

THE AGE OF SURVEILLANCE CAPITALISM

*The Fight for a Human Future at the
New Frontier of Power*

SHOSHANA ZUBOFF



PUBLICAFFAIRS

NEW YORK

Copyright © 2019 by Shoshana Zuboff

Hachette Book Group supports the right to free expression and the value of copyright. The purpose of copyright is to encourage writers and artists to produce the creative works that enrich our culture.

The scanning, uploading, and distribution of this book without permission is a theft of the author's intellectual property. If you would like permission to use material from the book (other than for review purposes), please contact permissions@hbgusa.com. Thank you for your support of the author's rights.

PublicAffairs
Hachette Book Group
1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10104
www.publicaffairsbooks.com
@Public_Affairs

Printed in the United States of America

First Edition: January 2019

Published by PublicAffairs, an imprint of Perseus Books, LLC, a subsidiary of Hachette Book Group, Inc. The PublicAffairs name and logo is a trademark of the Hachette Book Group.

The Hachette Speakers Bureau provides a wide range of authors for speaking events. To find out more, go to www.hachettespeakersbureau.com or call (866) 376-6591.

Sonnets from China, copyright © 1945 by W. H. Auden, renewed 1973 by The Estate of W. H. Auden; and "We Too Had Known Golden Hours," copyright © 1951 by W. H. Auden and renewed 1979 by The Estate of W.H. Auden; from *W. H. Auden Collected Poems* by W. H. Auden. Used by permission of Random House, an imprint and division of Penguin Random House LLC. All rights reserved.

Excerpt(s) from *Social Physics: How Good Ideas Spread—The Lessons from a New Science* by Alex Pentland, copyright © 2014 by Alex Pentland. Used by permission of Penguin Press, an imprint of Penguin Publishing Group, a division of Penguin Random House LLC. All rights reserved.

The publisher is not responsible for websites (or their content) that are not owned by the publisher.

Print book interior design by Six Red Marbles Inc.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Zuboff, Shoshana, 1951- author.

Title: The age of surveillance capitalism : the fight for a human future at the new frontier of power / Shoshana Zuboff.

Description: First edition. | New York : PublicAffairs, 2018. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018003901 (print) | LCCN 2018039998 (ebook) | ISBN 9781610395700 (ebook) | ISBN 9781610395694 (hardcover)

Subjects: LCSH: Consumer behavior—Data processing. | Consumer profiling—Data processing. | Information technology—Social aspects.

Classification: LCC HF5415.32 (ebook) | LCC HF5415.32 .Z83 2018 (print) | DDC 306.3—dc23

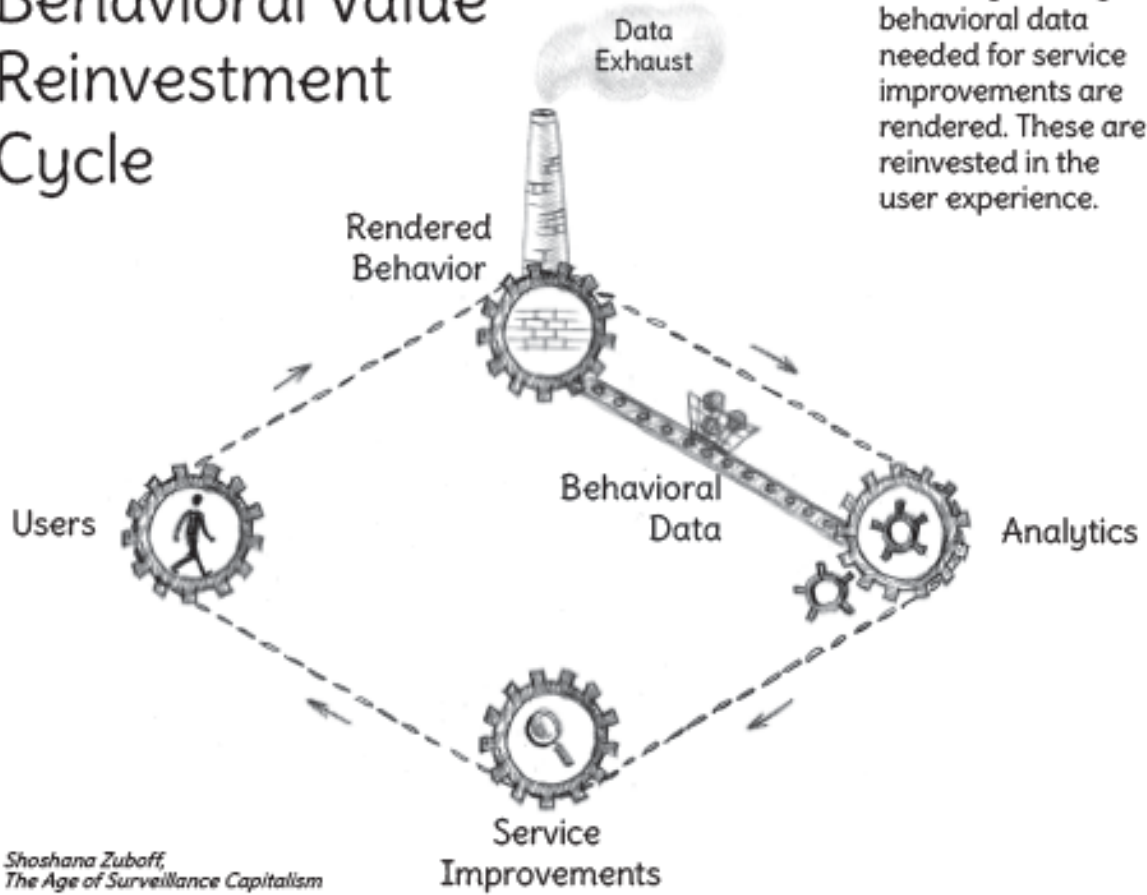
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2018003901>

ISBNs: 978-1-61039-569-4 (hardcover), 978-1-61039-570-0 (ebook)

LSC-C

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Behavioral Value Reinvestment Cycle

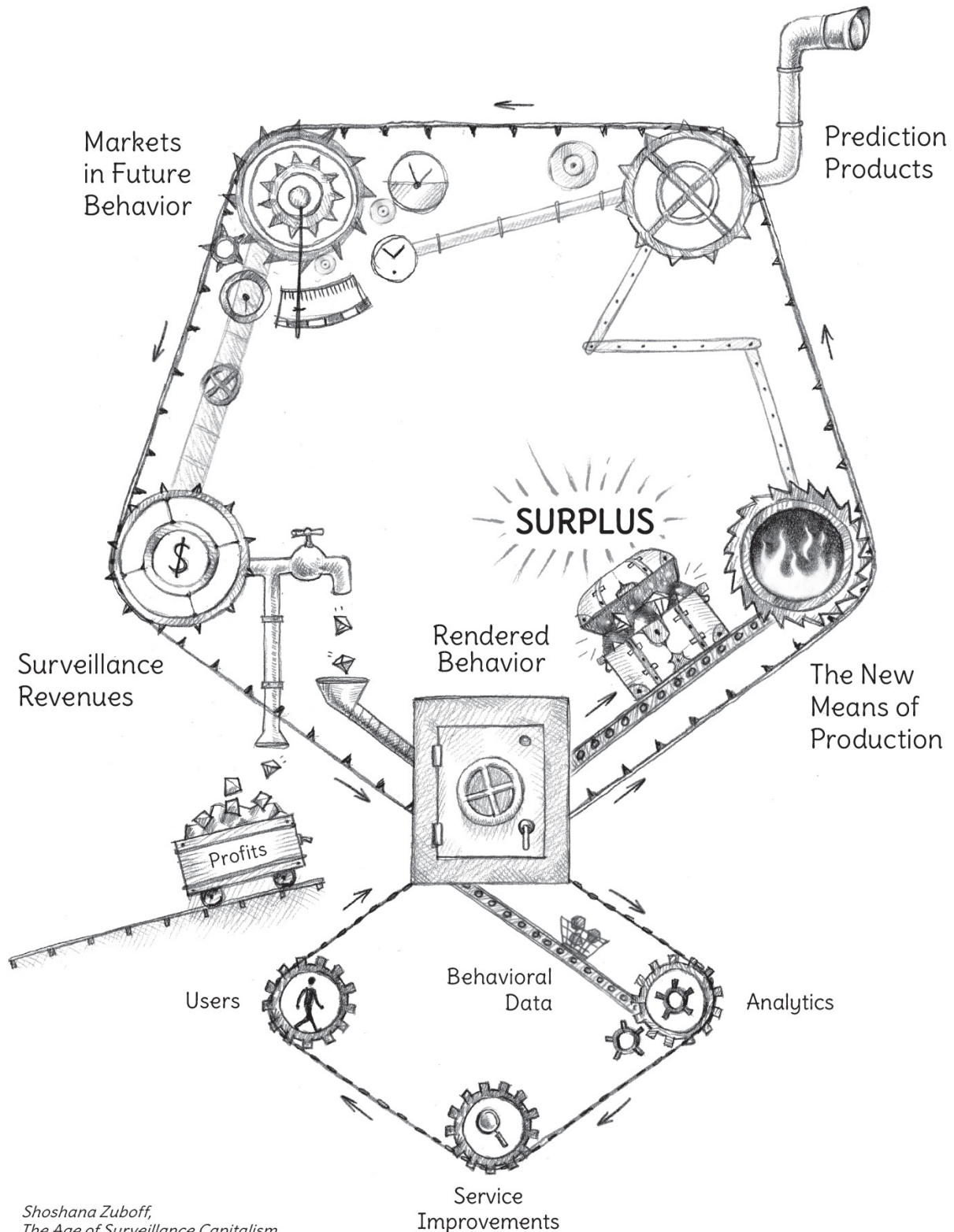


*Shoshana Zuboff,
The Age of Surveillance Capitalism*

Figure 1: The Behavioral Value Reinvestment Cycle

The Discovery of Behavioral Surplus

Surveillance capitalism begins with the discovery of behavioral surplus. More behavioral data are rendered than required for service improvements. This surplus feeds machine intelligence - the new means of production - that fabricates predictions of user behavior. These products are sold to business customers in new behavioral futures markets. The Behavioral Value Reinvestment Cycle is subordinated to this new logic.

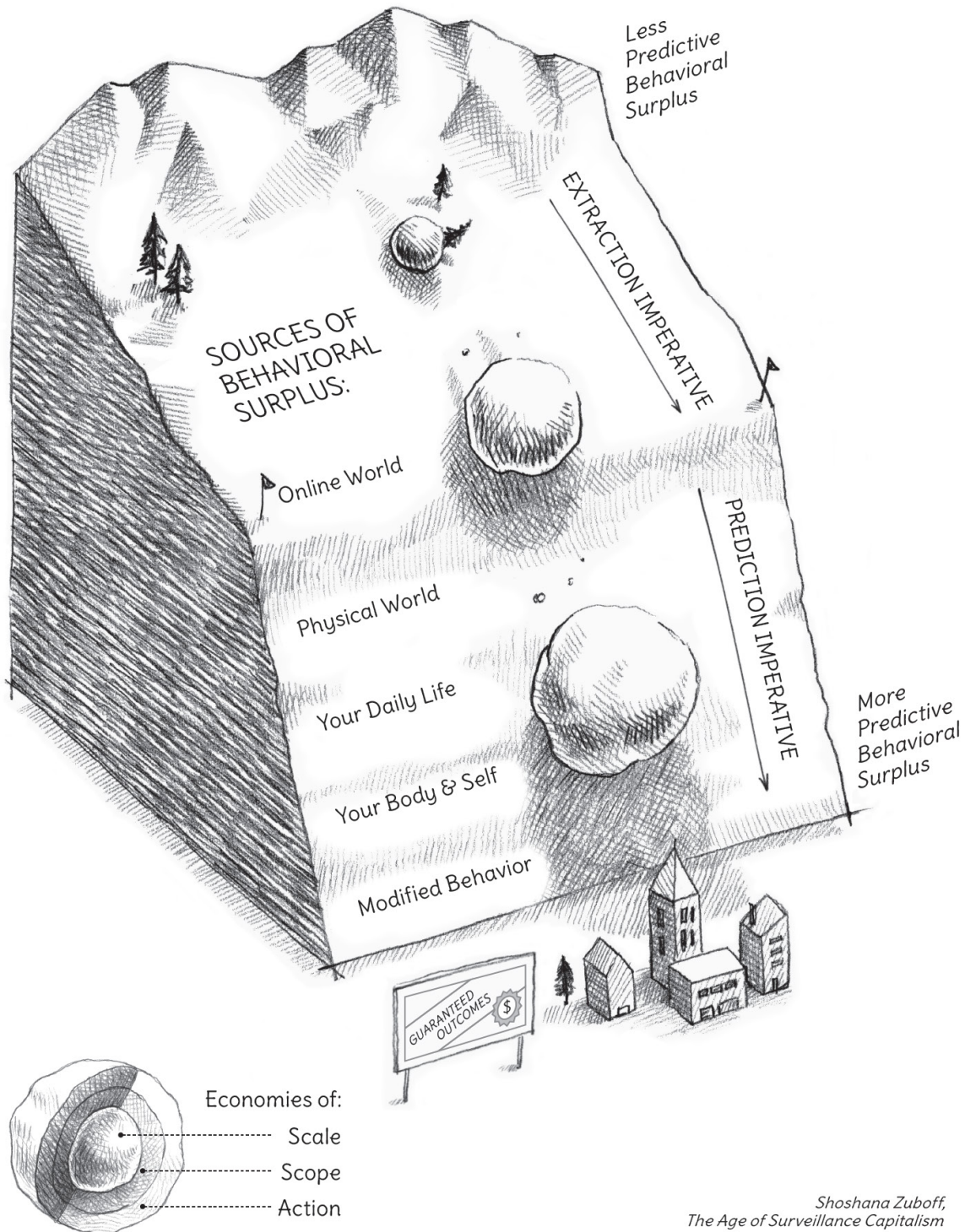


Shoshana Zuboff,
The Age of Surveillance Capitalism

Figure 2: The Discovery of Behavioral Surplus

The Dynamic of Behavioral Surplus Accumulation

Surveillance capitalism's master motion is the accumulation of new sources of behavioral surplus with more predictive power. The goal is predictions comparable to guaranteed outcomes in real-life behavior. Extraction begins online, but the prediction imperative increases the momentum, driving extraction toward new sources in the real world.



Shoshana Zuboff,
The Age of Surveillance Capitalism

Figure 3: The Dynamic of Behavioral Surplus Accumulation

TWO SPECIES OF POWER

Comparative Elements	Totalitarianism	Instrumentarianism
Central Metaphor	Big Brother	Big Other
Totalistic Vision	Total Possession	Total Certainty
Transcendent Purpose	Perfection of Society/Species Defined by Class or Race	Automation of Market/Society for the Certainty of Guaranteed Outcomes
Locus of Power	Control of the Means of Violence	Control of the Division of Learning in Society
Means of Power	Hierarchical Administration of Terror	Ownership of the Means of Behavioral Modification
Foundational Mechanisms	Arbitrary Terror; Murder	Dispossession of Behavioral Surplus for Computation, Control, Prediction
Theory and Practice	Theory Legitimizes Practice	Practice Conceals Theory

Shoshana Zuboff, The Age of Surveillance Capitalism

Figure 4: Two Species of Power

Comparative Elements	Totalitarianism	Instrumentarianism
Ideological Style	Political Religion	Radical Indifference
Social Strategies	Atomization and Division; Total Believers or Total Enemies	Otherization of Predictable Organisms
Core Social Processes	In-Group, Out-Group for Conformity and Obedience	Hive Mind; Social Comparison for Confluence and Predictability
Unit of Social Production	Mass (Political)	Population (Statistical)
Vector of Social Influence	“Re-Education” Exerts Control from Inside-Out	Behavioral Modification Exerts Control from Outside-In
Social Patterning	Radical Isolation	Radical Connection
Demands on Individual	Absolute Loyalty through Subjugation to State/Species	Absolute Transparency through Subjugation to Guaranteed Outcomes
Primary Source of Individual Attachment to Power	Thwarted Identity	Thwarted Effectiveness
Primary Mode of Individual Attachment to Power	Identification	Dependency