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李瑞昌 著

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李瑞昌，1975年出生于湖南岳阳，现为复旦大学国际关系与公共事务学院教师。自2000年以来，在国内外发表学术论文30余篇，参与编写学术著作10余本。主要研究领域为公共管理、中国政治与行政，当前的研究兴趣为中国国内公共安全、中国福利政策。

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★《风险、知识与公共决策》

内 容 摘 要

任何社会都面临各种风险和不安,同时,通过某种发展模式不断制造新的风险和不安。因此,对风险的防范既是一个战术性的问题,更是一个战略性的问题。从社会变迁和风险词义的演变来看,在人类社会经历了农业社会、工业社会到今天被一些社会学家称为“风险社会”的历史发展阶段,风险概念的词义发生了三次转型:从一个对客观危害描述的概念转向一个包含主观判断的概念,从最初对地理空间探索的概念转移到对时间探索的概念,风险的词义从与保险相连到与保险脱钩,风险的概念内涵也从一个统计学的概念走向了一个社会学的概念,最后在 20 世纪形成了流行的“风险话语”和风险社会理论。风险话语和风险社会理论反映了人类对自己的发展模式和未来生存的命运重新思索。

不同形态的社会存在着占主导地位的风险形态,同时也生成了防范风险和消除危机的制度形态和决策模式。在农业社会中,人类面临着自然风险和暴力风险,在长期实践中建立起了宗教和科学制度与理念防范客观意义上的风险,也形成了自上而下的中央集权式的公共决策模式。通过第一次现代化,人类进入了工业社会(资本主义社会),“民族国家的政治权力、市场和科学技术”支撑着整个资本主义社会的发展。在确立民主制度约束国家政治权力之后,人们认为工业社会的主要风险来自市场和资本,因而建立起商业保险和社会保障制度以抵御经济社会领域的风险。市场的扩张性和包容性以及代议民主制的聚众能力将人类社会

的政治从欲望支配的传统政治转变到以利益生产和分配为中心的现代政治,建立起自下而上的公共决策模式。就这些风险防范制度初创而言,存在从民间自发性制度生长到通过国家权力确认和建构制度的历程。这反映了国家历来是重视经济发展问题,而风险则是民间社会所关注的问题。

2 工业社会骄人的成就不仅源自科学技术提供的生产力,同时也加速了科学技术的发展。科学技术从最初的一种社会教育的地位走向了社会结构中的制度构成。在利益的驱动下,科学技术的研究和应用正脱离政治体系控制,按照市场和商业的逻辑运行,新的科研成果来不及检验就进入了生产和生活系统,人类社会正变成一个“试验社会”。科学技术的“风险”与副作用的潜在的毁灭性威力,将社会推向“风险社会”境况。人类试图通过第二次现代化改变自己的未来。

风险全球化以及抗击风险的“新社会运动”全球联合,在以利益生产和分配为中心的政治基础上增加了以“风险”生产和分配为中心的政治,以“风险”为中心的政治是通过“亚政治”方式辐射到政治结构之中,正在改变公共决策模式,形成防御科学技术风险的网络型的公共决策模式。由于在应对科学技术风险的网络型的公共决策模式中,诸多的决策参与者并不具有科学技术的专门知识,然而,却能左右决策发展的态势,从而形成风险决策中的一个悖论:人类因为防范风险而创造知识,然而新的知识带来了新的风险;在新的风险面前,专家失语或意见纷争,导致其建议丧失公信力,无知(主要指无有关决策对象的相关专业知识)影响公共决策的方向。知识与无知,究竟何者在决定社会发展方向和人类命运?

本书共分为三个模块:

第一个模块包括第一、二、三章。第一章主要是文献综述和提出全论文的写作思路和基本观点。第二章探讨风险词义演变与社会形态、现代化之间的关系,阐释农业社会和工业社会中的主要风险和风险防范制度,提出任何风险一经产生就不能消除而

只能使之不成为危机临界状态。通过这些场景铺垫,为科学技术风险的形成提供社会背景。第三章主要解释科学技术带来的新风险的特征和风险形成的原因。第四章是过渡段,由于新的风险不能借助市场机制、法律机制和个人力量消除,需要政府通过风险规制防止其扩散和转化,政府在风险规避上具有重要作用。风险规制的首要原则——预防原则,在决策中贯彻将遇到诸多原则性的冲突。

第二个模块包括第五、六、七、八章,主要通过理论分析和案例阐述来探讨风险规制决策中的科学化、民主化和法治化的问题,并将这三个问题置于全球化、国家与社会之间关系复杂化、国际规制和公司规章同国内规则矛盾的背景下,强调如何重建专家、政府的信任,如何依据文化的差异在共存的理念中制定政策,以及如何通过合作形成国际层面上以风险为主导的新秩序。第五章介绍了对科学控制的三种模式以及由于科学技术系统的失控而形成的信任危机;第六章解释了在全球化背景下,民族国家的权力发生了新的变化,原有的国家与社会二分法正变得复杂和模糊,从而将风险规制决策置于一个新的公共领域中展示,而新的公共领域是一个多元文化交融的场所,因此,风险规制政策因文化差异而有分歧。第七章,在分析全球化和现代化的历史进程,认为新一轮全球化和第二次现代化浪潮给风险规制决策带来了规则的冲突和秩序混乱。因此,如何依据变动中的国际和国内环境进行风险规制决策和建立新秩序是创造人类美好未来的重要课题。第八章根据前几章的分析,提出了风险规制决策的网络模式构造。

第三个模块包括结论,这一个模块主要对前面几章进行理论提升,集中展现前几章所提到的风险规制决策中出现的以风险为动力而切割的分化的社会结构的社会整合机制;通过对这个理论性问题的演示,提出建立风险政治和政策(学)的基本设想。

关键词:风险社会 风险规制 公共决策 知识

Summary

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Any society faces the risk and unsafe, at the same time, it makes the new risk and unsafe uncreasingly through a kind of development pattern. Therefore, the preaction of risk is a tactical question, is also strategic question. From evolution of the social changes and the risk meaning, the human society experienced industry society until today "the risk society" the historical development stage which called by some sociologists, the meaning of the risk concept has also occurred three reforming: the concept changes from a harm description objective to a judgment contain subjective; the exploration shifts the geography space at first to the time, the risk from is connected with the insurance to divorce it; the concept connotation of risk also moved towards a sociological concept from a statistics concept, finally it has formed popular "the risk words" and the risk society theory in 20th century. The risk words and the risk society theory reflected the humanity rethinks about own development pattern and the future fate.

Different shape social being exists the dominant position the risk shape, at the same time, it also produces the system shape and the policy - making pattern to guard the risk and eliminate crisis. The humanity facing natural risk and violence risk in the agricultural society, it established religious and the scientific system and in the idea guard objective significance risk in the long - term practice, also has formed

centralization public decision - making pattern from top to down. Through the first modernization, the humanity entered the industry society (capitalist society). Three props shore up the whole capitalist society "the nation - state political authority, the market and the science and technology". After establishment democratic system restraint country politics authority, the people thought the main risk of industry society come from the market and the capital, thus it established the commercial insurance and the social security system to resist the economic society risk. The expansion and tolerance of the market , as well as assemble ability of representative democratic system makes human society 's politics from desire control traditional politics to benefit production and the assignment as central modern politics, and it establishes the public policy - making pattern from bottom to top. Newly established these risk guard systems, it exists the course which from the folk spontaneous system to using the state power confirmed and constructs the system. This also reflected the economical development was always taken seriously by the country , but the risk was attentioned by the folk society.

The outstanding achievement of the industry society stems from the productive forces which provided from the science and technology , at the same time it also accelerated the development of the science and technology changed with each passing day, the science and technology also moved towards in the social structure system constitution from the initial a kind of society. Under driving of the benefit, the science and technology research and the application were being separated from the control of the political institution and it was moved according to the market and commercial logic. There is not enough time to examine the new scientific research achievement ; it entered the production and the life system , so the human society is becoming a "ex-

perimental society". The risk of the science and technology and the latent ruinous might of the side effect will push to the society. The society was pushed to "the risk society" by the humanity attempts to change their future through the second modernization.

The risk globalization as well as the global union of the resistance risks "the new social movement", which increase "the risk" production and the assignment as centered politics based on the benefit production and assignment as in the central politics basis. The politics centered as "the risk" radiates the political structure through the sub-politics, is also changing the public policy - making pattern, and forms the network public decision - making pattern to defense scientific risk. Because many policy - making participants have not the science and technology's specialized knowledge in face to the science and technology risk in the network pattern, but they can control the policy - making development, thus it forms a paradox in the risk decision: the humanity creates the knowledge because of the guard risk, however the new knowledge brings the new risk; in front of the new risk, the experts indiscreet remark or dispute caused its suggestion to lose trust, ignorance (mainly refers to haven't the specialize knowledge related with policy - making object) affects the pubic policy - making direction. Which will decide social development direction and the human destiny knowledge or ignorance?

The paper divides into three modules: the first module including the first, the second, the third chapters. In the first chapter, it mainly summarizes the documents and proposes the whole paper's writing thinking and the basic views; in the second chapter, it discusses the relations between the evolutions of "the risk" and the form of society and the modernization, explains the main risk and the risk guard system formation in agriculture society and the industry society, and pro-

poses any risk already produced cannot eliminate but only can cause it inadequately for the crisis critical state. These scenes provide the social background for the science and technology risk formation. In the third chapter, it main explains science and technology brings the new risk's feature and the risk form's reason.

The fourth chapter is the change - over portion, because the new risk can eliminate by market mechanism, the legal mechanism and individual strength and it needs the government prevent its proliferation and the transformation through the risk regulations, so the government takes important on the precaution of risk. However the first important principle of the risk regulations - prevention principle will meet many principled conflicts during implementing the decision.

The second module including the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth chapters, it mainly discusses scientific, democratized and legalized in the risk regulation decision through analysis the theory and expounding the case, and putting these three questions into the globalization, complicated relations between the country and the society, the international rules and the company rules and the contradictory background in country, emphasized how to reconstructs expert, government's trust, how to regulate policy according to the difference of culture, and how to form the new order leading as risk in the international through the cooperation. In the fifth chapter, it introduces the science control's three kinds of pattern as well as the trust crisis formed by out of control the science and technology system. In the sixth chapter, it explains under the globalization background, the nation - state authority had the new change. The original national and the social dichotomy become complex and fuzzy, thus it causes the risk regulations decision - making to show in a new public domain, but the new public domain is a place which multicultural blends, therefore, the risk regulations policy

has the dissension because of the cultural difference. In the seventh chapter, analysis the historic course of globalization and the modernization, it thought the new turn of globalization and the second modernization bring the conflict of regulations and confusion of order for the risk regulation decision - making. So how to make the risk regulations based on the change international and the domestic environment and establish the new order is an important topic for creating human's glorious future. In the eighth chapter, according to the above analyses, it proposes the risk regulations decision - making's network pattern structure.

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The third module including the ninth chapter and the conclusion, this module mainly makes the theory sublime, it focuses on showing the sub - politics appeared in the part of the risk regulation decision - making, the international organization's regulation function and the social mechanism of integer, which as social structure is divided and differentiated by risk. To mention three theories, it poses Key words: risk society; risk regulations; public decision; knowledge the basic image which establishes the risk politics and policy.

Key words: risk society; risk regulations; public decision; knowledge

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第一章 科学技术风险： 一个反思性的主题

在资本主义社会中，资本、市场和科学技术三个要素对其社会发展具有重要的推动作用。资本作为一个生产要素导致社会以财富分配为中心，而市场成为财富分配的一个主要手段，科学技术则成为财富增长的工具之一。它们之间的逻辑是，在资本的资助和推动下，科学技术得到了极大的发展，从而导致生产工具和生产技术不断更新，社会生产力获得了前所未有的发展。在国家和全球市场作用下，科学技术的发展带来了生产力的提高和产品的丰富化，刺激了人们的消费心理，产品成为财富积聚的一个来源。资本不仅使科学技术的发展有了深厚的物质保障，而且也加快了科学技术转变为生产力的速度；同时，资本还改变了科学技术研究的方向和范围，使科学技术向着实用化、技术化、工具化的方向发展。

由于资本并不是均质地存在于社会之中，在社会场域中每个行动者（包括个人和团体）行动的初始条件并不一致，而市场作为一种社会运行机制与制度具有优胜劣汰的功能。因此，即使每个行动者在市场上拥有相同量的资本初始条件，但经过市场的磨砺，资本也不会数额均等地分配给每一个行动者。更何况，初始条件不平等和资本自身具有“马太效应”，在一个特定时期的民族国家与社会里，如果以市场作为社会分配主要机制，那么，资本对于每个行动者来说不太可能是数额均等的。资本作为财富的一