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Creating a taxonomic tool for technocracy and applying it to Silicon Valley



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ABSTRACT

Although much criticism has been leveled against technocracy, the multi-layered problem has been analyzed in piecemeal fashion and has yet to be subject to robust classification. Consequently, it can be difficult to determine when allegations of technocracy are true, and the extent to which new instances of technocracy perpetuate longstanding problems. To close this gap in scholarship, we have created a taxonomy of technocracy that identifies three things: 1) the central domains where technocracy emerges, 2) the basic means by which technocratic power is instantiated, and 3) the quintessential types of harms technocratic discipline engenders. To demonstrate the explanatory power of the taxonomy, we apply it to Silicon Valley and clarify how this contemporary example of technocracy relates to past instances.

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1. Introduction: advancing technocracy scholarship with a taxonomy

The logic of technocracy has developed over long periods of history. Canonical bookends run from Plato's discussion of philosopher-kings to Francis Bacon's conception of scientific utopia, and culminate in Thorstein Veblen's vision of an engineered society (cf [16]). However, both advocates and critics use the term without conceptual precision. Appeals to 'technocracy' resemble Justice Potter's famous intuitive definition of pornography. Apparently, we are supposed to know it when we see it. Such vagueness, unfortunately, can impede both descriptive and prescriptive endeavors, especially when new problems arise and it becomes unclear as to whether the social and political trouble they cause entails technocratic harm.

Technocratic influence was not studied in a systematic way until thinkers within the Frankfurt School Critical

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Theory tradition made the ideology a proper subject of theoretical inquiry (e.g. Refs. [11,12,17]). While that formative analysis significantly advanced both descriptive and prescriptive scholarship, it needs to be refined and expanded. The multi-layered problem of technocratic encroachment on social life has yet to be robustly conceptualized. Consequently, it can be difficult to determine when allegations of technocracy are true, and the extent to which new instances of technocracy perpetuate long-standing problems. To close this gap in scholarship, we have created a new theoretical tool: a *taxonomy of technocracy*.

Like all taxonomies, ours is predicated upon idealized categories. For without judicious simplification, it would not be possible to synthesize disparate yet essential discourses about the fundamental and interconnected aspects of technocratic ideology. Aiming to strike a good balance between explanatory power and theoretical utility, we narrowed our focus to three elements: 1) the central domains where technocracy emerges, 2) the basic means by which technocratic power is instantiated, and 3) the quintessential types of harms technocratic discipline

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engenders. Since this is the first attempt to integrate diverse discussions of technocracy into a format that identifies the essential components, we intend for our construct to be a conversation starter, not the last word on the matter.

Indeed, we hope other analysts will use the taxonomy—or a modified version of it—to shed new light on both contemporary debates about technocracy and undertheorized previous instances of it. To illustrate how this can be done, we turn our attention to the present and clarify why Silicon Valley, through its products and rhetoric, deserves to be seen as a major exporter of contemporary technocracy. Although Silicon Valley does not perpetuate all of the problems that technocracy can yield, we believe it embodies many of them and that our taxonomy edifies how pernicious they are.

Before proceeding to these tasks, two caveats are in order.

First, although the taxonomy revolves around three categories that can be demarcated in principle—domains, means, and harms—in practice they overlap. Simply put, it is not possible to convey a harm that technocracy causes without also specifying where the harm occurred and how it transpired. Consequently, rather than presenting each element of technocracy in its own segregated section, our discussion proceeds holistically and conveys what they are in an interrelated manner. Nevertheless, we do not want the exigencies that constrain the order of explication to mar our goal of singling out differentiated items. To this end, at the close Section 2 we provide Table 1 that de-couples the items and presents each one on its own terms.

Second, although some of our remarks will be relevant to the question of how to resist technocracy, our primary aim is to advance theoretical understanding of its nature and scope. Still, we hope that analysts and activists with liberational agendas can use some of the insights found here to improve the quality of their arguments.

1.1. The basic ideology of technocracy: method & metaphysics

Technocracy is a subset of paternalism that focuses on solving societal problems. At its core, technocracy is a methodological ideology, "a belief in the ability to arrive at the optimal answer to any discussion through the application of particular practices" [4, p. 312].

Unlike force wielding, iron-fisted dictators, technocrats derive their authority from a seemingly softer form of power: scientific and engineering prestige. No matter where technocrats are found, they attempt to legitimize their hold over others by offering innovative proposals untainted by troubling subjective biases and interests. Through rhetorical appeals to optimization and objectivity, technocrats depict their favored approaches to social control as pragmatic alternatives to grossly inefficient political mechanisms [9]. Indeed, technocrats regularly conceive of their interventions in duty-bound terms, as a responsibility to help citizens and society overcome vast political frictions. What technocrats promise, therefore, is transcendence: scientifically sanctioned freedom from human frailty. "In this process, the technocratic model of objective necessity replaces the decisionistic model of politics, which

Table 1This table de-couples the domains, means, and harms that we describe in the paper, and summarizes each one on its own terms.

Taxonomic type	Subject	Description
Domain	Government	Arms of the state advance
		technocracy.
Domain	Professions	Technocracy is implemented
		either formally by professional
		groups or informally by
		professional cultures.
Domain	Business	Technocracy is spread by,
		among other aspects of the
		business world, corporations
		and markets.
Means	Mandates	Technocracy is enforced by
		direct, often blunt and
		powerful, measures.
Means	Nudges	Technocracy is induced by
	ruuges	"choice architecture": changing
		aspects of people's
		environments, which influence
		how their decisions are made.
Means	Technical	Technocracy is embedded by
Wicans	mediation	technological artifacts that
	mediation	structure, influence, change,
		and otherwise mediate people's
		relations with each other.
		themselves, and the world.
Harm	Political harm	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	Political Hallii	People are disenfranchised and deprived of appropriate
Harm	Dagamitian	political power and influence.
	Recognition	People's experiences, interests,
	justice harm	culture, and social standing are
Harm	Post stand of the own	degraded or ignored.
	Existential harm	People are portrayed in overly
		reductive terms, therein
		eliminating characteristics that
		have been deemed essential to
		respect and dignity in the
		modern Western tradition.
Harm	Discursive harm	People's discourses—e.g.,
		symbols, images, and
		languages—are dominated by
		technocratic ideas, thus
		foreclosing alternative ways of
		understanding the world and
		restricting imaginations about
		possible futures.

leads to the 'scientification of politics' and inevitably produces an authoritarian political framework" [4, p. 312].

As philosopher of technology Andrew Feenberg notes, the technocrat's preferred means—namely, technological fixes, social engineering, and bureaucratic management—repose upon metaphysical convictions. At bottom, technocrats believe that "there is always a correct answer to every technical question and every question can be formulated as a technical one" [12, p. 3]. This conviction presupposes a world where social and political values can be ignored, downplayed, or recast as equations balanced by what Anand Giridharadas aptly calls the "algorithmic imagination":

The most striking thing about the technocrats, though, is the nature of their imagination—algorithmic imagination, if you will. Such an imagination conceives of human problems as fundamentally solvable, so long as we have

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