科目名稱:社會與文化理論 考試日期:109年11月11日第1節

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一、請摘要各段大意,並提出你對這篇文章的思考與評論。(50%)

Georg Simmel, "Bridge and Door"

Only to humanity, in contrast to nature, has the right to connect and separate been granted, and in the distinctive manner that one of these activities is always the presupposition of the other... Things must first be separated from one another in order to be together. Practically as well as logically, it would be meaningless to connect that which was not separated... In the immediate as well as the symbolic sense, in the physical as well as the intellectual sense, we are at any moment those who separate the connected or connect the separate.

The people who first built a path between two places performed one of the greatest human achievements. No matter how often they might have gone back and forth between the two and thus connected them subjectively, so to speak, it was only in visibly impressing the path into the surface of the earth that the places were objectively connected. The will to connection had become a shaping of things, a shaping that was available to the will at every repetition, without still being dependent on its frequency or rarity. Path-building, one could say, is a specifically human achievement; the animal too continuously overcomes a separation and often in the cleverest and most ingenious ways, but its beginning and end remain unconnected, it does not accomplish the miracle of the road: freezing movement into a solid structure that commences from it and in which it terminates.

This achievement reaches its zenith in the construction of a bridge. Here the human will to connection seems to be confronted not only by the passive resistance of spatial separation but also by the active resistance of a special configuration. By overcoming this obstacle, the bridge symbolizes the extension of our volitional sphere over space...

Whereas in the correlation of separateness and unity, the bridge always allows the accent to fall on the latter, and at the same time overcomes the separation of its anchor points that make them visible and measurable, the door represents in a more decisive manner how separating and connecting are only two sides of precisely the same act... By virtue of the fact that the door forms, as it were, a linkage between the space of human beings and everything that remains outside it, it transcends the separation between the inner and the outer. Precisely because it can also be opened, its closure provides the feeling of a stronger isolation against everything outside this space than the mere

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unstructured wall. The latter is mute, but the door speaks. It is absolutely essential for humanity that it set itself a boundary, but with freedom, that is, in such a way that it can also remove this boundary again, that it can place itself outside it.

二、請仔細閱讀以下這篇文章,並寫下你的評論意見。(請注意配題時間,50%)

Zuboff, Shoshana,〈何謂監控資本主義?〉

節錄自肖莎娜·祖博夫,2020,《監控資本主義時代》,台北時報,第一章第三節。

監控資本主義單方面宣稱,人類經驗是能轉化為行為數據的免費原物料。雖然部分資料用來改善產品或服務品質,但其他數據則被業主據為己有,並將其稱為「行為剩餘」(behavioral surplus)。他們將這些資料投入下階段的生產過程,也就是所謂的「機器智慧」(machine intelligence),將資料製造成「預測產品」,對你當下、下一秒以及未來的行為進行預測。最後,這些預測產品會放在全新的市場上交易,而這種專門流通行為預測產品的市場,就是我所謂的「行為未來市場」(behavioral futures markets)。許多企業都迫不及待想在人類未來行為上下注,使提供此類商品交易的監控資本家得以迅速致富。

在接下來的章節中,我們會談到此新興市場的競爭之激烈,讓監控資本家持續開發更具預測力的行為剩餘來源,例如我們的聲音、個性以及情緒。最後,監控資本家發現如欲取得預測能力最強的行為數據,就必須介入現況,刺激、哄騙、調整並聚集民眾的行為,藉此導出有利可圖的結果。市場競爭壓力讓業者改變策略,他們提供的自動化機器裝置,不僅能預測我們的行為,更能大幅調整我們的行為。業者將重心從知識轉移到力量上,發現只讓群眾個人資訊自動流入還不夠,他們的新目標是讓群眾自動化。在監控資本演進過程的這個階段,生產方式必須配合日漸複雜的全面「行為修正手段」(means of behavioral modification)。基於這個目標,監控資本主義催生出一種前所未有的力量,我將其稱為「機器控制主義」(instrumentarianism)。機器控制力量不僅了解人類的行為模式,更能加以修正,使人做出滿足他者需求的行為。這種力量不需要借助武器或軍隊的武力,只要透過由「智慧」網路裝置、物件與空間連結而成,愈來愈普及的運算結構,就能利用這種結構產生的自動化媒介來達成目的。

在接下來的章節中,我們會探討這種操作模式的擴張,並深入分析維繫這種網絡的機器控制力量。想掙脫貪婪市場計畫的魔掌,確實愈來愈困難。店家只要願意付費,成為行為未來市場中

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的一員,那些計畫就能伸出觸手,溫柔地將《精靈寶可夢 GO》(Pokémon Go)手遊玩家,趕到特定餐廳、酒吧、速食連鎖店或商店消費。在更貪婪的情況下,他們還能利用臉書

(Facebook)上過剩的個人資訊,形塑你的行為模式,例如誘使你在週五下午五點四十五分購買痘痘藥膏;在你週日晨跑結束,腦內啡在腦中極速流竄時,使你點下「同意下單」的按鍵,購入一雙新的慢跑鞋;甚至,他們還能影響你下週投票時的選擇。工業資本主義持續強化發展各種生產手段;而監控資本家與其他市場參與者,則一股腦地發展各種行為修正手法,讓機器控制的力量愈來愈穩固、強大。

監控資本主義的發展方向,與最初的數位化美夢背道而馳,讓智慧居家成為古老的歷史。一直以來,大家都幻想這種相互連結的形態,其中必然帶有某種道德思維,因為「連結」本身就有利社會、兼容並蓄的特質,也讓知識的分配和運用更加民主。但監控資本主義澈底推翻這種幻想,數位連結現在已是他人用來滿足商業利益的手段。其實,監控資本主義具有寄生與自我指涉的特質。在馬克思(Karl Marx)的舊有想像中,資本主義就像一隻以勞工為食的吸血鬼。監控資本主義不僅展現了這種想像,還出現令人意想不到的轉折。監控資本主義吞噬的並非勞工,而是各式各樣的人類經驗。

一世紀以前,通用汽車(General Motors)發明經營資本主義,使其架構更完善、穩健;如今,谷歌循著類似足跡開創出監控資本主義,不斷將其推向高峰。無論是在概念上還是實踐上,谷歌都是監控資本主義的先驅。他們擁有鉅額資金,能不斷進行研究與發展,也是實驗與應用領域的拓荒者。但在監控資本主義的發展道路上,谷歌已經不是孤單一人。監控資本主義迅速蔓延至臉書,現在也正式進入微軟(Microsoft)。證據顯示亞馬遜(Amazon)早已改變方針,以監控資本主義為發展目標。而對蘋果(Apple)來說,監控資本主義不斷帶來挑戰,它不僅是外部威脅,也是內部衝突與爭執的起因。

身為監控資本主義的先驅,谷歌在那未開化的網路空間中,推動前所未見的市場營運操作,完全不受法律或競爭對手的阻撓,如同侵略性強大的物種,進入一個完全沒有天然掠食者的生態系那樣。谷歌的主管高速推動其業務的系統連貫性,公家單位與個人用戶怎麼追也趕不上。谷歌也從歷史事件中獲益。九一一恐攻後,被激怒的國家安全機器開始採取行動。他們開始培養、模仿、庇護並挪用監控資本主義的新興能力,因為此能力能帶來全然的知識,更能保證知識正確無誤。

監控資本家很快就發現自己能為所欲為,而他們也真的這麼做了。他們打著提倡與解放的口號,大肆利用當代社會的焦慮感,同時在檯面下採取真正的行動。在他們的花言巧語形容下, 群眾彷彿能從網路獲得力量,而這些資本家的反應速度極為敏銳,更有信心能創造龐大的收益 流。此外,他們準備要占領攻陷的那片領地,又是一片未開發、毫無防備的空間。上述因素就

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像一張隱形斗篷般,隱匿他們的真實操作。資本家主導的自動化流程,本身就複雜到令人難以理解,民眾都被搞得一頭霧水,而他們還不斷宣稱這是必然發展,種種因素都讓監控資本家得以不受侵擾。

起初,大型網路公司競爭激烈,紛紛將行為未來市場的重心擺在網路行銷上。但在現今,監控資本主義不只侷限於這波濤洶湧的競爭場域裡。幾乎所有以網路為基礎的商業模式,全都將監控資本主義的機制和經濟指令視為營運的預設模型。最後,這些競爭壓力,迫使監控資本主義滲入網路外的離線世界。那套從網頁瀏覽、按讚和點擊紀錄汲取數據的基礎機制,也從你在公園中慢跑、邊吃早餐邊跟朋友聊天,或是尋找車位時,汲取養分和資訊,持續成長擴張。現在,預測產品在行為未來市場上交易、流通,而此市場的範圍已從網路行銷廣告拓展至其他領域,例如保險、零售、金融以及不斷擴張的商品與服務企業。這些公司都想從這個有利可圖的新興市場中海撈一筆。無論是「智慧」居家配備,還是保險公司所謂的「行為承保」

(behavioral underwriting),或是數以千計的其他交易,現在大家都在掏錢購買自己的主導權。

監控資本主義的商品或服務並非價值交換的實物。業者與用戶之間,也未建立起生產者與消費者之間的正向互惠關係。業者提供的商品或服務,反而像「鉤子」那樣,誘使用戶掉入他們的單方面抽取運作中:剝奪用戶的個人經驗,將這些經驗包裝處理後,拿去滿足他者的需求。我們並非監控資本主義的「顧客」。雖然有句話說:「如果都不用付錢的話,那你本身就是商品。」但這個說法同樣不正確。對監控資本主義而言,身為消費者的我們是相當重要的「剩餘」來源:在以高科技建構而成、無可遁逃的原料萃取過程中,我們是被榨取的對象。監控資本主義的顧客,其實是那些在市場上交易未來行為的企業。

這種邏輯讓日常生活成了每日重複續約的二十一世紀浮士德契約。之所以說是「浮士德」契約,是因為就算我們知道自己必須跟魔鬼交換的事物,終有一日會反過來破壞原有的生活,我們仍然無法從這種狀態中抽離。網路已經成為社會參與的重要媒介,而網路中充斥著數也數不盡的商業活動,這些商業活動如今都依循著監控資本主義的規範。那些商業監控計畫,就是看準人類的依賴心理。我們一方面希望能借助這些監控計畫來改善生活,同時又對其明目張膽的侵略姿態感到抗拒。這種衝突思維使人麻木,讓我們逐漸習慣這種被監控、分析、挖掘以及調整的現況。我們不再反抗,以犬儒主義思維來合理化這種現象,並提出近似於防衛機制的藉口,例如:「我又沒什麼好隱藏的。」或是找其他辦法把頭埋在沙堆裡,以無知來應付沮喪和無助的心情。透過這種方式,監控資本主義提出完全不合法的選擇,迫使根本沒有義務做決定的二十一世紀人類表態。隨著現況正常化,民眾也只能戴著鐐銬,一邊高聲歌唱。

監控資本家累積極為龐大的知識,知識也帶來無比強大的力量,監控資本主義就是在這種不對

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等的狀態下運行。監控資本家知道關於我們的一切,但他們的運作模式經過精心設計,使我們一無所知。他們從我們身上累積大量的全新知識,但這些知識並不是為我們而收集。他們之所以想預測我們的未來,完全不是為了我們著想,而是想增加他者利益。監控資本主義與行為未來市場若得以繼續發展,新興的行為修正手段就會取代傳統生產方式,成為二十一世紀資本家的財富與力量來源。

關於監控資本主義的現況和後果,及其對個體生活、整體社會、民主制度,還有新興的資訊文明會帶來何種影響,都會在接下來的章節中深入探討。書中提到的證據和推論,都顯示監控資本主義這種異常的力量,是由新形態的經濟指令所驅動。這些經濟指令將社會規範視為無物,抹去基本人權的價值。然而基本權利與個體自主權緊密相關,更是建立、維繫民主社會的核心要素。

工業資本主義蓬勃發展後,自然環境受到損害,地球的生態也面臨威脅。而由監控資本主義與新興機器控制力量所建構的資訊文明,則會損及我們身為人類的本質,更有可能使人性蕩然無存。工業化發展使氣候混亂異常,人類感到沮喪、懊悔甚至是恐懼。在我們所處的時代,監控資本主義若成為資訊資本主義的主導形態,會對整個世界帶來哪些新的傷害?下個世代的年輕人心中又會懷抱怎麼樣的悔恨?愈來愈多部門、公司、新創企業、應用程式開發商和投資者,都追著光鮮亮麗的資訊資本主義跑,因此當你讀到這段文字時,這種新形態的資本主義也已再度擴張。大規模擁抱監控資本主義的現象,及其催生的反抗推力,這兩者之間的拉鋸戰至關重要。在嶄新的權力邊疆,人類的未來會是什麼模樣,就由這一戰而定。

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一、 請配置 50 分鐘翻譯下文,並給予簡要評論。本題占此科考試 50%

'We Are Alone,' from James Lovelock (2019) NOVACENE

Our cosmos is 13.8 billion years old. Our planet was formed 4.5 billion years ago and life began 3.7 billion years ago. Our species, *Homo sapiens*, is just over 300,000 years old. Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo and Newton appeared among us only in the last 500 years. For all but a brief moment of its existence the cosmos knew nothing of itself. Only when humanity developed the tools and the ideas to observe and analyze the bewildering spectacle of the clear night sky did the cosmos begin to awaken from its long sleep of ignorance.

Or did such an awakening also happen elsewhere? The inexhaustible flood of literature and films about aliens suggests we like to think so. It is difficult to believe we are alone in a cosmos which contains perhaps 2 trillion galaxies, each containing 100 billion stars. Some think that there is, surely, a chance that there have been or are highly intelligent species on at least one of the quadrillions of other planets that must orbit these stars. They would be, like us, understanders of the cosmos; or maybe their alien senses perceive an entirely different cosmos.

I think this is highly unlikely. These huge numbers of cosmic objects are misleading. It took the blindly groping process of evolution through natural selection 3.7 billion years — almost a third of the age of the cosmos — to evolve an understanding organism from the first primitive life forms. Furthermore, had the evolution of the solar system taken a billion years longer, there would be no one alive to talk about it. We would not have had time to attain the technological ability to cope with the increasing heat of the Sun. Seen from this perspective, it is clear that, ancient as it is, our cosmos is simply not old enough for the staggeringly improbable chain of events required to produce intelligent life to have occurred more than once. Our existence is a freakish one-off.

But our planet is now old. It is a curious fact that the lifespan of the Earth is easier to understand than our own lifespan. We do not yet know why humans rarely live beyond a maximum of 110 years and mice not much more than one year. It is not a matter of size — some small birds live to an age comparable with ours. In contrast, the lifespan of a planet is easily determined by the properties of the star that warms it.

Our star, the Sun, is what the astronomers call a main sequence star. It gave us life and it sustains us. Its

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warmth and regularity console us amidst the myriad uncertainties of our own lives. As that great truth-teller George Orwell wrote in 1946 in 'Some Thoughts on the Common Toad', 'The atom bombs are piling up in the factories, the police are prowling through the cities, the lies are streaming from loudspeakers, but the earth is still going round the sun...'

But this great consoler is also lethal. Main sequence stars slowly increase their brightness as they grow older. Increasing heat from the Sun threatens life on our planet. We have so far been protected by the planetary system I call Gaia which coos the Earth's surface.

There are several reasons why the Earth's temperature could become uninhabitably high. If there were no vegetation to absorb carbon dioxide (CO²) it could not be lowered to its present levels. There would be a runaway greenhouse effect. We see evidence of this process around us all the time. If on a hot day you compare the temperature of a slate roof with that of a nearby black conifer tree, you would find the roof is 40 degrees hotter than the tree. The tree cools itself by evaporating water. Similarly, the sea surface is cool because life keeps it below 15 °C; above that temperature there can be no sea life and sunlight is absorbed, heating the water.

Gaia must continue her work of cooling the planet, because it is now old and frail. With age, as I am all too aware, we become more fragile. The same is true for Gaia. She could now be destroyed by shocks to her system which, in previous ages, she would have simply shrugged off.

I am pretty sure that only Earth has incubated a creature capable of knowing the cosmos. But I am equally sure that the existence of that creature is imperiled. We are unique, privileged beings and, for that reason, we should cherish every moment of our awareness. We should now be cherishing those moments even more because our supremacy as the prime understanders of the cosmos is rapidly coming to end.

– ,