

專輯論文

作為全球拼裝體的平台：以滴滴的發展 歷程與上市危機為例

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摘要

筆者提出「全球拼裝體」框架以解釋平台的發展歷程。平台的基本技術與商業邏輯可被看作「全球形式」，其在特定社會須與各種異質性「地方元素」拼裝，而拼裝的具體歷程受三個因素影響：平台公司的最終目標、公司在各階段的即興行動，以及社會結構。筆者用該框架解釋中國網約車平台滴滴的上市危機：在滴滴發展的每個階段，滴滴公司通過即興行動拼裝了出租車行業、私家車與司機，以及創新話語與想像、中央與地方政府、金融資本、紐約證券交易所 (NYSE) 和美國政府等元素。滴滴公司亦同時利用了中國出租車行業結構、地方和中央政府的權力與利益劃分、技術民族主義政策導向、全球金融體系等結構性因素。但這一拼裝體也受到以上結構的制約，表現為出租車行業和地方政府的敵視態度、中美技術民族主義政策的反噬和對全球金

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融體系的過度依賴等，這最終導致了上市危機。全球拼裝體框架超越了回溯性、決定論和西方中心論，關注平台發展歷程中的失敗和偶然性，強調特定社會中異質性元素的影響，其具備方法論上的通用性。

關鍵詞：平台、全球拼裝體、滴滴、上市危機、中國

Special Issue Article

Platforms as Global Assemblages: Didi's Development Trajectory and IPO Crisis

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Abstract

In this article, I propose the analytical framework of global assemblages to explain the development trajectories of digital platforms. A platform's basic technological and business logic can be seen as a global form that needs to be assembled with heterogeneous local elements in a specific society. The trajectory of this assemblage depends on three factors: the ultimate goal of the firm, the improvisation of the firm at each key moment, and relevant social structures. I use this framework to explain Didi's IPO crisis. At every key stage of its development, Didi used improvisation to assemble its global form with the taxi industry, private automobiles and drivers, the discourse and imaginaries of innovation, central and local governments, financial capital, the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE), and the U.S. government. It also took advantage of structural factors, including the structure of China's taxi industry, the power and interest distribution between local and central governments, the policy orientation of technonationalism, and the global financial system. However, the

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assemblage was also constrained by these structures, which resulted in the hostility of China's taxi industry and local governments toward Didi, the backfiring of technonationalism in China and the U.S., and the firm's overreliance on the global financial system, all of which contributed to Didi's IPO crisis. The framework of global assemblages transcends the retrospective wisdom, technological determinism, and Western centrism of existing theories in platform studies. It focuses on the failures and contingencies in platforms' development trajectories and emphasizes the influence of heterogeneous elements in specific societies. Its analytical tools can be used to study various platforms in different societies.

Keywords: platform, global assemblage, Didi, IPO crisis, China