

DOCTORAL THESIS

公眾的想像: 媒介使用與中國人的國家主義建構

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公眾的想像：

媒介使用與中國人的國家主義建構

Public Imagination:

Media Use and the Construction of the Chinese Nationalism

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哲學博士學位課程

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摘 要

本論文從傳播的角度來探討國家主義的「認知－象徵」本質，並試圖在公眾感知的國家主義與構成它們的理性和前提變項之間，建立理論上的聯繫，其中重點考察中國社會三個城市的受眾的媒介使用對具「認知－象徵」本質的國家主義的建構所產生的影響機制。

首先本研究用一個多面向的指標，來測量國家主義在公眾想像當中的程度。然後，我們結合 O－S－O－R 政治傳播效果模型和針對中國媒介效果研究的「整合理論」作為分析框架，具體地以一系列與想像有關的影響因素和前提，特別是媒介使用的型態、人際溝通、理性因素例如受眾的知識、信息運用策略、思維的成熟度等等，來檢驗它們與國家主義的形成之間的聯繫，繼而考察理性因素在媒介使用和國家主義之間所起的調節作用，最後，本研究採以理論為基礎的三角分析法，探討宏觀因素對國家主義建構的影響。

本研究採用隨機抽樣調查方法，分別在上海、廣州和澳門三個城市進行問卷訪問，上海和廣州兩個城市是採面對面訪談形式，澳門則採電話訪問形式。三地採相同的問卷，只在接觸媒介的幅度方面稍有差異。

本研究發現，國家主義具有一種多面向的認知－象徵本質，包括國家認同的個人評價、對中國國際地位的評估以及為國犧牲個人利益甚至生命的意願。這三個面向的形成都具有強大的理性基礎，包括人們的事件知識、成熟複雜的理智和主動的信息反芻策略等。另外，媒介接觸和媒介內容關注對於國家主義三個面向的形成皆起一定的作用。不過，研究發現這種媒介使用的影響力在一定程度上是間接地透過理性思維來完成的。最後，三角分析法發現宏觀因素對國家主義觀的程度會產生影響，政治制度的影響大於媒介環境的影響，而個體層面的媒介使用並沒有受到宏觀層面的制度或環境的影響。因此，本研究認為，即使地緣有差異、社會環境有不同，人們理解國家主義有分別，媒介的持續性和常規性報道，對集體意識的建構似乎是持久的。

Abstract

This doctoral thesis examines the cognitive-symbolic nature of nationalism from a communication perspective. It also attempts to build theoretical connections between aspects of public perceived nationalism and their rational basis and antecedents. Specifically, it focuses on the examination of the mechanism of the media use impact on the construction of the Chinese nationalism in three Chinese cities.

We started with a measurement of the degree of the imagined nationalism by using a multi-dimensional index. Then we adopted the O-S-O-R model used in political communication effects research and the Integrated Theory used in media effects research in China as our analytical framework for studying the relationship between factors relevant to imagination and antecedents such as media use patterns, interpersonal discussion, knowledge, active information processing, and mental complexity and the dimensions of nationalism. In addition, we examined the mediating function of the rationality factors between media use and the formation of nationalism. Finally, we investigated the influences of the macro-societal factors on the construction of nationalism by using the theory-based triangular comparison method.

Parallel surveys with random samples were conducted in three Mainland China's metropolises, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Macao. Face-to-face questionnaire interviews were conducted in Shanghai and Guangzhou while telephone interviews were done in Macao. A similar set of questions except for some differences in the media use part were used in all cities.

Results show that nationalism as cognition subsumes three components corresponding with expectations: private assessment of national identity, China's global role estimate, and readiness to sacrifice personal interest or life. Further analysis reveals that all three dimensions have strong rational foundations in that they require political knowledge, sophisticated reasoning, and depth in information processing. Media exposure and attention were also found to have relation with the three dimensions. However, it was found that Media's effects on nationalism are mediated by the rationality measures. At last, the research discovers that the political system produced large impact than media environment on the degree of perceived nationalism at the societal level, whereas they have little influences on the media use at the individual level. It concludes that while national boundaries, social contexts and the meaning of nationalism may change, media's persistent and routine contribution to the public imagination of nationalism tend to be enduring.

目 錄

聲明.....	i
摘要.....	ii
謝辭.....	iv
目錄.....	v
圖表目錄.....	vii
第一章 緒論.....	1
壹、研究問題的緣起.....	1
貳、國家主義的研究.....	2
參、研究問題、研究方法和研究意義.....	6
肆、論文架構.....	13
第二章 文獻和理論探討.....	15
壹、國家主義與傳播的研究.....	15
貳、國家主義的認知象徵本質.....	22
參、媒介與國家主義.....	27
肆、中國的國家主義和媒介之關係.....	28
伍、理論框架.....	33
陸、研究假設.....	48
柒、研究情境的社會制度及媒介信息環境.....	51
捌、比較研究框架.....	54
第三章 研究方法.....	63
壹、研究設計.....	63

貳、研究地點.....	63
參、抽樣.....	63
肆、測量.....	64
伍、數據處理.....	74
陸、分析方法.....	75
第四章 研究發現.....	79
壹、量表的信度和效度檢驗.....	79
貳、描述統計.....	89
參、主要研究發現.....	100
第五章 結論與討論.....	138
壹、理論整合：O—S—O—R 模型.....	139
貳、國家主義的面向.....	140
參、媒介使用與國家主義的關係.....	142
肆、宏觀層面因素對國家主義的影響.....	144
伍、研究的限制和建議.....	149
參考文獻.....	153
附錄 問卷措辭.....	175
附錄 I 上海問卷.....	175
附錄 II 廣州問卷.....	179
附錄 III 澳門問卷.....	183
履歷.....	189