研究論文

褪色的技術迷思：
影子教育的數字資本與女性在線勞工

陳靜

摘 要

　　論文通過影子教育中女性網課教師的深度訪談與線上田野調查，討論了以下兩個研究議題：第一，分析線上教師的群體構成、技術使用和勞動方式。第二，探討當代中國線上教育的「技術迷思」，並理解數字資本、技術平台與線上勞動三者的複雜關係。研究發現：互聯網平台利用「互聯網＋影子教育＝社會公平」這一長久的「網絡迷思」，以抹平教育資源不平衡，幫助實現階層流動的社會責任為標榜，利用了商業與文化的既有迷思，構建出一種駁雜的「技術迷思」，並以此吸納勞動力，迎合數字資本，獲取政策保護。技術平台通過跨區域勞動力調集，隱匿勞動者身份與地理位置，將低廉的在線勞動包裝為高附加值的一對一服務，賺取勞動差額利潤；在勞動過程中實現了「去實體化」和「勞動分包」，通過「數字圓形監控」實行勞動控制，線上勞動者的「課時轉化」「空間度讓」「情感勞動」和「模糊工作邊界」都成為新的勞動付出。勞動過程中，女性在線教師原本對平台抱有的「技術迷思」

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開始迅速褪色，這並非是技術普及與使用的「祛魅」，而是線上勞作的體驗、個體對平台本質和勞動價值重新評判的必然結果。

關鍵詞：影子教育、技術迷思、在線勞工、數字資本

Research Article

Faded Technical Myth—Digital Capital and Female Online Labour in Shadow Education

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Abstract

The following two research topics were discussed through in-depth interviews and online field investigation of female online teachers in shadow education. First, the work analyzed the group composition, technique use, and labour manners of online teachers. Then, we explored the technical myths of contemporary Chinese online education, as well as the complicated relationship among digital capital, technology platforms, and online labour. The research found that Internet platforms used the long-standing Internet myth of "Internet + shadow education = social justice" to smooth out the imbalance of educational resources. Through taking the social responsibility of realizing class mobility as a slogan, the existing myths of business and culture were used to construct a mixed technical myth. Thus the labour force was absorbed to cater to digital capital and the company obtained policy protection. The technology platform concealed the identities and geographic locations of workers through cross-regional labour mobilization. Cheap online labour was packed into high-value-added one-to-one services to earn profits from labour differences. In the labour process, "dematerialization" and "labour subcontracting" were realized, and labour control was implemented through "digital circular monitoring". Online workers' "class-hour conversion," "spatial degree," "emotional labour," and "fuzzy work boundaries" had all become new labour contributions. During the

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labour process, female online teachers' original technical myths about the platform faded quickly. This was due to the online labour experience and individual re-judgment of the nature and labour value of the platform, instead of the popularization and use of technology.

Keywords: shadow education, technical myth, online labour, digital capital

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