

新聞媒體在社會運動中的 公眾屏幕功能和影響： 香港雨傘運動之「暗角事件」個案分析

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摘要

本文建構「局部審查下的公眾屏幕」(partially censored public monitor) 這概念，來概括及理解主流新聞媒體在大型社會運動發生時的功能和影響。主流媒體一方面深嵌在政治經濟結構中，是當權者進行社會控制的工具。在香港，回歸後的新聞媒體更出現頗為嚴重的自我審查問題。但另一方面，媒體系統內部的多元性和新聞工作者的專業理念等因素，使媒體仍然在一定程度上承擔著資訊傳播和監察社會的功能，而大型社會運動發生時，通過傳送一些震撼人心的影像，傳媒更可能引發民眾參與到運動中。因此，傳媒在社會運動發生時的角色和影響是複雜和矛盾的。本文以雨傘運動中一次警察毆打示威者的醜聞為個案。分析顯示，事件在電視台率先報導，相關資訊再從互聯網等渠道擴散後，香港市民對警察的信任度即時下降，這體現了傳媒的

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公眾屏幕功能。但同時，不少主流媒體有淡化事件的傾向，而日常使用主流新聞媒體頻率越高的市民，對警察的信任度亦較高，這些發現則展現了香港傳媒的局部審查狀態。總的來說，本文說明了主流媒體的公眾屏幕功能如何能在局部審查的狀態中發揮作用。

關鍵詞：公眾屏幕、自我審查、社會運動、新聞媒體、雨傘運動

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News Media as the Public Monitor in a Large-scale Protest Campaign: The Case of Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement

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Abstract

This article articulates the notion of “partially censored public monitor” to explicate the role and influence of the mainstream news media during large-scale protest campaigns. The mainstream media are agents of social control. In Hong Kong, political transformation also led to the problem of media self-censorship. But on the other hand, factors such as the internal diversity of the media system and journalistic professionalism have stopped the media from becoming mere servants of the powerful. This article uses a notorious incident of police violence during the Umbrella Movement as a case study. The analysis shows that public trust in the police immediately declined after the news of the incident broke out. This illustrates the public monitor function of the media. But at the same time, many mainstream news media did try to undermine the significance of the incident, and there is indeed a positive relationship between trust in police and mainstream media consumption at the individual level. On the whole, this article explicates how the mainstream media's public monitor function can be exercised even under the condition of partial censorship.

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