Raelon Veritas Lee 出品

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太棒了，我会综合分析现代资本主义体系中的“温柔暴力”机制，涵盖社会学、传播学、心理学与哲学等多个学科，引用福柯、布迪厄、齐泽克等关键理论，并对比中西方社会（特别是新自由主义语境）中的共性与差异。

我将以中英双语整理资料，输出结构包括：驯化机制结构图、叙事资本的多维渗透、自由幻觉的识别方式与抗驯化实践指南。

整理完成后我会第一时间告诉你。

**现代资本主义社会的温柔暴力机制 (Gentle Violence in Modern Capitalist Society)**

**引言 (Introduction)**

现代资本主义社会中存在一种隐蔽的\*\*“温柔暴力”**，通过柔性的手段实现对个体的控制和驯化。这种权力不像传统暴力那样赤裸裸地强制个人，而是通过叙事、文化、心理等软性方式，让人们在不知不觉中接受并配合系统的要求。在西方社会和中国社会，这种柔性控制机制都有所体现，虽形式不同但本质类似。本文将从社会学、传播学、心理学、哲学等角度深入分析这一**柔性驯化机制**的形成与运行，包括：从**外部强制到自我规训**的权力演化，**“叙事资本”**如何在消费、工作、恋爱、教育领域渗透价值观，消费主义意识形态的符号结构及其心理效应，现代精英选拔与教育体系如何制造“合法不平等”，以及**“自由幻觉”**如何让个人心甘情愿地自我剥削。最后，我们将提出**“抗驯化”实践指南\*\*，探讨如何重构内在意志，突破系统赋予我们的叙事幻象。

Modern capitalist societies exhibit a covert form of **“gentle violence”** – a soft mechanism of control and domestication of individuals. Unlike overt physical force, this power operates through subtle social narratives, culture, and psychology, causing people to unconsciously accept and comply with systemic demands. Both Western and Chinese societies manifest such soft control mechanisms, albeit in different guises but with similar essence. This article will delve into how this **soft domestication mechanism** is formed and operates, from the evolution of power **“from external coercion to self-discipline”**, to how **“narrative capital”** embeds values in consumption, work, love, and education, the symbolic structure and psyche of consumerist ideology, how modern elite selection and education create “legitimate inequality,” and how the **“illusion of freedom”** makes individuals willingly exploit themselves. Finally, we will present an **“anti-domestication” practice guide**, exploring ways to reconstruct one’s inner will and break free from the narrative illusions imposed by the system.

**从外部暴力到自我规训：软性控制的演化 (From External Violence to Self-Discipline: Evolution of Soft Control)**

早期的统治以外在暴力和权威为特征，主权者通过公开惩罚与威慑来维持秩序。然而，现代社会的权力机制经历了转型：由赤裸裸的**外部强制**转向隐蔽的**自我规训**。法国哲学家米歇尔·福柯（Michel Foucault）指出，随着社会进入规训时代，权力不再主要通过肉体惩罚来施加，而是通过持续的监视和规范来塑造个体行为 ([Michel Foucault: Discipline](https://criticallegalthinking.com/2019/02/26/michel-foucault-discipline/#:~:text=The%20decrease%20in%20punishment%20as,sounds%20purely%20legalistic%2C%20discipline%20is)) ([Michel Foucault: Discipline](https://criticallegalthinking.com/2019/02/26/michel-foucault-discipline/#:~:text=unverifiable%20gaze%2C%20as%20does%20a,disciplined))。福柯以“全景监狱”（Panopticon）模型为喻，说明现代权力运作如同一座中心瞭望塔：人在潜在的监视下内化了被观察的意识，从而**自动发挥权力的效应** ([Michel Foucault: Discipline](https://criticallegalthinking.com/2019/02/26/michel-foucault-discipline/#:~:text=the%20Panopticon%20,11Ibid%20205)) ([Michel Foucault: Discipline](https://criticallegalthinking.com/2019/02/26/michel-foucault-discipline/#:~:text=unverifiable%20gaze%2C%20as%20does%20a,disciplined))。换言之，个体因担心被观察而自我审查、自我管理，逐渐成为听话的“驯服的身体”。这种内化的规训在中国与西方皆有体现——西方有遍布各机构的监控与守则，中国也有纪律规范和群体监督，使人们自觉符合社会期待。

In earlier eras, domination was characterized by external violence and authority, with sovereigns maintaining order through public punishment and fear. However, modern power mechanisms have transformed from blatant **external coercion** to subtle **self-discipline**. French philosopher Michel Foucault observed that as society entered an age of discipline, power shifted away from bodily punishment towards continuous surveillance and normalization of behavior ([Michel Foucault: Discipline](https://criticallegalthinking.com/2019/02/26/michel-foucault-discipline/#:~:text=The%20decrease%20in%20punishment%20as,sounds%20purely%20legalistic%2C%20discipline%20is)) ([Michel Foucault: Discipline](https://criticallegalthinking.com/2019/02/26/michel-foucault-discipline/#:~:text=unverifiable%20gaze%2C%20as%20does%20a,disciplined)). Foucault’s metaphor of the **Panopticon** prison illustrates this: like prisoners under a central watchtower, individuals internalize the feeling of being watched, which **“assures the automatic functioning of power”** ([Michel Foucault: Discipline](https://criticallegalthinking.com/2019/02/26/michel-foucault-discipline/#:~:text=the%20Panopticon%20,11Ibid%20205)) ([Michel Foucault: Discipline](https://criticallegalthinking.com/2019/02/26/michel-foucault-discipline/#:~:text=unverifiable%20gaze%2C%20as%20does%20a,disciplined)). In effect, people fear invisible surveillance and thus monitor and correct themselves, becoming self-regulating “docile bodies.” This internalized discipline appears in both China and the West – in the West through ubiquitous CCTV, workplace rules, and societal norms, and in China via strict regulations and communal oversight – all causing individuals to **conform voluntarily** to expected behavior.

与此同时，社会学家皮埃尔·布迪厄（Pierre Bourdieu）提出了\*\*“象征性暴力”**概念，揭示权力如何通过文化和日常实践的内化来隐蔽地运作。布迪厄认为，统治阶级的价值观和品味通过教育、语言等途径被赋予合法性，进而使被支配者将其劣势地位视为理所当然 (**[**Bourdieu’s Theory on Capital Explained | Medium**](https://medium.com/@scottbrodieforsyth/status-games-and-symbolic-violence-11c4ca6a7545#:~:text=of%20the%20subtle%20violence%20that,capital%20more%20valuable%20than%20others)**)。这种象征暴力“无形而温和”，却非常有效：受支配者**内化了自身的从属，把它当作自然或应得的\*\* ([Bourdieu’s Theory on Capital Explained | Medium](https://medium.com/@scottbrodieforsyth/status-games-and-symbolic-violence-11c4ca6a7545#:~:text=of%20the%20subtle%20violence%20that,capital%20more%20valuable%20than%20others))。例如，在西方精英文化和中国儒家传统下，人们往往接受长幼尊卑、学业成败等社会等级，把社会不平等看作正常秩序的一部分。这种内化使得权力**无需直接施压**，人们便主动按照社会既定的规则行事，从而巩固了现有权力结构。

At the same time, sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of **“symbolic violence”** exposes how power operates covertly through the internalization of culture and everyday practices. Bourdieu argues that the values and tastes of the dominant class are legitimized through education, language, and other means, leading the dominated to accept their inferior position as natural or deserved ([Bourdieu’s Theory on Capital Explained | Medium](https://medium.com/@scottbrodieforsyth/status-games-and-symbolic-violence-11c4ca6a7545#:~:text=of%20the%20subtle%20violence%20that,capital%20more%20valuable%20than%20others)). This symbolic violence is “invisible and gentle” yet highly effective: the oppressed **internalize their subordination and see it as normal or merited** ([Bourdieu’s Theory on Capital Explained | Medium](https://medium.com/@scottbrodieforsyth/status-games-and-symbolic-violence-11c4ca6a7545#:~:text=of%20the%20subtle%20violence%20that,capital%20more%20valuable%20than%20others)). For example, under Western elite culture or China’s Confucian tradition, people accept social hierarchies – whether of age, academic success, or status – as part of the natural order. Because of this internalization, power can **operate without open force**; individuals willingly act according to established norms, thereby reinforcing the existing power structure.

哲学家斯拉沃伊·齐泽克（Slavoj Žižek）进一步从心理层面分析了意识形态对个体的**内在操控**。齐泽克指出，意识形态的核心不在于简单地遮蔽真相的谎言，而在于构建一种**无意识的幻想**，塑造我们的现实结构 ([What did Žižek mean when he said... : r/askphilosophy](https://www.reddit.com/r/askphilosophy/comments/qngeqd/what_did_%C5%BEi%C5%BEek_mean_when_he_said/#:~:text=,we%20are%20still%20doing%20them))。即使我们自认为对宣传保持了玩世不恭的距离，也仍在按照意识形态的剧本行动 ([What did Žižek mean when he said... : r/askphilosophy](https://www.reddit.com/r/askphilosophy/comments/qngeqd/what_did_%C5%BEi%C5%BEek_mean_when_he_said/#:~:text=,we%20are%20still%20doing%20them))。换言之，人们可能明知某些社会神话（如“人人皆可成功”）未必真实，却依然被其驱使。这样的**意识形态幻想**在中西方皆有体现：西方社会中，个人相信自由市场和民主叙事而忽视结构性不公；在中国，个人可能质疑“鸡汤”式成功学但仍然日以继夜地奋斗。这印证了柔性权力的高明之处——它使人**在心理上自愿接受**系统框架，把系统要求内化为自我愿景。

Philosopher Slavoj Žižek further explains the **inner manipulation** of individuals through ideology. Žižek argues that the essence of ideology is not simply lies that mask reality, but an **unconscious fantasy** that structures our social reality ([What did Žižek mean when he said... : r/askphilosophy](https://www.reddit.com/r/askphilosophy/comments/qngeqd/what_did_%C5%BEi%C5%BEek_mean_when_he_said/#:~:text=,we%20are%20still%20doing%20them)). Even if we think we maintain a cynical distance from propaganda, we still end up acting out the ideology’s script ([What did Žižek mean when he said... : r/askphilosophy](https://www.reddit.com/r/askphilosophy/comments/qngeqd/what_did_%C5%BEi%C5%BEek_mean_when_he_said/#:~:text=,we%20are%20still%20doing%20them)). In other words, people may *know* that certain social myths (like “everyone can be successful”) aren’t entirely true, yet they are still driven by them. This kind of **ideological fantasy** appears in both East and West: in Western societies, individuals believe in free-market and democratic narratives while overlooking structural inequities; in China, people might skeptically joke about “chicken-soup” success slogans yet still toil long hours under their influence. Such examples show the cleverness of gentle power – it makes people **willingly accept** the system’s framework psychologically, internalizing the system’s demands as if they were their own aspirations.

**“叙事资本”的四维渗透：消费、工作、恋爱、教育 (“Narrative Capital” in Four Domains: Consumption, Work, Love, Education)**

当代资本主义善于利用**叙事**来引导人们的观念和行为，将这些叙事本身转化为一种资本。所谓\*\*“叙事资本”\*\*，指的是那些具有广泛影响力的社会故事、神话和话语体系，它们像资本一样被投资于不同领域，从而产生对大众的软控制。在消费、工作、恋爱、教育这四个社会生活的重要维度中，支配性的叙事深入植入，引导着我们的价值观与行为模式。在欧美社会和中国社会，各领域的叙事既有共性也有差异，但都服务于维护现有的权力和经济体系。下面我们分别分析这四个维度中的叙事渗透：

Modern capitalism excels at using **narratives** to steer people’s beliefs and behaviors, turning these narratives into a form of capital. **“Narrative capital”** refers to influential societal stories, myths, and discourse systems that are invested across different domains to exert soft control over the public. In the four key realms of life – consumption, work, love, and education – dominant narratives are deeply embedded, guiding our values and behaviors. In both Western and Chinese contexts, these narratives share common themes but also have local nuances, all ultimately serving to sustain the existing power and economic structure. Let us examine how narrative capital penetrates each of these four dimensions:

**消费 (Consumption)**

在消费领域，充斥着\*\*“通过消费获得幸福与身份”**的主流叙事。消费主义神话让人们相信，购买某种商品不仅是获得实用功能，更是获取某种身份认同和生活方式。例如，在西方社会，从品牌服装到电子产品，都被赋予了象征意义：穿着名牌、使用最新款手机意味着成功与品位。整个社会被组织成一个通过消费来展示地位和自我形象的体系：个人拥有的商品越有声望，他在符号价值的地位就越高 (** [**Jean Baudrillard (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)**](https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/baudrillard/#:~:text=in%20his%20Theory%20of%20the,system%20of%20prestige%20and%20status) **)。正如鲍德里亚所言，“整个社会被组织于对商品的消费与炫耀之上，通过它们个人获得声望、身份和地位” (** [**Jean Baudrillard (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)**](https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/baudrillard/#:~:text=in%20his%20Theory%20of%20the,system%20of%20prestige%20and%20status) **)。在中国，随着经济发展，这种消费叙事同样盛行。大城市的中产阶级追捧奢侈品和“网红爆款”，把名车豪宅、名牌包袋当作成功的标志。“小镇做题家”式的朴素消费被嘲讽，取而代之的是“精致利己”的生活方式。消费不仅满足物质需求，更成为了一种**社交语言\*\*：你买什么就意味着你是谁。那些无法参与这种消费竞赛的人，则面临被贴上“失败者”标签的风险——在社交媒体上，不会打扮、没有新潮装备的人往往被边缘化，\*\*“消费失败”\*\*被叙事为个人努力不够或品味有问题。

In the realm of consumption, a dominant narrative proclaims that **happiness and identity are attained through consuming**. The myth of consumerism convinces people that buying a product is not just about utility but about acquiring a certain identity and lifestyle. For example, in Western societies, everything from designer clothes to gadgets carries symbolic meaning: wearing luxury brands or having the latest phone signifies success and taste. Society is organized around displaying status and self-image via consumption: the more prestigious one’s possessions (fashion, cars, gadgets), the higher one’s standing in terms of sign-value ( [Jean Baudrillard (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)](https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/baudrillard/#:~:text=in%20his%20Theory%20of%20the,system%20of%20prestige%20and%20status) ). As Jean Baudrillard noted, *“the entire society is organized around consumption and display of commodities through which individuals gain prestige, identity, and standing.”* ( [Jean Baudrillard (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)](https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/baudrillard/#:~:text=in%20his%20Theory%20of%20the,system%20of%20prestige%20and%20status) ) In China, with rapid economic growth, similar consumer narratives prevail. The urban middle class chases luxury goods and internet-famous trends, treating fancy cars, upscale apartments, and brand-name bags as markers of success. The frugal lifestyle of the “small-town quiz kids” (humble strivers) is ridiculed, replaced by a “sophisticated consumerist” way of life. Consuming has become a form of **social language**: what you buy signifies who you are. Those who can’t partake in this consumption race risk being labeled “losers” – on social media, people who don’t dress stylishly or flaunt new purchases are marginalized, and **“failure to consume”** is narrated as a personal shortcoming or lack of taste.

这种消费叙事制造了\*\*“自由选择”的幻觉\*\*。表面上，市场上商品琳琅满目、选择无限，似乎消费者拥有充分的自主权。然而，这种选择很多是结构预设好的“假选择”。大型跨国公司操控着众多品牌，看似多样的商品实际上出自少数巨头之手 ([The illusion of freedom of choice in contemporary consumer society: between trends and constraints - HIGHXTAR.](https://highxtar.com/en/the-illusion-of-freedom-of-choice-in-contemporary-consumer-society-between-trends-and-constraints/#:~:text=In%20the%20capitalist%20society%20in,before%20you%20know%20it%2C%20you%E2%80%99re))。此外，流行趋势和广告宣传塑造着大众偏好，使人们**以为**自己的选择是出于自由意志，实际上不过是在既定的潮流中随波逐流 ([The illusion of freedom of choice in contemporary consumer society: between trends and constraints - HIGHXTAR.](https://highxtar.com/en/the-illusion-of-freedom-of-choice-in-contemporary-consumer-society-between-trends-and-constraints/#:~:text=In%20the%20capitalist%20society%20in,before%20you%20know%20it%2C%20you%E2%80%99re))。正如有评论指出，“资本主义的消费游戏让你觉得自己在做真实抉择，但实际上你困在一个幻象迷宫里” ([The illusion of freedom of choice in contemporary consumer society: between trends and constraints - HIGHXTAR.](https://highxtar.com/en/the-illusion-of-freedom-of-choice-in-contemporary-consumer-society-between-trends-and-constraints/#:~:text=In%20the%20capitalist%20society%20in,before%20you%20know%20it%2C%20you%E2%80%99re))。在中国，消费者也面临类似情况——比如每年“双十一”购物节，各大平台预先营造购物狂欢氛围，所谓“上万种选择”背后是被算法和商家精心引导的冲动。消费者沉浸在\*\*“自由购物”的幻觉\*\*中，实则步步落入消费主义设定的陷阱。

This consumerist narrative also creates an **“illusion of free choice.”** On the surface, the market offers a dazzling array of products and unlimited options, suggesting that consumers have full autonomy. However, many of these choices are pseudo-choices prestructured by the system. A few big corporations control numerous brands, so seemingly diverse products actually originate from a handful of giants ([The illusion of freedom of choice in contemporary consumer society: between trends and constraints - HIGHXTAR.](https://highxtar.com/en/the-illusion-of-freedom-of-choice-in-contemporary-consumer-society-between-trends-and-constraints/#:~:text=In%20the%20capitalist%20society%20in,before%20you%20know%20it%2C%20you%E2%80%99re)). Moreover, trends and advertising shape public preferences, making people **believe** their choices are made of free will when in reality they are flowing with pre-set currents ([The illusion of freedom of choice in contemporary consumer society: between trends and constraints - HIGHXTAR.](https://highxtar.com/en/the-illusion-of-freedom-of-choice-in-contemporary-consumer-society-between-trends-and-constraints/#:~:text=In%20the%20capitalist%20society%20in,before%20you%20know%20it%2C%20you%E2%80%99re)). As one commentary noted, *“the consumer game is designed to make you feel like you are making authentic choices, when in reality you are trapped in a maze of illusions.”* ([The illusion of freedom of choice in contemporary consumer society: between trends and constraints - HIGHXTAR.](https://highxtar.com/en/the-illusion-of-freedom-of-choice-in-contemporary-consumer-society-between-trends-and-constraints/#:~:text=In%20the%20capitalist%20society%20in,before%20you%20know%20it%2C%20you%E2%80%99re)) In China, consumers face a similar scenario – for instance, during the annual “Double 11” shopping festival, platforms create a frenzied shopping atmosphere ahead of time. The so-called “tens of thousands of choices” are in fact carefully orchestrated impulses driven by algorithms and merchants. Consumers indulge in the **illusion of ‘free shopping’**, but in truth they are stepping into traps laid out by consumerism at every turn.

**工作 (Work)**

工作领域充斥着\*\*“成功学”神话**和对职业的意识形态包装。在西方，流行的叙事是通过努力工作就能实现**“美国梦”**式的成功，每个人都有平等机会向上流动。这种“奋斗成就一切”的故事鼓励员工投入更多时间精力，以为晋升和财富取决于个人勤奋。然而实际上，职场机会受到阶层、教育、人脉等结构性因素影响，但神话将失败归咎于个人不足，使系统本身逃避了审视。在中国，类似的成功学叙事更为直白：各种畅销的励志书籍、企业鸡汤课程反复宣扬**“只要拼命干，你就会成功”**。许多公司营造“家文化”，让员工把公司当作**自我实现**的舞台，将个人梦想与公司业绩捆绑。在互联网企业盛行的“996”工作制（早9点到晚9点，每周6天），被某些企业家美化为年轻人的福气 (**[**Alibaba founder defends overtime work culture as 'huge blessing' | Reuters**](https://www.reuters.com/article/technology/alibaba-founder-defends-overtime-work-culture-as-huge-blessing-idUSKCN1RO1BC/#:~:text=schedule%2C%20which%20refers%20to%20the,workday%2C%20six%20days%20a%20week)**)。例如，阿里巴巴创始人马云曾宣称“能做996是一种巨大的福报” (**[**Alibaba founder defends overtime work culture as 'huge blessing' | Reuters**](https://www.reuters.com/article/technology/alibaba-founder-defends-overtime-work-culture-as-huge-blessing-idUSKCN1RO1BC/#:~:text=schedule%2C%20which%20refers%20to%20the,workday%2C%20six%20days%20a%20week)**)。“如果你年轻时不996，你什么时候还能996？”他的话将超长工时包装成追梦应有之义 (**[**Alibaba founder defends overtime work culture as 'huge blessing' | Reuters**](https://www.reuters.com/article/technology/alibaba-founder-defends-overtime-work-culture-as-huge-blessing-idUSKCN1RO1BC/#:~:text=,on%20the%20company%27s%20WeChat%20account)**)。这种叙事让员工接受超负荷工作，将**自我价值\*\*建立在服从加班的基础上，认为这是通往成功的必经之路。

The world of work is infused with **“success myths”** and ideological framing of careers. In the West, the prevailing narrative is that hard work inevitably leads to **“American Dream”**-style success, and everyone has an equal chance to climb the ladder. This “work hard and you can achieve anything” story drives employees to invest ever more time and effort, believing that promotions and wealth solely depend on personal diligence. In reality, job opportunities are constrained by class, education, connections, and other structural factors. Yet the myth shifts any failure onto the individual’s shortcomings, deflecting scrutiny from the system itself. In China, similar success narratives are even more explicit: popular self-help books and corporate motivational seminars constantly preach that **“so long as you work yourself to the bone, you will succeed.”** Many companies foster a “family culture,” encouraging employees to treat the workplace as the stage for **self-actualization**, binding personal dreams to corporate goals. The infamous “996” schedule rampant in tech firms (9 a.m. to 9 p.m., 6 days a week) is even lauded by some entrepreneurs as a blessing for youth ([Alibaba founder defends overtime work culture as 'huge blessing' | Reuters](https://www.reuters.com/article/technology/alibaba-founder-defends-overtime-work-culture-as-huge-blessing-idUSKCN1RO1BC/#:~:text=schedule%2C%20which%20refers%20to%20the,workday%2C%20six%20days%20a%20week)). For example, Alibaba founder Jack Ma declared that “being able to work 996 is a huge blessing” ([Alibaba founder defends overtime work culture as 'huge blessing' | Reuters](https://www.reuters.com/article/technology/alibaba-founder-defends-overtime-work-culture-as-huge-blessing-idUSKCN1RO1BC/#:~:text=schedule%2C%20which%20refers%20to%20the,workday%2C%20six%20days%20a%20week)). *“If you don’t work 996 when you are young, when will you?”* he argued, spinning grueling hours as the natural price of chasing dreams ([Alibaba founder defends overtime work culture as 'huge blessing' | Reuters](https://www.reuters.com/article/technology/alibaba-founder-defends-overtime-work-culture-as-huge-blessing-idUSKCN1RO1BC/#:~:text=,on%20the%20company%27s%20WeChat%20account)). Such narratives lead employees to accept overwork, tying their **self-worth** to compliance with extreme hours and viewing it as the necessary path to success.

这种叙事资本还制造了\*\*“自由选择感”**，让职场人觉得职业道路是自己选定的，实现自我价值是主动追求的结果。表面上，你可以选择不同公司、不同行业，看似职业生涯由个人掌控。然而，社会主流价值已预设了**“成功”的标准\*\*：高薪、名头、晋升。这使得大多数人实际上的选择范围很窄——无论在中美，都以进入名企名校、拿高工资为目标。结果，**人们在有限的结构选项内竞争，却以为这是自由选择的竞技**。在中国，近年兴起的“内卷”一词生动描述了这种状况：年轻人被迫在996、考证、买房等选项组合中疲于奔命，不是因为他们真的出于热爱选择这些，而是害怕落后。尽管如此，企业和社会叙事鼓励大家把这种竞争内化为自我驱动，仿佛**不加班就是不求上进**。长此以往，**系统将对个体的剥削伪装成了个人的志愿**。

This narrative capital also creates a **“sense of free choice”** in careers, making workers feel that their career path is self-determined and their quest for self-worth is entirely self-driven. On the surface, one can choose different companies or industries, seemingly controlling one’s own career. However, mainstream social values have preset the **standards of “success”**: a high salary, prestigious titles, upward mobility. This means most people’s actual options are narrow – whether in China or the West, the goal tends to be entering top schools or companies and securing high pay. As a result, **people compete within a limited set of structured options but believe they are freely choosing in a meritocratic contest**. In China, the buzzword “involution” (“内卷”) vividly captures this situation: young people feel forced to run themselves ragged juggling 996 work hours, certification exams, and saving for housing – not out of genuine personal passion, but out of fear of falling behind. Yet corporate and social narratives encourage everyone to internalize this competition as self-motivated, as if **not working overtime means you lack ambition**. Over time, **the system disguises its exploitation of individuals as the individual’s own voluntary endeavor**.

**恋爱 (Love)**

爱情与亲密关系领域同样被叙事资本所渗透。在西方文化中，流行**浪漫主义**叙事，宣扬每个人通过爱情实现自我完整，仿佛找到“真爱”就是人生成功。然而这种叙事也服务于消费主义和规范性期望。例如，婚礼产业、钻石戒指和情人节礼物等消费传统建立在“浪漫爱情”的神话之上，引导人们用物质来表达和评判情感。大众传媒塑造了理想伴侣形象和恋爱脚本，暗含阶层与外貌的标准，使人们在情感生活中也遵循系统预设的“剧本”。在中国，传统与现代叙事交织。传统上有**门当户对**、长辈之命等观念，如今又融入消费时代的元素。例如，“没有房不结婚”成为很多城市青年的共识，爱情被房产、车子等物质条件所捆绑。网络上流行“**丈母娘经济**”的调侃，指婚恋市场中男性需要有房有车才能赢得青睐。这实际上是一种将爱情商品化、婚姻功利化的叙事。与此同时，流行文化又鼓吹偶像剧式的浪漫，为年轻人提供幻想。中国的婚恋节目、相亲APP等也强化了一套模式：男性要有经济基础，女性要年轻漂亮贤惠，各自扮演社会期待的角色。恋爱关系在这种叙事下，仿佛是自愿选择的亲密，但背后渗透着社会对于成功生活的模板，人们**无形中把感情生活也纳入了系统驯化的轨道**。

The realm of love and relationships is likewise penetrated by narrative capital. In Western culture, a popular **romantic narrative** claims that each person achieves self-fulfillment through love, as if finding “the one” is life’s ultimate success. However, this narrative also serves consumerism and normative expectations. For example, the wedding industry, diamond rings, and Valentine’s gifts are built upon the myth of “romantic love,” directing people to express and measure affection through material goods. Mass media crafts ideal partner images and dating scripts that implicitly carry standards of class and appearance, causing individuals to follow a system-defined “script” even in their love lives. In China, traditional and modern narratives intermingle. Traditionally there were ideas of **matching family status** or parental arrangement; now these mix with consumer-era elements. For instance, “no house, no marriage” has become a common notion among urban youth – love is tethered to assets like property and cars. The internet meme of the “**mother-in-law economy**” jokes that a man needs a house and car to gain a prospective bride’s family’s approval. This is essentially a narrative that commodifies love and makes marriage utilitarian. At the same time, pop culture promotes idol drama-style romance, feeding young people idealized fantasies. Chinese dating shows and matchmaking apps reinforce a formula: men should have financial stability, women should be youthful and virtuous, each playing roles that society expects. Under these narratives, romantic relationships seem to be freely chosen intimacies, but behind the scenes they are imbued with templates of a “successful life.” People **unwittingly bring their love life into the orbit of systemic domestication**, following social scripts even in matters of the heart.

**教育 (Education)**

教育领域的叙事资本体现在对\*\*“成功人生路径”**的塑造。从小到大，社会叙事不断强调教育是**改变命运**的唯一正途。在西方，这体现在**“精英大学神话”**和“人人都有机会”上：如美国鼓吹只要考上常春藤名校，将来就前途无量。这种理念鼓励学生和家庭不惜代价竞争名额，把教育成功视为人生价值的证明。在中国，更是有**“知识改变命运”\*\*和高考独木桥的强力叙事。家长和学生深信唯有考取名校、得到高学历才能跻身体面阶层。由此，一个庞大的应试教育产业和校外培训市场形成，孩子从小背负沉重的考试压力，背后正是这一叙事在驱动。在这个过程中，**个人对教育的投入与牺牲被视为理所当然**，因为叙事令他们相信一切都是为了将来的“成功人生”。

In the education sector, narrative capital manifests in shaping a **“path to a successful life.”** From childhood onward, social narratives constantly stress that education is the sole way to **change one’s fate**. In the West, this appears as the **“elite college myth”** and the mantra that “everyone has a chance”: for example, in the US, it’s often touted that if you get into an Ivy League university, your future is assured. This belief drives students and families to compete fiercely for admissions, treating academic success as proof of one’s life value. In China, the narrative is even more pronounced with slogans like **“knowledge changes destiny,”** epitomized by the all-important gaokao (college entrance exam). Parents and students are convinced that only by getting into a prestigious university and obtaining high degrees can one enter a respectable social class. This has spawned a massive exam-oriented education system and cram school market. Children bear heavy test pressures from a young age, propelled by this narrative. In the process, **personal sacrifices and intense investment in education are seen as natural**, because the narrative makes them believe it’s all for the sake of a “successful life” in the future.

然而，这种教育叙事与现实的矛盾在于，它掩盖了教育体系在**再生产社会阶层**方面的作用。布迪厄指出，教育系统往往成为**阶层再生产的机器**，通过看似中立的考试筛选，实则延续着文化资本的代际传递 ([Bourdieu’s Theory on Capital Explained | Medium](https://medium.com/@scottbrodieforsyth/status-games-and-symbolic-violence-11c4ca6a7545#:~:text=of%20the%20subtle%20violence%20that,capital%20more%20valuable%20than%20others))。精英学校青睐的“能力”与“素质”多是中上阶层家庭从小培养的，使得所谓公平竞争实际偏向有资源者。在西方，富裕家庭通过补习、课外活动、校友关系确保子女占据优势，表面上仍符合“凭成绩录取”的叙事。在中国，城市中产可以提供更好的教育环境、海外夏令营和补习班，让他们的孩子在高考中胜出，而农村或弱势群体的孩子则日益边缘化。尽管高考被宣传为最公平的机会，但统计显示名校新生中城市富裕家庭比例远高于农村。这种情况下，教育的\*\*“成功学”叙事实际上为不平等披上了合法外衣\*\*，让社会相信所得结果皆因个人努力。通过这种叙事资本运作，现代精英选拔体系将结构性不平等合理化，塑造出一种\*\*“合法不平等”\*\*：胜利者被视为应得的，失败者被默认为努力不够。人们无形中接受了这种不平等，因为他们深信叙事所描绘的赛跑是公平的 ([Bourdieu’s Theory on Capital Explained | Medium](https://medium.com/@scottbrodieforsyth/status-games-and-symbolic-violence-11c4ca6a7545#:~:text=of%20the%20subtle%20violence%20that,capital%20more%20valuable%20than%20others))。

However, this education narrative conflicts with the reality that the system often serves to **reproduce social classes**. Bourdieu noted that educational systems frequently act as machines of **class reproduction**, using seemingly neutral exams to actually perpetuate the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital ([Bourdieu’s Theory on Capital Explained | Medium](https://medium.com/@scottbrodieforsyth/status-games-and-symbolic-violence-11c4ca6a7545#:~:text=of%20the%20subtle%20violence%20that,capital%20more%20valuable%20than%20others)). The “abilities” and “merits” prized by elite schools are largely those cultivated by upper-middle-class families from early on, so the supposedly fair competition actually favors those with resources. In the West, affluent families secure advantages for their children through tutors, extracurriculars, and legacy connections, all while maintaining the appearance of a “merit-based” admission narrative. In China, urban middle-class parents can afford better schooling environments, overseas programs, and cram courses, helping their children outperform others in the gaokao, whereas rural and underprivileged children are increasingly left behind. Though exams like the gaokao are touted as the great equalizer, data show that a disproportionate share of top university entrants come from wealthy urban families. In this scenario, the educational **“success story” narrative actually cloaks inequality with legitimacy**, making society believe outcomes are solely due to individual effort. Through this operation of narrative capital, modern elite selection systems legitimize structural disparities, creating **“legitimate inequality”**: winners are seen as deserving, and losers are assumed to have not tried hard enough. People tacitly accept this inequality because they firmly believe the race depicted by the narrative is fair ([Bourdieu’s Theory on Capital Explained | Medium](https://medium.com/@scottbrodieforsyth/status-games-and-symbolic-violence-11c4ca6a7545#:~:text=of%20the%20subtle%20violence%20that,capital%20more%20valuable%20than%20others)).

**消费主义意识形态的符号结构 (The Symbolic Structure of Consumerist Ideology)**

现代消费主义不仅是一种经济现象，更是一整套**心理-符号体系**。它通过符号和幻想来操纵人们的欲望，使消费行为承载身份意义和情感满足。首先，品牌成为了社会语言的基本单元。每个品牌都被赋予特定的形象和价值观，消费者购买某品牌，就等于向外界**传达自我定位**。正如鲍德里亚分析的，在消费社会中，人们消费的不是物品本身，而是物品所代表的**符号价值** ( [Jean Baudrillard (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)](https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/baudrillard/#:~:text=in%20his%20Theory%20of%20the,system%20of%20prestige%20and%20status) )。一款奢侈手表或潮流球鞋，对于其拥有者而言，是一种身份标签，类似于语言中的词汇。通过这套符号体系，不同阶层和群体各有各的消费“词典”，例如上流社会青睐高端奢侈品，中产追求性价比和品质，小资阶层爱好文艺小众品牌，等等。消费因此成为个人构建和展示身份认同的主要途径之一。

Modern consumerism is not just an economic phenomenon but a comprehensive **psycho-symbolic system**. It manipulates desires through symbols and fantasies, so that acts of consumption carry meanings about identity and emotional fulfillment. Firstly, brands have become fundamental units of social language. Each brand is imbued with a particular image and set of values; when consumers buy a brand, they are **communicating their self-identity** to others. As Baudrillard observed, in consumer society people consume not the products per se, but the **sign-value** those products represent ( [Jean Baudrillard (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)](https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/baudrillard/#:~:text=in%20his%20Theory%20of%20the,system%20of%20prestige%20and%20status) ). A luxury watch or a pair of trendy sneakers serves as an identity tag for its owner, akin to a word in the language of status. Through this symbolic system, different classes and groups have distinct consumption “vocabularies.” For example, the upper class favors high-end luxury goods; the middle class seeks quality and value; the hip, petite bourgeoisie might prefer indie or artisanal brands, and so on. Consumption thus becomes one of the primary ways individuals construct and display their identity.

其次，消费主义意识形态通过制造**欲望与恐惧**来巩固自身。广告和媒体不断**制造新的欲望**：暗示我们缺少某件商品就不够快乐或成功，从而诱发购买冲动。同时，它也利用**对失败的恐惧**来控制人们。社会叙事污名化“消费失败”——如果你没有跟上潮流、没能力消费高档商品，就会被视作懒惰、不成功。西方社会中，欠债消费虽普遍，但欠债破产者往往被视为个人放纵无度的结果。在中国，随着消费信贷兴起，也出现了“月光族”（每月花光收入）文化和由过度消费导致的负债年轻人。这些人在主流叙事中被看作**教训**：不会理财、不懂自律的反面典型。由此，人们更害怕被贴上“不懂享受生活”或“loser”的标签，哪怕透支也要保持表面的光鲜。**不消费即有罪**成为一种潜在心理：消费者若不持续购买，就觉得自己落伍、生活失败。这种心理机制让消费主义得以自我强化。

Secondly, consumerist ideology perpetuates itself by instilling **desires and fears**. Advertising and media constantly **manufacture new desires**: they imply that unless we obtain a certain product, we cannot be happy or successful, thus triggering buying impulses. At the same time, consumerism leverages the **fear of failure** to keep people in line. Social narratives stigmatize “consumption failure” – if you don’t keep up with trends or can’t afford high-end goods, you’re viewed as lazy or unsuccessful. In Western society, living on credit is common, but those who go bankrupt are often seen as having personally overindulged. In China, with the rise of consumer credit, we also see the culture of “月光族” (living paycheck to paycheck each month) and youth falling into debt from overconsumption. In mainstream narratives, such people are presented as **cautionary tales** – negative examples of poor financial discipline. This induces a fear in people of being labeled as someone who “doesn’t know how to enjoy life” or a “loser.” Many feel compelled to keep up appearances by spending, even if it means going into debt. The mindset becomes that **not consuming is almost a sin** – if you don’t continuously buy, you fear you’re falling behind or failing at life. This psychological mechanism allows consumerism to reinforce itself.

再次，消费主义创造了一种**虚假的满足循环**。购买行为被包装成解决生活中各种问题和空虚的万能钥匙。然而，这种满足往往转瞬即逝：人们买到新商品后的一时快感很快消退，又需要通过下一次购物来填补心理落差 ([The illusion of freedom of choice in contemporary consumer society: between trends and constraints - HIGHXTAR.](https://highxtar.com/en/the-illusion-of-freedom-of-choice-in-contemporary-consumer-society-between-trends-and-constraints/#:~:text=make%20you%20feel%20like%20you,A))。这形成了一个**永无止境的消费循环**：欲望—满足—空虚—新的欲望。正如高xtar评论所言：“他们让我们觉得买下最新的iPhone、限量版球鞋或潮流T恤会让我们圆满，但转眼你又在寻找下一个目标，把一个并非真正需要的‘需要’替换成另一个” ([The illusion of freedom of choice in contemporary consumer society: between trends and constraints - HIGHXTAR.](https://highxtar.com/en/the-illusion-of-freedom-of-choice-in-contemporary-consumer-society-between-trends-and-constraints/#:~:text=make%20you%20feel%20like%20you,A))。这种循环在中国的城市青年中也非常明显：购物App的**促销算法**不间断地推送新品，“剁手”文化和“买买买”口号营造出永远有新的必需品等待着你。消费者处于**符号满足的幻觉**中，以为不停购物就是生活进步的体现，却忽视了自己已被这种无尽循环所奴役。

Thirdly, consumerism creates a **false cycle of fulfillment**. Purchasing is portrayed as a panacea for life’s problems and emptiness. However, any satisfaction is fleeting: the thrill of a new item fades quickly, and one must seek the next purchase to fill the void ([The illusion of freedom of choice in contemporary consumer society: between trends and constraints - HIGHXTAR.](https://highxtar.com/en/the-illusion-of-freedom-of-choice-in-contemporary-consumer-society-between-trends-and-constraints/#:~:text=make%20you%20feel%20like%20you,A)). This leads to a **never-ending cycle**: desire – purchase – brief satisfaction – emptiness – new desire. As the Highxtar article noted: *“They sell us the idea that buying the latest iPhone, a pair of limited edition sneakers or the newest T-shirt will make us feel complete, but before you know it, you’re looking for the next thing, trading one need for another that you don’t really have.”* ([The illusion of freedom of choice in contemporary consumer society: between trends and constraints - HIGHXTAR.](https://highxtar.com/en/the-illusion-of-freedom-of-choice-in-contemporary-consumer-society-between-trends-and-constraints/#:~:text=make%20you%20feel%20like%20you,A)). This cycle is very evident among urban Chinese youth as well: shopping apps and their **sale algorithms** relentlessly push new products; the “剁手” (“cutting off hand”) meme culture and “buy, buy, buy” slogans create the sense that there’s always a new must-have awaiting you. Consumers live in an **illusion of symbolic fulfillment**, thinking that constant shopping equates to life improvement, not realizing they have become enslaved by this endless loop.

**合法化不平等：精英选拔与教育再生产 (Legitimated Inequality: Elite Selection and Educational Reproduction)**

当代资本主义社会宣称奉行**平等竞争**与**机会公平**，但精英选拔和奖励体系往往在不知不觉间制造并强化着\*\*“合法化的不平等”**。所谓合法化，是指不平等被赋予了表面合理的解释，使大多数人接受其存在。教育系统是这一机制的核心工具之一。通过考试、文凭等名义上公平中立的标准，社会将不同背景的人分层，赋予其不同的机会与回报。在西方，功绩主义（meritocracy）的意识形态深入人心：相信社会地位由才能和努力决定。然而，精英阶层往往能为其子女提供更优质的早期教育和资源，使他们更易满足“才能”的衡量指标。这种情况下，阶层优势被转化为教育优势，但由于比赛规则表面公正，最终结果——阶层固化——被视为公平竞争的自然结果。在美国等地，上流家庭的孩子通过优秀私立高中、标准化考试培训、名校申请咨询等，几乎预定了精英大学名额；但社会往往将此解读为这些学生更优秀、更努力，从而**合理化了不平等结果\*\*。

Modern capitalist societies profess **equal competition** and **fair opportunities**, yet elite selection and reward systems often subtly create and reinforce **“legitimated inequality.”** By legitimation, we mean inequality is given seemingly reasonable justifications that lead most people to accept it. The educational system is one of the core tools of this mechanism. Through exams and credentials – ostensibly neutral standards – society stratifies individuals and allocates different opportunities and rewards. In the West, the ideology of **meritocracy** runs deep: people believe social status is determined by talent and effort. However, elites often provide their children with superior early education and resources, which help them excel on the measures of “merit.” In this way, class advantages are converted into educational advantages, but because the rules of the game appear fair, the ultimate outcome – class stratification – is seen as the natural result of fair competition. In the US and elsewhere, children of the upper class secure spots at elite universities via top-tier private schools, test prep, and admissions coaching; yet society tends to interpret this as these students simply being more excellent or hard-working, thereby **rationalizing the unequal outcome**.

法国社会学者布迪厄的研究揭示了这种现象：精英教育偏好的是上层文化资本，从而将社会不平等体现在学业成就上，再通过文凭认证使之看似合法 ([Bourdieu’s Theory on Capital Explained | Medium](https://medium.com/@scottbrodieforsyth/status-games-and-symbolic-violence-11c4ca6a7545#:~:text=of%20the%20subtle%20violence%20that,capital%20more%20valuable%20than%20others))。**文化资本**（如语言能力、品味、思维方式）的差异往往源于家庭出身，但学校把这些内化优势当成天赋或努力的结果进行奖励。这导致教育体系**越是标榜客观中立，越能完美再现既有阶级结构** ([Bourdieu’s Theory on Capital Explained | Medium](https://medium.com/@scottbrodieforsyth/status-games-and-symbolic-violence-11c4ca6a7545#:~:text=of%20the%20subtle%20violence%20that,capital%20more%20valuable%20than%20others))。在中国，同样存在通过高考选拔精英的机制。在表面公平的考试背后，是城乡教育资源的不均等、重点中学名额的倾斜、以及富裕家庭对子女补习的巨额投入。最终，名校录取率、奖学金机会高度集中于社会经济地位较高的群体，但大众仍倾向于相信这是“寒门难出贵子”的个人问题，而非制度问题。**上层通过教育成功，下层教育落败**这一结果，因为有考试分数做包装，而被公众接受甚至认同。由此，现代社会的精英选拔实现了“双重目的”：既维护了现实中的不平等，又让这种不平等显得合乎规则、令人信服。

The work of Pierre Bourdieu illuminates this phenomenon: elite education favors the cultural capital of the upper classes, thereby translating social inequality into academic achievement, and then legitimating it through credentials ([Bourdieu’s Theory on Capital Explained | Medium](https://medium.com/@scottbrodieforsyth/status-games-and-symbolic-violence-11c4ca6a7545#:~:text=of%20the%20subtle%20violence%20that,capital%20more%20valuable%20than%20others)). **Cultural capital** (such as language skills, tastes, and modes of thinking) often comes from family background, but schools treat these internalized advantages as if they were the result of innate talent or individual effort and reward them accordingly. This causes the education system to **reproduce the existing class structure all the more perfectly the more it claims to be neutral** ([Bourdieu’s Theory on Capital Explained | Medium](https://medium.com/@scottbrodieforsyth/status-games-and-symbolic-violence-11c4ca6a7545#:~:text=of%20the%20subtle%20violence%20that,capital%20more%20valuable%20than%20others)). In China, a similar mechanism exists through the gaokao exam that selects the elite. Behind the ostensibly fair exam lies unequal urban-rural educational resources, preferential treatment for key high schools, and massive investments by wealthy families in tutoring. The result is that admission rates to top universities and scholarship opportunities are heavily concentrated among those of higher socio-economic status. Yet the public often continues to believe that if “poor families rarely produce nobles” it’s a failing of individual students rather than a systemic issue. **The upper classes succeed in education while lower classes falter**, and because exam scores wrap this outcome in an aura of objectivity, the public accepts – even endorses – it. In this way, modern elite selection achieves a “dual purpose”: it both maintains real-world inequality and makes that inequality appear rule-bound and convincing.

在职场领域，不平等的合法化也同样发生。企业的晋升和奖励机制名义上基于业绩和能力，实际上各种**隐形门槛**使得精英阶层更易晋升。例如，在欧美的大公司里，高管往往来自名校精英，这些人由于共同的背景更易得到赏识和提拔；在中国的官场和国企，裙带关系和人脉圈决定了谁能进入上层。尽管如此，官方话语仍强调这是\*\*“干部人事制度改革”\*\*或“绩效考核”的结果，员工也倾向相信努力就有回报。如果有人升职，叙事赞扬其个人贡献；如果无人提拔自己，常归因于自己不够优秀。通过这种方式，**权力和资本对奖励的垄断被视为理所当然**。社会成员被驯化得接受：有些人就是该拿高薪高位，因为他们“德才兼备、付出更勤奋”。而那些被排除在外的人，也因缺乏话语权，只能默默认同自己确实不如人。**合法不平等**由此深入人心，很少遭到挑战。

In the workplace, inequality is likewise legitimized. Companies’ promotion and reward systems are ostensibly based on performance and ability, but various **invisible barriers** often make it easier for the elite to rise. For example, in large Western corporations, top executives are frequently drawn from elite universities; sharing this background eases their path to recognition and advancement. In China’s bureaucracy and state-owned enterprises, nepotism and personal networks often determine who reaches upper echelons. Nevertheless, official rhetoric emphasizes **“reforms in personnel systems”** or merit-based evaluations, and employees tend to believe that hard work will be rewarded. When someone is promoted, the narrative praises their personal contribution; when one is passed over, they usually attribute it to not being good enough. In this way, the **monopoly of power and capital over rewards is taken as natural**. Members of society are tamed to accept that some people simply deserve high pay and status because they are “more capable and hardworking.” Those excluded, lacking voice, often acquiesce that indeed they might just be less qualified. **Legitimate inequality** thus embeds itself in people’s minds and is seldom questioned.

**自由幻觉与自我剥削 (The Illusion of Freedom and Self-Exploitation)**

现代社会的一个显著特征是，通过营造\*\*“自由选择”的幻觉\*\*，让个体心甘情愿地驱动自身，为体系贡献劳动和消费。表面看来，比起旧时代的强制劳动和专制统治，如今的人们拥有前所未有的自由：可以选择职业、消费喜好、生活方式和政治表达。然而，这些自由很多时候是在**特定结构内的选项组合**。个体在多个预设的选项中挑选，以为自己做出了自主决定，实则无论选哪一项都在为既定系统服务。例如，快餐店里几十种饮料可选，但无论选什么你都在消费同一家店；职场中你可在不同公司跳槽，但公司之间奉行的都是相似的加班文化和利润逻辑。

A striking feature of modern society is that by crafting an **illusion of “free choice,”** individuals willingly drive themselves to labor and consume for the system. On the surface, compared to the forced labor and autocratic rule of old, people today enjoy unprecedented freedom: they can choose their careers, consumer preferences, lifestyles, and even modes of political expression. However, often these freedoms exist **within a fixed structure of options**. Individuals pick among several pre-set choices, thinking they have decided autonomously, but whichever choice they make still serves the established system. For example, a fast-food restaurant might offer dozens of drink options, yet no matter what you choose you’re still patronizing the same chain; in the workplace you can switch companies, but across firms the same overtime culture and profit logic prevail.

这种自由幻觉被社会巧妙利用来实现\*\*“软奴役”**。人们相信自己是在追求梦想、爱好和幸福，实际上却在无形中被系统目标牵引。韩国哲学家韩炳哲（Byung-Chul Han）指出，新自由主义通过将外部压迫转变为内部驱动力，达成了一种高度发达的支配形式——个体在**自由的幻象下自我剥削\*\* ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=Byung,pushing%20themselves%20beyond%20their%20limits))。现代社会不再需要通过鞭笞来迫使工人卖力，因为“每个人都成了自己的人生企业家”，主动压榨自己来追求成功 ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=Byung,pushing%20themselves%20beyond%20their%20limits)) ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=,optimization))。**自由本身变成了一种强制** ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=Byung,pushing%20themselves%20beyond%20their%20limits))：个体感觉不到来自他者的命令，但内心有一道无形的指令，驱使他们不断“优化”自我、提高业绩和效率。西方的“斜杠青年”（身兼数职的年轻人）和中国的“自我创业”热潮皆属此列——人们甘愿投入更多劳动，因为相信那是自由选择的事业。然而他们的精力被过度消耗、身心疲惫，这些都是这种自我剥削的征兆 ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=Modern%20society%20eliminates%20negativity%2C%20replacing,or%20contemplation%2C%20deepening%20psychological%20distress)) ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=,systemic%20symptoms))。

This illusion of freedom is skillfully exploited to achieve **“soft enslavement.”** People believe they are pursuing their own dreams, hobbies, and happiness, yet in reality they are invisibly steered by the system’s goals. Korean philosopher Byung-Chul Han observes that neoliberalism has reshaped external oppression into internal motivation, resulting in a highly advanced form of domination – individuals **self-exploit under the illusion of freedom** ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=Byung,pushing%20themselves%20beyond%20their%20limits)). Today’s society no longer needs whips to make workers toil, because *“everyone has become an entrepreneur of themselves,”* willingly overworking in pursuit of success ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=Byung,pushing%20themselves%20beyond%20their%20limits)) ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=,optimization)). **Freedom itself morphs into coercion** ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=Byung,pushing%20themselves%20beyond%20their%20limits)): people feel no command from others, yet an invisible imperative inside pushes them to constantly “optimize” themselves and boost performance and efficiency. The Western phenomenon of “slash youth” (young people juggling multiple gigs) and China’s entrepreneurship fever both fall into this pattern – individuals gladly pour in extra labor because they believe it’s their free choice and passion. However, their energy is overtaxed and they become mentally and physically exhausted, classic symptoms of this self-exploitation ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=Modern%20society%20eliminates%20negativity%2C%20replacing,or%20contemplation%2C%20deepening%20psychological%20distress)) ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=,systemic%20symptoms)).

**“自由幻觉”自测清单 (Illusion of Freedom Self-Test Checklist):** 你是否也深陷这种自由幻觉？以下问题可以自我检视：

* **日常忙碌是否源于真心热爱 (Do your daily hustles stem from genuine passion)?** 你投入大量时间在工作或项目上，但内心常有焦虑：如果停下来就会被落下。这可能表示你的勤奋更多来自外部压力，而非自愿热爱。  
  *You pour long hours into work or side projects, yet feel anxious that stopping means falling behind. This may indicate your drive stems more from external pressure than true passion.*
* **成功定义是否系统赋予 (Is your definition of success pre-defined by the system)?** 你的梦想是否单一地指向名利、地位这些社会认可的指标？若很少思考内在满足，而紧跟社会标准，你可能在追逐系统想让你追的目标。  
  *Do your dreams revolve solely around status, wealth, or other socially approved metrics? If you rarely consider what fulfills you internally and instead fixate on societal benchmarks, you might be chasing goals the system has set for you.*
* **选择是否局限于惯性轨道 (Are your choices confined to an established track)?** 面对人生大事（如择业、买房、结婚），你是否总感觉“别无选择”，只能遵循大众路线？若是，你的“选择”可能早被结构限定。  
  *When making life decisions (career, housing, marriage), do you feel you “have no choice” but to follow the crowd? If so, your “choices” might have been predetermined by structural forces.*
* **休息时是否感到负罪 (Do you feel guilty when resting)?** 你是否一停下就有懒惰之感，仿佛每分每秒都该被利用？若无法心安理得地休息，说明你已把过度忙碌内化为生活常态，把自由变成了自我强迫 ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=,systemic%20symptoms))。  
  *Do you feel lazy or guilty whenever you are not productive, as if every minute must be used? If you can’t relax without self-reproach, it indicates you’ve internalized overwork as the norm and turned freedom into self-coercion (*[*The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness*](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=,systemic%20symptoms)*).*
* **消费决策是否真的自主 (Are your spending decisions truly autonomous)?** 你买的多数东西，是自己深思熟虑想要的，还是因为朋友同事都有、广告暗示流行而跟风购买？若后者居多，你或许并未真正按照自己的意愿选择。  
  *Are most of your purchases things you deeply decided you need, or are they because everyone around you has them and ads suggested they’re cool? If it’s mostly the latter, you may not be truly choosing according to your own will.*

如果以上多数回答令人不安，那么需要警惕：你的自由可能只是表象，你正按照系统剧本生活。

If several of the above answers raise concern, beware: your freedom may be merely apparent, and you could be living out the system’s script.

**自我剥削的迹象 (Signs of Self-Exploitation):** 现代人常常**既当马儿又当骑手**，自己驱赶自己不停奔跑 ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=Byung,pushing%20themselves%20beyond%20their%20limits))。一些征兆包括：总是感到忙碌却说不清为何而忙、对工作上瘾般投入却长期处于疲惫、将个人价值完全系于成就和产出、不允许自己有“无所事事”的时间。如果你发现自己正符合这些情形，那么你可能正处于被“温柔”驱使自我剥削的状态。系统不需要强迫你，因为你已经在**无形的鞭策**下主动奔跑。

Modern individuals often act as **both the horse and the rider**, driving themselves to keep running ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=Byung,pushing%20themselves%20beyond%20their%20limits)). Signs include constantly feeling busy without clear purpose, being almost addicted to work yet perpetually exhausted, tying your self-worth entirely to achievements and output, and not “allowing” yourself any idle time. If you recognize these in yourself, you may be in a state of gently coerced self-exploitation. The system doesn’t need to force you, because under an **invisible whip** you are already running of your own accord.

**抗驯化实践指南 (Anti-Domestication Practice Guide)**

面对现代社会层层精巧的柔性控制，我们如何**重构内在意志**、挣脱系统叙事的桎梏？以下是一些**抗驯化**的实践思路，旨在帮助我们夺回心智主权，在中西方语境下都适用：

Confronted with these elaborate mechanisms of soft control, how can we **rebuild our inner will** and break free from the shackles of the system’s narratives? Below are some practical strategies for **resisting domestication**, applicable across both Eastern and Western contexts, to help reclaim sovereignty over our minds:

* **培养批判意识 (Cultivate Critical Consciousness):** 主动审视那些被视为理所当然的社会叙事，问问自己：“我为何相信它？它背后是谁受益？”阅读福柯、布迪厄等批判理论家的著作可以帮助我们看清权力如何运作 ([Michel Foucault: Discipline](https://criticallegalthinking.com/2019/02/26/michel-foucault-discipline/#:~:text=unverifiable%20gaze%2C%20as%20does%20a,disciplined)) ([Bourdieu’s Theory on Capital Explained | Medium](https://medium.com/@scottbrodieforsyth/status-games-and-symbolic-violence-11c4ca6a7545#:~:text=of%20the%20subtle%20violence%20that,capital%20more%20valuable%20than%20others))。例如，当听到“只要努力就能成功”时，不妨思考有多少结构性因素被忽略了。唯有识破叙事幻象，我们才不至盲目追随。  
  *Actively scrutinize social narratives taken for granted. Ask: “Why do I believe this? Who benefits from it?” Engaging with critical thinkers like Foucault and Bourdieu can illuminate how power operates (*[*Michel Foucault: Discipline*](https://criticallegalthinking.com/2019/02/26/michel-foucault-discipline/#:~:text=unverifiable%20gaze%2C%20as%20does%20a,disciplined)*) (*[*Bourdieu’s Theory on Capital Explained | Medium*](https://medium.com/@scottbrodieforsyth/status-games-and-symbolic-violence-11c4ca6a7545#:~:text=of%20the%20subtle%20violence%20that,capital%20more%20valuable%20than%20others)*). For instance, when told “hard work guarantees success,” consider what structural factors are glossed over. Only by seeing through narrative illusions can we avoid following them blindly.*
* **重新定义成功与幸福 (Redefine Success and Happiness):** 尝试摆脱系统预设的成功标准，寻找更内在、更个性化的目标。成功不一定是高薪职位，幸福也不必靠物质堆砌。可以从小事开始，比如享受一个不以效率为目的的爱好，肯定自己在非竞争性领域的价值。在中国，近年出现的“躺平”心态和在西方流行的“慢生活”理念，都体现了一种对主流成功观的反思。重构个人愿景，有助于减弱系统叙事的影响。  
  *Try to free yourself from the system’s preset standards of success and seek more intrinsic, personal goals. Success need not mean a high-paying job; happiness doesn’t have to be built on material accumulation. Start small – enjoy a hobby for its own sake, affirm your self-worth in non-competitive areas. The Chinese “lying flat” movement and the Western trend of “downshifting” or slow living both reflect a rethinking of mainstream success norms. By reconstructing your own vision of a good life, you weaken the grip of the system’s narrative on you.*
* **丰富信息来源，打破单一叙事 (Diversify Information Sources):** 不要只让官方传媒或商业广告主导你的视野。多接触不同观点，跨文化比较（例如了解欧美如何讨论消费主义，再审视国内情形，反之亦然）。当我们发现，同一现象可有截然不同的解读，我们就更能识别出那些企图“一词遮百”的叙事套路。中西方社会各有盲区，互为镜鉴有助于走出各自的话语迷宫。  
  *Don’t let official media or corporate advertising monopolize your worldview. Expose yourself to diverse perspectives and cross-cultural comparisons (for instance, learn how Western discourse critiques consumerism, then examine the situation at home, and vice versa). Realizing that the same phenomenon can be interpreted in very different ways helps unmask narratives that try to be the “only story.” Both Chinese and Western societies have their blind spots; using each as a mirror for the other can help you escape their respective narrative traps.*
* **练习自主决策，小事开始 (Practice Autonomous Decision-Making in Small Ways):** 在日常生活中，有意识地做出与你真实意愿相符的选择，即便它违背潮流或他人期望。比如，穿并非名牌但自己喜欢的衣服，选择真正感兴趣的职业路径而非炫耀性的头衔。通过在小事上行使自主，你将逐步建立对抗环境压力的心理肌肉。久而久之，你会对系统提供的“默认选项”更加免疫，敢于走出自己道路。  
  *In daily life, consciously make choices that align with your genuine wishes, even if they buck trends or others’ expectations. For example, wear clothes you personally like even if they aren’t brand-name, or pursue a career path you’re passionate about rather than one with a prestigious title. By exercising autonomy in little things, you gradually build the psychological muscle to resist social pressure. Over time, you become more immune to the system’s “default options” and more confident forging your own path.*
* **建立支持性社群 (Build Supportive Communities):** 寻找志同道合的人，一起讨论、践行反主流叙事的生活方式。在集体中，个体更能找到力量与大环境抗衡。例如，一些年轻人组成极简主义、低消费生活的社群，彼此鼓励减少不必要的消费；又或同事间倡导准时下班的“反内卷联盟”。在中国，有人发起“不加班俱乐部”，在西方有人参与“拒绝攀比”的运动。这些群体的存在能让个人不再孤军奋战，减少被主流话语拉回的机会。  
  *Seek out like-minded people to discuss and practice lifestyles that go against mainstream narratives. In a supportive group, individuals find strength to resist the broader environment. For example, some youths form minimalist or low-consumption communities, encouraging each other to cut unnecessary spending; coworkers might start a “no overtime pact” to push back against overwork culture. In China, some have launched “anti-overtime clubs,” while in the West others join movements to “stop keeping up with the Joneses.” Being part of such groups means you’re not fighting alone, and you’re less likely to be pulled back into the mainstream narrative by social pressures.*
* **保留沉思与闲暇 (Preserve Reflection and Leisure):** 刻意留出不被生产率绑架的时间，用来思考、放空或进行创造性活动。韩炳哲强调，当代社会充斥着正面“积极”的过度，只有通过停下来沉思，我们才能找回自主 ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=Modern%20society%20eliminates%20negativity%2C%20replacing,or%20contemplation%2C%20deepening%20psychological%20distress)) ([The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=,systemic%20symptoms))。无论中西，在高速运转的生活里，我们都需要一种“慢下来”的训练——比如每天静坐片刻，或者定期远离社交媒体。这些行为能帮助大脑跳脱持续的刺激循环，重新审视自我与世界的关系。  
  *Deliberately set aside time not dominated by productivity concerns, for thinking, daydreaming, or creative activities. Byung-Chul Han emphasizes that in today’s hyper-positivity culture, only by stopping to reflect can we regain autonomy (*[*The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness*](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=Modern%20society%20eliminates%20negativity%2C%20replacing,or%20contemplation%2C%20deepening%20psychological%20distress)*) (*[*The burnout society - Abyssal consciousness*](https://drvictorbodo.com/2025/04/10/the-burnout-society/#:~:text=,systemic%20symptoms)*). In both East and West, amidst fast-paced life, we need practice in “slowing down” – perhaps a few minutes of quiet meditation each day, or periodic breaks from social media. Such habits help your mind escape the cycle of constant stimulation and re-examine your relationship with yourself and the world.*
* **倡导制度变革 (Advocate Systemic Change):** 除了个人层面的努力，更重要的是推动社会结构的改良。例如，呼吁更公平的教育资源分配、反对畸形加班文化、要求广告业守规避免过度诱导消费等。当越来越多人意识到温柔暴力的存在并发声，才能在政策和文化上产生变化。无论是西方的反垄断、学生债减免运动，还是中国对校外培训乱象的治理、本土社交媒体上对“996”的批判，都是在为削弱系统驯化力量而努力。个人的觉醒应结合集体行动，方能真正松动制度化的软控制网络。  
  *Beyond individual efforts, it’s crucial to push for changes in social structures. For instance, advocate for more equitable distribution of educational resources; oppose exploitative overtime work culture; demand regulations on advertising to prevent excessive manipulation of consumers. When enough people recognize gentle violence and speak out, we can start to see policy and cultural shifts. Be it Western movements against monopolies and student debt, or China’s crackdowns on excessive tutoring and the public outcry against “996” overtime, these are attempts to weaken the system’s domestication power. Individual awakening should go hand in hand with collective action in order to truly loosen the web of soft control institutionalized in society.*

通过以上努力，我们可以逐步拆解盘绕在日常生活中的“温柔牢笼”。无论身处东方还是西方，每个人都可成为更清醒的自己：看穿叙事幻象，拒绝被符号牵引，用自主行动重绘人生蓝图。当越来越多的人挣脱温柔暴力的控制，这种软性权力机制本身也将失去效力，人类社会或许才能迎来更真实自由的未来。

Through these efforts, we can gradually dismantle the “gentle cage” encircling our daily lives. Whether in East or West, each of us can strive to become a more clear-eyed version of ourselves: seeing through narrative illusions, refusing to be led by mere symbols, and using autonomous action to redraw the blueprint of our lives. As more people break free from the grips of gentle violence, the soft power mechanisms themselves will weaken, and human society may inch closer to a future of truly authentic freedom.

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请保留作者署名 Raelon Veritas Lee 并附上原始仓库链接：

https://github.com/roclee2692/deep-research-openai-gpt

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