhận, completely change. Xấu tốt gì tôi cũng là người Úc. Nhưng mà có những người họ hội nhập, họ học những cái tốt nhưng mà họ biết giữ lại cái của Việt Nam." [...There are people, they integrate and change completely. Good or bad they are Australian. But there are those who integrate, they pick up good things but they maintain (what's) Vietnamese.] In these instances, it could be suggested that these participants were articulating in their own way, what communication and cultural researchers have been describing as the process of hybridity (Nguyen and Cunningham, 2000; Anthias, 2001).

This tendency was felt to be a very particular source of concern for those that younger participants kept referring to as "older people". P7, a young student in his early 20s, explained that, "...some of the older generation...so bound by old tradition and old

points of view...they can't accept the younger generation..." For P1, "...it is part of our culture that we raise our children to be obedient, listening and respecting our elders. I'm not saying that we [young people] are going to defy all of that, but we want [older people] to acknowledge that kids are being influenced by a different culture." In discussion with participants, a dichotomy seemed to emerge based on generation differences, which tended to find specific expression in what was considered Vietnamese and what was not. From the point of view of younger participants, these differences are grounded in language and history.

I think the language barrier...separates the older generation and the younger generation...most of the older generation came from Vietnam with much hardship in life and [they went] through ordeals and stuff like that, and the younger generation lives in Australia where everything is spoon fed to them and they just don't understand the difference in the two worlds. (P7, a young university student).

It was assumed that these types of perceptions of community and identity and the problems connected to both would have a marked impact on any framework for programming suggestions in the radio scenario. Indeed, participants revisited many of the themes in relation to their imagined radio program. For example, language preferences, music selections and a focus on Vietnamese history and culture were all content decisions, discussed and conceptualized in reference to perceptions about community changes and new relevance structures used by potential listeners.

As well as issues connected to identity and community, participants were also given an opportunity to discuss their perceptions of the geographical and social cohesion of the Vietnamese community in Melbourne. These factors, it was assumed would also underpin the shaping of the radio program scenarios. Suburbs like Footscray, Richmond, St Albans and Springvale were readily identified as "Vietnamese areas". P9, a young male, felt that the Vietnamese people living in the south eastern suburbs were less community minded "whereas the more active communities are around the north and western suburbs." Most participants felt that Vietnamese people in Melbourne relate to each other well on a personal basis.

...em thấy cái liên lạc giữa người Việt với người Việt ở Melbourne thì nó nhiều, nó thường xuyên. Thì đa số người ta đến thăm nhau, người ta đi dự

tiệc tùng hoặc là gọi điện thoại hỏi thăm. Em nghĩ là dai da số điện thoại hỏi thăm rồi chợ búa gặp nhau rồi lại nhà ăn chơi cuối tuần.

[...I see that there is a lot of contact among Vietnamese people living in Melbourne; it is frequent. Most visit one another, they go to parties or call each other. I think the majority call one another and then meet when they go shopping and then get together during the weekends.] (P3, a young overseas worker)

Despite these seemingly positive characteristics, participants did not think that most people felt a sense of belongingness to the "Vietnamese community". Some attributed this to the lack of regular activities that brought people together.

I don't think my parents...think that there is any community because...there's no group activity. The only time you would see this is Hội Chợ Tết (new year festival)...where you see everyone get together and enjoy the festivity. But that is pretty much once a year. And for 360 days in a year, you think ok, it's just my family and maybe a group of friends. And that's about it. (P8, a young male).

The theme of excessive assimilation into Australian society surfaces in this discussion with some participants feeling that "success" had changed the Vietnamese community in Melbourne or even created the conditions for its disintegration.

...họ nghĩ rằng bây giờ họ sống ở đây, con họ biết tiếng anh, có nghề nghiệp ở đây. Con thì bác sỹ con thì luật sư, ví dụ thế. Con thì kỹ sư thế là xong, họ cần phải dựa vì da số họ cũng không...

[...they think, now they live here, their children know English, have careers here. Their children are doctors, lawyers, for example. Their children are engineers. That is it. They don't need to depend on the community.] (P6, a mature female)

This participant went on to describe how this process eroded the ideological foundation of the Vietnamese community, "the struggle [against Communism]" which according to her is not only a pillar for identity but also the connecting factor between the individual and the community as a whole.

Nếu nói theo cái danh từ bây giờ tinh thần đấu tranh thì hình như họ không có nhiều, và chúng tôi như vậy đứng về phương diện Cộng Đồng không gắn bó với nhau nhiều đâu.

[If we speak in term of people's passion for the struggle then it doesn't seem to be as intense thus from the perspective of the community, there's little connection.]

This view however was not shared uniformly. A number of both younger and older participants had a different perception. P4, a female machinist, explained that "...người Việt Nam tại Melbourne rất có tinh thần đấu tranh chống cộng" [Vietnamese people in Melbourne have high passion for the struggle against Communism]. Many believed that the glue which had and still keeps the Vietnamese people connected to each other and to the community is their anti-communist and pro-democracy ideals. According to P10, a young male, this feeling was linked to the community's history and "ideals", a collective "political stance" founded on common refugee experience. This "political stance" proved to be an important framing perception in how a radio program for the Vietnamese community in Melbourne ought to be shaped and put together. Many of the participants maintaining this "political stance" had very clear view about what ought to be included and excluded in terms of content.

In general, all participants felt that Vietnamese people living in Melbourne did not support the Communist government in Vietnam. There were however, some further complicating perceptions. According to P5, a middle age housewife, for example, despite this commonality, there were significant differences in outlook between those who came to Australia as asylum seekers and those who migrated to Australia under the family reunion scheme.

...hồi đầu có những người, người ta đi vượt biển thì người ta nghĩ người ta thoát chết ra đi để người ta tìm một cái gì đó, cái nhu cầu của đời sống của người ta, cái tự do hoặc là cái gì gì đó nhưng mà những người kia thì họ được ra đi.

[...initially there are people, they cross oceans (seek asylum), they think they narrowly escaped death in search of something, for survival, freedom or something. But the others, they were allowed to go.]

To some degree, the combination of these perceptions, form important identity markers within the Vietnamese community, separating those who think of themselves as true refugees from those who "were allowed to go" as migrants. Discursively, this distinction can be applied to highlight a person's social positioning within community and perhaps a generalized right to claim refugee status. In general it might be said that participants viewed their community as maintaining an underlying sense of cohesiveness and bond through a shared heritage, but within, there are internal tension and differences that revolve around questions of prioritizing certain identities over others.

Radio as a medium

In order to give further insight into the way an imaginary radio program might be constructed, participants were asked to reflect on radio as a medium of communication. Given the extensive use of media in everyday life, it was thought that in having participants discuss radio in practical terms, some insight might be gained about the role of community media. Most participants recognized particular advantages for radio as a form of communication, especially for the Vietnamese community in Melbourne. Many indicated that radio was more accessible and flexible which gave it an advantage over other media. As P2, a young student stated, "With this radio program people can listen when they['re] travelling or they listen when they work...or when they are away from home." A number thought that radio had the capacity for interactivity which other media like newspapers and television lacked.

"I think it would be livelier...What I mean by livelier is more real – you can hear the youth, you can hear their voice...they can't really interact with people on TV." (P1, a young female).

Participants recognized that the internet also had this capability, however, as P1 put it: "it has less personal effect there. You don't get the 'humanness' when you're online and just seeing words from the screen." For P10, a young male, the internet lacked the tailored communication to a targeted audience that radio had. "Nó khác với cái internet nữa là tại vì nó specific hơn, nó target hơn. Internet nó quá rộng." [It is different to the internet because it is more specific. The internet is too broad.]

This view of tailored communication that is targeted and connected with a specific audience, meeting its needs and interests is a point worth noting. Radio programs delivered in Vietnamese have great audience support because they "speak" the language of the listeners (see Lawe Davies, 2005). The capacity to "hear their voice" is not only about the spoken words but how the message is delivered, how it is contextualized and conveyed in a way that is culturally embedded so that listeners can understand and find connection. Thus, it was not surprising to find that most participants thought that Vietnamese language radio programs were an essential resource for the community and for a broader cultural focus. For example, several participants highlighted the "immediate dissemination of information" possible with

radio. Participants recognized that language barriers meant many people, especially older Vietnamese, relied on Vietnamese language media for news and information. Most Vietnamese newspapers available in Melbourne are bi-weekly or weekly and television, in the case of community broadcaster, Channel 31, has only one hour of Vietnamese language programming once a week. Vietnamese language radio programs are broadcast daily.

Some participants praised radio for its ease of use.

Lợi điểm là chỗ giản dị nhất để tiếp cận với đồng bào. Chỉ có làn sóng phát thanh bà con vặn cái Radiô lên nghe. Đó là thói quen của đa số. Còn người Việt mình nhất là các cụ dẫu có quen mô Internet...

[The advantage (of radio) is it's the simplest way to get close to the people. All you need is the airwave and people tune in to listen. That is the routine for the majority. Vietnamese people, especially the elders, they are not used to getting onto the internet.] (P6, a mature female).

For P1, a young female, radio was a way to reach the general community, but also a way to target specific listenerships: "Vietnamese youth....don't really read newspapers".

Content

The eleven participants were given an imaginary radio scenario in which they role play as the producer of a three hour block community radio program. Asked to construct a program for the Vietnamese community in any way they thought relevant, every participant offering a scenario included references to the use of music. The rationale for the choice of music to be used, in fact, proved to be a significant "snapshot" of some of the key assumptions about the role of community media. For example, all program planning included a preference for contemporary Vietnamese music. However, P5 and P6, two of the older and married participants, and P10 a younger married male expressed reservations about uncritically using music produced in Vietnam. Their caution related to what they saw as potentially problematic issues arising from a song's lyrics and history. P6 described this view succinctly.

Nếu mà nhạc từ Việt Nam mà bây giờ người ta hát, mà không đụng chạm chính sách chủ nghĩa không ca tụng bác đảng gì hết. Chỉ có tình cảm. Nhưng mà tôi nói lựa từng bài, không phải bài nào cũng hát...
[(I will include it) If it's music from Vietnam which people now sing, if it doesn't touch on policies, Communism or praising Uncle (Ho) and the Party. Just about love. But I will have to hand-pick each song, not every song (will be) allowed...]

In many ways the ideological divide and historical circumstances which were the foundation of the Vietnamese diaspora in Melbourne (Carruthers, 2001; 2002) still exists, and the distinction that these three participants made between what they perceived as the culture of "communism and praising Uncle Ho" and something more acceptable was a theme which seemed to guide all participants' entry into the radio scenario.

In terms of music choices, many participants both young and old indicated that including "Western music" was acceptable. P2 and P4 believed that playing Western music would attract younger listeners to the program but P10 was more qualified, stating that he would only broadcast "Western music" translated into Vietnamese and performed by singers in the Vietnamese community. There was also an interest in maintaining culture through the inclusion of traditional Vietnamese music despite differences in opinions relating to its relevance to the current cultural formation of the community. While "folk songs" seemed to be acceptable, older styles of music like *cải lương* were considered outmoded and irrelevant. Almost half the participants, both old and young, stated that they would not broadcast this genre of music, a traditional musical style similar to that of opera singing. P1 and P2, both educated and single females, emphasized that young people would not like it.

The strongly held views around music selections seemed to have embedded in them a number of recurrent motifs. The themes of old versus new music, or traditional versus modern music were inevitably connected to questions of identity and community. For P1, there was a need to move communal identity into the present and look to the future, and any radio programming which inevitably includes music must take this into account in terms of audience appeal.

...I think [*cải lương*] is old-fashioned in the way that it's holding onto a part of being Vietnamese that I don't think a lot of young people will really appreciate or acknowledge.

P8, a young single male offered a slightly different understanding of the place of music in the community. He too stated a preference for contemporary Vietnamese music in his imaginary radio program, however, he only wanted to use music composed prior to the 1990s. As he put it, recently produced music lacked an essential "Vietnameseness": "It's like they try the idea, the tune, and everything they get from *ngoại quốc* (foreigners). I don't really enjoy that." This raises another central concern circulating in all radio scenario discussion, but captured succinctly in the views about musical selection – the constitution of a current view of "Vietnameseness" and how this should be represented to the Vietnamese community in Melbourne. While music like *cải lương* is considered authentic, it is classified as outdated, but a complete adaptation of "foreign" style music is viewed as not Vietnamese enough. Participant discussion appears to reject contemporary trends and styles when these are perceived to overshadow core identity markers, but at the same time there is also a rejection of communal nostalgia for some lost past, idealized as authentic but not grounded enough in the concrete realities of the present. Thus, it seems that there must be a balance between the here and now which reflects the current sense of cultural identity of the Vietnamese people in Melbourne and the authenticity/uniqueness that is considered essential for being Vietnamese. It is this balance, participants indicate, which is difficult, if not impossible to achieve.

One way by which the past and the present was brought together in the proposed radio program, in order to both discover and assert cultural heritage and contemporary identity, was through the development of special radio program content. Most of the young, as well as a few of the older participants indicated that they wanted a segment devoted to "Vietnamese history". P7, a young male student, reported that this sort of content was necessary because "most of us lack Vietnamese history so it would be crucial to have it" and P9 felt that "a lot of young people would be interested in that". In this special segment, participants said they would include both remote and contemporary Vietnamese history as well as cultural and contextual details which would give more insight into the consciousness of the "Vietnamese people". It appears that for these participants, self-perceived identity cannot be maintained and developed

purely on first-hand experience of Vietnamese culture, customs and traditions or through an internal process of affiliation alone, but requires a broader, more comprehensive understanding and knowledge of the country and people. Here, in this history segment, participants said they would allow discussions of political ideas and events to provide insight into why and how the Vietnamese diaspora had come to be, which in turn would inform younger people of why they were residing in Australia. Once again, the underlying framework of the history segment in the radio scenario seemed to be directed, primarily towards an affirmation of exile identity and an anti-communist stance.

This same sensibility was played out when news for the imaginary program was discussed. Almost all participants suggested a "news segment" for their imaginary program and many, especially the young participants indicated that it was necessary to include a substantial amount of news on Vietnam. P2, a young female student stated that her program would be structured "especially [around] Vietnamese [news] because we want young people to know more about our country".

There were mainly two ways in which the participants categorized the news. One pattern was to divide news into what were referred to as "world news" and "Vietnamese news", where the notion of world news incorporated reports from both international and Australian sources. The other categorisation divided news into "international" and "Australian" where international referred to reportage external to Australia, including news on Vietnam, while Australian news referred to any coverage "internal" to Australia.

These methods of categorization are significant because they seem to reflect an underlying identification and affiliation process. From the way a participant categorizes the news, some insight can be derived into how identity can be translated into radio program content. With the first categorization system, it appears that participants position themselves in an affiliative line with Vietnam, where identity is an imagined extension of Vietnam situated among the wider multitude of nation states. In the latter, identity is constructed within an Australian context looking out to the rest of the world. Categorizing news and naming its location transnationally appears to

give expression to a complex and multilayered conceptualization of Vietnamese identity, affiliation and cultural position.

Besides, news, participants also suggested a number of lifestyle and special feature segments for their imagined program with a focus on community based information provision. Literature, sport, science, finance, health, and environment were all discussed as content possibilities worthy of special attention in the program. For example, for P8, a young male, a proposed segment on sport was driven by his belief that "...people, especially the older people [have] to have something to do...they don't seem to be going out that much..." P2, a young female student, decided on a feature segment on fashion in order to allow her radio program to aim "towards younger audience's interest". Special feature segments seemed to be related to the participants own personal interest and how these could connect to a selected demographic of potential listeners within the community.

Nearly all participants stated that "dissemination of information" to the Vietnamese community would be a key function for their proposed radio program. For some, this was a given, for they viewed the delivery of information as the core business of all radio programs and media. Importantly, participants saw the aim of their programs as providing this information in Vietnamese to Vietnamese people in Melbourne, especially those who normally, because of language barriers, have less access to news and information. P3 explained that her program would be a way of

...duy trì tiếng Việt trên đất Úc [và] đưa thông tin đến cho những người mà họ không thể nào tìm được những cái thông tin ở những cái phương tiện khác...

[...maintaining Vietnamese in Australia (and) disseminating information to those who do not have the means to access information in other sources...]

Here the problem of language barriers and access to information surfaces with clarity – radio can provide solutions to these problems. But what is also found in these comments is the way participants perceive an active role for radio in supporting the maintenance of the language and Vietnamese culture within a specific community in Melbourne. As P6 pointed out in the rationale for her imaginary program,

Cái mục đích khi hình thành cái chương trình phát thanh với cái chủ trương dùng một trăm phần trăm tiếng Việt, là không phải phục vụ cho những người không biết nói tiếng Anh mà thôi, mà là để dùng chương trình phát thanh này để mà duy trì cái tiếng Việt, tiếp nối ở trong thế hệ sau...

[The purpose of developing this program, with the view of using one hundred percent Vietnamese, is not only to cater for those who do not speak English, but the program is used to maintain Vietnamese for the continuity of future generations...]

Connection to homeland

Most participants thought, what many referred to as "older people", were more likely to be the most regular listeners to a Vietnamese language radio program. However, a number argued that there was a critical need to aim broadcasts at a younger audience. All participants seemed to be fully aware of the vast array of media choices available to a potential younger listenership, which they acknowledged would make the success of a community based program much more difficult (see also Shane 2002). P1, a young female viewed her imaginary program as a way "to reach out to the youth of today...to discuss issues that were truly important and that would matter to them and [as a way of] getting them to speak up". P2, an accounting student saw her program as an opportunity "to attract young people...so they wouldn't lose their culture...because some are born here and some came here young [so] they don't know about the Vietnamese culture." Similarly, P7 a young male student saw his imaginary radio program as the way "to get more of the younger generation to listen to radio and learning about Vietnam and getting to know what is going on, with our country and the Vietnamese community in general."

In keeping with an approach to develop a relationship with a particular type of listenership, suggested program titles tended to put the emphasis either on the contemporary community or a particular section of that community. In general, most participants suggested names that related to a connection with homeland, Vietnamese people or the Vietnamese community in Melbourne. "The Vietnamese of today" was P10's suggestion. P5, a house wife suggested "Vietnamese program" to highlight the nature and focus of her imaginary program which was to "service Vietnamese people in Melbourne". For P2, whose target listenership was a younger aged group, "VAYG radio" (Vietnamese Australian Youth Generation Radio) seemed most appropriate.

Wanting to "personalize" his program, making the appeal a direct one, as if the broadcast was "the extension of a conversation", P9 called his show "You and Me". P4, a middle aged mother, wanted to highlight the connectedness to homeland in the title "The Vietnamese program – voice of homeland". She felt that such a title would attract listeners as it would stir yearnings and sentiments shared by most Vietnamese living as refugees in Melbourne.

This theme of connectivity to homeland emerged not only in the titling of the program, but also in the discussion of program theme songs and use of available broadcasting materials from other Vietnamese language content providers. Thus, in their discussion of a theme song for the program, participants opted for Vietnamese songs or music that had cultural significance with strong emphasis on cultural representation and an asserted connection to homeland or origin. Some participants suggested well known songs about the longing for homeland while others wanted folk songs or music that would allude to the idea of ties to homeland. P2, explained that it was necessary to have "something about Vietnam, my homeland..." in order to make the program more meaningful and appealing to an audience due to a similar background. A common experience of yearning for homeland, believed to be shared by the majority of Vietnamese living in Melbourne, was expressed most forcefully by some older participants. For example, P4, a middle aged mother explained that:

Là một người xa xứ, chỉ nghĩ khi mình sống ở đây, tuy rằng là mình đầy đủ vật chất, đầy đủ tiền bạc nhưng mà cái phần thiếu thốn của mình vẫn là cái gốc...cho nên chỉ nghĩ rất là nhiều người đều nghĩ về quê hương, đều muốn tìm kiếm về nguồn gốc...đó là sự con người không bao giờ dứt bỏ được, không thể không nghĩ đến quê hương của mình được.

[Being a person living here, away from home, even though we are materialistically fulfilled, have money, however what is missing is our root... therefore I think a lot of people think about homeland; they want to find their roots... something that people can not rid themselves of; they cannot, not think of homeland.]

This relationship between "the here" and "the there" was conceived in various ways. Younger participants felt that the key issue for their generation was to explore their cultural identity by discovering "their roots". To do this, it was crucial that they have some understanding about Vietnamese culture, history and homeland. Radio programs would require the inclusion of special segments on Vietnamese history, even providing an opportunity to broadcast material produced from the homeland if it was appropriate.

PI, young single female, explained that "if I had access to materials from Vietnam, I wouldn't mind airing it...mainly because my knowledge of what is happening in Vietnam is zilch." This material, for PI, would include regular news updates about what was happening on a day to day basis. For P2, an accounting student, having access to news about the daily round of events and activities in Vietnam would give young people in Melbourne what she called "the home feeling". In these instances, the connection with homeland for these younger participants is more than just knowledge and understanding about homeland but having access to some kind of direct temporal link with events and people "there".

At the same time, these same younger participants also pointed to reservations about broadcasting materials produced by state-run radio stations in Vietnam. Participants were wary of broadcasting what one described as "propaganda for the communist regime". Some indicated they would air some news material but it would have to go through a "strict screening process" (P7, a young male student). P9, a young male proposed broadcasting

relevant materials [interesting and beneficial to people in Melbourne] to show the communists that [although] we are anti-communist [we include this content because]...we believe what is right, not because we oppose you.

However, older participants like P6, P10 and P11 reject completely any move to broadcast any material produced by state-run radio stations in Vietnam. P11 explained his decision by saying that he was "anti-communist" and "our stance is different". P6, a mature female, was much more adamant about media in Vietnam being a "vehicle for propaganda" and that by broadcasting such material "we transport the community back to Saigon [under the regime]."

It appears that the relationship with homeland as it might be represented in a community radio program is a mixture of the desire to remain attuned and involved in what is happening at "home", maintaining knowledge about developments culturally and politically linked to Vietnam, and the need to be vigilant about this connection as it could be interpreted as giving the communist government too much ideological latitude within the local community. Thus, we see conflicting opinions and choices about the program content in relation to homeland. Most participants generally

expressed acceptance of some cultural input from Vietnam such as music, as long as it was seen as not undermining community antipathy towards the Vietnamese government. As P9, a young male, stated "I don't think [music from Vietnam] has a political message" and his inclination was to allow this music into his imagined program. For other kinds of media output from Vietnam however, participants were less accommodating. P9 made it very clear that whatever kind of content was planned for his program, it would have to be based on the recognition that "the fight with communism is still ongoing". In some cases, it appears that Vietnamese language community radio demands the articulation of one's political stance in reference to homeland history, and the avoidance of any actions that would be interpreted as submission to or acceptance of the regime, even on a superficial level. Most participants, however, claimed to prefer remaining impartial, to have their program take a more "neutral political point of view". P7, a male student, for example said he would take his cues for content from "people in the Vietnamese community" and allow members of the community to "voice their opinions, whether it is for or against the Vietnamese government". Nevertheless, for P7, this liberalized view did not extend as far as allowing broadcast material from Vietnam unproblematic inclusion.

The open-ended style of discussion used with participants as they decided their radio program scenario unexpectedly revealed how certain rhetoric was at play, especially in relation to homeland. Participants repeatedly employed such phrases as "struggle against communism", "the struggle", "freedom" and "democracy advocacy" interchangeably. For most participants, being anti-communist seemed to be the same as being pro-democracy. From this, it might be argued that the once narrow anti-communist stance of the community has now broadened to encompass more universal values such as human rights, freedom and democracy. P10, a young married male, alluded to this idea by indicating that the reason he would not allow the broadcast of materials from Vietnam on his program was because his imagined program only supported "democracy and diversity" which is in conflict with "terrorist" and "oppressive" views. In other words, for this participant, being opposed to the government in Vietnam is not simply to be in a "struggle against communism", but to be an advocate of a more positive set of values. By placing this revisionist anti-communism within a broader, ideological framework which includes what are perceived to be some of the long standing values of western culture – diversity and

democracy – participants are able to gain a different kind of legitimacy, one which can maintain an anti-communism but also re-articulate a refugee identity that has a more universalised context. This refugee identity seems to assume ties between Vietnamese living in Melbourne and other parts of the world, who share similar experiences of immigration and hold a similar political outlook. This may explain why on various occasions, participants used the phrase "người Việt hải ngoại", which translates to "Vietnamese people outside the country", interchangeably with the Vietnamese community in Melbourne/Australia.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

The present study aimed to explore the changing role of what has been termed "ethnic minority media" (Riggins, 1992), in particular, Vietnamese language radio programming in Melbourne Australia. Increasingly, new knowledge and understanding of social change have been formulated around the connections between culture, identity and forms of communication, especially media communication (Clement *et al*, 2005; Waisbord, 1998). The migration from Vietnam to Australia has occurred in a rather concentrated manner and the Vietnamese community has developed over a relatively short time span, between mid 1970s to late 1990s. This historical circumstance provides an interesting platform for the exploration of whether after "thirty years of settlement" has there been cultural shift and altered outlook within the community and how these changes might be aligned and played out in a minority mediascape. Although the project presented here is no more than a pilot study with findings that cannot be generalized or provide enough empirical data for detecting broader substantive trends, it has been able to map currently available Vietnamese language radio programs in Melbourne and provide an indicative profile of media preferences and use within the Vietnamese community in Melbourne. It was also able to initiate a preliminary exploration of questions related to cultural identity, community connectivity and perceptions of homeland, and how, in the future, these might be expressed and practiced within the mediated spaces of community radio. The study was carried out in three stages. The first obtained a general picture of the media consumption of Vietnamese-Australians living in Melbourne; the second compiled a "map" of all available Vietnamese language radio programming on community based radio; and the final stage, forming the major part of the study, consisted of in-depth discussions based on an imaginary scenario where members of the community were given the opportunity to "role-play" a radio producer in order to create their version of a Vietnamese language program for a community based listenership. Participants were given freedom to develop their imaginary program in whichever way they desired. Regardless of the type of radio programs that were eventually proposed in individual participant scenarios, several key themes seemed to circulate as critical factors giving shape to these programs. These "frameworks of understanding" – sometimes explicitly noted by participants, sometimes embedded more opaquely in specific comments or examples – might be argued, will be highly significant for the planning and

construction of any Vietnamese community radio programming in the future. The emergent themes can be summarized as follows:

1. Radio has a special place within the Vietnamese community in Melbourne: it is a much preferred and frequently used form of electronic communication media outranking other available media. Participants in this study noted that Vietnamese language radio programs were popular because of familiarity, user friendliness and easy access. They served as an alternative to Vietnamese newspapers for young people who, due language barriers, did not read on a regular basis. Radio also suited older people who were not familiar with using new communication technology like the internet. The centrality of radio may relate to the limited availability of local Vietnamese television, but currently, it was radio that participants defined as complementing and supplementing both mainstream media and existing Vietnamese media in Melbourne.

The special significance of radio for the community highlights with great clarity the uneven spread of access to Vietnamese language programming in Melbourne, an issue which inevitably will have to be confronted by the community. The survey of radio resources in Melbourne showed that the handful of community radio stations broadcasting Vietnamese language programs left out the Eastern suburbs despite the City of Greater Dandenong having the second largest population of Vietnamese residents in Victoria. If Vietnamese language programming on SBS radio is excluded, those living in this area would only be accessing two hours of free-to-air Vietnamese language radio programming per week.

2. There was considerable evidence of generational differences within the Vietnamese community in Melbourne – opinions about and strategies for an imagined program tended to split along age based lines. These differences appeared to shape how the audience and appropriate types of programming were conceptualized. Younger participants showed special enthusiasm for including various program segments that they believed would attract young listeners. The view expressed here seemed to suggest that radio, and in fact, Vietnamese media in general, had to make efforts to bring culture and history

to a different cohort of media consumers. One distinct way to do this, in the radio scenarios proposed by the younger participants was to include regular content about the homeland, with both a contemporary and historical focus. This priority meant allowing selective broadcast materials from Vietnam to be included in the imagined program. This approach differed markedly from that taken by the older participants. Given the demographic shift of any migrant community, the ageing and ultimate disappearance of the "founding" generation, and the succession of a second and even third generation of descendants, the perceived role of community media inevitably changes. None of the participants was unaware of these kinds of changes, but their response to them was highlighted most profoundly around the discussion of the inclusion or exclusion of broadcast material from Vietnam.

3. The changing relationship with the homeland captured in the scenarios was not only generational, but was also marked by what appeared to be a changing dynamic with respect to the "host country" as well. There were no generational differences expressed around certain cultural priorities. A strong need to remain connected with homeland was constructed in the imagined programs through the conscious choice to use Vietnamese music, homeland related titles and theme songs. At the same time however, scenarios revealed a trend towards hybridization, where identity as articulated in the imagined program tended to be both "of Vietnam" and "of Australia", sometimes swinging from one pole to the other, and sometimes hovering precariously "in between". Content selection was weighed against cultural markers signifying "Vietnameseness" and questions about adhering to "authentic" Vietnamese traditions and customs or adopting a more westernized Australian outlook. This tension was recognized by all participants and all tended to see their proposed radio program as a way by which this tension could be worked through at a community level.
4. Music can be highly symbolic. Discussions of the imagined community based radio program revealed just how much meaning can be invested in music. All participants had strong opinions about what sorts of music their programs would be using and why. It became apparent that musical selection was tied

closely with issues of identity, community and belonging – the placement of "traditional" music, the use of contemporary music made in Vietnam, the connection between Vietnamese music and western stylization were all part of a debate about Vietnamese culture and "modern life", in Australia and in Vietnam itself. The cultural power of music, often overlooked in studies of community media, even community radio, was clearly an issue to be confronted in radio scenarios.

5. When given responsibilities in an imaginary scenario for thinking about and putting in place community based media, participants, in their responses, tended to define their work as not only focusing on the creation of a particular radio program but on maintaining a kind of "guardianship" under which the Vietnamese community would derive "protection" from undue and unacceptable influences, especially as this would be manifest in the realm of politics. Perhaps this tendency is inevitable if one is offered the opportunity to shape community communication. However, given that the focus of the exercise was on developing a form of community media, it may be important in any future planning and building of community radio, to be aware of how "the burden of representation" (See Cottle, 1997) can become the assertion of control, and work against one of the founding principles of community media – to offer the possibility for a range of voices a platform for public "speech" (Howley, 2005). Despite a propensity to render the notion of "the community" as a unity, all communities are vessels of diversity. Even within an identified and identifiable ethnic community with a common language, there is a range of competing and also complementary views that need to be acknowledged if the "charter" of a genuine community based media is to be upheld.

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Appendix 1

Vietnamese language Programming on SBS Radio (1224 AM)

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
9:00 – 10:00 AM Sydney Team	9:00 – 10:00 AM Melbourne Team	9:00 – 10:00 AM Sydney Team	9:00 – 10:00 AM Sydney team	9:00 – 10:00 AM Melbourne Team	9:00 – 10:00 AM Melbourne Team	9:00 – 10:00 AM Sydney Team
9:00 – 9:15 News 9:17 – 9:35 Whole family in the kitchen 9:35 – 9:58 Story-telling	9:00 – 9:20 News 9:23 – 9:43 World Around 9:43 – Special program for Valentine – Emotional Intelligence	9:00 – 9:15 News 9:15 – 9:20 Commentary on current affairs 9:25 – 9:35 The World Now and Then 9:35 – 10:00 Activities within the Vietnamese Community	9:00 – 9:22 News 9:22 – 9:26 Papers review 9:28 – 9:44 Economics and Housing 9:44 – 10:00 Whole family in the kitchen	9:00 – 9:15 News 9:17 – 9:25 interviews 9:25 – 9:37 Current Affairs (extract from Free Asia) 9:37 – 9:46 Australia/Vietnam current affairs 9:46 – 10:00 special report on Tsunami	9:00 – 9:16 News 9:21 – 9:42 Interviews and current affair (extract from Free Asia) 9:42 – 10:00 Community Health	9:00 – 9:15 News 9:15 – 9:18 Papers review 9:18 – 9:40 Voices of Australia 9:44 – 10:00 Stories
19:00 – 20:00 AM Melbourne Team	19:00 – 20:00 AM Sydney Team	19:00 – 20:00 AM Melbourne Team	19:00 – 20:00 AM Sydney Team	19:00 – 20:00 AM Melbourne Team	19:00 – 20:00 AM Sydney Team	19:00 – 20:00 AM Melbourne Team
19:00 – 19:20 News 9:21 – 9:29 Special program on Thi Can 19:29 – 19:39 Special program on youth talents 19:39 – 20:00 Arts and Entertainment	19:00 – 19:20 News 19:20 – 19:23 Papers review 19:23 – 19:32 Has health has gold 19:32 – 20:00 Vietnamese People All Around	19:00 – 19:15 News 19:15 – 19:20 Special report on Tet 19:20 – 19:35 Commentary on current affairs 19:35 – 19:57 Tales from Homeland	19:00 – 19:15 News 19:15 – 19:35 Science 19:35 – 20:00 Children's stories	19:00 – 19:15 News 19:15 – 19:20 Public announcements/ads 19:20 – 19:35 Education 19:35 – 19:55 Health	19:00 – 19:20 News 19:22 – 19:35 News in the Week – World and Aust 19:35 – 20:00 Taxation – talk-back radio	19:00 – 19:16 News 19:19 – 19:33 World Events in 7 days 19:33 – 19:57 Poetry and music

Appendix 2

Vietnamese Language Programming on WRB (97.4 FM)

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	6:00 – 8:00 AM	6:00 – 8:00 AM	6:00 – 8:00 AM	6:00 – 8:00 AM	6:00 – 8:00 AM	
	6:00 – 7:15 Selected Music 7:15 – 7:25 Around the World (extract from Radio Australia) 7:30 – 7:45 News 7:45 – 8:00 Music	6:00 – 7:15 Selected Music 7:15 – 7:25 Sports (extract from Radio Australia) 7:30 – 7:45 News 7:45 – 8:00 Music	6:00 – 7:15 Selected Music 7:15 – 7:25 Australia and Australians (extract from Radio Australia) 7:30 – 7:45 News 7:45 – 8:00 Music	6:00 – 7:15 Selected Music 7:15 – 7:25 Science (extract from Radio Australia) 7:30 – 7:45 News 7:45 – 8:00 Music	6:00 – 7:15 Selected Music 7:15 – 7:25 Health (extract from Radio Australia) 7:30 – 7:45 News 7:45 – 8:00 Music	
20:00 – 0:00 PM	20:00 – 22:00 PM	20:00 – 22:00 PM	20:00 – 22:00 PM	20:00 – 22:00 PM	20:00 – 22:00 PM	
20:00 – 20:30 Selected Music 20:30 – 20:45 News 20:45 – 21:15 Music 21:15 – 21:25 Around the World (extract from Radio Australia) 21:30 – 22:00 Popular Western Music 22:00 – 22:23 Music 22:23 – 22:56 Story-telling 22:56 – 0:00 Vietnamese folklores (traditional music)	20:00 – 20:30 Selected Music 20:30 – 20:45 News 20:45 – 21:15 Music 21:15 – 21:25 Commentary on current affair 21:30 – 21:45 Poetry and Music 21:45 – 22:00 Music	20:00 – 20:30 Selected Music 20:30 – 20:45 News 20:45 – 21:10 Music 21:10 – 21:22 Australia and Australians (extract from Radio Australia) 21:25 – 21:35 Drama/Comedy 21:33 – 22:00 Music	20:00 – 20:30 Selected Music 20:30 – 20:45 News 20:45 – 21:10 Music 21:10 – 21:45 Now and Then 21:45 – 22:00 Music	20:00 – 20:30 Selected Music 20:30 – 20:45 News 20:45 – 21:12 Music 21:12 – 21:20 Commentary on current affair 21:20 – 22:00 Music	20:00 – 20:30 Selected Music 20:30 – 20:45 News 20:45 – 21:15 Music 21:15 – 22:00 History	

Appendix 3

Community Radio Stations with Programs in Vietnamese			
Stations	Day of Week	Times	
ZZZ	Tuesday	10 – 11 AM	
SER	Friday	8 – 10 PM	
WRB	Monday	6 – 8 AM	8 – 10 PM
	Tuesday	6 – 8 AM	8 – 10 PM
	Wednesday	6 – 8 AM	8 – 10 PM
	Thursday	6 – 8 AM	8 – 10 PM
	Friday	6 – 8 AM	8 – 10 PM
	Sunday		
WYN	Wednesday	8 – 12 midnight	
	Thursday	12 – 3 PM	
	Sunday	5 – 8 PM	
CR	Monday	10 – 11 PM	
	Tuesday	10 – 11 PM	
	Thursday	10 – 11 PM	
	Friday	10 – 12 midnight	

Appendix 4

Future Directions for Vietnamese Language Radio in Melbourne: A Community's Perspective.

School of Communication,
Faculty of Arts, Education and Human Development, Victoria University

Hi, my name is Hang Nguyen. I am working with Victoria University on a study about community media, looking at radio specifically in the Vietnamese community. Do you mind answering this very short questionnaire about your media use? It would only take a few minutes.

Age: 18-25 26-35 36-45 46-55 56-65 66+ Gender: _____
Marital Status: _____ No of people in household: _____ Their ages: _____

Education (degree/highest educational level): _____

Current occupation (work): _____

What suburb do you live in: _____ Are there many Vietnamese living there: yes no

Year left Vietnam (if applicable): _____ Year of arrival in Australia (if applicable): _____

Reason leaving Vietnam (Vietnam-born only):

Refugee migration study in Australia work in Australia Visit Australia
 family reunion other: _____

Australia-born: yes no Permanent resident: yes no

List the languages you are fluent in: _____ Language spoken at home: _____

How do you rate your Vietnamese:

	Not very good	Adequate	Good	Very good
Spoken				
Written				

How do you rate your English:

	Not very good	Adequate	Good	Very good
Spoken				
Written				

What are your preferred media for news and information (o.k. to choose more than one):

TV Newspaper Internet Magazines Radio
 People Other _____

What sorts of news and/or information normally interest you (o.k. to choose more than one):

world national local news on Vietnam economic/politics
 sports health celebrities other _____

Please indicate the newspapers/magazines you read on a regular basis (if any or more than one):

Herald Sun The Age The Australian Viet Luan Nhan Quyen
 Thoi Bao Saigon Times TV Tuan San TV Victoria other _____

Do you prefer:

Vietnamese media English both other _____
Why? _____

Which of the currently available electronic Vietnamese language media do you prefer: (o.k. to choose more than one)

() Television (VNTV) () Radio () Satellite TV () online media, specify _____
 () other _____

Given a choice, which Vietnamese language media would you like to have more of:

() local television () local radio () Satellite TV () online media, specify _____
 () international radio () other _____

In general, how often do you read/access/listen/watch Vietnamese language:

	Never	rarely	sometimes	frequently	Specify if frequent
books					
Online information					
music					
Web streaming					
DVD					

Do you ever communicate with Vietnamese friends, family or others in Vietnam by:

	Never	rarely	sometimes	frequently	Specify city if frequent
Phone/fax					
email					
Online forums					
Online chat rooms					
Web instant message					

Do you ever communicate with Vietnamese friends, family or other people from the Vietnamese community in other parts of the worlds by:

	Never	rarely	sometimes	frequently	Specify city if frequent
Phone/fax					
email					
Online forums					
Online chat rooms					
Web instant message					

Have you ever listened to any of these Vietnamese radio programs/station:

() 97.4 FM (Tuong Dinh) () SBS Radio () 889 AM (Chi Thuong) () 885 AM (Vien Xu)
 () 2VNR (pay radio) () 3 ZZZ (Hoi Tuong Phu Nu Uc-Viet) () other _____

Which Vietnamese radio program/station do you listen to the most? Why

What two things do you think would improve Vietnamese language radio programs?

- i. _____
- ii. _____

Your opinion is really valuable for this research. We are looking to get more in-depth views about Vietnamese radio in Melbourne and what changes the community think are necessary to make it better. Your input would be valuable for program managers to help them tailor their programs to the needs of the community.

Appendix 5

Future Directions for Vietnamese Language Radio in Melbourne: A Community's Perspective.

School of Communication, Culture and Language
Faculty of Arts, Education and Human Development, Victoria University

Thank you for participating in this part of the research project conducted by Victoria University exploring the role and impact of Vietnamese language radio in Melbourne. Please read the below scenario before our meeting. Think about your answers to the questions. When we meet, I'd like to talk to you about your views. There are no right or wrong answers. All of your views on all these issues are important for the study. Your input is important for planning the future of Vietnamese language radio for our community.

I would like to record our discussion. The reason for this is so that your comments will be accurately reported. All answers will be strictly confidential. No names or any other personal identification will appear in the study. When the study is completed, I will notify you and you can read it.

If you need help in understanding any of the questions or issues below, please let me know before our meeting on 0433 810 638 or 8390 2012.

Imagine you are the program manager for a Vietnamese language program to be broadcast on a community based radio station. You have been given 3 hour a day block each week. You have the job of deciding what type of program it will be. You have the final decision on who will be selected to work on this program. You also have the final say on all the material selected for broadcasting during the program. The following questions aim at working through what decisions you will make regarding the broadcasting of this Vietnamese language radio program and why.

The Program:

1. What kind of a program would you like? What are the features of your program and how would you put the program together? In other words, what sorts of content material would you include in your program and how would you organize this material over the 3 hour block. Use board to show how the 3 hours would be filled with broadcast material.
What is the purpose/aim of the program? Why?
2. Why have you chosen this type of format for the program?
3. Which parts of the program would you classify as essential? Why?
4. Which parts of the program do you think would be most interesting for listeners? Why?
5. Which parts of the program would you classify as extras, to add variety to your program?
6. Who would be your listeners and why?
7. Would the program be 100% in Vietnamese, 100% English or mixed (if mixed at what percentage)? Why?
8. Would you name your program? If yes, what name would you give to your program? Why?

9. Does your program have a theme song (music that would introduce the program each week)? If yes, what would it be?
10. If your program includes music, is there a particular style or type of music you would be using during the 3 hours of your program? Why? Is there particular type of music or music of certain origins you would not use? Why?
11. Is there a particular accent (voice of particular region of Vietnam) you would prefer your presenters to be using? Why?
12. Would you allow members of the community to be involved in your program? If yes, in what ways?
13. What is your policy on listener's feedback?
14. How would you encourage the younger generation either to be involved in the program or to listen to the program?
15. Would the question of gender balance be an issue for your program policy? Would it be important for your program to have equal numbers of males and females contributing to making the program, or presenting/announcing each week, or in the choices of music (male singers and female singers)?

Local radio with international content:

1. What local political points of view from the local Vietnamese community would you allow to be expressed or be given air-time on your program (if any)?
2. If you have access to broadcasting material from Vietnamese radio stations in Vietnam would you air these materials? Why or why not? If yes, what sorts of material would you air, what sorts would you not?
3. If you have access to broadcasting material from international Vietnamese programs such as BBC, RFA, VOA would you broadcast these materials? Why or why not? If yes, what sorts of material would you broadcast, what sorts would you not?

Radio as a medium:

1. How would your program be different or similar to existing Vietnamese radio programs?
2. What would be the advantages of your radio program over other available Vietnamese media such as newspaper, internet, satellite TV?

Vietnamese Community:

1. How would you describe the Vietnamese community in Melbourne to someone who doesn't live in Australia?
2. Which parts of the general Vietnamese community do you think would be least supportive of your program? Why?
3. Would contact or dialogue with groups within the general Vietnamese community around Victoria or Australia be useful for your program? In what ways?
4. Imagine that you had to review the content of your program every 2 years. What would be the key factors/issues you would base your review on (remember you are only reviewing the content only, not the management or presenters of the program)? Please list these factors/issues.

Thank you for your help with this Project

Hang Nguyen

Appendix 6

Table 1: Social demographic details of survey participants

Age range	Gender	Marital status				Household type		Level of education			General types of Occupation				
		Married	Single	Widow	Other	Lives alone	Lives with family	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Unemployed	Unskilled	Skilled	Professional	Student
18-25	Male (3)		3				3			3				1	2
	Female (5)	1	4			1	4		1	4		1		2	2
26-35	Male (6)	3	3			1	5		1	5		1		3	2
	Female (3)		3				3			3			1	1	1
36-45	Male (1)	1					1			1			1		
	Female (1)	1					1		1			1			
46-55	Male (3)	2	1				3	1	1	1	1	1		1	
	Female (2)	2					2	1	1		2				
56-65	Male (2)	2					2			2			1	1	
	Female (3)	2		1		1	2	1	1	1	1		2		
66+	Male (1)	1					1	1			1				
	Female (1)	1					1		1		1				
total	N = 31	16	14	1	0	3	28	4	7	20	6	4	5	9	7

Appendix 6

Table 2a: Migration background of survey respondents (part 1)

Age range	Gender	Residential area			Year of arrival in Australia				Reason for coming to Australia						Language spoken at home		
		Western suburbs	Eastern and Northern suburbs	Area where few Viet. live	Born in Aust.	Arrived 1975-1985	Arrived 1986-1995	Arrived 1996-2006	Refugee	Migrant	Study	Visit	Work	Family re-union	Vietnamese	English	Other
18-25	Male (3)	3			1		2		1					1	3	2	
	Female (5)	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	1					3	5	3	
26-35	Male (6)	3	3	3		2	3	1	4					2	6	2	
	Female (3)	3				1		2	1				1	1	3		
36-45	Male (1)	1				1			1						1	1	
	Female (1)	1				1			1						1		
46-55	Male (3)		3	2		3			3						3		
	Female (2)	2				2			2						2		
56-65	Male (2)		2	2		2			2						2		
	Female (3)	1	2	1		1	2							3	2		1
66+	Male (1)	1		1			1							1	1		
	Female (1)		1				1							1	1		
Total	N = 31	19	12	10	2	14	10	5	16	0	0	0	1	14	19	8	2

Appendix 6

Table 2b: Migration background of survey respondents (part 2)

Age range	Gender	Language proficiency - Vietnamese						Language proficiency – English					
		Spoken			Written			Spoken			Written		
		Not well	adequate	good	Not well	adequate	good	Not well	adequate	good	Not well	adequate	good
18-25	Male (3)		3		1	2				3			3
	Female (5)		1	4	1	1	3		1	4		2	3
26-35	Male (6)			6		3	3		1	5		1	5
	Female (3)			3			3			3			3
36-45	Male (1)			1			1			1			1
	Female (1)			1			1		1			1	
46-55	Male (3)		1	2		1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Female (2)			2			2		2		1	1	
56-65	Male (2)			2			2			2			2
	Female (3)			3			3	1		2		1	2
66+	Male (1)			1			1	1			1		
	Female (1)			1			1	1			1		
Total	N = 31	0	5	26	2	7	22	4	6	21	4	7	20

Appendix 6

Table 2c: Migration background of survey respondents (part 3)

Age range	Gender	Communication with Vietnamese people in Vietnam									Communication with Vietnamese people in other parts of the world								
		Phone/fax			email			Other Internet platform			Phone/fax			email			other		
		Never Or rarely	Some-times	Often	Never Or rarely	Some-times	Often	Never Or rarely	Some-times	Often	Never Or rarely	Some-times	Often	Never Or rarely	Some-times	Often	Never Or rarely	Some-times	Often
18-25	Male (3)	2	1		3			3			2	1		3			3		
	Female (5)	2	1	2	4		1	4	1		4	1		3	1	1	5		
26-35	Male (6)	4	1	1	4	1	1	4	1	1	2	4		1	2	3	4	1	1
	Female (3)		2	1		2	1	2	1		2	1		1	2		3		
36-45	Male (1)		1			1		1			1			1			1		
	Female (1)		1			1		1					1	1			1		
46-55	Male (3)		2	1	3			3			1	2		2		1	3		
	Female (2)		1	1	1	1		2				1	1	2			2		
56-65	Male (2)		2		1		1	2				1	1			2	2		
	Female (3)	1	1	1	1	1	1	3				2	1	1	1	1	3		
60+	Male (1)		1		1			1				1		1			1		
	Female (1)		1		1			1				1		1			1		
Total	N = 31	9	15	7	19	7	5	27	3	1	12	15	4	17	6	8	29	1	1

Appendix 6

Table 3a: Media use of survey respondents (part 1)

Age range	Gender	Type of media						Language of media			Information preferences								
		TV	News-paper	Inter-net	Mag-azine	Radio	people	Viet-nameese	En-GLISH	Both	World news	National news	Local news	News about Vietnam	Economic / politics	Sports	Health	Celeb-rities	other
18-25	Male (3)	3	1	1	1	3			3		2	2	2	2	1	1	1		1
	Female (5)	3	2	3	1	3	3		1	4	5	3	1	3	1		4	3	
26-35	Male (6)	5	3	5	1	5		1	1	4	6	5	1	5	5	2	4		2
	Female (3)	3	1	2	2	3	2			3	3	2	3	3	1	1	3		1
36-45	Male (1)	1	1			1			1		1	1				1	1		
	Female (1)	1	1			1				1	1	1		1			1		
46-55	Male (3)	1	2			3	1	3			2	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	1
	Female (2)	2	2		1	2		2			2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2
56-65	Male (2)	1	1	2	1	1	1			2	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	
	Female (3)	3	3			2		1	1	1	3	2	2	2	1				1
66+	Male (1)	1	1		1	1		1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Female (1)		1			1		1			1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1
Total	N = 31	24	19	13	8	26	7	9	7	15	29	24	16	24	15	10	21	10	9

Appendix 6

Table 3b: Media use of survey respondents (part 2)

Age range	Gender	Preferences for currently available Vietnamese language media						Print media read on a regular basis			Media type that participant would like more of				
		TV	Radio	Satellite TV	Online media	Other	None	Vietnamese	English	None	Local TV	Local radio	Satellite TV	International radio	Online media
18-25	Male (3)		2				1	1	1	2	2	1			
	Female (5)	2	3	1	1			3	3	1	5	4	2	1	2
26-35	Male (6)	1	4		3		1	3	5		4	2	1	3	2
	Female (3)	1	3	1	1			2	2	1	3	2	2	1	1
36-45	Male (1)						1		1		1				
	Female (1)		1	1				1			1	1			
46-55	Male (3)		2					2	1		2	1	1	1	
	Female (2)	2	2	1				2	1		2	2		1	
56-65	Male (2)	1	1		1			1	2		2	1	1	1	1
	Female (3)							2	3						
60+	Male (1)		1					1			1		1	1	
	Female (1)	1	1					1			1	1	1	1	
Total	N = 31	8	20	4	6	0	3	19	19	4	24	15	9	10	6

Appendix 6

Table 3c: Media use of survey respondents (part 3)

Age range	Gender	Books			Online information			Music			Web streaming			DVD and Videos		
		Never Rarely	Some-times	often	Never Rarely	Some-times	often	Never Rarely	Some-times	often	Never Rarely	Some-times	often	Never Rarely	Some-times	often
18-25	Male (3)	3			3			2		1	3				3	
	Female (5)	2	3		3	2		1	2	3	5			2	1	2
26-35	Male (6)	4	1	1	1	2	3	2	4		5		1	1	4	1
	Female (3)		2	1	1		2		1	2	3			1	2	
36-45	Male (1)	1			1			1			1			1		
	Female (1)			1	1			1			1			1		
46-55	Male (3)	3			2		1		2	1	3			1	2	
	Female (2)			2	2					2	2					2
56-65	Male (2)	1	1		1		1	1	1		2				1	1
	Female (3)	1		2	3					3	3			1	1	1
60+	Male (1)	1			1					1	1			1		
	Female (1)			1	1					1	1					1
Total	N =31	16	7	8	20	4	7	8	10	14	30	0	1	9	14	8

Appendix 6

Table 3d: Media use of survey respondents (part 4)

Age range	Gender	Vietnamese language radio programs have listened to						Vietnamese language radio programs most listened to					
		SBS	3CR	3WYN	3WRB	3ZZZ	2VNR	SBS	3CR	3WYN	3WRB	3ZZZ	2VNR
18-25	Male (3)	3	1		3		2	2			2		
	Female (5)	5	2		4			2			3		
26-35	Male (6)	5	1	1	4			3			2		
	Female (3)	2			3			1			1		
36-45	Male (1)												
	Female (1)	1	1	1	1			1					
46-55	Male (3)	3		1			1	3			1		1
	Female (2)	2	1	2	2	1		2			1		
56-65	Male (2)	2		1	1		1	2					
	Female (3)	2					1	2					
60+	Male (1)	1		1	1		1	1			1		1
	Female (1)	1					1	1					
Total	N = 31	27	6	7	19	1	7	20	0	0	11	0	2