魯曼對於政治調控的看法:若干評述 215

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## 魯曼對於政治調控的看法:

若干評述\*

## Notes on Niklas Luhmann's Opinion of Political Steering

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<sup>\*</sup> 本文為一篇研究紀要。筆者感謝本刊兩位匿名審查者提供寶貴修改意見。本文初稿 曾發表於2017年第九屆公共治理國際學術研討會:「多層次治理之理論與實務— 全球、區域與地方觀點」(國立中興大學國家政策與公共事務研究所主辦,2017 年11月25日)。

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## 摘要

魯曼曾發表〈政治調控:一篇討論文章〉一文,本文將之稱為「魯曼對於政治調控的看法」,其中主要論點有二。其一,人們採用行動理論研究政治調控是不足的,因為它的思考模式是「主詞一謂語(調控)一受詞」;行動理論理解調控是「企圖改變未來行動的條件」,這在解釋調控問題上,會有五種簡化做法與三種表象用處。其二,人們採用魯曼系統理論與新操控學研究政治調控是有用的,因為在它們的觀照下,調控經常關係到差異降低(或說縮小差距),而且只有系統自己設定的特定差距才適合做為調控基礎;魯曼系統理論理解調控是「自身的緣發生」,這可凸顯每個調控嘗試都會面臨同時性問題與再生產問題。

關鍵詞:魯曼、政治調控、行動理論、系統理論、新操控學

魯曼對於政治調控的看法:若干評述 217

## **Abstract**

Niklas Luhmann published an article called "Politische Steuerung: Eine Diskussionsbeitrag", which in English means" Political Steering: A Discussion Article". We can understand the article's main ideas in two key points. First, it is insufficient to use action theory to research political steering because this model is based on "subject – predicate (steering) – object". According to the action theory, we can understand steering as an attempt to change the conditions of a certain action in the future. With this theory, there are five simplified points and three representational advantages in the steering practice. Second, it is useful to use system theory and neo-cybernetics, especially their concepts of control and steering, to conduct research on political steering. According to Luhmann's system theory, steering can be understood as an"event", which is a set of self-referential operations. Given this evidence, every attempt of steering will encounter problems of simultaneity and reproduction.

**Keywords**: Niklas Luhmann, political steering, action theory, system theory, neo-cybernetics