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這些年，選管會還是追不上新媒體

今屆區議會選舉終在一片爭議聲中落幕。各大小黨派的政見南轅北轍，但他們卻在同一個問題上罕有地一致——他們不約而同地認為，官方最新的針對Facebook(下稱fb)和Twitter的選舉規管實屬「騎呢」荒謬。有網民甚至指責選舉管理委員會(Electoral Affairs Commission, 下稱選管會或EAC)對社交媒體的新規管令這次選舉的氣氛非常冷淡，要為年輕選民冷漠對待今次區選負上部份責任。

EAC對新電子媒介的態度，是否真的如網民所形容的那樣逆勢而行、那樣「EAC」—E-ignorant(對互聯網時代的發展無知)、Absurd(無稽)和充滿著Century-old mindset(欠缺彈性的舊思維)呢？其他民主地區的選舉管理機構在面對同樣問題時，又會如何做到與時俱進，朝向Facebook-age、Twitter-age順勢而行呢？

Facebook網民「Dislike」選管會，皆因一個「Like」也要報！

今屆區議會候選人比往年更趨年輕，不少候選人的年齡都是介乎20至40歲。但救世軍的一項調查卻發現，在受訪的450名「八、九十後」青少年當中，居然只有18.5%表示關注今屆區選，比例之小實在令人咋舌！而當許多研究都證實，現今大多數「八、九十後」都是從網上(尤其是社交網站)接收政治資訊時，我們實不能低估Facebook在傳遞選舉資訊方面的影響力。去年，英國牛津大學Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism的調查便發現，多達97%受訪的18-24歲年輕人都在去年英國大選期間使用fb接收選舉資訊，而他們卻都甚少接觸印刷媒體和收聽電台。至於香港，fb眾多的登記用戶中，當然包括不少選民和希望與選民在網上溝通的候選人。

「一個like就要報，選管會走火入魔……」、「Dislike選管會」，這些都是本地fb青年用戶設計的抗議口號。事緣選管會於區選開戰前提出，如果候選人在fb上「like」別人的評語(comment)或者留言，因有機會歸類為選舉廣告，所以所有候選人每天都需向選舉主任申報他們的fb更新。但不少fb用戶均認為，選管

會此項規定很荒誕，根本是以傳統方式去管理新的平台。有選民更在網上討論區形容選管會的做法擾民：「他們根本搞不清traditional media跟social media的分別…like一次又計，最初仲話俾人share又計，遲啲容乜易畀人tag都計，其實選管會係咪無嘢做？」難怪當選管會要求今屆區選的候選人在fb有任何動態更新或留言亦需每日申報時，會引來候選人和選民的強烈迴響。

整個爭論的核心，在於選管會認為候選人使用fb可以直接接觸到選民，而且fb內容具宣傳成份，因此選管會將fb更新視之為選舉廣告並要求申報。那麼，我們要問：fb是否應被視為競選廣告？在此問題上，我們或許可參考其他民主地區的經驗。

上月，加拿大的安大略省進行了省議會選舉。他們的選舉管理機構(Elections Ontario)就此問題作出了清楚的區分：「Facebook pages (and their updates) are generally not political advertising when they are maintained in a personal capacity.」(Elections Ontario (2011). *Social Media and the Election Finances Act*)言下之意，在fb發佈每一個留言、作出每一則更新，只要是屬於個人層面，一般都不會被視作政治廣告，因而無需向選管機構遞交書面文本。

按此原則，如果候選人在朋友的fb版面留言說一句「生日快樂」，並無需要申報。可是在香港，當筆者向選管會查問，如果候選人在fb留言說聲「Happy Birthday」是否需要申報時，選管會無法清楚答覆，而只用官腔回應：「當fb的留言是為了促使或阻礙候選人在選舉中當選，即屬選舉廣告，需作書面申報。」筆者追問：「其實『生日快樂』只是一句普通祝賀語(何況那位fb朋友是外國人而非香港選民)，並非政治廣告，你們可否清晰說明這情況是否可予豁免？」選管會職員的答覆卻只是重複上面那段話，並建議候選人在有需要時徵詢法律意見。這種僵化、繁瑣的處理手法，實叫人啼笑皆非。事實上，由於今屆區選的網上宣傳指引甚為模糊，令人無所適從，部份候選

人乾脆關閉一直使用的fb頁面，以避免申報fb而產生的額外行政工作。

其實，不少區選候選人都面臨選舉經費緊絀的問題。他們都希望透過fb這個免費的平台跟選民多作互動溝通。而且，在fb互相留言、互相「like」對方亦屬個人私事。但如今，在選管會的規管下，連說句「生日快樂」都要上報，這樣的公共政策確實擾民。

筆者認為，選管會只要清楚界定甚麼是選舉廣告，候選人自會按照規定，規範自己與選民的溝通方式。與此相反，如果選管會武斷且籠統地回覆筆者說「如果在fb『like』了別人，like了的那一段文字必須一字不漏整段copy一次，以書面文本方式送交選舉主任」，選管會無疑是在向網民傳達「封殺fb選舉宣傳」的信息。事實上，選管會此舉確實打擊了網民的選舉熱情，也讓每天使用fb的年青人無從接收區選資訊。

Twitter帳戶是免費使用，選管會都要計選舉經費？

對於經常使用Twitter的區選候選人來說，選管會的做法其實與封殺fb宣傳的情況差不多，某程度上是在阻止候選人使用Twitter！如果候選人想利用Twitter宣傳落區活動，選管會同樣要求申報社交網站的一切變動。由於Twitter的即時性強，推友發tweet的次數相對頻密，所以筆者亦向選管會查問，當Twitter出現更新時，候選人應如何及時、準確地申報。選管會竟回覆說，申報Twitter方面，候選人要將有關發tweet的頁面「Print Screen」，並列印一式兩份呈交選舉主任。事實上，推友每天發三、四十則tweet是非常正常的，在此情況下，選管會提出的「Print Screen + 列印」的上報方法，實際操作中浪費紙張，造成行政資源的巨大浪費。這樣的規管政策無疑與Twitter-age嚴重脫節，難怪有推友質疑：「究竟選管會有無用過Twitter？」

另一方面，Twitter帳戶是免費使用，不涉及選舉開支。那麼，運作這樣的零成本的平台，候選人又應如何計算選舉經費呢？有勤於

發tweet的候選人便向筆者說，他會考慮向選舉主任申報上網費！



在此問題上，我們可以借鑒加拿大的經驗。加拿大不同省份的選管機構所訂定的指引大都清晰說明，如果候選人所發的tweet並非由受薪寫手（paid writers）有組織、有計劃地發放（an orchestrated/ coordinated Twitter campaign）的話，便不涉及選舉經費。這樣的規管條文清楚地區分和界定了使用Twitter產生的競選經費問題。

香港的選管會確實要認真參考其他民主地區的「Twitter經驗」，減少模糊不清的指示和因此可能在競選活動中產生的灰色地帶，從而令候選人不會削足就履，乾脆停用這個能觸及社會各個階層、高效率的免費平台。

「Downloadable Campaigns」的年代已來臨，選管會準備好未？

今屆區選終於曲終人散。選管會今年規管Facebook、Twitter的措施讓選舉變得更公平，還是更擾民？這問題有待政黨與公眾更廣泛的討論和學界深入研究。

除了Facebook、Twitter之外，其他民主社會的政黨及候選人還在競選活動中推出iPhone app、Android app、專供iPad使用的app、iTunes版的網上居民大會、e-suggestion box等等，藉此拉近與選民的距離。對已經使用了這些網絡新技術的選民及政黨來說，一個「Downloadable Campaigns」的年代已經來臨了。

香港明年踏入選舉年，春、秋兩季的特首選舉和立法會選舉各有一番龍爭虎鬥。在此，筆者借用一句出自專門關注選舉新聞的外國記者朋友的說話，寄語選管會：「Social media is front and centre in elections nowadays.」衷心希望選管會明年「不會太EAC—E-ignorant、Absurd 和充滿著 Century-old mindset」。

李家豪

耀中社區書院國際傳播系系主任

相片提供：樹仁大學《說·在線》新聞網

大眾傳媒應該有益於社會

不管傳播科技如何先進發達，傳播媒介如何豐盛多樣化，也無論個人媒介如何的成為「不可一日無此君」，人類過的還是個大眾社會(mass society)，則大眾文化(mass culture)必然存在，大眾傳播(mass communication)也必然自有永有。大眾社會、大眾文化和大眾傳播三者因自然而充滿辯證弔詭。

根據美國社會學者柯爾豪斯(W. Kornhauser)講法，大眾社會是個民主社會，社會上精英份子有發揮領導空間，但並非高不可攀，而是混同在民眾中，易於親近的人；而一般民眾則易於附和和易受鼓動。美國傳播學者麥奎爾(D. McQuail)認為，大眾文化(mass culture)有兩大特色，一為廣為流行，一為對工業社會的工人階級，具有有力的訴求。因為大眾文化是大量生產和大量散佈，內容全是為大眾市場而製造的文化產品，所以，另一位傳播學者布魯勒(H. Blumer)，對處於大眾文化的大眾行為作比喻時說，那是一種集體行為，諸如群眾、暴徒、恐慌、狂熱、狂舞、民意、宣傳、時尚、奇想、社會運動和改革等等論題，皆牽涉在內；若就經濟性角度而言，大眾文化也可能影響到大眾「寅吃卯糧」，泥足深陷於不實用的「炫耀性消費」(conspicuous consumption)之中。

大眾媒介呈現大眾傳播運作

今日談大眾傳播，實已涉及大眾傳播科技、媒介、行為和理論，在很大程度上，已超越上世紀八十年代初期，麥奎爾為大眾傳播所下的簡單而約化的界定：「大眾傳播由機構和技術兩方面組成，經由這些機構和技術，專業團體(如報館)運用現代科技，將傳播符號內容(如文字)，傳給廣大、異質，而且散佈各處的閱聽眾。」不過，整個大眾傳播運作的總體表現在於大眾媒介，仍是不爭之實。

從傳播發展史來看，近代大眾媒介的發展，已歷個多世紀，以大量印刷報章開始，繼而及於電子媒介，每種大眾媒介，都有其迅速上升的擴散曲線，而且——每一種新媒介的擴展，都會比前一媒介更為迅速。除了發行量

大，以廣大的閱聽眾為對象，以及大眾媒介易得性(availability)和「接觸性」(accessibility)都非常之強等特性外，麥奎爾還認為大眾媒介是屬於公眾的一種有組織的正式運作。

由於大眾媒介發展，必然局限於所處的政治經濟制度、社會發展階段、市場需求和特定的個人興趣，所以，什麼樣的大眾媒介，就是什麼樣的社會，正如美國傳播學者史華年(W. T. Severin)與但卡特(J. W. Tankard Jr.)兩人所強調，如果一個「現代社會」，却缺乏諸如報紙、雜誌、廣播，電視及電影等，那真是難以想象的。大眾媒介的社會功能，原則上也一如傳播社會功能一樣，有守望環境、協調社會、傳遞文化和提供娛樂等等；不過，大眾媒介內容一經發佈，倘若出了問題，便會如脫韁之馬，會造成社會極大傷害。傳播學者對大眾媒介功能，曾發展出離心(centrifugal)對向心(centripetal)趨勢兩種不同、而又極端的看法。認為大眾媒介有向心力的學者認為，往好處想，大眾媒介內容，有促使社會組合(integration)，令社會秩序安定能力；反之，認為大眾媒介是一種離心力的學者則認為，往壞處想，大眾媒介內容，會製造疏離，令價值解體及社會脫序(anomie)。

大眾媒介促進國家發展

從新聞和新聞學開展階段性思潮，去看大眾媒介功能，畫象會更為清晰可見。二次大戰末，第三世界為了建立自己的國家認同，遂呼籲在處理新聞時，應多報導諸如農業新知、醫藥衛生以及教育文化等資訊，以求國家發展，達到淑世社會目標，此即是發展新聞學(Developmental Journalism)理念濫觴，比先前發展中國家和地區所鼓吹國家動員發展的革命新聞學(Revolutionary Journalism)和建國新聞學(Development Journalism)溫和而有建設性；其時，聯合國教科文組織(UNESCO)亦在憲章裡，明訂世界資料自由流通，意見影響自由交流等理念，幫助此一理念發展，而另一個非政府組織——「非結盟國家新聞機構部長會議」，則匯集了此種理念的力量。



與此同時，五、六十年代現代文理論興起，大眾傳播學者宣偉伯(W. Schram)與冷納(D. Lerner)等人，也致力提出傳播媒介如何塑造現代人的人格，以促進國家發展，邁向現代的看法。1967年夏，亞洲報業基金會(PFA)在菲律賓馬尼拉成立，還曾每周在會員國出版過《深度新聞》(DEPH News)，報導各地區的發展(Development)、經濟(Economics)以及人口(Population)專題(但沒有中文版)。1977年，全世界十六位傳播學者組成一個專責研究世界傳播問題的「國際傳播問題研究委員會」。三年後，提出報告，將發展新聞學做了一個最有系統陳述。

報告書指出，大眾媒介為幫助國家發展，促進國家自主權和文化獨立的主要工具，贊成媒介應容許草根民眾參與；反對極權主義，自由是重要的，不過若是為了國家發展，政府可以經營媒介。基於這個原因，新聞媒介和記者，需要有一個行為規範。有時，媒介某些自由，還應置在他們的責任之下。此際第三世界傳播學者如舒士文(L. S. Sussman)、阿嘉華拉(N.K. Aggarwala)諸人，更著書立說，把發展新聞學理想、理念落實。至是，不管是那一陣營，咸信大眾媒介與社會變遷、與國家發展息息相關，已是不爭之論。

大眾媒介必須有益社會

其實，大而言之，執簡馭繁來說，發展新聞學只有一條大道理：大眾媒介必需有益於社會(for the public good)。這個問題和想法，一百年前美國媒介達人普立茲(J. P. Pulitzer, 1847-1911)在為他的《世界報》(The World)同當時另一位傳媒業鉅子赫斯特(W. R. Hearst, 1863-1951)的《紐約日報》(N. Y. Journal)爭市場時，就已覺悟過來。他為了搶奪市場，便遂行誇大慳動的黃色新聞(Yellow Journalism)，以煽色腥主義(sensationalism)為能事，其後，對報紙原懷有強烈理想的普立茲終而生財立品，放棄了黃色新聞而不用。他曾強調報人應有崇高理想，熱切追求真理，培養高度的道德責任感，不應只追求私自的目的，與純粹的商業利益，而應以服務社會，增進公益為己任。

他認為商業主義(黃色新聞做法)，在報業經營中，雖具有合法地位，但僅限於經理部，如果商業主義侵犯了編輯權，則必然墮落和危險；而一旦報紙發行人僅注意商業利益，那便是報紙道德盡頭。

我人很早也注意及報紙、報人的道德問題。被譽為民初名記者、但毀譽參半的邵飄萍(1884-1926)，也自覺浮游於專業道德理念之中，排斥有聞必錄、趣味至上藉口，認為穢褻姦淫與殘忍情景，皆在於新聞不確實、廣告意味濃、只圖揭發他人隱私，以及作有害社會風俗之渲染描寫。也就是說，不管那個時代，那個社會，媒介最基本任務，還是在公眾利益(public interest)，現時通俗量報所力主的所謂公眾興趣(interest to public)，不能一味「假此名」而為大眾壓惡之實。辛亥革命時，有一則報紙故事，顯然「有違」報業守則常規，但因是革命新聞學典範，故論者鮮於臧否，頗值得沈思。時維1911年武昌首義翌日，革命元老于右任之上海《民立報》，即收自漢口之革命消息廣為散布，各地同盟會系的報紙，亦相繼報導革命黨勝利假消息，藉以鼓動風潮。11月9日，《民立報》刊出一則「此間接北京克服()偽帝出奔電」的假電報，旋即傳遍南方。廣東和香港的報紙，立刻加鹽在醋地改此電報為「京陷帝崩」大肆刊登，省港人士聞訊歡聲四起。兩廣總督張鳴岐乃倉皇出走，龍濟光、李準等清吏卑辭乞降，粵遂光復，而《民立報》自後亦聲名大譟。然而，上世紀六十年代大陸文革期間，新聞走假大空路線；而至今仍受詬罵。

一個世紀百多年來，在走資和極度的資本主義態勢之下，大眾媒介命運，雖然早已操之在只圖賺錢的商人手上，閱聽眾受傳播科技影響，也已不及老祖宗對大眾媒介依附；不過，不管如何變幻難測，質優大眾媒介，仍是大眾社會所必須的。大眾媒介，應該珍惜和重視一己的名譽和作風，視良好的報譽、報格為媒介第二生命——能這樣自我珍惜，才不會做出有違社會公序良的出格行為，令整個媒介為社會所不齒。

✎ 彭家發

政治大學新聞系兼任教授

Public Broadcasting and the Public



2011 marks the 20th anniversary of the Public Broadcasters International (PBI). PBI is an annual conference for public

broadcasters around the world to collectively share experience, solutions and best practices in the wake of the challenges faced by the industry.

This year the PBI 2011, hosted by MediaCorp, was held in Singapore from October 26 – 29. Member organizations discussed and addressed a number of key issues and strategies in all fields of activities relevant to today's evolving media landscape. Altogether 20 speakers from worldwide public media were invited to present in 6 different sessions, ranging from the Digital Switchover, Changing Financial Models, Public Service Broadcaster's Role in Extreme Situations, Public Broadcasting Strategies in the Digital Age, and the challenges ahead.

One such challenge is how public broadcast services can be reinvented in the face of new media. Paula A. Kerger, President and CEO of PBS (Public Broadcasting Services), USA, was invited as the keynote speaker and she shared the spirit and experience of innovation and collaboration which guided PBS forward and stayed relevant to the society.

The presentations of PBI 2011 can be accessed on the PBI website : <http://www.publicbroadcastersinternational.org/2011presentations.asp>

The following article is written by Phil Harding based on his speech at the PBI 2011 Conference. Previously an award-winning producer, editor and senior executive at the BBC, Phil Harding has recently worked as a consultant with several media groups and public broadcasters in Egypt, Taiwan, Kenya, Argentina and the United States. He also broadcasts for the BBC, both as a contributor and as a presenter.

This article looks at one of the key concepts which underpins public broadcasting and then considers how it has changed in the digital age.

In recent years public broadcasting has come under fierce attack from polemical critics and commercial rivals. This perhaps reached its apotheosis in James Murdoch's lecture at the Edinburgh Television Festival in 2009 when he argued that the only guarantee of media independence is the profit motive.

From their corner, public broadcasters have argued that, on the contrary, they are the only truly independent media because they are free of commercial and political pressures and have only one thing to consider: the public interest.

In order to justify its existence, public broadcasting has to be – in the broadest sense - a moral force in society acting and operating on behalf of the population as a whole. Its whole reason to exist is to serve the public, to act in the interests of the public, to act in the public interest.

This phrase 'the public interest' is one that is used an awful lot by public broadcasters. It is one of crucial importance. But for a phrase that is so important, it is one that is infuriatingly difficult to define with any precision.

Let's start with one or two things that it's not.

In the public interest is not the same as what the public are interested in; though of course broadcasters will always hope that with imagination and creativity they can persuade the public to be interested in their output. But there will be a lot of things that the public will be interested in that are not what we would call in the public interest. Some of those are things public broadcasters will not and should not bother to do. If public broadcasting becomes indistinguishable from commercial broadcasting, then what is the point of public broadcasting in the first place?

Secondly, the public interest is not the same as the interests of the state or the government or any ruling elite. Public broadcasting does not exist to further the interests of any party or political grouping. Now politicians will often deliberately choose to blur this distinction and argue that public broadcasters are there to further their interests. And emphatically they will be wrong. Distinguishing between the public interest and the state interest is vital. It is an important part of the job of a public broadcaster to call to account governments and those in power. And, as history shows, when that happens is usually when the rows start.

Interest in the Digital Age

So if that is what the public interest is not, then what is the public interest?

At its very simplest, acting in the public interest means quite simply acting on behalf of the public as citizens. Public broadcasting should speak to everyone as a citizen and encourage access to public life by developing and broadening knowledge. By doing this it will help people better understand themselves by better understanding the world.

So, among other things, acting in the public interest will include ensuring accountability of those with power over others' lives, exposing wrong-doing and protecting public health. At times of major crisis, as recently with the earthquakes in Japan and New Zealand and the shootings in Norway, public broadcasting will become the point of a national coming together and a place of national refuge. Within minutes of the devastating earthquake in Japan, the audience had turned to NHK in vast numbers for the latest news and information. Public broadcasting at its best.

Supporting and advocating freedom of information and freedom of expression are also important elements. Acting in the public interest means making as much information available as possible.

The Public Interest in the Digital Age

So if those are some of the basic principles of public broadcasting and the public interest, what about the advent of the digital age? Does the advent of digital media make the public interest more or less relevant? Does it even make it totally redundant?

I would argue that the new era makes defending the public interest even more important for public broadcasting.

Digital technology leads to the proliferation of media. Where once there were only a few channels, now there are hundreds. The internet multiplies choice to near infinity. Mobile devices and on-demand services mean that the consumer can receive media anyplace, anytime, anywhere. As a result audiences fragment and atomize into smaller and smaller special interest groups. Media consumption becomes more and more customized and individualized. This means that the public spaces begin to disappear. To recast the phrase of the architect Mies Van Der Rohe, with digital "More Often Means Less".

The advent of hundreds of digital news and comment channels – many of them often partisan or coming from a particular viewpoint - means that it is now perfectly possible for a viewer to seemingly get a complete view of the world without ever having to come into contact with any view or opinion which does not match his or her own. This electronic-echo effect, where viewers merely get their own views reflected back to them, is unhealthy for a functioning democracy. It leads to division and polarization. Viewers' opinions are never challenged as they merely receive reinforcement for their existing views.

The more audiences fragment and the more such channels proliferate, the more important it becomes for there to be at least one strong core impartial service which acts as a universal link and a national point of reference. Such a service guarantees that there is at least one media space where the citizen can receive a wide variety of views and debate and measure them.

In the virtual world as we see the open democratic public spaces gradually disappearing, the importance of public broadcasting to be able to create and maintain that space becomes ever more important.

In the digital age, public broadcasting can truly live up to its ideals and be the meeting place where all citizens are welcome and all are considered equals.

Digitilisation has had profound financial effects too. The loss of readers and audiences coupled with the migration of advertising to the internet – where analogue dollars have not been replaced by digital cents – has meant that many commercial media organizations are in big financial trouble.

The financially stretched commercial media of the future are going to be much less able to devote any resources to any content that is not going to offer an instant return. They are going to be much less willing to fund difficult or original programming and very reluctant to embark on the sorts of tricky and expensive investigations that hold powerful institutions and politicians to account.

There are of course some very honorable exceptions to this – some newsrooms still stand out – but around the world the trend is unmistakable: in commercial media, expensive journalism in the public interest is in decline.

The fragmentation and diversification of media and the ensuing economic pressures on commercial media mean that public broadcasters are in an even more important position to act on behalf of the public because others will not do it.

The technical realities of the digital age also raise some important questions for the public interest. It is one of the paradoxes of the digital age that on the one hand we have fragmentation of media but when it comes to the tools and buttons we actually use, we are in the hands of just a few organizations who handle most of the traffic.

Just about every media organization in the world uses Google, Facebook and Twitter. We all use these companies - and one or two others. They are astonishingly clever and useful. But our reliance on them has led to an interesting psychological paradox. In reality they are big commercial organizations and yet we often treat them as if they were a helpful close friend. Google reinforce that impression with their bright cheerful helpful logo. The companies have been very skilful in building up this image as their brand.

But in fact these are not benevolent charities, they are very good, very hard-headed, successful commercial companies which have become near-monopolies on which we – and most media organizations - have become increasingly dependant.

I would argue that in the digital world of the future, it is going to be increasingly important to heavily scrutinize these organizations (and their successors) and call them to account. Public media is going to be in a uniquely important position to do this – on behalf of the public – acting in the public interest.

Relationship with the Public

There is one other big change arising from digital. It totally changes the relationship between the viewer and the broadcaster, the provider and the consumer.

The digital age means that in the future public media will not only be able to act on behalf of the public but also will be able to work with the public. Blogs and social media mean that broadcasters get instant feedback on the selection and treatment of material. Citizen journalism and user generated content means the public can be invited to contribute to the output.

But now we can go further and invite the public to become an integral part of the whole editorial process. Public broadcasters can take the audience into our offices and into the newsrooms, and into the editorial conferences and programme meetings.

For some time now, the BBC World "Have Your Say" programme has invited some its audience to join its morning editorial conference as possible topics are discussed for the day's output. Not only has this made for some really interesting ideas but it has also changed the whole relationship with the audience. In fact they no longer are the audience, they are part of the programme team.

In the UK, The Guardian Media Group has started publishing its daily newslist on the web and invited readers to contribute their own ideas on topics, angles and treatments direct to the newsroom journalists. Several newsrooms have started putting the raw data from their stories on the web and have invited their audiences to do their own analysis. This sort of crowdsourced mass data journalism is going to become an increasingly important part of public interest journalism in the future.

All of this makes for a new and much more equal relationship with the public: the very public who fund public media and of course to whom public media should be accountable. This idea of making the public a part of the organization, rather than just a consumer of it or a contributor to it, is a very important development. For the first time, through the creation of a virtual common editorial space, the digital age offers the very real opportunity for public media to be not only owned by the public in name but also for it to be owned by the public in practice too. The consequence of this is that if the public feel a part of public media then it will also lead to greater political support from the public who will then pressure the funders for proper resources.

All of these are important developments. All illustrate why public broadcasting will be even more important in the years to come. If public broadcasters continue to operate in the public interest in the ways I've been describing, then these new opportunities opened up by the digital era offer a very bright future indeed.

 **Phil Harding**
Public Media Consultant

Innovation and Collaboration : Public Media for the Digital Age

It's time for the next generation of leaders to redefine the role of public media.

We live in a fundamentally different world than existed when public broadcasting was born.

Eric Schmidt, former CEO of Google, has estimated that humans now create as much information in two days as we did from the appearance of homo sapiens until 2003. And Facebook, which did not exist until 2003, now reaches more people than all other major media outlets combined.

There are countless satellite television channels offering up countless variations of commercial programming. There's an increased reliance on the internet for entertainment. Media consumption is up, but the percentage of young people consuming news is down.

In the United States between 2006 and 2009, daily newspapers cut their annual editorial spending by \$1.6 billion dollars, or more than a quarter. Television news staffs have declined by half from the late 1980's.

In 2001-02, reality TV accounted for about 22% of the prime time TV audience. By 2010-11, it accounted for about 56%, an increase of almost 155%.

Funding for public broadcasting is also at risk, or in the process of being cut for many of us around the world. In the United States, our public funding just survived its closest call in recent memory.

Public Broadcasting is Not a Luxury

Public broadcasting in the United States has always been a public-private partnership and the single largest source of revenue for public television is individual donors who support their local stations through membership contributions.

The federal government contributes about 15% of our system's revenues. For every dollar in federal funding invested in member stations, they raise an additional \$6.00 on their own, including contributions from millions of people who voluntarily support their community-based work.

Especially in this difficult economy, however, the loss of the vital seed money represented by the federal investment in public broadcasting would have a devastating effect and would be felt most strongly by rural stations.

Some elected leaders called public broadcasting a luxury that America could not afford. But the American people said no. More than 350,000 supporters sent nearly a half million emails and rang the phones off the hook at lawmakers' offices. They told lawmakers that public broadcasting was not a luxury and it was not expendable. And those supporters were joined by opinion-makers, and celebrities, and champions in our legislature, who stood with us to declare that the media experiences we provide is an essential part of our democracy.

So while we won this round, we know this is not the end of it. In the face of this new landscape, the challenge to public media is this:

- Can we re-create ourselves for the Digital Age and use media to help everyone – of every age and from every walk of life – reach their full potential?

- Can we help our countries come together again and find the common ground that is so essential to solving our greatest problems?

- Can we rise to the occasion – even in this time of limited resources – and empower every citizen to be more?

- Can we be more?

I think we can. In fact, I know we can. But if we are to meet this challenge, then we must think anew about what it means to be public media.

Around the globe we must summon the courage to let go of old conventions and traditions and embrace: New strategies; New methods; New approaches.

We can no longer be comfortable in our silos of television, or radio. We must become public media companies— in every sense of the word.

Revitalize Public Media Content

To redefine public media for the digital age we must revitalize our content across platforms, stay on the cutting edge of technology and innovation, and ensure our economic sustainability.

When I look out at the media landscape, I see many challenges. But I also see unprecedented opportunity.

In the US, channels that were supposed to replace PBS by offering history, drama, and arts programming have increasingly turned to reality television- and the trend is only accelerating. If the rest of the media continues on its current trajectory, PBS and our stations will be the only enterprise whose sole purpose is to provide content of consequence – both nationally and locally – to all Americans.

It's the best of children's media, arts, drama, history, science, and news, the kind of programs that open up new vistas and expand people's horizons.

This creates an exciting opportunity for public media to fill the niches left open by market failure.

One of the most obvious opportunities is in education. It's time for public media to step up, and fill some of the gaps that exist in the classroom. PBS and member stations are partnering with other publicly funded organizations to deliver unique, curriculum-based educational resources through PBS Learning Media.

This is a free service for all teachers, students and home-schooling families nationwide. It includes videos, interactive features, audio files, lesson plans, and worksheets to help students learn 21st century skills.

We're building on decades of expertise in producing and distributing educational media, and delivering it on a platform that will allow teachers to share ideas and innovate beyond a basic lesson plan. Teachers and school administrators can trust that we are treating today's students as explorers and learners, not as a potential source for profit. And parents can trust us to deliver the same high quality content that's expanded American's horizons for generations.

Innovation

As public broadcasters, we must innovate.

Now when most people hear the words public broadcasting, "innovation" may not be the first subject that springs to mind. But the fact is, public broadcasting has been an engine of innovation from the beginning.

PBS was the first broadcaster in the United States to air live proceedings from our legislature. The show we

know today as the "PBS NewsHour" represents another breakthrough. In the '80s, it became American broadcast television's first national 60-minute newscast. Almost three decades later, it's still the only 60-minute national newscast on broadcast television. And while PBS didn't invent the prime-time documentary, we've kept the genre alive with historical documentaries and innovative science programming.

Then there are all the breakthroughs PBS has made behind-the-scenes. We:

- Pioneered closed-captioning for the hearing impaired,
- Launched broadcast television's first satellite distribution network,
- And in 2002, our PBS.org website became the world's most popular "dot org."



We were the first media company to debut a full program episode on Facebook. Last fiscal year, we began an investment in mobile products that culminated in the launch of the iPad and iPhone app to rave reviews and heavy usage. Since their debut, PBS apps have

been downloaded more than two million times. And we were the first to debut a full program episode on the iPhone and iPad. We've won a Webby award - the internet's version of the Oscar's - for our iPad app. We now have six web-only series that run the gamut from arts programming to kids shows.

And in close collaboration with our colleagues at NHK in Japan, we are participating in laying the groundwork to bring the next generation of high definition to our audiences, leveraging their investment and commitment to technology for worldwide benefit.

This innovation has paid off.

Americans watched more than 154 million videos across all of PBS's web and mobile platforms in June. According to the leading internet measurement company PBS is the 15th most popular online property for video. What's most exciting about our online work is that we are able to reach a new and different audience. Seventy-two percent of visitors watching videos are between the ages 18 to 49.

The average age of our online viewer is 35, compared to 62 for our broadcast audience. And our online audience is very engaged: our viewers spend an average of 18 minutes per video, far above the industry average.

Up until now, our work in the digital sphere has focused on distribution: how we can get our content out to as many users as possible. But as we go forward, we have to change our focus. Rather than just using the internet as a platform to distribute our existing content, it's time to use the internet to experiment, and push the boundaries of our work. And we'll continue to experiment with formats that aren't suitable to broadcast, but further our mission to educate, engage, and inspire our audiences.

Sustainability

The transition to digital media has come with a cost, however. We are being asked to spread our resources even more thinly than ever, in order to reflect the growing appetite for web related content.

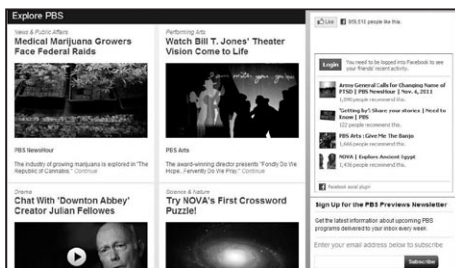
We cannot accomplish a revitalization of our content, or continue to innovate, without addressing our system's sustainability - the third pillar of our transition to a digital media company.

As we all re-evaluate our business models, I think that it's important that we are open to new ideas, new strategies and new approaches. We cannot allow complacency, or fear of doing things differently, to hold us back. Especially now, when the future is barreling down like a freight train.

Content, Innovation, Sustainability. That's our recipe for the new age of public media in three words.

But in each of these areas, we are building on our strengths. This is more than just semantics. Only by fully transitioning into media companies can we meet the challenges of the future, and fulfill the mandates of the past, to educate, engage, and inspire.

Just as we must focus on the "media" part of public media, we must also revisit our commitment to the "public."



Fifty years ago, one of the giants of public broadcasting in our country, Newton Minow, gave a famous speech in which he decried the state of television in our country as a vast wasteland. In the last fifty years, I think that public media has become an oasis in that wasteland.

But when I think about Minow's most famous speech, ultimately, it's not his vast wasteland comment that makes the biggest impression on me. What stays with me is his call to serve the "public interest."

A lifetime ago, he challenged broadcasters to "put the people's airwaves to the service of the people and the cause of freedom."

Half a century later, we work together in that service and that cause. Every hour of every day, we make that vision a reality for millions of

people.

Our work cannot be replaced or replicated by commercial outlets, because we exist to serve the people, not sell to them. Our bottom line is the number of lives we touch, not the number of shareholders we enrich.

This year, I challenge us to come together to better serve our audiences.

I challenge us to collaborate across boundaries to keep public broadcasting vibrant, innovative, and sound so it can serve the public and touch as many lives as possible.

And I challenge us as a global community to come together to put the people's airwaves to the service of the people. Touch their hearts and lift up their minds. Nurture their souls and spark their curiosity. Educate and inspire them.

Of all the purveyors of media out there, we are the only ones charged with this honorable mission. We are the only ones who can truly put the people's airwaves to the service of the people.

This is our time. Let's step forward together into the future. And let the journey begin today. There's no time like the present.

Paula Kerger
President and CEO

Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), USA

* This article is an abstract of the keynote speech delivered at the PBI 2011 Conference.

慎思研討 — 為建構更成熟民意搭

明年中，曾蔭權作為特首的任期便會完結，近期已有不少論者檢視他在任期的政績。作為公共事務討論節目製作人，筆者對曾特首上任之初提到會在施政中加強「公眾參與」元素這一點特別期待，看看將來有甚麼「好橋」可作參考。可惜這數年間不少論者對政府公眾諮詢手法都是毀多於譽，坊間輿論熱烈，在此不贅。

然而，曾特首任期內出現不少具爭議性的公共政策建議，倒為我們提供了不少製作題材；難度在於我們如何在爭議聲中，發揮公共廣播職能，為市民搭建一個理性、包容的討論平台，從而讓社會形成更成熟的民意。

政改方案也許是曾蔭權任內最棘手的政治任務，其後更衍生了五區「變相公投」。

2009年11月，特區政府發表「2012年行政長官及立法會產生辦法諮詢文件」，諮詢期三個月至2010年2月。四十八頁的諮詢文件，不知有多少市民認真看過，但坊間討論已甚為

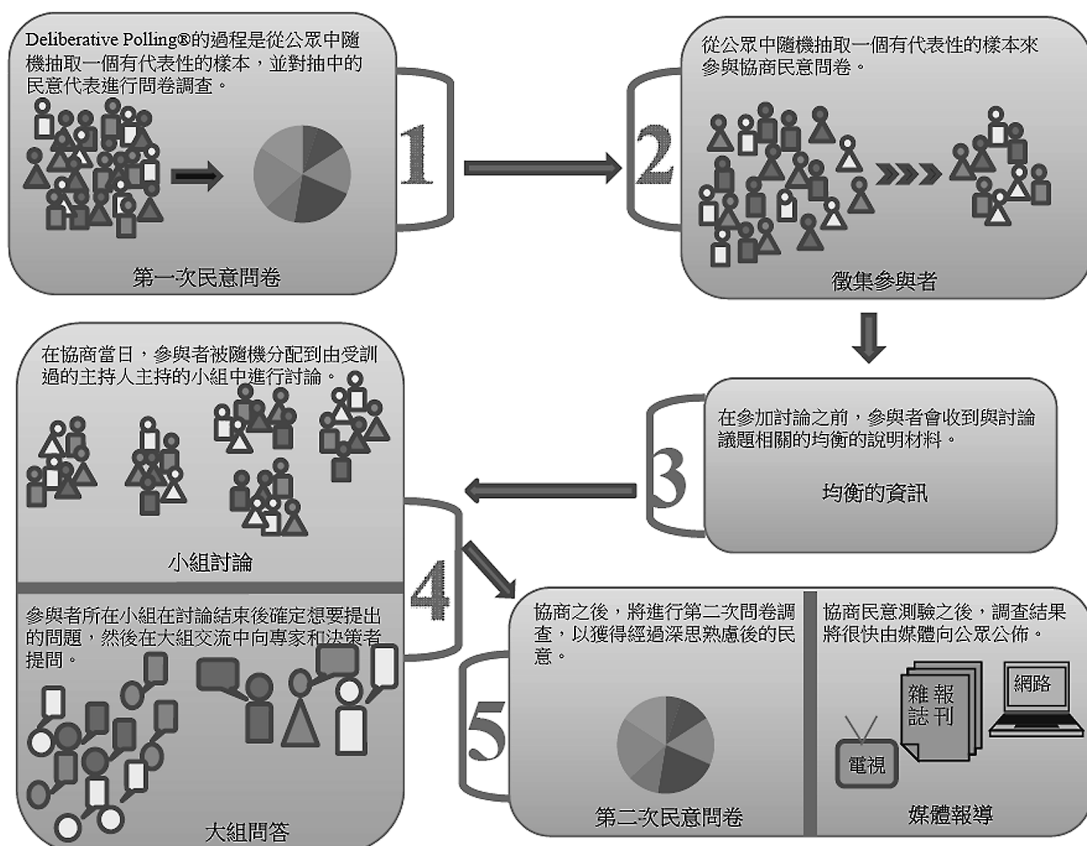
激烈，並出現不少分歧。致電「烽烟」節目的聽眾，比較掌握各方事實和論點者不少，但「條件反射」般發表意見的似乎更多。面對這種社會形勢，節目製作人的一大疑問是：慣常的「烽烟」討論形式是否足以應付內容如此複雜，分歧如此嚴重，影響如此深遠的公共議題？

在此關鍵時刻，香港大學民意研究計劃總監鍾庭耀博士向我們介紹了史丹福大學協商民主研究中心提出的「協商性民意調查」(或稱「慎思民調」)概念，我們再從公共媒體角度，演化出「慎思研討」節目製作模式。

本文內容主要介紹香港電台及香港大學民意研究計劃合辦「慎思研討」的目標，製作流程，節目設計及效果，供讀者參考。

協商性民意調查

根據港大民意研究計劃網頁中的介紹，舉行「協商性民意調查」者以公共政策決策機構



資料來源: <http://hkupop.hku.hk/>

居多；看來民意調查只是手段，以協商形式強化「公眾參與」及凝聚共識才是決策者採用這種方式的最終目的。

作為公共廣播機構，香港電台舉辦類似活動的工作定位及目的和政府行政機關並不相同。我們希望達到的目的如下：

一. 盡量為受眾，包括聽眾及現場參與者提供較全面的資訊及觀點；

二. 讓持不同立場的主責官員或意見領袖在較公平的環境下發言及交流；

三. 透過隨機抽樣方法，邀請市民出席，從而提高參與者的人口代表性，令討論內容更有參考價值。

總的來說，我們希望透過較有組織和系統的製作過程，為廣大市民提供一個較深入及全面的政策討論平台。製作流程大致如下：

一. 先敲定議題。為確保市民有興趣花時間出席研討會，我們會選擇具爭議性、對社會有深遠影響、正反立場清晰且有足夠資料供市民參考的議題。

二. 由港大民意研究計劃全港隨機抽樣1000名18歲或以上，操粵語香港市民，回答與議題有關的一、兩條簡單問題，以得出該議題在全港市民當中的民意傾向。

三. 當中再以香港人口年齡及階層分佈，抽出100名願意出席節目參與討論的市民。

四. 香港電台會向願意出席的市民，在討論會舉行前數天，發放與議題相關的主要參考資料，例如政府諮詢文件，事件發展時間表，坊間代表正反雙方論點的評論文章等。市民認真看過，但坊間討論已甚為激烈，並出現不少分歧。致電「烽烟」節目的聽眾，比較掌握各方事實和論點者不少，但「條件反射」般發表意見的似乎更多。面對這種社會形勢，節目製作人的一大疑問是：慣常的「烽烟」討論形式是否足以應付內容如此複雜，分歧如此嚴重，影響如此深遠的公共議題？

五. 港台會邀請持正、反不同觀點的嘉賓出席。目標人物為具代表性意見領袖如政策主責官員、政黨要員、大學學者、智庫研究員等。

六. 為討論制定規則，確保發言人士能在公正及理性環境下發表意見。討論流程包括嘉賓個人發言及互相辯論時間，出席之市民亦有機會向嘉賓提問。過程間主持人會確保正反雙方總發言時間相若。

七. 市民在出席節目當日，於開始討論會前會填寫一份有關議題較詳盡的問卷，以記錄他們在參與討論前的意向。

八. 大會討論開始，包括講者個人發言及互相辯論，亦會接受現場市民質詢。

九. 講者總結發言後，市民會分成小組自行討論。

十. 不論在全體會議或小組討論中，均設主持人主持會議，確保不同意見者有機會發言及交流，主持人嚴守中立原則。

十一. 小組討論後，市民會再一次填寫與進場時相同的問卷。

十二. 在總結部份，港大民意研究計劃會先公佈較早前已完成的全港1000人樣本問卷結果，以顯示全港市民的民意方向。然後公佈100人出席者在參與討論前及後之取向，並量度其分別。

由2010年2月至2011年9月，港台聯同港大民意研究計劃，就三個熱門公共議題舉辦過三次慎思研討，分別為：（一）2010-2-11 政改慎思：市民應否支持政府的政改方案？（二）2011-1-9 申亞慎思：市民應否支持香港申辦2023年亞運會？（三）2011-9-11 香港慎思：市民應否支持改變填補立法會議席空缺安排？

有關三次慎思研討的內容及結果，可參考香港電台網站「公共事務專頁」(rthk.hk/special/pau)之慎思系列(<http://app3.rthk.hk/special/pau/special.php?cat=5>)。

製作目的與觀察

由於現場出席人數往往在一百人以下，在統計學上來說並無代表性；更重要的是，港台製作慎思研討目的不在於尋找民意方向，亦不是要透過正反雙方的討論去影響市民看法，我們的製作目標是要向受眾示範一個較有系統的討論模式，從而鼓勵市民對具爭議性的公共議題有多些理解，在深思熟慮後才作出抉擇。

從過往三次慎思研討，我得到以下觀察：

一. 出席市民的特質：明顯與平日「烽烟」節目來電聽眾不同；例如：年輕人比例較「烽烟」聽眾高，在討論過程中沉默者佔多數，當然這是因為他們是透過隨機抽樣，被動地接受我們邀請出席，而非主動致電電台發言。事實上，一些出席者平日並不收聽電台，因此我們不能接觸到他們，他們的民意也不一定能透過傳媒反映出來。

二. 出席市民對議題的認識：不少出席者皆承認，在接受邀請出席時，並沒有接觸過政府的諮詢文件，他們都是透過我們寄出的基本資料，包括政府諮詢文件和各界評論文章才對議題有較深了解。

三. 正反雙方講者的表現：我們邀請講者出席時，會詳細介紹慎思研討的理念及討論規則，讓嘉賓有足夠時間準備，並明白主辦單位期望進行理性討論。觀乎過往三次經驗，嘉賓的準備非常充份，雖然時有論點上針鋒相對，但仍能維持理性氛圍，讓出席者及聽眾有空間吸收和思考。

四. 大會與小組討論中出席市民的表現：雖則是同一批人士，市民在全體大會與小組討論中的表現，可以截然不同。不少市民在全體大會中都會聽從主持要求，用心聆聽，在答問環節中，亦只有一部份人踴躍發問，餘下都是沉默的大多數。但到了分組討論，市民大部份都踴躍發言，有些甚至成為小組的意見領袖。

也許民意在坊間醞釀的過程和我們在慎思研討的經歷有著雷同之處：市民先從政府及傳媒獲得資訊，再聽取坊間意見領袖的觀點，但最有影響力的可能還是自己群體內的人。

五. 討論前後的民意變化；三次慎思研討出席者在討論前後民意變化如下：

政改慎思：市民應否支持政府的政改方案？

慎思辯論前，約有50%參加者表示市民應該支持政府政改方案，表示不應該的佔25%。辯論會後，兩項數據的比率分別為39%及42%。意見屬「一半半」的人由25%下降至20%。

申亞慎思：市民應否支持香港申辦2023年亞運會？

慎思辯論前，從社會整體考慮，38%出席者認為香港應申辦2023年亞運會，表示不應該的佔49%。辯論會後，表示應該和不應該的分別為42%和53%。意見屬「一半半」的人由13%下降至5%。

香港慎思：市民應否支持改變填補立法會議席空缺安排？

慎思辯論前，表示支持修改法例的佔49%，而贊成維持現狀的佔48%。辯論會後，表示支持修改法例和維持現狀的分別為43%及55%。「意見屬」、「沒所謂」的人由2%下降至1%。

從數字顯示，三次慎思研討都顯示出經過討論後：出席者的正反趨向皆發生變化；在討論後「一半半」、「沒所謂」人數皆下降；三次的結果都是在討論後傾向反對議題者較多。

作為製作人，我們未能科學地解釋為何三次討論後反對政府建議者都有所增加，但對於首兩點變化，我們認為是可喜的，證明了慎思討論能改變一些人的想法，且令到本來未能確定己見的人得出一個結論，相信這類形式的討論有助推動社會理性討論問題，我們亦會繼續在適題適時的情況下推出慎思研討節目，履行公共廣播推動多元意見的角色。

至於政府作為決策者，假若想在施政中加強「公眾參與」元素，也不妨舉辦一個規模更大、有更多主責官員出席作講者的慎思研討，相信必定比單單一個傳媒製作代表性更大，社會效益更高。

[-] 區麗雅

香港電台公共事務組副總監

「眾人參與」人幾多？—估算 公共事件參與人數

2011年有21萬人在香港「七一」遊行示威，還是只有6萬人？「六四」維園燭光晚會有6萬人抑或是15萬人？一萬名學生在倫敦街頭抗議學費上漲？100萬人聚集觀賞英國皇室婚禮？果真如此嗎？筆者的忠告是：估算公共事件的參與人數是一項非常困難的工作，不要輕信媒體告訴你的。至少二十年前人類已經開始關注如何估算一簇人群到底包括多少人。《聖經》裡寫道：「那群吃東西的人除了婦女兒童之外，還包括大約五千男子。」（馬太福音14:21）政治活動和公關活動長期以來都喜歡宣稱參與其活動的人數多達若干，但是不同機構或組織宣佈出的數據常常大相逕庭。原因有二：其一，估算人數本來就非常困難；其二，有些人更是有意想要得出一個錯誤的數據。

估計人群大致可以分為兩種：一種是靜態地聚集在某些區域，另一種是動態地通過某些遊行線路。六四維園燭光晚會是第一種，七一遊行是第二種。參與人數至關重要，因為人們經常根據參與人數的多少判斷一項活動的成功與否。如果參與者眾多，該項運動就更加容易爭取其他人的加入，當權者也就更加難以拒絕他們的訴求。大型遊行示威之後，不同方面估算出的參與人數時常迥異。有的方面會誇大人數來為活動護航，有的方面則會低估人數來顯示活動不得人心。媒體大多會取個中間值來報導，但是也有些媒體會根據自身的政治立場選擇報導某些極端的數據。

外國的經驗

1995年10月在華盛頓有一場號稱「百萬人大遊行」的社會運動。由於這個稱號，究竟多少人參與了這場遊行成為衡量活動成功與否的重要指標。遊行組織者估計參與人數介於150萬到200萬之間，美國公園警察則估算人數為40萬。結果國家公園管理處被告上了法庭。正當雙方辯論如火如荼時，波士頓大學遙控感應中心給出了一個折中的估算結果：87萬人，誤差範圍大約25%。不過公園管理處並沒有收回他們的估算數值，而且他們的估算得到了一些統計學家的支持。自這場關於「百萬人大遊行」參與人數的爭論之後，美國公園警察

不曾再就遊行人數發出官方估算。

即使在沒有政治訴求的情況下，人數估算依然可以引起很大分歧。例如最近的英國皇室婚禮的參與人數被估計為介於50萬至100萬不等。奧巴馬就職典禮的參與人數，一些人綜合衛星圖片、氣球上拍到的照片，以及當時在場人士拍到的照片推算出的結果是180萬人。有趣的是，其他人基於同樣的照片估算出的數值卻是約100萬人。

靜態人群估算 — 「六四」維園燭光晚會

估算一個靜態人群的人數可以很簡單：將一個區域面積乘以該區域的人口密度即可。這個方法最早由Jacobs在1967年提出，用以估算伯克利騷亂的參與人數。當時學生聚集的廣場被劃分成若干方格，只要數出方格的數量並估算出每個方格裡平均有多少學生，就可輕易得出總人數。他估算人群密度的法則到今天仍常常被使用：以站立的情況估計，一個疏鬆人群的密度大約是每平方米有一個人，一個擁擠人群的密度大約是每平方米兩個人，一個極端擁擠人群的密度則大約是每平方米4個人。若要坐下來，相信每平方米能容納的人會更少。

僅憑目測我們就可以做出快速的估算。想做好一點的話，你可以在現場抽取一個代表性方格作為樣本來點算。或者更好的話，根據現場的照片抽取樣本作出點算。通過這樣的取樣可以作出估算，也可以算出標準誤差。拍照是估算人群密度和聚集面積的最好基礎。拍照的方法可以有許多。如果重視圖片的質量，可以調整像素；或者也可以調節圖片的其他特性，例如紋理、邊緣點、形狀或者人頭點算。

根據一張好的圖片，我們可以獲得一個人群聚集區域A的估計面積和標準誤差，以及人群密度D（見框一）。

運算結果顯示，在目前的科技水平基礎上，一張中等尺寸的圖片帶來的相對標準誤差（RSE） $\frac{se(\hat{N})}{\hat{N}}$ ，大約在10%左右。可能帶來二

框一：靜態情況的人數估計

設A是估計面積和D是人群密度， \hat{N} 是人數估計，i.e. $\hat{N} = D \times A$

\hat{N} 的相對的誤差(Relative standard error)

$$se(\hat{N}) = \hat{N} \sqrt{\frac{se^2(\hat{A})}{\hat{A}^2} + \frac{se^2(\hat{D})}{\hat{D}^2}}$$

se 是代表估計的誤差。

倍誤差的兼容性估算（英國皇室婚禮就是一例），其相對標準誤差為大約20%，這也是誤差範圍的上限。圖片可以幫助我們確定聚集區域的防禦邊界，再加上平均密度的合理邊界，我們就可以推算出樣本量的邊界。

有了這些基礎，就比較容易判斷在一組差異巨大的估算結果裡，哪個更接近事實，表一列出2004至2011年大會和警方的估算，兩者相差有二至三倍之多。最近維園紀念六四事件22週年的燭光集會，關於集會的參與人數，路透社、BBC等國際傳媒都引述了集會主辦方估算的數據：15萬人。而警方估算的數據是7萬7千人。地圖顯示這次集會地點的面積，合理的數據是A=42 000平方米。根據當晚集會現場的密集程度，我們估算人群密度略低於每平方米2人，最終的估算結果接近警方的數據。如果想得出主辦方所估算的15萬人，就意味著現場極端擁擠，人群密度接近每平方米4人。可是根據當晚的人群聚集情況，事實並非如此。

表一：歷年「六四」燭光晚會參與人數(2004-2011)

年份	大會公佈	警方估計
2004	8.2	4.8
2005	4.5	2.2
2006	4.4	1.9
2007	5.5	2.7
2008	4.8	1.8
2009	15	6.3
2010	15	11.3
2011	15	7.7

(單位：萬人)

資料來源：維基百科

動態人群估算 — 「七一」遊行示威

動態遊行時人群密度偏低並且易變，也增加了估算困難。動態的人群會隨著時間和地點發生變化：一個遊行隊伍的頭部通常較為有組織，尾部卻常常趨於鬆散，而當隊伍領袖要發表演講時，參與人群又霎時變得非常集中。因此對動態人群的估算比對靜態人群的估算更加不確定。例如2007年2月在倫敦發生的停戰大遊行，主辦方估計有6萬人參與，警方則估計為1萬人，雙方差異足足六倍。

表二列出不同團體對歷屆「七一」遊行的人數估算。每年參與人數的準確性都一直都引起諸多爭論，但遺憾的是各方從沒有深入的討論，各自說話。其實估算類似這種動態遊行人數的難度在於，人們隨時都有可能加入或者離開遊行隊伍，不確定性非常大。統計工作者通常會在遊行隊伍會經過的主要地點設立觀測站，由觀察員在選定的時間段點算通過該站點的人數。遊行示威一般都會有一個焦點地段，通常這個點就設在最後的終點。但是，焦點地段也是最難點算人數的。通常情況下，這個焦點會發生在一個面積較大的區域，例如一個廣場，這時參與人群容易擴張，移動緩慢，並且波動很大。因此我們必須設置多個觀測站。基於這種方法，參與某次遊行的人數N就等於在特定遊行時段通過特定的遊行線路的總人數。以下我們將介紹兩種常用的定點觀測方法，每種方法都可以估算出參與人數N和標準誤差。

表二：歷年「七一」遊行人數 (2003-2011)

年份	主辦單位公佈	香港大學民意研究計劃	警方估計	Yip et al.
2003	>50	42.9 - 50.2	35	35
2004	53	18 - 20.7	20	14.0 - 20.0
2005	2.1	2 - 2.4	1.7	1.6 - 2.0
2006	5.8	3.3 - 3.9	2.8	2.4 - 2.8
2007	6.8	3 - 3.4	2.0	2.8 - 3.4
2008	4.7	1.6 - 1.9	1.55	1.4 - 1.6
2009	7.6	3.2 - 3.7	2.6	2.6 - 3.2
2010	5.2	2.2 - 2.6	2.0	1.8 - 2.2
2011	21.8	5.4 - 6.4	5.4	6.0 - 7.0

(單位：萬人)

資料來源：維基百科

單點點算與電話跟進

這種方法就是在距離焦點地段較近的位置選取觀測點A，點算通過這個位置的遊行人數。這樣我們就可以得出一個初步的估算 \hat{N}_A 。可是即使我們在這個時候的點算極盡精確，這個結果仍存在問題：有些參與者可能在到達這個觀測點之前就已經離開遊行隊伍，或者有些參與者在這個觀測點之後才加入隊伍。一種補救的辦法是在遊行之後在全部人口裡隨機抽取一些樣本進行電話調查。這就意味着我們首先要從抽樣樣本裡找到參與遊行的人士，然後要詢問他們是否有經過我們的觀測點，A。

即使一個遊行示威規模非常大，其參與者往往也只是全部人口中的小部分。在全部人口裡進行抽樣電話調查就意味著我們可能要打非常非常多的電話才能找到一定的參與者。而電話調查還有其他問題：例如抽取的樣本可能不具有代表性，可能某些家庭或者集群被集體納入樣本，很多人可能不願意回應查詢，即使回應了，其真實性也值得懷疑，等等。此外，在一些高壓政治環境裡，例如「阿拉伯之春」所涵蓋的突尼西亞、埃及等國的遊行示威，其參與者很可能因為害怕受到迫害，而不願意在電話裡向陌生人承認他們參與了相關遊行。

不過無論如何，如果具備可行性的話，電話調查可以輔助地面點算，讓我們得出一個估算值和標準誤差。這也是香港大學民調中心所採取的方法，但香港大學的民調方法即時沒有當天的到達這個觀測點之前就已經離開遊行隊伍的估算，便需要借用舊年用電話訪問中所搜集的數據作為今年的運算基礎。這是其中一個限制和不準確的原因。但值得一提，這個估計通常會在警方和主辦單位之間，但這不代表一定是準確的。根據筆者理解，警方的估算是在遊行路線設立三個觀察點作出點算的。

雙點複查與定點調查

如果不想使用電話調查，筆者與多位統計的學者提議另一種方法，是在遊行線路中選擇兩個點A和B，而非一個點，作為觀測點。這兩個點不宜太靠近，其中一個點應鄰近終點。當

然這種方法也不是完美的：有的參與者可能只經過其中的一個點，或者有的人兩個點都沒有經過。這種方法增加了點算的花費，也增加了下面我們要講到的定點問卷調查的花費，不過卻省下了電話調查在時間和物資上的耗費，也避免了電話調查帶來的偏差。這種方法的優勢在於高效、及時。

將電話調查和雙點複查兩種方法算出的標準誤差進行對比，我們可以看到雙點複查的方法可以提供一個較為精準的數據。此外，雙點複查的數據更為及時，在點算當天就可算出。

表二列出2003年至2011年的結果，遊行主辦方所估算的數據一直都比警方的數據高出二到三倍。但值得一提，因04年主辦單位的計算出現明顯[植樹問題]錯誤之後，當年仍堅持有53萬人參加。在05年，主辦單位使用另外一種數算方法，結果則出乎意外地相似，無論是警方、港大民調、筆者和主辦單位都是兩萬人左右。在05年，筆者、港大民調與及警方都沒有改變統計人數的方法。但很可惜，主辦單位並沒有認真正視這個問題。06年之後，故態復萌，參與人數再回復二、三倍之分歧現象。

結論

每年「六四」晚會和「七一」遊行的人數總是新聞一則，但很可惜地，一些資深的傳媒人士對處理主辦單位的數目都是人格分裂，明知數目不對，還是要用頭條報導，在網上更充斥一些不求甚解的言論，難道傳媒工作者的求平持真的態度在這些地方便會自動消失嗎？

我們堅信一個盡量精準的估算比一個「公關化妝」式的估算能夠更好地服務公眾。筆者建議所有參與計算者都要清楚交代數據，而媒體則有責任評核資料的可信性。如此可避免一些不負責任的估算，也可以為日後比較不同的估算結果提供基礎。如果某項遊行被視為吻合公眾利益的，那麼誇大其參與人數就會被視為善意的謊言，而低估人數則會被視為政治上居心叵測。我們應該以懷疑警惕的態度看待這些估算結果。

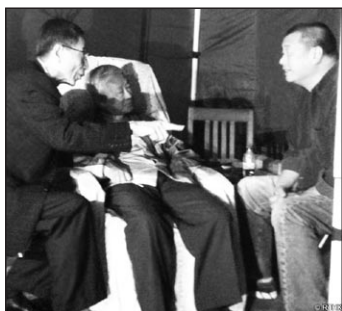
✎ 葉兆輝

香港大學社會工作及社會行政系教授

10月傳媒記事簿

黎智英巨額政治獻金文件曝光 傳媒「第四權」的角色受衝擊

傳媒在月中經Foxy軟件取得五份壹傳媒集團主席黎智英的捐款數簿內的文件，揭發他早於〇五年起，向民主黨、公民黨、社民連及陳日君樞機主教等泛民政黨及宗教界人士捐款逾約六千萬元。事件引起輿論沸沸騰騰，親中媒介懷疑背後另有外國勢力操縱，要求黎智英和



收授獻金的當事人都必須向公眾交代，又批評黎智英一直操控著傳媒、政黨及宗教這三大勢力。但另有反駁意見認為，這次事件更鞏固黎作為

「民主大亨」和壹傳媒作為「民主大報」的形象，而民主派人士更指出，資料外洩只是再次引證跟中央意見相左的政黨難獲商界捐款，而他們所獲得的都是無條件的捐款，即使捐款者亦不能干預黨務。

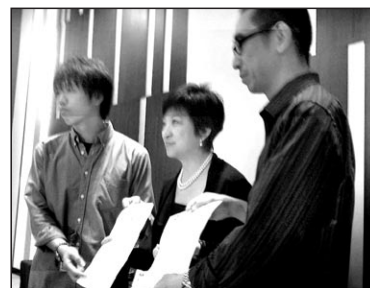
有傳播學者指傳媒向政黨捐款，在美國等地亦盛行，問題是會否令傳媒報道時有偏頗，不夠客觀。而政黨和傳媒若「走得太近」，令傳媒身為「第四權」的角色受到衝擊，令市民覺得某些政黨和傳媒已經歸邊，傳媒的監察角色亦會被質疑。另有學者則指出事件反映香港的政治困境：黎的個人捐款可以佔民主黨及公民黨收入的大部份，顯示出政治現實的悲涼。在美國流行的個人對政黨的小額捐款，在香港難以普及，令泛民在開拓資源上存在一定的困難。

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發佈突發新聞警方過猶不及 記協投訴新大樓保安阻採訪

將軍澳區十月初在十二小時內連環發生四宗途人被斬案，案中疑患精神病的神秘人一直在逃，威脅區內居民安全。但警方在案發後一周都沒公佈事件，至有傳媒在月初報道後才證實正通緝疑兇，但當記者多次追問警方為何沒主動公佈事件，發言人均沒正面回應，記者協會對警隊延遲公佈案情感到失望及遺憾。可能輿論對此事反應太強烈，故此警察公共關係科在其後兩周，開始不斷發放突發消息，由每日的三兩宗消息，上升到平均每日達八十多宗，高峰期更多達百多宗消息，令採訪部的突發組忙個不停，記者不再是被動等新聞，更可以主動加入追查。

立法會新大樓十月初正式投入運作，但在設施或安排上不僅未能便利傳媒，反而妨礙採訪，導致保安人員與記者關係愈趨緊張。香港記者協會及攝影記者協會月中向立法會秘書長吳文華遞信，表達他們的不滿，尤其抗議保安人員阻撓記者採訪。



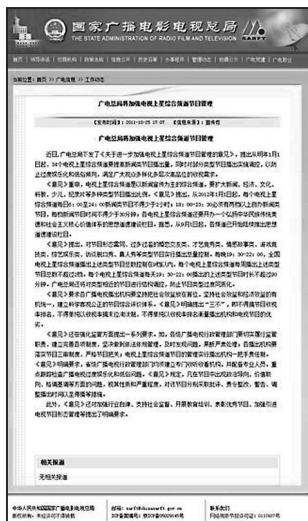
例如他們以人鏈擋著記者與官員或議員，令記者難以發問；又禁止攝影記者自由走動拍攝，甚至以武力拉扯攝影記者。了解事實後，吳文華對事件感到震驚及失望，表示會與全體九十名保安員會面，確保他們能協助傳媒工作。

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香港數碼廣播更換主席 港台藝人內地演出限制

本港的數碼聲音廣播年底起至明年年初已陸續啟播，會提供十八條廿四小時廣播的數碼頻道。四間負責的廣播機構十月中簽署數碼聲音廣播系統網絡共用協議，共同營運和分攤使用發射站的成本。而籌辦數載的「香港數碼廣播」在即將正式開台之際，其主席位置卻幾度換人，原先主席位置是持有24.77%股權的鄭經翰，但其他股東擔心大班挖角及言論過激，於是兩個月前由第二大股東東海聯合主席黃楚標接任公司主席。但黃也不過是過渡性質，原來各股東同意最後由李國章做公司主席，以淡化商人管理的印象，不過因為李國章是李國寶胞弟，而後者是電盈董事，此血緣關係觸及廣播條例中有關跨媒體控制權的限制，所以電台先要向廣管局申請豁免。

近年不少香港藝人北上掘金，但今年六月起，各地衛視申請港、台藝人上綜藝節目的報批非常困難，有傳聞是國家廣電總局欲限制港、台藝人演出頻率。十月初，廣電總局發出「限娛令」，內容卻未有提及限制外地藝人演出，令港、台娛樂界鬆一口氣，但有業界指，限制台灣藝人上內地衛視數量現正在研究中，明年仍可能會執行。面對政策隨時可能出現的改變，港、台藝人亦要作出部署，內地近年網絡視頻平台興起，限娛令有可能成為新晉港台藝人的發掘另一淘金出路。



蔡衍明向法院申請亞視清盤 港台公投九成反對政務官空降

立法會在十月下旬否決民主黨議員劉慧卿動議，要求立法會委任專責委員會，調查亞視誤報前國家主席江澤民死訊的事件。商務及經濟發展局局長蘇錦樑表示，基於公眾關注及投訴，廣管局會介入調查，包括王征在亞視管理層擔當的角色，研究有否違反法例規定、業務守則及牌照條款，因此立法會無必要成立委員會調查，以免影響廣管局的工作。此外，亞視因未能如期償還2300萬元貸款，十月中被台灣股東蔡衍明向法院申請清盤。月底亞視執行董事盛品儒表示已清還該款項給蔡氏，希望可盡快撤銷清盤申請。至於有周刊報道亞視因財困曾申請7億元貸款，盛未有證實或否認，但亞視投資者王征則指有關報道屬炒作。此外，有報道指亞視在未申報下任命高級副總裁鄧凱迎為「代總裁」，廣管就此報道向亞視查詢，對方否認，後者已提醒亞視有任何董事及主要管理人員變動時，須通報局方。

立法會資訊科技事務委員會十月下旬召開特別會議討論鄧忍光當廣播處長安排。港台節目製作人員工會在月中採「公投」形式，了解五百名員工對政務官出任廣播處長兼總編輯看法，結果在收回的309個回覆中，88%反對這次任命，僅8%支持。另有22%建議採工業行動、示威抗議。工會主席麥麗貞認為，結果反映政府空降政務官當港台總編輯，已觸及員工底線，工會要求政府當局交代鄧忍光任期，並即重新啟動晉升程序，任命另一名擁有公共廣播經驗的人出任廣播處長。而多名議員及港台員工在會上重申鄧忍光缺乏廣播經驗，要求港府撤回任命；鄧忍光則表示，了解員工對他的任命有憂慮，強調自己作為港台總編輯，會堅守港台約章，維持編輯自主。

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梁麗娟
傳媒評論員

[+] HARD TRUTHS

Asia-Pacific's PayTV landscape is in a state of flux. At present, the industry is littered with markets of varying performance standards. Although regulatory improvements have been made in some territories, others are still muddled in over-restrictive legislation.

TELEVISION ASIA PLUS

November 2011

[+] NEWS ANALYSIS

Trademarks are intimately involved in the entertainment industry in terms of product placement, but the relationship between trademarks, the products they support and the use of product in film or TV has caused intriguing problems which frequently strike at the very heart of what trademarks are all about.

INTER-MEDIA

September 2011

[+] THE INTERNET OF THINGS AND THE AGE OF SPIME

The Internet of Things as it has been become known refers to a vision of an Internet in which not only is anyone connected, anywhere and anytime, but so too is anything. What is relatively more recent is the host of new applications based on sensors and identification technologies. These are giving rise to a network of things with embedded intelligence, and to transform our expanding and ever chaotic sea of bits and bytes into usable information and knowledge.

INTER-MEDIA

September 2011

[+] GLASSES-FREE 3D GOES FOR GOLD

While much of the hype surrounding 3D TV in the home has thankfully faded over the last year, a number of notable developments offered some positive news for the technology, both in equipment and content. Advances in tech and content point toward 2012 Olympics.

BROADCASTING & CABLE

September 12, 2011

[+] COMBINING TO MEET THE DIGITAL CHALLENGE

The shift away from tape poses some tricky questions for production companies in U.K. Broadcasters have come together under the Digital Production Partnership to address the challenges faced by producers in the shift to tapeless. There is a big learning curve ahead for the broadcasting industry.

BROADCAST

September 30, 2011

[+] THE FUTURE OF MOBILE TV

While TV remains arguably the single most powerful medium in engaging mass audiences, the proliferation of mobile devices such as smartphones and tablet PCs is heralding the gradual shift of TV beyond its traditional bastion of the living room. After a number of setbacks, is mobile TV finally taking off?

ASIA-PACIFIC BROADCASTING

October 2011