

學術對談

## 新媒體對新聞業的衝擊

對談人：約翰·帕夫利克、李少南

翻 譯：徐來



約翰·帕夫利克教授  
(Prof. John Pavlik)

「言論自由至關重要。而數字技術在其中起到了雙刃劍的作用。數字公共領域曾令很多人預期它能让公眾參與重要的公共事務，但其中一個問題是在許多情況下，滋事者、仇恨販子和宣傳推銷者(甚至是機器人)，已然侵佔了大部分數字公共領域。許多選舉產生的官員或政治領導人，也都在審查言論，尤其是那些反對或批評他們的聲音。不管這些行為出於什麼良好初衷，它們常常導致寒蟬效應，也越來越多記者被捕入獄；過去一年是全球記者最凶險的一年。」

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Dialogue

## The Impact of New Media on Journalism

Discussants: John PAVLIK, Paul S. N. LEE

Translator: Lai XU

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### Abstract

Pavlik considers that one of the most important changes in journalism has been the emergence of social media. The digital public sphere brings the promise of increased public engagement in matters of public importance, but also threats to privacy, a haven for hate groups, and the diffusion of fake news. Government officials or political leaders have also sought to censor speech in the cyberspace.

To him, data-driven journalism makes possible reporting on trends based on actual data, putting specific examples into broader context. Citizen reporting can be valuable. Sometimes citizens have captured video which has proven vital in helping determine the truth about encounters which sometimes have ended in violence or even death. Research to date suggests fake news items are widely circulated especially if they spread conservative political extreme views. But research also shows impact on voter views is limited though it could affect the undecided.

To survive and thrive, Pavlik advises news media to (1) innovate, (2) maintain the highest standards of ethics and the pursuit of truth, and (3) stay committed to serving and engaging the public. His advices to journalism educators are: (1) teach students the foundational value of ethics, truth,

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### *The Impact of New Media on Journalism*

diversity and freedom of expression, (2) teach the core methods of creating excellence in journalism, and (3) teach students to be innovative leaders who can help journalism grow. At the end of the interview, he points out digital divide, intrusion of privacy, and freedom of the press are problems faced by news media today.

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## 約翰·帕夫利克教授簡介

約翰·帕夫利克教授是新澤西州立大學羅格斯大學 (Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey) 傳播與信息學院教授。他的主要研究方向是新科技對新聞、媒體與社會的影響，著作甚豐。他也曾是 CNN.com 的專欄作家及 Fathom.com 的製作人。

PL：李少南

JP：約翰·帕夫利克

**PL：**作為傳播學新媒體效果研究的專家、新聞業的新媒體影響研究的先行者，您在2001年出版了一部開創性的作品——《新聞業與新媒介》(*New Media and Journalism*)，對新聞報導形式、新聞工作室的轉型、新聞教育及新聞工作前景等各個方面，都進行了廣泛的涉獵與分析。時隔十多年，據您觀察，新媒體對新聞業的影響是否出現了其他新的動向？

**JP：**那本書出版以來，新媒體與新聞業領域的確發生了很大變化。最重要的變化之一莫過於社交媒體的出現。社交媒體營造出非常活躍的媒介環境，使公眾得以進一步彼此溝通、傳播新聞。顯而易見，社交媒體有潛力支持建構一個跨越國界、快速傳播的強大公共領域，但它也帶來一系列問題，包括威脅個人隱私、為仇恨群體提供避風港，以及傳播虛假新聞。與此同時，來得很快的「體驗媒體」(experiential media)，其中包括增強現實 (augmented reality, AR) 和虛擬現實 (virtual reality, VR)，這些新媒體形式亦會進一步衝擊新聞業。事實上，這也正是我剛剛完成的一本新書的探討主題。

**PL：**在由 Schreiber 與 Zimmermann 主編的《新聞業與科技變遷》(*Journalism and Technological Change*) 一書章節中，您對新媒體在言論自由上的影響，似乎不是那樣樂觀。其中，您引用了學者 Pool 的觀點，認為電子媒介不應被看作是「加強自由的技術」(technologies of freedom)。在該書的第186頁，您指出各國政府已經對公民使用數字媒體採取了監控、審查或其他控制方式。可否闡述一下您對「數字公共領域」的潛力和「第五權」(Fifth Estate) 前景的看法嗎？

**JP：** 言論自由至關重要。而數字技術在其中起到了雙刃劍的作用。伴隨政治、經濟等其他因素的改變，言論自由，尤其是新聞業語境下的言論自由，已然受到威脅。數字公共領域曾令很多人預期它能让公眾參與重要的公共事務，但其中一個問題是在許多情況下，滋事者、仇恨販子和宣傳推銷者（甚至是機器人），已然侵佔了大部分數字公共領域。許多選舉產生的官員或政治領導人，也都在審查言論，尤其是那些反對或批評他們的聲音。不管這些行為出於什麼良好初衷，它們常常導致寒蟬效應，也越來越多記者被捕入獄；保護記者委員會（Committee to Protect Journalists, CPJ）發表的報告指出，過去一年是全球記者最凶險的一年。

**PL：** 如今人們熱衷於談論大數據。許多新聞媒體也談到挖掘數據作為新聞材料及以數據驅動新聞寫作。您對這類新聞有何評價？

**JP：** 我認為此類新聞如若操作得當，將極具價值與重要性。數據新聞的出現，除了可依數據報道趨勢，還可以使隱藏在數據中的異常現象得以發現和報導，讓個別的事例在更廣闊的背景中呈現。而這些，往往是傳統新聞業的弱點。使用算法和人工智能，可以使新聞的數據挖掘工作更加有效。

**PL：** 您對「市民新聞」和「多群消息源」（crowd-sourcing）的新聞十分關注。您認為市民記者在新聞內容多樣化和言論自由方面，起到了怎樣的作用？

**JP：** 市民報導殊為可貴。在近期的一些案例中，市民們使用智能手機捕捉到突發新聞，例如警察與市民互動的視頻。這樣的視頻能夠為暴力甚至死亡的衝突事件提供真相。同樣地，市民用無人機拍攝下來的、包括自然災害在內的新聞視頻，也彌足珍貴。

**PL：** 社交媒體上流傳的那些虛假新聞、「後真相」，是如何影響傳統新聞的傳播模式的呢？有人認為唐納德·特朗普在美國總統選舉中獲勝，部分原因歸於傳統新聞的失敗。您對此有何看法？

**JP：** 假新聞是一個複雜的概念，蘊含多層涵義。從歷史來看，它指的是類似於一個多世紀前「皮爾當人」（Piltdown man）的新聞惡作劇（註：指偽造於20世紀初、在英國東薩塞克斯郡村莊皮爾當「發現」的古人類遺骸化石）。近年來，假新聞這個術語更多地用來指涉社交媒體上的消息——它們看上去像是通過正規新聞機構產生

《傳播與社會學刊》，(總)第46期(2018)

的真實新聞，但實際上是為了引起讀者興趣而編造的虛假故事。在這些假新聞中，有些僅僅是為了廣告收入，有些則旨在宣傳企圖影響公眾輿論。迄今研究表明，當假新聞涉及極端保守的政治觀點或陰謀論時，它們會廣泛擴散。但研究亦指出，虛假新聞對選民的影響是有限的，它們只會影響一些舉棋不定的人，特朗普總統或許曾從中受益，不過，他也援引「假新聞」一詞來打擊主流新聞媒體的合法地位——對於那些他不喜歡、或批評他的新聞，他常常斥之為「假新聞」。但這些新聞並不假，只是沒有順他的意而已。有時新聞媒體確實出現一些錯誤，他也歸之為假新聞；可是這些也不是假新聞，它們只是報導出錯，通常正規的新聞媒體都會更正錯誤的報道。至於新聞媒體作為一個職能機構，是否應對特朗普的獲勝負責，我的答案是，不需要負責。特朗普獲勝的主要理由包括：選舉團制度的性質和美國人口的比例傾斜，譬如美國大量自由派人士居住在少數幾個州和城市，而保守派人士則更多聚集在鄉村州縣；另外，或許至少部分原因在於限制投票的法律規定，使得此次選舉的投票率比過往總統選舉的投票率更低；同時，從國際消息來源發出的假新聞，擺出一副正規新聞的姿態而背後卻是宣傳技倆，這些都影響了這次選舉。要知道，希拉里·克林頓所獲得的選票比特朗普多了近300萬票（註：美國總統選舉的勝敗決定於獲得每州較多的「選舉人」票，而非一般選民的總票數）。

**PL：**您認為新媒體技術運行下的虛擬新聞工作室有多成功？它的發展前景和對新聞業的影響是什麼？

**JP：**虛擬新聞工作室的概念仍在不斷擴展，且日益重要。目前許多新聞製作與發行的工作，都通過移動設備和雲端技術來實現。它的影響是多方面的，包括效率的提高及潛在的數字安全問題，例如許多新聞媒體都成為網絡攻擊的受害者。

**PL：**可以分享更多關於計算新聞學的最新進展嗎？當越來越多的人工智能(AI)技術應用到新聞活動時，會有更多的記者失業嗎？

**JP：**計算新聞學的重要性不斷增加。其中突出的表現是新聞報導中增加了算法和人工智能的使用。例如美聯社正廣泛採用人工智能來

報導商業新聞。其他世界各地的新聞機構，包括中國，目前都在使用人工智能協助記者。與此同時，另一個重要進展就是體驗新聞 (experiential news) 的增長，這也是我為哥倫比亞大學出版社撰寫的新書主題。AR 和 VR 是新聞工作者在新聞內容生產中，使用電子計算器設計這一新形式的顯著例子。互動紀錄片 (interactive documentaries) 亦是另一例子。

**PL：**新聞機構想要在新的數字時代存活與發展，您能給他們一些怎樣的建議？

JP：我想要強調的有三點：首先，創新。創新是成功適應變幻世界的關鍵；其次，在新聞報導過程中，保持最高的道德標準和對真理的不懈追求；第三，繼續致力於服務及接觸民眾，用不妥協的態度秉持誠信。憑藉這三點，新聞機構不僅能夠在新的時代謀得生存，並將成為社會發展的重大基石與延伸公眾知情權的重要機構。

**PL：**鑒於新媒體對傳統新聞業的影響，您對新聞教育者有何建議？在您看來，怎樣的培訓才能滿足新聞專業的時代變化需求呢？

JP：我給新聞教育者的建議和我對上個問題的回答有相似之處。首先，傳授給學生關於道德、真理、多元和自由表達等基本價值觀；其次，教會學生在新聞行業及報導中，締造卓越表現的核心方法；最後，培養學生成為創新型領袖，帶領新聞業在不斷變化的世界中適應與發展。做新聞，可以是令人振奮的職業，但它的意義遠不止於此——它實為一種信念的感召，是信息社會的奠基石。

**PL：**最後，對於新的新聞形態及其對人類社會的影響，您有何評價？

JP：新聞業正身處天翻地覆的巨變之中。移動通訊設備和在綫媒體對新聞業產生了包括傳媒經濟、新聞傳遞、新聞搜集、報道形式及公眾參與等在內的多層面的影響。近幾個月來，創新媒體機構及相關新聞記者，採用 AR 和 VR 技術進行新聞報導的做法，已經取得重大進展。相應地，全球各地的公眾也正越來越多訂閱創新新聞媒體，閱讀以 AR、VR 和 360 全景視頻等新形式新聞。這些新的做法將可促進公眾的新聞參與度，提高使用者在沉浸式與交互式新聞故事中的移情效應。研究顯示，這一切正在發生，並可能



《傳播與社會學刊》，(總)第46期(2018)

進一步深化發展。

但依然有一些重要的問題值得我們關注，例如數字鴻溝：如果只有有錢人才能訂閱優質新聞，那麼社會其他各個階層，將如何獲取高質量的新聞？還有隱私受到威脅的問題。此外，言論自由與新聞媒體遭受攻擊的問題也要關注。

我們期待21世紀出現一個穩健、積極與創新的新聞業，但這需要新聞人員與社會公眾中都出現有勇氣的領袖，確保新媒體對未來的美好承諾得以實現。

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Academic Dialogue with **John Pavlik**

## **The Impact of New Media on Journalism**

JP: John Pavlik

PL: Paul S. N. Lee

**PL: You are an expert in new media’s impact on communication and one of the pioneers in the study of the new media’s impact on journalism. You published a seminal work *New Media and Journalism* in 2001 which covered a wide range of areas from the format of storytelling, transformation of news room, journalism education to job prospect in journalism. After one and a half decades, what other observations would you make about the impact of new media on journalism?**

JP: Since the publication of that book much has changed in terms of new media and journalism. One of the most important changes has been the emergence of social media. The public has engaged with each other and the news in a very active environment via social media. As it has become clear, although social media have the potential to support a robust public sphere that cuts across borders and at incredibly fast speed, social media also bring with them a host of problems, including threats to privacy, a haven for hate groups, and the diffusion of fake news. Coming fast are what I call experiential media, including augmented reality and virtual reality. These new media forms bring the potential for further disruption of journalism, both good and bad. In fact, this is the subject of a new book I am just finishing.

**PL: In a chapter published in Schreiber & Zimmermann’s edited book *Journalism and Technological Change* (2014), you seemed to be less optimistic about the new media’s impact on free speech. You quoted Pool’s idea about electronic media which were not considered by Pool as “technologies of freedom.” You pointed out that governments in the world have acted to monitor, censor and otherwise control citizens’ use of digital media (p. 186). Could you talk more about this point? What is your view about the potential of the “digital public sphere,” and the prospect of the “fifth estate”?**

JP: Freedom of speech is a vital issue and digital technologies present a double-edged sword. Coupled with other factors including economic and political shifts, freedom of speech, especially in the context of journalism, has been under threat. The digital public sphere brings the promise of increased public engagement in matters of public importance. One of the problems, however, is that in many cases trolls, hate mongers and propagandists (and even bots) have come to dominate much of the digital public sphere. Moreover, many elected officials or political leaders have sought to censor speech, especially that which they find objectionable or critical. However well-intentioned these efforts might be, they have often resulted in the chilling of speech and increasingly the arrest of journalists; the Committee to Protect Journalists has published data documenting the past year has been one of the most dangerous for journalists around the world.

**PL: Nowadays, people talk a lot about big data. Many news media also talk about data mining for news stories and data-driven journalism. What is your assessment of this type of journalism?**

JP: I think this type of journalism done well can be extremely valuable and important. Some of the things data journalism makes possible is reporting on trends based on actual data, finding the unusual hidden in the data, and putting specific examples into broader context. These have often been weaknesses in traditional journalism. Using algorithms and artificial intelligence to augment human reporters can help make data mining in journalism especially effective.

**PL: You have paid much attention to citizen journalism and crowd-sourcing. What is your recent assessment of the role of citizen journalists in diversifying news contents and enriching free expression of ordinary citizens?**

JP: Citizen reporting can be extremely valuable. In some recent cases citizens with smartphones have captured video of breaking news. Sometimes citizens have captured video of police-citizen interaction, for example, and this video has proven vital in helping determine the truth about those encounters, which sometimes have ended in violence or even death. Citizen drone video of news events including natural disasters has also been valuable in this regard.

*The Impact of New Media on Journalism*

**PL: How fake news or “post-truth” circulated in social media impact the traditional journalism model? Some people consider that the win of Donald Trump in the last U.S. presidential election was due partly to a failure of traditional journalism. How would you comment on this view?**

JP: Fake news is a complex concept and it has many meanings. Historically, it has referred to news hoaxes such as the Piltdown man more than a century ago. Recently the term has been used more to refer to items on social media that are designed to look like actual news stories from legitimate news organizations. But in fact that stories are fabricated to generate user interest and sharing via social media. Some of this fake news is simply meant to generate advertising revenues; some is propaganda meant to influence public opinion. Research to date suggests these fake news items are widely circulated especially if they spread conservative political extreme views even conspiracy theories. But research also shows impact on voter views is limited but could affect the undecided. President Trump may have benefited but he also invokes the term fake news as a means to delegitimize mainstream news media. He often calls stories he doesn't like or that imply criticism of him as fake news. But it's not fake. He just objects to it. Sometimes if news media make an actual error, he also calls it fake news. Again, it's not fake. It's an error. And typically actual news media will correct their errors. As to whether journalism as an institution or function is responsible for Trump's victory, I would say no. I would say the main factors were: the nature of the Electoral College system and the skewing of the US population, with liberals heavily populated in a few states and in cities, and conservatives more in more rural states; lower voter turnout than in the previous presidential election, which may have been due at least in part to laws that suppress voting; and fake news (from international sources) posturing as legitimate news, but in fact propaganda. Clinton won the popular vote by a wide margin of some 3 million votes.

**PL: To what extent do you think the virtual newsroom arising from the use of new media technology successful? What is its prospect and impact on journalism?**

JP: The concept of a virtual newsroom is still developing and is increasingly evident. Much journalism production and distribution

now occurs via mobile devices and the Cloud. Its impact is multifaceted and includes increased efficiency but also potential problems of digital security. Many news media have been the victim of cyberattacks.

**PL: Could you tell us more about the latest development of computational journalism? Will more journalists lose their job when more artificial intelligence (AI) is applied to news activities?**

JP: Computational journalism continues to grow in importance. Among the significant developments is the increased use of algorithms and artificial intelligence in news reporting. The Associated Press, for instance, now is making extensive use of AI in reporting on business news. Other news organizations around the world, including in China, are using AI to augment human reporters. Another important development is the increased production of experiential news, which will be the subject of a new book I am writing for Columbia University Press. Augmented reality and virtual reality are notable examples of new ways journalists are using computational design in news content. Also interactive documentaries are a good example.

**PL: What advice will you give to the news organization to survive and thrive in the new digital era?**

JP: My advice would emphasize three things. First, innovate. Innovation is essential to successful adaptation in a changing world. Second, maintain the highest standards of ethics and the pursuit of truth in reporting the news. Third, stay committed to serving and engaging the public in a manner that is uncompromising in terms of integrity. By doing these three things, journalism will not only survive but will also thrive as a vital foundation of society and informing the public.

**PL: Given the new media's impact on traditional journalism, what advice would you give to journalism educators? What types of training will meet the changing need of the journalism profession?**

JP: My advice to journalism educators would parallel my answer to the previous question. First, teach students the foundational value of ethics, truth, diversity and freedom of expression. Second, teach students the core methods of creating excellence in journalism and reporting the news. Finally, teach students to be innovative leaders who can help

## *The Impact of New Media on Journalism*

journalism grow and adapt in a changing world. Journalism can be an exciting career but it is more than that; it is a calling and the cornerstone of an informed society.

**PL: Finally, what is your assessment on the new form of journalism and its impact on human society?**

JP: Journalism is in the midst of a sea-change. Mobile and online media have disrupted journalism on many levels, including economics, news delivery, news gathering, story forms, and public engagement. Recent months have seen important developments in terms of innovative news organizations and journalists using AR and VR to report the news in new ways. The public around the world is responding by subscribing in growing numbers to these innovative news media and engaging news formatted in new ways such as via AR or in immersive 360 video. These new approaches promise to increase public engagement in news and heighten user empathy for the subjects of those immersive and interactive stories. Research suggests this is happening and is likely to grow.

But there are also important concerns such as the digital divide. If only the wealthy can afford to subscribe to quality journalism how will all segments of society obtain quality news? Privacy is threatened. And freedom of expression and the press are under siege.

There is hope for robust, engaged and innovative journalism in the 21st century. But it will require courageous leadership both among journalists and the public to ensure the promise of that future is fulfilled.

## Selected Works by John Pavlik

Please refer to the end of the Chinese version of the dialogue for John Pavlik's selected works.