

聯合勸募論壇的宗旨：社會福利理論能實務化；當地的實務經驗理論化。當然這是艱鉅的任務，聯合勸募責無旁貸，且需勇往直前，我們一步一步的走，但願能藉此呼朋引伴，一起為各地福利服務品質的提升略盡棉薄。

The objectives for the Taiwan United Way Review are to make public welfare theories practical; theorize and share local practical experiences. This is no doubt an ambitious mission, but United Way of Taiwan will be duty-bound and more courageously; we hope our systematic progress may attract more people to join us in enhancing the welfare service quality for the various regions.

從這期開始，我們開始介紹台灣社福機構的方案與經驗。這些機構平日與中華聯勸有很好的伙伴關係，他們在有限的資源下，能有另人耳目一新的實務表現，令人激賞。深切認為這種實務經驗必須藉著〈聯合勸募論壇〉分享給其它機構，更須介紹至國際社會福利的平台，也歡迎各國的實務經驗與我們有所交流，使之更有效能，更能日新月異。

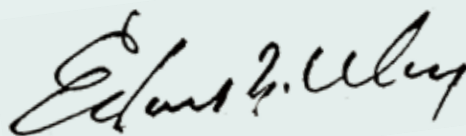
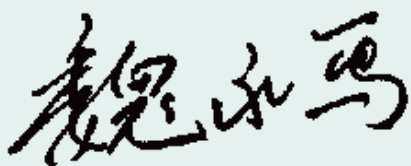
Starting from this issue, we will be introducing the programs and experiences of social welfare organizations in Taiwan. These agencies maintain good partnerships with United Way of Taiwan, and they are capable of offering impressive practical performances under limited resources, which are truly admirable. I deeply feel these practical experiences must be shared to the other institutions through the "Taiwan United Way Review", and be further introduced to the international welfare platforms. We also welcome all international members to share their practical experiences with us, thereby allowing all institutions to be more efficient and effective in their effort.

向國內各社會福利團體請安；也向各國聯勸的伙伴們問好。  
台灣的福利經驗應與世界各國的伙伴分享；歡迎全球社會各地的專家、學者與實務工作者，一起來開墾這個園地。

Best regards to all domestic social welfare groups, and greetings to all United Way partners from around the world.

中華聯勸理事長

Yours sincerely  
Chairman, United Way of Taiwan



民國一〇二年九月二十五日

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- Research Article
- Research Note
- Critical Review

From current issue on, TUWR also request articles/essays related to social work and social welfare practices, especially programs sponsored by United Way of Taiwan.

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# 第三部門的概念化與界定之探究

## Exploring the Conceptualization and Definition of the Third Sector

謝杏慧 Shing-Huei Shie\*

### 摘要

近來成為政策倡議與執行主力的第三部門組織，常被稱為非政府或非營利組織，凸顯出許多組織難以非公即私的概念來歸類的事實與組織屬性模糊的現象。不同的用詞所指涉的對象與意涵有所不同，除與各國意識形態與環境系絡的差異有關外，更因研究問題與觀點的不一而有差別，既容易造成誤解，也難以進行比較研究。本文首先以雙部門模式來分析第三部門的定位，其次探討第三部門一詞的使用源起、背景與意涵，復次探究歐美第三部門所指涉的對象範疇與爭論，以瞭解第三部門的動態性，再次則分析第三部門概念化所採用的外衍與內生途徑及相關研究的定義，最後整合概念化途徑將第三部門界定為理念型的導引概念。

**關鍵字：**非營利組織、公民社會、社會經濟、第三部門、新第三部門

### Abstract

Over the past decades, a large number of the third sector organizations as advocate and implementer of public policy have been called as 'non-governmental organizations' or 'non-profit organizations' in practice. However, these organizations have been ignored by the public and private sector for decades. Yet, there is no straight way through the terminological mire of the world's third sector organizations, although each of the above terms can be seen as locally embedded, and its usage can be traced back to specific cultural, social, economic and political contexts. This paper, firstly, attempts to use a two-sector model to give a clear perspective on the third sector. Secondly, it explores the moment of origin for the term 'third sector', which seems to date back to public policy discussions in the 1970s. Thirdly, it focuses on European and American contexts and therefore explores scope and debates of the third sector. Furthermore, it analyzes both exclusive and inclusive approaches to definition about, in or for the third sector and its components. Finally, it suggests that the third sector could be seen as an ideal guiding concept with its need to embrace the existing diversity of terms and labels.

## 壹、前言

1970年代以降，第三部門組織(third sector organizations, TSOs)逐漸在政府再造、經濟、教育、環保、社會福利與醫療衛生等領域發起社會運動，<sup>1</sup>並集結成足以喚醒公民意識(citizenship)的社會力。南、北半球各地都有類似的社會運動並掀起結社風潮，使得各國第三部門組織的規模與數量顯著成長。尤其在諸多國家的政府職能轉換過程中，為樽節成本、減縮政府規模與反福利國政策，第三部門成為許多國家公共方案輸送混合途徑中的主要份子(Parsons, 1995:499)，不僅深入公共領域，亦影響私領域的活動，擁有與政府和企業鼎足三分的趨勢。當前第三部門一詞常用於區別其成員、意涵與公、私部門之不同，但因理論與實務者所採取的觀點不同，常見以非政府或非營利部門等用詞交換稱之，既無法釐清這些用詞之間的相互關係，更造成概念與定義離散的爭議狀況(contested field) (Alock, 2010: 5-6)。由於第三部門的組成份子混雜、多元，多樣化的名稱與界定困境難以突破，因而造成三項問題：一、對實務工作者而言，難以釐清方案與事務的目標或對組織的使命與本質感到疑惑；二、對研究者來說，因價值觀、研究系絡的差別，在學術影響力不同下，造成話語權不對等，難有一致的標準進行比較研究；三、如不確實界定第三部門及其涵蓋的對象範圍，當在判斷是否為我族類之時，就會影響社會資源的包容或排除運用。基此，本文從雙部門模式分析第三部門的定位，探討第三部門的運用源起、歐美第三部門之別，以瞭解第三部門的時空背景與動態性，再就第三部門的概念化與界定途徑探悉學理的定義與所指涉的對象，期給予第三部門一個較為中立的解釋。

## 貳、雙部門觀點下的第三部門

「部門」的概念是將社會上的所有建制體

<sup>1</sup> 本文交互使用第三部門與第三部門組織二詞，但二者有其層次之別，需釐清的是第三部門乃所有第三部門組織的統稱與集合體。

## Introduction

Since the 1970's, third sector organizations (TSOs) have been emerging to lead in social movements, addressing the issues of government reform, economy, education, environment, social welfare, and medical/health care<sup>1</sup> and consolidating the force of citizenship. Similar social movements rose in the northern and southern hemispheres, and the scales as well as quantities of TSOs continued to grow. Especially, when a government enters a transitional period during the process of implementing cutbacks, austerity, and counter-socialism policies, as many countries have been experiencing, TSOs becomes a link in the multi-facet channel of public programs delivery for many countries (Parsons, 1995:499). TSOs are not only deep in the public domain but also highly influential to the private sector; they are splitting the power of influence in equal share with the government and corporations. Currently, the term "third sector" is often used to distinguish its members from members of the private and public sectors. It is used interchangeably with other terms, such as "non-governmental" or "non-profit" organizations due to the different viewpoints from the perspectives of the theorists and practitioners. Since the correlations of these terms cannot be clarified, the concepts and definition fell into a contested field (Alock, 2010: 5-6). Moreover, the high diversity of its members, coupled with the divergence in naming and definition, raised three issues. First, it is hard for the practitioners to set clear goals for their projects and actions or have a clear view on the mission or fundamental essence of their organizations. Secondly, to the researchers, it is hard to have a consistent standard for comparison due to the divergence in the values and research context, as well as inequality in the right to speak under influence of the academic society. Thirdly, it is impossible to identify the scope of coverage or its members if the third sector is not clearly defined and, consequently, no consistent standards will be provided for determination of whether members of the third sector should be included or excluded from certain social resources. In view of this fact, this paper makes an attempt to establish a more neutral definition for the concept of third sector. It does so by positioning the third sector through analyzing the two-sector model, exploring the background and development of the third sector through discussing its origin and the differences in the current practice between Europe and the US, and finally exploring the scope of the third sector covered in the existing theories from their process of conceptualization and definition.

## The third sector from the perspective of the two-sector model

The concept of "sector" expediently groups all institu-

<sup>1</sup> Both terms "third sector" and "third sector organization" are used interchangeably in this dissertation. However, hierarchically there are slight differences between these two terms in the sense that "third sector" refers to the collective body of "third sector organizations".



(institutions)具體形象化的方便法門，雖有理論上的爭議，如人類活動難以部門界限(sector boundaries)來確切劃分，但部門一詞卻便於政策制定與社會科學研究者的使用、容易讓民眾理解與對話(Billis, 2010: 8; Lewis, 2010: 222-224)。將社會上的主要建制體簡單劃歸至國家與市場兩類的雙部門(two-sector)模式是傳統主流的作法，但建制體中的志願或社會服務之類的團體既非國家(non-state)亦非資本主義者(non-capitalist)，因而有三部門模式的分類以顯示現代社會的結構，此外，另有四部門模式將具有生產與消費力、能參與社會活動的非正式組織，如家戶、鄰里等歸納到第四部門內(Van Til, 2000: 18-21)。本文探討的是具有正式組織結構者，故不另行探討四部門模式或其他分類模式的內涵。

在雙部門模式中，私部門的行動主體是私營企業，而所有不能歸於私部門者，就劃歸到公部門的範疇內，使得典型的公部門行動主體即為國家的各種建制體。擁護私部門觀點者將第三部門自1970年代開始蓬勃發展的狀況，視為個人追求公共性(publicness)的警鐘，並將之標籤為社會主義的蔓延；力主公部門立場者則認為這是私營企業掌控公共領域的企圖，是毫無社會責任感之資本主義的猖獗橫行。無論公、私立場者如何標籤化第三部門組織風起雲湧的現象，這種大量且多樣化組織的浮現與組織化過程(organizational processes)，反映的就是經濟發展過程中無法避免的相互依賴本質(McGill & Wooten, 1975: 444)。雙部門觀點的主張體現了歷來自由主義與國家主義者的意識形態與價值觀之爭，也影響了各國左、右派的政治思維與政策發展。1980年代之前的北美、歐洲與亞太等地區，就因意識形態的對立而採取不同的公共方案輸送模式。主張市場化的人認為公部門對公共財貨與服務的壟斷是毫無效率、沒有競爭力且無法降低成本的，為了避免國家宰制系統的成長，宜將公共財貨與服務轉移予追求經濟、效率與效能的私部門企業；支持公共服務與財貨供給應歸公部門者，則認為凡涉及公共性之財貨或服務，絕不能開放予自利導向、追求

tions in a society into tangible entities. Although there are certain disputes over the theories, for example, the argument about whether human activities can be clearly divided by sector boundaries, the term “third sector” offers policy-makers and social science researchers an easily-understandable concept to explain and communicate certain ideas to the public (Billis, 2010: 8; Lewis, 2010: 222-224). The mainstream practice simply groups the main institutions in the society into a two-sector model—state and market. However, voluntary or social service institutions are simultaneously non-state and non-capitalist; a three-sector model emerged to reflect the structure of the modern society. A four-sector model has also been proposed, which groups the non-official institutions, entities that are involved in production, consumption, and social activities, such as households and communities, into the fourth sector (Van Til, 2000: 18-21). The objective of this paper is to discuss institutions with formal structures. Therefore, the fourth sector and other classification models are not covered in the discussion.

In the two-sector model, the actor of the private sector refers to the private businesses. All other entities not included in the private sector are considered members of the public sector. This classification system defines the actor of the typical public sector as the state institutions. The private sector saw the thriving development of the third sector started in the 1970's as an alert to the personal pursuit of publicness and labeled it as an extension of socialism. From the counter stance, the public sector saw this development as an attempt of the private sector to control the public domain—it is the rampant ambition of capitalists who are senseless to their social responsibilities. Regardless how the public and private sectors label the surge of third sector organizations, emergence and organizational process of such diverse and massive number of organizations reflects the nature of interdependence inevitable in the process of economic development (McGill & Wooten, 1975: 444). The two-sector theory revealed the antagonism of liberals and nationalists in ideology and values and influenced the political thinking of the left and right wings, as well as their policy development. Before the 1980's, North America, Europe, and Asia-Pacific adopted different public programs delivery modes because of the antagonism in ideology. Advocates of free market think that monopoly of commodities and services by the public sector is inefficient, less competitive, and incapable of lowering the costs of procurement. Therefore, to prevent the state from controlling the growth of the system, public goods and services should be transferred to the more efficient and effective private sector. Advocates of public sector-led public services and goods, on the other hand,



利潤最大化與股東權益的企業，以避免社會排除、不公情事等自由國家資本主義社會危機症候的發生，但這樣的狀況卻侷限了各國民眾在公共服務與財貨供給上的選擇權。

有趣的是，高度意識形態的雙部門擁護者都忽略第三種公共方案輸送途徑的可能性與可及性。事實上，存在於公、私部門之外的第三部門組織，早已介入其所漠視的場域與活動內，但第三部門組織存在的事實與地位、功能卻刻意被忽略。這種習慣將經濟與社會生活領域劃分成雙部門的思維與作法，使得三部門模式成為擾亂一池春水(muddy the water)，徒增麻煩的分類方式(Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2002: 14)。因此，當前普遍的第三部門定義，仍依據傳統經濟學中的公、私部門概念，慣以非營利、非商業性、非政府等否定(negative)用詞來描述或指稱第三部門(Drucker, 1990: 77; Alock, 2010: 7)，這無疑更讓第三部門的界定陷入公、私部門概念的爭辯泥沼中。公(國家組織)/私(私人資本組織)二分的觀念，成為整體社會與經濟活動的主流分類，但卻有殘餘性(residuum)的缺漏(Levitt, 1973: 48-49; Mertens, 1999: 502)(參見圖1陰影部份)。許多不能歸屬到私部門的組織，其屬性相當模糊，它們既非因正式權力的強迫而組成，亦非公共性概念所能涵蓋，更非純然的公部門成員；在所有權形式上，它們能擁有資本利得，卻又不歸於個別私人所有；其雖以商業模式管理組織、經營事業，但終極目的是為了達致社會目標，因此不以價格作為服務或財貨供給的衡量標準，故無法因其營利而劃歸至私部門中。此外，這些組織極度仰賴志願主義(voluntarism)的活動特徵更是公、私部門所欠缺的要素，且因不追求經濟效用最大化，無法成為經濟體系裡的主流份子，而被排擠到邊陲並長期遭到忽略(Bridge et al., 2009: 281)。然而，這些被雙部門模式所忽略的殘餘性組織或團體，卻有組建集體活動的能力，能夠有效地回應社會的特殊需求、處理不確定性的問題；能倡導理想、助益共識的建立與知識的分享；可調和國家與個人間的關係；更重要的是能促進社會創新、維繫或改變社會價值(Van Til, 2000: 210; Donnelly-Cox, Donoghue &

think that public goods or services should never be open to the private businesses who focus on nothing else but profiting personal interests and pursuing maximum profit and shareholder equity to prevent occurrence of risk symptoms emerging in the free capitalist societies, such as exclusion of social resources and unfairness. However, such restriction in effect limits the scope of options in the supply of public services and goods.

Interestingly, high ideological two-sector advocates overlooked the possibility and feasibility of delivering public programs through a third approach. In fact, the third sector, which is independent from the public and private sectors, have been involved in the less-noticed fields and activities, but the fact of the third-sector's existence, its status, and its functions are intentional ignored. Such thinking and practice customarily dissects economy and social/living fields into two sectors, and the third-sector model becomes a redundant classification that "muddies the water" (Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2002: 14). Therefore, the most widely recognized definition of the third sector was still coined based on the traditional economic concept of public/private sector and described customarily by negative expressions, such as non-profit, non-commercial, and non-governmental (Drucker, 1990: 77; Alock, 2010: 7). This no doubt puts the definition of the third sector into a deeper muddle of private-public argument. The duality of publicness (state organizations) and privateness (privately capitalized organizations) became the mainstream categorization of the overall social and economic activities not without residuum (Levitt, 1973: 48-49; Mertens, 1999: 502)(please see the shaded part in figure 1). Many organizations not classifiable into the private sector have rather ambiguous attributes. They are neither organized out of the force of official powers nor covered by the concept of publicness. That is, they are not outright members of members of the public sector. By the form of ownership, they are entitled to the capital gain, yet no one individual is eligible for the profits. They are organized, managed, and operated under business modes, but their ultimate goal is to achieve certain social causes. Therefore, they do not measure their services or supply of commodities based on prices and thus they cannot be classified into the private sector because of the profitability. Furthermore, the attributes of these organizations, in terms of extreme reliance on voluntarism, are lacking in either the private or the public sector, and their inactive pursuit of economic maximization marginalizes them from the mainstream of the economic system and their activities overlooked on a long-term basis (Bridge et al., 2009: 281). Nonetheless, these residual organizations or

Hayes, 2001: 197) , 因此逐漸成為與公、私部門地位對等的協力主體。

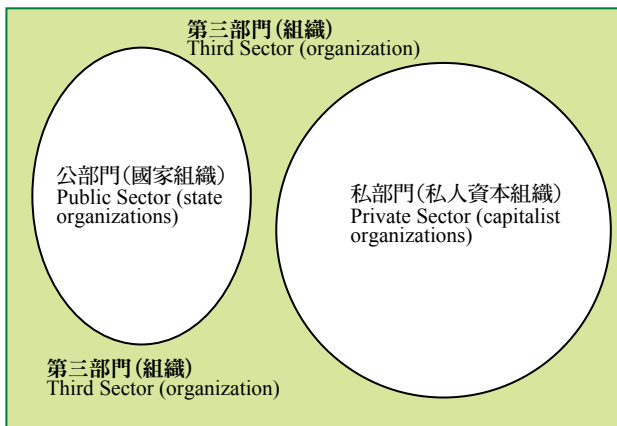


圖 1 殘餘空間中的第三部門組織

Figure 1: Third sector in the residual space

資料來源：修改自“*Nonprofit Organizations and Social Economy: Two Ways of Understanding the Third Sector*,” by Mertens, Sybille, 1999, *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics*, 70(3), p. 502.

Source: edited from “*Nonprofit Organizations and Social Economy: Two Ways of Understanding the Third Sector*,” by Mertens, Sybille, 1999, *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics*, 70(3), p. 502.

## 參、「第三部門」的使用源起

「第三部門」一詞的起源與運用並無確切時間，最近的使用可追溯到1970年代於美國公共政策上的討論。<sup>2</sup> 當時社會學者Amitai Etzioni以美國國內的公共財貨供給狀況，陳文指出第三部門的顯現及其所處的經濟場域；行銷大師Theodore Levitt則就美國彼時蓬勃發展的社會運動，說明第三部門的崛起及其對公共領域的影響(McGill & Wooten, 1975: 444-445; Lewis, 2001: 56; Haugh & Kitson, 2007: 974; Corry, 2010: 13)。

### 一、Amitai Etzioni的使用與界定

Etzioni當年探討資本主義市場體制與社會主義國家行政體制時，指出就公共財貨與服務的生產及供給來看，如蘇聯(Soviet Union)這類的社會主義共和國常

groups overlooked in the two-sector model have the abilities to organize collective actions, effectively respond to the special needs in the society, and handle uncertainties, as well as advocating ideologies, promoting establishment of consensus and knowledge sharing, mediating the relationship between the state and the individuals, and more importantly promoting innovative social development or maintain/change social values (Van Til, 2000: 210; Donnelly-Cox, Donoghue & Hayes, 2001: 197). Therefore, they gradually become a collaborative body standing at an equal stance with the public and private sectors.

## Origin for the term “third sector”

For the question of when the term “third sector” emerged and began to be used, no specific time was identified. The more contemporary usage can be traced back to public policy debates in the US in the 1970’s<sup>2</sup>. Prominent scholar Amitai Etzioni pointed out the emergence of the third sector and the economic field it was operating from in his article addressing the subject of the supply of public goods in the US. Master of marketing, Theodore Levitt illustrated the emergence of the third sector and its influence to the public domain from the thriving development of social movements (McGill & Wooten, 1975: 444-445; Lewis, 2001: 56; Haugh & Kitson, 2007: 974; Corry, 2010: 13).

### I. Definition and usage by Amitai Etzioni

Etzioni pointed out in a discussion on the capitalist market system and socialist state system that, from the aspect of production and supply of public goods and services, socialist states, such as the Soviet Union, are often led by production activities of monopolistic state-owned enterprises. Private businesses were not only special cases, but also a temporary phenomenon waiting to be exterminated anytime. Capitalist states, such as the US, on the other hand, only take over ventures that are not profitable or related to national security through the government agencies or state-owned enterprises. Most of the commodities and services are supplied by profit-driven private enterprises. In late 1960’s and early 1970’s US, large government was seen by the contemporary conservatives as a symbol of evil; they advocated the concept of transferring public economic missions to the private sector.

<sup>2</sup> 在法國，第三部門一詞出現於1970年代末。Jacques Delors是首位嘗試將第三部門現象量化者，並將之界定為主題異樣的服務部門，且認為第三部門與市場及國家並存(Mertens, 1999: 501)。

<sup>2</sup> In France, the term “third sector” emerged in the end of 1970’s. Jacques Delors was the first to quantify the phenomenon of the third sector and defined it as a service sector with very different objectives; they also think that the third sector coexists alongside the market and state (Mertens, 1999: 501).

由國營企業壟斷生產活動，私有企業不僅是特例，更是隨時會被消滅的短暫現象；但在美國這種資本主義國家，只有關係著國家安全或無利可圖之事才由國家或國營事業機構來負責，多數的財貨與服務都由利潤導向的企業來提供。1960年代末、70年代初的美國，大政府被現代保守主義者視為邪惡的象徵，並主張應將公共經濟的任務轉移給私部門，如Peter Drucker便認為政府應該扮演指揮家(conductor)的角色，以發揮啟發(initiating)、引導(guiding)與協調(coordinating)的功能而不該是實際完成任務使命者，並倡之為「恢復民營化」(re-privatization)。

當時這兩種體制截然不同的國家一致忽略了民眾有第三種選擇的機會，即第三部門。但Etzioni那時便認為未來數十年，第三部門將是滿足民眾需求的最重要的替選途徑(alternative)，並指出第三部門的存在不是為了取代公、私部門，而是在扮演平衡公、私部門並與之相稱的角色，第三部門既不是政府的，也不是私人所有的；第三部門可能是混合了企業與政府特色的組織(如大學與醫院)；可能是志願社團，如紅十字會(the Red Cross)或女性選舉人聯盟(the League of Women Voters)；也可以是如福特基金會(the Ford Foundation)的非營利法人機構。這些組織的運作雖然不一定成功，組織的生命也不見得很長，但某些組織的作為與影響力卻可能超越了聯邦或地方政府。當國內的公共服務與財貨供給的利潤不多，或須付出鉅額成本時，私部門便不願意投入；但又不能過度依賴政府，要避免政府官僚組織的擴張，就需以第三部門來提供實現「本國使命(domestic missions)」的服務以解決美國的本土問題。Etzioni也認為受到公/私部門觀點的影響，易將「公共的(public)」視為政府的(governmental)與志願的、不為營利的(not-for-profit)實體；非營利(non-profit)的實體有些則被歸併成政府的一員，有時卻又被劃歸成私部門的一部分。為跳脫雙部門的窠臼，他指出三個部門應為私部門(營利的)、政府部門(國家組織)及公共部門(志願與不為營利的組織)(Etzion, 1973: 314-316)。

此外，Etzioni認為第三部門能發揮作用，與政府

Peter Drucker advocated that the government should act as the “conductor” in the capacities of “initiating”, “guiding”, and “coordinating”, instead of completing the actual mission. He also advocated the idea of re-privatization.

At the time, states of two very different system simultaneously ignored the possibility that people may have the third option, that is, the third sector. Etzioni projected that, in the next decades, the third sector will be the most significant alternative that satisfies people’s needs and pointed out that the third sector did not emerge to replace the public and private sectors, but to play a role that balances between the public and private sectors. The third sector is neither government nor private, but it is likely to mix the attributes of both business and government organizations (e.g. universities and hospitals). The third sector organizations may be voluntary groups, such as the Red Cross or the League of Women Voters, or no profit organizations, such as the Ford Foundation. Not all organizations are successful, nor are they necessarily long lived, but actions of some organizations may have the power to influence far greater than that of the federal or local government. When the domestic public services and supply of commodities are not profitable or involves huge cost, the private sector is unwilling to get involved, yet the people cannot rely too much on the government, so that the government organization can not expand out of proportion. In such situation, the third sector emerged to carry on the domestic missions and solve the domestic problems in the US. Etzioni also thinks that, as influenced by the concept of public/private sectors, people are prone to see “public” as governmental, voluntary, and not-for-profit. In such case, the non-profit entities in effect become members of the government, yet at the same time seen as part of the private sector. To escape the stereotype of two-sector system, Etzioni thinks there should be three sectors in a society, the private (profit), governmental (state), and public (voluntary and not-for-profit) sectors (Etzion, 1973: 314-316).

However, Etzioni also thinks that the third sector emerged to become an effective player in the society, but its cooperation with the government and businesses caused the boundaries between them to become vague and blurry spaces occurred. He listed several third sector organizations and the scope of operations, including Amtrak, NASA, private colleges, hospital or health insurance plans, student loan program, and post office services and consolidated three categories of third sector activities. The first category involves partnerships between the government and the private sector. For example, the

和企業間合作，導致二者的界限隱晦，產生了模糊空間所致。其例舉的第三部門組織與運作的範疇，包括美國鐵路公司(Amtrak)、美國太空總署(NASA)、私立大學、醫院，或是健康保險計畫、學生貸款方案、郵政服務等，從中可歸納出三類第三部門的活動領域。第一種涉及政府與私部門之間的夥伴關係，如美國政府依據1972年社會安全修正條款的規範，要求成立「專業標準審查組織」(Professional Standards Review Organization, PSROs)，透過不營利的醫師團體來審查聯邦政府支助的醫療方案，或如美國太空總署的阿波羅(Apollo)計畫，便由許多大學與研究機構的航空工程師依據政府的契約內容與航空產業合作生產太空船；第二種是在政府許可(fiat)賦權後，改變了傳統營運模式的國營事業機構，如提高了費率的美國郵政公司，或變更運輸服務系統的鐵路公司；第三種是當時成功民營化的機構，如美國通訊衛星公司(COMSAT)、聯邦國家抵押貸款協會(Federal National Mortgage Association, FNMA)，<sup>3</sup>這些公司的股票便為某些投資人擁有(Etzioni, 1973: 316-322; McGill & Wooten, 1975: 446)。事實上，被Etzioni視為第三部門一員的某些組織的結構已非今日吾人認知的第三部門組織，如當時民營化的國營事業機構即是一例。察其意雖可發現經濟與社會活動的類型並非只有純粹的公、私兩類，而有第三種混雜公私屬性者。但他關注的是這些組織解決美國內政問題的使命與潛能，目的在降低政府壟斷公共財貨的生產與輸送，因此，只要以私部門營運方式提供公共財貨與服務的組織就是第三部門的一員。簡言之，Etzioni單純以自由化、市場化的「小國家、大市場」觀點來看待第三部門的崛起，其所認知的第三部門組織多是民營企業的變形或國營企業的轉型而已，而非今日之兼具獨立性、民間性或與國家抗衡等特質的第三部門組織。

<sup>3</sup> 聯邦國家抵押貸款協會(FNMA)即房利美(Fannie Mae)，為美國住宅貸款市場最大的資金提供者。1938年大蕭條時期依國家住宅法(National Housing Act)，由美國政府百分百持有、創立。1968年時因住宅及都市發展法(Housing and Urban Development Act)而切割為房利美與吉利美(Ginnie Mae)，房利美成為聯邦政府特許的民營公司，卻於2008年9月7日因次貸風暴遭美國財政部宣佈監管。

US government requested establishment of the Professional Standards Review Organization (PSROs) based on the US 1972 amendment of the Social Security Act, which brought in non-profit physician's organizations to reviewed federal government sponsored medical programs. In addition, the NASA Apollo Program engaged many aviation engineers from universities and research institutions to construct the spaceship bound by contracts or cooperative programs with the aviation industry. The second category involves state-owned enterprises that have changed the traditional operating modes under the fiat granted by the US government, including the US Post Office with raised fee rates or Amtrak with altered transportation service system. The third category involves successful privatized organizations, including COMSAT and Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA)<sup>3</sup>. Stocks of these companies changed ownership to certain investors (Etzioni, 1973: 316-322; McGill & Wooten, 1975: 446). However, some of the organizations considered members of the third sector are no longer recognized as part of the third sector in today's society, for example, privatized state-owned enterprises. Etzioni's classification reveals that attributes of economic and social activities have gone beyond the simple categories of publicness and privateness; some organizations, that are the third category, carry both public and private attributes. However, Etzioni was more concerned on the missions and potentials of these organizations and whether they can solve the domestic problems in the US. The purpose of these organizations is to minimize government manipulation on production and delivery of public goods; therefore, all organizations operating under the private mode but supply public goods and services are considered members of the third sector. In other words, Etzioni viewed the rising of the third sector simply from the point of free market, that is, "small state, large market", and the third sector organizations in his cognition were mostly altered private businesses or transformed state-owned enterprises, not today's idea of third sector organizations that are independent, public, or acts to check and balance the government.

<sup>3</sup> FNMA (Fannie Mae) is the largest capital supplier in the US residential housing loan market, which was founded and fully owned by the US government in 1938 based on the National Housing Act. In 1968, this business was dissected into Fannie Mae and Ginnie Mae in 1968 due to the Housing and Urban Development Act. Fannie Mae became the first private company with fiat from the federal government, yet the US Department of the Treasury took over the organization on September 7th 2008 due to the subprime mortgage crisis.

## 二、Theodore Levitt的使用與界定

Levitt觀察1970年代美國風起雲湧的社會運動，以《第三部門：回應型社會的新方略》(The Third Sector: New Tactics for a Responsive Society)一書來說明第三部門回應社會的潛能。他將第三部門的浮現視作一個背馳的運動(divergent movement)，視那些為了解決公、私部門不聞不問的問題，而將激進抗議或運動制度化的所有新型態、複雜難懂的組織都統歸到第三部門內(Levitt, 1973: 7)，同時指出這些異質組織的規模、構成、關注事項與所獲得的結果雖不盡相同，卻有三項共同點：1. 意圖(purposes)的訴求；2. 對志願主義的依賴；3. 明顯的運作風格(operating style)。第三部門組織的普遍意圖是從事企業與政府不作的、做不好的或不常做的事情，為了實現這些意圖，除了專業人員的投入外，更需要大量、背景不同之志願者的長期效力。對照公部門以法令、權威為達到目標的手段及私部門以資本交換為工具的情況來看，第三部門對志願主義的強烈依賴特性，使其行為更具正當性；另外，志願結社的成員常混合採取遊說、勸服、社會與道德壓力、教育與直接援助等技巧，以勸服民眾並對其造成根本性的影響(Levitt, 1973: 49-69; McGill & Wooten, 1975: 444-445)。雖然第三部門組織的權力、能見度與行為的積極度不一，但都是為了反映和解決政府與市場失靈所造成的問題。

另外，Levitt又將第三部門劃分為「新的(New)」與「傳統的/舊的(Old)」兩類，其主要差異大抵表現在使命、主要活動項目、運作方式與參與者的動機等四項(參見表1)。他認為「新的」第三部門關注的事務或議題不僅止於解決自身的問題，更在著手界定並處理他人的問題，以矯正、改良社會上不公不義之事，亦即第三部門的深層意圖應是創建一個沒有任何人被剝奪或被忽略的社會，為此，可能要透過顯著的、武斷的與急切的手段，如暴力、抗議示威等，以促進體制的改革與社會的轉型；「舊的」第三部門關注的、提供的服務或從事活動的目的則是舒緩公、私部門所造成的損傷，故常以公開的、顯而易見的、柔性勸導

## II. Usage and definition by Theodore Levitt

Levitt observed the surging social movements in the US in the 1970's. He discussed the third sector and its potential to answer the society in his book, *The Third Sector: New Tactics for a Responsive Society*. He saw the emergence of the third sector as divergent movement and categorized all new models and complex organizations emerged to solve the problems overlooked by the public and private sectors and systemize radical protests or movements into the third sector (Levitt, 1973: 7). At the same time, he pointed out that these divergent organizations are different in terms of scale, composition, concerns, and results from their activities, yet they share three common attributes- 1. Purpose; 2. Dependence on volunteerism; and 3. Operating style. The general purpose of third sector organizations is to engage in things that are not done, not done well, or not often done by the government, and to achieve the purpose, other than the involvement of professionals, massive amount of volunteers from different background are needed on a long-term basis. In contrast to the public sector, which uses laws and authority to achieve the goals, and the private sector, which uses capital exchange as the tool, strong dependence on volunteerism gives the third sector the justification to its behaviors. Furthermore, member who gather on a voluntary basis often take tactics mixed with lobby, persuasion, social and moral pressure, education, and direct assistance to persuade the public and cause fundamental influence (Levitt, 1973: 49-69; McGill & Wooten, 1975: 444-445). Although the third sector organizations have different degree of strength, public exposure, and aggressiveness, they are organized to solve the problems due to government and market failure.

Furthermore, Levitt also gave the third sector two categories: the "New" and "Old", and there are four major differences between the two categories- mission, main activities, operational modes, and participant's motives (table 1). He thinks that the "New" third sector cares about matters and issues not only in solving the problems but also in defining how to handle the problems of others, so the unfair and unjust things in the society can be corrected and adjusted. This brings a deeper meaning of the third sector to the surface, reflecting its purpose of creating a society where no one is deprived or ignored. To achieve this, explicit, arbitrary, and immediate actions, such as violence and protest, may be necessary, in order to transform the institution and society. Since the "Old" third sector cares about certain issues, provides services, or engage in activities for the purpose of soothing the damages caused by the public and private sectors. Therefore, they often respond to the society through open and obvious techniques and persuasion, such as providing aids



的方式，如援助貧困者、提供庇護所、贊助沒有商業利益的藝術等方式來回應社會問題(Levitt, 1973: 70-73; McGill & Wooten, 1975: 445)。事實上，新、舊第三部門的存在都是為了彌補公、私部門對整體社會生活造成的傷害，所不同的是採取的手段是否合乎體制的規範。由於傳統第三部門針對一般性的社會狀態與民眾需求提供服務，未能充分關注到個體的或高度個人的問題，因而讓新的第三部門能挑戰體制規範以促進、激化社會的轉型，因此，舉凡民權或反戰運動、婦女解放，到消費者運動、環保、反核和平運動，以及獄政改革或企業社會責任的要求等都是新第三部門組織訴求的重點。

新第三部門組織不再採取體制內漸進改善的溫和路線，改採更公開的、更激烈的或暴力的手段與新科技來催化新社會的產生。這些新第三部門組織的非理性手段與作為，不僅能壓迫社會全體正視社會問題的急迫性，更能促使民選代表、政府或當權者在決策的過程中，回覆社會訴求以展現回應性(responsiveness)(Levitt, 1973: 167-168)。即使這些新第三部門組織的出現、所採用的戰略可能是一時的，且這些新第三部門組織可能在獲得足夠的財援後，成為具有官僚程序與規範的科層組織而變成傳統的第三部門(Levitt, 1973: 139)，甚至因其激烈的作為而衝擊了社會的穩定，或

to the poor, offering shelters, and sponsoring non-profit art events (Levitt, 1973: 70-73; McGill & Wooten, 1975: 445). In fact, both the new and old third sectors exist to remedy the damages inflicted on the society in general by the public and private sectors, the tactics adopted by both of them conform to the norms. Since the old third sector supplies services to the general social and public issues without addressing the needs of the individuals and highly personal issues, the new third sector gains the space to challenge the institution and press for transformation in the society. Therefore, the appeals of the new third sector covers a wide range of social movements from civil rights, anti-war, and women liberation to consumer, environmental protection, anti-nuclear, and peace, as well as advocacy for prison reform or corporate social responsibilities.

The new third sector organizations no longer opt for mild changes within the system. They adopt more open, aggressive, or violent tactics, aided by new technologies to pressure for formation of a new society. The irrational tactics and conducts of the new third sector organizations not only bring the society to recognize the urgency of the issues, but also pressure the elected legislators, government, or the persons in power to exhibit their responsiveness to the demands of the society in the process of policymaking (Levitt, 1973: 167-168). Emergence of the new sector organizations and their tactics may be temporary phenomena, and these new third sector organizations may turn into bureaucratic organizations running bureaucratic procedures and norms and move towards becoming organizations of the old third sector (Levitt, 1973: 139). Their aggressive behaviors may shake the stability of the society or cause the society to pay a great price. The result may not be positive, but their actions

表1 Table 1

### Levitt論述之新、舊第三部門的比較

#### Comparison of the new and old sector proposed by Levitt

差異點 Difference	類別 Category	新第三部門 New third sector	舊第三部門 Old third sector
使命 Mission		體制變革、社會轉型 Transforming institution and society	舒緩政府或市場失靈的衝擊(服務導向) Soothing the damages due to government or market failure (service oriented)
主要活動項目 Core activity		棘手、涉及社會條件或公共福祉的改革 Revolution involving social circumstances and public good	會員或個別化服務 Member or individualized services
運作方式 Operational mode		激烈作法：詈罵、示威抗議、暴力、遊行 Eager actions: swearing, demonstration, violence, parading	和緩作法：勸說、遊說、教育或直接服務(志工服務) Soothing actions: persuasion, lobbying, education, or direct service (volunteer services)
參與者的動機 Participant's motive		利他為主 Altruism	自利為主，提高聲譽、地位 Self-interest: gaining reputation and status

資料來源：筆者整理

Source: compiled by the author

付出鉅額的社會代價，結果未必是好的，但卻能正面影響官僚系統及所有美國人，讓長久以來被漠視的不公義問題受到重視，如藍、白領階級問題、種族歧視等。因此，他認為不宜將新第三部門的崛起視作不曾間斷的革命歷程中的一個有影響力的片段而已，如此將無法領會新第三部門為美國社會創制根本的新制度之影響力，以及其為達致社會改革而採用無法廢除的新方法的潛在價值(Levitt, 1973: 8)，儘管新第三部門可能帶來致命的傷害，卻能讓政策決策者傾聽與討論不公的狀況，也可讓社會變得更良善，讓信任脆弱的人們共事以促進社會凝聚。

### 三、Etzioni與Levitt的比較

相較於Levitt界定第三部門的背馳方式，Etzioni則採取匯聚的(convergent)定義來理解第三部門(McGill & Wooten, 1975: 446)。Levitt就非私即公的殘餘空間或殘餘組織存在的概念來論述第三部門的浮現與活動空間，從基進的社會改革立場來觀察第三部門，並認為第三部門組織具有倡議與原創的特性，能以創新的方式來轉化社會，以建構一個回應力強大的社會。Etzioni則以傳統市場經濟的效率觀來劃定第三部門的領域與活動範疇，將能夠經營資本主義世界裡的經濟與社會事業的組織都歸併到第三部門內，並認為第三部門的崛起，係因其能與主流的公部門或私部門通力合作，以提供能滿足國內經濟與社會需求的服務與財貨，既能降低各層級政府對私部門活動的干預，也可參與私部門的活動。Etzioni的保守立場與Levitt的基進立場本就不同，其所觀察與認知的第三部門便有所差別，前者將第三部門當成公、私部門之間的緩衝器，目的在避免任一方的過度擴張；後者則將第三部門視作解決社會問題的先鋒，是挑戰與抗衡公、私部門者。這兩種就1970年代美國的社會現象，而提出迥異的第三部門概念與界定結果，揭露出隨著時空背景的演進，以及觀察的角度與價值觀、立場的差異，便有不同的研究論述結果，但也凸顯了自第三部門浮現與使用該用詞起即有界定上的困境。

were able to positively influence the bureaucratic system and the Americans. They brought issues of injustice overlooked by the administrators for a long time, such as blue/white collar issues and racial discrimination, to the attention of the society. Therefore, Levitt does not think that rising of the new third sector organizations should be seen as an influential segment in the ongoing process of revolution. If so, we will lose the opportunity to understand the new third sector and its power to bring a fundamentally new system to America, as well as the potential value of the unabandonable new methods used to achieve social reform (Levitt, 1973: 8). Even though, the new third sector may cause damages, it is a way to bring the policymakers to listen to the injustice, make the society friendlier, and bring the people who have frail trust in people to work together.

### III. Comparison of Etzioni and Levitt

In contrast to Levitt's divergence theory in the definition of the third sector, Etzioni tried to understand the third sector through the concept of convergence (McGill & Wooten, 1975: 446). Levitt discussed the emergence of the third sector and the space for its activities through the concept of the non-private and non-public residual space or existence of residuum organizations. Levitt viewed the third sector from the standpoint of aggressive social reform and thinks that the third sector organizations are characteristic in terms of their advocacy and originality. They use innovative ways to transform the society and construct a society with high responsiveness. Etzioni, on the other hand defined the domain and scope of activities of the third sector from the traditional view of efficiency in market economy. He grouped all organizations capable of running economic and social businesses in the capitalist world into the third sector and thinks that the third sector emerged out of its versatility to work with the public and private sectors and provide services and goods that can satisfy the domestic economic and social needs. The third sector effectively minimizes the interference of the government on the private sector and at the same time participates in the activities of the private sector. Etzioni's conservative stance is very different from Levitt's aggressive stance and divergences exist in their observations and perceptions of the third sector. Etzioni sees the third sector as a buffer between the public and private sectors, targeting to prevent over expansion of either sector. Levitt sees the third sector as a frontier to solving the problems in the society; it acts to challenge and balance the public and private sectors. These two scholars proposed divergent concepts and definitions to the social phenomenon emerged in the 1970's society of the United States. They disclosed the development along the time, and the divergence in their angle of observation, values, and stance bring divergent conclusions, as well as highlighting the predicament in defining the concept since the emergence the third sector and initiation of the term.



## 肆、歐美第三部門定義的差異

因應研究方便、個人信仰和價值觀的差別與政策議題對話之需，第三部門的界定與構成組織的歸類便不相同，雖難免失衡、偏頗，卻有其現實需要。

### 一、美國的非營利部門

就當前學術與實務界的應用來看，受到美國觀念的移植與影響，非營利一詞最常見。自Alexis de Tocqueville於1835年出版《民主在美國》(Democracy in America)一書以來，因推崇美國民主化得力於美國人為解決公共問題而積極結社的情況，使得美國的結社成為許多國家探討第三部門的角色與作用時的參考範本，造成歐亞地區習慣以非營利部門取代第三部門的使用，讓「非營利」的美式標籤變成學術研究與大眾爭辯的行話(Evers & Laville, 2004: 1)。其影響力從霍普金斯大學公民社會研究中心協助聯合國編制非營利機構的統計手冊(Handbook on Non-Profit Institutions in the System of National Accounts)，以引導各國蒐集非營利部門的資料可見端倪。該中心的國際非營利部門比較計畫，以不分配盈餘限制的法律概念特質來研究跨西歐、中東歐、非洲、中東、南亞、拉丁美洲等區，包括先進工業國、發展中國家、轉型國家等四十多國的狀況，更讓美國的非營利意象成為各國判別該類組織的基礎。此外，因該研究傾向於描繪組織的類型、分類、組織的規模等經濟理性導向的表徵，便於用統計數據呈現量體調查的結果(參見表2)，更讓非營利一詞的運用無遠弗屆。由於美國的非營利組織

表2 Table 2

第三部門的定義：歐洲與美國的差別

*Definition of the third sector: differences between Europe and the US*

地區 Region	歐洲的定義 Definition in Europe	美國的定義 Definition in the US
研究重點 Focus	著重解析途徑(Analytical approach) 對社團類型和變化及所有不為營利的社會經濟組織的經濟面發展同等重視 Developing association typologies and changes as well as the development of economic dimension of all 'not-for-profit' social economy organizations	強調分類途徑(Classificatory approach) 聚焦所有非營利組織之重要特徵的統計詮釋 The focus is placed on the statistical interpretation of the importance of a sector comprising all non-profit organizations
利潤分配限制 Limitations to profit distribution	營利歸私卻仍有限制準則：組織涵蓋合作社與互助會 Criterion of limits on private acquisition of profits: inclusion of cooperatives and mutual aid associations	不分配盈餘：排除合作社與互助會 Non-distribution constraint central, exclusion of cooperatives and mutual aid societies

資料來源：The Third Sector in Europe (p. 13), by Evers, A. & Laville, Jean-Louis, 2004, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Source: Modified from *The Third Sector in Europe* (p. 13), by Evers, A. & Laville, Jean-Louis, 2004, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

## Divergence in the definitions of the third sector in Europe and the US

For convenience of study, personal belief and values, and communication of policy issues, different purposes bring different definitions and classifications. Although unbalanced and biased opinions are inevitable, all definitions emerge for specific needs.

### I. Non-profit sector in the US

From the current academic practice, the term "on-profit" is most widely used due to the influence from the US. Since Alexis de Tocqueville published the book, *Democracy in America*, in 1835, highlighting the development of democracy in the US and the phenomenon of active assembly to solve public issues, the concept of assembly prominent in the US became a significant reference to many nations when discussing the role and functions of the third sector. This concept entered the Europe and Asian regions and replaced the term third sector with non-profit sector, and the American label of "non-profit" became a technical term in the academic researches and public debate (Evers & Laville, 2004: 1). Its influence was highlighted in the *Handbook on Non-Profit Institutions in the System of National Accounts* co-edited by the Civil Society Research Center of John's Hopkins University and the UN, which has been used as a reference for data collection of non-profit organizations. The international non-profit sector comparison plan of the center studied the development in over 40 countries from the legal restriction of no profit sharing. This project covered Western Europe, central and eastern Europe, Africa, Middle East, South Asia, and Latin America, including developed, developing, and transition nations, and many countries began to use the concept of "non-profit" as the foundation for identification of such organizations. Furthermore, since the above research focused on describing economic rationality oriented representations, such as types, categories, and scales of organizations, which provide statistics

不被允許創造財富並將利潤分配予經營者，且受到不分配盈餘的限制，營業利得不能分配予組織會員或員工，獲利僅能用於法定的組織活動。因此，凡是不同於美國傳統慈善模式發展的非營利組織(如基金會)，如能使社群獲益或將利潤再投資於社會目標事業的社會企業團體或組織、合作社或歐洲的人民經濟體(the peoples economy)就不是第三部門的成員(Corry, 2010: 13-15; Moulaert & Ailenei, 2005: 2042-2046)。

## 二、歐洲的第三部門

Evers與Laville編輯出版的《歐洲第三部門》(The Third Sector in Europe)與來自歐洲研究網絡(EMES European Research Network)的論點<sup>4</sup>，便直接挑戰了「非營利」的稱呼與用法(Van Til, 2009: 1070)。其梳理了歐、美第三部門組織利潤分配的不同與研究焦點的差異(參見表2)，認為歐洲的第三部門混雜了合作企業社、宗親會之類的組織或社團，這類組織的市場、國家與社群之間的界限劃分較不明確，卻在社會目標與價值導向下，承受投資風險並可追求利潤(Corry, 2010: 14-15)，惟利益的分配與投資的項目仍有所限制。Evers等人因此認為不能將歐洲的第三部門等同於狹義的志願部門，<sup>5</sup>或是美國觀念下的非營利部門。因歐洲第三部門的組成除了美國遺緒的部份---如慈善、志願組織與基金會外，主要由互助會(mutual aid societies)、合作社(co-operatives)及其他社會經濟的社團(associations)集結組成。這些社會經濟組織(social economy organizations)著重的是整體社會財富的創造，而非個人利得與投資報酬率的增加，能將社會生活與經濟生活連接起來，對歐洲的社會改善與經濟創造發揮影響力。在歐洲歷史悠久的合作社與互助協會中，某些組織從不分配利潤，如瑞典的住宅合作

for quantitative survey (table 2), the phrase “non-profit” was carried even farther. Non-profit organizations in the US are not allowed to create wealth and distribute the profits to the business operators, and restricted by the regulation of non-profit sharing; the profits cannot be distributed to the members of the organization or employees either. All profits can only be used for specific and legally authorized organizational activities. Therefore, all non-profit organizations developed in a mode different from the traditional charitable organizations (e.g. foundations), whose benefits or profits are reinvested into social corporate groups or organizations, cooperative unions, or the people’s economy in the Europe are ruled out from the category of third sector (Corry, 2010: 13-15; Moulaert & Ailenei, 2005: 2042-2046).

## II. Third sector in Europe

Evers & Laville, through their work *The Third Sector in Europe*, and theories from the EMES<sup>4</sup> European Research Network directly challenged the term and usage of “non-profit” (Van Til, 2009: 1070). The above researches reorganized the different focuses on profit distribution of the third sector organizations in Europe and the US and the differences between the studies (table 2). They think that the third sector in Europe contains certain organizations and communities of enterprises, cooperatives and kinship associations. Such organizations have rather blur definitions on their boundaries to the market, state, and other communities, yet they take on the risks of investment and are allowed to pursue profits under certain social goals and values (Corry, 2010: 14-15).

Only, they are restricted to certain profit distribution and investment items. Therefore, Evers et. al. think that the third sector in Europe is not equivalent to the narrow-sense volunteer sector<sup>5</sup> or the American concept of non-profit sector, since the third sector in Europe is composed of mutual aid societies, cooperatives, and other socio-economic associations aside from the American concept of charity, volunteer organizations, and foundations. These social economy organizations focus on creating wealth for the whole society, not just personal gains and maximum return on investment. They link social life with economic life and exert influence to the overall enhancement and development of the society

<sup>4</sup> EMES以第三部門的相關議題為研究核心，致力於建立具有理論、經驗性知識與多元學科及方法論特色的歐洲第三部門資料庫(corpus)。

<sup>5</sup> 在英國，傳統上以志願部門或非法定部門來指稱第三部門，用以表示非為國家的或非私營部門的一部份的組織或團體。

<sup>4</sup> EMES is a research network of established university research centers and individual researchers whose goal is to gradually build up a European corpus of theoretical and empirical knowledge, pluralistic in disciplines and methodology, around “Third Sector” issues.

<sup>5</sup> In England, traditionally the third sector is referred to volunteer or non-statutory sectors, representing organizations or groups that are non-state or non-private.

社；某些組織則將利潤分配予會員，但分配的多寡則有法律限制。因這些組織的創始目的不在將投資報酬率極大化，而在創造與維護組織全體或共同的利益，合作社更透過團結連帶基礎(solidarity-based)創造經濟效益，因此，區別第三部門組織的關鍵概念不是「營利」或「非營利」，而是「資本主義組織」或「社會經濟組織」(Evers & Laville, 2004: 12-13)。

歐洲的第三部門組織因兼具了公、私二元性的社會與經濟功能，而被期待能發揮三項作用：一、提昇經濟效率、增進集體參與的能力與能量，促進社會資本的積累；二、協助建立參與式民主；三、支援反主流文化霸權，協助資本主義之邊緣者生存與轉變。這些組織秉持民主、集體、合作、互助、永續、公平與公開的核心價值，除了提供社會住宅、進行地方服務、增進勞動力進入就業市場的機會，也從事商業服務、提供低利的個人貸款、開發資產、成立與管理工作空間或實施訓練等，俾利地方人士和社區參與地方經濟的復甦，也以自助與合作的方式來滿足地方社群和會員的社會與經濟需求，因具備了創新力的社會企業家精神(social entrepreneurship)，而成為整體社會的心臟，更被寄予超越公、私部門的厚望(Bridge et al., 2009: 4-9)。在歐洲，第三部門組織是否使用或分配盈餘並非絕對重要的因素，關鍵是在自助的基礎上，為有共同利益的地方、社區或人民團體而工作，並讓利害關係人（工作人員、志工與使用者等）參與、實施自我管理。換言之，歐洲的第三部門組織是將社會生活融入經濟生活中的互惠、團結組織，具有處理影子經濟(shadow economy)的能力，<sup>6</sup> 能為會員或社會排除者所形成的利基/縫隙市場(niche

and economy in Europe. Some historic cooperatives and mutual aid societies in Europe are never profit distribution, for example, housing cooperatives in Sweden, and some organizations, on the other hand, distribute profits to their member, but laws limit the proportions. These organizations were not established to maximize the return on their investments, but to create and maintain the interests shared by all members of the organization. The cooperatives went even further to create economic benefits through solidarity-based efforts. Therefore, the concept of the third sector lies not in the “for-profit” or “non-profit” purposes, but whether they are “capitalist” or “social economic” organizations (Evers & Laville, 2004: 12-13).

The third sector organizations in Europe have both public and private socio-economic functions. Therefore they are expected to achieve three goals: 1. Enhance economic efficiency, the ability and capacity of collective engagement, and accumulation of social capital; 2. Assist to establish participatory democracy; and 3. Give support to counter-culture of survival and help the people marginalized by capitalism. These organizations uphold the values of democracy, collective, cooperation, mutual aid, sustainable development, fairness, and openness. In addition to providing social housing, local services, and opportunities for capable workers to enter the job market, third sector organizations in Europe also engage in business services, low-interest personal loans, and property development, as well as setting up their management and administration centers or training programs, to facilitate the citizens and communities to participate in the revival of the local economy. They also provide for the social and economic needs of the local groups and members and become the heart of the society because of their innovative social entrepreneurship; therefore, they are given expectations exceeding the levels given to the public and private sectors (Bridge et al., 2009: 4-9). In Europe, whether the third sector organizations use or share their profits is definitely not the most important factor; the key lies on the foundation of self-help. From the foundation, they work for local, communities, and people's groups with common interests and allow the stakeholders (staff, volunteers, and users) to participate and manage their own organizations. In other words, the third sector organizations are mutual-help and solidarity organizations integrating social life into economic life. They have the capabilities to handle shadow economy<sup>6</sup> and

<sup>6</sup> 因壓力而提供的公共服務與財貨，與私部門為獲利而供給的服務之間所造成的服務缺口(gap)，即是 Birkholzer(1996)所提的影子經濟(shadow economy)存在的空間。影子經濟顯示在經濟與財務上的社會邊緣者被排除於主流的服務供給市場之外，而置身於影子空間(shadow spaces)的需求，便可由第三系統組織來滿足之(Lloyd, 2004: 197)。

<sup>6</sup> A gap emerges in between public services and goods supplied out of pressure and services supplied by the private sector for profit. This is the space for shadow economy put forward by Birkholzer (1996). Shadow economy reveals the economic and financial disadvantaged marginalized and excluded from mainstream of service supply, and the demand of people in the shadow economy is fulfilled by third system organization (Lloyd, 2004: 197).

markets)提供財貨或服務的經濟社會組織，而非只是會發牢騷的社群團體而已(Lloyd, 2004: 200-201; Moulaert & Ailenei, 2005: 2043-2044)。相較於美國非營利部門的狹窄界定，歐洲第三部門所包含的對象範疇更廣，服務的對象包括了極少部份者的公共利益，因此，組織行為的社會價值程度才是判別第三部門組織的基礎。

### 三、公民社會部門的使用

考量跨國調查與比較研究之需、避免否定用詞帶來的曲解，Salamon等人轉而採用「公民社會部門」(Civil Society Sector)一詞，<sup>7</sup>並認為組成公民社會部門的實體之特徵有五項：有組織性、私人性質的、不分配盈餘的、自治及志願的。但以公民社會部門綜括各國性質不同的第三部門組織，或將公民社會組織視作第三部門的建制體，雖然逐漸普遍卻不甚恰當，因公民社會可指涉為公民參與的空間(space)或領域(sphere)，屬於巨觀層次的概念(macro-level concept)，而第三部門則是中觀層次的概念(meso-level concept)，可視為公民社會的主要骨幹或載體(Anheier, 2005: 61)，且自亞里斯多德時代以來，公民社會便是備受爭議的概念，因其思維背景

supply goods or services to the niche markets formed by the members or persons marginalized by the society; they are never just grumbling social groups (Lloyd, 2004: 200-201; Moulaert & Ailenei, 2005: 2043-2044). Compared to the narrower sense non-profit sector prevalent in the US, the third sector in Europe covers a wider scope, including public interests of the certain few. Therefore, the foundation for classification of third sector organizations should be the social values of organizational behaviors.

### III. Use of the term "civil society sector"

Taking the need for cross-national comparison into consideration and to avoid misunderstanding arise from the negative expressions, Salamon et al adopted the term "civil society sector"<sup>7</sup> and put forward five attributes of civil society sector entities: organized, private, non profit distributing, self-governing, and voluntarism. However, using civil society sector to generalize the third sector organizations which include a wide range of organizations with varied attributes or viewing civil society organizations as structural entities of the third sector, though inappropriate, is becoming more and more prevalent. This is because civil society may be referred to as the space or sphere of public participation, which is a macro-level concept and the third sector is a meso-level concept, which can be viewed as the carrier of the civil society (Anheier, 2005: 61). Since Aristotle, the concept of civil society has been widely debated because the development of the thought has been quite divergent and its

<sup>7</sup> Civil Society的中文轉譯，因研究取向不同而有差異，如公民社會、市民社會、民間社會等，不同的中文語譯有不同的西方或東方的歷史淵源與思維背景。就馬克思主義社會觀的論述基調而言，便稱「市民社會」是布爾喬亞(Bürgensis)階級的產物，而不是生產布爾喬亞階級者，且認為市民社會是極具邊緣色彩的殘餘性概念，而不持正面肯定的立場來看待(葉啟政，2002: 97)。黑格爾則指「市民社會」(Bürgerliche Gesellschaft)是所有那些在國家政治與司法結構之外的經濟與親屬關係，本質上屬於毫無節制的自我主義所主宰的領域，人們在其中彼此相互爭鬥。國家在邏輯上是先於個人(市民社會裡的個人)，國家是社會發展的動力來源(簡惠美譯，2002: 27)。至於持「民間社會」說法者，則隱含民與官之間矛盾與對立的基進民主寓意。今日，論述公民社會理念者則多數正面認為公民社會具有促進民主化(democratization)的意義，指之為國家機器外的非政治領域，涵蓋範疇包括公民自由結社、自主與公共的討論、自律與自我組織等(王振寰、瞿海源，2003: 409)。

<sup>7</sup> In the Chinese language, the term civil society may be interpreted in several different ways, such as society of the citizens and non-governmental society which contains different historic and philosophical background originated from both the West and the East. From the basis of Marxism, civil society is a product of the Bürgensis class, not a society that creates the Bürgensis class, and a marginalized residuum concept; therefore, civil society is not a positive concept in Marxism (Yeh Chi-Cheng, 2002: 97). Hegel defines civil society (Bürgerliche Gesellschaft) as the economic relationship and kinship outside of the state political and legal system. In essence, it is a domain dominated by unrestricted Selfism and people fight against each other in the system. In logic, "state" comes before "individuals" (individuals in a citizen's society) and "nation" is the driving force of social development (translated by Chien Hui-Mei, 2002:27). The concept of "non-governmental society" contains the antagonism of the people and the government. Today, most of the people discussing the concept of civil society hold positive views to its meaning in promoting democratization; they often define the sphere of civil society as a non-political domain outside of the nation's administrative machine, covering the scope of freedom to assembly, autonomy, public discussion, self-discipline, and self-organization (Wang Cheng-Huan & Chu Hai-Yuan, 2003:409).



的發展與理念路徑的引用相當分歧，其內涵更因特定的歷史、文化、傳統與哲學信仰而有所不同，不同的政治經濟體制所體現的公民社會也不同，如它可代表結社的權利與言論的自由；牽涉到民主政治體制或公共領域的辯證；也可用來批判資本主義，顯示公民社會理念系絡的龐雜與系統化理論基礎的欠缺。即使Salamon等人為了避免如非營利等否定用詞引起的誤解，改採具有廣博意涵的公民社會一詞，又要避免公民社會隱含的社會現象而特別強調彼等關注的是集體與組織化形式的「部門」或「組織」的概念(Salamon et al., 2003: 9)，但仍有其缺憾與模糊意涵，一來公民社會概念的看法本就因人而異、因地而別，二來當前普遍認定第三部門組織有催化健康公民社會的正面影響力，但其彼此之間的正向連結關係又難以證成，就如Levitt(1973)也承認第三部門平衡社會結構的能力可能是脆弱的，因此，採用公民社會部門來代表與公、私部門並立的組織之集合體，只是順應世界潮流而過於大意與樂觀期待。

## 伍、「第三部門」的概念化途徑與界定

一般釐清與界定第三部門的途徑有二，即外衍(exogenous)與內生(endogenous)途徑，其中以外衍途徑最常見。

### 一、外衍途徑

採取外衍途徑者慣以否定用詞以界定第三部門。為區別第三部門與具有法律強制權的公部門，第三部門的組織被認為是非政府的(non-governmental)組織，或是不受國家指導的非法定的(non-statutory)組織；為與商業市場活動區別，第三部門組織則被視為非利潤導向的非營利或不分配盈餘(non-distribution of profits)組織。否定用詞的界定方式意在說明第三部門「不是什麼」，而非「是什麼」，可讓吾人從雙部門的思維瞭解第三部門的一般性特徵，以及第三部門與公、私部門間的關係或律法上的形式。目前發展較完善、應用較廣的是

contents vary in specific history, culture, traditions, and philosophical believes. Different political-economic context also exhibits different civil society. For examples, it represents the right to assembly and freedom of speech, involves debate of democratic political institution or public domain, and can be used to criticize capitalism. This shows the lacking of a complex and systemized theoretical foundation of the civil society concept. Salamon et al adopted the comprehensive term of civil society to prevent misunderstanding of negative expressions, such as non-profit and emphasize the concept of "sector" or "organization" in the collective and organized form to prevent the social phenomena containing in the concept of civil society (Salamon et al., 2003: 9). However, there are still omission and ambiguity. First, cognition of the concept of civil society differs from person to person and place to place. Secondly, the third sector organizations are widely recognized to have positive effect to the wellbeing of the civil society, but the connection is hard to verify. Levitt (1973) also recognized that the capability of the third sector in terms of balancing the social structure is rather weak. Therefore, using civil society sector to represent the collective body standing at an equal stance with the public and private sectors is a careless and optimistic expectation, arising along the development of world trend.

## Conceptualization and definition of "the third sector"

In general, there are two approaches to clarify and define the concept of the third sector- exogenous and endogenous approaches; exogenous approach is more often used.

### I. Exogenous approach

People using the exogenous approach often define the third sector with negative expressions. To distinguish the third sector from the legally authorized public sector, the third sector organizations are recognized as non-governmental or non-statutory, and to distinguish the third sector organizations from commercial market activities, they are defined as non-profit or non-distribution of profits. Negative expressions define "what the third sector is not", instead of "what the third sector is". It allows us to understand the general attributes of the third sector from the theories of the two-sector model and the relationships with the public and private sectors or its legal formation. Currently, the better-developed and widely used model is the sector triangle model used by Pestoff (1992) and Evers & Laville (2004) (figure 2). Pestoff thinks supply of social service is a welfare mix model. This model refers to the interaction of various

Pestoff(1992)、Evers 與Laville(2004)都採用的部門三角模式(sector triangle model) (參見圖2)。Pestoff認為社會服務的供給是一種福利混合(welfare mix)模式，該模式呈現出眾多社會建制體(公共機構、私營企業、家戶與志願團體)和社會秩序(國家、市場、社群與社團)之間的相互關係，可用以區別三個部門的差異。社會福利服務便由這些建制體共同提供，其中，由合作社、志願社團、非政府組織與非營利組織等所組成的第三部門，因擁有公、私部門欠缺的志願性，能降低政府獨占福利供給的無效率與高成本，也具備企業供給的競爭力，能讓消費者或顧客有自由與多重的選擇機會，而應成為主要的服務輸送系統(Alock, 2010: 7-9; Pestoff, 1992: 21-26)。

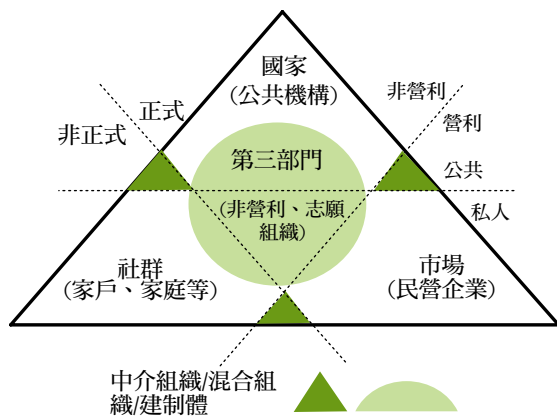


圖 2 福利混合模式

資料來源：修改自“Third Sector and Co-Operative Services: An Alternative to Privatization,” by Pestoff, Victor A., 1992, *Journal of Consumer Policy*, 15, p. 25.

在福利三角/混合模式中，第三部門存在的領域或活動的範疇座落於國家、市場與社群之間，即圖2三角圖形之中間區域。頂角的國家以公共機構為代表；右底角的市場則以私營企業為典型；左底角的社群涵蓋了家戶與家庭等。三角圖形的中間圓形部份則是第三部門所在區域，包括了志願、非營利組織等，其存在的領域橫跨了三個邊角的範圍，兼具公共性與私有性，亦有營利與非營利性質，更有正式與非正式的形式。第三部門既與國家(政府機關)、市場(企業)與社群/社區(家戶與家庭及非正式關係)相關，但又不同於這三者，其組成份子極為

social institutions(public agencies, private firms, households, and voluntary groups) and social orders (state, market, community, and associations) and this interactive relation can be used to distinguish between these three sectors. Social welfare services are supplied jointly by these entities; among them, the cooperatives, voluntary groups, non-governmental, and non-profit organizations form the third sector. Since the third sector has the attribute of volunteerism, which is lacking in the public and private sectors, the third sector organizations are recognized as being capable of solving the problem of inefficiency and high cost in the welfare supply approach monopolized by the government, as well as having the competitive of private businesses. The third sector offers consumers or clients freedom of choice and therefore it should become the main public services delivery in the society (Alock, 2010: 7-9; Pestoff, 1992: 21-26).

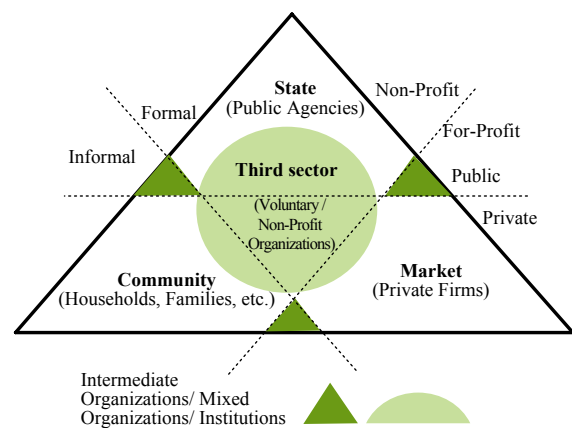


Figure 2: Welfare mix model

Source: Modified from “Third Sector and Co-Operative Services: An Alternative to Privatization,” by Pestoff, Victor A., 1992, *Journal of Consumer Policy*, 15, p. 25.

In the welfare triangle/mix model, the sphere or scope of activities of the third sector falls in between the state, market, and community, that is, the center section of the triangle (figure 2). The upper corner is the “state”, which is represented by public agencies. The lower right corner is “market”, which is represented by private firms. The lower left corner is “community”, which contains households and families. The circle in the center of the triangle is the sphere of the third sector, which contains voluntary and non-profit organizations. The sphere of the third sector crosses over to all three triangles, indicating that the third sector have the attributes of public and private, for-profit and non-profit, and formal and informal. The third sector is related to the state (public agencies), market (firms), and community (households, families, and informal relations), yet not identical to any one of them. The members are highly diversified,

多樣，彼此卻能共存以執行公共政策和提供公共服務，從福利混合模式中可看出第三部門與公、私部門相互滲透的狀況。隨著公、私與第三部門之間的界限日漸模糊，不僅第三部門內有混雜組織(hybrid organizations)的存在，且公、私部門內亦有混雜性質的組織，如某些第三部門組織長期依賴的資源或資金就源自公、私部門，卻在時空環境變遷後轉型為第三部門組織(Billis, 2010: 3-14)。

## 二、內生途徑

外衍途徑的否定詞定義雖讓吾人容易瞭解第三部門的內涵，卻無助於釐清第三部門的真實性質。為闡釋第三部門組成份子的共同要素，如以不受國家指導的民間(個人)志願行動(voluntary action)特質來界定者就是內生途徑。運用內生途徑最著名的是霍普金斯大學(The Johns Hopkins University)公民社會研究中心(Center for Civil Society Studies, CCSS)的跨國「非營利部門比較計畫」(The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, CNP)。該計畫以五項條件來界定第三部門組織：一、有組織性：無論註冊登記與否，都具備持久與例常性，如定期會議或決策有程序；二、私人性質：不是國家的一部分，但可接受部份政府的資源；三、不分配盈餘：主要目的不在盈利，且盈餘不能分配予董事、股東或經理人；四、能夠自治(self-governing)：有內部的治理機制、能充分掌控業務；五、志願主義的要求：不強制會員或民眾參與等(Salamon, Sokolowski & List, 2003: 7-8; Alock, 2010: 11)。這五項核心要素的訂定，雖已考慮到跨區、跨國實證調查與比較之需，但該中心的研究者也承認以這五項條件來概念化第三部門，會遺漏了處於灰色地帶的實體或邊緣個案(borderline cases)，如拉美地區及發展中國家以社區發展為目的的社區合作機構，因此建議研究者應依據各地環境系絡的差異來詮釋這些條件(Salamon et al., 2003: 8)。

## 三、整合的模式與範疇的界定：價值判斷導向

前述兩種並立的途徑顯示當前第三部門的定義因應了不同原因與研究旨趣，也揭露出第三部門組織的

yet they can coexist and work together to implement public policies and provide public services. The welfare mix model reveals the inter-penetrating phenomenon between the third sector and the public/private sectors. The boundaries between the public/private sectors and the third sector are becoming blurry and hybrid organizations emerged in the third sector, as well as the public and private sectors. For example, a certain organization relies on the resources and funds from the public and private sectors on a long-term basis, yet it transforms into a third sector organization after a shift in the time and space (Billis, 2010: 3-14).

## II. Endogenous approach

Although the negative expressions of exogenous approach provide a convenient way to define the content of the third sector, it provides no help in terms of clarifying the true quality of the third sector. In search of the common elements in the members of the third sector, defining the third sector with the attributes of “non-governmental (individual) voluntary action” is an example of endogenous approach. The most famous case of using endogenous approach is the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (CNP) initiated by the Center for Civil Society Studies (CCSS) of the Johns Hopkins University. The project defined the third sector with five criteria: 1. Organized: all registered and unregistered organizations must have permanence and regularity, e.g. regular meetings and decision-making procedures. 2. Private: the organizations are not part of the state, but can accept government resources. 3. Non profit distributing: the objective of these organizations is non-profit and the surplus cannot be distributed to the directors, stockholders, or managers. 4. Self-governing: the organizations must have internal governance mechanisms and sufficiently control the operations. 5. Voluntarism: the organizations do not force the members or public to participate (Salamon, Sokolowski & List, 2003: 7-8; Alock, 2010: 11). These five core elements indeed have taken the need for cross-regional and cross-national investigation and comparison. But the researchers of the center also recognize that there will be omissions of entities in the grey areas or borderline cases when using these five criteria to conceptualize the third sector, for example, the community cooperative organizations intended for community development in Latin America and developing nations. Therefore, it is recommended that researchers may interpret these criteria based on the conditions in the local context(Salamon et al., 2003: 8).

## III. Integration approach: value judgment orientation

The above two approaches reveal that definitions of the third sector vary for different reasons and research objectives, as well



本質迥然不同，Kendall編輯的歐盟各國第三部門政策決策的演化研究，便融合了前述兩種概念化途徑，除了將各國慣用的公民社會組織、志願部門、社會經濟、非營利部門、非政府組織等都視作第三部門(組織)的同義詞，也採用Salamon與Anheier(1997)的結構操作性(structural-operational)定義，將具備一、正式、制度化結構；二、獨立於國家並擁有自主權；三、遵循不分配盈餘限制；四、仰賴志願主義以獲得時間、金錢的挹注等四項特徵的組織視作第三部門的一員。不過，該研究特別提出構成整體第三部門的組織明顯不是由營利實體所構建的，也不是受到國家權威掌控的實體(Kendall, 2009: 6)。至於如何判定孰為第三部門的組成份子，根據Haugh與Kitson在英國社會經濟與第三部門關係的研究中，指出第三部門因各個組織結構、目標與動機不同而造成部門結構複雜的狀況，建議以「社會目標(social objectives)」與「社會活動(social activities)」兩項標準來界定與歸類組成份子。但並非只有第三部門組織會參與社會活動，私部門組織以企業社會責任、企業志工等方式來改善環境或促進社會資本的累積也屬之，惟企業從事社會活動的首要目標是追求利潤、增加股東價值，而第三部門組織追求的則是社會與環境的目標。此外，第三部門中的社會企業因從事非社會活動(non-social activities)的貿易，故研究社會經濟類的組織時，可採用社會目標或社會活動任一項準則來界定與分類。不過，彼等仍認為應關注社會目標的追求。另外，彼等認為第三部門組織各自的願景、奉行的意識形態、理論與哲學背景都不同，導致小型的非正式社群團體和社團，與大型的、依法建構的非政府組織或是合作社與慈善團體等並存，故可再將第三部門的組織細分成三類：一是志願團體，如慈善機構、住宅協會、社群團體與競選組織；二是社區組織，通常是小型的地方團體，如鄰里協會；三為社會企業組織，即從事社會目標事業的組織，如信用合作社(credit union)、社區利益公司(community interest company, CIC)等(Haugh & Kitson, 2007: 974-975)。

在英國，內閣辦公署第三部門辦公室(Office of the

as the highly divergent attributes of the third sector organizations. Kendall's research on the development of third sector policies in the UN nations integrated both above-mentioned conceptualization approaches. Kendall considered several terms, including civil society organizations, voluntary sector, social economy, non-profit sector, and non-governmental organizations, as synonyms of the third sector (organizations) and adopted the structural-operational definition put forward by Salamon and Anheier (1997). Kendall sees all organizations with four characteristics as members of the third sector, including 1) possession of a formal, institutionalized structure, 2) independence and constitutional autonomy from the state, 3) subjection to a non-profit distribution constraint, and 4) benefiting from a meaningful degree of voluntarism to receiving support from donations of time, money or both. However, this research also pointed out that the third sector organizations are obviously not formed by profit-oriented entities; neither are they entities controlled by the authorities of the state (Kendall, 2009: 6). As for how to determine the members of the third sector, the study of Haugh and Kitson on the relationship between social economy and the third sector in England pointed out that the third sector has a complex structure due to the diversified structure, objectives, and motives of the organizations. Therefore, they suggested defining and classifying the members of the third sector by two standards—social objectives and social activities. However, not only third sector organizations are involved in social activities; the private sector, specifically corporations, also takes actions to improve the environment or promote accumulation of social capitals through corporate social responsibility and volunteer programs. Only, corporations become involved in social activities for the purpose of pursuing profits and increasing share values, and the third sector organizations pursue social and environmental well-being. Furthermore, social enterprises, classified as a member of the third sector, are involved in non-social activities. Therefore, when studying social economic organizations, both social goals and social activities can be used to define and classify the third section. Nonetheless, some people in the society still pursue social goals. Many people think that the divergence in the visions, ideologies, theories, and philosophical background of the third sector organizations make it possible for the small informal groups and communities to coexist with the large, legally incorporated non-governmental organizations or cooperatives and charity organizations. Therefore, third sector organizations can be further divided into three smaller categories: 1. Voluntary groups, e.g. charity groups, housing associations, specific-purpose communities, and election campaign organizations; 2. Community organization, generally smaller local organizations such as civic societies, community and neighbourhood associations; 3. Social enterprises, organizations involved in business with social objectives, such as credit unions and community

Third Sector, OTS)則認為第三部門組織是價值導向的,<sup>8</sup>包括志願與社區組織、慈善組織、社會企業、合作社與互助會等。組織的作為是為了達到社會、環境或文化的需求和轉變的挑戰,盈餘主要也用於再投資於此三項目標,且因其有能力而被政府賦予設計與輸送公共服務的權力(Cabinet Office, 2007: 5),故第三部門組織應是具有共同意識形態特徵的實體,且這些實體必須支持共同的政策目標。這樣的定義隱含了英國自1990年代末期後,受到介於國家與市場之間的第三道(The Third Way)思維的影響,傾向更務實地制定福利政策、輸送福利服務,以跳脫傳統福利國的思維與作為(Alcock, 2010: 12-14; Billis, 2010: 7)。從前述可知,無論是美國的特別條件觀或歐洲的混雜觀,目的都在瞭解第三部門是由哪些組織所構成,哪一種組織被排除於第三部門之外,以瞭解第三部門的功能,如欲描繪第三部門的完整面貌,則可結合這兩種否定與肯定描述的途徑,再根據法律類型、目的、規模、組織層級(地方或國際)、志願化的程度、社會與經濟影響、獨立於國家的程度、收入來源等特徵,將第三部門細分為數個次級部門(sub-sectors),較能清楚定義第三部門(Bridge et al., 2009: 49-53),方便學術與/或實務者之間的對話與溝通、弭平偏頗定義造成的失誤並建立一般性的瞭解。

## 陸、結論：策略性的界定

迄今,第三部門因未有通適於各國國情的單一定義而有龐雜怪物(loose and baggy monster)之稱

interest company (CIC) (Haugh & Kitson, 2007: 974-975).

In England, the Office of the Third Sector (OTS) adopted the value-oriented concept of third sector organizations<sup>8</sup>, which encompass community organizations, charity organizations, social enterprises, cooperatives and mutual aid organizations. Organizations take actions to fulfill the social, environmental, and cultural needs, as well as overcoming the challenges in the changing society, and the surplus is reinvested to achieve these three goals. They are given the power to design and deliver public services because they have full competencies (Cabinet Office, 2007: 5). Therefore, the third sector organizations should be entities which share the attributes of common ideology, and these entities must support common policy goals. Such definition implies the influence of The Third Way emerged between the state and market in late 1990's, which is leaning towards more practical welfare policies and welfare services delivery, in a thinking and practice that has broken through the traditional model of welfare nations (Alcock, 2010: 12-14; Billis, 2010: 7). From the above discussion, we can see that both the American view of special criteria and European view of mixed criteria are attempts to understand the components of the third sector, organizations excluded from the third sector, and functions of the third sector. These two negative and positive descriptions can be combined to map out the full view of the third sector. Sub-sectors can be further derived for clearer definition of the third sector based on the statutory classification, objective, scale, level (local or international), level of volunteerism, influence to the society and economy, level of independence from the state, and source of income (Bridge et al., 2009: 49-53). The sub-sectors provide a convenient medium for dialogues and communication between the researchers or practitioners, prevent errors caused by bias definitions, and establish a general view on the concept of the third sector.

## Conclusion: Strategic definitions

Up to date, there is still lacking a universally applicable definition for the third sector and therefore it is called a loose

<sup>9</sup> 2006年成立的第三部門辦公室係整併了貿易產業部(Department of Trade and Industry, DTI)的社會企業單位(Social Enterprise Unit, SEU)與內政部(Home Office)的行動社區董事會(Active Community Directorate, ACD)兩個單位。2010年5月,更名為公民社會辦公室(Office for Civil Society, OCS),以推展大社會議程(Big Society agenda),主要負責慈善、社會企業與志願組織的相關業務,包括促進這些組織的運作、投注更多資源以強化其獨立與彈性、協助其與政府共事等,俾利公民與國家間關係的基進轉變。至於,第三部門一詞的使用則歷經志願部門、志願與社區部門(Voluntary and Community Sector, VCS)的論述與使用的演變(Alcock, 2010: 13-15)。

<sup>8</sup> The Office of the Third Sector (OTS), established in 2006, replaced the Social Enterprise Unit (SEU) in the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) and the Active Community Directorate (ACD) of the Home Office. In May 2010, the OTS was renamed as the Office for Civil Society (OCS) for the Big Society Agenda. OCS is in charge of operations relating to charity, social enterprise, and volunteer organizations, including assisting in the operations of these organizations, providing more resources to ensure their independence and versatility, and collaborating joint ventures, facilitating development of the relationship between the citizens and the state. The term, "third sector", went through a history of evolution from the voluntary sector to the voluntary and community sector (VCS) (Alcock, 2010: 13-15).

(Corry, 2010: 11)。從第三部門一詞使用的源起背景來看，第三部門的浮現是為了挑戰傳統雙部門模式的世界觀，以及公共方案、社會福利服務輸送的壟斷。雖然，在美國觀念的影響下，非營利的概念已然深植，但鑑於各國第三部門的演進與意涵不盡相同，非營利的意象已逐漸消逝。第三部門一詞或許無法符合所有人的期待、也非天衣無縫，但相較於在特殊文化與地域鑲嵌的爭論下所產生的名詞而言，第三部門一詞的概念相對具有價值與文化中立的優點(Lewis, 2001: 60)。當前公、私與第三部門內的組織雖因互動漸增、相互依賴日深，導致部門間的界限重疊、滲透而混雜、模糊，但採用有界限特點的「部門」一詞，仍有其重要性與實務性，一、部門的概念較容易理解，得以跳脫抽象的概念化困境，且仍是理論與實務上常見的用語；二、部門的概念有助於建立第三部門的一般性管理理論，可釐清第三部門組織的結構並建立一般性的營運模式；三、能清楚辨別三個部門各別的所有權形式、相對應的權力結構與課責；四、有利於政策的形成與公共的辯論；五、有助於瞭解三個部門之間的關係及各部門型塑集體價值觀(collective values)的角色與功能；六、第三部門一詞的使用能擺脫社會生活(公部門)與經濟生活(私部門)二元性的拘束、國家與市場的二分化的爭辯(Wuthnow, 1991: 25; Billis, 2010: 8-10; Moulaert & Ailenei, 2005: 2043)。

至於第三部門的界定，從前述分析中可知其界定的模式、判斷特徵與涵蓋範疇的認定極為多元，顯示第三部門的界定自有其重要性。第三部門的界定除了可促進研究的一致性，能評估出第三部門的經濟規模與影響力，更能讓政府衡量給予不同第三部門組織的資源多寡。因此，欲掌握與界定第三部門需聚焦於其構成組織在價值導向下的實際運作特徵。由於第三部門的內涵本質與特徵會隨著時間的推移演進而不斷變化，造成某些組織可能脫離了公部門、轉變為私有的機構；有些也許就以企業模式經營管理組織，這些組織既介入私領域的生活，也參與公領域的活動，但它們都以達致公共利益為目

and baggy monster (Corry, 2010: 11). From the origin of the term, the third sector emerged to challenge the traditional two-sector worldview and monopoly of supply and delivery of public programs and social welfare. Although the American concept of non-profit has been deeply instilled in the society, the perception of non-profit is gradually fading along with the development and complexity of the sector. The term, third sector, may not meet the expectations of some people, and the definition is far from perfect, but compared to the terms arise from the arguments of culture and locality, the concept of third sector is relatively valuable and culturally neutral (Lewis, 2001: 60). At the present stage, organizations of the public, private, and third sectors are involving in more and more interactive intercourses and becoming more and more reliant on each other. This phenomenon causes the boundaries between the sectors to overlap, interpenetrating, and blurring out; nonetheless, the “sector” identity remains powerful, important and practical to a certain level. It still provides useful distinguishing including the following:

1. The concept of “sector” is easier to understand and free from the issues of abstract conceptualization; it is also a commonly used term in theorization and practice.
2. The concept of “sector” provides a clear definition for theorization of general management issues relating to the third sector and helps to clarify the structure of third sector organizations, as well as establishing general operational models.
3. The ownership of third sector organizations and the corresponding power structure and accountabilities can be clearly identified.
4. The definition of the third sector provides clear classification for policymaking and public debate.
5. The term “third sector” helps to establish the relationship between the three sectors and the roles and functions of the collective values of each sector.
6. The term “third sector” broke through the constraint of duality defined by social life (public sector) and economic life (private sector) and the argument on the duality of state and market (Wuthnow, 1991: 25; Billis, 2010: 8-10; Moulaert & Ailenei, 2005: 2043).

From the preceding discussions, we know that the models, attributes, and scopes involved in the content of the definition are rather diversified; this shows that the definition of the third sector is highly significant. A clear definition on the concept of the third sector provides consistency to the researches, as well as the means for assessment of the economic scale and power of influence of the third sector, and this information offers the government a measurement standard when allocating resources to the third sector organizations. Therefore, to understand and define the third sector, the focus should be placed on the value-oriented working attributes of the member organizations. The

標，因而無法以先驗性觀點勉強定義第三部門。故可將第三部門一詞的概念視作導引的譬喻(guiding metaphor) (Wuthnow, 1991: 26)，或猶如韋伯的理念型(ideal type)概念，以區別傳統的雙部門概念，用以探討組織與部門、部門與部門或部門與制度之間的關係(Lewis, 2001: 59)，因此，第三部門的範疇是鬆散的，融合了具有特殊性與一般性特徵的諸多組織。無論是如Levitt所言之從事基進社會轉型與改革活動的新第三部門、或是如歐洲福利多元化下發展出來的互助會、合作社等社會經濟體，抑或進行國際發展援助計畫的非政府組織、執行投資營運方案的社會型企業等，縱然這些組織的活動領域不同，組織也非純然的不謀利營生，但只要它們不落於公、私兩種極端意識形態，具有社會願景、關注的是改善社會的目標，都可納入第三部門大家族傘下的一員，這種理念型的導引概念既有兼容並蓄的作用，也展現了策略性思考的作法。

essence and attributes of the third sector evolves along time, and some organizations may spin off from the public sector to take on the identity as private organizations. Some of these organizations are highly involved in the private lives of people, as well as activities in the public domain, but all of them share the goal of maintaining public welfare. Therefore, the concept of the third sector cannot be defined by a priori view, but can be seen as a guiding metaphor (Wuthnow, 1991: 26), or an ideal type proposed by Weber for differentiation from the traditional two-sector concept or exploration on the relationship of organization to sector, sector to sector, and sector to institution (Lewis, 2001: 59). The scope of the third sector is rather loosely defined and embraces organizations with specific and general attributes.

Regardless whether it is the new third sector engaging in aggressive movements advocating changes in the society or reforms, social economic entities, such as cooperative and mutual aid associations, emerged from the diversified development of welfare systems in Europe, non-governmental organizations engaging in international aid programs, or social enterprises executing investment projects, they may have different scopes of activities and not all of them are non-profitable. Nevertheless, they are considered as members of the third sector, as long as they do not fall into the two extremes (publicness and privateness) of ideologies and share a common goal to improve the society. Such ideal-guiding concept is simultaneous tolerant and strategic.

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# 台灣民間社會福利組織社工人員工作內容與比重之探討：以聯勸補助的組織為例\*

## Investigation into Social Workers' Work Content and Relevant Proportion: Cases from the Organizations Granted by United Way, Taiwan

鄭怡世 Yi-Shih Cheng\*\*、陳玟蓓 Wen-Chein Chen\*\*\*

### 摘要

本研究以任職於接受台灣聯勸補助組織的社會工作人員(以下簡稱社工人員)為研究對象,透過郵寄問卷調查法,嘗試了解他們平日從事個案工作、團體工作、社區工作、社會立法與倡導、督導/被督導、方案規劃與評估、公共關係、會務行政這八項工作的比重。研究結果發現,這群社工人員平日必須同時兼顧這八項工作內容;在工作比重上,方案規劃與評估、個案工作、會務行政是其平日工作比重較重的工作,社區工作、社會倡導與立法的工作比重相對較輕。此外,有、無獨立的社工部門則是影響工作內容及比重的核心因子,任職於有獨立社工部門的社工人員,從事個案工作、團體工作、督導/被督導這三項工作的比重高過任職於沒有獨立社工部門的社工人員。這是一份基礎研究,期待能作為了解台灣民間部門社工人員工作現況的基礎資訊,並引發對台灣社會工作專業發展更多的反思與實踐行動。

**關鍵字:** 社工實務工作、工作內容、工作比重、台灣聯勸

### Abstract

*The main purpose of this study was to explore the proportion of social workers' daily workload that was comprised of the following eight work contents: case work for clients, group work for clients, community organization, policy/legislation development, supervision/under supervision, project management, public relations/fundraising, and administration. The mailed questionnaire was used to access the participants, they were social workers worked in organizations with grants from the United Way, Taiwan. The results indicated that in their daily work schedule, the three work content types of project management, case work for clients, and administration comprised a larger proportion. Community organization and policy/legislation development comprised a smaller proportion. The existence of independent social work departments is a key factor that affects individual service and professional support work. Social workers employed in independent departments perform a higher proportion of case work and group work for clients and supervision/under supervision tasks compared to social workers not employed in independent departments. We hope the results can serve as fundamental data for understanding social workers in Taiwan's private sector.*

\* 本文的分析資料來自第二作者碩士論文的調查,並經第一作者大幅改寫該論文內容而成。感謝審查委員的悉心斧正與所提供的寶貴意見,謹此特致謝忱。

\*\* 為通訊作者。東海大學社會工作學系副教授,通訊地址:40704台中市東海大學郵政922號信箱。電話:(04)2359-0121轉36508。電子信箱:yishih@thu.edu.tw。

Is the corresponding author; Associate Professor, Department of Social Work, Tunghai University. Contact Address: Post Box 922, Tunghai University Post Office, Taichung City 40704. Tel: (04) 2359-0121 ext. 36508. Email: yishih@thu.edu.tw.

\*\*\* 台中市政府社會局社會工作師;東海大學社會工作學系碩士。

Social Worker, Taichung City Bureau of Social Affairs, Master Degree in Social Work, Tunghai University

*and inspire further reflection and practical action regarding the development of social work in Taiwan.*

**Keywords:** social work practice, work content, work content proportion, social work enterprise



## 壹、前言

社會工作經過一個世紀多的發展，已成為一門「以組織為基礎的專業」(agency-based profession)，多數的社工人員任職於各類型的組織中，為不同的群體提供服務(Morales et al., 2007)；但這也意謂著社工人員被鑲嵌在組織的脈絡中，除了需從事立基於社會工作使命所發展出來的工作外，還需從事與組織期待與要求有關的工作。部份研究指出，社工人員所從事及偏重的工作內容，會蝕刻、形塑其對社會工作的想像、理解與認同，例如Jones(2001)的研究發現，英國的社會工作自1979年以降，在新管理主義的引導、控制與模塑底下，文書工作幾乎佔據了研究當時英格蘭公部門社工人員90%的工作時間，與服務使用者接觸並提供服務的時間大幅減少，這讓基層社工人員對自己的工作感到疏離；許祖維(2007)的研究則指出，部份離開社會工作的社工人員自陳，他們之所以離職，有部份原因是因為其所從事的工作內容與社會工作專業沒什麼關聯。此外，基進社會工作(radical social work)的觀點認為，社會工作在英、美的發展進程中，為了取得專業地位而策略性地採取個案工作取向為主的工作內容，這不僅使得社會工作無法真正擁抱服務使用者、追求社會正義，也違背了社會工作的歷史使命(Bailey & Brake, 1975; Specht & Courtney, 1994; Powell, 2001; Reisch & Andrews, 2001)。也因此，了解與掌握社工人員的工作內容及其比重是重要的，這不僅可以豐富我們對社工人員實務現況的理解，也可以透過這樣的資訊，引發更多對社工人員工作處境的反思、討論與實踐行動。

但當我們進一步檢視國內、外現有的文獻資料，我們發現，僅有少數研究針對社工人員工作內容這個議題進行探究，且國內少數針對這個議題所進行的實證研究，例如趙善如(1992)；詹火生、王麗容(1992)；高迪理、陳宇嘉、陶蕃瀛、鄧明賢(1993)；方婷(1997)；黃蒂(2000)等，距今都已超過十年、二十年。這二十多年來台灣社會問題的複雜化、多元化，以及福利政策的日新月異，使得社工人員的工作內容產生諸多變化，同時這些研究也都沒有針對各項工作

## Introduction

Social work has become an agency-based profession. Most social workers work in organizations and the various types of organizations provide a range of services to different groups (Morales et al., 2007). Social workers are required to handle not only for the missions of social work, but also tasks that meet the requirements of the organization. Some literature mentioned that social workers' work content could shape the imagination and identification of their perception of the social work. For examples, Jones (2001) pointed out that, since 1979 after neo-managerialism took the lead in shaping the system of social work in England, paperwork took up nearly 90% of the time of front-line social workers who working in the public sector of England, and the time available for direct contact with service users was significantly reduced. This made they feel alienated with their work. Hsu (2007) interviewed with several social workers who have left their jobs. Many of them said that their work irrelevant to the profession of social work. Radical social work indicated that, along with the development of social work in England and the US, social work strategically embrace casework-based work for their profession status, but such a stance not only prevents social workers pursuing social justice, but also turns them against the long-established mission of social work (Bailey & Brake, 1975; Specht & Courtney, 1994; Powell, 2001; Reisch & Andrews, 2001).

Therefore, it is essential to undertake a comprehensive overview of the social workers' work. It will provide us with insights into the work of social workers, encourage discussion on social worker's situation, and prompt action for improvements. But when we looked at related literature, we found that several studies such as the research done by Chao (1992), Chan & Wang (1992), Kao, Chen, Tao and Teng (1993), Fang (1997), and Huang (2000), are dated two decade ago. Within two decades, socio-economic changed and welfare policies have been evolving rapidly. Therefore, the work content of social workers has drastically changed. It should take the changes in work content and loading into consideration. In this research we wanted to explore what work content is more emphasized in Taiwan's private sector social workers, and what are the core factors that affect the work contents.

However, workplaces of social workers in Taiwan are quite divergent. We selected social workers who worked in organizations with grants from the United Way, Taiwan (hereafter referred to as United Way organizations). As

內容佔其平日工作的比重，以及何者是影響社工人員工作內容及比重的核心因子進行探討。此外，Whitaker & Arrington(2008)針對美國社會工作專業人員協會(National Association of Social Workers, NASW)會員所進行的網路調查中，發現美國第一線的社工人員，其平日的工作內容高度集中於「個案直接工作」。基於以上這些討論，引發本研究的好奇並希望進一步探究：當前台灣的社工人員在其所任職的組織中，較偏重從事哪些工作內容？其工作是否高度集中於某項或某些工作內容？影響工作內容的比重其核心因子是什麼？

然而，當前台灣社工人員的工作場域是分歧的，基於研究的可行性，本研究以接受台灣聯勸補助的社會福利組織(以下簡稱聯勸補助組織)為母全體，並以任職於這些組織中的社工人員為研究對象。雖然王永慈、陳文良(2009)透過多年資料的實證分析結果顯示，聯勸補助組織可以說是台灣民間社會福利組織的一個縮影(即本研究的研究對象具有相當程度的代表性)，但從調查研究的嚴謹性來看，本研究的研究對象仍有其侷限，所以研究結果只能了解聯勸補助組織的社工人員其工作內容及比重的基本趨向，而不能推論至其他群體的社工人員。

## 貳、文獻探討

### 一、社工人員工作內容的演進與分類

社工人員平日在做哪些工作？這並不是一個容易回答的問題。本研究選擇回到社會工作的使命與任務來進行討論。Morales, Sheafor & Scott (2007: 40)曾提出「社會工作的主要使命是對人提供照顧、治療與改變社會」這樣的觀點；DuBois & Miley(2008)則認為，社會工作的任務是在增進人們的能力以有效地解決問題、適應環境、發揮功能；將服務使用者與其所需的資源予以連結；改進社會服務網絡的運作；發展適切的社會政策以促進社會正義。但如何才能達到這樣的使命與任務？一般社會工作概論的教科書是以社會工作的原型組織－「慈善組織會社」(Charity Organization Society, COS)以及「睦鄰組織運動」(Settlement House

Wang & Chen (2009) suggested that United Way, Taiwan is a window of private social welfare organizations in Taiwan. It means that the subjects of this research are representative to a certain degree. However, from the aspect of stringency, this research limits its analysis to the social workers who working in United Way organizations, without generalizing to all social workers of other groups.

## Literature Review

### I. Social workers' work content and categories

What do social workers do at work? This question does not have an easy answer. Therefore, this research chose to discuss this question from the point of view of the mission of social work. Morales, Sheafor & Scott (2007: 40) proposed a viewpoint: The mission of social work is to care for and heal people and change society. Dubois & Miley (2008) think that the mission of social work is to enhance the ability of people, so they can effectively solve problems, adapt to the environment, and function properly, as well as establishing links between service users and the resources they need, improving the functions of social service networks, developing appropriate social policies, and advocating social justice. How to achieve these missions? Social work textbooks are generally based on the work of prototype organizations of social work (the Charity Organization Society, COS) and the Settlement House Movement, which categorized the methods

Movement)所從事的工作為基礎，將社會工作的工作方法區分個案工作、團體工作、社區工作，以及社會倡導(DuBois & Miley 2008; Morales, Sheafor & Scott, 2007; Zastrow, 2007; Segal, Gerdes & Steiner, 2006; Farley, Smith & Boyle, 2006; Skidmore, Thackeray & Farley, 2000)，並在這些工作方法的引導下，在實務現場投入、參與及實踐各項工作內容。

然而，Brager & Holloway(1978)也提出他們的觀察，認為英、美的社會工作主要是在各類型的組織中執行各項工作來達成社會工作的使命與任務。因此，當今的社工人員除了需從事立基於社會工作的使命與任務所發展出來的工作外，還需從事伴隨著組織的期待與要求衍生而來的工作，例如規劃與執行方案計畫、從事公關與募款、參與會務運作---等(Brager & Holloway, 1978; Whitaker & Arrington, 2008)。國內、外針對社工人員工作內容所進行的研究，其研究結果也都證實這樣的趨向，例如在質化取向的研究方面，Barclay(1982)在大規模蒐集社工人員每天的工作記錄並進行分析後，發現研究當時英國的社工人員主要是從事「社會照顧的規劃」與「提供直接服務」這兩大類型的工作；楊培珊(2000)的研究發現，任職於台灣住宿型失智症照顧機構的社工人員，其工作內容主要是公關、入住事宜、過程性服務，以及結案事宜。在量化取向的研究方面，國內、外現有針對社工人員工作內容所進行的研究(趙善如，1992；詹火生、王麗容，1992；高迪理等，1993；方婷，1997；黃蒂，2000；Whitaker & Arrington, 2008)，其對社工人員工作內容的定義及分類方式，也是以立基於社會工作的使命與任務，以及伴隨著組織的期待與要求衍生而來的工作這兩大類，詳如表1所示。

簡言之，從上述的討論與整理中，我們大體可以將社工人員在實務現場所從事的工作分為四大面向：一是針對服務對象所進行的「個別性服務工作」，包括個案工作、團體工作；二是針對服務對象的需求進行「組織性與倡導性的工作」，包括社區工作、社會倡導與立法；三是為提昇從業者的工作能力，對其工作提供督導、支持與協助的「專

of social work into case work, group work, community work, and social advocacy (DuBois & Miley 2008; Morales, Sheafor & Scott, 2007; Zastrow, 2007; Segal, Gerdes & Steiner, 2006; Farley, Smith & Boyle, 2006; Skidmore, Thackeray & Farley, 2000). Under the models of these work methods, social workers become involved, participate and practice the content of the various work categories.

Brager & Holloway (1978) also presented their observations. They held that social work in England and the US achieves its missions through executing various tasks in organizations of different natures. Thus, contemporary social workers are required to engage in work extended from the missions of social work, as well as tasks derived from the expectations and requirements of organizations, for example, planning and executing projects, PR and fundraising, and general administration (Brager & Holloway, 1978; Whitaker & Arrington, 2008). Several foreign and domestic researches focused on this subject area have verified this trend. For example, in qualitative research, Barclay (1982) compiled metadata from the daily work logs of social workers and found that social workers in England mainly engaged in “planning of social care” and “direct services”. Yang (2000) found in her research that the work content of social workers in Taiwan working in institutions for patients of dementia was mainly composed of PR, admission procedures, procedural services, and case closing procedures. In quantitative research, most foreign and domestic research defines the meaning and categories of social work based on the missions and the works derived from the expectations and requirement of the organizations (Chao, 1992; Chan & Wang, 1992; Kao et. al., 1993; Fang, 1997; Huang, 2000; Whitaker & Arrington, 2008). Please see Table 1 for details.

In summary, from the above discussions, we can categorize the content of social workers' field work into four major dimensions: 1. Individual services targeting specific service subjects, including case work and group work. 2. Community and advocacy work targeting the needs of specific subjects, including community work, social advocacy and legislation. 3. Professional support work targeting the enhancement of the abilities of practitioners, enforcement of supervision, and provision of support and assistance. 4. Backup work targeting to facilitate planning of professional services, ensure quality of services, and provide backup and resources to front-line workers, including program planning and evaluating, public relations, and administration. The above four dimensions and eight work content categories serve as the content of

業支持性工作」；四是為規劃專業服務、確保服務品質，以及給予第一線工作者更堅實後盾與資源的「後勤支援性工作」，包括方案規劃與評估、公共關係、會務行政。這四大面向、八項工作內容就是本研究後續探討社工人員工作內容及其比重的基礎。

social work in this study.

表1 Table 1  
國內、外相關實證研究對社工人員工作內容的分類一覽表  
*Categories of social work contents defined by domestic and foreign research*

工作內容分類 Categories of Work Content												
資料來源 Source	個案工作 Case work	家庭訪視 Home visit	團體工作 Group work	社區工作 Community work	資源整合與運用 Resource consolidation and utilization	轉介、諮詢 Referral & consultation	收容／安養 Placement & care	推廣教育 Continuing education	社教宣導 Social education	研究發展 Research & development	職業訓練 Occupational training	倡導 Advocacy
趙善如(1992) Chao Shan-Ju (1992)	✓		✓							✓		
詹火生、王麗容(1992) Chan Huo-Sheng & Wang Li-Jong (1992)	✓			✓	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓
高迪理等(1993) Kao Ti-Li et. al. (1993)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
方婷(1997) Fang Ting (1997)	✓		✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓
Whitaker and Arrington(2008)	✓			✓				✓		✓		

表1 (續) Table 1 (continued)

工作內容分類 Categories of Work Content												
資料來源 Source	行政管理 Administration & management	督導 Supervision	庶務性工作 General administration	志工管理 Volunteer management	組織發展 Organizational development	活動設計與準備 Event planning and preparation	方案規畫與評估 Project planning and evaluation	會議 Meetings	發展政策立法 Policy development and legislation	財務管理 Financial management	復健、健檢 Rehabilitation & health check-up	其他 Others
趙善如(1992) Chao Shan-Ju (1992)	✓					✓		✓				✓
詹火生、王麗容(1992) Chan Huo-Sheng & Wang Li-Jong (1992)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						
高迪理等(1993) Kao Ti-Li et. al. (1993)	✓										✓	
方婷(1997) Fang Ting (1997)	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓		✓	✓		
Whitaker and Arrington(2008)	✓	✓			✓		✓		✓			✓

## 二、影響社工人員工作內容及比重的因素

過往探討社工人員工作內容的文獻發現，年齡、教育背景、年資會影響社工人員的工作內容(趙善如，1992；詹火生、王麗容，1992)。然而，上述研究在執行時尚未建制社會工作師考試制度，為了解當前的現況，本研究也將「是否有社會師證照」這個變項納入個人特質這個面向中進行觀察。此外，在當代人力資源管理以及管理學領域的討論中，皆強調藉由不同職位的分工來增進組織效率，例如管理學大師Peter F. Drucker曾提出「領導者是做對的事，管理者是把事情做對」這句管理名言(Drucker, 1966)，其指涉就是透過不同職位的明確分工來促進／達成組織的效率；但部份研究卻發現，台灣的社工人員是身處於缺乏明確分工的組織環境中，不同職位的社工人員其工作內容多所重複(方婷，1997)。為檢證並與這些文獻對話，本研究將進一步檢視職位是否為影響社工人員工作內容及比重的重要因素。簡言之，本研究將上述性別、年齡、教育背景、年資、是否有社工師證照、職位等變項歸為「個人特質」面向。

此外，黃蒂(2000)的研究發現，組織規模與社工人員的工作內容有關；而本研究也希望能夠探索不同屬性的組織(依聯勸的分類方式分為財團法人、社團法人、附設機構／公設民營)對工作內容的影響；因此，本研究將組織規模與屬性這兩個變項視為「組織特質」變項。然而，在組織行為領域的討論中，很強調透過專門化的部門分工來提昇組織效率與士氣的重要性(Denhardt, Denhardt & Arstigueta, 2009；Robbins & Judge, 2009)；參考這樣的觀點，本研究在組織特質這個面向中，也納入「是否有獨立的社工部門」這個變項進行觀察。

## 參、研究設計

### 一、本研究的研究架構

本研究的核心提問是：何者是任職於聯勸補助組織的社工人員較偏重的工作內容？他們平日從事八項工作內容的比重為何？影響其工作內容及其比

## II. Factors influencing the content and loading of social work

Past researches relating to the work content of social workers found that the age, education, and seniority of social workers have a certain influence on the content of their work (Chao, 1992; Chan & Wang, 1992). However, the social worker certification system was not yet established when these researches were conducted. Therefore, to better reflect the current situation, this research included the variable of "social worker certification" in the dimension of personal attributes. Furthermore, researches on contemporary management and organizational behavior emphasize job division as a means to enhance organizational efficiency. For example, esteemed business management expert, Peter F. Drucker, once said, "Management is doing things right; leadership is doing the right things" (Drucker, 1966). This statement implies that clear job division promotes efficiency in an organization. However, some researchers also found that social workers in Taiwan are lacking clear job division, social workers in different positions are handling the same work content (Fang, 1997). To dialogue with the literature, this research further surveyed the variable of "position" to explore whether position is a significant factor influencing the content and load of social work. In short, this research includes the variables of gender, age, education, seniority, social worker certification, and position in the dimension of "personal attributes".

Furthermore, Huang (2000) found that the size of an organization is also related to the work content of social workers. This research is also intended to explore the differences of work content in organizations of varied attributes (United Way categories include foundations, incorporated associations, and affiliated organizations agencies). To achieve this, this research included the organizational size and attributes into the dimension of "organizational attributes". However, researches targeting on the field of organizational behavior place high emphasis on specialization and how such job division models boost organizational efficiency and morale (Denhardt, Denhardt & Arstigueta, 2009; Robbins & Judge, 2009). With reference to the above viewpoints, this research also included the variable "independent social work department" in the dimension of organizational attributes.

## Research Design

### I. Research framework

The core questions of this research are: What is the proportion of their daily workload that was comprised of the following eight work contents: case work, group



重的核心因子是什麼？在這些研究問題的引導下，本研究的研究架構詳如圖1。

## 二、研究對象

本研究以2009年12月台灣聯勸公告接受其補助的民間社會福利組織(網址<https://www.unitedway.org.tw/wedo/default.asp>)為母全體。依台灣聯勸的分類方式，本研究將接受補助的組織分為財團法人、社團法人、附屬機構／公設民營三個群體，採分層隨機抽樣法抽出402個組織形成本研究的樣本。之後，將問卷郵寄至各組織，請每個組織指派任一社工人員填答。總計回收236份有效問卷，有效問卷回收率為59%，有效問卷數符合95%信賴水準所需的樣本數。此外，若從「組織屬性」這個變項來看，樣本分配特質與母全體相近(詳如表2)，顯示本研究的樣本組織具有相當程度的代表性。

## 三、測量工具

本研究的測量工具是由研究者自行設計的問卷。整份問卷包含的變項及測量方式如下：

### (一)個人特質

1. 性別(女、男)。轉換為虛擬變項時，女性設為觀察組(數值設為1)，男性設為對照組(數值設為0)。

work, community organization, policy/legislation development, supervision/under supervision, project management, public relations, and administration/management? What are the core factors that affect the work content? Following drew the framework of this research.

## II. Participants

This research draws from the list of private social welfare organizations funded by United Way published in December 2009 (<https://www.unitedway.org.tw/wedo/default.asp>) as the main body. Based on the categorizations of United Way, this research categorized United Way organizations into three groups: foundations, incorporated associations, and affiliated organizations. A total of 402 organizations were drawn from the pool through the stratified sampling method, and a questionnaire was mailed to each organization (answered by one social worker). A total of 236 (59%) valid questionnaires were returned. Furthermore, from the variable of “type of organization”, we can see that distribution of this sample is very close to the distribution of the main body (Table 2).

## III. Measurement

The research used the questionnaire designed by researchers. The variables and measurement methods used in the questionnaire are presented below:

### 1. Personal attributes

(1) Gender (female, male), when converted into dummy variables, female is set as the observation group (numeric as 1) and male as the control group (numeric as 0).

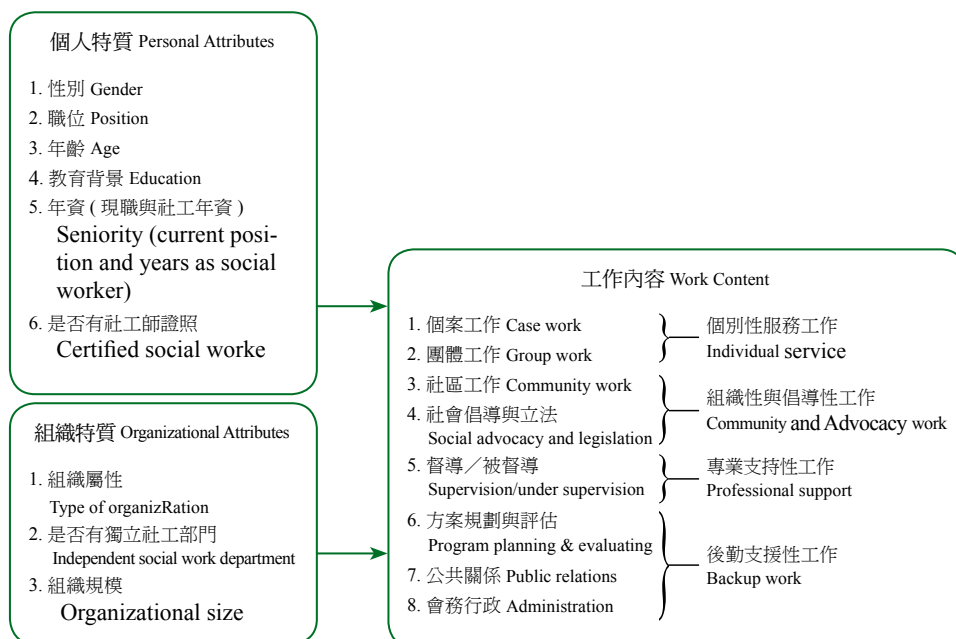


圖 1 本研究的研究架構圖

Figure 1 Research framework



2. 職位(由受訪者自行填寫受訪當時的職稱)，過錄時由研究者依基層社工人員、中階社工人員、高階主管三類進行歸類。轉換為虛擬變項時，中階社工人員以及高階主管為1，基層社工人員為0。
3. 年齡(由受訪者自填出生的民國年次)。
4. 教育背景(畢業於社會工作學系、畢業於社會工作相關科系、從未受過社工教育)。轉換為虛擬變項時，畢業於社會工作學系以及畢業於社會工作相關科系為1，從未受過社工教育為0。
5. 社工現職、現職年資(由受訪者自填至2010年3月止的年資)。
6. 是否有社工師證照(是、否)。轉換為虛擬變項時，無社工師證照者為1，有社工師證照者設為0。

## (二)組織特質

1. 組織屬性(分為財團法人、社團法人、機構/公設民營三類)。轉換為虛擬變項時，社團法人、機構/公設民營為1，財團法人組織為0。
2. 是否有獨立的社工組/部門(是、否)。在問卷中先詢問受訪者其任職組織是否有區分部門，有區分部門者再請其續答是否有獨立的社工組/部門；轉換為虛擬變項時，有獨立社工組/部門者為1，無獨立社工組/部門者為0。
3. 組織規模(5人以下、6至30人、31至99人、100人以上)。轉換為虛擬變項時，5人以下以及6至30人為1，31人以上為0。

## (三)工作內容

過往的研究在測量社工人員的工作內容時，多是將社工人員每一種類型的工作內容視為一個變項，

表2 able 2

本研究母全體組織數、樣本數、有效問卷數一覽表  
*Overview of the main body, samples, and valid questionnaires*

Type of organization	母全體數(%) Main body (%)	抽取樣本數 Sample (%)	有效問卷數(%) Valid questionnaires (%)
財團法人 Foundation	163 (21%)	82	42 (18%)
附設機構/ 公設民營 Affiliated organization	196 (24%)	98	66 (28%)
社團法人 Incorporat- ed associa- tion	443 (55%)	222	128 (54%)
總計 Total	802 (100%)	402	236 (100%)

- (2) Position (title filled by the respondent at the time of survey): We classified the respondents into three categories: base-level social worker, middle-level social worker, and senior management. When converted into dummy variables, middle-level social worker and senior management are set as 1 and base-level social worker as 0.
- (3) Age (filled by the respondent).
- (4) Education (graduated with social work major, graduated with social work related majors, no social work related education; respondents selecting the first two options were requested to fill in the department and school). When converted into dummy variables, social workers graduated with social work major or social work related majors are set as 1 and social workers without social work related education as 0.
- (5) Current position and years in the position (filled by the).
- (6) Certified social worker (yes, no), when converted into dummy variables, social workers with certification as 1 and social workers without certification as 0.

## 2. Organizational attributes

- (1) Type of organization (foundation, incorporated association, and affiliated organization), when converted into dummy variables, foundation and affiliated organization as 1 and incorporated association as 2.
- (2) Independent social work department (yes, no), when converted into dummy variables, organizations with independent social work departments as 1 and organizations without independent social work departments as 0.
- (3) Organizational size (5 or less, 6 to 30, 31 to 99, and 100 or more), when converted into dummy variables, organizations with employees less than 30 as 1 and organizations with 31 and more as 0.

## 3. Work Content

Most research measured the work content of social workers treating each category of work content as a variable and represented by a question and each question was answered by “yes” or “no” or by “frequency” (ex: do you engage in case work during work hours, or how frequently do you engage in case work). However, such a measurement may pose a problem of precision. Take case work for example,

每個變項以一個問題(例如「您平日是否有從事個案工作」)，每個問題以「是、否」或「頻率」來詢問受訪者平日是否有從事這項工作或從事的頻率，但這樣的測量方式可能有失精準。以「個案工作」為例，會談、家訪、撰寫個案記錄、參與個案研討會…等工作，都是個案工作的工作內容(謝秀芬，2010；Bower, 1950；Perlman, 1986)，若只以「您平日是否有從事個案工作」，或「您平日從事個案工作的頻率」這個單一的問題來詢問受訪者，依DeVellis(2003)的觀點，只能測得受訪者從事個案工作的「反應」，而無法測得受訪者做了哪些個案工作，當然也無法藉此進一步了解其從事個案工作的比重。

因此，本研究採借韓德華(2006)以及Ivancevich(2004)進行工作分析(job analysis)的觀點，針對八項工作內容進行文獻探討，推演出八項工作內容的操作性定義；之後，每項工作內容依其操作性定義及焦點團體的訪談結果，推演出2-10個不等的「實務行動」，共計42個實務行動(詳如附錄一所示)，每個實務行動以11等尺度(請受訪者自0-10中勾選一個數值；0代表完全沒有從事，10代表幾乎每時每刻都在從事)來測量每個實務行動的比重。但由於測量各項工作內容的題數不一，無法透過原始分數來比較從事各項工作內容的比重，所以本研究是將各實務行動依其所歸屬的工作內容進行加總後，計算出八項工內容的平均數。在獲得八項工作內容的平均數後，將這八個平均數相加當成分子，將各項工作內容的平均數當成分子，以此計算出各項工作內容的百分比，本研究便將此百分比視為八項工作內容的比重，如此便可進行運算及比較。

以「個案工作」為例，這項工作內容是由10題的實務行動所組成，受訪者依據自己平日從事這10項實務行動的感知，每一題由受訪者自0-10中勾選一個適當的數值，以表達其從事每項實務行動的比重。之後研究者計算出所有受訪者在這10個實務行動得分的平均數，並將這個平均數除以八項工作內容平均數的總和，此為「個案工作」這項工作內容的百分比，而此百分比即為受訪者平日在「個案工作」這項工作內容的比重。

consultation, home visit, record keeping, and case discussion are all part of the content of case work (Hsieh, 2010; Bower, 1950; Perlman, 1986). In DeVellis's (2003) opinion, it only measures the "reaction" of respondents on the issue of engaging in case work, not the details of case work, and consequently the weight of case work in the daily workload cannot be derived.

Therefore, this research adopted the viewpoint of job analysis put forward by Han (2006) and Ivancevich (2004) to derive the operating definitions of the eight work content categories. Following which, based on the operating definitions and focus group interview to derive a group of 2 to 10 tasks for each category, a total of 42 tasks (Appendix 1) were derived and each task was measured for its weight through a scale of 11 (respondents select a value from 0 to 10; 0 represents not engaged and 10 represents all the time). We added up the scores of the tasks that classified into each work content category. Since each work content category has a varied numbers of tasks, we could not use the original score as the weight of each work content category. So we calculated the mean values of each work content category, and used the mean values to generate the percentage of each work content category. These percentages are used as the weight of each work content category for further calculations and comparison.

Take "case work" as an example. This work content category is composed of ten tasks, we added up the scores of these ten tasks and divided 10. Similar, we could calculate the mean value of each work content category. We add the eight mean values as the denominator and the mean value of "case work" as numerator. When divided them and multiplied 100% we could obtain the percentage. It represented the proportion of "case work" in the respondents' daily work.

#### (四)測量工具的信、效度檢定

本研究的測量工具是由研究者自行設計的問卷，這份問卷前後共進行三次修正才正式施測。第一次是完成問卷初稿後，邀請三位專精於此議題的專家學者指導，並進行討論與修正。之後，以這個修正的版本，邀請當時任職於民間社會福利組織中的10位基層社會工作人員試測(pilot)，試測後針對問卷初稿的問題進行信度分析，同時也邀請接受試測者進行焦點團體；研究者依據信度分析結果以及試測者在焦點團體中所提供的意見，修正、增刪部份問題與措辭，此為第二次修正。之後再次敦請三位專家學者針對第二次修正的版本提供意見，並再度修正後整份問卷方才定稿。此外，在問卷回收後，本研究亦針對工作內容的測量進行信度分析：首先針對42個實務行動進行「項目間一致性」的信度檢定，檢定結果Cronbach' $\alpha$  值達 .95；之後，再分別針對每項工作內容的實務行動進行項目間一致性的信度檢定，結果顯示，每項工作內容的Cronbach' $\alpha$  值均超過 .65。透過以上的程序及考驗，整體來看本研究的問卷內容應屬適切。

#### 四、資料分析方法

本研究以SPSS 17.0版套裝軟體進行統計分析。首先以描述統計方法描述受訪者的個人特質、組織特質的分布狀況。接著，本研究針對這42題實務行動進行偏峰的檢測，但由於樣本數不大，所以參考邱皓政(2011)的主張，以「分層平均數取代法」來處理42個實務行動的遺漏值，即先分別計算出各題的平均數，以平均數來取代各題的遺漏值；確認各實務行動的得分沒有雙峰的情形出現(若有，則該實務行動的得分不列入其所屬的工作內容進行加總，以避免加總時得分會相互抵銷)，才進行各項工作內容得分的加總與統計分析。之後分別以t-test、one-way ANOVA進行雙變項分析，以檢驗不同的個人特質、組織特質在各項工作內容間的差異。最後，本研究運用多元線性迴歸分析，在自變項相互控制的情況下，探討何者是影響工作內容的顯著因子；納入多元線性迴歸分析的變項若屬

#### 4. Reliability and validity

The measurement tool of this study is the questionnaire designed by the researchers. The final questionnaire was made official after three revisions. The first draft was discussed and revised under the instructions of experts in this field. Then we put it to a pilot test answered by ten base-level social workers from private sector. The respondents were invited to participate in the focus group when they finished the questionnaire. We revised the questions and wording on the opinions from the focus group to complete the second draft. Three experts were invited to review the second draft and developed the final version. After the questionnaires were returned, we implemented reliability test. The first step was testing the consistency between the 42 tasks, and the Cronbach' $\alpha$  value reached .95. Following which, we test the consistency between tasks in each work content category, and the Cronbach' $\alpha$  value of all categories reached .65. Through the procedures and tests verified that the overall content of the questionnaire has a certain level of goodness-of-fit.

#### IV. Analysis

This research used SPSS 17.0 software to perform statistical analysis. First of all, we compiled the descriptions of personal and organizational attributes through the descriptive statistical analysis method. Secondly, we used t-test and one-way ANOVA for dual variable analysis for testing of the differences between personal attributes and organizational attributes in the context of each work content category. However, since the sample size is not large enough, we took the stratified replacement with mean method proposed by Chiu (2011) to process the missing values of the 42 tasks. The method entails calculation of the mean value of each category and uses the value to replace the missing value in each category. In addition, the scores of each task are checked if bimodal distribution is detected, the score of the task is not added into the sum of the work content category to prevent the scores from offsetting each other. Finally, we used multiple regression analysis to explore the significant factors affecting the work content.

類別或順序變項者，如前所述皆先進行虛擬化處理 (dummy coded)。

## 肆、研究發現

由於本研究並沒有進行「戶內抽樣」(respondent selection within the household)，我們不能排除部份組織是指派特定特質的社工人員(例如較資淺者，或是由台灣聯勸補助人事費用的社工人員…等)來填寫問卷，而造成樣本代表性的扭曲。因此，以下的研究發現是假設樣本組織隨機地將問卷交由任一社工人員來填答，沒有造成樣本代表性扭曲這樣的前提下所獲得的分析結果。

### 一、基層社工人員有女性化、年輕化與高流動化的趨向

從附錄二的分析結果中我們可以看到，有逾七成的受訪者自陳是基層社工人員，因此本研究進一步針對這群基層社工人員進行觀察，結果發現，任職於聯勸補助組織的基層社工人員有明顯女性化、年輕化、高流動化的趨向。這些基層社工人員有高達九成是女性，平均年齡30歲；平均現職年資及社工年資分別是2年與3.5年；逾七成畢業於大專校／院社會工作系／科，將近九成五尚未取得社工師證照。從中我們可以明顯看出，年輕、資淺、畢業於社工系／科、尚未取得社工師證照者，是聯勸補助組織基層社工人員的主力。

### 二、社團法人、中小型組織及位居北部地區的組織居多

從附錄二的結果我們也可以看出，受訪者多任職於社團法人、中／小型及北部的組織中。有超過半數的受訪者自陳任職於社團法人的組織；有將近四成五的受訪者任職於6至30人的中、小型組織中，三成的受訪者任職於5人以下的組織。些組織有將近四成位於北部地區，中部地區及南部地區則各約有二成五左右，總計有九成的組織位於台灣西部。研究結果也發現，有半數的社團法人其正職人數在5人以下；有將近八成的財團法其正職人數在6-99人之間；有七成五的公設民營組織其正職人數

## Results

Since this research did not conduct respondent selection within the household, we cannot rule out social workers with unique attributes. For examples, some of the surveyed social workers sent by the institutions may be relatively inexperienced or subsidized by United Way, such attributes tend to distort the representativeness of the samples. Therefore, the findings presented in the sections below are discussed with the assumption that the organizations appointed a social worker to answer the survey randomly.

### I. Who worked in the United Way organizations

From Appendix 2, we can see that over 70% of the surveyed social workers consider themselves base-level social worker. An observation targeting on this group revealed that most of them are females, generation of post-1980 birth cohort, graduated with social work major, have not officially certified (passed the national examinations that conduct by the Ministry of Examination in Taiwan) yet.

### II. What kind of the organizations social workers worked in

From Appendix 2, we can see that the majority of the surveyed social workers work in incorporated associations and small/medium size organizations in northern Taiwan. The demographic data is consistent with the findings of Wang and Chen (2009). Further analysis on the correlation between independent social work development and the attributes/scale of the organizations indicated that incorporated associations and organizations with five or less employees tend

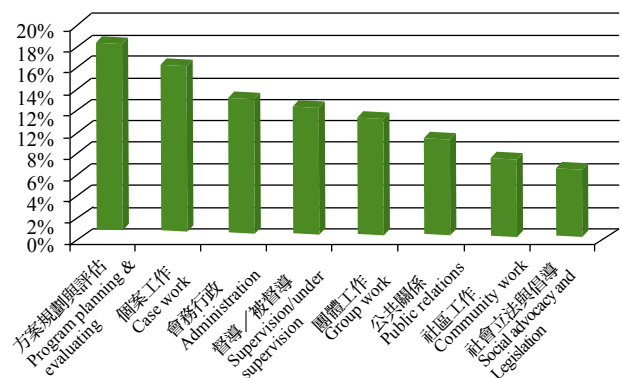


圖 2 社工人員從事八項工作內容的比重

Figure 2: The relative proportions of the eight work content categories daily workload



在99人以下，顯示接受聯勸補助的社團法人組織，與財團法人及公設民營組織比較起來，其組織規模普遍較小。以上的分析結果，與王永慈、陳文良(2009)的研究結果相似。此外，本研究也進一步針對是否有獨立的社工部門以及組織屬性與組織規模間的關係進行分析，結果發現社團法人、5人以下的組織較傾向沒有設置獨立的社會工作部門<sup>1</sup>。

### 三、社工人員平日必須同時兼顧、從事八項工作內容

圖2呈現全體受訪者投入各項工作內容的比重。從中我們可以看到，所有受訪者平日都必須兼顧這八項工作內容，且各單項工作內容佔社工人員平日工作的比重都沒有超過20%，顯示受訪者平日從事八項工作內容的比重並沒有非常懸殊的差異，亦即並沒有特別集中從事某項工作內容的現象出現。此外，方案規劃與評估是受訪者平日工作比重最大的工作，佔平日工作的19%；個案工作次之，佔平日工作的17%；再其次則是會務行政，佔平日工作的14%；社區工作以及社會立法與倡導則是工作比重最低的工作內容，分別佔平日工作的8%、7%。

<sup>1</sup> 本研究針對組織屬性與組織規模之間的關係進行統計檢定，結果顯示兩者達到統計上的顯著水準( $\chi^2 = 74.510^{***}$ )；進一步進行Haberan百分比同質性事後比較，發現有50%、41%的社團法人，其組織規模在5人以下及6-30人間；有58%、20%的財團法人，其組織規模在6-30人、31-99人之間；有42%、28%的公設民營組織，其組織規模在6-30人、31-99人之間，顯示接受聯勸補助的社團法人組織，與財團法人及公設民營組織比較起來，其組織規模普遍較小。針對是否設置獨立的社工部門與組織屬性之間的關係進行統計檢定，結果顯示兩者達到統計上的顯著水準( $\chi^2 = 31.063^{***}$ )；進一步進行Haberan百分比同質性事後比較，發現財團法人及公設民營組織有設置獨立社工部門的百分比高於沒有設置者，社團法人組織則是相反，顯示財團法人組織與公設民營組織較傾向設置獨立的社工部門。針對是否設置獨立的社工部門與組織規模之間的關係進行統計檢定，結果顯示兩者達到統計上的顯著水準( $\chi^2 = 87.599^{***}$ )；進一步進行Haberan百分比同質性事後比較，發現30人以下的組織有設置獨立社工部門的百分比低於沒有設置者，31人以上的組織則是相反，顯示組織規模超過31人者，較傾向設置獨立的社工部門。

to have no independent social work department (note 1)<sup>1</sup> .

### III. The eight categories of social workers' daily work content

Figure 2 exhibits the relative proportion of their daily workload of each work content category<sup>2</sup>. From this figure, we see that all surveyed social workers engaged in work of eight different content categories, and none of the eight content categories takes up over 20% of the workload. This indicates that the daily work content of the surveyed social workers is not concentrated in any particular area. Despite which, the heaviest work load falls in the category of project planning and assessment (19%), followed by case work (17%), administration (14%), and community organization and policy/legislation (8 and 7% respectively) comprised a smaller proportion.

<sup>1</sup> We tested the correlation between "type of organization" and "organizational size", the results indicated significant differences ( $\chi^2 = 74.510^{***}$ ). Further Herman percentage homogeneity post-hoc comparison shows that incorporated associations under the United Way system are generally smaller in scale compared to foundations and government agencies. Test on the correlation between "whether has independent social work department" and "type of organization" indicates significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 31.063^{***}$ ). Further Herman percentage homogeneity post-hoc comparison found that foundation and affiliated organization have higher percentage with an independent social work department. Test on the correlation between "whether has independent social work department" and "organizational size" also indicates significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 87.599^{***}$ ). Further Herman percentage homogeneity post-hoc comparison found that organizations with 31 or more employees are more inclined to have an independent social work department.

<sup>2</sup> When calculating the weight of "supervision/under supervision", three tasks were designed, including "providing supervision", "receiving supervised", and "keeping supervision record". Considering that the base-level social workers are not likely to "providing supervision", and middle to senior level social workers are less likely to "receiving supervised". When calculating the weight of these two tasks, only "receiving supervised" and "keeping supervision record" were calculated for base-level social workers, "providing supervision" and "keeping supervision record" for middle-level and management social workers.



如果我們以這八項工作內容所歸屬的四大面向來進行觀察，我們可以發現，任職於接受聯勸補助組織的社工人員，其平日有43%在從事後勤支援性的工作；有29%在從事個別性服務的工作；有13%在專業支持性的工作；有15%在從事組織性與倡導性的工作。亦即，雖然這些社工人員平日必須兼顧、從事八項內容，但其工作仍有高度集中於「後勤支援性」及「個別性服務」這兩大面向的工作內容(兩者的比重合計高達72%)的趨向。

我們進一步觀察不同職位的受訪者投入各項工作內容的比重<sup>2</sup>，從表3我們可以看到，不論是位居哪個職位，受訪者平日都必須兼顧、從事這八項工作內容，且比重相當一致，並沒有因職位的不同而有明顯的差異。如果特別觀察中階職位的受訪者其工作內容及比重，中階職位的受訪者理應在「督導」這項工作有較大的偏重，但分析結果卻顯示，中階職位的受訪者在督導這項工作的比重是16%，還不及方案規劃與評估的18%，也與個案工作以及會務行政的工作比重(分別為15%、14%)相差無幾，顯示中階職位的社工人員平日除了必須從事專

From the observation on the four dimensions of these eight categories of work content, we found that social workers working in United Way organizations spend 43% of their time on backup work, 29% in individual services, 13% in professional support, and 15% in advocacy work. That is, although the social workers take care of affairs of eight content categories, a large portion of their time is spent in “backup work” and “individual services”, the two dimensions combined 72%.

We further analyzed the relative proportion of their daily workload among different groups of social workers. Table 3 shows that, No significant differences were found between different position groups. If we draw the focus on the middle-level social workers, logically middle-level social workers should have a heavier workload in “supervision”, but the analysis result shows that middle-level social workers only spend approximately 16% of their time on supervision, which is even less than project planning and assessment (18%) and similar to case work and administration (15 and 14% respectively). This shows that middle-level social workers share their endeavors on providing professional support, as well as individual services and backup work.

表3 Table 3  
不同職位的社工人員從事八項工作內容的比重(單位%)  
*Proportions of the eight work content categories by position (%)*

工作內容 Work content category	全體受訪者(n=236) All surveyed social workers (n=236)	基層社工人員(n=173) Base-level social workers (n=173)	中階社工人員(n=36) Middle-level social workers (n=36)	高階主管(n=17) Senior management (n=17)
方案規劃與評估 Program planning & evaluating	19	18	18	18
個案工作 Case work	17	17	15	13
會務行政 Administration	14	14	14	16
督導/被督導 Supervision/under supervision	13	14	16	13
團體工作 Group work	12	14	10	12
公共關係 Public relations	10	12	11	11
社區工作 Community work	8	10	8	10
社會立法與倡導 Social advocacy & legislation	7	7	8	7

業支持性的工作外，還必須承擔許多個別服務性以及後勤支援性的工作。

#### 四、組織性與倡導性的工作比重相對較低

如果以工作內容的四大面向來觀察，我們會發現，後勤支援性及個別服務性工作中的方案規劃與評估、個案工作、會務行政是社工人員工作比重最重的工作內容，合計佔社工人員平日工作比重的一半(50%)。而從事社區工作以及社會立法與倡導這兩項工作內容的比重，是八項工作內容中比重最低的兩項，合計僅佔平日工作比重的15%，顯示社工人員平日從事組織性及倡導性工作的比重，相較於從事後勤支援性及個別服務性工作的比重少了許多，有被邊緣化的趨向。

#### 五、有、無獨立的社工部門是影響工作內容及比重的核心因子

表4呈現四大面向工作內容的比重與個人特質、組織特質的多元線性迴歸模型<sup>3</sup>，結果發現，有無獨立的社工組／部門是影響社工人員工作內容及比重的核心因子，任職於有獨立社工部門的社工人員，其平日從事個別性服務工作(包括個案工作、團體工作)，以及專業支持性工作(督導／被督導)的比重高過任職於沒有獨立社工部門的社工人員。這樣的結果也意謂著，任職於聯勸補助組織的社工人員，其平日必須同時兼顧、

#### IV. Relatively low ratio of community and advocacy work

Viewing from the four dimensions of work content, we found that social workers spend half of their time (50%) handling work in the backup work and individual service, including project planning & assessment, case work, and administration, but the least time in community work and legislation/advocacy (combined 15%). This shows that the work of community and advocacy work are becoming marginalized comparing to backup and individual services.

#### V. The core factor influencing work content and its proportion

Table 4 shows the multiple regression models on the correlations between the four dimensions of work content and the variables of personal attributes and organizational attributes<sup>3</sup>. Results of the analysis indicated that whether an organization has an independent social work team or department is the core factor influencing the content of the social workers' daily work and the relative loading. Social workers working in organizations with an independent social work department spend more time on individual services and professional support than other social workers. Furthermore, if we see an organization having an independent social work department as a significant indicator of whether a private social welfare organization is specialized or has specialized job division, the result indicates that private social welfare organizations with specialized job division place higher emphasis on individual services and professional support. It also indicated the organizations that have independent social

<sup>3</sup> 附錄三呈現個人特質、組織特質各變項與八項工作內容比重間的雙變項分析結果。雙變項分析的結果雖然可以看出部份個人特質、組織特質與不同工作內容比重間的差異，但這些變項間可能存在著錯綜複雜的影響機制，同一個變項可能同時是干擾因子也是修飾因子，因此本研究進一步運用多元迴歸模型來控制自變項之間的潛在干擾，藉此釐清及回答何者是影響工作內容的核心因子這個提問。此外，在進行多元線性迴歸分析時，若同時將具有共變關係的變項放入迴歸模型進行檢測，會產生線性重合的問題而影響到分析結果(謝雨生、鄭宜仲，1995)。本研究考慮到年齡、現職年資、社工年資、職位這四個變項之間有顯著的相關與共變關係，且前述文獻探討中也提及，本研究希望檢視職位是否為影響工作內容及比重的因素，因此在迴歸模型中，僅從這四個變項中選擇職位這個變項放入模型中進行檢證。

<sup>3</sup> Appendix 3 presents the results of bi-variant analysis on personal attributes/organizational attributes and the weight ratios of the eight work content categories. Results of the bi-variance analysis showed the differences between the weight ratios and personal/organizational attributes, but complex relations may exist between the variances. The same variance may simultaneously be the interfering or moderating factor. Therefore, this research took a further step to control the potential interferences among the independent variables through the multiple regression model, aiming to clarify and answer the question of which is the core factor influencing the content of work. In addition, when conducting multiple regression analysis, placing variables with covariant relationships into the regression model for testing causes multicollinearity issues and affects the result (Hsieh & Cheng, 1995). Therefore, this research takes into consideration that four variables, age, seniority at current position, seniority in social work, and position, have significant correlation and covariance relationships and only place the variable of "position" into the model for testing, since this research expects to test whether "position" affects the content and weight ratios of the work as discussed in the literature review section.

從事八項工作內容(但仍相當程度地集中於後勤支援性及個別性服務這兩大面向的工作內容)，這樣的情形並不會因為社工人員的性別、教育背景、有無社工師證照、職位，以及其任職組織的屬性或規模而有不同。此外，如果我們將有、無設置獨立的社工部門視為是民間社會福利組織重視專業化／分工與否的一個重要指標，研究結果也顯示，較重視專業化／分工的民間社會福利組織，也較看重個別性服務及專業支持性的工作，且其社會工作部門基本上是将個別性服務及專業支持性的工作視為較重要的工作內容。

work department sees individual service and professional support as the more important work content.

表4 Table 4  
四大面向社會工作內容的多元線性迴歸模型

*Multiple regression model of the four dimensions of the work content*

自變項 independent variables	個別性服務工作 Individual service	組織與倡導性工作 Community and advocacy work	專業支持性工作 Professional support	後勤支援性工作 Backup work
性別(男性為對照組) Gender				
女 female	-0.15 (0.30)	-0.71 (0.45)	-0.09 (0.24)	-0.26 (0.46)
教育(無社工教育為對照組) Education				
畢業於社工系 social work major	-0.79 (1.34)	-0.27 (1.99)	0.12 (1.06)	-2.25 (2.01)
畢業於社工相關 social work related major	-0.83 (1.33)	-0.40 (1.98)	0.02 (1.05)	-2.20 (2.00)
證照(有證照為對照組) Certification				
無社工師證照 not certified	0.33 (0.39)	-0.07 (0.58)	0.00 (0.31)	0.29 (0.59)
組織屬性(財團法人為對照組) Organizational attributes				
社團法人 incorporated association	0.31 (0.30)	1.08 (0.45) *	0.17 (0.24)	0.77 (0.46)
機構／公設民營 affiliated organization	-0.18 (0.29)	0.69 (0.44)	-0.33 (0.23)	0.26 (0.44)
社工部門(無為對照組) Social work department				
有獨立社工部門 With social work department	1.32 (0.28) ***	0.52 (0.42)	0.62 (0.22) **	0.79 (0.42)
組織規模 (>31人為對照組) Organizational Size				
6-30人 6 to 30	0.14 (0.26)	0.18 (0.38)	0.03 (0.20)	0.54 (0.39)
5人以下 5 or less	-0.32 (0.50)	0.11 (0.74)	-0.43 (0.40)	0.64 (0.75)
職位(基層社工為對照組) Position				
高階主管 Senior managementL.	0.01 (0.53)	1.47 (0.80)	0.77 (0.42)	1.15 (0.81)
中階社工人員 Middle-level social workers	-0.19 (0.28)	0.31 (0.42)	0.41 (0.22)	0.48 (0.42)
常數 Constant	7.93	3.10	3.09	10.23
F值 F value	2.97**	1.86	2.13*	1.98*
R <sup>2</sup>	0.22	0.15	0.17	0.16
n	125	125	125	125

## 伍、討論(代結論)

### 一、本研究的主要發現

本研究結果顯示，年輕、資淺、畢業於社工系／科、尚未取得社工師證者，是聯勸補助組織基層社工人員的主力。這群社工人員平日必須兼顧、從事個案工作、團體工作、社區工作、社會立法與倡導、督導／被督導、方案規劃與評估、公共關係、會務行政這八項工作。在工作比重上，方案規劃與評估、個案工作、會務行政是其平日工作比重較重的工作，從事社區工作、社會立法與倡導的工作比重相對較輕。此外，有、無獨立的社工部門是影響工作內容及比重的核心因子，任職於有獨立社工部門的社工人員，其平日從事個案工作、團體工作、督導／被督導這三項工作的比重高過任職於沒有獨立社工部門的社工人員。

### 二、有關社工人員平日工作內容的分散化

本研究發現，任職於聯勸補助組織的社工人員，無論其性別、教育背景、有無社工師證照、職位，以及其任職組織的屬性、規模為何，他們平日都必須同時兼顧、從事八項工作內容(但有高度集中於從事個別性服務與後勤支援性工作的趨向)，這與Whitaker & Arrington(2008)的研究結果明顯不同。Whitaker & Arrington的研究發現，美國社會工作專業人員協會(NASW)的會員平日有一半的時間在從事「個案直接服務」的工作，顯示本研究的社工人員與NASW的會員比較起來，更明顯有工作內容分散化的趨向。

但如果我們仔細觀察任職於台灣聯勸補助組織的社工人員，所謂「工作內容分散化」，其實是指他們平日除了從事「個別性服務」(即個案工作與團體工作，兩者佔其平日工作比重的29%)的工作外，還必須從事許多「後勤支援性」的工作，特別是有很大的工作比重是在從事方案規劃與評估及會務行政這兩項工作(兩者加起來佔其平日工作比重的33%；而美國NASW的會員平日從事這兩項工作的比重是20%)，甚至從事這兩項工作的比重還超過從事個案工作及團體工作。這也意謂著，美國社工人

## Discussion (conclusion)

### I. Findings of this research

Results of this research indicate that base-level social workers working in United Way organizations are becoming younger and less experienced; they have graduated with social work majors, but are not officially certified (passed the national examinations that conduct by the Ministry of Examination in Taiwan) as social workers. This group of social workers handles eight categories of work on a daily basis, including case work, group work, community work, legislation and advocacy, supervision/under supervision, project planning and assessment, public relations, and administration. On the relative proportion of their daily workload of each work content category, social workers spend the largest portion of time on project planning & assessment, case work, and administration, and less time on community work and legislation/advocacy. Moreover, social workers working in organizations with an independent social work department spend more time on case work, group work, and supervision/under supervision than other social workers.

### II. Daily work content divergent

This research also found that social workers working in United Way organizations take care of work of all content categories on a daily basis, regardless of their gender, education, certification status, position, and organizational attributes/scale. This finding is obvious divergent to the findings of Whitaker & Arrington (2008). Whitaker & Arrington found in their study that members of NASW spend half of their time on direct case services. Compared to NASW members, the work of social workers in Taiwan tends to be more dispersed.

However, if we observe social workers working in United Way organizations are required to take care of "individual services" along with backup work, especially work in the category of project planning & assessment and administration takes up quite a large percentage of their daily work (work of the two categories take up a combined 33% for social workers in Taiwan, but only 20% of NASW members). Furthermore, in our research, we also found that young and less experienced base-level social workers are confronted with diverse work contents on a daily basis. This is to say that the young social workers start their career with chaotic work. This raises the question of whether such work content helps or jeopardizes the development of their career as social workers. Will such work content bring them a heavy and exhaus-



員平日的工作內容是較專精／高度集中於「個別性服務」的工作，而台灣任職於台灣聯勸補助組織的社工人員則是需要同時兼顧、從事「個別性服務」與「後勤支援性」的工作。

此外，從研究中我們也看到，年輕、資淺者是這類型組織基層社工人員的主力，其平日必須面對分散化的工作內容。也就是說，社工科系的學生一畢業進入到民間部門的社會工作場域，並無法專心從事立基於社會工作傳統使命的工作內容，而是要同時兼顧、從事許多後勤支援性的工作，例如方案規劃與評估、會務行政、公共關係等，這對其社工生涯是助益還是耗損？而如果又沒有獲得適當的支持，是否會造成他們更大的工作負荷、工作疲勞與高流動率？社會工作教育該如何裝備學生，讓他們在畢業後可以因應如此不同面向且高張力的工作場域？社會福利組織該如何給予充份且適當的裝備與支援，或減輕其後勤支援性工作的比重，才能避免這群年輕、資淺的基層社工因支援不足而提前陣亡？這是亟需社工社群持續關注，並找出因應策略的重要議題。

### 三、有關組織及倡導性工作的日趨邊緣化

本研究也發現，任職於接受聯勸補助組織的社工人員，其平日從事組織性及倡導性(社區工作、社會立法與倡導)這個面向的工作有相對被邊緣化的趨向。這樣的研究結果與Whitaker & Arrington(2008)的研究結果相似，也與許多以基進取向對美國社會工作專業發展的觀察頗為一致，例如Powell(2001)以及Reisch & Andrews(2001)便認為，美國的社會工作因長期依循著社會個案工作取向來發展系統的知識與技巧，所以逐漸地讓社會工作「去基進化」(de-radicalised)；Mizrahi(2001)也觀察到，社區工作(也包含草根的組織性與倡導性的工作)雖然在社會工作發展中有悠久的傳統，但卻一直處於弱勢的地位。

也就是說，雖然社會工作的教科書都教導我們，社區工作以及社會倡導與立法是立基於社會工作傳統使命所發展出來的工作方法／內容，也是促進社會

tive workload or high turnover rate, if proper support is not provided? How does social work education prepare students for a career with such diverse and intensive work content after graduation? What kind of preparation and support should social welfare organizations give these young social workers and less experienced base-level social workers, or should the social welfare organizations cut back on their workload of backup work, so their career will not be cut short because of a lack of support? These are questions demanding attention and response strategies.

### III. Marginalized community and advocacy work

This research also found that social workers working in United Way organizations are spending less and less time on community and advocacy work. This finding is similar to the finding of Whitaker & Arrington (2008), as well as many observations on the progressive development of social work in the US. For example, Powell (2001) and Reisch & Andrews (2001) pointed out that social work in the US is becoming de-radicalized due to the fact that this professional field is case work oriented. Mizrahi (2001) also observed that although community work (including grass-roots organization and advocacy work) has a long heritage in the development of social work, it has been in a relatively less advantageous position.

In other words, although the textbooks of social work have told us that community and advocacy work are the ways of promoting harmony and achieving social reform, democracy, and justice that developed from the inherent mission of social work, such work content is ironically being marginalized in the contemporary practice of social work in Taiwan. There may be an opportunity to turn the



融合，實踐社會改革、社會民主與社會正義的重要方法，但這樣的工作卻在當前台灣的社會工作實務現場有被日趨邊緣化的趨向，這是何等諷刺。重新檢討社會工作的發展趨向與教育內涵，讓社工人員在養成過程中可以培養基進的意識與行動力，具備敏銳地觀察、了解與體會結構性壓迫的能力，並找到投身的切入點，進而帶出鬆動結構以及反壓迫的實踐行動，或許是翻轉實務現場過於著重個別服務性以及後勤支援性工作這樣的現象的契機。此外，社工社群、民間部門、政府部門如何共創讓草根組織可以在地孵芽、成長、深根，並與受壓迫者共在、共生的環境，與他們共同創造美好的生活，這也是我們需要努力的方向。

#### 四、有關職位與工作內容的分工

本研究也發現，接受聯勸補助組織的社工人員並不會因職位的不同，而在八項工作內容間的工作比重有所差異，特別是中階職位的社工人員，理應有較多的工作比重在專業支持性的工作上，但研究結果卻呈現他們還必須承擔許多個別服務性、後勤支援性，以及組織性與倡導性的工作，這也呼應汪淑媛、蘇怡如(2010)的研究結果，在該研究中，無論是督導或被督導者都反映督導的工作內容太過繁雜，無法有充份的時間從事專業督導與支持的工作<sup>4</sup>。在此我們需要深切思考的是，資深、中階職位的社工人員，其工作內容該如何分配才適當？他們應該如本研究的研究發現這般，同時兼顧及從事這四大面向的工作？還是應該在他們較熟悉組織工作狀況，或累積了較豐富的社會工作專業知能後，更專注且深入地投入某一或某些工作內容，讓其經驗得以有效發揮並產生影響力，也增進其個人的專業成長？這並非本研究可以回答的問題，

situation around (overemphasis on individual and backup work) if we allow social workers to develop consciousness for radical actions, acute sensitivity for observation, and the ability to identify structural oppression, as well as helping them identify their causes and rise against oppression. We also need to work on bringing social workers, the private and public sectors together to create an environment where grass-root organizations will be able to sprout, grow, take root, and coexist with the oppressed for a better future.

#### IV. Positions and job division

This research also found that the surveyed social workers working in United Way organizations handle the same work content in an evenly distributed loading, regardless of their positions. Logically, middle-level social workers should spend more time on professional support, but results of this research show that the individual services, backup, and community/advocacy work still take up a consideration portion of their time. This result corresponds to the finding in the research of Wang & Su (2010). Their research found that social workers in both active and passive sides of supervision responded that the content of supervision is too complex and thus depriving them of time for professional supervision and support work<sup>4</sup>. What would be appropriate work content for senior and middle-level social workers? Or, should they specialize in a certain or particular area after they have worked in the organizations or accumulated more experience in professional social work practice, so their experience will more effectively influence and improve professional growth of others? These questions cannot be answered in this research, but they are indeed worthy of in-depth discussion.

<sup>4</sup> 汪淑媛、蘇怡如(2010)在其研究問卷中，以一題開放性的問題詢問受訪者(含督導與被督導者)對於督導這個職務的困境的看法。針對這一題的分析結果發現，在公部門從事家暴防治工作的督導者與被督導者都認為，督導這個職位所面臨的困境之一，是督導工作內容繁瑣、權責不清，督導被行政工作佔去了太多時間而無法充份地進行專業的督導工作。她們在研究中指出，督導這個職位並無法完全發揮其專業功能。

<sup>4</sup> Wang & Su (2010) posed an open-ended question to ask the respondents' thoughts on the predicaments of the supervision work (including those supervising others and those being supervised). Answers to the question indicated that social workers, both supervisors and being supervised, in the field of domestic violence prevention think that the predicaments in supervision work complexity, unclear authorization, and that administrative work took up too much of their time that they were unable to sufficiently execute the supervision work. Their research also found that people in the position of supervisor were unable to fully extend their professional skills.

但從「透過職位分工來達成組織效率」這樣的觀點來看，讓不同職位的社工人員可以有效地分工、各司其職，協助他們工作專精化，應該是社會福利組織可以努力的方向。

## 陸、研究限制

本研究雖然有觀察到，不同職位的社工人員其平日在各項工作內容上的工作比重並沒有太大的差異，但本研究對於工作內容的測量方式，並不包含「工作職責」(例如中階社工人員／主管的職責包含協調、支持、監督…等；高階主管的職責包含規劃、決策、領導…等)，也因此無法了解不同職位的受訪者，即使是從事相同的工作內容，是否會在工作職責上有不同的偏重，這是值得後續研究繼續探索與釐清。同時，本研究測量社工人員工作內容及比重的方法，是將每個實務行動視為等值（同等重要）而予以累加，這種測量方法也值得更多的討論。此外，本研究並沒有(事實上也無法)進行「戶內抽樣」，因而可能造成樣本代表性的扭曲。這些未盡之處，值得後續對此議題有興趣的研究者，採取不同的研究設計或研究方法做更深入的探究。

## Limitations

Although this research found that there is no significant differences between social workers at different levels in terms of the relative loading of their work content, the measurement of work content did not including “duties” (ex: middle-level social workers are responsible for coordination, support, supervision, etc., and senior management is responsible for planning, decision-making, and leadership, etc.), and therefore we were not able to understand whether the duties of social workers at different levels are different under the same work content. Furthermore, this research set every task at the same value (same importance) and added up the values when measuring the work content and loading; this measurement method can also be further discussed. In addition, this research did not (in fact, could not) conduct “respondent selection within the household”, which may cause deformation in the representativeness of the samples. The limitations point to several directions for future researches with different designs and methods.

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## 附錄 Appendix

### 附錄一 Appendix 1

本研究各項工作內容的測量方式暨描述統計結果

*Measurement for each work content category and the results of descriptive statistics*

面向 Dimension	工作內容 Work Content	實務行動 Tasks	單題平均數 Mean value	各項工作內容平均數／百分比 Mean value of each work content category / ratio
個別性服務工作 Individual services	個案工作 case work	提供服務諮詢(包括電話諮詢、告知服務內容…等) providing consultation services	7.23	5.95 (17%)
		撰寫個案記錄 case work record-keeping	6.84	
		進行服務對象或其關係人的會談(包括家訪、電話…等) interviewing clients	6.74	
		參與與服務對象有關的會議(例如個案研討會…等) participating the meeting related to the clients	5.56	
		擬定服務對象的服務計畫 drafting service plans for clients	7.21	
		為服務對象尋求並連結適當的資源(如尋求其他服務、補助、轉介、安置…等) linking resources for clients	7.05	
		進行電話追蹤(包括問安) phone tracking clients	5.65	
		參與與服務對象有關的活動(如一日遊、夏令營…等) participating activities relating to the clients	4.99	
		審查服務對象是否符合福利資格 involving client's means-test	4.58	
		對服務對象進行日常生活照顧(包括生活訓練) providing daily care to clients	3.63	
團體工作 group work		籌備團體所需的各項工作(如招募成員、行前講習、準備設備與器材…等) accessing the needs of the groups	5.43	4.40(12%)
		帶領團體(如擔任leader 或co-leader) leading/co-leading the groups	3.67	
		撰寫團體紀錄 group work record-keeping	4.10	
組織性／倡導性 工作 Community and Advocacy Work	社區工作 community work	與社區居民培養感情(此處所指的社區是指組織所在的地緣性社區) getting to know the community residents	3.78	2.82(8%)
		參與社區事務有關的會議 participating in community affairs	2.73	
		進行社區的需求調查 accessing the needs of the of the community	2.62	
		組織社區居民從事特定的行動 organizing community actions	2.15	
社會立法與倡導 legislation & advocacy		參與與倡導有關的政策／立法討論或會議(如參與公聽會、座談會、討論會…等) participating advocate meetings	3.17	2.65(7%)
		從事與倡導有關的工作(如聯盟、遊說、辯論、助選、遊行、草擬法案…等) participating and advocating related affairs	2.13	
支持性工作 Supportive Work	督導／被督導 supervision/ under supervision	接受督導 receiving supervision	4.98	4.78(13%)
		撰寫督導記錄(包括被督導記錄) keeping supervision record	5.02	
		進行督導(包括對部屬、實習生或志工…等的督導) providing supervision	4.33	



面向 Dimension	工作內容 Work Content	實務行動 Tasks	單題平均數 Mean value	各項工作內容平均數／百分比 Mean value of each work content category / ratio
後勤支援性工作 Backup work	方案規劃與評估 project planning and assessment	執行方案內容 performing programs	8.08	6.88(19%)
		撰寫方案計畫書(包含構思、與他人討論方案內容) writing programs	6.77	
		進行方案的經費核 verifying the budget	6.26	
		進行執行中或執行完畢的方案之評估(包括蒐集評估所需資料、撰寫評估報告...等) evaluating the out come of the programs	6.87	
		進行方案執行前的需求評估(包含蒐集規劃方案所需的資料) conducting program assessment before execution	6.44	
	公關 public relations	從事教育宣導相關活動 educating related activities	5.06	3.62(10%)
		製作組織相關的文宣品(如組織的簡介、年報、刊物、電子報...等) promoting services and mission of your organization	4.22	
		接待組織外人士參觀組織(包括聯繫或安排) arranging visiting programs	4.00	
		從事組織與媒體連繫的相關工作(包括寫新聞稿，或聯繫記者、舉辦記者會...等) handling media related work	2.58	
		接受媒體(如報紙、電視、電台...等)訪問 attending media interviews	2.26	
	會務行政 administration	執行組織／長官臨時交辦工作 executing work delegated by the management without prior notice	6.91	5.20(19%)
		參與組織內部的相關會議(如週會、月會、行政會議...等) participating in the internal meetings	6.49	
		收發組織的公文 sending and receiving documents	4.87	
		填寫或製作與服務有關的報表 producing service related forms	7.36	
		參與組織外的相關會議(如協調會、討論會、研討會...等) participating in external meetings	5.33	
		參與組織評鑑的相關工作 preparing for accreditation	5.17	
		管理場地(包括辦公室或服務場地) managing venues	4.33	
		處理與會員(含捐款者)有關的事務(如會員問題諮詢、會員資料管理...等) handling members related affairs	4.21	
		準備董／理事會(含協會的會員大會)的會議資料 preparing paper work for board	3.68	
從事組織採購的相關工作 handling procure of your organization		3.18		

## 附錄 Appendix

### 附錄二 Appendix 2

受訪者個人特質、組織特質的描述統計結果：個人特質、組織特質與八項工作內容的雙變項分析結果(n=236)

*The results of bi-variance analysis targeting personal/organizational attributes and the eight work content categories (n=236)*

自變項 Independent variables	次數或平均(%或SD) Times or average(% or SD)	個案工作平均值(SD) Case work mean value (SD)	團體工作平均值(SD) Group work mean value (SD)	社區工作平均值(SD) Community work mean value (SD)	社會立法與倡導平均值(SD) Legislation & advocacy mean value (SD)
性別(未填答1) Gender (unanswered 1)		p=0.71	p=0.44	p=0.15	p<0.05
男 Male	38 (16.1)	60.6(19.8)	14.1 (8.1)	13.4( 8.7)	6.7(4.9)
女 Female	197 (83.5)	59.3(18.3)	13.1 (7.2)	10.9(10.0)	5.0(4.6)
年齡平均(年) Age average (year)	32.3 (9.2)				
年齡(未填答2) Age (unanswered 2)		p=0.51	p=0.37	P<0.01	P=0.14
≤25	51 (21.6)	61.7(19.5)	12.8 (7.6)	10.3(10.4)	4.7(4.3)
26-35	120 (50.8)	59.1(17.5)	12.8 (7.3)	9.9 (8.9)	5.0(4.7)
>35	63 (26.7)	57.7(19.3)	14.3 (7.4)	14.6(10.5)	6.3(4.9)
職位(未填答與無法歸類10) Position (unanswered and uncategorized 10)		p=0.27	p=0.23	p<0.05	p=0.44
主管職 Management	17 (7.2)	56.2(17.7)	15.0 (7.2)	16.8(11.6)	5.9(3.7)
中階社工人員 Middle-level social worker	36 (15.3)	56.6(18.4)	11.6 (7.1)	11.5( 8.4)	5.9(4.9)
基層社工人員 Base-level social worker	173 (73.3)	61.0(17.8)	13.3 (7.3)	10.4( 9.7)	5.0(4.6)
教育背景(未填答4) Education (unanswered 4)		p=0.54	p=0.33	p<0.05	p=0.65
畢業於社工系 Social work major	158 (67.2)	59.6(18.2)	13.2 (7.5)	10.9( 9.6)	5.0(4.4)
畢業於社工相關 Social work related majors	63 (26.8)	61.1(17.6)	13.1 (6.8)	11.0(10.0)	5.5(4.9)
未受過社工教育 No relevant education	11 (4.7)	54.6(23.3)	16.5 (7.7)	19.3(10.7)	6.2(5.2)
社工年資平均(年) Average social worker seniority (year)	5.3 (5.74)				
社工年資分組(年) Social worker seniority by group (year)		p=0.51	p=0.97	p=0.08	p=0.13
≤5	167 (70.8)	60.4(17.9)	13.2 (7.1)	10.3( 9.6)	4.9(4.5)
5-10	38 (16.1)	57.0(19.5)	13.1 (8.4)	13.3(10.0)	6.0(5.0)
>10	31 (13.1)	57.7(20.0)	13.5 (7.5)	13.8(10.6)	6.5(5.1)
現職年資平均(年) Average seniority at current position (year)	3.5 (3.55)				
現職年資分組(年) Average seniority at current position by group (year)		p=0.45	p=0.72	p=0.21	p=0.16
≤5	197 (83.5)	60.1(18.1)	13.0 (7.2)	10.8( 9.7)	5.1(4.6)
5-10	22 (9.3)	55.1(18.6)	14.4 (9.1)	13.7( 9.9)	5.1(4.8)
>10	17 (7.2)	57.8(22.6)	13.5 (7.5)	13.9(11.0)	7.4(5.5)

自變項 Independent variables	次數或平均(%或SD) Times or average(% or SD)	個案工作平均值(SD) Case work mean value (SD)	團體工作平均值(SD) Group work mean value (SD)	社區工作平均值(SD) Community work mean value (SD)	社會立法與倡導平均值(SD) Legislation & advocacy mean value (SD)
社工師證照(未填答1) Certification (unanswered 1)		p=0.13	p=0.17	p<0.05	p=0.15
有 Yes	18 (7.6)	53.4(17.4)	11.0 (6.6)	8.0( 6.4)	3.7(3.7)
無 No	217 (91.9)	60.1(18.4)	13.4 (7.4)	11.5(10.1)	5.4(4.7)
組織屬性(未填答1) Organizational attributes (unanswered 1)		p=0.43	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.001
財團法人 Foundation	41 (17.3)	58.2(16.5)	10.6 (6.0)	7.6 (8.5)	3.5(3.4)
機構／公設民營 Affiliated organization	66 (28.0)	62.0(16.4)	12.3 (7.9)	10.5 (8.6)	3.9(3.2)
社團法人 Incorporated association	128( 54.3)	58.6(20.0)	14.6 (7.2)	12.9(10.6)	6.6(5.3)
是否區分部門 Have departments					
是(未填答2) Yes (unanswered 2)	135 (57.2)	p<0.001	p=0.16	p=0.31	p=0.68
有獨立社工部門 With independent social work dept.	104 (44.0)	64.2(15.8)	12.3 (7.6)	11.2 (9.5)	5.1(4.5)
無獨立社工部門 Without independent social work dept.	29 (12.3)	46.5(19.8)	10.2 (6.6)	9.2(10.0)	4.6(4.7)
否 No	101( 42.8)				
組織規模(人)(未填答2) Scale (persons) (unanswered 2)		p=0.09	p<0.001	p=0.25	p=0.08
≤5	70( 29.8)	55.4(19.1)	15.6( 6.0)	11.4( 9.8)	6.3(5.0)
6-30	103( 43.6)	61.5(17.0)	13.5( 7.7)	12.0(10.5)	5.1(4.8)
>30	61( 25.8)	60.2(19.7)	9.6( 6.6)	9.4( 8.4)	4.5(4.0)

附錄二(續) Appendix 2 (continued)

自變項 Independent variable	督導平均值(SD) Supervision mean value (SD)	方案規劃與評估平均值(SD) Project planning and assessment (SD)	公共關係平均值(SD) Public relations mean value (SD)	會務行政平均值(SD) Administration mean value (SD)
性別 Gender	p=0.99	p=0.32	p=0.24	p=0.33
男 Male	14.4 (6.6)	32.9(12.7)	20.0(12.0)	55.1(21.1)
女 Female	14.4 (7.3)	34.8(10.4)	17.8(10.8)	51.4(21.1)
年齡(未填答1) Age (unanswered 1)	p=0.07	p=0.81	P<0.01	P<0.05
≤25	13.3 (7.0)	33.7(10.8)	16.1 (9.2)	53.3(19.4)
26-35	13.8 (7.0)	34.3(10.6)	16.8(11.0)	48.6(20.5)
>30	16.1 (7.5)	35.0(11.4)	22.0(11.4)	57.1(22.9)
職位 Position	p<0.05	p=0.08	p<0.05	p<0.01
主管職 Management	17.2 (7.5)	39.0( 9.5)	23.6(12.4)	66.3(22.7)
中階社工人員 Middle-level social worker	16.1 (5.7)	32.1(10.0)	19.6(11.9)	49.9(21.6)
基層社工人員 Base-level social worker	13.8 (7.2)	34.7(10.6)	16.9(10.5)	50.2(20.1)
教育背景Education (unanswered 4)	p=0.72	p=0.55	p<0.05	p<0.01
畢業於社工系 Social work major	14.1 (7.0)	34.0(10.7)	17.5(10.6)	50.9(19.2)
畢業於社工相關 Social work related majors	14.9 (7.6)	35.7(10.3)	17.9(11.4)	51.4(24.2)
未受過社工教育 No relevant education	15.2 (8.2)	34.7(14.2)	27.8(12.4)	73.0(21.9)
社工年資分組(年) Social worker seniority by group (year)	p=0.12	p=0.82	p<0.01	p=0.13
≤5	13.7(7.0)	34.2(10.7)	16.4(10.3)	50.3(20.2)
5-10	15.3(6.5)	34.7(11.6)	22.0(11.6)	54.3(23.7)
>10	16.3(8.3)	35.4(10.7)	22.5(11.8)	58.0(22.0)
現職年資分組(年) Average seniority at current position by group (year)	p=0.14	p=0.32	p<0.05	p<0.05
≤5	14.1 (7.0)	34.2(10.7)	17.3(10.5)	50.7(20.4)
5-10	14.2 (7.5)	33.2(11.8)	23.0(13.1)	53.4(24.7)
>10	17.6 (8.3)	38.1(11.0)	20.9(12.9)	64.3(21.4)
社工師證照 Certification	p=0.80	p=0.33	p=0.62	p<0.05
有 Yes	13.9 (6.7)	32.2( 9.6)	16.8 (9.2)	40.6(18.7)
無 No	14.4 (7.2)	34.7(10.8)	18.2(11.2)	53.0(21.1)
組織屬性 Organizational attributes	p=0.54	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.001
財團法人 Foundation	14.4 (7.2)	32.0( 9.9)	14.6(10.8)	40.8(17.9)
機構/公設民營 Affiliated organization	13.5 (6.7)	31.9(11.0)	15.6( 8.1)	47.7(18.2)
社團法人 Incorporated association	14.8 (7.4)	36.6(10.6)	20.6(11.9)	58.0(21.3)
是否區分部門 Have departments				
是(未填答2) Yes (unanswered 2)	p<0.05	p=0.09	p=0.93	p=0.18
有獨立社工部門 With independent social work dept.	14.9 (7.1)	33.0(11.3)	17.0(11.4)	48.2(20.6)
無獨立社工部門 Without independent social work dept.	11.1 (7.1)	28.8(13.1)	17.2(11.8)	42.5(20.1)

自變項 Independent variable	督導平均值(SD) Supervision mean value (SD)	方案規劃與評估平均值(SD) Project planning and assessment (SD)	公共關係平均值(SD) Public relations mean value (SD)	會務行政平均值(SD) Administration mean value (SD)
否 No				
組織規模(人) Scale (persons)	p=0.38	p<0.001	p<0.01	p<0.001
≤5	13.7 (7.1)	38.7 (7.6)	20.5(10.4)	61.9(19.8)
6-30	15.0 (7.4)	33.6(11.5)	18.4(12.2)	50.0(21.4)
>30	13.7 (6.8)	30.8(11.3)	14.7 (8.7)	43.7(18.0)



# 年老照顧者將中高齡智能障礙者送至機構安養 之考慮因素探討

## Factors Considered When Making a Decision to Send the Middle-age or Elderly with Intellectual Disability Cared by Aging Caregivers to an Institution

陳政智 Cheng-Chih Chen\*、陳桂英 Kuei-Ying Chen\*\*、楊馥宣 Fu-Shiuan Yang\*\*\*

### 摘要

智能障礙者老化的年齡較一般人提早10到20歲左右，且目前國內智能障礙者多是居住在家中，因此在障礙者老化的過程中，也同時涵蓋了照顧者(通常是父母)老化的處境，這個情境也被稱做為「雙重老化家庭」。在「雙重老化家庭」的議題中，除了醫療與生活支持外，最廣受討論的便是居住問題，而本文即是在探討正逐漸老化的智能障礙者，其主要照顧者對於住宿型機構的看法，並進一步的分析考量是否將障礙者送入住宿式機構的原因。本文研究對象是以臨近高雄市無障礙之家的四個行政區中，障礙程度為重度、極重度且年齡在45歲以上的智能障礙者，其照顧者年齡也須在65歲以上者。進行方式是從照顧者年齡較高者開始以電話邀約受訪，再以半結構式的訪談大綱採面訪的方式來完成資料的蒐集。研究結果發現，照顧者的考量共分為5個主題，分別是：「逐漸老邁的身軀，無法割捨的牽絆」、「他/她是我生命的意義」、「住宿型機構不是家」、「把他/她送走，是最後的選擇」和「終究選擇了機構照顧，她/他是最後的牽掛」。而本文將依據研究的結果，在最後提出一些具體建議。

**關鍵字：**身心障礙者、雙重老化家庭、安養機構、年老照顧者

### Abstract

*People with intellectual disabilities begin aging about 10 to 20 years earlier than normal people do. The people with intellectual disabilities in Taiwan are mostly living in their home now. So, in the progress of aging of them, their caregivers (usually parents) become older simultaneously. This situation is called "older adult with intellectual disability and aging parents" and also called "two-generation-elderly family" (here-in-after called "two-generation-elderly family"). In the issue of "two-generation-elderly families", in addition to medical and life support, the most discussed problem is where to live. This article probes into the opinions about residential institution of the main caregivers of the aging people with intellectual disabilities and analyses the reasons for whether sending the people with intellectual disabilities into the residential institution or not. The objects of this article must be over 65-year-old*

\* 高雄醫學大學醫學社會學與社會工作學系副教授

Associate Professor, Department of Medical Sociology and Social Work, College of Humanities and Social Science, Kaohsiung Medical University

\*\* 前高雄市政府社會局無障礙之家主任，現為高雄市政府社會局家庭暴力及性侵害防治中心主任  
Director, Bureau of social Affairs, Kaohsiung City Government Center for Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault.

\*\*\* 通訊作者，高雄醫學大學醫學社會學與社會工作學系碩士班碩士在學學生，電子郵件：darkastro1919@gmail.com  
author, Master Degree Candidate, Graduate Department of Medical Sociology and Social Work, College of Humanities and Social Science, Kaohsiung Medical University.  
E-Mail:darkastro1919@gmail.com

*caregivers of over 45-year-old people with intellectual disabilities, and the disable level of the people with intellectual disabilities must be serious or extremely serious. They all live near the 4 administrative areas of the institution for the disabled in Kaohsiung. The first step is inviting the aging caregivers to the interview by telephone. The second step is gathering information from the focused or semi-structured interviews. The result of this investigation shows that the considerations of the caregivers are divided into 5 themes: "Onset of aging- progressively aging body and unbreakable ties", "Remaining life- he/she is the meaning of my life.", "Residential institution is not home", "Sending him/her away is a last resort", and "If I eventually sent him/her to an institution, he/she will still be my concern." This article shows some specific conclusion according to the results of the investigation in the end.*

**Keywords:** disabled people, two-generation-elderly family, residential institution, aging caregiver, older adult with intellectual disability and aging parents

## 壹、前言

國內外許多文獻中均提到，智障者生理老化的年齡較一般人提早10到20歲左右，換句話說，以現在一般所認定的65歲老化為準，身心障礙者邁入老化的年齡約45歲左右。在內政部統計處的統計資料中，45歲以上的智能障礙者有20,090人，占智能障礙人口20%，平均5位智能障礙者就有一位年齡超過45歲，可見智能障礙者已邁入老化的情境。

面對障礙者老化議題時，由於台灣的智能障礙者一向以家庭和社區為主要安置場所(劉佳琪，2008)，所要考慮的不只是障礙者本身的需求，還必須包含智能障礙者的照顧者之需要。當智能障礙者步入老化階段時，其實際年齡約為45歲，此時照顧者(通常是雙親)的年齡也正好落在進入老化的階段，照顧者可能因為身體上的老化，無力肩負照顧障礙者的責任，而這一連串的情境也被稱做為「雙重老化」。

目前的研究文獻多是以智能障礙者的健康與醫療需求的角度進行分析，其次是針對社會福利需求的探討，本研究則是試著討論面對逐漸老化的智能障礙者，其主要照顧者對於使用住宿型機構的看法。國內研究老人使用住宿型機構的因素，多以失智老人或需要護理照顧的長輩為主要研究對象，少有探討將自己的孩子送入此類機構住宿的資料。本研究期待了解雙重老化家庭，其照顧者將智能障礙者送入住宿型機構所考量的原因，以及考量過程中的情感牽絆等，以作為未來服務提供的思考。具體而言，本研究的目的如下：

- (一)瞭解照顧者使用住宿型機構的考量，讓相關單位能更清楚使用者的想法。
- (二)探索高齡照顧者未將智能障礙者送入機構的原因，使相關單位了解使用者的情境，提出適合的服務。

## Introduction

Much domestic and foreign literature has found that physiological aging of intellectually disabled individuals comes 10 to 20 years earlier than ordinary people. In other words, if 65 is generally considered as the baseline of aging, intellectually disabled individuals start aging around the age of 45. According to statistics from the Department of Statistics, Ministry of the Interior, a total of 20,090 intellectually disabled individuals in Taiwan are at the age of 45 or above, which makes up 20% of the population with intellectual disabilities; that is, one out of five intellectually disabled individuals is 45 years old or older. This shows that aging of the intellectually disabled population has begun.

Since family and community are the major living environment for intellectually disabled individuals in Taiwan (Liu Chia-chi, 2008), the needs of both these individuals and their caregivers should be taken into consideration when discussing the issue of aging of intellectually disabled individuals. When the aging process of intellectually disabled individuals begins at about 45 years old, their caregivers (usually parents) also enter the aging stage. In such a case, the caregivers may not be able to provide adequate care to a disabled family member due to their own physiological degeneration caused by aging, and this series of the scenario is called "two-generation-elderly".

Currently, the majority of the research literature discussing intellectually disabled individuals focus on the aspect of health and medical needs, followed by social welfare. This research aims to discuss the views of primary caregivers towards residential institutions concerning aging intellectually disabled adults. In Taiwan, the majority of studies relating to the factors of using institutional care for the elderly focus on the subject of elderly with dementia or requiring nursing care. Discussions touching on the subject of institutional care for children are rather scarce. This study aims to explore the factors which caregivers of two-generation-elderly families consider before sending their intellectually disabled children to institutional care, and the emotional ties involve in the decision-making process. Results of the studies in this research will serve as a reference for such decision-making processes in the future. Specifically, the objective of this study covers the following scope:

- (I) To explore the considerations of caregivers when choosing residential institutions: information derived from this study will provide the authorities with better insight into the mindset of users.
- (II) To explore the factors that hinder aging caregivers from choosing institutional care for their intellectually disabled children: information derived from this study will give the authorities a better insight into users' conditions and facilitate them to offer more suitable services in the future.

## 貳、文獻探討

### 一、雙重老化的意涵

在智能障礙者的情境當中，無論是國外的文獻或國內的實務經驗，均發現智能障礙者有提早老化(premature aging)的趨勢。國外的資料中，部分提到智能障礙者，是因為身體的損傷(impairment)與年齡相互作用，才會比一般人提早衰老。Janicki et al.(2002)的研究指出40歲以上的智能障礙者，其健康狀況會隨著年齡開始衰退。Maaskant等學者(2002)則是採用死亡率和平均餘命做為依據，從中分析出智障者老化年齡大約是在46歲。在國內，王國羽(2003)曾提出身心障礙者邁入老化的年齡應該是從45歲開始。孫健忠與林昭吟(2003)則利用身心障礙者生活需求調查中的ADL與IADL量表，發現46-50歲的智障者日常生活事物自理能力明顯低於其他老年身障者的水平，並於隔年發表的研究結果提出智能障礙者的老化年齡，約在35-45歲間(林昭吟、林季平，2004)。因此，我們可以清楚的了解智能障礙者開始老化的年齡並非一般人的65歲，而是在45~50歲時發生。

根據以上所述，智能障礙者的老化年齡多集中在45~50歲。此時，智能障礙者的照顧者(通常是父母)年齡也正好到達一般人老化的歲數(60~65歲)，處在智能障礙者老化與照顧者老化的情境，即是所謂的「雙重老化」。

### 二、雙重老化的家庭需求

許多智能障礙者在40歲左右便出現與老人相似的健康問題與需求(Lifshitz & Merrick, 2003)。在國外的研究中發現，老化的智障者在行動能力、視力…等能力，衰退的機會增加(Evenhuis, 1995,1997)。而國內的智能障者，也出現了視力下降、罹患骨質疏鬆…等，不過國內也發現除了年齡的影響以外，障礙者的障礙程度越嚴重，受損情形也越嚴重(王國羽、林筱真、陳敬忠、林梅雅，2007)。由此可知，老化的智能障礙者，其生理情形

## Literature Review

### I. Connotations of two-generation-elderly

Foreign and domestic literature or empirical practices on caring for intellectually disabled individuals show that the trend of premature aging in fact exists in the group of intellectually disabled individuals. Some foreign literature points out that the coupling effect of physical impairment and the aging process instigates premature aging in intellectually disabled individuals. Janicki et al. (2002) stated in their study that the health of intellectually disabled individuals age 40 and older degenerates along with increasing age. Maaskant et al. (2002) found from their analysis of mortality and life expectancy that the onset of aging in intellectually disabled individuals takes place around the age of 46. In Taiwan, Wang Kuo-yu (2003) suggested that the onset of aging in the intellectually disabled individuals is around the age of 45. Sun Chien-Chung and Lin Cha-Yin (2003) found from the survey on the subject of living needs of the intellectually disabled individuals through the ADL and IADL Scale that intellectually disabled individuals in the age group of 46 to 50 exhibited significantly lower abilities for self-care than an elderly group of other disabilities. In the next year (2004), they published another study, which pointed out that intellectually disabled individuals begin aging at around 35 to 45 (Lin Chao-yin, Lin Chi-pin, 2004). From the above researches, we can see that the onset of aging in intellectually disabled individuals falls around age 45 to 50, which is considered early compared to aging at 65 common to the general population.

According to the studies mentioned above, aging in the intellectually disabled group begins at the age of 45 to 50. Meanwhile, the caregivers of intellectually disabled individuals (generally parents) also begin to age (since they generally come to the age of 60 to 65). This phenomenon, in which both the care-receiver and caregiver enter the aging stage in their lives, is called "two-generation-elderly".

### II. The needs of the two-generation-elderly families

Many intellectually disabled individuals start to experience health problems and require healthcare similar to the general aging population around the age of 40 (Lifshitz & Merrick, 2003). Foreign researchers have found that intellectually disabled aged individuals have greater chances to experience declined mobility, eyesight, etc. (Evenhuis, 1995,1997). Intellectually disabled individuals in Taiwan also exhibit problems with declining eyesight, osteoporosis, etc. Moreover, in addition to the signs of age, studies in Taiwan also found that a higher degree of the disability is often associated with more severe degeneration (Wang Kuo-yu, Lin Hsiao-chen, Chen Chin-chung, Lin-Mei-ya, 2007). The findings show that the physiological condition of the aging intellectually disabled individuals are similar to the aging



與一般老人相似。

目前國內智能障礙者的生活形態大多是居住在家中(約九成)，且家中主要照顧者多為父母。通常照顧者(父母)對障礙者的生活照料會一直往前延伸，直到照顧者辭世或是自身能力無法再照顧時，才會將家中的智障者託付給他人(周月清，2007；王國羽，2008，引自劉佳琪，2009；林純真，1999)。所以，我們可以清楚的知道，智能障礙者的照顧者主要是生活在家中，且照顧者不會輕易的將障礙者送至機構。

對於雙重老化的家庭，Hogg等人(2000)的研究指出，照顧者在決定老年智障者會使用哪一種照護型態，會受到「可選擇的服務種類」、「服務項目」和「智能障礙者的健康狀態與需要」所影響。因此，我們必須先了解目前國內對雙重老化家庭提供的服務有哪些可選擇。

### 三、目前針對雙重老化所提供的服務

現今65歲以上的老人所提供的福利服務，有最為人熟知的安養護服務，以及支持生活的居家服務等；而提供給智能障礙者的福利服務有一般的機構式服務、支持服務等。老人與智能障礙者的福利服務中，有著相似的服務內容，以居家服務為例，其主要內容均是協助服務使用者生活活動(如：如廁)等，雖然服務內容相仿，但老人與智能障礙者的福利服務體制卻是分開提供服務，專門為雙重老化家庭所設計的服務則是以民間的非營利團體為主，且多是以機構服務、社區居住的服務模式呈現。機構居住服務又為住宿型機構，主要提供老化的智能障礙者或多重障礙者全日型的照顧，並由各種不同專業的人員提供服務。社區服務則是提供雙重老化家庭與其它相同處境的家庭共同居住，期待成員間能有互動，專業人員僅提供必要的生活協助，或不提供服務。

當前社會的趨勢是「去機構化，並在地老化」，但國內對智障者的福利服務多偏重於兒童及青少年，少關注成年以後的生活照顧需求(李幸

process of the general population.

Currently, the primary placement choice for intellectually disabled individuals is at their homes (approximately 90%), and the primary caregivers are their parents. Generally, the caregivers (parents) do not entrust the care of their intellectually disabled children to others until they die or are no longer being able to provide further care (Chou Yueh-chin, 2007; Wang Kuo-yu, 2008, quoted from Liu Chia-chi, 2009; Lin Chun-chen, 1999). Therefore, we can see that caregivers of intellectually disabled individuals mainly live at home, and it is not an easy decision to place a disabled family member in an institution.

Hogg et.al (2000) pointed out in their study that, in two-generation-elderly families, “available service options”, “services provided” and “health condition and needs of intellectually disabled individuals” are the main factors influencing the caregivers’ decisions on choosing a specific mode of care. Therefore, we must first understand what services are available for two-generation-elderly families, in Taiwan.

### III. Services currently available for two-generation-elderly families

The most common social welfare services provided for the elderly aged 65 and older are nursing homes and supportive home care services, and social welfare services provided for intellectually disabled individuals are generally institutional care and supportive services. Some social welfare services provided for the elderly and intellectually disabled individuals are similar, such as home care. The major service contents of home care for both groups fall mainly on assisting the service receivers with daily living activities, such as toileting. Though the service contents are similar, services provided for the two groups come from two different social welfare service systems. Services designed exclusively for two-generation-elderly families, are provided mainly by private non-profit organizations in the forms of institutional services and community based accommodation services. Providers of institutional residential services are mainly boarding institutions providing 24-hour care for aging intellectually disabled individuals or people with multiple disabilities, and the services are administered by staff with various specializations. Community based accommodation services offer co-op accommodation for two-generation-elderly families, or families with similar situations, targeting to facilitate interactivity among the co-op members. Professional staff provide only necessary living assistance and sometime no interference at all to co-op members.

The current trend of social welfare service is “deinstitutionalization and aging in place”. However, in Taiwan, social welfare services for intellectually disabled individuals focus on chil-



娟，2006)，使得多數的智能障礙者年輕時生活於家庭，老年時終老於機構。因此，在社區照顧系統及其他支持在地老化的服務方案完備之前，住宿型機構會是分擔這段過渡期間，滿足智能障礙者居住需求的要角。而本研究所探討的住宿型機構指的是安養機構，並不包含臨托或短暫入住式機構。

#### 四、照顧者安排智能障礙者未來生活的考量

由於社會仍將智障視為無行為能力者、無法為自己的決定或行為負責，加上許多家庭的照顧者認為照顧智障者的責任是從孩子出生到照顧者自己往生才會終結，並對智障者有「歉疚」與「責任」等情感。在Ebenstein, Malekoff, Salmon, & Steinberg(2006)、O'Keeffe & O'Hara(2008)與Pratt(2010)均指出，照顧者通常視照顧為義務，所以無法再照顧障礙者時，內心有著極深的愧疚感(Ebenstein, Malekoff, Salmon, & Steinberg, 2006. O'Keeffe & O'Hara, 2008. Pratt, 2010, 引自王文娟, 2011)。Jennings(1987)也使用「永遠的父母(perpetual parenthood)」一詞，來描述智能障礙者父母。不僅如此，照顧者們(通常是父母)經常對智能障礙者的能力感到沒有信心，使得照顧者們自然扮演起保護者的角色，甚至是決定了智障者所有的生活內容(財團法人心路社會福利基金會，2006；Jokinen, 2006；Buys et al., 2004)。這些原因都讓智障者無法任意做出自主的決定，特別是本研究的對象皆鎖定在障礙程度重度以上者，更是少有機會決定自己是否進住機構，通常都是由照顧者代為決定。

然而文獻卻指出，照顧者大多都知道這些需要，但並不一定會申請服務，且越是高齡的父母所表現出的行為更是如此。Grant(1989)、Seltzer & Kraus(2001)及Bigby(1996)提到，當高齡的父母面臨智障子女未來的安排時，常常捨不得正式著手進行。另外，倘若家長曾有不愉快的經歷，都可能會阻礙照顧者尋求服務的意願(王國羽，2007；Bigby & Ozanne, 2004. Rimmerman & Muraver, 2001，王文

dren and teenagers; resources for care of intellectually disabled adults are very limited (Li Hsing-chuan, 2006). Therefore, most intellectually disabled individuals live at home when they are young, but pass their final years in institutions. Thus, before the community care system and other supportive services for “aging in place” are fully established, residential institutions will be the major provider of services that satisfy the accommodation needs of intellectually disabled individuals during this transition period. The concept of residential institutions discussed in this study refers to nursing homes, not including temporary care or temporary accommodation facilities.

#### IV. Factors considered by caregivers on arrangements for the future life of the intellectually disabled individuals

The community sees intellectually disabled individuals as incapacitated persons who have neither the ability to make decisions for themselves nor the power to take responsibility for their behavior. Many caregivers of intellectually disabled individuals believe that the responsibility of caring for their disabled children begins at birth and ends at the death of the caregiver. They also feel “apologetic” and “responsible” for their children. Ebenstein, Malekoff, Salmon, & Steinberg (2006), O'Keeffe & O'Hara (2008) and Pratt (2010) pointed out that caregivers often see giving care to their intellectually disabled children as an obligation. Therefore, when they are no longer capable of giving care to their disabled children, they feel a deep sense of guilt (Ebenstein, Malekoff, Salmon, & Steinberg, 2006. O'Keeffe & O'Hara, 2008. Pratt, 2010, quoted from Wang Wen-Chuan, 2011). Jennings (1987) uses the term “perpetual parenthood” to describe the parents of intellectually disabled children. Moreover, the caregivers (generally parents) often lack the confidence in the abilities of their children and this prompts them to take on the role as the protector and even make all decisions of their children's lives (Synlu Social Welfare Foundation, 2006; Jokinen, 2006; Buys et al., 2004). The efforts of the caregivers often hinder intellectually disabled individuals from making autonomous decisions; especially, ones with severe disabilities, the target subjects in this study, rarely have the chance to make decisions on whether they wish to enter the care of residential institutions. Such decisions are generally made by caregivers.

However, much research literature has also pointed out that most caregivers know that they need these services, but they do not necessarily apply for them, especially parents with higher ages. Grant (1989), Seltzer & Kraus (2001) and Bigby (1996) pointed out that, when elderly parents reach the point of making arrangements for their intellectually disabled children, they often hesitate to proceed with the plan. In addition, unpleasant experiences may hold parents back from looking for care services (Wang Kuo-yu, 2007; Bigby & Ozanne, 2004; Rimmerman &

娟，2001；若塵，2011)。因此當照顧者決定對未來做出任何一項選擇時，想必有著極大的促成因素。

## 參、研究設計

本研究主要是了解老化智能障礙者的照顧者，對於住宿型機構的感受，因此期待能夠透過訪談，了解這群照顧者的想法。為了初步探討照顧者的想法，本篇以質性研究的方式進行。

### 一、抽樣與資料收集

本研究的訪問對象為雙重老化家庭中的主要照顧者，而抽樣是在高雄市社會局無障礙之家的協助下，於無障礙之家鄰近的行政區，進行樣本的抽取，選取智能障礙重度、極重度，且年齡在45歲以上的智能障礙者，其照顧者年齡也須在65歲以上者。進行方式是從照顧者年齡較高者開始以電話邀約受訪，採面訪的方式來完成資料的蒐集。

本次研究共邀請了10位照顧者(共7個家庭)，主要以當天在場的照顧者為主。受訪對象(如表3.1所示)與障礙者多是親子關係，除了親子關係外，也還包含了夫妻、手足、姑嫂等，雖然照顧者與障礙者間的關係有些許不同，但此次訪談的照顧者均與障礙者在同一屋簷下生活超過15年，所以在情感上有著深厚的基礎。

Muraver, 2001; Wang Wen-chuan, 2001; Je Chen, 2011). Therefore, there must be certain contributing factors in any decision that caregivers make for the future of their children.

## Research Design

This study aims to explore the perceptions of caregivers of aging intellectually disabled individuals towards residential institutions. Therefore, we expect to derive the perceptions of this group of caregivers through interviews. To explore the thoughts of caregivers, preliminary research is conducted through qualitative study.

### I. Sampling and Data Collection

The subjects of interview for this study are the major caregivers in two-generation-elderly families. Under the assistance of the Home for the Disabled managed by the Kaohsiung City Social Affairs Bureau, sampling was conducted in the community neighboring the Home for the Disabled. Individuals with severe or extremely severe intellectual disabilities age 45 and older whose caregivers are 65 or older are selected for this study. Invitations for the interview were delivered through telephone calls with priority given to caregivers with higher ages. Data collection was completed through face-to-face interviews.

A total of ten caregivers from seven families were invited to the interview for this study (present on the scheduled date). The majority of the respondents (table 3.1) were parents and others were spouses, siblings, and sisters-in-law. Although there are slight variations in the relations between caregivers and care receivers, all caregivers interviewed lived with the intellectually disabled individuals for over 15 years; therefore, all of them have a certain degree of emotional attachment to their care receivers.

表3.1 Table 3.1:

研究對象基本資料表 *Basic Information of Study Subjects*

性別 Gender	年齡 Age	障礙程度 Degree of Disability	照顧者代號* Caregiver Code*	照顧者性別 Gender of Caregiver	照顧者年齡 Age of Caregiver	照顧者關係 Relationship	照顧者教育程度 Education	照顧時間 Period of Care	經濟狀況 Economic Status
男 Male	50	重度 Severe	1B	男 Male	82	父子 Father / Son	高中 High School	50	一般戶 General Household
			2B	女 Female	78	母子 Mother / Son	國小 Elementary School	50	
女 Female	45	極重度 Extremely Severe	1C	男 Male	80	父女 Father / Son	國小 Elementary School	45	低收入戶 Low-income Household
			2C	女 Female	75	母女 Mother / Son	國小 Elementary School	45	

性別 Gender	年齡 Age	障礙程度 Degree of Disability	照顧者代號* Caregiver Code*	照顧者性別 Gender of Caregiver	照顧者年齡 Age of Caregiver	照顧者關係 Relationship	照顧者教育程度 Education	照顧時間 Period of Care	經濟狀況 Economic Status
女 Female	61	重度 Severe	2D	女 Female	90	母女 Mother / Son	不識字 Illiterate	61	一般戶 General Household
			1D	男 Male	64	兄妹 Brother / Sister	高職 Occupational High School	61	
男 Male	49	重度 Severe	2E	女 Female	71	母子 Mother / Son	國小 Elementary School	49	一般戶 General Household
男 Male	49	重度 Severe	2F	女 Female	71	母子 Mother / Son	不識字 Illiterate	49	低收入戶 Low-income Household
女 Female	61	重度 Severe	2G	女 Female	65	姑嫂 Sister-in-Law	高職 Occupational High School	16	一般戶 General Household
女 Female	61	極重度 Extremely Severe	1H	男 Male	85	夫妻 Spouse	國小 Elementary School	43	一般戶

\*照顧者代號：研究者代號為A，照顧者代號則從B開始編列，一個家庭以一個英文字母代替。字母前的數字則代表照顧者性別，1為男性，2為女性

\*Code of caregiver: the code of researcher is A. The code of caregivers starts with B. Every family is given an alphabetic code. The number before the alphabetic code represents the gender of the caregivers; 1 for male and 2 for female.

## 二、分析方法

本研究的主題為雙重老化家庭的照顧者讓智能障礙者使用住宿型機構服務的考量。如同前述，當照顧者將照顧大半人生的障礙者送入機構時，內心所思考的不乏複雜的情感與現實上的考量，在這眾多元素的感受下，為了更貼近照顧者的感受與考慮，本研究將使用質性研究的方式進行。

本篇研究主要是在初探照顧者的考量因素，因此將藉由訪談錄音檔所轉換的逐字稿，以受訪者的角度作為詮釋，深入了解雙重老化家庭中的照顧者，在照顧上出現的困境與使用住宿型機構照顧的考量。

## 三、研究嚴謹性

在訪談前，研究者先以基本資料嚴格篩選符合資格之研究對象；訪談時，研究者則是在每個談話段落，重覆或摘要受訪者的語句，以確認研究者所了解的語意和受訪者所表達的內容相符，並將訪談的過程錄音；接著將錄音檔轉換為逐字稿，再進行分析。最後實際訪談7個家庭的照顧者後，發現資料內容達飽和而停止訪談。

## II. Analysis Methods

The focus of this study is on the factors considered by caregivers in two-generation-elderly families towards the issues of using residential institutional services for intellectually disabled individuals under their care. As discussed above, when the caregivers come to the decision of sending persons they have been taking care of for most of their lives to institutions, complex emotions and practical considerations often go through their mind. With such mixed emotions, this study makes an attempt to explore the feelings and considerations of the caregivers through quantitative research methods.

This study is a preliminary exploration on the factors considered by caregivers. Therefore, the recorded contents of the interview are transcribed into verbatim transcripts and interpreted from the perspectives of the caregivers to facilitate in-depth exploration on the issues of providing care and consideration given to the idea of using residential institution services from the standpoint of caregivers in two-generation-elderly families.

## III. Stringency of the Study

Before the interviews were conducted, the researcher screened qualified respondents based on basic information of the research subjects. During the interviews, the researcher repeated or summarized the words to the respondent to ensure that the meaning perceived by the researcher is consistent with the content expressed by the respondent. The content of the interview was also recorded and transcribed into verbatim transcripts for analysis. After face-to-face interviews with the caregivers from seven families, we reached an information saturation point and thus ended all interviews.

## 肆、研究結果分析

根據照顧者表述，經分析後，共分為5個主題，且主題是藉由時間順序分出。照顧智能障礙者是一個持續的過程，老化是照顧歷程中的其中一個連續事件，所以每一個主題之間都有著承接時間的起始點，但卻沒有明確的斷點(如圖4.1)。這5個主題分別是：「逐漸老邁的身軀，無法割捨的牽絆」、「他/她是我生命的意義」、「住宿型機構不是家」、「把他/她送走，是最後的選擇」和「終究選擇了機構照顧，她/他是我最後的牽掛」。

當障礙者與照顧者步入老化時，彼此之間的牽絆密不可割，年老的照顧者甚至視照顧障礙者為剩餘生命的意義，期待能夠一直與障礙者共同生活。然而年老的身軀不敵歲月，照顧者開始尋求照顧障礙者的協助，但對於住宿型機構這項選擇卻不予回應，因為在他們的心中有太多關於住宿型機構的擔心，使得照顧者寧願體力透支或使用其他支持，也不願將障礙者送離家中。在最後照顧者完全無力照顧障礙者，而選擇機構照顧時，他們心中的最後一絲牽掛是哪些？本研究將從「逐漸老邁的身軀，無法割捨的牽絆」開始談起。

## Results Analysis

After analyzing contents of the interviews, the contents were categorized into five thematic issues, sorted in chronological sequence. Care for intellectually disabled individuals is an ongoing process and aging is a progressive event in series of processes. Though there is a connecting time point from one thematic issue to another, there is no clear breakpoint between each issue (as shown in Figure 4). The five thematic issues are “progressively aging body and unbreakable ties”, “he/she is the meaning of my life”, “a residential institution is not home”, “sending him/her away is a last resort” and “if I eventually sent him/her to an institution, he/she will still be my concern”.

When both the disabled person and his/her caregiver step enter the stage of aging, the ties between them are harder to break. The aging caregiver even sees providing care to the disabled child as the meaning of his/her remaining life; therefore, he/she expects to live with the disabled family member forever. However, the aging bodies of the caregivers grow weaker and weaker, so they begin to seek help, yet they choose not to give any response to the option of residential institutions because they have too many doubts of residential institutions, which forced them rather to exhaust themselves or use other support services than sending their disabled children away. When they are too exhausted to keep disabled children at home, what would be the last concern that binds them to their disabled children? This study begins the discussion on this issue from the concept of “progressively aging bodies and unbreakable ties”.

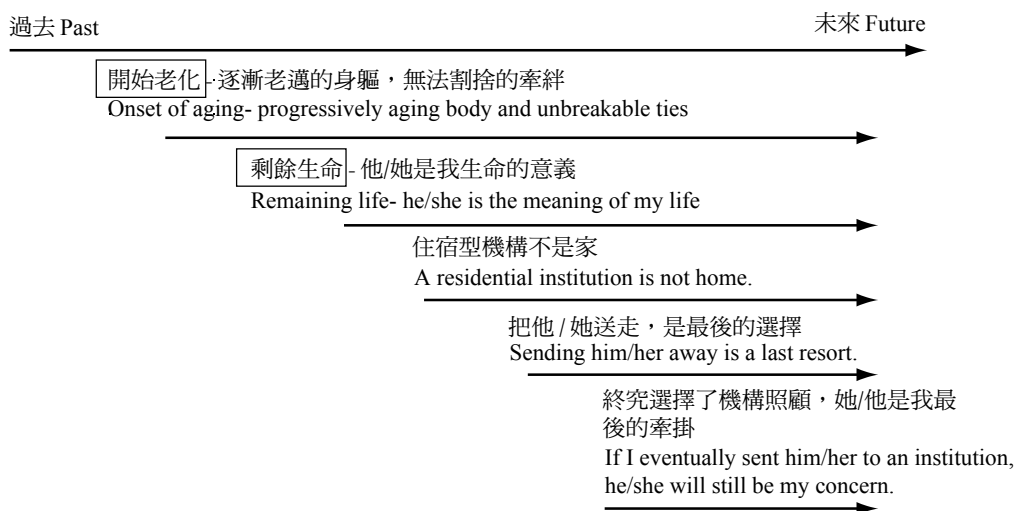


圖 4.1 五個主題的時間概念  
Figure 4.1 Time Conceptual Relationship of the Five Thematic Issues



## 一、逐漸老邁的身軀，無法割捨的牽絆

照顧者的身體逐漸衰老，但在訪談的過程中，最常被照顧者訴說的，是衰老的身體越來越無法自如的照顧障礙者 (2C、2D、2E、2F、2G、1H)，且照顧者在協助障礙者的生活的過程，同時要面臨障礙者因老化而出現的疾病 (1B、2C、2D、2E、2G)：

「我雙腳沒力了…蹲下去…這個腳啊…整個都痛…這要我怎麼照顧她…」(1H)

「我的孩子有糖尿啦…眼睛也不太好…眼睛、眼球有白內障」(1B)

老化癥狀的出現，增加了照顧者照顧障礙者的困難度，不過對這些照顧者來說，即使吃力，障礙者依然是自己的親人。每當照顧者提起自己所照顧的障礙者時，眼神往往透露出萬般的無奈與些許的不捨，有位母親提到：

「她很多歲了…差不多4、50歲了…她和我差不多老了…可是他就是小孩子…是我的孩子…我也老了…」(2C)

照顧者很難透過理性的判斷，而將障礙者交託給他人照顧，倘若將障礙者從照顧者的身邊帶離，照顧者將感到萬分的不捨(1B、2B、2D、2C)：

「放不下!好像自己養自己兒子，怎麼放掉了一樣，我捨不得…我聽了就會掉眼淚…真的…」(1B、2B)

這群照顧者的情感在訴說的過程中更是顯而易見，當話及障礙者時，除了用語言表外，眼神也經常望向障礙者，流露出擔憂的眼神，並注意障礙者的一舉一動。這之間，彷彿有無數條看不見的線，聯繫著照顧者與障礙者，讓他們彼此相互緊緊，甚至有照顧者直接表示照顧障礙者就是他剩餘生命的意義。

## 二、他/她是我生命的意義

「我這個本身阿…沒有她們…我剩下的生命就沒有意義了…」。(1H)

## I. Progressively aging bodies and unbreakable ties

Despite the fact that the caregivers are confronted with aging bodies, their biggest concern revealed during the interviews is how their degenerating bodies are preventing them from taking good care of their disabled family members (2C, 2D, 2E, 2F, 2G, 1H). The caregivers also have to face the illness accompanied with aging at the same time as they care for disabled family members (1B, 2C, 2D, 2E, 2G):

*"I feel my legs are so weak...When I squat down... I have pain throughout both of my legs...How do I take care of her now..." (1H)*

*"My child has diabetes...His eyesight is not good, either... His eyes, he has cataracts in his eyes." (1B)*

Symptoms of aging are emerging, which makes it more difficult for caregivers to care for family members with disabilities. However, no matter how exhausting the tasks are, caregivers see family members with disabilities as their flesh and blood. Whenever the caregivers mentioned their disabled family members they have been taking care of, a mixture of helplessness and sorrow rushes into their eyes. A mother mentioned:

*"She is no longer young....She is fortyish going on 50... She is almost as old as I am...but she is still a child...My child...I am old, too..." (2C)*

It is difficult for caregivers to entrust the care of their disabled children to others in their rational judgment. If a disabled family member is taken from the caregiver, the caregiver feels terribly sorry (1B, 2B, 2D, 2C):

*"I can't let go! It is like raising my own child. It's like giving him up. I cannot bear to do it...Whenever I heard such recommendation, tears come to my eyes...really..." (1B, 2B)*

The emotions of caregivers are so obviously seen during interviews. When the conversation came to issues concerning disabled family members, they often look to their disabled family member with worry in their eyes in addition to their verbal expression. They watch every movement of their disabled family member throughout the course of the interview. There seem to be numerous invisible lines tying the caregivers to the disabled family member. Some caregivers even directly expressed that the disabled family member is the meaning of his/her remaining life.

## II. He/She is the meaning of my life

*"To me...without them...my remaining life is meaningless..." (1H)*



這是出自一位80多歲的照顧者口中，在他剩餘的生命裡，照顧障礙者已成了臨別前的最後心願。雙重老化家庭中的照顧者與障礙者，往往都是共同生活了數十年之久的家人，因此在照顧者的生命中占了一席相當重要的位置(2B、2C、2E)：

「我就是從小時候照顧它…顧到現在40多歲…都是在一起，就我們兩個人」。(2E)

許多照顧者，早晨睜開雙眼的那一刻，即是照顧障礙者的開端，照顧障礙者已變成生活中，比例相當重的一個部分。

「我從以前到現在，也差不多50幾年了…他們不能做什麼…我每天一睜開眼就是看到他們…要照顧他們…」(1H)

另一位母親也提到她的孩子總是跟在她的後頭，跟著她一起走來走去，無論她走到哪，孩子就會跟到哪(2B)，而多年來一直照顧女兒的母親則說道自己的孩子經常會確認她是否就在附近，白天就喊著母親，晚上則用觸摸的方式確認母親在身邊(2C)：

「白天她要是沒看到你，就會一直叫媽媽!晚上睡覺的時候，她半夜常摸我的手…不然就是打我的手…她就是摸我有沒有在那邊」(2C)

照顧者的日常生活幾乎是與障礙者為伍，每天都有著緊密的互動，這日復一日的照顧工作，彷彿是他生命僅剩的存在意義：

「不可以(送去機構)…人就是這個感情，是不是?他要是…走掉了，我也擔心，我這個本身阿…沒有他們…我剩下的生命就沒有意義了…」(1H)

雙重老化家庭的照顧者與障礙者間，不只有情感上的聯繫，在照顧者的眼中，照顧障礙者更是他們的日常生活與生命意義，倘若障礙者搬出現在居住的場所，照顧者的日常將失去生活的意義。

This statement came from a caregiver of over 80 years old. In his remaining life, taking care of the disabled family member is his only wish before death. Generally, the caregiver and the disabled family member have shared their lives for decades. Therefore, the disabled family member takes a significant place in the life of the caregiver (2B, 2C, 2E):

*"I have been taking care of him since he was a child...He is now 40 something...We have been living together ever since...We only have each other". (2E)*

For many caregivers, the moment they open their eyes in the morning is the beginning of care for their disabled family member. Providing care to the disabled family member has become a significant part in the caregivers' lives.

*"We have been living like this for almost 50 years... They can't do anything...Every morning I open my eyes...I see them and that's the time I start taking care of them..." (1H)*

Another mother also mentioned her child always follows behind her wherever she goes. Wherever she goes, the child follows (2B). The mother who has been taking care of her daughter for many years said that her child often checks to see if she is around. Her daughter yells to confirm her existence during daytime and touches her to ensure she is right beside her during nighttime (2C):

*"She cries for mother on and on once I am out of her sight. When she sleeps during the night, she touches my hands...or hits my hand...She touches me to see if I am there" (2C)*

The daily activities of the caregivers center on their disabled children. Close interactions take place every day. Day after day, the caretaking activities become the only meaningful thing in their lives.

*"No way (refers to the residential institution)...People have feelings, don't they? If he is ...away, I will still worry about him. To me...without him...My remaining life will be meaningless..." (1H)*

In two-generation-elderly families, what exists in between the caregivers and the disabled family member is more than an emotional bond. In the eyes of the caregivers, taking care of the disabled family member is their daily activity and the meaning of their life. If the disabled family member moves out of the present living environment, the caregivers will lose the meaning of their lives.

### 三、住宿型機構不是家

家，是擁有保護與照顧功能的庇護之地，對照顧者而言，機構並不能取代家的功能。特別是在照顧的部分，照顧者相當堅定的表示自己的親人、孩子有著特殊的需要，像是只能吃流質食物、不會睡床、害怕鏡子…等，但機構的照顧人員不一定能照顧到每個孩子的特殊需求 (2B、2C、2D、2G)：

「她都吃軟的，硬的沒辦法…你如果煮那種麵線糊那種，她也可以…可是住那裡…大家都是同樣的」(2C)

這些特殊的需求，在障礙者生活數十年的家中，都有其因應對策，因此照顧者相當擔心團體生活的機構無法注意到這些細節。照顧者也表示，住宿型機構是團體生活的場所，照顧的人員有限，無法顧及自己的孩子：

「有的送去的照顧的不大周到、對!就是照顧不到阿!照顧不過來!!忙不過來!」(2B)

特殊的照顧需求一直是照顧者所擔心的地方，照顧者認為，機構若無法給障礙者適合的照顧，不如讓障礙者繼續留在家中獲得適當的照顧，照顧者也能夠安心。當障礙者在家時，照顧者可以確保障礙者的生活環境是安全的。有位照顧者擔心的表示自己的孩子不會對人反抗，他若是被打，就只能靜靜的挨打，機構裡頭若有服務人員或其他住民欺負他，也不會說話。在家至少照顧者可以保證自己的孩子不會受到欺負：

「在這裡我們守著他，沒人欺負他，在家生活的好好的，今天被別人說你們裡面的人欺負，我捨不得的…我最大的疑慮在這裡…」(1B)

過去曾讓障礙者住過機構的幾位照顧者則表示孩子在機構生活，她們無法得知孩子是否被他人欺負或被虐待，有時工作人員會說那是在復健或是訓練，但她們都曾經看到自己的孩子身上有瘀青，感到相當不捨與內疚，於是把孩子接回來居住，不願

### III. A residential institution is not a home

Home is a shelter in which one is protected and taken care of. To caregivers, an institution cannot replace the functions of home, especially provision of care. The caregivers strongly expressed that the care providers in institutions may not be able to provide adequate care to their beloved ones, their children, with special needs, such as certain children only eat liquid foods, some do not like to sleep in a bed, and some are afraid of mirrors, etc. (2B, 2C, 2D, 2G):

*“She eats only soft food. She is not able to chew hard food...If she is given food like thick noodle stew, she might be able to manage it...Everyone there...they all eat the same food” (2)*

Special strategies are developed to respond to the special needs of families looking after disabled family members for decades. Therefore, caregivers are worried that such details in everyday living will be overlooked in the group living setup of residential institutions. The caregivers also expressed that a residential institution is a place for group living and the number of care providers is very limited, so they are afraid that their children will not get the attention they need.

*“Some were not taken good care of in the institution. No, they are not properly cared for. The care providers are too busy to give adequate care. They are too busy to provide proper care” (2B)*

Special needs have always been the concern of caregivers. They believe that if the institutions are not able to properly care for their disabled family members, it would be better to keep them at home. They believe their family members would be better cared for at home and they would be free from worries. When their disabled family members stay at home, the caregivers are sure that their living environment is safe. One of the interviewees expressed that his child does not know how to fight back. He would just sit quietly if he is bullied. He is not capable of expressing what happened if he is bullied by the care providers or residents in the institution. The caregivers think that they can at least ensure that their children are not bullied at home:

*“Here we can keep an eye on him, so no one bullies him. He is doing fine at home. I will be very sad if someone tells me he is bullied in the institution, ...this is my biggest concern...” (1B)*

Caregivers who have the experience of sending their children to residential institutions expressed that they have no way to know whether their children were bullied or abused. Sometimes the staff at the institution just told them that their children were doing rehabilitation or training, but they discovered bruises on their children. They felt very sad and guilty, so they took their

意再讓機構照顧：

「那個在顧的那小姐說是他自己摔倒，可是他全身都黑青呢！因為我這個孩子他都會罵別人，比較聰明的人都會打她阿，我就是怕人別人給他打成這樣…我會覺得不捨」(2F)

照顧者在照看自己的親人與孩子時，會對障礙者最適當的方式給予照顧，即使那樣的照顧方式對照顧者來說非常疲累，照顧者們也可以透過情感上的補償而忍受，但是對照顧者來講，機構的服務人員並非家中的成員，無法如同對待自己的家人一般，也無力要求機構。

#### 四、把他/她送走，是最後的選擇

面對未來照顧這個問題，對照顧者是一項極大的挑戰，這意味著照顧者必須跟障礙者分離。從文獻探討與前面訪談的描述，我們都可以感受到照顧者的生活都與障礙者緊密相連，因此在規畫未來時，照顧者總是有些抗拒。其中幾位受訪者在談到個議題時，也不斷的表示不願意或是以後再打算：

「阿那個是到最後了嘛…現在還可以的時候，我們是不去考慮那個…應該是這樣啦…以後再說啦…」(1D)

對照顧者來說，機構的好壞雖然會成為入住的助力，卻不會成為照顧者將障礙者安排入住的推力，真正會讓照顧者送孩子出去的推力，來自於「無法再照顧」，而不是照顧困難。照顧者均表示目前自己還能夠勝任照顧的工作，要等到未來完全無法再照顧時，甚至是過世，才考慮將障礙者送往住宿型機構，不然都情願持續提供照顧(2C、1D、2E、2F、2G、1H)：

「阿除非…以後…我沒有了(過世)他才會去…」(2E)  
「要分開吼…把他們帶走…除了我走了才可以」(1H)

但在完全無法照顧之前，也就是照顧開始變得比較辛苦的時候，照顧者並不會立即將照顧者將障礙者送置機構安置，反而會開始尋找支持性的服務，如：

children out from the institution and never sent them back:

*“The lady who was taking care of her said that she fell on her own, but she had bruises all over her body. My child scolds others and those who are smarter beat her up. I am worried that she will be beaten up like that...I feel sorry about that.” (2F)*

The caregivers know what's best for their families and their children, so they know how to take care of their disabled family members. Though the care exhausts them, emotional gains compensate for the physical exhaustion. To the caregivers, service providers at the institution are not family members, so they believe that they will not treat their children as their own family or have the power to ask the staff of an institution to provide the same kind of care they provided to their children.

#### IV. Sending him/her away is a last resort

To the caregivers, arranging care for the future is a great challenge because this implies separation. From the literature review and descriptions given in the interviews, we can see that the lives of the caregivers are closely tied to their disabled family members. Therefore, there is always resistance when the caregivers are expected to plan the future of their disabled family members. During the interview, some of the interviewees responded to this issue with a continuous expression of unwillingness to think about it or just answered that they don't have any plans now.

*“Well, that is a last resort...We are still able to take care of her, so we don't think about it right now...That should be it for now...We will think about it later...” (1D)*

To the caregivers, the quality of the institution may be a help in their decision of where to send their children, but it will not be a force that pushes the caregivers to make such arrangements for their disabled children. The real force will be when they are “no longer able to provide care” to their disabled family members; having difficulties to provide care will not push them to do it. All interviewed caregivers expressed that they are still capable of taking care of their disabled family members, and they will consider sending their disabled family members to institutions only when they are no longer able to provide care or even when they have passed away. All of them are willing to continuously provide care (2C, 1D, 2E, 2F, 2G, 1H):

*“Only...later...when I am gone (dead), then he will be sent there...” (2E)*

*“Taking them away from me...take them away...only when I am dead” (1H)*

Before they completely lose their abilities to care for their disabled family members, that is, when taking care of their disabled family members becomes more and more difficult, the caregivers do not send their disabled family members to institu-

居家服務、親友協助，以維持現在的生活：

「我暫時不敢去考慮(入住機構)啦…所以我想…不然可以給他用(居家照顧)…這樣就好了」(2D)

「我請他姊夫來幫忙…看是要看醫生還是什麼…有時候會拜託她姊姊來幫她洗澡…」(2C)

在尋求協助的過程中，並不是每一位照顧者都相當順利，但照顧者所做的一切，無論是尋求政府的協助或是請親友幫忙，都是為了要延續障礙者在家生活的時間，如果要將孩子送走，那會是照顧者們最後、最後的選擇。

### 五、終究選擇了機構照顧，他/她是我最後的牽掛

照顧者表示，障礙者在機構裡，照顧者在家裡或養老院，就算分隔兩地，照顧者的心中依然掛念着自己的親人、孩子。有位照顧者就提到，如果他最後選擇把自己的孩子送到機構住，她並不會因此而感到放心，反而會因為在家裡看不到障礙者的生活情形而感到憂愁：

「你的孩子當然自己關心，別人是怎麼做我們都不知道，沒有辦法，他在那裡，我們在家裡…想知道…他現在怎樣了…好不好…」(2B)

而這位照顧者也說道，如果要他安心，他最想知道機構是如何安排障礙者們的生活，機構是怎麼規畫的，有什麼課程、日常活動…等：

「首先要知道，在那邊管理阿、教育阿…他那邊的觀念…然後以後我們要把孩子交給機構…這才安心阿…」(2B)

在訪談的過程中，許多照顧者開始設想未來障礙者在機構生活的情境，他們強調這群障礙即使受到不好的對待，也不清楚自己的處境，例如在醫療部分，不曉得機構會不會注意到障礙者生病，畢竟她的孩子不太會表達，需要照顧的人去發現障礙者不舒服(1B)：

tions immediately. Instead, they look for supportive services, such as home care services and assistance from other family members or friends, to maintain their present lifestyle.

*“I dare not to think about it (placement in residential institution) for now...So, I think..., we can use other services (home care service)...That should be alright” (2D)*

*“I ask her brother-in-law to help...take her for doctor’s visits or others...Sometimes, I ask her sister to come and help her take a bath...” (2C)*

The process of seeking assistance is not easy for all of the interviewed caregivers, but everything the caregivers do, seeking help from government organizations, family members, or friends, is to extend the time of keeping the disabled family member at home. Sending the child away is their last resort.

### V. If I eventually send him/her to an institution, he/she will always be my concern

The caregivers pointed out that they will always worry about their family and children even when they are separated with one in an institution and the other at home or at a nursing home. One of the caregivers mentioned that if she has to place her child in a residential institution, she will never have peace of mind. Instead, she will be worried because she is not able to see how her child is away from home:

*“I care about my own child for sure. We don’t know how others take care of my child, and we also have no say in it. He is there, but we are home...I will want to know how he is?...Is he doing alright?...” (2B)*

This caregiver also expressed that to give him peace of mind, he would want to know in advance how the institution arranges the lives of the residents, like how the institution plans their daily work, lessons, daily activities, etc:

*“The first thing I would want to know is how they manage the residents and the education program...their values...if we have to place our child in the institution...only that way will we have peace of mind...” (2)*

During the interviews, many caregivers started to imagine the scenario of the lives of their disabled children in institutions. They stressed that this special group of disabled children won’t know what situation they are in even when they are not treated nicely. For example, one of the caregivers is not sure whether the care providers in the institution will pay attention to the medical needs of her disabled family members since her child lacks the ability to express herself, so she will need the care provider to discover her symptoms when she is ill (1B):



「醫藥、治療這方面!會不會照顧阿,就怕她有什麼病,他不給他看阿,不理他啊!像他又不會說話…他皮膚有問題的時候…也是我們發現」(1B)

日常生活部分,照顧者則是非常擔心障礙者無法辨識自己的生活空間,例如:找不到自己的房間;或是自己的生活用品,如:衣服,這些較私人的物品會被其他人拿走;甚至是受到不好的對待時,障礙者也不懂反抗或回應;有時障礙者的生理狀況不佳時,容易失禁,機構的人會不會當作沒看到…等,這些情境都讓照顧者的心懸在空中,無法放下(1B、2C、2D):

「住機構裡…他自己的衣服褲子在那邊放著…她也不知道放在哪裡…你沒盛飯給他,叫他睡廁所邊,她也不會跟人家怎麼樣,像他會挫尿…這紙尿褲去被人拿光光…或是尿的都是也不給她換…人家如果吃剩下的給他…我們做父母的…都不能安心」(2D)

另外一個值得注意的是,對於照顧者來說,即使障礙者年齡越來越大,他們依舊擔心性別的議題,尤其是障礙者的性別為女性時,照顧者更是擔心障礙者會受到性侵害與性騷擾(2C、1D、2G):

「她又是一個女生,這樣好像比較不放心…如果說是男生,我就比較放心…我是說…怕有一些變態,所以比較不會放心」(2G)

由以上研究的結果可知,照顧者的身軀雖然逐漸衰老,但在考量讓障礙者是否使用住宿型機構時,內心的情感與擔心卻超越了身體的負荷,讓他們選擇繼續自行照顧障礙者。

## 伍、結論與建議

本研究結果分析後共歸納出5個主題,在「逐漸老邁的身軀,無法割捨的牽絆」中,可以看到年邁的照顧者在生理開始出現退化,但他們心中依然牽繫著這位一

*“Medication and treatment, do they know how to give her proper care in this respect? We are worried that they will not give her proper medical treatment when she is ill. Neglect her. She cannot speak...At the time she had a problem with her skin...we were the ones who discovered it” (1B)*

In terms of daily living, the caregivers are very concerned that their disabled family members will be unable to find their private living space. For example, the caregivers are worried that their disabled family members may not be able to find their own rooms, manage their personal belongings (for example, their belongings may be taken away by someone else), or resist or respond to ill treatment. They also worry that the care providers at the institution may neglect their family members since incontinence during weak physical condition may occur. These scenarios cause anxieties and make the idea of placing their children at an institution even less acceptable. (1B, 2C, 2D):

*“Living in the institution...wherever she leaves her clothes...She does not know where she leaves them...She will not say anything if someone forgets to give her a bowl of rice or ask her to sleep at the place next to the toilet. Sometimes, she cannot control herself. If her diapers are all taken away...If her diapers are not changed...If they give her the leftovers...Parents like us...how do we live in peace.” (2D)*

Another significant issue is that the caregivers always worry about the issue of sex even when their disabled children are growing older and older. Especially, when their disabled children are female, the caregivers worry that their disabled children may be raped or sexually molested (2C, 1D, 2G):

*“She is a girl and that makes me worried even more...I will feel more comfortable if my child is a boy...What I mean is...I am worried about perverts and that worries me” (2G)*

Results of the study presented above show that when it comes to considering institutional care for their disabled family members, the emotions and worries of the caregivers surpass their physical burden and prompt them to choose to continuously take care of their disabled family members by themselves despite their degenerating physical strength.

## Conclusions and Recommendations

A total of five thematic issues were derived from the analysis of the study results. In the thematic issue of “progressively aging bodies unbreakable ties”, we found that even though physiological degeneration has begun in the aging caregivers, the strong emotional connections between the caregivers and their disabled



起生活多年障礙者，捨不得送離身邊。這位障礙者就像是照顧者「生命的意義」一般，他每天早晨一張開眼睛，就是要準備照顧障礙者，在照顧者的剩餘生命裡，照顧障礙者已變成他的人生意義。而主題「住宿型機構不是家」中，照顧者開始表達自己不想使用住宿型機構的原因，其中最常被提到的便是照顧問題，他們覺得機構是個團體生活的場所，無法滿足個人特殊照顧的需要。「把他/她送走，是最後的選擇」中提到，當照顧者發現照顧有困難時，並不會立即將障礙者送出家庭，而是試著尋找其他的支持，如：親友幫忙、居家服務…等。除非照顧者病了、過世了，完全無法照顧時，才會將障礙者送離家庭。最後一個主題「終究選擇了機構照顧，他/她是我最後的牽掛」之中提到，除了擔心特殊照顧的需求外，也擔心機構沒有醫療的協助。而特別值得一提的是，女性障礙者的照顧者都會提到空間分配的問題，他們期待不同性別的障礙者生活空間可以有所區隔，以減少性侵害與性騷擾的事件發生。

雙重老化家庭在考慮是否使用住宿型機構時，均會考量到情感上無法割捨、照顧者在體力上是否可負荷照顧重擔、是否有足夠的家庭支持、住宿型機構是否可以滿足智障者的照顧需求等，而我們將這些考量與先前的老人進住機構之相關研究進行對照，意外的發現照顧者是否讓障礙者使用住宿型機構的考量因素與一般老人是否使用住宿型機構的考量，有著非常多的相似之處，包含情感上的拉扯、是否獲得生活上足夠的支持…等。此外，在老人相關研究中指出，經濟等金錢上的考量也會影響他們是否使用住宿型機構，但在智能障礙雙重老化的家庭中，卻鮮少提到經濟考量，不僅如此，有一小部份的老人會期待使用住宿型機構，是為了圖清淨、交到同齡好友、期待可以得到專業照顧…等，這些積極的考量，可是在智能障礙雙重老化的家庭中，幾乎不曾提及。劉雅文和莊秀美(2006)的研究指出老人相當重視家人間的關係與情感，所以大部分的老人都期待留在家中接受子女照顧，而雙老家庭中，老化的照顧者也展現出相同的情感，非常希望能將障礙者留在身邊照顧。

family members who have been living with them for years holds them back from placing their family members in residential institutions. The disabled family member plays a role as their “meaning of life”. When the caregivers awake in the morning, they are prepared to take care of their disabled family member. In their remaining lives, taking care of the disabled family member has become the meaning of their lives. Moreover, in the thematic issue of “a residential institution is not home”, the caregivers expressed why they reject the idea of placing their children in residential institutions. The most frequently mentioned issue is the quality of care. The caregivers feel that an institution is a place for group living which cannot satisfy the special needs of each individual. In the thematic issue of “sending him/her away is a last resort”, the caregivers pointed out that they didn’t send their disabled family member away when they first discovered that they were having difficulties in providing care for their disabled children. Instead, they tried to look for other support, such as help from other family members and friends, home care services, etc. They will not send their disabled family members away until they are too ill to care for them or they have passed away. In the last thematic issue “if I eventually send him/her to an institution, he/she will still be my concern”, the caregivers mentioned that, in addition to the worry of lacking care for the special needs of the individuals, they also worry about the absence of medical assistance. It is especially worth mentioning that all caregivers of disabled family members who are female raised the issue of space allocation. They expect the living space to be sex segregated to decrease the chances of sexual assault or molestation.

When considering using the services of residential institutions, two-generation-elderly families often consider several factors: inseparable emotional ties, physical burden, family support, and whether institutional care can satisfy the special needs of intellectually disabled individuals. We found similarities in the factors when comparing the consideration for aging intellectually disabled individuals to the general elderly population, including emotional bonds, sufficient life support, etc. In addition, in elderly related studies, economic factors also influence decision-making on using residential institutions, but economic factors are rarely mentioned in a two-generation-elderly family with intellectually disabled individuals. Furthermore, a small group of elderly volunteers to live in residential institutions in search of peace, friends of the same age, professional care, etc, but such positive considerations are never mentioned by two-generation-elderly families. LiuYawen and Chuang Mei-hsiu (2006) pointed out in their study that the elderly place considerable emphasis on family relations and emotions; therefore, most of them expect to be taken care of by their children at home. In two-generation-elderly families, the elderly also show the same affection and expressed the wish to keep disabled family members at home.

在老人議題的相關研究經常提到照顧者在照顧老人時，會以自己本身的能力開始照顧，當照顧者的能力開始無法負荷時，他們會先從家屬發出求助的訊號，接著是親友鄰居，再來才是正式網絡中所提供的支持型照顧服務，不得已時，才會將老人送至與家人分開居住的機構照顧。而獨居的老人也是如此，當他們發現自己無法順利進行生活中的活動時，其所選擇的照顧方式並不是機構照顧，而是透過居家照顧等，這些支持性的服務為優先，最後才考慮養護型的機構(任麗華，1998；施教裕，1994)。這一連串的過程便是Cantor(1979)和Chappell(1991)所提出的「逐級替代模式」(Hierarchical compensatory model)，此模式認為照顧者在選擇該如何照顧老人的過程中，會受到資源可近性(availability)及可接受性(acceptability)的影響(Cantor,1979. Chappell,1991，引自任麗華，1998)，因而選擇了在該照顧階段既可近又可接受的照顧方式。

本研究在分析雙老家庭是否選擇使用住宿型機構的過程，事實上便充滿著老人相關研究所提出的「逐級替代模式」概念，我們可以發現老化的智能障礙者在選擇晚年的照顧方式與一般老人有著相同的處境，兩者之間的差別在於決定照顧方式的人，通常不會是障礙者本人，顯示障礙者在晚年照顧的選擇上，做決定的權力是被照顧者所替代，且少有照顧者會將障礙者的意願放入決定的過程中。雖然智能障礙者老化的照顧與一般老人有著許多的相似之處，但目前提供障礙者與老人的福利服務卻是獨立的兩個系統。根據智能障礙者老化與一般老化在安排晚年照顧時的相似處境，兩者所需要的服務方式或許得打破領域不同的邊界，將身心障礙領域與老人領域的部分福利結合。因此，依據本研究的結果，且參照目前提供給老人的福利服務，我們將提出下列建議，做為社區支持網絡尚未完整、福利系統尚未整合前，各相關單位服務提供的參考，讓雙老家庭獲得最妥善的照顧。建議內容共三個面向，分別為「提供政府單位之建議」、「提供服務單位之建議」、「提供實務工作者之建議」，如下：

Studies discussing issues concerning the elderly it is often mentioned that caregivers take care of the elderly on their own at the beginning. When caregivers begin to feel burnt out, they signal for assistance from their families, then friends and neighbors, and finally the supportive care services provided by public networks. They do not send the elderly away in separate residential institutions until there is no other choice. This goes the same for single elderly; when they begin to feel unable to handle their own daily activities, their first choice of care is not institutions, but supportive care services, such as home care. The nursing home is their last resort (Jen Li-hua, 1998; Shih Chiao-yu, 1994). This process is called the “hierarchical compensatory model” proposed by Cantor (1979) and Chappell (1991). This model shows that, in the process of choosing a mode of care for the elderly, the caregiver’s decision-making process is influenced by the availability and acceptability of the resources (Cantor,1979. Chappell, 1991, quoted by Jen Li-hua, 1998). Therefore, the caregivers choose the service which is available and acceptable at each stage.

In the process of analyzing the decision-making process of two-generation-elderly families on using residential institutions, the concept of a “hierarchical compensatory model” proposed in studies of elderly related issues can be seen throughout this study. We found that elderly with intellectual disabilities and the general elderly population share the same situation in terms of choosing care methods. The difference between these two elderly groups lies in who makes the decision. Generally, the person who decides how the intellectually disabled elderly are cared for is the caregiver. The right of decision-making is taken by the caregivers and they rarely take the users’ wishes into consideration in the decision-making process. Though there are many similarities in the care for the intellectually disabled elderly and the general elderly population, currently the social welfare services for these two elderly groups are from two independent systems. There may be a need to break the boundaries between the professional services needed for these two aging groups and integrate the social welfare services for the aging intellectually disabled elderly and the general aging group. Therefore, based on the results of this study and the present social welfare services for the elderly, we propose the following recommendations as a reference for all related authorities. The results provide information for building adequate services for two-generation-elderly families before a support network and social welfare system are fully established and consolidated. Recommendations are divided into three sections, targeting government organizations, service providers, and practitioners:

## 一、提供政府單位之建議

1. 提供以家庭為單位之福利服務：目前提供身心障礙者與老人之福利服務為獨立的兩個系統，然而在智能障礙者與照顧者雙重老化的家庭中，身心障礙福利服務與老人福利服務的使用上卻有著些許的混亂。當照顧者們開始向正式服務單位提出申請時，老人服務單位卻告知年邁的照顧者，幫障礙者服務(如：洗澡)必須要向服務身心障礙的單位提出申請。這對年邁的照顧者來說並不好理解，因為幫障礙者洗澡，是他們四、五十年來的工作，理應使用自己的福利服務資源。為了減少年邁照顧者在申請服務上的困難與混亂，身心障礙福利服務及老人福利服務有部分整合的需要，朝向以家庭為單位的福利服務為主。
2. 利用社區網絡提供訊息：考慮到雙重老化家庭主要的生活場域為自家住宅，且照顧者與障礙者的年齡均逐漸升高，根據研究的發現，當照顧者不得不將障礙者送置機構照顧時，表示照顧者在生活上充滿困境，可能是行動不便、生病…等，在此時此刻，照顧者更是無力去尋找障礙者的居住機構。因此，讓資源變的可近(availability)便是我們的服務重點。期待能透過里長、鄰長、鄰居…等社區網絡，提供照顧者相關的住宿型機構，讓服務消息順利傳遞，增加照顧者的訊息流通。

## 二、提供服務單位之建議

1. 生活支持服務單位與住宿型機構結盟：照顧者開始在照顧上感到吃力，而尋找其他資源時，我們發現照顧者會以支持性的服務做為第一選擇，表示支持性的服務較住宿型機構更可獲得照顧者的接受(acceptability)。為了日後照顧上的銜接，住宿型機構可以積極的透過與生活支持服務單位的結盟，形成連續性的服務，將服務斷層降到最低。提供支持性服務的過程中，該單位也能主動提供住宿型機構的相關訊息，增加雙老家庭獲得資訊的管道。另外，住宿型機構的服務人員也能藉著支持性服務的提供與雙老家庭建立關係，以減輕

## I. Recommendations to Government Organizations

- (1) Provide family-based social welfare services: The present social welfare services for individuals with disabilities and the elderly are provided by two independent systems. However, in two-generation-elderly families, chaotic situations are present when using social welfare services for individuals with disabilities and the elderly. When the caregivers apply for services from the public sector, the department in charge of the services for the elderly informs the aging caregivers that they should apply to the authorities in charge of welfare for disabled persons to get services for individuals with disabilities (such as assisting with baths). This is hard for elderly caregivers to comprehend because washing their disabled children has been their duty for more than 40 or even 50 years; thus, the service they applied for should provide relief to their burdens. Therefore, to them, the service of bathing their disabled children should be a service of social welfare to them, not their disabled children. In order to make it less difficult and chaotic for the elderly caregivers in the application process for the services, part of the social welfare services for the disabled and the elderly should be integrated. The social welfare services should be designed towards family-based services.
- (2) Provide service information through community-based network: Considering the major living area of two-generation-elderly families is their own homes and both the caregivers and their disabled family members are aging, from the research findings we can see that when caregivers must send their disabled children for institutional care, their lives would be full of difficulties. They may have reduced mobility, illness, etc. At this point of time, the caregivers are very likely to be lacking the ability to look for a residential institution for their disabled family members. Therefore, availability of resources should be the focus of the services. Information related to residential institutions should be delivered through members of the community network, such as borough head, neighborhood chief and neighbors, so that information can be smoothly transmitted in expanded circulation to the caregivers.

## II. Recommendations to service providers

1. Alliance of supportive living service providers and residential institutions: We discovered that supportive services are often the first choice of caregivers when they first feel the need to look for other resources. This shows that supportive services have higher acceptability than institutional care to caregivers. For bridging care, residential institutions can actively form a continuous service model with providers of supportive services through alliance to close the gap between these two modes of service. During the process of providing supportive services, service providers can also take the initiative to provide information relating to residential institutions. This will increase the

照顧者擔心。

2. 服務單位主動安排參觀，降低照顧者的疑慮：除了主動與雙老家庭聯繫外，我們也期待各住宿型單位能夠主動安排雙重老化家庭一同參觀機構，並在參觀的過程中對照顧者的疑慮有所回應，這不只能降低照顧者心中的擔心，也能確保尚未使用該項服務的照顧者有獲得此類服務的資訊。
3. 服務單位同時提供照顧者安心服務：目前提供老化智能障礙者服務的單位，多是以障礙者為主，幾乎沒有提供老邁照顧者的服務。然而本研究卻發現年邁照顧者生命中，最後的意義是照顧障礙者，倘若障礙者開始使用住宿型機構，那麼照顧者剩餘的生命中將充滿失落。所以本研究建議服務單位可以不只提供老化智障者服務，也同時提供照顧者服務，如：關懷訪視、定期回報障礙者生活情形…等，使老邁的照顧者在剩餘的生命中，不至於感到失去障礙者，而失去生命意義。
4. 性別生活空間的區隔：為了減少性騷擾與性侵害的危險，而將不同性別的生活空間區隔，在正常化的角度看來，並不符合常人的生活經驗。畢竟在一般的社會中，人們並不會因為性別不同，居住在不同的區域，倘若在住宿型機構中，直接區隔不同性別的生活空間，將會減少智能障礙者與不同性別者相處的機會。因此，在常化的角度下，比起使用硬體空間的區隔，以防範措施、管理制度等方式來預防性騷擾與性侵害事件，才是更好的選擇。然而在實務的操作上，比起使用防範措施、管理制度等方式，直接將住宿型機構的內部空間區隔為不同性別、不同區域，也就是將不同性別的生活居住空間做明顯的區分，讓男性與女性的空間獨立，更能夠說服障礙者的家屬，讓家屬相信障礙者在該機構居住是安全，且不易遭受性騷擾與性侵害的危險。

### 三、提供實務工作者之建議

以「照顧方式」作為解說重點：由研究結果可以得知，照顧者最為擔心的是機構是否能夠提供障礙者獨特的照顧需求，其次是障礙者的醫療需求。

chances for two-generation-elderly families to receive adequate information, and residential institutions can establish relationships with two-generation-elderly families through providing supportive services and easing the worries of the caregivers.

2. Service providers take the initiative to arrange visits to institutions to reduce the doubts of caregivers: In addition to taking the initiative to contact two-generation-elderly families, we also expect residential institutions to take the initiative to arrange members of two-generation-elderly families to visit the institutions and respond to their doubts during the visit. This action not only reduces the worries of caregivers, but also ensures the availability of information regarding residential institution services to two-generation-elderly families.
3. Service providers provide relief services to the caregivers: Presently, the majority of the organizations providing services for aging individuals with intellectual disabilities focus only on the disabled individuals. They rarely provide services to aging caregivers. However, one of the findings in this study shows that, to some of the caregivers, taking care of the disabled member in the family is the meaning of their lives. So, if the disabled family member is placed in a residential institution, the remaining life of the caregivers will be lost. Therefore, this research recommends the service providers to offer services for not only the aging intellectually disabled individuals, but also their caregivers, including home visits and scheduled reports on the life of their disabled family members in the institution. Services to aging caregivers will give them a sense of meaning in their remaining lives, even when their disabled family members are no longer around.
4. Gender-segregated living spaces: Segregating living spaces for different genders to reduce the risk of sexual harassment and molestation may not be a viable option in the life experience of the general population. After all, in general society, people do not choose accommodation because of gender segregation. Separation of living spaces based on genders reduces opportunities for intellectually disabled individuals to interact with the opposite gender. Therefore, from the point of general society, preventing sexual harassment and molestation by preventive measures and a management system is a better choice than segregating the living spaces. However, in practice, compared to preventive measures and management systems, a gender-segregated space is more persuasive to the family members of individuals with disabilities. It represents an environment of safety and low risk from sexual harassment and molestation.

### III. Recommendations to practitioners

Placing focus on “care methods”: The issue most concerned by the caregivers is whether the special needs of each individual are provided for, followed by medical attention. Therefore, dur-

因此，在接受電話諮詢、機構參觀時，可以著重在照顧方式上的解說，主動將細部管理方式(如：物品管理)，服務內容(如：醫療照顧)，甚至是教導方式…等，予以說明，讓照顧者了解機構是如何用心照顧這一群障礙者。

期待以上建議，能降低照顧者的憂慮，讓雙老家庭獲得最妥善的照顧，也讓服務雙重老化家庭之相關單位，對雙重老化的情境更加了解，以提供適當的服務。本研究所探討的雙重老化議題為議題初探，僅探討到未使用住宿型機構的考量因素，尚未提及使用住宿型機構者的考量，所以在後續的研究中，可以進一步的探討已使用，或曾經使用住宿型機構者的使用考量，讓雙重老化家庭使用住宿型機構的考量因素更為完整，並成為實務工作的參考，進而對雙重老化家庭的服務有所貢獻。

ing telephone consultation and visits to the institution, the reception staff can focus their introduction on the care methods and take the initiative to explain the details of management methods (such as belongings management), content of services (such as medical care) and even discipline methods. A good introduction will show the caregivers the institution's efforts to take care of this group of disabled individuals.

Recommendations proposed above are designed to relieve the concerns of caregivers, as well as providing service providers with a better view on the situation of two-generation-elderly families, so that they can provide the most adequate care services to two-generation-elderly families. In this preliminary study of two-generation-elderly families, we have only considered the factors of the caregivers who have not used the services of residential institutions. Factors considered by caregivers who have used the service of residential institution are not included in this study. Therefore, we recommend interested researchers to follow up on the issues from factors considered by both caregivers who have or have not used the services of residential institutions. This will draw a more complete picture on the issue of two-generation-elderly families and the factors they consider when deciding whether or not to use services provided by residential institutions. Results of the reinforced studies will supplement the aspect of field practice and provide a wider scope of contribution to the service of two-generation-elderly families.



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Mortality and life expectancy in Dutch residential centres for individuals with intellectual disability, 1991-1995. JOURNAL OF APPLIED RESEARCH IN INTELLECTUAL DISABILITIES, 15(3): 200-212.

# 機構失智老人懷舊團體介入對憂鬱程度改善之研究

## Study on the Effects of Reminiscence Group Work on the Conditions of Depression in Institutionalized Elderly with Dementia

楊秋燕 Chiu-Yen Yang\*、李美玲 Mei-Lin Li\*\*

### 摘要

台灣自至2010年，老年人口達到總人口10.74%。根據研究發現，機構老人失智、憂鬱多於社區居住的老人，而非醫藥介入對機構失智老人有其特定之效用。本研究針對老人養護中心居民，探詢表達配合的意願，採取準實驗的研究設計，進行懷舊介入服務，探討實驗與對照兩組成員MMSE智能分數及憂鬱量表前後差異之情形，針對失智養護老人研究結果顯示，古早味團體組MMSE智能分數之前後測雖未有顯著性差異但有提升的趨勢；至於憂鬱分數前後測分數下降達顯著性差異，顯示介入有效果。在六個月後，結果古早味組成員在MMSE智能分數六個月後有顯著下降的情況，在憂鬱量表六個月後亦有顯著之上升的情形，經詳析各參與團體成員個別差異分析結果，顯示有三位團體成員在團體執行後，其憂鬱情形有正向的改善情形，本文最後提出反思及建議。

**關鍵字：**機構失智老人，懷舊團體，憂鬱量表與MMSE智能分數

### Abstract

*In Taiwan 2010 there were more than 2.4 million elderly people in Taiwan, making up a total of 10.74 percent of the population. Out of the population of elderly suffering from dementia, it was found that a majority of this population was living in institutions or care facilities rather than living with family or independently. My research suggests that a non-medical intervention may be useful for this group. This research focused on residents of the Chang-Hua Care Home, MOI. First, a survey was conducted which asked willingness of residents suffering from dementia to participate in the 'reminiscence group'. Secondly, a semi-experimental research method was applied to the 'reminiscence group'. Finally, the experimental and control groups were evaluated and compared in terms of their MMSE and Depression Scale scores after participating in group work intervention. In addition, the individuals were observed and evaluated in order to reveal the effects of the reminiscence group work after participating in this intervention. As a result, there were no significant differences between the experimental and the control groups in the post-test in terms of MMSE scores, whereas their Depression Scale score was significantly lower in the experimental group compared with in the control group. After six months, both groups participated in a follow-up evaluation. The MMSE and depression level of both groups were worse compared with those in the post-test. This shows that the intervention had a measurable effect. Suggestions and reflections are proposed in the final section.*

**Keywords:** elderly people with dementia, reminiscence group, depression scale, MMSE score.

\* 楊秋燕，社會發展研究學會社工督導。本文修改自亞洲大學社會工作學系碩士論文。

Yang Chiu-yen, Supervisor, Taiwan Social Development Society. This article is edited from the graduate school thesis of Department of Social Work, Asia University

\*\* 李美玲，亞洲大學社會工作學系副教授，通訊作者：電子郵件：llee@asia.edu.tw

Li Mei-in, Corresponding Author, Associate Professor, Department of Social Work, Asia University. E-mail address: llee@asia.edu.tw

## 壹 前言

台灣自1993年起，65歲以上老人占總人口數已超過7%，邁入聯合國所界定的「高齡化社會」。根據內政部(2011)之統計，我國老年人口約有248萬7千餘人，占總人口10.74%。人口老化伴隨而來的問題，包括失能、失智老人人口的增加，老人安養服務需求大幅提高，研究發現(Erkinjuntti, Ostbye, Steenhuis, & Hachinski, 1997; Hooyman & Kyiak, 2011:267)，入住機構除了失能老人佔最大部分外，另有極大比例之老人會伴隨有失智症，除了失能、失智外，極可能也有憂鬱疾病問題(楊尚儒，2006; Alexopoulos, 2002)，當中有可能是憂鬱導致失智症，Gatz et al.(2005)甚至認為憂鬱很有可能是阿滋海默症或其他失智症的前期徵候；也可能是失能缺乏社會互動導致失智症(Alexopoulos, 2002)，因此，提供生理、心理與社會之多元的照顧服務實有其必要，專業社會工作者期待在醫療藥物外採行團體工作介入服務，協助老人增加社會互動與人際參與，以激發主動積極意志，提昇生活適應，以減少或延緩老化、失智與憂鬱病症的進程。尤其是輕中度失智老人，是在醫療藥物外採心理及社會相關介入服務最有效的人口群(Doyle, 1992; Schweitzer & Bruce, 2008:16)，因而，開發團體工作介入服務方式成為一種迫切的需要。

基於失智及退化造成認知及記憶功能的缺損，運用懷舊相關理論，在護理領域有懷舊團體治療法(高潔純、林麗嬋，2005; Hsu & Wang, 2009; Wang, 2009; Wang & Yang, 2009)，有其正向的效果；在社會工作領域，有老人懷舊團體工作等模式進行服務(Gibson, 2011a, 2011b; Huang et al., 2009)，亦有極顯著的成果，這些都是可能的專業介入方式。

另外，食物與美好懷舊記憶常是極重要的連結關鍵，因為食物、飲料、糖果、煮食、烘焙、特殊食物、孩童時代的懷舊食譜均可能對老年長輩有不

## Introduction

Since 1993, elderly of age 65 and older have surpassed 7% of the total population in Taiwan, which means Taiwan has become an “aging society” as defined by the UN. According to statistics published by the Ministry of the Interior (2011), the population classified as elderly in Taiwan is 2.487 million, which makes up 10.74% of the total population. Issues accompanying the phenomenon of an aging population include an increasing population of disabled elderly and elderly with dementia, as well as the rising need for nursing home services. Many scholars have found in their studies that a majority of elderly living in nursing homes are disabled, and a percentage of them suffer from dementia (Erkinjuntti, Ostbye, Steenhuis, & Hachinski, 1997; Hooyman & Kyiak, 2011:267). In addition to disabilities and dementia, some of them may also be suffering from depression (Yang Shang-ju, 2006; Alexopoulos, 2002), which may be a cause of the dementia in some institutionalized elder. Gatz et al. (2005) posited that depression may be an early sign of Alzheimer’s disease or other forms of dementia. Dementia may also be induced by a lack of social interaction resulting from lost of abilities (Alexopoulos, 2002). Therefore, providing diverse physiological, psychological and sociological care services is necessary. Beyond medical treatment, professional social workers also expect to provide group work intervention services to help the elderly increase social interaction and interpersonal involvement. Group work intervention services are targeted to encourage active participation and proper life adjustment to decrease or slow down the process of aging, and onset of dementia and depression. Social and psychological related intervention services, as an addition to medical treatment, are especially effective to elderly with mild to moderate dementia (Doyle, 1992; Schweitzer & Bruce, 2008:16). Therefore, developing a group work intervention service model has become an urgent need.

Application of reminiscence theory in the nursing field, targeting on impairment of cognitive and memory functions caused by dementia, includes reminiscence group therapy (Kao Chieh-chun and Lin Li-chan, 2005; Hsu & Wang, 2009; Wang, 2009; Wang & Yang, 2009), and such group therapy has shown positive effects. In the field of social work, reminiscence theory has been applied in services for the elderly (Gibson, 2011a, 2011b; Huang et al., 2009) and significant results have also been derived. Both of these two models are viable options in professional interventions.

Furthermore, food and fond memories are often crucial links because foods, beverages, sweets, cooking, baking, special treats and old-fashioned recipes from childhood may carry different meanings to each elderly individual (Schweitzer, Bruce, & Gibson, 2008), especially elderly who have been having group

同的意義(Schweitzer, Bruce, & Gibson, 2008)，尤其是長期入住機構接受團體伙食的老年長輩來說更是如此。因此，如能提供機構老人特殊懷舊的烹調，並由他或她自己投入懷舊食物製作過程，將可使老人透過美好的長期記憶增強短期記憶的刺激，改善老人失智認知和情緒的行為狀況，也使老人有更佳的成就感與參與感，而有降低憂鬱的可能。因此，本研究乃依此一論點進行古早味懷舊團體工作，來探討早期美好食物的記憶，是否對於機構中老年失智長輩有認知或情緒的正向效果。

本研究之目的如下：

- 一、運用古早味懷舊團體採取準實驗設計法，規劃古早味組與對照組之研究，探討兩組成員MMSE智能分數及憂鬱量表前後差異之情形。
- 二、針對失智養護老人在懷舊團體之介入後，其個別老人之參與互動總分、MMSE智能分數及憂鬱量表前後差異情形。

## 貳、文獻探討

由於機構養護老人較社區中老人有較多的失智傾向甚至憂鬱疾病的問題，本研究主要針對機構養護人口群進行懷舊介入服務。相關的文獻探討包括古早味懷舊團體與社會工作之運用、懷舊團體在長期照顧機構運用進行探討。

### 一、懷舊理論

針對「懷舊理論」的定義，學者有多種的說法。Unrch (1989)認為「懷舊理論」不僅是回想過去的經驗、情感、自我概念等一些通常不浮現於日常生活意識的事情，而且是對過去的事的重新感受和整理的一種觀點。英國的Bruce et al.,(1999)認為「懷舊工作是回想並分享個人人生經驗的過程」。失智懷舊團體主要是運用團體懷舊過程，鼓勵及支持失智者的人際互動，令他們喜歡並享受其早期生活經驗的重現。至於其作用則在於運用失智者仍存留的能力，特別是遠程記憶、社交互動能力以及正向反

meals in institutions. Therefore, if institutionalized elderly are provided with special nostalgic food prepared with their involvement, stimulation of short-term memory can be reinforced through positive long-term memory and such progress may improve their cognitive and emotional behaviors. These activities may also give the elderly a sense of accomplishment and participation and in turn ease their symptoms of depression. Therefore, this study makes an attempt to explore whether good memories on food has a positive effect on the cognitive abilities and emotions of insitutionalized elderly with dementia through reminiscence group work.

The objectives of this study are as follows:

- I. This study is designed based on the quasi-experimental method targeting traditional foods reminiscence group work. Two groups, traditional foods and control groups, were set up to compare the differences through the Mini-Mental State Examination (MMSE) and Chinese-Translated Geriatric Depression Scale (CT-GDS).
- II. To discover the differences in the total score of participation, MMSE score, and CT-GDS score of each institutionalized elderly with dementia after intervention of reminiscence group work.

## Literature Review

Since a higher percentage of institutionalized elderly suffer from dementia and depression compared to elderly living in the community, this study set out to explore the effects of reminiscence groupwork on institutionalized elderly. The related literature review is focused on applications of reminiscence groupwork on the theme of traditional foods, related social work, and applications of reminiscence groupwork in long-term care institutions.

### I. Reminiscence Theory

There have been divergent definitions on the concept of “reminiscence theory”. Unrch (1989) suggests that “reminiscence theory” refers to not only recall of events, like past experiences, emotions, and the concept of “self” that usually do not emerge in the consciousness of everyday living, but re-experiencing and re-organizing of memories of past events. British scholars Bruce et al (1999) proposed that reminiscence is a process of recall and sharing of life experiences of an individual. Reminiscence group work for persons with dementia primarily uses the process of group reminiscence to encourage and support interactions, bringing them to enjoy the reappearance of their early life experiences. The goal of reminiscence group work aims to use the remaining abilities of individuals with dementia, especially long-term memory, skills of



應的能力(Graham et al. 1999)，以使失智者可藉懷舊重拾自我認同。事實上，如何透過腦細胞活化，減緩或降低其壞死，以延緩老化，是很多神經科學家一直以來努力探索的議題。神經學研究已證實，大腦可以藉由新刺激、新經驗與新行為而自我重組(楊承芳等，2007)。Bradley(2007)指出，智力可分為兩類：流體智力(fluid intelligence)為一種受先天遺傳因素影響較大的智力。流動智力多通過對空間關係的認知、機械式記憶、對事物判斷反應的速度等方面來表現。晶體智力(或固定智力)(crystallized intelligence)則為一種受後天學習因素影響較大的智力，多通過語文詞彙及數理知識的記憶來表現。兩種智力的發展趨勢不同，流體智力到30歲發展到頂峰，以後迅速下降，而晶體智力則是自20歲以後至70歲期間一直維持相當的水平。依據失智退化發展的七個歷程(Reisberg et al., 1982)，失智老人最先失去的智力應屬流體智力，而在晶體智力部分則仍保存相當之功能，照顧者如能透過晶體智力與老人互動，應可進入失智老人心靈世界。懷舊治療模式即為運用此一原理與老人互動，發展老人心理心靈世界。

## 二、古早味懷舊團體與憂鬱傾向者服務之運用

失智老人參與懷舊治療服務活動應有其實質解決憂鬱傾向的效益，高潔純與林麗嬋(2005)曾提出，失智老人參與越多機構安排的結構式活動，不但可顯著降低問題行為，同時還可以提高日常生活功能、改善睡眠品質、減輕憂鬱傾向、促進自我表達與社會互動。他們也認為，刺激缺乏與認知退化及問題行為的產生有顯著的相關性，指出適當的活動安排對於機構內失智老人憂鬱等情緒之重要性。

懷舊團體活動是對社會工作者協助老人整合過去、分享往事和經歷的鼓勵措施及專業整合以減少失智老人憂鬱孤單等情緒問題。李月英(1997)就曾指出，老人對於回顧過去、談論往事有高度的興趣，生命的回顧更是老化過程的基本要素，促使其選擇有興趣之題目來分享，它可以增強老人自尊與

social interaction and positive reaction (Graham et al. 1999), to help them regain self-confidence through the reminiscence process. In fact, neuroscientists have been exploring the possibilities of slowing down or reducing brain cell necrosis through brain cell activation. Neurological researches have proved that brain cells can self-reorganize through new stimuli, new experiences and new behaviors (Yang Cheng-fang et al, 2007). Bradley (2007) pointed out that intelligence can be categorized into two types: fluid intelligence and crystallized intelligence. Fluid intelligence, primarily determined by genetic factors, is the performance of cognition of spatial relationships, mechanical memory, and speed of responding and making judgment. Crystallized intelligence, primarily formed through learning, is represented by memories of languages and vocabulary and mathematical knowledge. These two types of memories are developed in different paths. The development of fluid intelligence meets its peak at the age of 30 and declines rapidly from that point on, but the development of crystallized intelligence maintains at the same level from 20 to 70 years of age. According to the seven stages of deterioration of dementia progression (Reisberg et al., 1982), elderly with dementia experience loss of fluid intelligence at an early stage, while crystallized intelligence remains with considerable functions. In such case, caregivers may be able to help the elderly enter their inner world through interacting with them using the functions of crystal intelligence. Reminiscence therapy is a model developed on this intelligence theory which entails interaction with the elderly to develop their inner worlds.

## II. Application of reminiscence group work on the target traditional foods reminiscence group and elderly showing signs of depression

Reminiscence therapy activities should have certain benefits for participating elderly with dementia who are also showing signs of depression. Kao Chieh-Chun and Lin Li-chan (2005) found that elderly with dementia who have a higher participation rate in structured activities arranged by the care institution show a significant decrease in behavioral problems, as well as enhanced functions of daily living activities and quality of sleep, alleviated symptoms of depression, and better functions in self-expression and social interaction. They also believe that lack of stimulation has a significant correlation on deterioration of cognitive abilities and emergence of behavioral problems. They point out that appropriate activity arrangement is imperative to the mental health of institutionalized elderly, e.g. alleviation of depression.

Reminiscence group activities are tools used by social workers to encourage the elderly to integrate the past and share memories and experiences, as well as a professional instrument used to alleviate emotional problems such as depression and feelings of loneliness. Li Yuen-yin (1997) pointed out that the elderly

自信，如此自然可以降低憂鬱傾向之情緒。其工作方式係配合其不同感官的工具刺激，包括報紙、雜誌、書籍及其他懷舊物品來增強其興趣與效果。通常評估是透過測量或觀察，檢視受服務者認知及生活功能，檢討團體進行活動程序等。從此種服務過程中，大多涉及心理會談技巧、家人關係暨社會人際關係議題分享，便能提升老人生活情緒，而有降低憂鬱、延緩失智的可能性，因此，社會工作便可在其發揮長處。

生命經驗早期之正向經驗大多數與食物古早味有關。相關研究(EUFIC, 2007; Bradford, 2004; Nair, 2003)指出，人的情緒與食物有關，不僅是食物滿足了生存生理的需求，在某種程度上也滿足了心理的需求。其中更重要的是提供食物的互動，建立滿足人際關係需求的基礎，也在學習製作食物過程中滿足了成長需求，在完成食物成品後相互贈與的互動，又再一次促成了人際關係的滿足。如此在團體工作中建立良性的循環，正是社會團體工作中場域理論(林萬億, 1997)一個良性的發展。

對老人來說，任何食物沒有比早期正向經驗的食物更具有意義，無論是兒時記憶中大家爭食美好食物的回憶，或是年輕時經常期待想要獲得卻難以獲得的食物，都是所謂台灣「古早味」發展出來極佳的團體工作內容。而古早味的過程本就是發展出老人以下的幾種心理與社會功能現象(Huang et al., 2009; Berg, 2010)來達成降低憂鬱、延緩失智的目標：1.生理的滿足：在古早味團體過程中，不僅完成自己所期待的餐食，並滿足自己本身食的生理需求滿足。2.自我的成就：在古早味團體過程中，完成自己所期待的餐食，可以滿足自我的成就感。3.自我的成長：在古早味學習團體過程中，老人一邊學習，一邊促進自我的成長，獲得學習的機會。4.社會的互動：在古早味的學習團體過程中，老人可以有社會人際的互動，發展出正向的互動模式。5.情緒的穩定：在古早味學習團體過程中，由於對懷舊食物的愉悅可以增進正向情緒的發展與穩定。6.選擇掌控

are highly interested in recalling the past and talking about past events. Reviewing lives lived is one of the fundamental elements of the aging process. Encouraging the elderly to share topics that interest them enhances their self-esteem and self-confidence and in turn alleviates their symptoms of depression. Delivery of activities can be accompanied with various sensory stimulations to promote interest and effectiveness, including newspapers, magazines, books and other nostalgic items. Generally, assessments are conducted through scales or observations, including observation on the participants' cognitive and daily living functions and review on the procedures of group activities. Most group work involves psychological consultation skills and sharing of issues on family and interpersonal relationships. Involvement in the process boosts positive emotions and in turn alleviates symptoms of depression, as well as slowing down the progression of dementia. Therefore, this involves professional social work practice.

Most of the positive experiences in early life are related to traditional foods. Related studies (EUFIC, 2007; Bradford, 2004; Nair, 2003) show that human emotions are related to food. Food satisfies not only the necessities for survival, but also psychological needs to a certain degree. One significant point in the concept of food is the interactions involved in providing food that establishes a foundation of interpersonal relations, and the process of learning to prepare food satisfies the needs of self-growth. Interpersonal interaction from sharing food products again promotes satisfaction of interpersonal relations. Establishing a positive cycle in group work echoes the positive development of field theory in social group work (Lin Wan-Yi, 1997).

To the elderly, nothing has greater meaning than the food which gave them positive experiences in their early lives. Positive memories of fighting over food in childhood and the yearning for certain scarce foods in youthful years are excellent contents for group work developed from so-called Taiwanese traditional foods. The process of traditional foods reminiscence group activity aims to develop the following psychological and social functions (Huang et al., 2009; Berg, 2010) to achieve the goals of alleviating symptoms of depression and slowing down progression of dementia: 1. Physiological satisfaction: In the activities, the elderly not only prepare their desired foods, but also satisfy their physiological needs for food. 2. Sense of accomplishment: Preparing the food gives a feeling of self-accomplishment. 3. Self-growth: the elderly are given the opportunity to learn new things, which brings them the opportunity for self-growth. 4. Social interaction: the elderly engage in interpersonal activities to develop a positive interaction cycle. 5. Emotional stability: the warm feeling towards traditional foods enhances the development and stability of positive emotions. 6. Freedom

權：在古早味團體過程中，老人不僅自由決定所喜歡的古早味，也自由決定如何進行古早味的方式，增加了選擇掌控的權利。7.家庭化氣氛：在古早味團體過程中，老人進行小鍋菜的煮食，其中充滿家庭化的氣氛和感受，是機構伙食所難以達成的氣氛。8.個別化滿足：在古早味團體過程中，儘管是團體工作也重視兩人一組所形成的個別煮食方式，達成個人需求的滿足。

由以上相關的論述，大致說明了懷舊團體工作，特別是古早味團體對於失智老人之情緒與認知有其正向的功能，如能進行相關活動應可以協助老人在延緩失智與減輕憂鬱困擾的可能性。

### 三、懷舊團體在長期照顧機構運用

懷舊團體在長期照顧機構很受歡迎，Greene (2008)建議引用Burnside(1984)懷舊團體應有6到10位成員，每週舉行兩次共計8-10次，每週單元45至60分鐘，其目的是在一個特定的時間中，促進老人對生活和所發生正向積極的事件經驗做懷舊，事件可以時間順序排列，以下面的方式進行(Greene, 2008: 105-106)：1、團體領導者提供一份完整計畫，以促進老人對某人、事件或時間回憶。2、鼓勵小組成員討論領導者所提供的資料與議題，並以自己的生活事件為主軸提出看法，領導問的問題，可以是「你的家人如何慶祝感恩節？」。3、團體領導者在往事回憶過程中，幫助住民確認正向經驗與素材。因此，Greene (2008)敘述一個西班牙懷舊團體的過程，指出該團體活動期間，團體成員被要求想像如何在感恩節餐會中，回憶過去與家人過感恩節餐會中，誰在那裡，並討論當時的氣味和聲音，期使他們想起更多當時的情境，也使他們感受到自己過去的經驗具有重要意義。也就是說，鼓勵長者他們緬懷過去，使其了解自己過去的歷史、自己的知識和感情，對自己或他人仍然是極為重要的。如此，儘管老人受限在一家養老院，他們仍可以有較高的生活滿意及較低的憂鬱孤單感受。另外，研究者也與Huang et al. (2009)在機構中對失智老人進行單組懷舊團體研究，除MMSE及憂鬱量表測

of choice and decision: the elderly are given the freedom to choose foods they like and decide how to prepare the food. The decision making process gives them the power to make their own choices. 7. Home-like environment: the elderly prepare foods in small servings to recreate the atmosphere and feeling of being at home. This is an atmosphere not achievable by institutions. 8. Personal satisfaction: Even though the cooking activity is group work, small teams, e.g. a team of two, meet personal needs.

The descriptions above provide an overview on the work of a reminiscence group. Especially, activities of the reminiscence group have positive effects on the cognitive abilities and emotions of the elderly. Relevant activities may help to slow down the progression of dementia and alleviate symptoms of depression.

### III. Application of reminiscence groups in long-term care institutions

Reminiscence groups are highly popular in long-term care institutions. Greene (2008) suggests that groups using the model proposed by Burnside (1984) should have 6-10 members, meet twice a week with a total of 8 to 10 activities in a program, and weekly activities should last 45 to 60 minutes. This design aims to encourage the elderly to recall life memories and positive ongoing events in a fixed period of time. The events can be arranged chronologically and carried out with the following tactics (Greene, 2008: 105-106): 1. The leader of the group provides a complete plan which encourages the elderly to recall their memories of some people, events or time period. 2. The group leader encourages group members to discuss the materials and issues provided by the leader and express their views based on their own life events. The leader may ask questions such as "How did you and your family celebrate Thanksgiving?" 3. The group leader helps the residents to affirm positive experiences and materials during the memory recall process. Greene (2008) described the process of a Hispanic reminiscence group and pointed out that the members of the group were asked to recall their memories of Thanksgiving dinners they had with their family members, asking who was there and discussing the sounds and smells of the moment. The activity aimed to encourage them to recall more of the scenarios of the moment and make them feel the significant meaning of their own past experiences. In other words, the elderly are encouraged to recall their past to understand their own history, knowledge, and feelings, and reinforce the idea that they are still very important to themselves and to others. Therefore, even though they are restricted in a nursing home, they still have a higher satisfaction towards their lives and lower sense of depression and loneliness. The researcher of this study also participated in the study on reminiscence groups for institutionalized elderly with dementia conducted by Huang et al. (2009). In addition to MMSE and CT-GDS, Huang's study also gave

量外，並予以腦波(EEG)進行前後測量，其結果成效亦達顯著性之水準。

因此，本研究從非醫療藥物服務介入出發，進行古早味團體工作，並以此做準實驗之組別，配合控制組的設計，相互比較以了解二者介入服務後之差異，探討團體介入服務後成員認知提升憂鬱減緩之效果。

## 參、研究方法

本研究的對象為彰化某養護中心的失智老人，經以MMSE量表及憂鬱傾向量表篩選失智老人個案，以古早味懷舊的團體工作介入，藉以提升養護老人社會互動與人際參與，促使老人充權，並期待能減緩老人失智與憂鬱的問題。研究者本身為老人社會工作員，從事失智老人團體工作有四年之資歷，多次獲非營利組織聘為失智老人團體工作教學工作，並擔任亞洲大學社會工作系婦女社會工作與人際溝通技巧課程講師，經驗豐富。

因此，本研究採用準實驗非對等對照組研究(nonequivalent control group design)設計(Campbell and Stanley, 1968; 簡春安, 2004: 311)來進行，圖3.1說明預定進行的研究設計， $O_{11}$ 為第一種介入服務 $X_1$ 古早味組之前測，前測項目包括失智水準與憂鬱水準的測量， $O_{12}$ 代表古早味懷舊組介入服務之後的失智水準與憂鬱水準的測量。 $O_{21}$ 為對照組在失智水準與憂鬱水準之前測， $O_{22}$ 則代表對照組之後測(如圖3.1)。

古早味懷舊組 Traditional food reminiscence group	$O_{11}$	$X_{11}$	$O_{12}$
.....			
對照組 Control group	$O_{21}$		$O_{22}$

圖 3.1 古早味懷舊介入服務之非對等對照組設計  
Figure 3.1: Nonequivalent control group design of traditional foods reminiscence intervention service

研究設計所以採用非對等對照組，實因尊重可能對象的意願，無法完全依照隨機分派的原則來進行分組。雖然如此，本研究在招募各組參與對象的過程中，仍竭力避除了「參加意願」之外的分派

EEG tests to the research subjects before and after the group meetings and statistically significant results were derived from the tests.

Therefore, this study began from the concept of non-medical intervention and developed a traditional food reminiscence group as the experiment group for this quasi-experiment. A control group has also been implemented for comparison of the results and exploration of the effect of the intervention on the enhancement of cognitive abilities and alleviation of the symptoms of depression targeting on the members of the traditional foods reminiscence group.

## Research Methodology

Subjects of this study are elderly with dementia living in a nursing home in Changhua, Taiwan. The subjects were screened with MMSE and CT-GDS. The study is designed with intervention services of traditional foods reminiscence group work which aims to enhance social interaction and interpersonal relationships among institutionalized elderly, promote empowerment, and slow down progression of dementia and depression. The author of this study is a social worker specializing in elderly care, has been working with groups of elderly with dementia for four years, and was also invited to teach the subject of group work for elderly with dementia organized by non-profit organizations. The researcher is also a lecturer in Women's Social Work and Communication Skills at the Department of Social Work, Asia University.

This study is conducted through quasi-experimental nonequivalent control group design (Campbell and Stanley, 1968; Chien Chun An, 2004: 311). Figure 3.1 presents the design of this study.  $O_{11}$  is the pre-test for the first intervention service  $X_1$  traditional food reminiscence group, which includes tests measuring the degrees of dementia and depression.  $O_{12}$  represents tests on the degree of dementia and depression after intervention of traditional food reminiscence group work.  $O_{21}$  and  $O_{22}$  are the pre-test and post-test of the degree of dementia and depression of the control group (Figure 3.1).

The choice of nonequivalent control group design was made with respect to the willingness of potential candidates; in such a situation, random grouping was not viable. Even so, during the process of recruiting participants to this study, the author avoided any form of guided assignment other than participants' willingness to minimize possible bias in the selection process. Details are described below.

In addition to using quantitative pre-test and post-test measurement as the major observation basis for the quasi-experimental research design, analysis and observation of the intervention process is also included in this study. The content of observation records includes group



引導，詳如後述，以盡量減少選擇性的偏差。

本研究除了依據準實驗研究設計的量性前後測量為主要的觀察外，並輔以介入服務過程的分析觀察，觀察紀錄內容包括：團體工作紀錄及團體研究筆記。另外，在古早味懷舊團體組的介入服務部分，採取八個單元，在第一單元開始前先進行MMSE及憂鬱量表之前測，然後經與團體成員訪談討論，選出八樣懷舊小吃，包括：胡瓜餅、炒麵茶、蚵仔煎、絲瓜麵線、扁食湯、鵝肉冬粉、炒米粉、高麗菜粥，作為八個單元之古早味主題，每次古早味組運作過程如表3.4所示。每次團體進行過程中，參與長者在研究主持者指導下，必須親手動製作。團體過程中，安排有五位全程參與觀察者，負責觀察並紀錄長輩的參與行為。在第八單元最後，並進行MMSE及憂鬱量表的後測。另外，於六個月後，針對二組之差異，再行追蹤其後測之結果。

本研究在老人認知功能或失智觀察，是使用MMSE智能分數進行前後測量；在憂鬱方面，則使用老人憂鬱量表進行前後測量，此二種量表均為標準化量表，均有其測量之信效度(Huang et al., 2009)，為避免影響其信度，本研究要求訪問者前後所訪之研究參與者需為同一人；為提昇效度，本研究另外在團體進行過程，觀察長者行為方面，採用老人團體活動參與觀察量表，進行每次團體活動觀察測量，以得到較完整的懷舊團體工作介入服務團體成員表現資料。本研究在觀察團體工作介入服務過程中長者人際互動的行為，引用賴錦玉、莫靜敏(2002，轉引自莊明蓮，2003) 互動參與觀察量表，其內容包括注意力、願意出席參與、記憶力、與人交往、參與程度與享受團體程序等。以此來呼應補足MMSE智能量表與老人憂鬱量表前後測之不足，減少研究內外效度所受之影響。

本研究之資料分析方法，在實驗設計方面，是以前測及後測兩方面來看。實驗前之前測，係做實

work logs and notes of group study. Furthermore, a total of eight units of activities were designed for the intervention of the traditional foods reminiscence group work. Before implementation of the first activity unit, members of the traditional foods reminiscence group were given the pre-test of MMSE and CT-GDS. Through interviews and discussions, the group members selected eight traditional food items as the themes of the activities, including gourd pie, mien cha, oyster omelet, sponge gourd noodle soup, wonton soup, goose meat green bean noodle soup, fried rice noodles, and cabbage porridge. Procedure of each traditional foods reminiscence group activity is as shown in Table 3.4. In each group activity, the elderly participated in cooking under the instruction of the author. Five observers participated throughout each group activity to observe and record the behaviors of the participating elderly. At the end of the eighth unit of the group activities, the research subjects were given the post-test of MMSE and CT-GDS. Six months after the last activity, the elderly were given another test of MMSE and CT-GDS as a follow-up post-test to find out the differences between the traditional food reminiscence group and the control group.

In this study, MMSE was used as the basis of the pre-test and post-test for observation of the cognitive functions and constitutions of dementia in the elderly residents, and CT-GDS was used to observe the conditions of depression in the elderly. Both MMSE and CT-GDS are standardized scales with measurement reliability and validity (Huang et al., 2009). To avoid influencing the reliability of the scales, the interviewers and the subjects are paired and the pair remained consistent throughout all pre-tests and post-tests in this study. To enhance the validity of the scales, an additional scale, Interaction and Participation Observation Scale for Elderly Group Work, was adopted for observation of the behaviors exhibited by the elderly during each activity to derive a more complete view on the performance of the participants in the reminiscence group intervention activities. The Interaction and Participation Observation Scale for Elderly Group Work was developed by Lai Chin-yu and Mo Chin-min (2002, quoted from Chuang Min-lien, 2003) was used for the observation of interpersonal relationships between the elderly members in the process of group intervention work. The content of the scale includes attention, willingness to participate, memory, interaction with others, the degree of involvement, and enjoyment of group activities during the process. This scale was used as a supplementary tool in the pre-test and post-test of MME and CT-GDS to minimize influence on the internal and external validity of this study.

In the research design, data analysis was based on the scores of pre-tests and post-tests. The test implemented before the experiment aims to test the homogeneity between the experiment and control group. In addition, for the post-test after intervention, the mean values of MMSE and CT-GDS scores were analyzed with t-test. Moreover, to further reflect the responses of the elderly participating in this study, the results of the observation was presented in the form of case analysis. Finally, several ethical issues were also considered



驗組與對照組相同性之考驗；另外，後測部分，在團體工作介入後，則進行MMSE智能分數及憂鬱分數之平均數t檢定。此外，為了進一步展現出參與團體長者之實驗反應性過程觀察結果，以個案案例分析來詮釋其結果。另外，本研究之倫理考量有告知與協商、尊重隱私與保密、公正合理原則與客觀與真誠的態度等。

## 肆、結果與分析

針對古早味組與對照組之研究參與者基本資料進行卡方檢定比較，結果二組之性別人數並未有差異，其教育程度比例亦相近似，但對照組有較多的中學以上的學歷，其有無子女之比例亦相同，不同宗教信仰之比例亦相近，健康狀況古早味組比對照組有略多之疾病項目。另外，二組之研究參與者其精神狀態、行走能力與溝通能力均大致相似，可見二者在相關特質上是相當一致的。從卡方檢定分析可以發現，X<sup>2</sup>均未達顯著水準，古早味組與對照組之成員基本特質並未有顯著性差異，因此，兩組實驗前之前測測量均在相同之基準上(見表4.1)。

in this study, including the principles of sufficient information disclosure and consultation, respect for privacy and confidentiality, fairness and reasonableness, and objectivity and sincerity.

## Results and Analysis

Chi-square test was used to compare the basic information of the participants in the traditional foods reminiscence group and the control group. Results of the test show that there are equal numbers of participants in both gender groups and approximately an equal level of education, but there are more participants with middle school education and higher in the control group. The dimension of children and religion are also similar, and participants in the traditional foods reminiscence group have more diseases than the control group. Furthermore, participants in these two groups have similar level of mental status, mobility, and communication ability. Attributes of these two groups show a certain level of consistency. Results of Chi-square test show that none of the X<sup>2</sup> reached the level of significance, and no significant differences were found in the basic attributes of the members in the traditional foods reminiscence group and control group. Therefore, the pre-tests for both groups were implemented on the basis of no significant differences (table 4.1).

表4.1 Table 4.1

### 古早味組與對照組基本資料比較 (n=24)

#### Comparison on the basic data of participants in the traditional foods reminiscence group and control group (n=24)

自變項 Independent variables		古早味組 Traditional foods reminiscence group	對照組 Control group	X <sup>2</sup> (顯著性) X <sup>2</sup> (Significance)	顯著與否 Level of significance
性別 Gender	女性 Female	7 (58.3)	7 (58.3)	0.0	否 No
	男性 Male	5 (41.7)	5 (41.7)	(1.0)	
教育程度 Education	不識字 Illiterate	3 (25.0)	4 (33.3)		
	識字 Literate	3 (25.0)	1 (8.3)	6.8	否 No
	小學 Primary school	5 (41.7)	4 (33.3)	(0.2)	
	中學 Middle school	0 (0.0)	1 (8.3)		
	高中職 High/vocational school	0 (0.0)	2 (16.7)		
	大專以上 College and above	1 (8.3)	0 (0.0)		
有無子女	無子女 No children	3 (25.0)	3 (25.0)	0.0	否 No
	有子女 Children	9 (75.0)	9 (75.0)	(1.0)	
宗教信仰	佛教 Buddhism	2 (16.7)	5 (41.7)		
	道教 Taoism	6 (50.0)	3 (25.0)	3.9	否 No
	基督教 Christianity	1 (8.3)	0 (0.0)	(0.3)	
	其他 Others	3 (25.0)	4 (33.3)		

自變項 Independent variables		古早味組 Traditional foods reminiscence group	對照組 Control group	X <sup>2</sup> (顯著性) X <sup>2</sup> (Significance)	顯著與否 Level of significance
健康狀況 Health Condition	身心障礙 Disabled	8 (66.7)	11 (91.7)		
	中風 Stroke	1 (8.3)	0 (0.0)	4.6	否
	氣喘 Asthma	1 (8.3)	1 (1.0)	(0.3)	
	高血壓心 Hypertension / Heart disease	1 (8.3)	0 (0.0)		
	糖尿病泌尿系統 Diabetes / Urinary system diseases	1 (8.3)	0 (0.0)		
行走能力 Mobility	需藉助輔具 Assistive devices required	9 (75.0)	9 (75.0)	1.6	否
	能自行行走 Able to walk without as- sistance	3 (25.0)	3 (25.0)	(0.5)	

註：1. \*p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001。2. 以上X2均未達顯著水準，古早味組與對照組之成員基本特質並未有顯著性差異，因此，兩組測量均在無差異之基準上。

Note: 1. \*p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001. 2. None of the above X2 reached the level of significant statistical differences. No significant difference was found in the fundamental attributes of the members in both old-fashion food reminiscence group and control group. Therefore, tests on both groups were implemented on the basis of no significant differences.

#### 一、古早味組與對照組之失智憂鬱分數相同性比較

首先，來進行古早味組與對照組MMSE 失智分數及憂鬱分數之相同性比較，本研究從99年7月5日至99年8月26日經過8次團體工作的執行，其中古早味組成員共有12人，對照組亦有12人。在前測時，MMSE智能分數部分，古早味組MMSE智能分數之分數平均值為20.7，對照組平均值為18.8，但t檢定僅0.9，未達顯著差異之水準。憂鬱量表前測分數部分，古早味組憂鬱量表之分數平均值為13.0，對照組平均值為12.7，t檢定為0.1亦未達顯著差異之水準。

#### I. Comparison on the similarities in the MMSE and CT-GDS scores relating to the members of the traditional foods reminiscence group and control group

First of all, we began the analysis from a comparison on the scores of MMSE and CT-GDS derived from members of the traditional foods reminiscence group and control group. This study began from July 5th and ended on August 26th 2010 with eight group work activities. There were 12 members respectively in both the traditional foods reminiscence group and the control group. In the pre-test of MMSE, the mean value of the traditional foods reminiscence group is 20.7 and the control group is 18.8. However, the score of t-test is 0.9 which did not reach the level of significant difference. The mean value of the pre-test scores of CT-GDS implemented on the old-fashion food reminiscence group is 13.0 and 12.7 for the control

表4.2 Table 4.2

古早味組與對照組之MMSE 失智分數及憂鬱分數初期比較

*Comparison of MMSE and CT-GDS tests implemented on the traditional foods reminiscence group and control group at the initial stage*

	懷舊組別 Traditional foods reminiscence group	個數 Number of cases	平均數 Mean	標準差 Standard deviation	t 值 t value	顯著性 Significance	檢定結果 Test result
MMSE智能分數前測 MMSE Pre-test score	古早味組 Traditional foods reminiscence group	12	20.7	5.02	.9	.375	無差異 No significant difference s
	對照組 Control group	12	18.8	5.35			
憂鬱量表前測 CT-GDS Pre-test score	古早味組 Traditional foods reminiscence group	12	13.0	8.99	.1	.912	無差異 No significant difference s
	對照組 Control group	12	12.7	5.11			

\*古早味組、對照組之t檢定無差異表示團體前兩組相同，符合團體前測基本假定。

\*No significant statistical difference found in the t-test shows that the two groups are at the same level and the result is consistent with the fundamental assumption for group pre-test.

顯示二組在前測時，並未有顯著性之差異(見表4.2)，符合團體前測基本假定。

## 二、團體工作後兩組之MMSE失智分數及憂鬱分數比較

古早味組團體結束後，研究者進行MMSE智能分數及憂鬱前後測之差異比較，結果發現MMSE智能分數前測為20.7，而MMSE智能分數後測為21.5，其t檢定為-1.5，P值為.157，二者之差異並未達顯著性之水準。然而，可以發現研究參與者平均之MMSE智能分數有小幅上升的情形。另外，在憂鬱量表前後測之差異分析部分，結果發現憂鬱量表前

group, and the t-test score is .01, which also did not reach the level of significant difference. The results show that scores of MMSE and CT-GDS tests implemented on both groups did reach significant difference (Table 4.2), and this result is consistent to the fundamental assumption for group pre-test.

## II. Comparisons on MMSE and CT-GDS scores after implementation of group works

After all activities for the traditional foods reminiscence group were completed, the author conducted a comparison on the scores of pre-test and post-test MMSE and CT-GDS. The results show that the mean value of MMSE pre-test is 20.7, the post-test is 21.5, the t-test is -1.5 and the P value is .157. The mean value of pre-test and post-test scores of MMSE did not reach a level of significant difference; however, the mean value of MMSE increased slightly in the post-test. Moreover, the results of the variance analysis on

表4.3 Table 4.3

古早味組MMSE智能分數及憂鬱分數前後測比較

*Comparison of pre-test and post-test scores of MMSE and CT-GDS of the traditional foods reminiscence group*

變項 Variables	前測平均分數 Mean of Pre-test Scores	後測平均分數 Mean of Post-test Scores	t檢定 t-test	顯著性 Significance	檢定結果 Test result
MMSE智能分數 MMSE Scores	20.7	21.5	+1.5	.157	無差異 No significant difference
憂鬱分數 CT-GDS Scores	13.0	8.7	-2.4*	.036*	達顯著 Meets significant difference

註：1.\*p<.05；\*\* p<.01；\*\*\*p<.001。

Note: 1.\*p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

測為13.0，而憂鬱量表後測為8.7，其t檢定為2.4，P值為.036，二者之差異達顯著性水準，顯示古早味組在參與團體後憂鬱有顯著下降的情形。(見表4.3)。

the pre-test and post-test scores of CT-GDS show that the mean values of pre-test and post-test scores are 13.0 and 8.7 respectively, t-test is 2.4, and the P value is .036, which reached the level of significant difference. The analysis shows that symptoms of depression in the members of the traditional foods reminiscence group are alleviated after the group work activities (table 4.3).

## 三、團體工作後對照組MMSE智能分數及憂鬱分數前後測比較

研究也針對對照組MMSE智能分數及憂鬱前後測差異進行分析，結果發現對照組MMSE智能分數前測平均數為18.8，而MMSE智能分數後測為17.0，其t檢定為1.9，P值為.089，二者之差異並未達顯著性之水準。然而，可以發現研究參與者平均之MMSE智能分數有小幅下降(變壞)的情形。另外，在憂鬱量表前後測之差異分析部分，結果發現憂鬱量表前測為12.7，而憂鬱量表後測為15.5，其t檢定為-4.5，P值為.001，二者之差異達顯著性水準，顯示對照組在團體後憂鬱有顯著提升(變壞)的情形(見表4.4)。

## III. Comparison on the pre-test and post-test scores of MMSE and CT-GDS of the control group after implementation of group work

This study also analyzed pre-test and post-test scores of MMSE and CT-GDS of the control group. The results of MMSE show that the mean value of pre-test is 18.8 and the post-test is 17.0, the t-test score is 1.9, and P value is .089. The differences between pre-test and post-test did not reach the level of significance. However, the mean value of MMSE signifies a slight decrease (deterioration) in the post-test. Furthermore, variance analysis on the pre-test and post-test of CT-GDS implemented on the control group shows that the mean value of pre-test is 12.7 and the post-test is 15.5, t-test score is -4.5, and the P value is .001. The differences of pre-test and post-test of CT-GDS implemented on the control group reached the level of significance. This indicates that symptoms of depression increased significantly (deterioration) in the control group (Table 4.4).

#### 四、二組MMSE智能分數及憂鬱分數後測及6個月後測量比較

團體工作介入可反應團體後立即效果，然而，6個月後之追蹤，更可進一步了解，其團體後效果改變之現象。研究結果發現MMSE智能分數二組後測與6個月後平均分數，並未達顯著水準，以古早味組來看，MMSE智能分數平均，由20.7升至21.8再降為18.4；而對照組由18.8降至17.0再到15.1。t檢定比較結果，除前述前測平均分數比較未達顯著性差異外，在後測平均分數比較，t檢定值達2.1，P值為.047，古早味組與對照組二組平均分數相差有4.8，達顯著差異；以6個月後測平均分數做比較，t檢定值達1.4，P值為.164，顯示古早味組與對照組二組同時下降，但平均分數相差只有3.3，未達顯著差異，顯示團體停止後對老人的MMSE智能分數有不利的影響。(見表4.5)。

研究結果也發現憂鬱分數二組後測與6個月後測

#### IV. Comparison on the post-test and 6-month follow-up post-test scores of MMSE and CT-GDS of both traditional foods reminiscence group and control group

Intervention of group work shows immediate effect, and the follow-up post-test conducted six months after the intervention provided further understanding on the changes that took place after the intervention. The results show that the mean value of the post-test and the 6-month post-test of MMSE implemented on the two groups did not reach the level of significance. On the traditional foods reminiscence group, the mean value of MMSE rose from 20.7 to 21.8 and then dropped to 18.4. On the control group, the mean value of MMSE dropped from 18.8 to 17.0 and then dropped again to 15.1. In addition to the aforementioned mean values, which did not reach the level of significance, comparison on the post-tests shows that the t-test value reached 2.1, P value is .047, and the difference between the mean values is 4.8, which reached the level of significant difference. Comparison of 6-month post-tests shows that the t-test value reached 1.4 and the P value is 0164. The MMSE mean values of both groups decreased, but the difference between the mean values is only 3.3, which did not reach the level of significant difference. The above results signified that suspension of intervention activities has negative effect on the MMSE scores (see Table 4.5).

表4.4 Table 4.4

#### 對照組MMSE智能分數及憂鬱前後測差異比較

##### Comparison on pre-test and post-test scores of MMSE and CT-GDS of the control group

變項 Variance	平均數 Mean	個數 Number of cases	t值 t value	顯著性 significance	檢定結果 t-test
MMSE智能分數前測 MMSE Score-pre-test	18.8	12	-1.9	.089	無差異 No significant difference
MMSE智能分數後測 MMSE Score-post-test	17.0	12			
憂鬱量表前測 CT-GDS - pre-test	12.7	12	+4.5***	.001	差異達顯著 Meets significant difference
憂鬱量表後測 CT-GDS - post-test	15.5	12			

註：1.\*p<.05；\*\* p<.01；\*\*\*p<.001。

Note: 1.\*p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

表4.5 Table 4.5

#### MMSE智能分數二組後測與6個月後測量比較

##### Comparison on the MMSE scores of post-test and 6-month post-test

變項 Variables	古早味組MMSE失智分數 Traditional foods reminiscence group MMSE score	對照組MMSE智能分數 Control group MMSE score	兩組分數差異 Score difference between the two groups	t檢定 t-test	顯著性 Significance	檢定結果 Test result
後測平均分數 Mean of post-test	21.8	17.0	4.8	2.1*	.047	達顯著差異 Significant difference
6個月後測平均分數 Mean of 6-month post-test	18.4	15.1	3.3	1.4	.164	未達顯著 No significant difference

註：1.\*p<.05；\*\* p<.01；\*\*\*p<.001。

Note: 1.\*p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001



量，二組後測憂鬱分數達顯著性差異。以古早味組來看，憂鬱分數平均值，由13.0降至8.7再提升為15.0；而對照組由12.7升至15.5再到18.8。t檢定比較結果，以兩組後測平均分數做比較，t檢定值達-2.7，P值為.012，平均分數相差有-6.8，顯示古早味組與對照組二組達顯著差異；若以6個月後測平均分數做比較，t檢定值達-1.5，P值為.158，平均分數相差有-3.8，顯示古早味組與對照組二組憂鬱分數同時上升，雖有差距但未達顯著水準，顯示團體停止後，不利憂鬱症之改善(見表4.6)。

### 五、兩組個別MMSE智能分數、憂鬱後測與6個月後後測比較

研究者為探討古早味組MMSE智能分數及憂鬱後測及其發展情形，乃於團體工作完成後6個月，進行追蹤古早味組研究參與者之認知與情緒狀況，由原有評估人員針對相同之成員進行MMSE智能分數及憂鬱追蹤後測之評量，結果發現在6個月團體工作未介入其間，研究參與者之MMSE智能分數量表平均分數，由21.5下降至19.1，t檢定為2.1，幾乎達顯著性之水準；而憂鬱量表平均分數，由8.7升至

Results of the study also show that the mean values of the post-test and 6-month post-test CT-GDS reached the level of significant difference. On the traditional foods reminiscence group, the mean value of CT-GDS dropped from 13.0 to 8.7 and then rose to 15.0. On the control group, the mean value of CT-GDS rose from 12.7 to 15.5 and then rose to 18.8. Comparison of the t-test results based on the average post-test scores of the two groups shows that the t-test value reaches -2.7, p value is .012, and difference between the two mean values is -6.8, which indicates that there is significant different between the results of the traditional foods reminiscence group and the control group. Comparing the mean values of 6-month follow-up tests, t-test value reaches -1.5, the P value is .158 and the difference between two mean values is -3.8. The results indicate a simultaneous rise of the CT-GDS scores for both groups. Though the difference did not reach the level of significance, it signifies that suspension of intervention activities slowed down improvement on the symptoms of depression (Table 4.6).

### V. Comparison on the post-test and 6-month follow-up test of MMSE and CT-GDS of both groups

To explore the MMSE and CT-GDS of the traditional foods reminiscence group and the development of the members, the members of the group were given a follow-up test of MMSE and CT-GDS 6 months later by the same interviewer who administered the previous two tests. The results of the 6-month post-tests show that, during the 6 months period without intervention group works, the mean value of MMSE dropped from 21.5 to 19.1 and the t-test value is 2.1, which almost reaches the level

表4.6 Table 4.6

憂鬱分數二組後測與6個月後測量比較

Comparison on post-test and 6-month post-test of depression score

變項 Variables	古早味組憂鬱分數 Traditional foods reminiscence group depression Score	對照組憂鬱分數 Control group Depression score	兩組分數差異 Score difference between the two groups	t檢定 t-test	顯著性 Significance	檢定結果 Test result
後測平均分數 Mean of post-test	8.7	15.5	-6.8	-2.7*	.012	達顯著差異 Significant difference
6個月後測平均分數 Mean of 6-month post-test	15.0	18.8	-3.8	-1.5	.158	未達顯著 No significant difference

註：1.\*p<.05；\*\* p<.01；\*\*\*p<.001。

Note: 1.\*p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001

表4.7 Table 4.7

古早味組MMSE智能分數及憂鬱後測與6個月追蹤後測差異比較

Comparison on the differences of MMSE and CT-GDS post-test and 6-month follow-up test of the traditional foods reminiscence group

變項 Variables	平均數 Mean	個數 No. of Cases	t值 t value	顯著性 Significance
MMSE智能分數後測 Post-test of MMSE	21.5	12	2.1*	.050
MMSE智能分數6個月追蹤後測 6-month follow-up test of MMSE	19.1	12		
憂鬱量表後測 Post-test of CT-GDS	8.7	12	-3.1*	.012
憂鬱量表6個月追蹤後測 6-month follow-up test of CT-GDS	12.8	12		

註：1.\*p<.05；\*\* p<.01；\*\*\*p<.001。

Note: 1.\*p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001



12.8，t檢定為-3.0，此一部份則呈現憂鬱傾向有較為嚴重的情形，其差異亦達顯著性之水準(見表4.7)。顯示團體介入之停止，不利於憂鬱症之改善。

如以各組之MMSE智能分數自團體工作開始至結束期，以至6個月後之追縱之結果來看二組之線性發展，則可看出古早味組在團體工作後之MMSE智能分數先提昇後，再下降的情形；而在團體工作後對照組之MMSE智能分數持續下降的情形。顯示實驗介入具顯著效果，團體介入停止後，不利於MMSE智能之改善。

其次，研究者亦以各組憂鬱分數自團體工作開始至結束期以至6個月後之追縱之結果來看二組之線性發展，則亦可看出古早味組在團體工作後之憂鬱分數先下降後，再上升的情形；而在團體工作後對照組之憂鬱分數持續上升的情形。所以實驗介入後的效果，在團體停止後不利於老人憂鬱之改善。

整體而言，在兩組經研究參與者三次之評量，驗證了古早味團體實驗組工作在進行團體工作介入後，在MMSE智能分數達顯著之水準且憂鬱情形有相當正向之服務效果，也達顯著性的效果；如再以對照組進行縱向時間之追蹤分析，亦可發現其正負面之差異情形。顯示實驗介入之效果，長期下來持續辦理，對老人之失智及憂鬱具有相當改善之效應。

## 六、團體成員互動參與和MMSE、憂鬱個案案例分析

古早味團體各成員之基本資料包括性別、年齡、教育程度與宗教信仰，其MMSE智能分數則有前後測及六個月後測之分數，至於憂鬱量表分數則包括各成員個案之憂鬱量表前後測及六個月後測之分數。另外，各成員是否在團體工作後有否改變亦列表如表4.8。

### (一)團體工作後有改變之個案案例分析

本段就團體成員有較佳改變之個案一、四與個案七進行個案案例分析，其中個案一是懷舊的悲傷者，股市的大戶者；個案四是總舖師的驕傲；個案七是再度掌廚重現自信者之長輩者。

of significance. Furthermore, the mean value of CT-GDS rose from 8.7 to 12.8, and the t-test value is -3.0, which shows that symptoms of depression took a turn for the worse; the difference reached the level of significance (see Table 4.7). The results indicate that suspension of group work activities slowed down improvement of depression symptoms.

Viewed from the linear development of the MMSE scores of both groups from the beginning to the end of the group works and the 6-month follow-up test, the results shows that the MMSE score of the traditional foods reminiscence group rose at first and then dropped, but the scores of the control group continued to decline. The linear development indicates that the intervention experiment had notable effect and suspension of group intervention is disadvantageous to the improvement of MMSE.

Moreover, viewed from the linear development of CT-GDS scores of both groups from the beginning to the end of the group works and the 6-month follow-up test, the results also show that the CT-GDS score of the traditional foods reminiscence group dropped at first and then rose; however, the control group continued to rise. This indicates that suspension of group intervention is disadvantageous to the improvement of depression symptoms.

Overall, the three evaluations on the participants of both groups verified that the MMSE scores of the traditional foods reminiscence group reached the level significance after implementation of group work intervention and the intervention also has significant effects in terms of improving symptoms of depression. The differences between the positive and negative effects can also be found in the analysis of the scores derived from the control group through tracking of longitudinal process. The result shows that the intervention experiment improved symptoms of dementia and depression to a considerable degree when the activities are implemented on a long-term basis.

## VI. Group participation and MMSE/depression case analysis

Statistics provided include the basic data of the members of the old-fashion food reminiscence group, includes gender, age, education, and religion, and the MMSE and CT-GDS scores of the members of the traditional foods reminiscence group, including pre-test, post-test and 6-month follow-up test. In addition, changes in every participant after implementation of group works is as shown in Table 4.8.

### (I) Case analysis on changes after intervention of group work

This section presents the case analysis of case no. 1, 4 and 7, who have exhibited more positive changes. The theme of Case 1 is “nostalgic sorrow - the stock market tycoon”, Case 4 is “pride of a chef”, and Case 7 is the “resurgence of confidence from cooking”.

表4.8 Table 4.8

古早味組團體後有否改變成員之基本資料與MMSE、憂鬱量表前後測等分數

*Basic data, pre-test, post-test and 6-month follow-up test scores of MMSE and GDS, and degree of improvement of traditional foods reminiscence group after intervention services*

個案編號 No. of case subject	性別 Gender	年齡 Age	教育程度 Education	宗教信仰 Religion	MMSE 前測 MMSE pre-test	MMSE 後測 MMSE post-test	MMSE六 個月後測 MMSE test after 6 months	憂鬱前測 GDS pre-test	憂鬱後測 GDS post-test	憂鬱六個 月後測 GDS test after 6 months	有否改善 GDS test after 6 months
個案一 Case 1	男性 Male	74	大專 College	道教 Taoism	21	22	26	28	22	25	有 Yes
個案二 Case 2	女性 Female	85	不識字 Illiterate	道教 Taoism	15	16	16	8	8	21	否 No
個案三 Case 3	女性 Female	90	識字 Literate	其他 Other	11	13	9	4	3	8	有 Yes
個案四 Case 4	男性 Male	98	小學 Primary School	基督教 Christianity	26	24	20	4	1	6	有 Yes
個案五 Case 5	女性 Female	80	不識字 Illiterate	道教 Taoism	17	16	8	16	16	13	否 No
個案六 Case 6	男性 Male	71	小學 Primary School	道教 Taoism	16	21	17	23	23	25	有 Yes
個案七 Case 7	女性 Female	76	小學 Primary School	佛教 Buddhism	24	25	25	15	4	13	有 Yes
個案八 Case 8	男性 Male	78	小學 Primary School	道教 Taoism	26	27	26	4	4	2	否 No
個案九 Case 9	女性 Female	80	識字 Literate	其他 Other	26	28	19	10	10	20	否 No
個案十 Case 10	女性 Female	80	不識字 Illiterate	其他 Other	20	21	16	3	3	8	否 No
個案十一 Case 11	男性 Male	84	識字 Literate	道教 Taoism	25	26	26	15	8	8	有 Yes
個案十二 Case 12	女性 Female	73	小學 Primary School	佛教 Buddhism	21	19	21	26	2	5	有 Yes

### 1. 懷舊的悲傷者，股市的大戶

個案一是男性74歲，教育程度大專以上，彰化市人，已婚育有二子一女，於95年8月18日因行動需倚賴輪椅協助，子女無法自行照顧，案子安排入住中心。進住前子女與其互動即不佳，進住初期多由案弟會前來協處相關事宜，後因身體不佳未再前來，目前家屬幾乎不會前來探視，進住初期曾與住民起口角並發生肢體衝突，目前僅於特定異性住民有所互動，目前精神狀況佳，每天中午會霸佔電視，觀看股市動態，不准他人轉台，常引起其他居民抗議，甚少參與院內活動。

### 1. Nostalgic sorrow - the stock market tycoon

This case subject is a male aged 74 with college education. He is from Changhua City and is married with two sons and a daughter. He was brought to the nursing home on August 18th 2004 after he became dependant on his wheelchair. His children are not able to take care of him, so they arranged for him to live in the nursing home. This case subject had a poor relationship with his children before he moved into the institution. His younger brother took care of the admission procedures at the beginning, but never showed up again due to health issues. The families of the case subject seldom came to visit. At the beginning, he got into quarrels with other residents in the institution quite frequently and sometimes ended up in physical fights. Right now, he only interacts with certain residents of the opposite sex. He is in good health condition. He monopolizes the TV every noon to watch the stock market news and allows no one to

自個案一參與懷舊團體以後，以6個指標包括個案在團體活動之活動中注意力、活動中配合意願情形、活動中記憶力情形、活動中與人交往情形，活動中參與度情形與活動中享受情形之整體總分來看，初期是11分左右，其後逐步下降至第3次最低，再自第4次逐步提昇，至第7次與8次最高。此與其初期不熟悉，或可能懷舊也引起不愉快感受有關，特別是在第3次時，其後逐步發掘投入之興趣有關。

某些懷舊議題可能造成負向感受，促使原有懷舊團體預期要營造的正向積極成就感的層面相背，莊明蓮(2003)認為可採取過去痛苦與今日快樂做對比，增強對此時與往日之情境之差異，發展個案之自尊與自我實現的可能性。在第3次團體單元活動時，個案一指著離門口最遠那一桌是他的位子，雖然，只參加過二次活動他已記住位子了。研究者問他：「你知道今天要做什麼嗎？」，他很吃力的說：米粉鵝。研究者端起食材，讓他看清楚，然後再問一次，這次他說「冬粉鵝」。研究者大聲宣佈說：「答對啦」，他很得意的笑了。煮食間，研究者問他煮過吃過「冬粉鵝」的記憶是何時？有想到什麼嗎？他回答是負向的，看著遠方表示對子女長大離家，被妻子拋棄的感受，悲從中來，眼眶泛紅。所幸，研究者採用今昔對比法，早期經驗痛苦與今日環境做對比，增強對此時與往日之情境之差異，案主才釋懷，研究者認為，這也應是此次單元案主整體參與降低的影響重要因素。

但到了第三次，個案一表示他很喜歡吃蚵仔煎，以前工作去學校送講義、教材時，附近如果有賣蚵仔煎的攤位，就會去吃一盤，中風以後無法自己出門，就沒有吃過了，弟弟把他送到這裡來，他停一下，落寞神情頓現。研究者再一次採用今昔對比法，使他了解中風後獨居乏人聞問的情形與今日樣樣有人照顧做對比，他就微笑點頭同意研究者的說法。

到了第五次單元，個案一此次提起以前自己常

change the channels. The others in the institution often complained about his behavior. He rarely participates in the activities organized in the institution.

At the beginning when the case subject began to participate in the reminiscence group activities, his overall scores of the six indicators, including attention, willingness to cooperate, memories, interaction with others during activity, the degree of involvement, and enjoyment of the activity, was 11. The score gradually dropped to the lowest at the third activity. The score gradually rose from the fourth activity and was highest at the seventh and eighth activity units. The low scores at the initial stage may have been a result of him not knowing the other participants very well, or the reminiscence brought him unpleasant feelings, especially in the third activity unit. His score rose gradually, which may have been the result of finding his interests and active involvement in the latter activities.

Some reminiscence subjects may bring unpleasant feelings, which contradict the goal of creating positive feeling and a sense of accomplishment. Chuang Min-lien (2003) thinks that past unhappiness can be used as a contrast to the happiness felt at the present time to highlight the differences between the past and the present experience and in turn creates more opportunities for development of pride and self-fulfillment. In the third activity unit, case subject 1 pointed at the table furthest from the entrance and identified that it was his working area after only two activities. The researcher asked him: "Do you know what we are going to make today?" He replied with difficulty in speech: goose meat rice noodle soup. The researcher brought the ingredients close to him to give him a clearer view and then asked him the question again. This time, he replied "goose meat green bean noodles". The researcher loudly announced, "you got it". He responded with a very smile of pride. During the cooking, the researcher asked him, in his memory, when did he cook and eat "goose meat green bean noodles"? Do you remember anything? His answer was a negative one. He looked at the far end and began to express his feelings of children leaving when they grew up and how his wife abandoned him. Sorrow showed in his tearing eyes. Luckily, the researcher used the method of contrasting the past and the present, comparing the painful experiences in the past to the present life, to highlight the contrast between the present and the past. The case subject was relieved from his sorrow. The researcher believes that this was the reason why the case subject exhibited less interest in the activities of this unit.

In the third activity unit, Case 1 expressed that he loves oyster omelets. He said that when he was still working as a delivery man sending printouts and textbooks to schools, he often bought himself a bowl when the oyster omelet hawker came around. After he had a stroke, he lost the ability to go out on his own and never had a chance to eat it again. And then, his brother sent him here... He paused with an expression of desolation on his face.

買扁食湯來吃，再一次又告訴研究者說人生真悲哀，中風八年了，老婆跑了、兒子不理他，不過這次又跟上一次不同，在平靜中，帶著些許自我解嘲似地談論著，不再有明顯的傷感情緒，更沒有掉淚。傾聽的功能真是在此突顯出效果了，由於案主重覆的敘述，便逐漸使悲慘的命運不再如此悲慘痛苦，那可能是一種治療過程。案主神情不似以往的落寞，他接著說，目前他仍可做股票交易，就從輪椅邊拿出一張單給研究者看，研究者接過來一看嚇一跳，是昨天的股票交易單，上面寫著他的名子，交易金額有七百多萬，他驕傲的表示說這幾天有賺錢了，研究者給予欽佩的回應：喔！好厲害喔！你真是股市大戶呢！這方面我都不懂耶！他驕傲的笑了。案主負向的思想固然存在，但已有減弱了。

接下來的各次團體，案主都是積極正向與投入參與團體，到最末一次是問他對住此處的感受，他回應令人驚訝，他表示這是一個溫暖的家，他愈來愈喜歡這個中心了。

個案一長期以來投資股票，每日觀察了解股市，隨時進場買賣股票，以至MMSE智能分數較少受到團體的影響，參與古早味懷舊團體後，其MMSE智能分數從21分提升至22分，而憂鬱分數則由28分下降為22分，顯示個案一在懷舊團體後憂鬱的情形有正向的作用。半年後追蹤其情形，其MMSE智能分數上升為26分，憂鬱分數再提升為25分。顯示個案一在團體停止半年後，認知未受到影響，但憂鬱情形則有回升的情形，顯示未來仍有參與團體的必要性。

## 2. 總舖師的驕傲

個案四是男性，現年73歲，教育程度小學，為彰化縣人住彰化市，未婚，無子女，患有小兒麻痺，行動不便，父母過世後，案弟擔心其安危，遂於95年12月26日協助申請公費入住，精神狀況尚佳。曾經邀請參與中心各類型活動，由於

The researcher again used the method of contrasting the past and the present to reassure him that life here where everything is taken good care of is so much better than his previous lonely life after the stroke. He nodded with a smile of agreement with the researcher's point of view.

At the fifth unit of the activities, Case 1 mentioned that he used to buy wonton soup for himself and again began to tell the researcher how pathetic his life is. He said that it has been eight years since he had the stroke, his wife ran away and his sons ignored him. However, there is a difference this time; he talked in peace with sarcasm on his own life. There was no more notable sorrow or tears in his eyes. The wonder of listening presented itself in this conversation. Repeated expression of his life sorrows brought the case subject to gradually understand that his life is not as miserable as he thinks. It was a process of treatment. The facial expression of Case 1 no longer looks as desolate as before. He continued his speech and talked about how he is still able to trade stocks. He pulled out a sheet of paper from one side of his wheelchair and showed it to the researcher. The researcher took a look at it and was astonished. It was a stock transaction statement with his name on it. It was the record of stock transaction made on the previous day and the transaction value was over seven million. He said proudly that he earned some money in the past few days. The researcher gave him a response of admiration, "Wow! You are really good at it! You really are a stock market tycoon! I know nothing about stocks." He smiled with pride. Though negative thoughts still exist in his mind, they are indeed diminishing.

In the following activities, Case 1 actively participated with a positive attitude. He was asked how he feels about the institution at the last activity unit and his response surprised everyone. He said that the institution is a sweet home and he has got a stronger feeling for this place.

Case 1 has been investing in stocks for a long time. He observes the changes in the stock market and trades stocks whenever he wants. Therefore, group living has very little influence to his MMSE score. After participating in the traditional food reminiscence group, his MMSE score raised from 21 to 22, and his CT-GDS score dropped from 28 to 22, which shows that reminiscence group work has a certain positive effect on his symptoms of depression. His MMSE 6-month follow-up test score increased to 26 and the score of CT-GDS rose to 25. The results show that, six months after the intervention group work activities, the cognitive score of Case 1 was not affected, but his depression score was rising. This indicates that participation in group works will be essential for Case 1 in the future.

## 2. Pride of a chef

Case subject 4 is a male age 73 with primary school education. He was born in Changhua County and lived in Changhua City. He is

他有一隻手萎縮，活動較不靈活，團體活動中如果有人幫助他，反而影響他活動的心情。另外，由於平常少有家屬探視，社會支持不足，也相對的增加了情緒的起伏。其MMSE智能分數為26分，是各個團體成員中較佳者，其憂鬱分數為4分。

個案四初期參與互動總分表現較低，但均能逐步上升，第1次的團體單元參與互動總分為10分，其後第3次單元增加為13分及第4次單元14分，至第5次時達到16分，但到第6次降為15分，隨後又逐步升高為第7次單元17分，至第8次單元時，除進行高麗菜粥煮食外，另有進行結業式頒獎及拍團體照，個案四與其他成員互動極佳，因此參與互動總分提升至18分。

第三次團體時，個案四得意的說，上次的炒麵茶拿回去，有人想嘗，他就分享給他們，大家都說讚，有人稱讚他說：「可以做總舖師了」（台語的大廚師），顯示出他獲得了相當的成就感。第4次團體時，研究者問個案四上次煮什麼？個案四就沒有萎縮的左手從綁在輪椅上的膠袋中拿出1張月歷紙，寫著每次單元菜名，並告訴研究者，因為怕忘記，所以寫下來隨身帶著，邊說邊再寫上本次單元名稱蚵仔煎，他也談到：小學畢業想讀國中，因行動不便而放棄，心中有相當大的遺憾。但是到了12歲時，媽媽因為左手萎縮，叫他一切要學著自己來生活上什麼都要學，因而也就學會了煮菜、洗衣等，有時也會割草餵牛，說著說著個案四似乎不禁也有些自豪。

個案四參與古早味懷舊團體後，其MMSE智能分數未有任何變化，而憂鬱分數則由4分下降為1分，顯示個案四在懷舊團體後MMSE智能分數認知情形持平，至於憂鬱的情形則顯示有降低情形。半年後追蹤其情形，其MMSE智能分數降為20分，憂鬱分數提升為6分。顯示案主在團體後半年認知與情緒均有受到影響，未來極有參與團體的必要性。

not married and has no children. He suffers from polio, which gives him limited mobility. After his parents passed away, for his safety, his brother helped him apply for public funds to pay for the institution and he moved in on December 26th 2006. He is in good health and was often invited to participate in various activities organized in the institution. His atrophied arm brought him some limitation, but he expressed negative emotions if someone tried to help him during the activities. His family rarely comes to visit, which contributes to the factors of insufficient social support and causes of mood swings. The MMSE score of Case 4 is 26, which shows a better cognitive status among the group members. His score of CT-GDS is 4.

At the initial stage of the group work activities, the overall score of Case 4 is relatively low; however, the scores increased gradually. The overall score of the first activity was 10; the score increased to 13 in the third activity unit, 14 in the fourth activity unit, and 16 in the fifth activity unit. However, the overall score dropped to 15 in the sixth activity unit, but gradually rose to 17 in the seventh activity unit. In the eighth activity unit, a closing ceremony and group photo session were also arranged integrated into the activity in addition to the activity of cooking cabbage porridge. Case 4 exhibited pleasant and active interactions with other members and the overall score rose to 18.

In the third group activity unit, Case 4 proudly said to everyone that he shared the mien cha he brought back from the previous activity with his roommates, and everyone gave him a thumbs up, "you are a genuine chef now." His pride reveals a considerable sense of accomplishment in him. In the fourth group activity unit, the researcher asked him what they cooked in the last activity unit. He pulled out a piece of calendar with his normal hand from a plastic bag tied to his wheelchair. The paper was noted with the name of the dish cooked in each activity. He told the researcher that he wrote the dish down to refresh his memory and he had it with him wherever he went. He wrote down "oyster omelet", the name of the dish they are about to cook this time while he was talking. He mentioned that he wanted to continue his education after he graduated from primary school, but he gave up because of his limited mobility. He regretted this terribly. When he turned 12, his mother, who had an atrophied left arm, told him that he had to learn to take care of himself, so he learned to cook, do laundry, and all other chores. He sometimes cut grass to feed cows. As the conversation continued, a sense of pride was showing in his face.

After his participation in the traditional food reminiscence group work, there was no change to the MMSE score of Case 4, but the score of CT-GDS dropped from 4 to 1. The results show that the cognitive performance of Case 4 is fairly stable, and symptoms of depression were alleviated. The six-month follow-up test shows that his MMSE score dropped to 20 and the



### 3.再度掌廚自信重現

個案七是女性，現年76歲，教育程度小學，南投縣人，居住在南投市中興新村宿舍，入住時已喪偶，育有二子一女，因雙腳無法行走，生活無法自理，於96年11月6日由其案子安排入住，長期以來，情緒起伏較大，多次與同區住民發生爭執，一直有生活適應不佳的問題，經轉區照顧，適應狀況略有改善，近年來身體退化，更少參與機構活動。由於社會互動不佳，時常獨自一人，不與人互動，也不參與中心各類型團體活動，經研究者多方邀請來看看，個案七方勉強同意參加。其失智分數為24分，是各個團體成員中第5高者，其憂鬱分數為15分為團體成員中第4高。

個案七初期參與互動總分至第1次、第2、第3次均為14分，相較於其他成員來看，參與互動較佳，連續3次單元都表示，能夠再一次作菜掌廚很高興，似乎整個人自信心全回來了。在第2次炒麵茶單元團體進行時，她憶起15歲時媽媽生病，阿嬤開始教她如何炒麵茶，後來母親在一年多後過世，父親沒有再娶，因此從15歲那年起，她就一個人負責煮飯給全家人吃。談論間對自己年輕時，就能在家掌廚為家做出貢獻，相當自豪。至第4次單元進行時，她想起中興新村的家，種的絲瓜有時長很多、有時一條都不生，兒子一家三人仍住在那裏，由於家中空間小，輪椅活動有困難，腳又無法爬樓梯，無法上樓，只好入住機構，現在已經三年了，不再想回去，在這裡一下床就可坐輪椅，以行動來說，這裡好多了，因此，參與互動總分提升為17分。雖然第五次團體參與互動總分略降為16分，但在第6、第7、第8次均維持在18分的高水準。

個案七參與古早味懷舊團體後，其MMSE智能分數由24分略升為25分，憂鬱分數由15分則降為4分。顯示案主參與團體後憂鬱分數改善之情形良好。半年後追蹤其情形，其MMSE智能分數仍為25分，憂鬱分數又回升至13分。顯示案主參與團體後，憂鬱情形已有改善，但半年後，MMSE智能分

數 depression core rose to 6. The results of the follow-up evaluation indicate that the cognitive and emotional performance of Case 4 was affected after the group work. Therefore, participation in group work will be essential for Case 4 in the future.

### 3. Resurgence of confidence from cooking

Case 7 is a female aged 76 with primary school education. She was born in Nantou County and lived in the dormitory for office government workers in Zhongxing New Village, Nantou City. She was widowed with two sons and a daughter when she moved into the dormitory. On November 6th 2007, she moved into the institution, which was arranged by her son because she can't walk and has problems taking care of herself. She has been having mood swings and falling into arguments with other residents quite frequently. She has been experiencing problems adapting to life in the institution but the situation was improved slightly after she was transferred to another area. In recent years, her physical condition has been weakening, so she became less involved in the activities organized in the institution. Poor social interaction puts her in solitude quite often. She neither interacts with others, nor participates in any kind of activities in the institution. The researcher invited her again and again, and finally she agreed to try reluctantly. Her MMSE score and CT-GDS score are 24 and 15 respectively, which are the fifth and fourth highest among the group members.

At the initial stage of the group work activities, Case 7 earned 14 points in the overall participation score consecutively from activity 1 to activity 3, which was a better score compared to other group members. In three consecutive units, she expressed that she was happy to be in charge of cooking again. She seemed to have found all her confidence again. At the mien cha unit, the second group activity, she recalled that her mother was sick when she was 15 years old, and her grandmother taught her how to make mien cha. Her mother died a year later and her father never remarried. Since the age of 15, she took charge of making dinner for the whole family all on her own. During the conversation, she showed her pride of being able to contribute to her family at such a young age. In the fourth activity unit, she recalled the memory of the sponge gourd she planted back home in Zhongxing New Village. She remembered that the sponge gourd plants sometimes produced many gourds and sometimes nothing. Her son's family, a family of three, still lives in the old house. The tight space in the house prevents her from moving around with a wheelchair and she was incapable of going upstairs with her weak legs, so she moved to the institution. It has been three years and she does not want to move back home now. In terms of mobility, the institution is a much better place because she can move around with her wheelchair when she leaves her bed. Her overall participation score rose to 17 in the fourth activity unit. Though the overall participation score dropped to 16 at the fifth activity unit, the score still maintained at the high level of 18 throughout the sixth, seventh and eighth activity units.

數持續不變，其憂鬱之情形則受到相當之影響，未來實有持續參與團體之必要。

### 小結：

懷舊團體活動是對老人整合過去、分享往事和經歷的鼓勵措施及專業整合的工作，李月英(1997)指出，老人對於回顧過去、談論往事有高度的興趣，生命的回顧更是老化過程的基本要素，它可以增強老人自尊與自信。社會工作者在團體工作當中不僅在提昇失智老人案主發展的空間，也在加強失智老人案主的社會人際關係，更重要的是促成案主滿足成長的需求。此一結果，也呼應量化研究分析中個別改變的發展，間接也印証了團體前後測量化研究的整體成果是極為正向的成果。

## 伍 結論反思與建議

### 參與社會活動降低焦慮行爲，促進自我表達與社會互動

根據高潔純與林麗嬋(2005)所論及之失智老人參與越多機構安排的結構式活動，不但可顯著降低問題行爲，同時還可以提高日常生活功能、改善睡眠品質、減輕焦慮情緒、促進自我表達與社會互動。本研究結果也發現，部分個案改變可能來自團體活動中對食物製作的成就感，稱之為成就提昇型。顯示懷舊團體工作可使受服務老人有多元的發展與改善。部分個案改變可能來自團體中今昔比較的自我實現感，由苦而樂、由悲而喜，稱之為情緒提昇型；部分個案可能改變來自團體活動中對子女的記憶，稱之為記憶提昇型。陳俊佑(2004)針對老人養護中心之中度失智個案樣本做探討，他指出老人成員之記憶與行爲問題在團體工作介入下有效果產生，即失智長者問題行爲出現頻率呈現出明顯下降趨勢；而且團體活動治療介入後影響照顧者的困擾程度，平均分數也呈現下降趨勢。本研究也呼應了此一結論，顯示部分參與老人日常生活功能的提昇、減輕其焦慮情緒、促進了自我表達與社會互動。

After participating in the traditional foods reminiscence group work, the MMSE score of Case 7 rose from 24 to 25, and the CT-GDS score dropped from 15 to 4. The results show a good improvement in CT-GDS score, and the results of 6-month follow-up test show that her MMSE score remained at 25, but her CT-GDS rose back to 13. The statistics indicate that the symptoms of depression improved after the group work, but the MMSE score returned to the original level after six months but her depression symptoms were influenced in a considerable degree. This signifies that her symptoms of depression aggravated and continuous participation in group work is essential for Case 7.

### Summary:

Reminiscence group activity involves techniques devised to encourage elderly to consolidate and share their memories and experiences; it is also a task of consolidated professional knowledge. Li Yuen-yin (1997) pointed out that the elderly are highly interested in recalling the past and talking about their remembrances. Life retrospection is the one of the fundamental elements in the aging process. It brings out pride and confidence in the elderly. In group work, social workers play a role to open the possibilities for the elderly with dementia to develop cognitive skills and interpersonal relationships, and more importantly fulfill their need for self-growth. This result responds to the development of individual changes in the analysis of quantitative research and indirectly verified the overall positive outcome revealed in the group pre-tests and post-tests.

## Conclusion and Recommendations

### Participation in social activities reduces anxiety and encourages self-expression and social interaction

Kao Chieh-chun and Lin Li-chan (2005) pointed out that a higher participation rate in structured activities arranged by institutions can significantly reduce behavioral problems of the elderly, as well as enhancing the abilities of self-management, improving quality of sleep, reducing anxiety, and encouraging self-expression and social interaction. The results of this study also show that changes in some cases may have come from the sense of accomplishment in cooking during the group work; we call it the achievement-enhancement type. This phenomenon shows that reminiscence group work provided the elderly with diverse opportunities for development and improvement. Changes of some cases may have come from the sense of self-realization. They turned from sorrowful to happy individuals in the group activities; we call them the emotion-enhancement type. Changes in other cases may have come from their memories of their children recalled during the group work activities; we call them the memory-enhancement type. In his discussion on elderly with moderate level dementia residing in nursing homes, Chen Chun-yu (2004) pointed out that group work intervention has a certain effectiveness

### 運用懷舊團體介入服務，改善老人憂鬱

Sahlins(2010:38)便認為以失智及退化而造成認知及記憶功能的缺損，可運用懷舊團體法等模式進行介入服務，改善老人憂鬱、孤單與寂寞生活狀況，本研究係採取準實驗設計法，規劃古早味組為實驗組，為使本研究具有檢驗性，另規劃對照組以為研究之控制組，其後在團體工作完成後，探討兩組成員MMSE智能分數及憂鬱量表前後差異之情形。在實驗組中，古早味組成員在團體前後測有正向之效果，特別在憂鬱分數上最為顯著。這與陳俊佑(2004)於團體工作應用於失智老人問題行為處遇之初探結果相似。另外，Smith & Buckwalter, (2005)與Kovach(2000)認為，有利的刺激包含：懷舊等非醫療藥物服務或治療相關活動會對失智長輩的憂鬱情形有顯著的幫助，本研究之結果正與此符合。

### 古早味團體的過程可發展出老人心理與社會功能現象

古早味的過程本就是發展出老人以下的幾種心理與社會功能現象(Huang et al., 2009)：1.生理的滿足；2.自我的成就；3.自我的成長；4.社會的互動；5.情緒的穩定；6.選擇掌控權；7.家庭化氣氛；8.個別化滿足。從個別研究對象的類型來看，部分個案改變可能來自團體中今昔比較的成就感，為情緒提昇型；部分個案改變可能來自團體活動中對食物製作的成就感，稱之為成就提昇型；至於其他個案為持續穩定型。古早味團體的過程可發展出老人心理與社會功能現象(Huang et al., 2009)，包括了自我的成就感受，選擇掌控權，獲得學習的機會，自我的成長—成就提昇型，也增加社會的互動，發展出正向的互動模式—人際提昇型；另外，在團體過程中，由於對懷舊食物的愉悅與家庭化氣氛，增進了正向情緒的發展與穩定—情緒提昇型。

### 懷舊團體實務進行研究之建議

由於人際互動可以延緩失智老人的發展階段，甚至增加智能的開展。因此，未來，懷舊團體實務之進行，宜考量事前篩選個案，訪問個案的需求進行規劃團體；每週二次團體工作，依層次設計古早

in improving memories and behavioral problems common to elderly members, i.e. significant decrease in the frequency of problematic behaviors. Moreover, the average score of distress level of the caregivers has also decreased after group work therapy. The results of this study also correspond to Chen's conclusion. This indicates that group work enhances the ability to self-manage, reduces anxiety, and encourages self-expression and social interaction in some of the participating elderly members.

### Using reminiscence group intervention services to improve symptoms of depression

Sahlins (2010:38) suggests that intervention, such as reminiscence group work, can be used to improve geriatric depression and the condition of solitary and lonely lives of elderly with cognitive and memory impairment caused by dementia and deterioration. This study used a quasi-experimental design with an experiment group, named the traditional foods reminiscence group, and a control group for comparison in this study. After completion of the group work activity units, the differences between the MMSE and CT-GDS scores of the two groups before and after intervention were discussed. In the experiment group, the differences between the pre-test and post-test scores of the members in the traditional foods reminiscence group show positive effects, especially significant in the CT-GDS scores. This result is similar to the result of the preliminary study entitled "Exploration Study of Group Therapy Applied on Demented Elders with Memory and Unusual Behaviors" by Chen Chun-yu (2004). Furthermore, Smith & Buckwalter (2005) and Kovach (2000) suggest that positive stimulus, including non-medical treatment services or related activities, such as reminiscence activities, help to alleviate depression symptoms occurring in elderly with dementia which verifies the results of this study.

### The process of reminiscence group activities helps the elderly to develop psychological and social functions

The traditional foods reminiscence activities were targeted to develop the following psychological and social functions for the elderly (Huang et al., 2009): 1 Physiological satisfaction, 2 Sense of achievement, 3 Self-growth, 4 Social interaction, 5 Emotional stability, 6 The right to choose, 7 Home-like atmosphere, 8 Individual satisfaction. From the types of the individual subjects, changes in some cases may have come from the sense of achievement derived from comparison of the present to the past, which is the emotion-enhancement type, changes in some cases may have come from the accomplishment of cooking in the group activities, which is the achievement-enhancement type, and other cases are grouped in the continuous-stable type. The process of traditional foods reminiscence activity develops psychological and social functions of the elderly (Huang et al., 2009), including self-achievement, the right to choose, opportunities to learn and self-growth (the achievement-enhancement type), and increased social interaction and development of positive interaction (interpersonal

味團體；每一梯次之團體至少八次單元，如果可能是十二次更佳，以利對失智老人社會互動刺激。另外，音樂懷舊、節慶懷舊或生命故事懷舊等均可以進行團體工作活動，可以促使失智老人在智能上之開展。

relation-enhancement type). Furthermore, in the process of group work, the warm feelings towards traditional foods and the home-like atmosphere enhances development of positive emotions and stability (emotion-enhancement type).

### **Recommendations for studies in the practice of reminiscence group work**

Interpersonal interaction slows down the progression of dementia and even enhances development of intelligence. Therefore, we recommend future studies on the practice of reminiscence group work to screen participants prior to the implementation of group intervention and interview case subjects for their needs before grouping. We recommend that group work activities should be implemented twice a week, and traditional foods reminiscence group activities should be designed with different levels of difficulty. Moreover, each group work program should consist of at least eight units of activities, or twelve activity units for expanded stimulation of social interaction in elderly with dementia. Finally, nostalgic music, festivities, or life stories can also be designed into the themes for reminiscence group work activities to promote development of cognitive abilities of elderly with dementia.



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# 寄養家庭親子互動與支持系統之研究－寄養父親的觀點

## A Study on Parent-Child Interaction and Support Systems in Foster Families – From the Perspective of Foster Fathers

楊倫潔 Lun-Chieh Yang\*、羅幼瓊 Yu-Chiung Lou\*\*

### 摘要

本研究以寄養家庭為主軸，探索在雙親寄養家庭中的親子互動與支持系統為何。研究對象設定為雙親家庭中擔任主要照顧者的寄養父親，並非一般研究主流常見的寄養母親，主要是為了探索寄養父親成為主要照顧者的親子互動、支持系統及家庭運作狀況。研究結果顯示寄養父親與寄養童的親子互動相當親密，寄養父親付出相當多心力照顧寄養童；寄養父親主要支持來源為配偶，除此之外還包括家人、親友及社工員等，皆提供寄養父親相當多的支持。寄養父親會成為主要照顧者，多是因其非家中主要經濟來源，因此有較多的時間來照顧寄養童。最後，根據研究結果提供建議給實務工作者、政府單位及後續研究者參考。

**關鍵字：**親子互動、支持系統、寄養父親、寄養家庭

### Abstract

*This study aimed to explore the interactions of foster father (who are the primary caregivers of parents foster families) and foster children, foster father's support systems, and the operation of foster families that the foster father become the primary caregiver. Hopefully, the result of the study can promote the public to join the services of the foster families and to enhance the foster families continue their services. The study uses qualitative methods to interview five foster fathers who are the primary caregivers to understand their parental experience of caring foster children. The results are as following.*

- 1.As far as parent-child interaction is concerned, five pairs of foster fathers and foster children have very good relationship. Therefore, five pairs of foster fathers and foster children not only get along pretty well, but also the frequency of interactions between them is very high.*
- 2.Foster father's informal support systems mainly are from their spouses, then relatives, friends, neighbors, school teachers, and other foster parents; formal support systems are from social workers, the agencies, and helping profession books.*
- 3.The motivations of becoming a foster father are personal factors and job factors. It is flexible working time and not having heavy work load which made foster father a primary caregiver.*

*Finally, based on the study result, the researcher gives suggestions to relevant organizations and governments and indicates the directions for future studies.*

**Keywords:** parent-child interaction, support system, foster father, foster family

\* 財團法人台灣兒童暨家庭扶助基金會北台中家庭扶助中心社工員，電子郵件：ylj0904@ccf.org.tw。

Social Worker, Northern Taichung City Branch Office, Taiwan Fund for Children and Families. E-mail: ylj0904@ccf.org.tw

\*\* 亞洲大學社會工作學系副教授，電子郵件：yclou@asia.edu.tw。

Assistance Professor, Department of Social Work, Asia University. E-mail: yclou@asia.edu.tw

## 壹、前言

### 一、研究背景與動機

寄養服務是指一種代替性服務，當家庭發生重大變故，或其原生家庭照顧者不適任親職，為讓兒童與少年能有較健全的成長環境，因此讓其暫時離開原生家庭，接受寄養安置，寄養家庭提供完善的生活照顧和發揮適當的家庭功能，使兒童少年能在正常的家庭環境中成長(財團法人台灣兒童暨家庭扶助基金會，2003)。根據內政部統計，全台灣接受家庭寄養服務的兒童及少年，五年下來(96-100年)，平均每年約為1,192.2人，若以目前可以提供安置的寄養家庭戶數來說，扣除儲備的寄養家庭，平均每年約有1240.4戶的寄養家庭可提供安置，因此每戶平均寄養0.96人，但就民國100年的寄養家庭，平均每戶須寄養2.9人之多(內政部統計處，2012)，由此看來，寄養家庭戶數依舊是不足夠的。此外，研究者自身與寄養父母接觸的經驗，發現雖然大多數的寄養家庭主要照顧者為寄養母親，但仍有少數家庭是由寄養父親擔任照顧工作，這讓研究者產生好奇。然而寄養家庭不足是近年來面臨的問題，若寄養父親也能成為稱職的照顧者，勢必可以為寄養家庭增加更多的資源，要瞭解寄養父親的照顧狀況，可從多方面進行探討，故研究者提出以下幾點作為本研究之背景：

#### (一)寄養家庭供不應求

根據家扶基金會在民國99年提供的服務數據來看，全年度共有2,589名兒童少年接受寄養服務，並有968戶寄養家庭提供寄養服務(台灣兒童暨家庭扶助基金會，2010)，平均每戶寄養家庭須照顧2.6人；而根據內政部統計處民國96年到100年的統計，在寄養人數的部分呈現逐年上升的趨勢，從上述兩項數據可以知道，對於寄養家庭的需求是越來越急切，因此增加寄養家庭的數目，是目前寄養服務發展的趨勢之一，然而若是寄養父親也能成為照顧者的角色，對寄養家庭來說，無疑是一大幫助，且寄養父親對寄養童而言，是有其重要性的。

## Introduction

### I. Background and Objectives

Foster care is a substitute service instituted to provide short-term care in a healthy environment away from the biological families of children/youths who have experienced major changes in their families or whose biological parents are deemed incapable of providing proper care. Foster families provide appropriate family functions and daily care to support foster children through helping them grow in a healthy family environment (Fund for Children and Families in Taiwan, 2003). According to the data released by the Interior Ministry, an average of 1,192.2 children per year (from 2007 to 2011) in Taiwan entered foster care. Currently, excluding reserve foster families, a total of 1240.4 foster families are available to help children every year. Therefore, on average, a foster family can provide services to 0.96 children. However, in 2011, foster families were required to take care of an average of 2.9 children (Department of Statistics, Interior Ministry, 2012). This shows that the number of foster families is still insufficient. In addition, from the authors' experiences with foster parents, we found that although most foster children are cared by foster mothers, there is a small number of foster fathers who play a major role in providing foster care. The authors are quite intrigued by this phenomenon. Though the problem of insufficient foster care only emerged in recent years, foster fathers can bring additional resources to foster services if they are competent caregivers. Therefore, the authors proposed the following aspects as a background about foster fathers for this study:

#### 1. Insufficient foster families

According to the data on foster services released by the Taiwan Fund for Children and Families, in 2010, a total of 2,589 children/youths entered foster care and a total of 968 foster families provided foster care services (Taiwan Fund for Children and Families, 2010). On average, a foster family took care of 2.6 children. The data released by the Department of Statistics, Ministry of the Interior, shows that, from 2007 to 2011, the number of children/youths entering foster care is on the rise. From the above data, we can see that the demand for foster families is becoming an urgent matter. Therefore, the present trend of foster care development is focused on increasing the number of available foster families. If foster fathers can play a functional role as a caregiver, they will be a great help to the foster care service. The role of foster father has its importance to a child under foster care.

## (二)寄養父親對寄養童的重要性

近年來，父親的角色已由「養家者」轉變為「照顧者」，父親不再只是外出工作賺錢的人，而是必須關懷和照顧子女，成為模範，因此父親的角色在家中占有極高的重要性，然而根據內政部的統計，近五年(民國96-100年)來施虐者的性別，男性約是女性的2倍之多，其中施虐者身份為父母的人數就超過總人數的七成，而父親為施虐者的人數又比母親多的一半左右，因此，從統計數據中可得知，大多數的施虐者都以男性且是父親居多。

根據上段落得知施虐者以父親居多，面對這些因受虐而被安置的寄養童，寄養父親的角色也更加重要，他們必須讓寄養童重新瞭解和感受父親的角色是照顧關懷而非施虐，開始願意接受父親的關愛，因此寄養父親與寄養童的相處，有更深一層的含意，代表的不只是寄養父親的照顧，更是寄養童重拾父愛、修復與男性長輩關係的開始。寄養父親並非主流的照顧角色，其照顧方式是否會與寄養母親有所不同呢？

## (三)寄養父親照顧寄養童的方式與寄養母親有何不同？

近年來，已有越來越多孩子需要接受保護安置，因此對於寄養服務也越來越受到重視，尤其是關注在寄養家庭的經驗以及終止流失這一區塊，然而在寄養服務的相關研究中，幾乎都是以寄養母親為主，但是研究者從實習所接觸的案例卻發現寄養家庭的主要照顧者不只是有寄養母親，其實寄養父親也是能夠擔任這個角色的，而寄養父親的照顧方式和寄養母親又有什麼不同呢？除了由寄養父親擔任主要照顧者這點引起研究者的動機之外，在幾次的接觸談話之中，發現寄養童與寄養父親的關係，在口語與非口語兩方面呈現了不同的狀態，這一點引發了研究者想要瞭解寄養父親與寄養童平時的相處狀況以及互動的模式，然而是什麼原因讓寄養父親能夠持續的擔任照顧工作，週遭的支持系統，有一定的影響。

## 2. The importance of a foster father to children under foster care

In recent years, the role of the father has changed from “breadwinner” to “caregiver”. A father is no longer a figure whose only duty is going out to make money. Now, he also plays a role to care for children and attend to children’s needs. He is a role model, too. Therefore, a father plays an extremely important role in a family. However, in the past five years (2007 to 2011), statistics released by the Ministry of the Interior shows that there are twice as many male abusers than female, and parents make up 70% of total child abuse cases; among abusing parents, the number of fathers as abusers is again over 50% more than mothers. From the statistics, we can see that the majority of abusers are male, and most of them are the fathers of the victims.

As mentioned earlier, the majority of child abusers are fathers. Therefore, the role of the father in a foster family is even more important when a child abused by his/her father is placed in foster care. Fathers in foster families take on the duty to make abused children understand and feel that a father can provide care rather than abuse them, and lead the child to accept care from a father. Therefore, the relationship between a foster father and an abused child has a profound meaning at a deeper layer. It represents not just a positive image of a caring father but also the beginning in the child’s development to repair and rebuild relationships with male elders. At the current stage, the foster father is not a mainstream role as a care provider. Do they care for the foster children in ways different from foster mothers?

## 3. What are the differences between methods of caring used by foster fathers and mothers?

In recent years, more and more children have come forward to request protection and placement. Therefore, the services of foster care are getting more attention, especially foster family experiences and how to prevent losing willing families. However, in studies related to foster care, the focus is predominantly placed on foster mothers, but, from the researchers’ experience with foster families, the researchers found that mothers are not the only caregivers in foster families. In fact, foster fathers are well capable of playing the role of major caregiver. Then, what are the differences between care methods provided by foster fathers and foster mothers? The concept of foster father as the major caregiver triggered this study. Nonetheless, from several interviews with foster families, the researchers also found that the foster father-child relationship was exhibited in different ways both verbally and non-verbally. This phenomenon triggered the interest of the researchers to explore the interactive modes between a foster father and child in everyday living scenarios. What brought the foster fathers to care for the foster children on a continuous basis; the researchers think that the support system available in the surrounding environment must have a certain influence.

#### (四)寄養父親的支持系統為何？

當寄養父親開始擔任照顧角色時，週遭的支持系統對其擔任照顧者有一定的影響，是什麼樣的機緣而使他成為家庭中的照顧者？當他面臨照顧上的問題時，都是如何解決呢？生活週遭有哪些人支持他從事與持續這個照顧工作呢？有好多的疑問是研究者想要從寄養父親身上尋找答案，因此研究者想要瞭解身為主要照顧者的寄養父親，其週遭的支持系統，不管是正式或非正式系統，對他從事照顧工作有什麼樣的影響，又帶給其什麼樣的支持，怎樣家庭運作模式讓寄養父親擔起照顧者的責任？

#### (五)為何男性會成為主要照顧者？

大部分的寄養家庭中，擔任主要照顧者的多是女性，但是事實上，男性也能成為主要照顧者，且父職角色也日漸收到重視，加上性別平等觀念的發展，女性不再是唯一能夠負責照顧工作的角色；雖然寄養服務目前為止，多以寄養母親為主要照顧者，不過依然有少數的雙親寄養家庭由寄養父親擔任主要照顧的工作，從這樣的情況看來，在雙親寄養家庭中，男性成為主要照顧者的情況並不是沒有的，不過究竟是怎麼樣的家庭運作方式，會由寄養父親來擔任主要照顧者呢？亦是研究者想要瞭解之處。

## 二、研究目的

因此，本研究的目的是瞭解身為主要照顧者的寄養父親與寄養童的互動關係以及其支持系統，還有其家庭運作的狀況。詳細目的於以下列點：

- (一)探討寄養父親與寄養童互動之情形。
- (二)瞭解寄養父親之支持系統。
- (三)探索以寄養父親為主要照顧者的寄養家庭之運作情況。
- (四)提供研究結果以提高社會大眾加入寄養家庭和持續擔任寄養家庭的意願。

## 貳、文獻探討

本章節先藉由了解寄養服務的發展及相關研

#### 4. What are the support systems for foster fathers?

When a foster father begins to take on the role as the major caregiver, the surrounding support system must have a certain influence. What brought them to become the major caregivers in the family? How do they solve problems in the process of providing care? Who gives them the support to take on responsibilities and continue the work? There are so many answers to be explored from the foster fathers. Therefore, the researchers initiated this research to explore how formal and informal support systems influenced foster fathers to offer foster care and what kind of support they receive, as well as what kind of family models enable the foster fathers to take on the responsibility as the major caregivers.

#### 5. Why would a man choose to become the major caregiver?

In most foster families, women are the major caregivers, but, men can also be the major caregivers. The role of the father is gaining more attention in modern society and the development of gender equality has changed the stereotype of women as the sole caregiver in the family. Though foster mothers are still the main caregivers in foster families at the current stage, we found that some foster fathers in two-parent families are beginning to take on the responsibilities as the major caregivers. This shows that men as the main caregiver in two-parent foster families do exist, but what kind of family model inspires foster fathers to become the major caregivers in the family? This phenomenon inspired the researchers to explore the answers.

## II. Objectives

This study aims to explore the interactive relationship between foster children and their foster fathers who are the major caregivers in the family, the support systems, and the family models. This research is intended to explore:

- (I) Foster father-child relationships
- (II) Support systems for foster fathers
- (III) Family operations in which the foster father is the major caregiver

Hopefully, this study can bring more families to volunteer as foster families on a continuous basis.

## Literature Review

In this literature, we will start from the development of foster care services and relevant research literature, which will lead us into trends and current issues relating to foster



究，了解寄養服務的趨勢及所關注的焦點，接著再進入主軸，探討親子互動及支持系統的意涵，藉由這三部份貫穿整體研究之架構。

## 一、國內寄養服務的發展與相關研究

### (一)寄養服務的意涵

寄養服務是指一種代替家庭的服務，提供完善的生活照顧和發揮適當的家庭功能，使寄養兒童或青少年能在正常的家庭環境中成長，以期達到身心健全的發展(台灣兒童暨家庭扶助基金會，2003)。

### (二)寄養服務的發展與轉變

國內的寄養安置服務起始於民國70年，當時委託台灣兒童暨家庭扶助基金會所屬的五個家庭扶助中心辦理此項服務，由於效果良好，於是配合中央在民國72年1月頒訂「兒童寄養辦法」，於72年7月正式推展，寄養服務也開始有法律上的依據，至民國77年開始實施全面性的寄養服務(周珮綺，2006)。

寄養家庭服務的性質與法規隨著國內社會環境的變遷而改變，以下將寄養家庭服務的轉變歸納為三個層面，一為家庭寄養的安置原因趨向多元化；二則是由「聲請」發展到「強制安置」；最後，放寬寄養家庭的資格(何素秋，1999；樂洋如等人，1999)。

### (三)寄養服務的相關研究

何依芳(2003)的研究結論裡提到：有些寄養母親在寄養兒童剛來到家中時，會因為不知道如何改變寄養兒童的壞習慣，而有教養寄養兒童的壓力。從教導的過程當中，可以探索出寄養父母與寄養童的互動關係，面對剛進入新環境的寄養童，寄養父母又是如何與其建立關係，如何牽起雙方的互動，都有可能影響往後的互動經驗。

李佩芬(2007)一篇寄養家庭主要照顧者持續從事服務的研究中發現多數受訪者從事寄養家庭服務的過程或在日常生活當中，她們較會感受到來自寄養家庭成員、社工員、學校老師等人的支持對她們持續從事寄養家庭服務的重要影響。

care services. Following which, we will discuss the connotations of parent-child interaction and the support systems. Consolidation of these three areas forms the framework of this research.

## I. development and related studies of foster care services in Taiwan

### 1. Connotations of foster care

Foster care refers to a substitute family service providing healthy daily life care and adequate family functions which allows foster children/youths to grow in a normal family environment and develop into a physically and psychologically sound individual (Taiwan Fund for Children and Families, 2003).

### 2. Developments and changes of foster care services in Taiwan

Foster care services in Taiwan began in 1981. The services were commissioned by five branches of the Taiwan Fund for Children and Families (TFCF) at the initial stage. The program was highly successful. Therefore, the central government legislated the Regulations Governing Foster Care Services in January 1983, which took effect on July 1983, providing a legal basis for foster care services. In 1988, a full-scale of foster service was launched (Chou Pei-chi, 2006).

The functions and laws of foster care services changed along with the development of society. The changes are from three aspects: 1. Diversified causes for foster care placement, 2. From "petition" to "compulsory placement", and 3. Lowered threshold for becoming foster families (Ho Su-Chiu, 1999; Yueh Yang-ju et al, 1999).

### 3. Studies on foster care services

Ho Yi-fang (2003) mentioned in the conclusion of her study that some foster mothers experienced stress when disciplining foster children because some foster mothers do not know how to change foster children's bad habits when the foster children first joined the families. Foster parent-child relationships can be observed from the disciplinary process. How the foster parents establish relationships with the newly-arrived foster child and how they begin to interact with each other may influence their interactive experiences in the future.

Li (2007) suggests in her study, The process of primary caregivers providing prolonged care in foster families, that most foster care providers feel strongly about the support from their family members, social workers and school teachers in the process of foster care or everyday living scenarios, such support is one of the major reasons that they continue to provide foster care.

此外，國外的文獻也提及相關的資料，包括 Caine(2010)的研究中發現寄養父母認為政府必須實施完善的福利制度，國家也需要提供在照顧上的援助並成功的培訓寄養父母。Denby, Rindfleisch,和 Bean(1999)認為寄養家庭流失的因素是因為機構缺乏足夠的服務。

上述相關研究可知，除了從教導寄養童的過程中可探索互動之外，不論國內外研究，皆提到週遭支持對寄養家庭的影響，由此可知支持系統對寄養家庭主要照顧者的重要性。

## 二、親子互動的相關研究

### (一)親子互動的意涵

親子互動包含的範圍非常廣，依照各個研究有不同的表達方式，Gongla 和Thompson(1987)認為親子互動關係包含身體互動與心理互動的關係。馬傳鎮(1982)指出，親子互動泛指家庭生活情境中，父母與子女間的情感、權威性、結構性的互動，故可包含父母的教養態度。黃春枝(1986)認為親子互動即指父母與孩子在生活過程中，有關身體與心理層面的種種交互作用，包括父母對孩子的管教方式與態度。

綜合上述研究，本研究對親子互動的定義首先為身體的互動和管教；在身體的互動方面，可以是動作、口語的表達；其次，在管教方面，包括寄養父親的管教方式與寄養童的回應；最後，親子互動也包含情感的依附等心理層面。

### (二)親子互動的影響因素

影響親子互動之因素很多，因為親子關係是由一連串的互動歷程形成，在互動的歷程中，親子雙方及環境的狀況皆可能造成影響(蔡春美、翁麗芳、洪福財，2005；潘錦陵，2008；田美惠，2001)，由於本研究是以寄養家庭為主軸，因此在探討影響因素時，須再另外加入機構的因素，探討如下：

首先，父母的年齡、性別、健康情形、婚姻和諧度、社會階層、養兒育女的想法與態度、過去與兒童的接觸經驗行為、示範、人格特質等。其次，子女的

Furthermore, foreign research literature has also mentioned similar findings, including Caine(2010) found in his study that foster parents think that the government should implement a good social welfare system, as well as providing assistance to and successfully training foster parents. Denby, Rindfleisch and Bean (1999) believe that insufficient support contributes to the loss of foster families.

From the above discussion, we see that, in addition to exploring foster parent-child interaction through the disciplinary process, many domestic and foreign studies have mentioned how support systems affect functioning of foster families and their significance to the major caregivers in foster families.

## II. Parent-child interaction related studies

### 1. Connotation of parent-child interaction

Parent-child interaction is a broad concept with divergent definitions. Gongla and Thompson (1987) suggest that parent-child interaction contains two aspects - physical interaction and psychological interaction. Ma (1982) pointed out that parent-child interaction generally refers to the affections between parent and child and authoritative and structural interactions in family life; therefore, this concept can include parents' attitude towards disciplining of their children. Huang (1986) thinks that parent-child interaction refers to various physical and psychological interactions between parent and child in the course of everyday activities, including parenting and attitudes towards discipline.

In summary, parent-child interaction is defined as physical interaction and parenting in this study. Physical interaction includes physical or verbal expression, and parenting covers the scope of discipline methods used by foster fathers and responses from the foster child. Finally, parent-child interaction also covers the psychological aspect of emotional attachment.

### 2. Factors influencing parent-child interaction

There are many factors influencing parent-child interaction because parent-child interaction is formed by a series of interactive processes. In the course of interaction, both sides, parents and the child, and the environment may affect the results of interaction (Tsai, Weng, & Hung, 2005; Pan, 2008; Tien, 2001). This study is focused on foster families; therefore, institutional factors should also be included in the discussion of influencing factors. Further discussions are presented in the section below:

First of all, attributes of the parents have a certain effect on the quality of foster care, including parents' age, gender, health, marital relationship, socioeconomic status, cognition and attitude towards parenting, past experiences with children, role models and personality. Secondly, attributes of the child can be

年齡、性別、排行、發展階段、氣質、身體健康狀態、從小習得的行為反應模式、與父母親密或疏離的程度等等。再其次，當時社會環境的情況也會影響親子間的互動。最後，若寄養父母未能從機構中獲得充分的支持和服務，則勢必對兒童提供服務的困難度和成本增加(Campbell & Downs, 1987)，因此，若是機構能夠提供充足的服務，那麼將會降低寄養父母因教養問題而破壞親子關係的機會。

### (三)親子互動相關研究

幾乎所有關於親子互動的研究都是以血緣關係為主，關於非血緣關係的研究，研究者除了以寄養為尋找目標外，像是收養家庭的研究，亦納入參考，探討如下：

吳秀(2003)一篇收養家庭的研究提到，由於一開始並非血親關係，所以當收養關係開始時，心理上的親子關係待確認。藉由一次次立即而合適的回應孩子的需求，孩子開始相信父母，這種良性的互動關係一再循環後，親子間的情感便逐漸建立(Jarratt, 1982)。

周菊平(2007)一篇如何促進寄養童親情的建立之研究中提到，年齡越小，所經歷的不幸在生活中越容易模糊甚至消失。因此將寄養童儘早送入寄養家庭，將促進他們的情感發展，有利於親情的建立。除此之外寄養父母要善於聽取和瞭解寄養童發出的信號，並作出及時恰當的反應，寄養童在感受這些反應時，就發展了一種對寄養父母的信任。

由上述可知，就算沒有血緣關係，經過照顧者的努力，也是能夠建立雙方間的關係及信任，而寄養家庭也是後天形成的親子關係，因此寄養父母可以透過不斷的良好回應及付出，以建立與寄養童的關係及獲得寄養童的信任。

## 三、父職支持系統的相關研究

### (一)支持系統的意涵

對於支持系統的定義，Caplan(1974)提出社會支持為個人經由與他人之互動而滿足基本社會需要的

a determinant to the quality of foster care, including the child's age, gender, order of birth, developmental stage, temperament, physical health, behavioral response patterns learned in the early years, and relationship with parents. Thirdly, social environment at the time is also an influencing factor on parent-child interaction. Finally, if the foster parents do not receive sufficient support from institutions, it will become more difficult for foster parents to provide care and the costs will get higher (Campbell & Downs, 1987). Therefore, if institutions can provide sufficient support to foster parents, the possibilities of disruption to parent-child relationships caused by disciplinary problems may be decreased.

### 3. Studies relating to parent-child interaction

Most studies on parent-child interaction focus on kinship relationships. Therefore, with a focus on non-kinship relationships, the researchers sought studies about adopted families as studies relating to parent-child interaction. There is some literature review below.

Wu (2003) stated in her study relating to adopted families that, since it is a non-kinship relationship from the beginning, psychologically the parent-child relationship is pending confirmation from the moment of adoption. Through repeated and appropriate responses to the child's needs, the child begins to trust the parents, and re-occurrence of positive interaction gradually establishes affection between parent and child (Jarratt, 1982).

Chou (2007) stated in her study relating to enhancing parent-child relationships in a foster relationship that younger children tend to have more blurred memories relating to the tragedies in their lives or no memories at all. Therefore, placing children in foster families should be done as early as possible, since it facilitates emotional development and establishment of parent-child relationships. In addition, foster parents must have the skills to listen and detect signals from their foster child and give them a proper response in time. Then foster children can develop trust towards their foster parents.

From the above discussion, we can see that parent-child relationships and interactions can be developed through the efforts of caregivers even when a kinship relationship does not exist between them. Parent-child relationships in a foster family are an acquired relationship; therefore, through continuous responses and attention, foster parents build interactive parent-child relationships and win the trust of their foster children.

## III. Studies relating to support systems for fatherhood

### 1. Connotations of support systems

On the subject of support systems, Caplan (1974) defines social support as the degree of satisfaction of basic social

程度，及與重要他人之人際互動中來獲得尊重、親密與安全感。宋麗玉(2002)指出所謂社會支持指的是由他人獲得正向力量。

綜上所述，研究者認為支持系統是產生在人與人的互動之間，是從自己的重要他人身上獲取力量，當面對壓力時，支持系統能夠有效的發揮功能，來減輕壓力對自己的傷害並獲得滿足。

## (二)支持系統的來源

支持系統的來源眾多，不過大致上可分為正式支持與非正式支持兩大類。除了上述的分法之外，有部分研究則將支持系統分為初級支持和次級支持，前者是指是指來自家人等認識的人；後者則指正式的、非私人所組織的支持系統(胡中宜，1997；高明珠，1999)。下述將以正式及非正式支持為主軸，針對支持系統的來源詳述之。

- 1.正式的(formal support system)支持系統：指透過專業人員如：社工員、諮商員等提供支持之社會福利系統或其他具有特定目標的專業機構或組織。
- 2.自然的(natural support system)或非正式(informal)支持系統：指由家庭支持系統與親友、鄰里所組成的支持系統，如：家人、親戚、鄰居、朋友、學校師長或同事等重要他人。

## (三)支持系統的種類

研究者將支持系統的種類，統整文獻並針對本研究之內容，以下列三種分別論述(湯麗玉，1991)：一為情緒性支持，指的是得到他人的關心、尊重、肯定等正向的情感表達。二則是工具性支持，在需要幫助時，他人提供的直接幫助行為。最後是訊息性支持，就是從他人身上直接的獲取訊息，以幫助個體解決問題。

## (四)父職支持系統相關研究

陳正弘(2006)的研究顯示無論幼兒的參與意願與社會支持程度的高低，其在親職壓力各向度上所感受到的壓力皆無顯著差異。雲惠勤(2011)的研究發現幼兒父親社會支持達良好程度，且社會支持越高，

needs through interaction with others, and the respect, intimacy, and the sense of security acquired from interpersonal relationships with significant others. Sung (2002) suggests that social support refers to the positive strength acquired through others.

In summary, the researchers of this study believe that support systems are formed from interaction between individuals and significant others. When a person is facing pressure, the support system effectively takes effect to reduce the harm from the pressure and to gain strength and satisfaction.

## 2. Sources of support systems

There are numerous sources of support systems and they can be roughly categorized into two types: formal and informal support. Some studies categorize support systems into primary and secondary support. Primary support refers to support from acquaintances, such as families, and secondary support refers to formal and non-private support systems (Chung-yi Hu, 1997; Ming-chu Kao, 1999). The following discussion focuses on formal and informal support and the sources of support systems.

- A. A formal support system refers to social welfare systems or other professional institutions or organizations which provide support through professionals, such as social workers and counselors.
- B. A natural or informal support system refers to family support systems and support systems organized by friends, families, and the community, including significant others, such as families, relatives, neighbors, friends, school teachers, or colleagues.

## 3. Types of support system

The researchers have consolidated the definitions of support systems from the research literature and organized the information into the following three categories (Li-Yu Tang, 1991): A. Emotional support refers to positive emotional expressions for care, respect and reassurance received from others; B. Instrumental support refers to direct assistance provided by others when in need; and C. Information support refers to gaining information directly from others, which helps an individual to solve problems.

## 4. Studies relating to fatherhood support systems

Chen (2006) found that, regardless of children's willingness to participate or the degree of social support, no significant difference has been found in the pressure of parenthood measured from each dimension. Yun (2011) shows that, when social support for fathers of young children is up to a favorable standard, the higher the social support and the father's involvement in



教養參與越多，其父職效能也越高。

綜上所述，支持系統對父職角色有一定的幫助，但若對象為寄養父親，是否會有相同的結果，是值得探索之處。

## 參、研究方法

### 一、研究對象的選取

在研究對象的選取上，為了選取更符合研究條件的對象，因此採取立意抽樣，本研究選取研究對象的條件為：

(一)台灣兒童暨家庭扶助基金會的服務對象。

(二)雙親寄養家庭中的寄養父親：

本研究是以寄養父親為主軸，因此在對象的選取上，設定為其必須是主要照顧者，本研究對於主要照顧者之定義為付出較多的時間及精神在照顧和教養寄養童，為此研究者設計幾項條件，詳述如下，下列條件中，若從事一半以上，即為本研究所指之主要照顧者。

- 1.平常會接送孩子上下學。
- 2.平常會檢查孩子的功課。
- 3.照顧孩子的生活起居，如洗澡、睡覺等。
- 4.孩子生病或有任何狀況時，會幫忙孩子解決。
- 5.會安排孩子參加休閒活動。
- 6.會參與與孩子相關之活動，如機構受訓課程、活動等。
- 7.會和社工、學校老師討論孩子的狀況。

根據上述研究對象選取的條件，透過台灣兒童暨家庭扶助基金會的幫助，共有五位寄養父親參與本研究，基本資料如下：

表3-1 Table3.1

#### 受訪者基本資料表

##### *Basic information of interviewees*

代號 Code	年齡 Age	職業 Occupation	婚姻狀況 Marital Status	子女數 No. of Children	寄養家庭資歷 Years as s foster family (Year)	目前照顧之寄養童數 Number of foster children placed
A	58歲 58	退休 Retired	已婚 Married	3	8年 8	2
B	46歲 46	自營業 Self-employed	已婚 Married	2	9年 9	2

parenting is, the better the father's performance.

In summary, support systems assist the performance of fathers in terms of parenting to a certain degree. And this result provides a viable basis for exploration into the question of whether support systems provide the same level of help to foster fathers.

## Research Method

### I. Selecting research subjects

To select subjects who better match the criteria, this research used purposive sampling for screening of research subjects. The criteria for screening of research subjects are as follows:

1. Service targets of TFCF

2. Foster fathers of two-parent foster families:

This study focuses on foster fathers; therefore, in subject selection, the foster fathers must be the main caregivers in the family. Main caregiver in this study is defined as the person who spends more time and effort in taking care of and implementing disciplinary actions to the foster child. To provide clear guidelines, the researchers screen potential candidates with the criteria listed below. A person who is in charge of over 50% of the following tasks is deemed the main caregiver in the foster family as defined in this study.

- A. Fetch the child to and from school on a regular basis.
- B. Check the child's homework on a regular basis.
- C. Take care of the child's daily activities, such as bathing, sleeping, etc.
- D. Help to solve the child's problems when the child is sick or having problems.
- E. Arrange leisure activities for the child.
- F. Participate in activities with the child, such as training programs and activities arranged by the institution.
- G. Discuss the child's condition with social workers and school teachers.

With the help from TFCF, a total of five foster fathers were



代號 Code	年齡 Age	職業 Occupation	婚姻狀況 Marital Status	子女數 No. of Children	寄養家庭資歷 Years as s foster family (Year)	目前照顧之寄養童數 Number of foster children placed
C	46歲 46	自營業 Self-employed	已婚 Married	3	6年 6	2
D	56歲 56	退休 Retired	已婚 Married	6	8年 8	1
E	61歲 61	退休 Retired	已婚 Married	1	4年 4	1

## 二、資料蒐集方式

本研究使用的是半結構式的訪談，與寄養父親訪談時，考量受訪者的便利性，以及保護寄養童隱私的原則，其中四位寄養父親的訪談場地為機構的個案訪談室，另一位寄養父親的訪談場地則是在速食店。訪談前會請寄養父親簽署訪談同意書，以此書面契約作為約定，確保受訪者的權益。訪談時，研究者會準備錄音筆(2支)，增加資料搜集的成功度，另外，研究者本身亦會撰寫研究日誌，往後在分析時，可以日誌作輔助，做更精闢的探討。

## 三、資料分析方式

首先，將錄音內容謄寫為逐字稿。在逐字稿的謄寫上，受訪者的代號將依照訪談順序以A.B.C...進行排列，而研究者的代號為S，對話的編號則以1001.1002...呈現，第一個「1」代表第一次訪談，「001」則代表第一句話，之後依序編排，以利後續分析之進行。閱讀原始資料，研究者熟讀每份逐字稿至少2遍，瞭解訪談內容，接著從中找出與研究主題相關之資料。接著研究者將從逐字稿中尋找具有意義且重要的段落，以摘要的方式分段列出，再將相關的內容歸類以利分析。再來這個階段研究者會照本身的概念和經驗，找出符合的語詞替代摘要，完成主軸式編碼，並讓研究者更熟悉其意義。最後，研究者再從主軸式編碼中，尋找與題目和目的相符的編碼，完成選擇式編碼，然後進行分析，以呈現出研究主題的整體脈絡。

## 肆、研究結果

本章節以五位受訪者的自身經驗為主軸進行整理與分析，內容分成「與寄養童的互動」、「寄養父親

screened for this study based on the above criteria. Their basic information is shown in Table 3.1.

## II. Methods of data collection

This study was conducted through semi-structured interviews. To choose a convenient location for the interviewees and protect the privacy of the foster children, four foster fathers were interviewed in the interview room at the institution, and one was interviewed at a fast-food restaurant. Prior to the interviews, the foster fathers were requested to sign a consent form, which served as a contract to protect the rights of the interviewees. During the interviews, the researchers prepared two voice recorders to ensure the success of data collection. In addition, the research also journals of the research log as auxiliary information to facilitate in-depth analysis and discussion in the future.

## III. Methods of data analysis

In the transcriptions, the interviewees were coded in alphabetical order based on the order of interview, and the code of the researchers is S. The dialogues are coded numerically, such as 1001, 1002, and so on, with the number "1" (as in 1001) representing the first interview and trailing "001" representing the first sentence. This coding system is used through the dialogues for the convenience of analysis. After the conversations were transcribed, the researchers read each script at least twice to understand the contents of the interviews and abstract information relating to the objective of this study. The researchers looked for meaningful and important abstracts from the verbatim transcripts and summarized them into paragraphs, which were further categorized for analysis. Following which, the researchers looked for appropriate terms to replace the paragraphs and complete the axial coding based on work experiences and conceptual knowledge of the researchers, which allows the researchers to be more familiar with the meanings of the paragraphs. Finally, the researchers look for the codes matching the topics and objectives of this study from the axial coding to complete the process of selective coding. This series of analysis is to derive the context of the subject of this study.

## Results

The results of this study are discussed in four sections: "inter-

的支持系統」、「寄養父親成為寄養家庭的過程及家庭運作狀況」以及「寄養父親的建議」等章節論述。

## 一、與寄養童的互動

### (一)心理互動

在心理互動上，寄養父親與寄養童的情感是相當深厚的，寄養童的離去帶給寄養父親不小的衝擊，而寄養童的舉動和改變都能夠讓寄養父親感到高興，寄養父親也在照顧的過程中，默默的付出。

D：「每個寄養童離開我的家庭吼，都依依難捨…所有人生觀念，一切，連我的身體都變了（受訪者給研究者看一年前為了孩子離去非常消瘦的照片）」【D1099】【D1173】

D：「寄養童他本身，可以感受阿伯伯母有照顧的心，會這樣來打電話，再回來，這樣很高興了…讓我感覺說，我照顧你有一個感覺一個成績出來…這個孩子會想了，也比較懂事了，我覺得很安慰也很高興」【D1100】【D1103】

E：「他不敢哭，不敢鬧你知道嗎？吼，他會撒嬌我們就很高興了，表示說他跟我們變當朋友了，接納我們了…以前要不到不會哭…還沒接納你的時候…他第一次掉眼淚我們很高興喔」【E1175】

上述結果，就如同陳錫欽(2004)的研究，每個寄養父母都知道寄養兒童終有一天必須離開，而每一次的分離寄養父母還是會傷心難過，畢竟這裡深藏了相當深厚的親情，是短時間難以割捨的。

### (二)身體互動

在身體互動上，在家裡寄養父親會陪伴寄養童，一起進行互動，也會撥空幫寄養童安排休閒活動，除此之外，也會與寄養童聊天來建立彼此的感情，藉此瞭解寄養童的需求。

A：「他們要是喜歡下棋，我就跟他們下棋啦，喜歡玩撲克牌，我就跟他們玩撲克牌啦」【A1169】

B：「去爬爬山去運動一下…五點以後我會帶他們

action with the foster child”, “support system for foster fathers”, “the process of becoming a foster family and the operating family model”, and “recommendations from foster fathers”. Personal experiences of the interviewees were set as the main axis for information consolidation and analysis.

## I. Interaction with the foster child

### 1. Psychological interaction

In the aspect of psychological interaction, affection between the foster father and foster child is rather profound. When a foster child leaves, the foster father experiences a certain impact. However, every movement and change in the foster child makes the foster father happy. The foster father also dedicated himself to the mission of taking care of the child in the foster care process.

D: “When a foster child leaves my family, oh, it is really hard to say goodbye… I had a change of view on life and everything, even my body changed (the interviewee showed the researcher a photograph taken a year ago, showing a dramatic weight loss after a child left).” [D1099][D1173]

D: “The foster child himself felt that uncle and auntie took heartfelt care of him. I am so happy that he calls us and comes back to see us. He makes me feel that it was worth taking care of him and good results came out of it… This child knows how to think for others and he is also more sensible now. I am really touched; it makes me happy.” [D1100][D1103]

E: “He did not dare to cry or throw a tantrum. You know? Whoa, we were very happy when he fawned on us. It means that he has become friends with us, and he accepted us… Before, he wouldn’t cry if he didn’t get what he wanted… That’s before he accepted us… We were so happy when we saw him cry for the first time.” [E1175]

The results stated above are similar to Chen(2004) finding in his study. Every foster parent knows that one day the foster child leaves. However, separation makes the foster parents sad every time. After all, the profound affections concealed deeply between the child and the family cannot be forgotten in a short period of time.

### 2. Physical interaction

In the aspect of physical interaction, foster fathers accompany foster children in various activities, as well as arranging leisure activities to spend time with them. In addition, they also chat with the foster children to build a relationship and to explore the foster children’s needs.

A: “If they like to play Chinese Chess, I play Chinese Chess with them. If they like to play cards, I play cards with

去打球」【B1075】

B：「你可以從聯絡簿開始跟他講，啊老師反映的問題可以跟他講…我們看的新聞，有什麼問題，我們可以再丟給他…啊我們就去就可以再去跟他聊」【B1137】

林明輝(2007)的研究結果指出同志父親跟孩子互動的頻率高，且互動內容包括了親子之間的對話，以及其他動態與靜態的活動參與。同樣的，寄養父親與寄養童相處時間較長，因此雙方的互動也相對來的多。

### (三)管教方式

在管教的部分，大多數的寄養父親都採取愛的教育，當寄養童犯錯時，先以口頭教導為主；當寄養童有好表現時，寄養父親也會適時的給予獎勵。面對課業，寄養父親不會強迫寄養童一定要讀書，但會要求把功課完成；不過也有寄養父親認為功課的重要性不高，因此對於功課不會特別要求。大部分的寄養父親都會教導或要求寄養童必須學習做家事，但是如果寄養童不願意寄養父親也不會勉強。

D：「我會跟他講，會把他錯的部分，他所有的部分，我會分解給他聽」【D1058】

A：「你只要考到我跟你講的那個成績，我會有所鼓勵，譬如就是給他們玩具啦，帶他們去玩啦…或者是給他零用錢」【A1099】

B：「他們作業一定一定都不給你寫，啊一直要要督促他一直寫」【B1049】

E：「我們是重在你學的到多少…會比較要緊啦…啊你功課不好，拼命給你補，這樣不對啦…功課有寫沒寫沒關係」【E1229】【E1046】【E1053】

D：「你現在講完以後，不情不願的洗，但是大小聲，啊洗不乾淨…在這種情形之下你就不要去勉強他」【D1157】

### (四)管教態度

養父親的教養理念和態度，受到其自身生活經驗和兒女教養經驗的影響，面對寄養童，寄養父親抱持著公正的態度，也運用自己的理念用心照顧寄養童

them.” [A1169]

B: “Go hiking and exercise a little bit... After five in the afternoon, I take them out for ball games.” [B1075]

B: Um, you can begin to talk with him from what is written in the contact book and the problems the teacher mentioned... Um, when we watch news, we bring up the issues and ask him to think it over... Then, we can have a conversation about it.” [B1137]

The study of Lin (2007) pointed out that gay fathers interact with high frequency with their child, and the content of interaction includes parent-child conversations and participation in a variety of activities. Similarly, foster fathers spend a longer time with the foster children; therefore, they interact with each other in higher frequency than foster mothers.

### 3. Disciplinary methods

In the aspect of disciplinary methods, foster fathers refrain from corporal punishment. When foster children make mistakes, foster fathers reason with them through conversations, and when the foster children have good performance, the foster fathers give them rewards. In terms of academic performance, foster fathers do not force foster children to study hard, but they ask children to finish their homework. Nonetheless, some foster fathers also think that school work is not the priority and therefore do not give the children too much pressure. Most foster fathers teach or ask foster children to learn household chores, but they will not force the children if the children show unwillingness to do so.

D: “I tell him what he did wrong and analyze the situation to him.” [D1058]

A: “If they make the grades I set for them, I give them rewards, like buying them toys, taking them out for fun... or giving them an allowance.” [A1099]

B: “They will never do their homework. You have to be there watching them till they finish it.” [B1049]

E: “We care about how much he learned... That is more important than his scores... It would be wrong if we cram him for more than what he can take just for high scores. This is not the right way to do it... It is not that important whether he finishes his homework.” [E1229][E1046] [E1053]

D: “You ask him to do it. He does it reluctantly and makes lots of noise. The dishes are not cleaned either... Under this circumstance, there is no point forcing him to do it.” [D1157]

### 4. Parenting attitude

Parenting philosophy and attitudes of the foster fathers came from their life experiences and from the experiences of raising

A: 「我用水平的，就像現在的態度，我就說進來就是我的兒女，沒有我沒有特別疼他也沒有特別疼你，我都一般」【A1220】

C: 「我們的方法都不會差很多啦，小孩子來的我們教育的方法都是一樣，你在我們家每個小孩的方法也都是一樣的啊…帶女兒我是很少帶，可是我付出的方法是一樣的」【C2008】

李佩芬(2007)提及寄養家庭主要照顧者的資源動力來自以往教養經驗或助人經歷，以及來自個人教養模式或個人特質兩種，與上述整理出影響寄養父親管教的因素相似，寄養父親會將自己本身的生活經驗以及教育兒女的經驗運用在教養寄養童身上。

### (五)小結

在心理層面，寄養父親都與寄養童建立深厚的情感，寄養童的離去也深深影響寄養父親的情緒。其次，寄養父親認為寄養童的改變和成長，使寄養父親的照顧得到回饋。最後，從行動上的付出，更表現出寄養父親對於寄養童無微不至的照顧。

在身體互動上，由於寄養父親與寄養童相處的時間較長，和寄養童的互動頻率也相對較高，與寄養童相處時，寄養父親會和寄養童一起進行活動，也會和寄養童閒話家常。

管教方式則分成下列幾項，首先，課業方面，有些寄養父親不會強制要求寄養童要完成功課；但是也有寄養父親認為就算寄養童再怎麼不喜歡讀書，還是必須要將功課完成。其次，在行為管教的部份，寄養父親會使用言教或是特殊的方式來教育。最後，在獎懲方面，寄養父親會以物質或行為等方式給予獎勵。而懲罰方式則分成兩種，一為針對寄養童的喜好來懲罰；另一種懲罰方式就是常見的責罵，或是使用罰站面壁的方式。

根據訪談分析結果，寄養童與身為主要照顧者的寄養父親的互動狀況佳，互動頻率也高，在管教方式上，寄養父親有各自的作法，然而寄養父親的背後有那些資源支撐其從事照顧工作，將於下段繼續探討。

their own children. Foster fathers are often fair and take care of foster children in their own way.

A: “I am a fair person, like my attitude now. I told him, ‘you are my child when you come to my family’. I don’t give him or anyone else special treatment. I treat all children the same.” [A1220]

C: “There isn’t much difference in the way we educate the foster child. We educate everyone who comes to our home the same way as we educated our children. ... Though I didn’t spend a lot of time taking care of my daughter, the way I take care of the foster child is the same.” [C2008]

Li (2007) mentioned that the main caregiver in a foster family draws on his/her resources from previous experience in raising a child or helping others and his/her personal child care approaches or personal traits. This point of view is similar to the child care strategies used by the foster fathers discussed above. Foster fathers apply their own personal life experiences and child care experiences to the foster children.

### 5. Summary

In the psychological aspect, all foster fathers establish profound affection with the foster children. Separation from the foster children has a certain impact on the emotions of the foster fathers. Moreover, changes and growth of the foster children are the rewards to the foster fathers for their foster care services. Finally, the foster fathers’ dedication is presented in the actions they take.

In the aspect of physical interaction, foster fathers spend more time with the foster children; therefore, they have a higher frequency of interaction. The foster fathers chat with the children or spend time with the foster children through activities..

Parenting approaches are reflected in the following issues. First of all, academic performance: some foster fathers do not require foster children to finish their homework, but some foster fathers insist on homework, no matter how much the foster children dislike school work. Secondly, as disciplin is concerned, foster fathers teach foster children by reasoning with them or using other special approaches. Finally, rewards and punishment, foster fathers use substance or actions as rewards. There are two types of punishments used by foster fathers; one is taking away what the foster children like and the other is scolding or timeout in front of a wall.

Based on the analysis of the interviews, the foster fathers have high quality and high frequency of interactions with their fosterchildren, who also play the role as the main caregiver. Each



## 二、寄養父親的支持系統

### (一)非正式支持系統

寄養父親的情緒性支持，非正式系統的部分來自家人、親友、和其他寄養父母，甚至是學校老師，都是寄養父親情緒紓解的對象。其次，工具性支持，當寄養父親臨時無法照顧寄養童時，通常家人和親友都是可以托付的對象，而鄰居和親友也會提供物資，是寄養父親生活週遭的重要支持。最後，寄養父親的訊息性支持，在非正式支持系統方面與情緒性支持相似，當寄養父親有困擾時，家人、親友都可以提供寄養父親資訊，幫助寄養父親解決問題

D: 「其實上都是自己的家人講啦…但是我心裡有什麼種種是我們自己」【D1226】

B: 「大家都會聊聊天…所以都會互相吐吐苦水啦…啊然後有時候會有一些經驗的交換啦！」【B1206】【B1209】

B: 「剛好也可以剛好利用我們對談以後抒發一下…我有時候有些事情吼，沒跟老師做一下溝通，我自己覺得很難受啊！」【B1200】

B: 「像有時候我們剛好夫妻都有事的時候，我爸爸媽媽也可以照顧」【B1191】

C: 「因為我的朋友都知道我在做這種工作…全部都是給我的，很多喔，玩具啦，手推車啦，我都好幾台，搖籃啦，什麼的都馬有」【C2090】

B: 「啊有些我們可以討論一下小孩子的狀況，因為他可以給我很多不同意見…啊夫妻本來很多東西都可以去談…啊夫妻兩個在教養方面，啊就互相看一下」【B1242】

### (二)正式支持系統

在正式支持系統方面，社工人員是寄養父親情緒抒發的唯一管道，大多數的寄養父親都是受到社工人員的協助居多。在訊息性支持的部分，寄養父親最主要的資訊來源是社工人員，除此之外，機構定期提供的訓練課程，亦是寄養父親收集資訊的方式，有些寄養父親則會從書本中獲得照顧資訊並運用在寄養童身上。

A: 「一般就是我遇到困難心情不好的話，我會求

foster father has his own parenting approach. However, what are the resources supporting the foster fathers? The issues concerning support systems are discussed in the following section.

## II. Support systems for foster fathers

### 1. Informal support system

In the informal support system, emotional support comes from family, friends, other foster parents, and school teachers. They provide emotional relief to the foster fathers. For instrumental support, generally, families and friends are the ones who provide temporary relief to the foster fathers when foster fathers are temporarily unable to take care of the foster child. Friends and neighbors also provide material support. They are significant sources of support around the foster fathers. For information support, the resources of an information support system are similar to emotional support in the informal support system. When foster fathers have problems, families and friends provide information to help them solve the problems.

D: “Actually, we tell our families...but what’s in my mind goes to myself” [D1226]

B: “Everybody chats...so we complain to each other... Sometimes we share our experiences.” [B1206] [B1209]

B: “Just to use the chance after we talked to relief a little bit... Sometimes, I feel not myself if I don’t talk to the school teacher.” [B1200]

B: “Sometimes when my wife and I are busy, my parents can step in.” [B1191]

C: “When my friends know we are doing this...they gave me all these, a lot of them, toys, strollers, cradles... I have several of them. You name it, I’ve got it.” [C2090]

B: “Sometimes we talk about the child’s condition because she gives me many different opinions... Man and wife, by nature, have lots to talk about... In parenting, we just see how each other deals with the situation.” [B1242]

### 2. Formal support system

In the aspect of formal support systems, social workers are the only channel of emotional relief for foster fathers. Most foster fathers gain help from social workers. In the part of information support, the main source of information comes from the social worker. In addition, training workshops are a regular source of information collection. Some foster fathers gain information relating to foster care from reading books and applying knowledge to the foster children.

A: “Generally, when I have trouble and have a bad mood, I con-



助社工…支持是當然是社工他們，吼，遇到困難吼，盡量找他們幫忙」【A1296】【A1333】

D：「尤其我們督導啦，社工，他說○先生你很辛苦，我說我不記得辛苦」【D2071】

C：「譬如這個問題功課是要認真教嗎，還是要很嚴格…還是他們做錯事情可不可以打一下手…可不可以罰站……啊我會打給社工說…他起來都不摺棉被，這是譬如…可以處罰嗎？」【C2012】

D：「他就老師就教說孩子如果有什麼情形之下，啊叫我們說你這個孩子怎麼處理…啊老師就坐中間聽這些大家的分享…啊我們都會老師再給我做題目的討論，題目的討論之後我們互相來探討，來研習說這個孩子怎麼做…啊之後老師判斷說你們這樣做法是對還是怎麼樣」【D1241】【D1242】

E：「就是說你教的是要他會的東西，他不會之前，他沒到那個你不要教太多，也是從這些書裡面看來…像現在書都寫得很好」【E1352】

李佩芬(2007)的研究結論中提到，社工提供寄養母親教養寄養童的建議、輔導寄養童等服務，並提供暢通的通報機制，皆有助於釋放寄養母親教養寄養童、肩負寄養家庭職責的壓力。如上所述，寄養父親也同樣可以從社工口中獲得照顧寄養童的建議，甚至是資源的連結，因此這樣的方式也能夠讓寄養父親減輕照顧壓力。

### (三)支持系統對寄養父親的影響

獲得情緒性支持後，讓寄養父親可以重新整理自己的情緒，不會用負面的情緒去面對寄養童，也增加身為照顧者的自信，讓寄養工作可以更順手。

B：「我覺得很多事情，你一講出去以後，就比較開朗一點，要重新把情緒整頓好去面對小孩子，其實很多東西都是自己要去調適的啦，不要把負面的情緒再去面對小孩子」【B1222】

寄養父親的週遭若是有人可以幫忙照顧寄養童，就可以有空間來調配時間，處理自己的事情。

tact the social workers for help...Support, the social workers of course. Um, when we encounter problems, we try to ask them for help as much as possible.” [A1296] [A1333]

D: “Especially our supervisor, social worker, he said that Mr. O, you work very hard for it. I said I don’t remember any of the hard work.” [D2071]

C: “For example, the school lessons, do we have to work very hard and seriously with the child, or should we be very strict?...Nevertheless, can we hit the child on the palm if he is not behaving well... Can we punish him to stand still?...I call the social worker and ask...He doesn’t make his bed when he gets up at first, for example,...can we punish him for that?” [C2012]

D: “The teacher teaches how to deal with the child under certain situations...The teacher plays the role of intermediary and listens to what everybody has to say...The teacher gives us a topic to discuss. After the class discussion, we discuss among ourselves. We talk about how to deal with the child’s problems...Then the teacher tells us what is appropriate or what else we can do.” [D1241][D1242]

E: “You teach him what he is supposed to learn. Before he learned it, or he is not supposed to learn it yet, don’t teach him too much. I learned it from these books...Now the books provide so much information.” [E1352]

Li (2007) suggested in the conclusion of her study that services, such as recommendations and counseling for discipline foster child, provided by social workers, and a easy to reach and reporting system are very helpful in relieving the pressure on foster mothers to fulfilling the duties as a foster family. Similarly, foster fathers can request suggestions or links to resources from social workers, which are expected to effectively relieve the pressure on foster fathers from caring for the foster children.

### 3. How support systems affect foster fathers

Emotional support helps foster fathers to reorganize their own emotions and learn to interact with the foster children with positive emotions. The support increases the confidence of being a caregiver and makes foster care duties run more smoothly.

B: “I feel that there are so many things, and, once you tell someone about it, you feel relieved. I need to sort out my emotions before facing the child again. Actually, we must adjust ourselves for a lot of things. Shouldn’t bring negative emotions to the child.” [B1222]

B：「可能你在時間調配上會比較好做，像我有時候剛好我太太要回娘家…因為一趟那麼遠…那我父母就可以在家裡照顧他們」【B1218】

寄養父親會和社工討論照顧的方法，也會向社工表達自己的經驗，社工會給寄養父親照顧上的建議，幫助寄養父親解決問題。

E：「然後我就跟社工討論，社工就講他要怎麼處理…影響就是說第一個就是說大家一起來陪伴這個小孩…然後能夠不用矯正他的行為方式來達到…盡量用愛來表達，接受他的行為」【E1362】【E1363】

#### (四)小結

關於寄養父親之支持系統，首先，家人能夠幫助寄養父親情緒的抒發，也能在必要時提供協助與建議。其次，親朋好友也是寄養父親抒發心情的對象，同時也會協助寄養父親解決問題。再其次，鄰居會提供物資來幫助寄養父親；然後，寄養父親會與寄養童的老師保持連繫。最後，寄養父親也會與其他寄養家庭相互聯絡。

社工是所有寄養父親共同的正式支持系統，當寄養父親有困難時，都會主動與社工討論。其次，機構安排的在職訓練，讓寄養父親能夠瞭解照顧寄養童的方法及技巧；除此之外，專業的書籍也提供寄養父親照顧資訊，使得寄養父親的照顧工作更順利。

透過支持系統的幫助，寄養父親能夠適時抒發情緒，保持正向的情緒面對寄養童；且藉由支持系統的協助，讓寄養父親有額外的時間處理事情；更重要的是寄養父親可以從支持系統中，獲得解決問題的方法。

### 三、寄養父親成為寄養家庭的過程及其家庭運作情形

#### (一)成為寄養家庭的過程

寄養父親通常都是因為工作的因素，而引發加入寄養家庭的動機，除此之外也有寄養父親是因為

If a foster father has someone around to step in for the care of the foster child, he will have the time and space to adjust himself and take care of personal affairs.

B: “You may have better ways to schedule your time. For example, sometimes, it just happened that my wife wants to visit her parents and it is such a long trip...When we need it, my parents can come to our home and take care of them.” [B1218]

Foster fathers discuss methods of child care, as well as sharing experiences, with the social workers. Social workers give foster fathers suggestions and help them solve problems.

E: “Then, I discuss it with the social worker. The social worker tells me how to deal with the child’s problems...In terms of influences, first of all, everybody comes to keep the child company...Then, we try our best not to use the usual corrective tactics to change his behavior...we try to express it with love as much as possible and accept his behavior” [E1362][E1363]

#### 4. Summary

Regarding the support systems for foster fathers, first of all, family members help to relieve emotional stress on foster fathers and provide assistance and recommendations when needed. Secondly, relatives and friends can also provide emotional relief, as well as help to solve problems. Furthermore, neighbors provide material resources to help foster fathers. Also, foster fathers stay in touch with the school teachers. Finally, foster fathers also keep in touch with other foster families as a support system.

Social workers are the official support system for all foster fathers. When foster fathers are in trouble, they take the initiative to discuss with the social workers. Furthermore, training organized by the institutions teach the foster fathers methods and techniques of providing care to the foster children. In addition, professional literature also provides foster fathers with valuable information to make their work easier.

Support systems provide the foster fathers channels to relieve their emotional stress and keep themselves in positive emotions before they come to the foster children. The support systems also give the foster fathers extra time to manage their personal affairs. And most important of all, foster fathers gain problem solving solutions from support systems.

### III. The process of becoming a foster family and the operating family model

#### 1. The process of becoming a foster family

個人關心孩子的想法進而投身寄養家庭的行列。

A：「啊後來一些工廠都到大陸去了嘛…結果那個時候就退休，但是退休很無聊」【A1005】【A1006】

E：「那我們覺得我們本來的意思是要做一些這種…我們很關心這個事情啦…智能或是肢體殘…那想先接觸一下這些寄養家庭…我們在想總是有他的問題存在」【E1004】  
【E1005】【E1007】【E1008】

寄養父親之所以會知道寄養家庭的資訊，綜歸兩個因素，一為透過他人的介紹，二則是經由自己本身收集資訊而來。

A：「有阿，就是我那個弟媳婦幫我資料啊，幫我連絡看怎樣要怎麼樣申請啊，然後我才到○○那邊去申請啊」【A1010】

E：「那是因為在他們那個我老婆上班的殘障學校的他們的同事，有些人有人就已經做這個做很久了，所以我們知道這個東西也很多年」【E1009】

## (二)家庭運作模式

寄養父親會成為主要照顧者，大部分是因為寄養母親受到工作上的限制，使得寄養父親照顧寄養童的時間比較多，以寄養父親為主要照顧者的家庭中，通常都由寄養母親扮演嚴肅的角色來規範寄養童的行為，寄養父親則是以柔和的角色與寄養童互動。

B：「啊我們兩個因為是都是還在工作…但是他的工作是屬於公務員的工作…啊我本身是做生意的，所以我比較時間上會比較彈性」【B1018】

B：「我可以當白臉跟你們做一些互動，啊真的你的一些行為已經超越這個規範以後，黑臉就出來講，啊我們也是因為夫妻兩個個性可以互補」【B1067】

## (三)小結

寄養父親擔任寄養家庭的動機，一是寄養父親個人的想法；另一則是來自寄養父親的工作因素。在動機產生之後，寄養父親成為寄養家庭的方式，一為

Generally, work is often the factor that triggers the foster fathers to sign up as a foster family. Some foster fathers participate in foster services because they care about children.

A: “Yah, some factories moved to China... Then, I retired at that time, but retired life is so boring-----”  
[A1005][A1006]

E: “Well, we have been thinking about doing some thing like this... We care about things like this... children with mental or physical disabilities... Then, we think we can try foster care first... We think there are also issues in these children” [E1004][E1005][E1007]  
[E1008]

Foster fathers get the information on foster care services from two sources: referred by others and collected by themselves.

A: “Yes, it was my sister-in-law who collected the information for me and made the contact for application. Then, I went there to apply for it.” [A1010]

E: “A colleague of my wife; my wife works at a school for disabled children. Some colleagues have been doing this for a long time, so we know about this for a very long time.” [E1009]

## 2. The operating family model

Most foster parents become the main caregivers in foster families because the foster mothers are limited by their jobs. This is the main reason foster fathers spend more time with their foster children than foster mothers. In foster families with foster fathers as the main caregivers, the foster mothers are usually the disciplinary parent and the foster fathers generally play a softer role in their relationships with the foster children.

B: “Because we both are working... She is a government officer... I run a small business, so my time is more flexible.” [B1018]

B: “I play the nice guy and interact with the children. When they go overboard, the bad guy comes out. That is because I and my wife our personalities complement each other.” [B1067]

## 3. Summary

Most foster fathers sign up to become a foster family because of their personal wishes and the fact that their flexible work hour allows them to do so. Some foster fathers got involved in foster care through referral and others gathered information and applied independently. The main reason that foster fathers become the major caregiver in the family is that they are not the main breadwinners in the family. In the aspect of disciplinary roles, most of the foster fathers play

透過他人的介紹及協助，二則是自己主動向機構提出申請。寄養父親成為主要照顧者的原因是因為寄養父親並非是家中主要的經濟來源。在角色分工上，寄養父親多扮演柔和的角色，寄養母親則是扮演嚴格的角色，夫妻藉由角色的分工，維持家中的運作。

#### 四、寄養父親的建議

##### (一)對機構的建議

寄養父親對於機構的建議，關於寄養服務方面為：增加社工人力、穩定配給寄養童。

- C: 「或許他配合就要說一個社工是配幾個…固定配額嘛，他才有能力能夠做到那邊」【C2121】
- B: 「應該讓他說我可以有些個案我可以延續不斷給他去做…他純粹就是做專職…你有的話一陣子再補幾個個案給他」【B1264】

另外，針對在職訓練課程，寄養父親的建議包括加強訓練時數的折抵以及課程的相似度過高兩方面。

- B: 「我一直跟他講說其實他上的那些課我們以前也都有上過了他們現在已經有規範了，就是說我滿五年的時候可以，本來是120小時來講，你可能就減100，但是減的也不多啊，我是希望都不用去上」【B1280】【S1282】

##### (二)對新進寄養父母的建議

對於新進寄養家庭，寄養父親則認為在照顧寄養童時不需要考慮太多，而是直接去做，也要公平的對待寄養童，更重要的必須注重寄養童的安全與健康。

- A: 「我們的孩子跟別人的孩子同樣的看待…對跟不對而已這樣，我們用簡單的去，不要說要很複雜的去想」【A2225】【A2227】
- C: 「他的安全是一定要排第一的…他的身體健康方面和安全方面要最注重，這就是我們的責任」【C2136】

除此之外，寄養父母須做好心理建設，夫妻之間也須協調清楚教導責任，在職訓練課程所教導的知識，也要透過吸收瞭解才能夠發揮功效。

the soft role in the family and foster mothers play the role of the discipliner. The couples maintain the operation of the family through job division.

#### Recommendations from foster fathers

##### (I) Recommendations to institutions

In the aspect of foster care services, foster fathers recommend institutions increase manpower of social workers and provide foster children with a stable source of consultation.

- C: “If the institution have coordinating social workers; then, tell us how many children a social worker takes care of… Make it a fixed ratio, then, he will be able to meet the goal”【C2121】
- B: “It should work the way that some foster fathers can take care foster child on a long-term basis …Some foster fathers almost work this as a full-time job. …Give him some new cases after a while.”【B1264】

In addition, for on-the-job training, foster fathers recommend increasing the exemptions for training hours and expressed that there are too many similar courses.

- B: “I have been telling them that I have had the courses he provided. Now they have rules for it. They said I can be exempt for 100 hours out of the 120 hours of training after I complete 5 years of foster care. That isn’t much. I expect to have no more training classes.”【B1280】【S1282】

##### (II) Recommendations to new foster parents

For new foster families, foster fathers’ recommendation to them is don’t think too much, just do it. Treat the foster children fairly and, most importantly, pay attention to their safety and health.

- A: “We treat other children the same as our own children… There is only right and wrong. We do it the simple way. Don’t complicate things.”【A2225】【A2227】
- C: “His safety is our first concern…His physical health and safety is what we care about the most. This is our responsibility.”【C2136】

In addition, foster parents must be well-prepared psychologically, and the couples must compromise the responsibilities clearly. The knowledge taught in the on-job training must be thoroughly understood before it can take effect.

- A: The most important thing is that it’s not the problem of the child…It’s not the problem. It’s how you adjust yourself



A: 「最主要是不是小孩子的問題…那不是問題，是你的心裡要怎麼去調整…對自己最沒有壓力的去做…先生跟太太個性不一定會合…所以你一個人教就好…你要是沒辦法教，你再放棄再換我來教，兩個要協調一下」  
【A2219】【A2235】

C: 「所以是靠我們的經驗累積去教小孩…書只是給你一個大概念而已，要怎麼做」【C2148】

### (三)對政府單位的建議

對於政府，寄養父親也提出建議，一是希望寄養費能夠按時入帳；二為對於原生家庭處遇的不足，造成寄養童返家後無法維持正常的生活，三則是政府須增加寄養服務方面的福利，讓弱勢的寄養童能得到更好的照顧。

B: 「我跟你說像我們來說…啊都123算一季喔，啊我們這部分小孩子照顧的錢什麼你都花費了喔，四月五月有時候到五月中旬，錢才撥下來」【B1266】

B: 「這個原生家庭的部分是很重要，但是他們常常都忽略掉…但是他們有時候政府機關，可能就是頭痛醫頭啦」【B1124】

C: 「譬如現在帶一個小孩子，他補貼是一萬六千八啦，其實不夠一個小孩的花費…你看寄養童在我們這裡不公平的就是因為他們的錢不高，所以他們要學另外的東西很困難」【C2105】【C2110】

### (四)小結

寄養父親所提出的建議，希望機構能多配置人力，另外加強訓練的部份，也提出了對新進寄養父母在照顧上的建議，夫妻間的合作是重要的，最後對於政府，希望增加福利措施及對於原生家庭的處遇，寄養父親的出發點都是希望寄養童們不管是在寄養家庭或是原生家庭，都能夠獲得良好的照顧，下段研究者將對本文作一總結及建議。

## 伍、討論與建議

本研究是以寄養父親的觀點，探究寄養父親與

psychologically...Do it the least stressful way...The wife may not agree with the husband on all things...So, teach the child the way you believe is right...If you really think you can't handle it any more, then give up and let me take over. The two of you must compromise and work together.」【A2219】【A2235】

C: 「So, we teach the child with the experiences we have... Books only give you a rough idea.」【C2148】

### (III)Recommendations to the authorities

Foster fathers also put forward some recommendations to the government. First of all, they wish the subsidies can be transferred into their accounts on time. Secondly, the biological families are not properly handled; many children were unable to maintain normal life after they returned to their biological families. Thirdly, the government should increase welfare for foster care to give disadvantaged children better lives.

B: 「Let me tell you, to us...January, February and March are counted as the first quarter. We have spent so much to take care of the child, but the money did not come in until April, and sometimes even mid-May.」【B1266】

B: 「The biological family is very important, but they often neglected it...Sometimes, the authorities just deal with the symptoms, not the problems.」【B1124】

C: 「For example, the subsidy for a child is NT\$16,800. It is not enough for the expenses of a child...It's not fair to them because they don't have extra money to learn something else.」【C2105】【C2110】

### (IV)Summary

Foster fathers recommend institutions increase the manpower and reinforce training. Foster fathers also give advice to new foster families. They think it is important that couples work together. Finally, foster fathers recommend the government to increase the subsidies and reinforce rehabilitation of the biological families, so that the children can be properly taken care of at the foster family and the biological family.

## Discussion and Recommendations

This study discusses foster father-child relationships, support systems, and operating family models from the perspective of foster fathers. Experiences of foster fathers were collected through qualitative research interviews; five foster fathers shared the bitterness and happiness of becoming involved as a foster family (three of them became the main



寄養童的親子互動、週遭的支持系統以及家庭運作方式。透過質性研究訪談，收集五位寄養父親的經驗(其中三位為退休後成為主要照顧者的寄養父親，其餘則因工作較為彈性成為主要照顧者，資歷介於3-9年之間)，分享及從事寄養家庭過程中的甘苦談。此章節將分成兩部分，第一部分依照前章節而整理出的結論與討論；第二部分則為建議。

### 一、寄養父親類似寄養母親有良好之親子互動

根據研究結果的敘述可知，寄養父親是非常用心的在照顧寄養童，雖然並非親生，但是寄養父親仍是非常的疼愛寄養童，並充分發揮其父職的功能。而潘錦陵(2008)的研究結果指出從寄養母親的教養信念中可以看到寄養母親為寄養童所付出的無私大愛，在寄養工作中完成應有的職責與任務。此結果與本研究的結果相似，因此可知寄養父親也如同寄養母親一樣，都付出相當大的心力照顧寄養童，也如同寄養母親一樣發揮親職的功能。

### 二、寄養父親的支持系統與寄養母親相似，主要來自配偶

本研究的結果顯示寄養父親可以從家人、親友、學校老師、其他寄養父母以及社工員等人身上獲得支持，尤其來自寄養母親的支持是最密切的。此結論與李佩芬(2007)對寄養母親的研究結果類似，其研究指出寄養父親提供寄養母親的支持關懷與建議通常廣泛地存在於寄養媽媽的個人生活經驗中，且多數受訪之寄養母親通常會向社工員、醫療心理輔導系統、學校老師、寄養父母自助聯誼團體等系統求助以滿足個別的需求。何依芳(2003)的研究同樣提及寄養母親在遇到管教寄養兒童的困難時，寄養父母會共同來處理寄養兒童的問題，當寄養母親因為管教寄養兒童感到心煩時，寄養父親也會給予寄養母親心理上的支持。且寄養家庭成員不僅會運用家庭內既有資源來因應寄養兒童到來後的家庭壓力或轉變，更會連結社工員、心理治療師、學校老師、其他家庭成員、醫生、親戚朋友及鄰居等社會資源來解決問題及獲得情感的支持。由此可見不論寄養父親或寄養母親，配偶對其擔任照顧

caregivers in the families because they are retired, and the remaining two have flexible work hours). They have been foster families for 3 to 9 years. This sections is divided into two parts. The first part is the conclusion and discussion on the analysis presented in the previous sections. The second part contains recommendations.

### I. Foster fathers have good parent-child relationships similar to foster mothers

According to the descriptions given in this study, foster fathers work very hard to take care of children. Though the children do not have any kinship relationship with the foster fathers, the foster fathers still love them very much and provide full functions as a father. Moreover, Pan (2008) pointed out in her study that the parenting philosophies of foster mothers show selflessness and they work hard to fulfill their responsibilities and duties as a parent. This result is similar to the result found in this study. Therefore, similar to foster mothers, foster fathers also dedicate considerable efforts to take care of the children and function in a full capacity as a parent just like the foster mothers.

### II. Foster fathers have support systems similar to the systems available for foster mothers

The results of this study show that foster fathers gain support from family, friends, school teachers, other foster parents, and social workers, especially the mothers in the foster families. This conclusion is similar to the study on foster mothers by Li Pei-Fen (2007). Li Pei-Fen pointed out in her study that extensive support, care, and advice from foster fathers generally exist in the life experiences of the foster mothers. Moreover, most foster mothers interviewed in her study asked for assistance from social workers, medical, psychological and counseling systems, school teachers, and self-help groups to find answers for personal issues. The study by Ho Yi-Fang (2003) also shows that when foster mothers feel upset about discipline of foster children, foster fathers are often the ones who gave foster mothers psychological support. Members of foster families not only use the resources in the family to cope with the pressures or changes after the arrival of the foster child, as well as connecting to social resources, such as social workers, psychotherapist, school teachers, other family members, doctors, relatives and friends, and neighbors, to solve problems and seek for emotional support. Therefore, for both foster fathers and mothers, support from the spouse is very important for the caregiver in a foster scenario. In addition, support resources available around foster fathers are similar to foster mothers.

### III. The process of becoming a foster family and the operating family model

Pan Chin-ling (2008) found in her study that foster mothers

者的生涯是相當重要的支持，而寄養父親週遭所擁有的支持也與寄養母親相似。

### 三、寄養父親成為寄養家庭的過程以及家庭運作情形

根據潘錦陵(2008)的研究結果，其所訪談的寄養母親擔任寄養家庭的動機為關懷不幸兒童、增加家庭氣氛與陪伴子女、陪伴自己與做善事等三項。雖然本研究結果亦有寄養父親是為了關心寄養童而加入寄養家庭，不過較多的寄養父親是因為退休而加入，這一點是與寄養母親較為不同之處。

傳統夫妻角色的分工是「男主外、女主內」，但是由於本研究大部分受訪的寄養父親並非家中主要的經濟來源，因而成為主要照顧者，這反而對寄養童的成長有相當幫助，因為大多數的寄養童都是因遭受到虐待或不當管教而被安置，而多數的施虐者為父親，這些寄養童大都是在父職功能不佳的情況下被安置，因此寄養父親的父職功能對修復寄養童的創傷經驗及示範一個正向的男性角色是相當重要且有幫助的，因此寄養父親對扭轉寄養童的創傷過去，邁向正向成長占有重要的一席之地。

### 四、建議

依據本研究之發現，分別針對機構及工作者、政府單位以及後續研究提出以下建議：

#### (一)對於社福機構及工作者的建議

1. 建立寄養家庭的支持網絡。
2. 拓展寄養家庭間的支持，定期規劃寄養家庭的聚會。
3. 運用支持系統處理寄養父母與寄養童分離時的痛苦。
4. 重新規劃在職訓練課程的內容、階層與時數。

#### (二)對於政府單位的建議

1. 希望縮短寄養經費的撥款時間。
2. 讓寄養家庭知曉同意寄養童返家的依據、評估的狀況及原因，才能安心的讓寄養童回到原生家庭之中。

#### (三)後續研究建議

1. 比較主要照顧者分別為寄養父親與寄養母親之家庭

signed up to become foster families mainly because they care about disadvantaged children, foster children may bring the family more love and keep their children company, or the foster children can keep them company and give them the opportunity to do a good deed. Although the motivation of “caring about disadvantaged children” is also present in this study, retirement is a more determining motivation for fathers to join foster care services. This is quite different from the motivations of foster mothers.

“Men are breadwinners; women are homemakers.” This is the stereotype of role division in a marriage. However, most foster fathers in this study are not the major breadwinners in the family, so they became the major caregivers. Nonetheless, foster fathers being the major caregivers are rather helpful to the development of foster children since the majority of foster children are placed due to child abuse or inappropriate discipline, and the majority of the abusers are their fathers. Most of the children are placed due to poor functioning of the role of father. Therefore, the positive father image is very important and beneficial to foster children as a remedy for their traumatic experiences and a positive male role model. Foster fathers play an important role in repairing the damage inflicted by the foster children’s traumatic past, so they can begin to develop into healthy individuals.

### IV. Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the researchers propose the following recommendations to institutions and staff, authorities, and researchers interested in follow-up studies:

#### 1. Recommendations to institutions and staff

- (1) Establish support networks for foster families.
- (2) Expand support among foster families and organize gatherings for foster families on a regular basis.
- (3) Use support systems to help foster families handle the pain of separation when the children leave.
- (4) Re-design on-the-job training courses and contents, levels and hours.

#### 2. Recommendations to the authorities

- (1) Shorten the period of payments for foster care subsidies.
- (2) Inform the foster families the criteria, status, and reasons for the children to return to their biological families, so foster families can send their foster children home without anxiety.

#### 3. Recommendations for follow-up studies

- (1) Compare the interactions and support between foster families with foster fathers and foster mothers as the main caregivers

互動與支持，從中探究性別角色對寄養父母照顧方式的影響。

2. 將寄養母親納為訪談的對象，深入探討以男性為主要照顧者的寄養家庭，其家庭的運作方式、夫妻的角色分配及照顧寄養童的意念為何，作為未來招募更多家庭加入寄養團隊之參考。

and explore the influence of gender roles on the ways foster fathers and foster mothers care for foster children.

- (2) Include foster mothers in interviews for in-depth discussion on the operating family models, husband-wife role division, and the differences in their philosophies on how to care for foster children in foster families with the father as the main caregivers; information derived from such discussions will serve as a valuable reference for recruitment of new foster families.

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# 乘風少年學園--弱勢青少年職涯準備計畫

## Cheng Feng Teenager's School- Career Preparation Program for Disadvantaged Teenagers

林哲寧 Jerry Lin

乘風少年學園 Cheng Feng Teenager's School

### 摘要

台灣每年約有8%的「雙失少年」，這將造成青少年個人職涯發展陷入惡性循環，也影響國家整體經濟競爭力。

教會聯合會 乘風少年學園自2002年進行青少年就業相關業務迄今，透過系統性的輔導協助青少年就業，並發展「職業探索」、「職涯輔導」、「見習制度」等課程，使雙失少年就業率達五成以上。

在量化研究中，分析2008-2012五年「職業探索」課程比例，有三項發現轉變：(1)因應青少年生活作息不穩定—營隊比例上升(3%-7%)。(2)尋找「釣魚」的生命意義—就業核心課程上升11%，職業探索課程下降9%。(3)強調團體動力，也注重個人異質性—成長團體、團體輔導與個人輔導。

質性研究部分，為了解就業培訓班對青少年工作的影響，以2010-2011年期間參與就業培訓的六位青少年為樣本進行深度訪談，重要的結果如下：(1)改變過去工作是玩票性質的想法。(2)懂得重視自身的權益。(3)現實狀況與生涯抉擇的整合。(4)發現自己就業力不足，重新訂立學習目標。

在結論與建議中，本會將少年雙失狀態視為人生過渡時期，課程中協助少年進一步認識「就業世界」，修正對工作的想像，並在成長團體中學習到的正向經驗與自我認識。建議有兩點：(1)職探課程期間，兼顧課程的多元化與實用性。(2)工作見習期前後，社工與店家釐清彼此期待。

### Abstract

*Every year, approximately 8% of teenagers in Taiwan fall into the category of "Neet (not in education, employment, or training)". This lifestyle often sends teenagers into a vicious cycle of personal career development and affects the overall economic competitiveness of the nation.*

*The Taipei City Council of Churches launched the Cheng Feng Teenager's School Program (Cheng Feng School) in 2002. The program systematically helps teenagers to develop careers through several courses, including vocational exploration, career counseling, and internship system, and has helped over 50% of the Neet teenagers to gain employment.*

*From the quantitative research analyzing the statistics of the vocational exploration courses conducted from 2008 to 2012, shifting of focus was found in three areas. 1. The percentage of camps increased (3% to 7%) due to unstable daily schedule common to the teenagers. 2. Searching for the meaning of "fishing" in life and employment core courses increased by 11% and vocational exploration courses decreased by 9%. 3. Emphasis was placed on group power, as well as individuality- self-help group, group counseling, and individual counseling.*

*A qualitative study was also implemented to explore the effectiveness of vocational training courses to the teenagers. The researchers conducted in-depth interviews with six teenagers participated in the vocational training program from 2010 to 2011. The result is summarized into the following four points. 1. The "part-time" attitude was changed. 2. The teenagers have more knowledge on their own rights. 3. The teenagers were more capable to integrate their career choices into real-life scenarios. 4. The teenagers repositioned their learning goals when they found insufficiency in their professional skills.*

*In the conclusion and recommendations, the Cheng Feng Program sees the Neet state as a transitional stage in the teenagers' lives. The courses helped the teenagers to have a true view on the "working world" and realigned their imaginations to the true working life scenarios. They have also learned positive experiences and got to know themselves from group learning. This research made two recommendations. 1. Course diversity and practicality should be integrated into the courses implemented during the vocational exploration period. 2. The social workers and job providers should clarify their expectations before and after the teenagers were engaged in internship.*

## 壹、前言

現今台灣社會中，繼續生存在教育體制中才是青少年的正確道路，未升學未就業青少年自動被歸類為偏離正軌的一群人。相較於仍在教育體制中的同儕，未升學未就業青少年提前面臨「我要做什麼樣的工作？」「我的未來在哪裡？」等議題。

教會聯合會 乘風少年學園自2002年與北市教育局合作「展翅飛翔方案」、「青春之光」，媒合中輟生進入職場。2003-2004年與北市社會局的「潛龍計畫」，計畫內容與企業合作給予三個月工作機會，經費政府補助。自2005與勞委會、北市勞動局合作迄今，並於2012年同時接受聯勸補助；逐年建構更具效能的服務模式，讓這群雙失少年在乘風少年學園結訓後，就業率達五成以上。

## 貳、問題界定與方案目標

根據民101年(2012年)青少年狀況調查結果，15-19歲青少年共有160萬5千人，勞動力人數為13萬6千人，其中約有1萬3千位(9.8%)的15-19歲青少年既沒有學生身分，也沒有就業或從事任何經濟活動，處於低度就業或失業狀態，落入「雙失<sup>1</sup>」行列。

然而，提早離開學校體系的青少年，他們的過渡期是被急迫壓縮的，可能原因包括獨立生活需

## Introduction

In today's society, the generally recognized "right path" for teenagers in Taiwan is to survive in the continuous education offered by the system. Children dropped out of school and without employment are automatically classified into the "derailed" group. Different from their peers who stay in school, these unemployed dropouts are facing several issues. What kind of job should I do? What does the future hold for me?

The Taipei City Council of Churches Cheng Feng Teenager's School launched the Fly Program and Light of Youth Program in collaboration with the Taipei City Bureau of Education in 2002. These two programs helped school dropouts to seek employment. The 2003 and 2004, Dragon Program was launched in collaboration with the Taipei City Bureau of Social Service; the collaborating corporations provided government subsidized employment to the teenagers for three months. Since Cheng Feng School entered cooperative programs with the Council of Labor Affairs and Taipei city Bureau of Labor Affairs in 2005 and sponsorship from United Way in 2012, the School has developed an effective service model. Over 50% of the teenagers in the Cheng Feng School Program gained employment after the courses.

## Identification of Issues and Project Goals

According to the 2012 survey targeting on the youth population, the population of teenagers (from ages 15 to 19) in Taiwan was 1.605 million and 136,000 were available workforce. Among them, 13,000 (9.8%) of the youth age 15 to 19 are neither in school nor engaged in any form of employment or economic activities. This group of young people staying persistently in sparse employment or unemployment state is called the "Neet<sup>1</sup>".

However, teenagers who drop out of the school system experience a compressed transitional period and the

單位：千人 Unit:1,000

項目別 Item (age)	總計 Total	非勞動力 <sup>2</sup> Non-labor force <sup>2</sup>	勞動力 Labor force		
			合計 Total	就業 Employed	未就業 Not employed
總計 Total	3071	2178	893	780	113
15~19歲 15 to 19	1605	1469	136	123	13
20~24歲 20 to 24	1466	709	757	657	100

<sup>1</sup> 即失學且失業。

<sup>2</sup> 「非勞動力」包括：想工作而未找工作且隨時可以開始工作、求學及準備升學、料理家務、身心障礙、其他等項目。其中「求學及準備升學」佔大多數，以102為例，該項即佔總數95.59%。

<sup>1</sup> Not in education, employment, or training

<sup>2</sup> "non-workforce" include: people who want to work and are ready to work anytime, but have not started seeking employment and people who are in school, preparing for further education, homemakers, with physical and psychological disabilities, and others. The majority of the "non-workforce" falls in the category of people in school and preparing for further education; the sample include 102 cases, which represents 95.59% of the population.

要、家庭系統支持不足、與外界連結不多等原因，使得這群青少年必須提早進入職場(包括正式經濟及非正式經濟)。但是，由於學經歷及年齡的限制，青少年勞工多半是低薪資、長工時，或者以學徒名義進入工廠工作，薪水甚至遠低於最低基本工時，長工時的結果限制了青少年勞動社會參與機會，同時逐漸被職場邊緣化，不僅造成青少年個人職涯發展陷入惡性循環，影響國家整體經濟競爭力。

依據行政院勞工委員會民國101年10月22日起至11月15日參加勞工保險且在職之15-29歲受僱青年勞工為調查對象之統計結果顯示，「青年勞工初次求職遇到困難情形」顯示，初次就業年齡在15-18歲的青少年主要的困難是「不知道自己適合哪方面工作」與「經歷不足」。

因此，乘風少年學園在2005年來開始新增「職涯發展組」之業務，此單位針對青少年求職

#### 青年勞工初次求職遇到困難情形

Difficulties encountered by first-time job-seeking young workers

單位：% Unit: %

項目別 Item	合計 Total	Subtotal 計	有遇到困難 Encountered difficulty									沒有遇到困難 Did not encounter difficulty
			求職管道不足 Lacking job-searching resources	求職面試技巧不足或不 會寫履歷 Lacking interview or resume writing skills	工作內容要求不瞭解 Do not understand job requirements	不知道自己適合哪方面 工作 Do not know what's suitable for me	技能不足 Lacking job skills	學歷不足 Lacking education	經歷不足 Lacking experience	適合的職缺少 Not enough suitable vacancies	其他 Others	
95年07月 Jul 2006	100.0	67.5	18.5	23.4	20.8	47.2	27.5	-	-	-	3.2	32.5
97年10月 Oct 2008	100.0	46.9	9.9	16.9	11.8	26.3	18.6	21.8	21.8	11.4	1.6	53.1
99年10月 Oct 2010	100.0	49.2	10.3	16.4	11.3	26.4	18.5	12.1	31.9	13.4	2.0	50.8
101年10月 Oct 2012	100.0	62.5	7.8	16.0	12.5	33.6	18.8	10.0	36.6	15.0	0.5	37.5
初次就業年齡 Age of first-time employment												
15~18歲 15 to 18	100.0	54.1	7.9	10.3	8.2	30.4	17.7	16.8	27.4	10.7	0.3	45.9
19~21歲 19 to 21	100.0	63.6	6.9	13.2	9.8	34.5	16.9	13.4	37.9	13.8	0.3	36.4
22~25歲 22 to 25	100.0	65.5	8.0	19.7	14.4	35.0	19.6	5.5	39.5	16.8	0.6	34.5
26~29歲 26 to 29	100.0	73.4	8.1	19.0	22.1	34.2	21.0	7.2	50.5	21.7	0.5	26.6

說明：遭遇困難情形可複選，故細項加總大於等於合計欄。

備註：97年「學經歷不足」選項，至99年起區分為「學歷不足」及「經歷不足」兩項。

Note: The respondents are allowed to choose multiple answers; therefore, the sum of subtotals is larger than the final total.

Remark: the item "lacking education and experience" used in 2008 was split into two items "lacking education" and "lacking experience" from 2010.

possible reasons may include the need to establish independent living, insufficient family support system, and lacking links to the outside world. This group of teenagers is forced into the job market prematurely (including formal and informal economic activities). Nonetheless, limited by education and age, the majority of the teen labor lands on low-wage long-hour jobs or enter factories as apprentices. They work for wages far lower than the statutory minimum wage and long work hours deprive the teenagers the opportunities to participate in social activities. They are marginalized at the factories, and the diminishing opportunities send the teenagers into a vicious cycle of career development. In consequence, the Nation's overall economic competitiveness begins to dwindle.

According to the statistics of a survey on employed young labors with labor insurance age between 15 and 29 conducted by the Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan from October 22nd to November 15th 2012, in the category of "difficulties encountered by first-time job seeking young workers", the major issues encountered by first-time job seekers between age 15 and 18 are "don't know what is suitable for me" and "lack of experience".

受困原因(如上圖所示)，設計職業發展課程回應之：

1. 職業探索：找尋工作方向是求職迫切課題，大約有三分之一的青少年為此所困，因此提供多元選擇，以探索各行各業為目標。
2. 職涯輔導：回應缺乏面試技巧、不會寫履歷之困境，藉由模擬面試等相關訓練課程讓青少年學習，期待進入職場前已具有基本能力。
3. 見習制度：為彌補雙失少年學經歷與技能不足，在課程第二階段提供到店家見習的機會，讓青少年能夠於該行業接受專業訓練，進而順利進入職場。

對於15-18歲雙失少年，乘風少年學園透過以上課程，培育少年責任心，提升其生活之穩定度；建構青少年正向工作價值觀、人際互動，以提升其職場競爭力；協助青少年自我認知與探索，遂而引導規劃自我生涯發展；提供青少年多元性職業體驗、見習慣作，以協助其適應實務職場環境，並學習職業基礎工作知能。

## 參、執行方式

乘風少年學園所承辦的弱勢青少年就業方案一年可分為兩個梯次(2月至6月；6月至10月)，課程彈性、活潑，使學員有正向學習經驗，也讓少年日後較有信心嘗試工作或升學。另外，在職業探索類別、職涯輔導走向方面，會因應當梯次的學員特性作調整，包含男女比例，以及學員期待的職種。

### 一、學員屬性

根據乘風少年學園過去五年的統計分析，發現歷年來男性學員多於女性學員。從年齡觀之，學員間存在年齡差距，以15歲為最大宗(62人)，再者為16歲(60人)，最年長的學員為19歲。在學歷方面，過去五年的學員多是國中應屆畢業或前屆畢業為主，但是高中職休學也佔有一定的比例，民國100年度(2011)高中職休學與國中畢業比例甚至接近

Based on this survey, Cheng Feng School added the “career development” section to the program in 2005 and designed career development courses, targeting on the problems encountered by the young job-seekers (as shown in the table above).

- I. Vocational exploration helps the young job seekers to identify the direction for their career development. Identifying a direction is the priority in the process of job seeking. Approximately 1/3 of the young job seekers are held back because of this reason. Therefore, this course provides diverse options to help the young job seekers to explore the different vocations and industries.
- II. Career counseling responds to the problems of lacking interview and resume writing skills. The counselors take this opportunity to give the young job-seekers simulated interviews and train them with the basic skills before they enter the job market.
- III. Internship system addresses the issues of lacking education, experience, and job skills. In the second stage of the courses, the young job seekers are provided with the opportunities to learn directly at the workplace and professional in-industry training for career development.

Through the above courses, Cheng Feng Teenager's School provides young adults age between 15 and 18 who are not in education or employment a structured program to develop a sense of responsibility and stability in their lives. This program targets to help the young adults develop positive values towards the concept of working and interpersonal skills for higher competitiveness. This leads them to discover themselves and guides them through the process of career planning. It also provides young adults with a variety of vocational experience, including practical field learning, to help them adapt into the work environment and learn the basics of job skills.

## Implementation

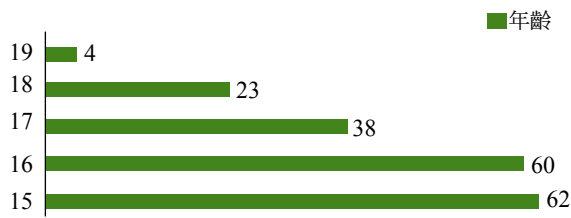
The employment program for disadvantaged teenagers hosted by Cheng Feng Teenager's School is offered in two sections (Feb to June and June to October) each year. The flexible learning mode and interesting activities gave the participants an experience of positive learning and the confidence to enter the job market or return to school. Every year, the vocational exploration and career counseling courses are adjusted based on the ratio of male and female learners and the expected vocational categories to meet the needs of the different participants.

### I. Attributes of learners

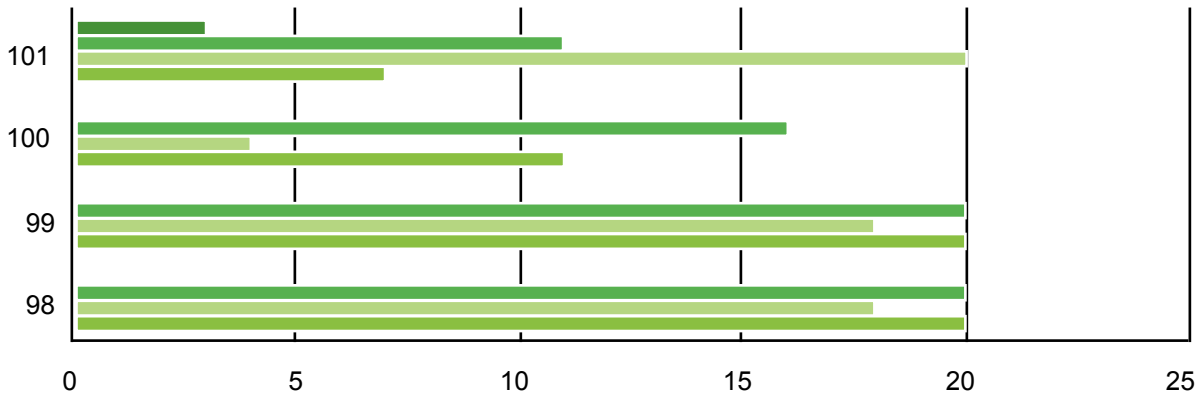
From the statistics of the Cheng Feng Teenager's School programs in the past five years, we found that there are more male participants than female, who fall into a certain section of age groups. The majority of the participants are 15 years old (62) followed by 16 (60), and the oldest are 19 years old. From the aspect of education,



1:1。



most of the participants in the past five years have just graduated from junior high school or graduated junior high school for one year, but there is also a considerable percentage of high school (including vocational high school) dropouts. In 2011, the number of high (vocational high) school dropout was coming very close to the number of junior high school graduates.



	2009	2010	2011	2012
■ 其他 Other	0	0	0	3
■ 高中職休學 Interrupted high/ vocation high school	20	20	16	11
■ 國中畢(肄)業1年以上 Graduated or left junior high school for over one year	18	18	4	20
■ 國中當屆畢業 just graduated from junior high school	20	20	11	7

## 二、方案內容

弱勢青少年職涯準備計畫職前訓練包括核心課程、職業探索、職涯輔導與營隊，課程列表詳見附件一。為了提升青少年學習動機，內容中包含許多團體動力及職業探索，大多數課程也以「互動性」為主，同時也會強調就業基本知識，例如勞健保、基本工資以及勞基法等等。

為了吸引青少年學習動機，課程內容有很多活動、團體動力的部分，使課程除了在單純職業訓練之外，提供多元性適性課程，更重要的是培養學員提升就業或升學動機，且在課程進行期間更加認識自我，也希望青少年明白工作或升學對於自我的意義。學園更於101年(2012)起，企圖更加理解學員對於就業準備

## II. Content of the program

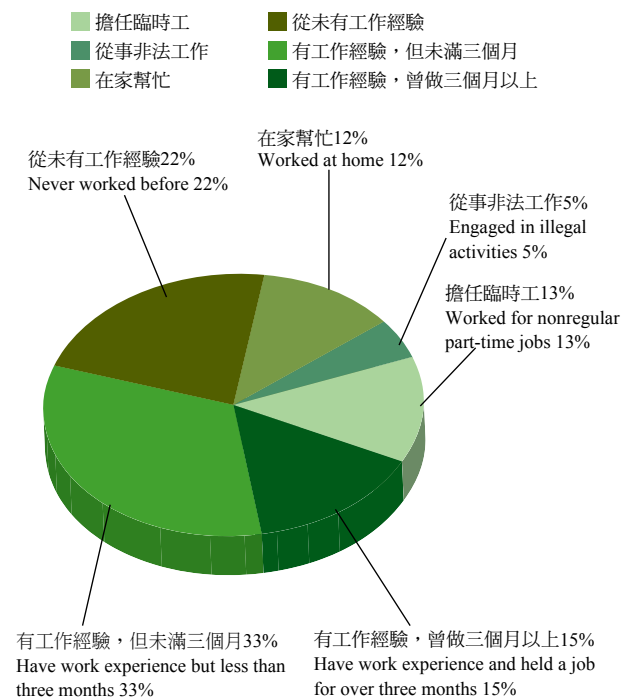
This program targets on preparing the disadvantaged teenagers for employment; the content includes the core courses, vocational exploration, career counseling and camps. Please see appendix 1 for the details on the courses. To motivate the teenagers to learn, the courses also include several group motivation and vocational exploration activities and most of the courses are design with interactive activities with emphasis on the basic knowledge relating to employment, such as labor and national health insurance and the Basic Labor Law.

The courses are full of activities and group motivation to boost the teenagers' interests, and in addition to the vocational training courses, diverse adaptive courses are offered to help the participants to develop the drives for employment or education. The participants are led to explore themselves, as well as the meaning of work or school to them. Starting from 2012, Cheng Feng School launched a series of adjusted and adaptive courses to enable the participants to survey their readiness for employment and their past experiences.



程度以及過去經驗，進而對課程做彈性調整與搭配。

在101年(2012)兩梯次學員參與計畫前狀況中，發現以有工作經驗但未滿三個月者為最多，加入擔任臨時工者比例則接近百分之五十，顯示出青少年來參與職涯準備計畫前，工作狀況不穩定。青少年失業率高、就業穩定度低，以勞動環境來論，青少年被視為非主力勞動人口，為避免青少年就業後成為勞動弱勢族群，方案以職業探索與職涯輔導為主軸，便是針對青少年就業不穩定兩大因素—探索職業志向與就業能力不足。



參與計畫前狀況

Status before the program

在課程結束後，便會視個案情況決定直接就業或是進行工作見習，如果個案有明確職業興趣，也具備該行業基本能力，將會讓他們試著直接面試尋找工作；若個案想要從事的行業困難度較高、過去沒有相關工作經驗或是尚未確定自己的職業方向，則會先媒合店家，提供個案進行見習80小時的機會，藉由見習期間了解未來職業志趣，結束之後再讓個案自行決定去尋找工作或是繼續升學。社工不但在工作見習期間會前往店家訪視，亦會定期與個案會談，了解個案工作狀況並持續追蹤。

In 2012, we discovered from the participants before the program that a large percentage of them have work experience but this work experience is mostly less than three months, and 50% of them have worked as temporary workers. This shows that the teenagers were unable to maintain stable employment before they came to the career preparation program. The teenagers are characterized by high unemployment rate and low employment stability, and at workplaces, the teenagers are seen as the non-mainstream force. To prevent the teenagers from falling into the disadvantaged group after they enter the job market, the Cheng Feng School Program centers its curriculum on vocational exploration and career counseling, targeting to overcome the two major factors of instability in teenagers' employment- unclear career aptitude and lacking job skills.

After completion of the courses, the program counselors evaluate the participants and recommend them for direct employment or internship. When a participant has a clear idea on his/her career choice and the required skills, the counselor helps him/her to find a job. When a participant chooses a job which requires high-level skills and he/she does not have related experience or is not sure of his/her career choice, the counselor seeks a suitable employer and sends the participant to an 80-hour internship program. The internship program offers the participants an opportunity to explore further into their career choice, and after the internship, they are free to decide whether they wish to find a job or return to school. The social workers visit the participants at their workplace and talk to them regularly to keep track of their status and progress.

## 肆、成效分析

### 一、量化分析

目前弱勢青少年職涯準備計畫已進行到102年(2013年)第一梯次，第二梯次將由6月中旬開始。過去從97年度(2008年)截至101年度(2012年)年底，已歷經9梯次的課程，方案目標在於協助弱勢青少年找到生活重心，脫離未升學未就業狀態，但是在辦理初期，成效並沒有想像中理想。

因此，從98年度(2009年)起，職涯準備計畫一年有兩個梯次，帶入行為改變技術，試圖將班級營運成在職場一般，落實簽到簽退機制，並且依照出席狀況及課堂表現累積點數，再以點數換取獎勵金，每週定期發放，不但營造出競爭的感覺，也培養學員職場態度，例如尊重上司、準時上下班以及同事良好互動。

上表為歷年來各梯次學員在課程期間及結束後的狀態，到了100年(2011)及101年(2012)，未升學未就業的人數銳減成3位，推測原因是方案執行的這幾年，學園根據過去經驗以及連結資源之後不斷改

## Effectiveness

### I. Quantitative analysis

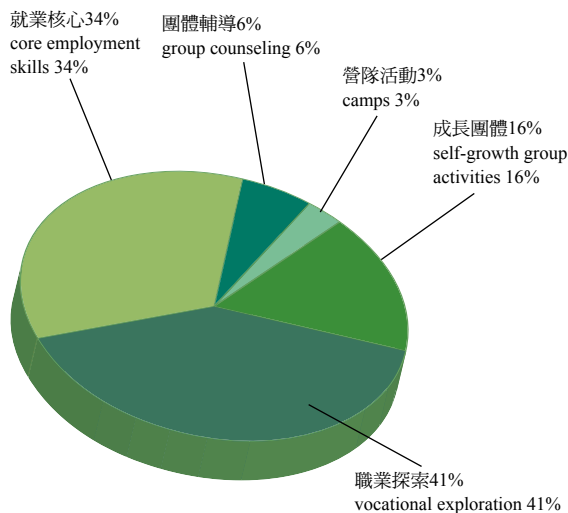
Currently, the 2013 first session of the career preparation program has started and the second session will commence in mid-June. Nine sessions have been conducted from 2008 to 2012 and the goals were positioned to help the teenagers find the focus in their lives and get out the “not employed, not in school” state. However, the program did not achieve the expected effect at the beginning.

Therefore, starting from 2009, the career preparation program launches courses in two sessions every year and introduced the techniques of behavioral change into the program. Attempts were made to stimulate workplace in the classes, so the participants were required to clock in and clock out every day. Merit points, redeemable for rewards, are given on a weekly basis for good attendance and active participation. This technique not only created an atmosphere of competition, but also developed good workplace attitude in the participants, for examples, respect for the supervisor, punctuality, and good interpersonal relationship with the colleagues.

The above table shows the status of participants during and after the program. In 2011 and 2012, the number of participants stayed in

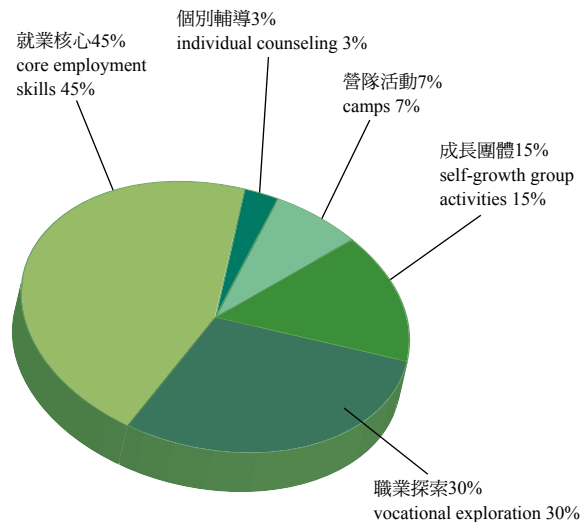
個案狀況 Case status	年度 Year	民國97 2008	民國98 2009	民國99 2010	民國100 2011	民國101 2012
見習或就業 Internship or employment		4	23	23	12	23
就學 School		6	13	13	14	4
未升學未就業 Not in school or employment		12	22	22	3	3

- 就業核心 core employment skills
- 職業探索 vocational exploration
- 成長團體 self-growth group activities
- 營隊活動 camps
- 團體輔導 group counseling



97 年度課程  
2008 Program

- 就業核心 core employment skills
- 職業探索 vocational exploration
- 成長團體 self-growth group activities
- 營隊活動 camps
- 個別輔導 individual counseling



101 年度課程  
2012 Program

善，發展出與坊間職業訓練不相同的訓練方法。

以下就97年度與101年度課程的前後比較，探討方案在這五年間的轉變：

### 1. 因應青少年生活作息不穩定—營隊比例上升(3%-7%)

在97年度開辦時，營隊活動僅有在課程末期辦理兩天一夜「職探成果營」，目的在使青少年能透過任務取向達成團隊合作及溝通互助，並為進入職場作為預備。但是，根據101年(2012)兩梯次學員的問卷調查結果，就業指標最大問題是生活作息無法調整(26%)，因此將接近一星期的「工作體驗營隊」納入課程安排，除了調整青少年生活作息，也能作為課程與就業或見習期間的銜接。

### 2. 尋找「釣魚」的生命意義—就業核心課程上升11%，職業探索課程下降9%

職涯準備計畫抱持著「給他魚吃，不如教他釣魚」的理念，希望藉由課程訓練讓青少年能夠了解

the status of “not in school or employment” took a drastic drop to 3. This drastic change shows that the training techniques different from other programs developed based on the experience and linking of resources may have taken certain effect.

The following is a comparison between the courses designed for the program in 2008 and 2012, which shows the changes made in the past five years.

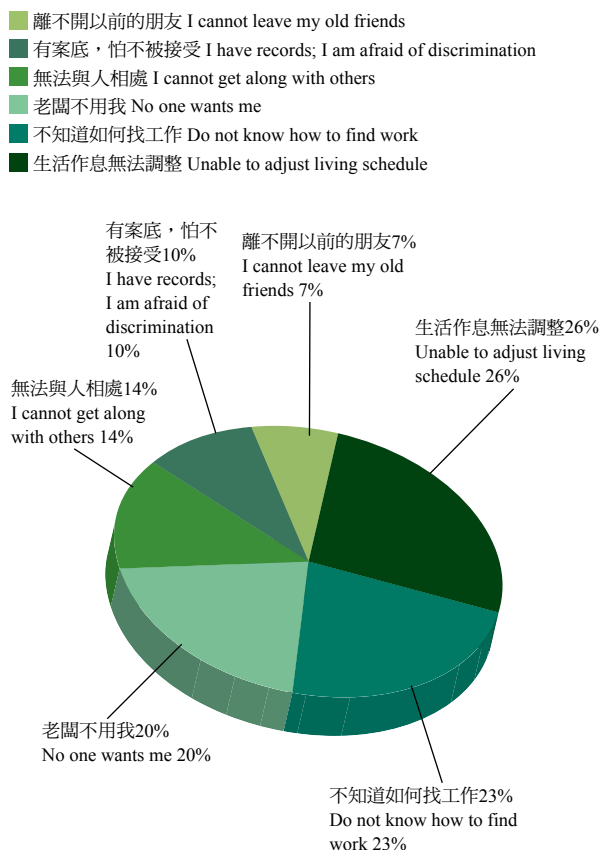
### 1. The ratio of camps increased (from 3 to 7%) to solve the problem of chaotic daily routine in the teenager's lives

At its initial launch in 2008, the program was designed with only one “vocational exploration final presentation camp”, which was held two-day one-night at the end of the program and the goals were to help the participants achieve mission-oriented teamwork and communication, as part of the training to prepare them for workplace. However, the surveys on the participants of the two sessions in 2012 showed that the biggest problem (26%) of the teenagers is the inability to maintain a regular daily schedule. Therefore, the program was redesigned to include a one-week “work experience camp”. This camp not only helped the teenagers to establish a regular routine, but also provided a bridging link between their courses and internship.

### 2. Seeking the meaning of “fishing” in life- core employment courses increased by 11% and vocational exploration decreased by 9%

The career preparation program was designed to teach the teenagers to “fish”, instead of “giving them fish”; therefore, the core concept was to help them explore their interests and give them adequate skill training though the courses before they enter their chosen career.

However, the teenagers were unstable in employment, so successful job placement does not mean successful employment. The follow-up tracking period is critical. Therefore, the program was redesigned with higher percentage of core employment courses to provide sufficient opportunities for diverse vocational exploration and job-seeking knowledge (e.g. labor regulations and traps at workplace) and more importantly prepare the teenagers to deal with frustration and the right values, so that they do not think about leaving whenever they encounter frustration at work.



就業指標問題

Key employment issues

職業興趣，並且想要進一步學習該行業應具備之專業能力，最後再正式進入該行業。

但是青少年就業情況穩定度不高，並非媒合就業成功就是成功，後續追蹤期才是關鍵。因此，就業核心課程比重提升，希望除了有豐富多元的職業探索與學習相關求職知能(如勞動法令、職場陷阱)之外，更重要的是提升青少年面對工作挫折之應對方式與價值觀，避免工作期間與自己理念不合便想離職的情況發生。

### 3.強調團體動力，也注重個人異質性—成長團體、團體輔導與個人輔導

由於課程辦理方式以班級為單位，採用自我成長團體方式引導學員自我認識及增進人際互動技巧，增加班級的團體動力。然而初期個案工作比重較少，但到了101年個案管理服務加重，每週社工皆會與個案固定會談，透過在學園的學習經驗引導青少年個人規劃自我生涯發展。

綜合上述三個層面，可發現計畫方向不斷隨著學園辦理經驗作調整，由於參與計畫的青少年大多徘徊在學校-職場間過渡階段，因此讓青少年探索興趣、增加工作能力之外，更重要的是幫助他們準備好個人的

### 3. Equal emphasis on teamwork and individuality- self-growth group activities, group counselling, and individual counselling

The courses were conducted in the form of classes, and self-growth group activities guided the participants to explore themselves and learn the skills to interact with others. The group activities effectively developed the concept of teamwork in the participants, but less hours were designed for individual casework at the initial stage. In 2012, the program was redesigned with higher percentage of case management services. Each week, the social workers meet with their case subjects regularly and guide their case subjects to plan their career development based on the experience they learned at Cheng Feng School.

From the above three dimensions, we can see that the program is constantly updated as the School gains experiences. Most of the teenagers participating in this program are lingering in the transition stage between school and working life; therefore, beyond exploring interests and training for job skills, the most important thing is help them develop the skills for employment and independent living. The program has been continuously updated with reference to the experience of Cheng Feng School, surveys on teenager, and analysis on the participants' attributes, and the changes brought a drastic decrease of participants staying in the status of "not in school or employment" from over 10 participants to 3.

## 研究樣本的簡介

### Background data of the research samples

受訪者 Subject nickname	性別 Sex	年齡 Age	個案來源 Source of case	個案背景說明 Background	參與方案前就學就業情況 Education before program	參與方案程度 Result
大爺 Boss	女 F	18歲 18	社工介紹 Referred by social worker	父母離異 獨生女，與母同住 Parents are divorced, only child, living with mother.	國中中輟入感化院二年後就業不穩定。 Dropout of junior high school, stayed in juvenile correctional facility for two years; unable to hold jobs.	完成培訓課程 並由社工媒合工作 Completed the training course and began to seek employment under the help of social worker
小祥 Xiao-Xiang	男 M	17歲 17	朋友介紹 Referred by a friend	父歿 母有同居男友，獨立撫養四名子女 Father deceased Mother is living with her boyfriend and raising four children.	國中中輟，就讀中輟園，多次找不到工作 Dropout of junior high school; now goes to midway house, cannot find a job.	未完成培訓課程 Did not complete the training program
喵喵 Kitty	女 F	17歲 17	社工介紹 Referred by social worker	雙親家庭 上有一位哥哥，父母開一家小吃店 Living with parents and an elder brother. Parents run a diner.	國中畢業，因經濟因素無法再升學，沒有工作動力。 Graduated from junior high school and could not afford to continue education; not motivated to work.	未完成培訓課程 Did not complete the training program

受訪者 Subject nickname	性別 Sex	年齡 Age	個案來源 Source of case	個案背景說明 Background	參與方案前就學就業情況 Education before program	參與方案程度 Result
美麗 Mei-Li	女 F	17歲 17	法院轉介 Referred by the court	雙親家庭 上有一位哥哥就讀大學，家中經濟主要由母親負擔 Living with parent and an elder brother (currently in college); the mother is the main provider for the family	國中中輟，就讀中輟學園，年齡太小被雇主辭退。 Dropped out of junior high school, now going to the midway house; dismissed by her employer because she was too young.	完成培訓課程 並由社工媒合工作 Completed the training program and began to seek employment under the help of the social worker
布丁 Pudding	男 M	18歲 18	社工介紹 Referred by social worker	父歿 母親做資源回收，家裡環境髒亂，故個案時常翹家 Father deceased, Mother recycles waste for living. The living environment is chaotic, so he ran away from home for several times.	國中畢業，因經濟因素無法再升學，網路成癮，沒有工作動力 Graduated from junior high school; could not afford to continue education; addicted to online games; not motivated to work.	完成培訓課程 並由社工媒合工作 Completed the training program and began to seek employment under the help of the social worker
偉才 Wei-Tsai	男 M	16歲 16	社工介紹 Referred by social worker	從小住育幼院 國中時期因與育幼院生輔員衝突，被迫返家；父從事校工，母多重精障，兄為過動 Grew up in an institution for children, but was sent home because of conflict with a counselor during junior high school years. Father is a janitor at a school, mother is a psychiatric patient, and elder brother is diagnosed with ADD.	高職建教合作班休學，雇主嫌學習力不夠被辭退，時常換工作 Dropped out from a vocational high school coop program; the employer fired him for slow learning; he hopped from job to job.	完成培訓課程 並至少年支持性職場工作，後由社工媒合工作 Completed the training program, worked at a support factory for juvenile, and found employment through the help of social worker

就業力及社會性自立的養成。另外，不僅參考過去學園的經驗，同時加入青少年問卷結果，整理各梯次學生特質，因而在近兩年計劃結束後，仍處於未升學未就業狀態的青少年從初期的十位數以上降為3人。

## 二、質化分析

由於每一梯學員人數不同，且就業力培養是長期過程，並非短期職訓課程即可解決，無法從表面上數字明確看出方案成效。因此，另外採取質性研究半結構式深度訪談進行方案成效之補充，研究對象的選擇為立意抽樣，樣本來自2010年-2011年期間參與就業培訓的六位青少年。

### 1. 改變過去工作是玩票性質的想法

這六位青少年在回顧就業培訓班前，都認為自己當初愛玩、不懂事。「那時候很愛玩，不會真的

## II. Qualitative analysis

Since the number of participants in each session is different, and development of the competitiveness for employment is an ongoing and long-term process, not something that can be achieved by short-term training. Therefore, the true effectiveness of the program cannot be fully reflected by the statistics. In view of which, we conducted a qualitative research through semi-structured in-depth interview to supplement the information on the effectiveness of the program. The research subjects were selected through purposive sampling from the participants of 2010 and 2011 sessions. Six teenagers were selected for the interview.

### 1. Changed the mindset of working just for fun

These six teenagers recalled their time before they came to the employment-training program and all of them admitted that they were concentrated and irresponsible.

*All the fun things easily tempted me at that time. I did not really want to work. I was slacking off all the time. I worked on an off, so sometimes I did not really dare to go back and ask for my salary; said Kitty.*

Xiao-Xiang dropped out of vocational high school with one of his friends and he tried every job his friend told him about.



想工作，就想要打混，常作幾天沒做，也不敢去拿薪水。」喵喵說。而小祥跟著朋友高職休學，朋友介紹哪裡有工作，他就去試。只要工作讓他覺得無聊，應付客人很麻煩，他就想換工作。「第一次做便利商店覺得很無聊，又很難學，看到客人我就緊張，做一天就沒去了。」沉迷網路遊戲的布丁，對物質要求極低，對他來說工作是有「必需」但沒「必要」。「以前的日子是過一天算一天，其他事情我都做不好，只有打電腦可以讓我有成就感。」從他們的回應當中，這些青少年在就業培訓班前，面對生活呈現消極的態度，也未發展面對問題因應的態度與解決能力。就業培訓班後，青少年皆表示會比較願意找工作，也實際付出行動。

## 2. 懂得重視自身的權益

在上就業培訓班前，美麗國中未畢業就在饒河夜市打工，那時對於自己的勞動權益一無所知，有時候店家善用各式的名目扣錢，例如遲到、毀損商品、業績不佳等等，一個月下來，不到幾千元的薪水，美麗敢怒不敢言，覺得自己年紀太小，有老闆願意雇用就很好了。在就業培訓班時，了解到勞基法的勞工權益與保障，美麗開始會先了解該工作的待遇、福利。「現在會先問有沒有勞健保，但其實很多店家都超過工作時間，也不能要求太多，工作畢竟不好找！」

## 3. 現實狀況與生涯抉擇的整合

雙失少年過去在學校、工作中缺乏被肯定，以至於他們將焦點轉移到別的事物上，限制他們面對世界的的能力。布丁說：「我以前在學校課業很爛，我媽都一直念我怎麼不像誰誰誰成績那麼好，在開始接觸線上遊戲後，發現自己玩得還不錯，從線上遊戲中我可以比別人厲害，曾想過要靠玩遊戲賺錢，可是玩久了覺得空虛，反而花了很多錢在上面。現在覺得那時候的想法很幼稚。工作才發現，上班比坐在電腦前，來的重要很多。」實際工作之後，青少年會開始發現，過去自己對工作不切實際、太過理想化，並會分析自己現有資源，逐步去修正、實

Only, whenever he feels bored or when customers were hard to handle, he wanted to find another job.

*I got my first job at a convenient store. It was boring and so difficult to learn. I got very nervous when I saw customers walked in. so, I was there for only one day, said Xiao-Xiang.*

Pudding, who was addicted to online games, had minimum requirement for “things”, so he thinks work is “necessary” but not a “must”.

*I was like getting by day after day. I was not good at anything, except playing games. Games give me a sense of achievement, said pudding.*

Their responses show that these teenagers were quite passive before they came to the program and none of them has developed the attitude or skills to face or solve the problems. After the program, all of them expressed that they are more willing to work and have taken actions.

## 2. Got to know their rights

Before she came to the program, Mei-Li was working in a store at Raohe Night Market after she dropped out of junior high school. She did not have any knowledge on her right. The employer gave all kinds of excuses to cut her pay, like being late, breaking merchandise, or having poor sales. She ended up with just a few thousand dollars in the end the month. Mei-Li did not dare to speak out because she thought she was lucky enough to get a job since she was so young. After she came to the program, she began to learn that she has rights, and the Basic Labor Law protects her rights, including her salary and benefits.

*Now, I ask if I get labor and health insurance first, but many stores require employees to work overtime, so I cannot ask for too much. After all, it is rather difficult to find a job, said Mei-Li.*

## 3. Integrating real-life scenario into career choices

Most of the young Neets were not assured of their abilities at school or work, so they steered their focus to something else, and this in effect limited their development for the skills to take on the challenges in the world.

*I sucked at school. My mom kept telling why I was not doing as well as who... After I began playing online games, I found that I was pretty good at it. I felt I could beat anyone when I was in the games. I thought about making a living from playing games, but after a while, I felt emptied out. I spent quite a lot of money on it. Now, I think it was quite childish. Now, I have started working. I think that it is so much more important to so my work well than sitting in front of a computer, said Pudding.*

After they started working, the teenagers began to realize that their idea of working was too far from reality and too idealistic. Now, they know how to analyze the resources they have and take actions to amend the goals and eventually achieve their goals. For example, Mei-Li has always wanted to become a tattoo master. She naively

踐目標。舉例來說，美麗一直以來都想要成為一位刺青師，她曾單純的認為，只要有心、愛畫畫將來一定能成功。在就業培訓班時，社工陪她一起去訪談刺青師傅，刺青師傅告訴她光是愛畫畫還不夠，還要畫得厲害。故美麗除了打工努力存錢將來學畫畫之外，也不斷練習。

#### 4. 發現自己就業力不足，重新訂立學習目標

訪談的這六位青少年，皆有共通願望，希望將來能夠繼續升學，或許他們在職場中發現到自己處於就業市場不利的位置，會願意花時間和資源去裝備自己。「我不喜歡作吃的，雖然我現在就是作吃的，因為我現在的工作是為了負擔學費和生活費！讀完高職後，我還要讀大學，現在會比較想未來的事。」目前就讀高職夜校，白天在小吃店打工的布丁，清楚自己若要作有興趣的工作，必須再多學習。大爺在工廠擔任作業員時，有機會接觸機器，社工去訪視時，很得意地操作機台給社工看，從工作中，發現自己對機械很有興趣。「因為夜校沒有機械科，所以只好念資訊科，將來還想念大學的機械！」小祥已在便利商店作超過四個月，對於自己現在已經能夠穩定工作，覺得是自己想通了。「一直換工作其實很累，在換下去也不是辦法，現在的同事年紀都比我大五六歲以上，卻很照顧我，我回家還會看工作手冊，但我知道我並不喜歡服務客人，所以還是想回學校念餐飲科，將來希望可以做內場的工作。」職涯探索的過程當中，家人與朋友的建議對青少年的影響也很大。「有些朋友會勸我，不要那麼早工作，能唸書就唸書，我也知道家人期望我能繼續唸，所以我存到錢會報美工科吧！」雖然在就業市場上跌跌撞撞，但這些青少年越來越能掌握就業應有的態度以及人際溝通技巧。「之前泰勒瓦的老闆，會跟我說很多，他說我脾氣不好，會不適合服務業，也跟我講很多人生道理，現在我回到加油站，變得比較有耐心，也比較懂得怎麼跟客人溝通，以前被客人罵會等客人走了，在背後罵他，現在就覺得沒什麼，不用太計較！」喵

thought that she could make it work if she wants it and have a passion for art. When she was in the program, her social worker took her a talk with a tattoo master. The tattoo master told her that she not only has to love art; she has to be very good at art. Therefore, now Mei-Li works very hard to save up for her art lessons and practice every day.

#### 4. Identifying insufficiency in skills and resetting the learning goals

The six teenagers interviewed in this research share a common wish; that is, they want to continue their education. It may have been that they found themselves at a disadvantaged position when they got into the job market, so they are now more willing to spend the time and resource to get themselves ready for the competitions.

*I do not like to work in the food business even though I am in it right now. I took this job because I need the money for my tuition fees and personal expenses. I want to go to a college after vocational high school. I think of the future more and more, now, said Pudding, who is now going to night program at a vocational high school and working at a diner during the day.*

Pudding knows exactly that if he wants to do things he loves, he must learn more. Boss is now working as a production line operator at a factory, so she came to work with machines every day. When the social worker visited her, she proudly showed her skills to the social worker. She found her interest in machines from her current job.

*There was not mechanical engineering program at night school, so I choose information science. I want to go to college and study mechanical engineering in the future, said Boss.*

Xiao-Xiang has worked at a convenient store for over four months. He had a revelation on his stability.

*It is tiring to switch jobs all the time. I am not going anywhere if I keep on doing that. My colleagues are all five, six years older than I am, but they look out for me. I read worker's manuals after I go home. I know I do not like to serve customers, but I still want to major in food and beverage after I go back to school. I think I will work in a kitchen, said Xiao-Xiang.*

Friends and family had significant influence on the teenagers during the vocational exploration process.

*Some friends told me not to start working so early now; they said just stay in school. I know my family wants me to stay in school, so I will save up enough money to go to art school.*

Although they fell and stumbled in the job market, these teenagers are learning to see “work” with a positive attitude and are beginning to develop communication skills.

*The boss of Terroir Chateau restaurant talked to me a lot. He said I had bad temper, so I was probably not suitable for the service industry. He taught quite a lot of things. Now, I am back to the gas station. I find myself more patient and interacting better with the customers. I used to scold the customers after they left if I felt I was not treated right. Now, I just let it go; there is no need to care too much about that, said Kitty.*

瞄在與人應對上進步很多。然而這些蛻變，是需要機會的給予，對於有些青少年這些機會是需要他人為其創造。「我真的是很幸運的人，有這個機會，參加就業培訓班就是給我一個機會，包括遇到後來收留我的牧師、路上問我需不需要工作的小吃店老闆也是個機會，把握機會才有可能有轉機。」布丁的話道出這些雙失少年的心聲，無論是學校、工作、就業培訓班等，青少年需要的是可以探索、自我實現的地方。

這六位青少年在參加就業培訓班之前多半工作不穩定，平均一個工作不超過一個月，工作意願低落，而在就業培訓班後，皆提高就業意願，透過社工媒合，找到工作。但工作似乎與他們所想像的大不相同，經歷過一段時間後，有些人在挫折中，找到自己合適的位置；有些人嘗試了，覺得自己無法滿足於打工性質的工作，選擇繼續升學；也有礙於現實，被迫暫時從職場中退出。

## 伍、討論與建議

對一般少年來說，國中畢業後升高中職乃是順理成章，然而對這些離開升學管道的少年來說充滿無奈，即便是所謂主動的離校，都有著被動的理由。家庭失功能與經濟因素迫使少年生涯發展必須轉向，但這群少年常常生活沒有重心，對未來更缺乏目標，加上低技術低學歷的限制，容易被不利的勞動條件吸納，更甚者可能從事非法行業。

「弱勢青少年職涯準備計畫」並沒有標籤化雙失少年無就業行為，反之視為人生過渡時期，協助少年於課程期間進一步認識「就業世界」，透過課程中實際接觸各行各業，修正對工作的想像，並且搭配成長團體中學習到的正向經驗與自我認識。

本會根據這幾年的方案經驗，有幾個建議未以下分述之：

Kitty made serious progress in terms of interacting with others. For such changes to take place, they need opportunities. Some teenagers need others to create the opportunities for them.

*I was a very lucky person to have this opportunity. Being able to come to this program is an opportunity, including the reverend who took me in and the owner of the diner who stopped me and asked if I needed a job. You can turn things around only if you grab these opportunities, said Pudding, the voice of a young Neet.*

In school, at work, or in the vocational training program, what the teenagers need is a place where they can explore who they are and be what they are.

These six teenagers were unable to hold jobs before they came to the program; on average, they held each job for less than a month and had no motivation to work. After they came to the program, they are generally more willing to work and in fact found work through their social workers. However, the working world seemed to be quite different from what they have imagine, but after a period of time, some found their places in life after they defeated the frustrations, and some tried and returned to school because they found themselves not satisfied with part-time jobs. Nonetheless, a few of them are forced to exit from the job market due to certain issues in life.

## Discussions and Recommendations

To the general teenagers, it is all natural to move on to a high school or vocational high school after junior high school, but to the teenagers who have dropped out of school, life is full of things out of their power to control. Even for those who left school by choice, there are always reasons behind their choice. Dysfunctional families and financial issues often force the teenagers to turn around in career development, leaving these children on the path to the future without focus or goals. With limited education or skills, these teenagers are very vulnerable and easily become subjects of ill-minded employers who have every intention to take advantage of them or lead them into illegal dealings.

The “Career Preparation Program for Disadvantaged Teenagers” does not label the teenagers for any reason that they chose to stay out of school or employment. In contrary, we see it as a transitional period in their lives and help them to see and know the real working world in the program. Through the program, the teenagers were led to explore the various vocations and industries, as well as the true scenarios of the workplaces. They are also guided to explore positive experiences and themselves through self-growth group activities.

Based on the above analysis, Cheng Feng Teenager’s School provides the following recommendations:

### 1. 職探課程期間，兼顧課程的多元化與實用性。

青少年職業訓練課程，本來就需要活潑、互動性強的元素以增加少年投入課程的專注度，然而職訓班的本質仍是「職業訓練」，因此除了持續訓練課程的多元化，核心課程的效能仍有增強的空間，以提升少年未來進入職場前的就業準備力。

### 2. 工作見習期前後，社工與店家釐清彼此期待。

在媒合弱勢青少年就業時，主要突顯出兩個問題：現場沒有適合帶領青少年的工作人員，以及店家對少年核心能力的提醒不足。以餐飲業、飲料店、美容美髮業來說，這些工作需要大量人際互動之行業，僱主可能會因不了解弱勢青少年特性而產生管理上的衝突。因此社工透過事前將方案脈絡、少年背景清楚解釋，釐清彼此期待，好創造少年與店家雙贏局面。

實然，弱勢青少年職涯準備計畫的職業探索、自我實現及職業見習等課程，對雙失少年而言，即在過渡時期被給予「多個機會」，這些機會包括接觸各行各業的機會、自我探索的機會，以及直接進入職場學習的機會。即使最後是否能夠成功就業因人而異，然而少年普遍因為參加這計劃對其未來人生產生正面的影響，這部分值得肯定與期待。

### I. Integrate diversity and practicality into the vocational exploration courses

It is essential to design courses for the teenagers with interesting activities and interactive elements to grab their attention. However, the essence of vocational training is “job training”. Therefore, in addition to diversity, there is still room for improvement on the effectiveness of the core competency courses since such courses prepare the teenagers for the workplaces.

### II. Social workers should clarify the expectations on both sides before and after the internship

When matching the disadvantaged teenagers for employment, we encountered two problems- there was no suitable persons to lead the teenagers at work and the employer did not take sufficient effort to refresh the teenagers of their core competency training. Especially in the food, beverage, and beauty industries, the workers need to interact with the customers frequently. In some cases, conflicts arise between the employers and the disadvantaged teenagers because they do not know these teenagers very well. The social worker should explain to the teenagers with clear rules before employment and clarify the expectations of both sides, so that they can work up to each other's expectation and create win-win relationships.

In fact, when the disadvantaged teenagers enter the program with multiple courses in vocational exploration, self-exploration, and internship, they are given “multiple opportunities” to help them go through the transitional period. These opportunities include the chances to explore the various vocations and industries, the chances to explore themselves, and the chances to learn directly at the workplace through the internship program. Some people were successful and some failed. Even so, they all walked away with a positive influence in their lives. This alone is commendable and more stories that are successful can be expected.



# 聯勸贊助倡議型公益團體推動制度變革之成功 案例分享--號召民眾參與發掘社區用藥風險 暨監督藥局品質計畫

## Successful Cases of United Way Sponsored Advocacy Groups and Campaigns for System Reform: Calling on the public to get involved in disclosing medication risks and pharmacy quality watch in the community

劉淑瓊 Joanne S. Liu、朱顯光 H.K. Chu、張銘芳 Ming-Fang Chang  
財團法人台灣醫療改革基金會(醫改會) Taiwan Health Reform Foundation (THRF)

### 摘 要

聯合勸募多年來在台灣贊助公益團體推動各種直接服務方案、社福產業創新計畫，促成許多社會實質改變與進步。隨著台灣第三部門所展現的社會力蓬勃壯大，不少公益團體進而積極藉由調查揭露、監督及倡議、觸發民意及媒體關注等方式，促成制度與政策改革，以產生更實質的改變以解決社會問題。但這類調查與倡議型的方案，不似直接服務容易支持到社會資源贊助；為維持倡議的獨立與客觀，更不適合接受政府或利益團體補助。因此，透過聯勸資源贊助，往往成為促成社會變革的關鍵力量。醫改會2012年監督藥局方案，就是個成功範例。

台灣因缺乏社區用藥把關機制，導致重複用藥及交互作用率偏高，任意購藥、囤積藥品未服用等問題；有心增進社區民眾用藥健康的社區組織與社福機構，也無從有效聯結優質社區藥事資源。為解決此社會問題，醫改會申請聯勸2012年研究與調查補助計畫，採「行動研究法」方式，號召志工及社區民眾以神秘客方式調查藥局品質。

結果發現藥局違規率竟達七成三，且四成專業諮詢沒到位。醫改會進而召開「揭露健保藥局五大『藥』命指數」記者會，計有31家媒體採訪、43則報導，有效引起輿論、醫藥團體、立委及政府重視，促成社區藥局評鑑、優良藥局資訊公開及強化違規查核等制度變革；透過媒體大幅報導，也讓大眾更進一步認識聯勸贊助倡議調查的貢獻。醫改會也透過與社福團體召開圓桌論壇、宣導講座、影音網頁，教民眾如何發掘社區用藥風險；相關成果亦可作為聯勸推動「樂齡360高齡服務」參考。

### Abstract

*Over the years, United Way has sponsored numerous non-profit organizations to launch direct service programs and innovative development plans for the social welfare industry. Directly and indirectly, United Way has contributed substantially to the progress and growth of the society. The growing social force manifested in the actions of the third sector in Taiwan brought many non-profit organizations to actively investigate, expose, monitor, advocate, and initiate discussions of issues in the society and media system, and such active public attention has brought about substantial changes and resolved social issues in the society through system and policy reform. However, such investigation and advocacy programs do not gain as much support of social resources as direct services. To maintain independence and impartiality, it is also inappropriate for the advocates to receive grants from the government or profit-seeking*



groups. Therefore, United Way sponsorship often becomes the key force in the campaigns for social reform. The pharmacy watch program initiated by the Taiwan Health Reform Foundation (THRF) in 2012 is a good example of successful advocacy campaign.

A checking mechanism has been missing in the community pharmacy system in Taiwan, and therefore the problems of repeated and interfering medication have persistently existed in the communities. People purchase drugs without prescriptions and stock up on drugs. Community/social welfare organizations advocating public health have been unable to connect the public to quality community pharmaceutical resources. To solve this social issue, the THRF made a request to United Way in 2012 for sponsorship to its research and investigation plan. This plan was conducted through action research; in which, volunteers and community residents were engaged as anonymous customers to investigate the quality of the pharmacies.

From this research, THRF discovered that 73% of the pharmacies violated relevant regulations and 40% of them did not provide professional consultancy. THRF called for a press conference and disclosed of the five deadly indicators of National Health Insurance pharmacies. This press conference attracted the attention of 31 media and achieved wide exposure of 43 entries of news reports, which effectively initiated public discussion and grabbed the attention of the medical care groups, legislators, and the government. The campaign successful brought about system reform. Public grievances prompted the authorities to set up an accreditation system for community pharmacies, make the information of quality pharmacies available to the public, and strengthen law enforcement to prevent illegal pharmacy practices. In addition, nationwide media reports made the contribution of United Way sponsored advocacy known to the public, and the THRF was given an opportunity to educate the public on how to discover medication risks in the community through round table conferences with social welfare groups, seminars, and website audio/video resources. The information provided by this research was also used a reference for United Way's "LOHAS 360 Service for the Elderly" program.

## 前言

台灣因缺乏家醫制度與社區健康用藥把關機制，導致重複用藥率高、藥品交互作用率高，受廣告影響任意購藥、囤積藥品未服用等問題十分嚴重，進而造成國內藥費支出比例偏高、因藥害而導致洗腎比率偏高等嚴重社會問題。

但由於我國尚未落實醫藥分業制度，大醫院開立慢性病連續處方箋讓民眾就近在社區藥局領藥比率不高，導致民眾對於善用社區藥局資源解決健康與用藥問題的機會與認知都顯不足；有心增進社區民眾用藥健康的社區組織與社福機構也無從有效連結優質社區藥事資源。

醫改會就接過這樣的申訴求助電話：陳伯伯患有攝護腺肥大，固定看泌尿科吃藥改善排尿。最近因為不舒服去看另家醫院的心臟科門診，醫師想開降血壓藥，並仔細詢問陳伯伯是否有吃別的藥，但陳伯伯記不起來泌尿科開的藥名，只記得顏色與形狀。陳伯伯很擔心藥物交互作用或重複，但看診的醫師、醫院藥師也忙得像戰鬥陀螺般沒空回答；想回家詢問厝邊的藥局，卻又擔心會不會不夠專業？會不會藉機推銷產品…？只好回家後先吃藥看看再說。回去吃藥後，隔天洗臉時卻突然頭暈摔倒，撞到洗手台而頭破血流。最後才發現開的是同一成分的藥，既可降血壓也可幫助排尿，加上不同醫院採用的廠牌不同所以顏色不一樣，老翁誤認是不同藥品而重複用藥，導致低血壓而暈眩跌倒。陳伯伯心想，當初如果有個信任的藥局可以幫忙把關，這樣的悲劇應該就不會發生了。

醫改會也接過許多慢性病患的申訴與求助，醫院開給的慢性病連續處方箋，因為找不到專業信任的健保藥局可以調劑領藥(例如擔心被換藥)，只好每月舟車勞頓跑回醫院排隊領藥，費時又傷荷包。也有年輕小姐反映，當初因為生理痛直接到藥局購買消炎止痛的處方藥，不料服用後發生嚴重過敏傷害，後來才發現因為是自行購買處方藥而不符藥害

## Introduction

Taiwan has relatively underdeveloped family medicine and mechanisms for community pharmacy watch. Therefore, repeating and conflicting medication was quite serious. People buy over-the-counter drugs from infomercials and stock up on drugs without professional advice. Such uncontrolled practices have pushed domestic expenditure on drugs to the ceiling. Unsupervised medication has driven the percentage of kidney failure (dialysis patients) to a relatively high mark.

The system of separation of hospital and pharmacy is not mature in Taiwan. Therefore, the percentage of hospitals giving continuous prescriptions for medicine dispensed at community pharmacies is still quite low. This has caused the public to have inadequate opportunities, as well as the awareness, to utilize community pharmacies to solve their health and medication problems. Community and social welfare organizations advocating medication safety have no way to establish effective links between the community residents and quality pharmacies.

The THRF has received many phone calls seeking help. Mr. Chen has prostate hypertrophy, so he is on regular medication to improve his urination problem. Recently, he felt ill and went to a cardiology clinic at another hospital. The doctor wanted to prescribe blood pressure control medicine for him, so he asked Mr. Chen whether he was taking other medicine. Mr. Chen could not remember the name of the medicine prescribed for his prostate problem, except for the color and shape. Mr. Chen was concerned whether he was getting the same drugs or whether the new prescription would interfere with his other medication, but the doctor and pharmacist at the hospital were too busy to answer his questions. He wanted to ask the neighborhood pharmacy, but he was worried that the pharmacist was not professional enough or would try to sell something to him. He decided to go home first and try the new prescription. So, he went home and took his medicine. The next morning when he was washing his face, he felt dizzy and fell on the washbasin. The doctor at the hospital found that he was prescribed the same medicine, which simultaneously controls the blood pressure and improves urination problems; only the color is different because different manufacturers made them. Mr. Chen did not know they were the same medicine, so he took both, and the result was he fainted because of low blood pressure. Mr. Chen thought to himself that such incident would not have happened if there were a trusted pharmacy in the neighborhood to double check the prescription for him.

The THRF has also received many complaints and inquiries from patients of chronic diseases because they could not find trusted National Health Insurance pharmacies to refill their continuous prescriptions (they worry that the pharmacist at the neighborhood pharmacies may swap

救濟資格，加上手上又無藥袋及收據可舉證，最後竟落得求償無門。

這些問題實有待公民監督團體以獨立性實證調查方式揭露相關問題，並喚起社區民眾意識與相關單位重視，並進一步協助有心增進社區民眾用藥健康的社區組織與社福機構，能夠有效聯結優質社區藥事資源，以彌補傳統直接服務的不足。但這類調查與倡議型的方案，不似直接服務容易支持到社會資源贊助；為維持倡議的獨立與客觀，更不適合接受政府或利益團體補助。因此，透過聯勸資源贊助，往往成為促成公益團體執行倡議型方案以帶動社會變革的關鍵力量。

## 方案簡介

醫改會自2001年成立以來，即設立專線接聽民眾就醫所遭遇之各類困境申訴，並從中發掘問題以推出相關議題與教育宣導方案。由醫改會接獲申訴統計發現，6-12%的醫糾申訴與用藥疏失有關；另依據醫院評鑑暨醫療品質策進會2010年的病安通報統計顯示，給錯事件占所有病人安全事件的31%，連續多年居醫療疏失的首號元兇，形成台灣社會嚴重問題。

參酌國際經驗與國內相關衛生論壇共識，指向喚起社會大眾的覺醒、強化社區藥事照護把關功能，是解決前述民眾用藥問題的重要策略。

因此醫改會申請2012年聯勸研究與調查補助計畫，採「行動研究法」方式，以強化社區藥局功能、培養社區民眾參與把關等兩大倡議主軸，透過神秘客方式號召民眾參與監督調查社區藥局品質，主動發掘基層藥事服務可能弊端與社區健康風險類型。並透過記者會揭露、小型圓桌論壇、網路與出版品宣導等方式，培力社區民眾及社福團體自我把關用藥安全的知能。本調查結果，亦可做為解決台灣社會用藥問題、規劃在地健康服務需求與社區健康營造方案之依據。

their medicine for cheaper alternatives), so they have to waste the money and time to travel back and forth to hospital every month. There was one case. A young woman went to a pharmacy to buy medicine for her menstruation pain and the pharmacy gave her some prescription drugs—a while later, she came down with a serious allergy. After the incident, she decided to seek legal remedy for her damages, only she found out that she was not eligible to take legal action because she bought prescription medicine without a prescription. She did not keep the packaging or receipt for evidence, so she was denied of any form of compensation.

Exposure of these problems relies on independent empirical investigations conducted by citizens watch groups to raise public awareness and the attention of the authorities. Successful campaigns will facilitate community and social welfare organizations advocating medication safety to connect quality pharmacies to the community. Community pharmacies supplement for the shortcomings in the traditional system of medicine dispensing directly at the hospital. However, such investigation and advocacy projects do not gain as much support of social resources as other community service programs, and to maintain independence and impartiality, it is rather inappropriate for the advocacy groups to receive sponsorships from the government or profit-seeking organizations. Therefore, sponsorship of United Way often becomes the key force in the initiative projects for social reform.

## Introduction to the Project

Since its founding in 2001, the THRF has launched a hotline for complaints and inquiries concerning medical care services. The issues raised by the callers were consolidated into relevant investigations and public education programs. From the statistics of complaints received by the THRF, we discovered that 6 to 12% of the calls were related to medical care and medication disputes. Furthermore, according to the 2010 patient safety reporting statistics provided by the Taiwan Joint Commission on Hospital Accreditation (TJCHA), cases involving errors in medicine dispensing take up 31% of all reported cases, which has become the number cause of medical negligence and has brought serious problems to the society of Taiwan.

From international experiences and consensus reached in the relevant public health conferences, discussions on relevant issues suggested that the key strategy to solving the above issues is raising public awareness and reinforcing the role of community pharmacies as the frontier of medication safety.

Therefore, the THRF submitted application for United Way's research and investigation project in 2012. This project was conducted through action research, with the objectives to reinforce the functions of community pharmacies and involving the community residents into the actions of pharmacy watch. Community residents were engaged as anonymous customers to investigate the quality of community pharma-

## 策略及成效

### 1. 記者會揭露「藥命指數」促成藥局評鑑制度變革

醫改會於2012年3月針對五直轄市分層隨機抽樣七十家、經衛生署遴選為「正確用藥諮詢健保藥局」進行抽樣電訪，結果發現「違法賣處方藥」違規率竟達七成三，且四成專業諮詢沒到位；進一步派神秘客實地訪查20家台北市與新北市的健保藥局，居然可輕易買到抗生素、類固醇、強效消炎藥等處方藥。

醫改會於2012年4月召開記者會，「揭露健保藥局五大『藥』命指數」：

- (1) 處方用藥違法賣，藥局配藥藏玄機(73%的受訪藥局違法販賣處方藥)
- (2) 重複用藥沒「卡」住，健保規定沒法度
- (3) 真假藥師分不清，執業標示隨便掛
- (4) 「指示藥」販賣超商化，藥局一樣沒諮詢
- (5) 專業諮詢沒到位，健康促進沒在推(41%的受訪藥局未符專業標準)

這場記者會引起媒體與各界關注，包括：自由時報、蘋果日報、聯合晚報以大篇幅報導；華視、台視、民視、公視等新聞台亦相繼報導，記者會當日總計有31家媒體前來採訪；截至101年4月23日統計，共有43則相關新聞報導。

記者會後醫改會便持續進行倡議與政策改革遊說行動，後續得到藥師公會、健保局、衛生署、地方衛生局等單位的正面回應：藥師公會表示，將自清與整頓，並配合主管機關稽查開罰；健保局重申，民眾至藥局持慢性處方箋領藥，一定要出示健保卡以利核對，若有藥局未遵守，將通知限期改進或予以違約記點處分，同時鼓勵民眾檢舉，並承諾該局將參據醫改會之建議，儘速研訂特約藥局服務品質相關指標，後續建置於健保局網頁供外界參閱；衛生署則表示，今年終將透過公會展開「社區藥局評估考核計畫」，針對藥局是否空間明亮、比

cies and actively expose the ill practices in the base-level pharmacy services, as well as community health risks. The THRF also organized a press conference to disclose the results of this investigation, as well as organizing small roundtable forums and publishing information online and through hard copies to develop the knowledge and abilities for community medication watch through the residents and social welfare organizations. Results of this investigation also served as a significant basis for plans and strategies targeting to resolve the medication issues and develop localized health services and community health programs.

## Strategies and Effectiveness

### I. Press conference disclosing the deadly medication indicators brought reform to the pharmacy accreditation system

The THRF selected 70 pharmacies from the list of “National Health Insurance pharmacies providing accurate medication consultation services” published by the Department of Health through stratified random sampling and conducted telephone surveys in March 2012. Results of the surveys brought astonishing results: **73% of the surveyed pharmacies were selling prescription drugs illegally and 40% did not provide professional consultation**. In a further study, anonymous customers were dispatch to investigate 20 National Health Insurance pharmacies in Taipei City and New Taipei City and all of them were **able to purchase antibiotics, steroids, and high-strength anti-inflammatory drugs without efforts**.

The THRF called for a press conference in April 2012 to disclose the five “deadly medication indicators”:

1. Illegal selling of prescription drugs is prevalent in pharmacies (73% of the surveyed pharmacies sold prescription drugs illegally).
2. Repeated prescription is not sanctioned by any health insurance regulations.
3. A standard for display of professional certificate is not in place, making it difficult for the customers to identify the pharmacist's qualification.
4. Behind-the-counter (BTWs) drugs are sold through chain pharmacies without consultation.
5. Insufficient professional consultation, community health promotion results in futile efforts.

This press conference attracted wide attention; the major printed and electronic media in Taiwan reported this event, including Liberty Times, Apple Daily, United Evening News, CTS, ETC, Formosa TV, and PTS. A total of 31 news media participated in this press conference and, up to April 23rd 2012, a total of 43 news disclosures reported this investigation.

After the press conference, the THRF continued their efforts through a series of advocacy and lobbying actions and received positive responses from the Taiwan Pharmacist Association, Bu-



對處方藥賣出量與處方箋數目等，了解有無違法販賣處方藥。

## 2. 多管齊下教育宣導，教民眾聰明就醫用藥

醫改會除了召開社區藥局用藥現況調查結果記者會，希望透過媒體報導，促使更多民眾體認到用藥問題的嚴重性，並有動力增加用藥安全之相關知能。後續我們更透過廣播節目專題採訪，教導社區民眾如何監督藥局品質與提升用藥安全。同時也把調查結果和相關用藥知能，刊登於醫改會的免費出版物：醫改電子報第95期(發行量為六千名)、醫改季刊第50期(發行量為兩萬兩千本，並公開擺放於台北各大捷運站及連鎖書局)。

另外，考量網際網路的影響力日增，也透過醫改會網站與臉書(facebook)粉絲頁發佈記者會新聞稿，並教導民眾如何辨識優良藥局、自我把關、索取處方箋與聰明用藥。醫改會也拍攝「如何聰明使用社區藥局」宣導短片，放置於網站供各界民眾上網觀看，並主動通知社福團體利用此教育資源；期待這些資訊能透過各社區社福團體的力量，切實解決用藥風險的問題。增加更多民眾的用藥知能，並可一同監督健保藥局。並提供民眾發現社區用藥風險事件的通報或違規檢舉管道。希望全民一同參與監督藥局品質。

## 3. 串聯各界動腦想解方，號召各界參與發掘社區用藥風險

醫改會後續並舉辦兩場圓桌論壇，邀請專家學者、社區藥局藥師、藥師公會代表、食品藥物管理局官方代表，以及關心用藥安全的民間團體(家庭照顧者關懷總會、景康基金會)和志工媽媽，希望各代表以自身之實務經驗、研究或用藥經驗，參與圓桌論壇討論，共同研擬改善社區藥局用藥風險之管理及政策，並將座談會討論紀錄與共識，提供給政府與醫藥界參考，期能共同面對藥局藥師在維持專業與守法上的實務困境，研商如何透由相關政策加以改善，促使藥局藥師專業自律，並加強民眾對社區藥局的監督、信賴與使用。

reau of National Health Insurance, Department of Health, and local health authorities. The Taiwan Pharmacist Association expressed that the association will carry out a full-scale reorganization and self-discipline actions in collaboration with the authorities. The Bureau of National Health Insurance reiterated the importance of counter-checking the continuous prescription with the National Health Insurance card at the pharmacy and violators will be demanded for improvement within a deadline or sanctioned with demerit points. The Bureau also encouraged the public to report illegal practices and made a commitment to establish a set of indicators for service quality evaluation on the National Health Insurance contracted pharmacies with reference to the recommendations of the THRF, which will also be published on the website of the Bureau of National Health Insurance. The Department of Health also disclosed that a "community pharmacy evaluation program" would be launched this year in collaboration with the Taiwan Pharmacist Association, which will evaluate pharmacies based on several criteria, including the environment, and audit the inventory of drugs against the number of prescriptions to fight against illegal selling of prescription drugs.

## II. Multifaceted education teaches the public the smart way to medical care and safe medication

In addition to the press conference on community pharmacy practice, the THRF launched a series of actions to raise public awareness on medication safety and made the knowledge of safe medication available to the public. We taught the community residents how to monitor the quality of pharmacies and improve medication safety through radio broadcasts, and published the investigation results, as well as medication knowledge, in the free THRF publication: THRF e-News issue 95 (circulation 6,000) and THRF Quarterly issue 50 (circulation 22,000) and free newspapers distributed at Taipei MRT stations and chain bookstores.

In addition, with the powerful tool of the internet, the THRF also published the news release for the press conference on the THRF website and Facebook fans page. Rich information teaches the public how to identify quality pharmacies, counter-check their prescriptions, request for prescriptions, and use medicine smartly. The THRF also provided a short film, entitled "How to Use Community Pharmacies Smartly?" This film is now available to the public through the website, and relevant social welfare organizations were informed of this education resource. We expect that this information will help the public to minimize medication risks, develop the knowledge and abilities to smart medication, and monitor the National Health Insurance pharmacies through the forces of the community and social welfare organizations. The THRF provides the public a channel for reporting illegal pharmacy practice and calls upon all citizens to get involved in the actions of monitoring the quality of pharmacies.

## III. Linking the society to brainstorm solutions and take actions to expose community medication risks

The THRF followed up the press conference with two roundtable



## 檢討與展望

回顧這為期一年的倡議行動方案，短、中、長期分別已經達成awareness、empowerment、change等目標，成果與影響總結如下：

### 1. 短期：Awareness

- (1) 帶動民眾參與訪查(有別於官方例行訪查與專業團體委託調查)，以更真實瞭解台灣社區藥局品質現況優劣、社區民眾用藥風險與常見問題。
- (2) 透過記者會媒體大量報導，將社區藥局用藥安全危機揭露出來，一方面促使民眾關注自身用藥問題，另一方面也增進民眾參與監督並提高對社區藥局的認識及利用。

### 2. 中期：Empowerment

- (1) 藉由民眾監督團體的調查督促社區藥局提升品質，並更重視社區民眾意見，有助社區藥局更積極參與社區健康營造，協助相關職務工作與直接服務團體之方案推動。
- (2) 督促藥師公會、社區藥局自律並提升品質。
- (3) 與藥師公會、社區藥局合作架設用藥守護神專網，不僅能對民眾教育宣傳，也能喚起醫藥界對社區藥局品質的重視，進而透過自律與品質競爭，改善專業品質並關懷社區健康問題。
- (4) 促使衛生署與健保局落實醫藥分業、慢箋開立讓民眾到社區藥局領藥、強化社區藥事資源相關政策；並倡議推動健保應訂立健保藥局品質監測指標與資訊公開。
- (5) 教育宣導與調查成果加值應用：拍攝教育宣導衛教短片，至於網站供各界民眾上網觀看並主動通知社福團體利用此教育資源，並供聯勸樂齡方案參考使用，並協助社區團體解決社區用藥風險問題。

### 3. 長期：Change

- (1) 成立模擬示範社區藥局，將好的諮詢服務表

conferences, inviting scholars and experts, community pharmacists, representatives from the Taiwan pharmacist association, official representatives from the food and drug administration, non-profit organizations advocating medication safety (Taiwan Association of Family Caregivers and Ching Kang Foundation for Pharmacy Promotion), and volunteers. In the roundtable conferences, the representatives shared their practice, research, or medication experiences and collaboratively drafted management strategies and policies for improvement of medication risks at community pharmacies. Records and consensus made in the conferences were forwarded to the government authority and pharmaceutical industry for reference, addressing the issues of professional and legal pharmacy practice, policies for improvement and pharmacist self-discipline, and reinforcement of public supervision, trust, and utilization of community pharmacies.

## Review and Prospects

Looking back to the past year, we have achieved part of the short, medium, and long term goals of the initiatives- awareness, empowerment, and change. The following presents a summary of the achievements made in the past year:

### I. Short-term: Awareness

1. The THRF involved the public in the actions of investigation (which is different from the routine investigations conducted by the officials and professional organizations), which provides the community users a true view on the quality of the community pharmacies in Taiwan and the associated risks exposed to the community residents.
2. The press conference and nationwide exposure disclosed the risks of medication bidding in the community pharmacies, which raised public awareness on their medication safety and involved the public to supervise, learn, and use the resources offered by community pharmacies.

### II. Medium-term: Empowerment

1. Through investigation initiated by citizens watch groups, the public is involved in the supervision of community pharmacies; public opinions will bring the community pharmacies to participate in the development of healthy communities with a more active and implementation of direct service programs.
2. Public involvement supervised the Taiwan Pharmacist Association and community pharmacies to practice self-discipline.
3. The THRF coordinated with the Taiwan Pharmacist Association and community pharmacies to set up the Medication Guardian Net, which provides information for public education and calls on the community pharmacies to pay attention to the quality of services with aims to induce self-discipline and quality competition, as well as improving professional services and highlighting the issues of commu-

現模式公開，各個社區藥局將有參考、效仿之對象，進而持續提升服務品質，實質嘉惠、守護民眾健康。

- (2) 帶動社區藥事團體與社區服務團體合作，共同提升在地用藥安全環境與營造社區健康文化。
- (3) 藉由揭露社區藥局品質調查結果、模範藥局服務模式案例介紹，有助相關社區服務團體作為解決服務對象之健康與用藥問題之重要參考依據。相關社區用藥風險與常見用藥醫糾整理結果，也可供直接服務方案設計與執行時之參考。

對此結果，醫改會樂見相關單位動起來，建立專業考核項目促使有心的藥師有規則可依循，也讓好藥局得以出頭，民眾的用藥安全也將越來越有保障！

此外，透過媒體報導，除喚起大眾對健保藥局弊端的警覺，也促成政府及醫藥團體的回應，更成功地讓社會各界注意到聯合勸募贊助倡議型公益團體的影響力。未來建議聯合勸募可進一步擴大對倡議型調查行動方案之補助，或要求訂定更長期性的成效評量指標、追蹤制度變革上路後的實施成效，並落實更全面的教育宣導與資源連結，讓方案發揮更大的變革影響力，讓台灣社會更美好。

nity health.

4. The actions prompted the Department of Health and Bureau of National Health Insurance to implement a substantial hospital-pharmacy separation system, which enables the public to refill their continuous prescriptions at the community pharmacies and reinforce the policies relating to community pharmacy resources, and advocated establishment of a National Health Insurance pharmacy quality monitoring indicators, as well as information transparency.
5. Value-added application of the investigation results for public education: the THRF produced a health education film, which was launched online for public viewing; the social welfare organizations were also notified of these education resources. The related resources were also provided as reference for United Way LOHAS Program for the Elderly and helped the community groups solve problems associated with medication risks.

### III. Long-term: Change

1. The THRF is planning to set up a model community pharmacy to demonstrate good consultation services. This model will be provided as a reference and emulator for community pharmacies and is expected to induce quality improvements that benefit and guard the health of the public.
2. Projects will be implemented to facilitate collaboration between community pharmacy groups and community service organizations, improvement of in-community medical service environment, and development of a healthy community culture.
3. Disclosure of the results of community pharmacy investigations, model pharmacy services, information of practical utilization of community pharmacies for public education will provide valuable references to the community service groups for development of solutions to the health and medication problems of their service subjects. Information associated with community medication risks and medical care/pharmacy disputes will be consolidated and published, providing references for design and implementation of direct service programs.

This project achieved substantial results and the THRF was glad that the authorities began to take actions to establish professional evaluations and setting standards for professional pharmacist practice. A good system will give quality pharmacies higher competitiveness and protect the safety of the public.

Furthermore, full-scale report through the mass media raised public awareness to the issues of National Health Insurance Pharmacies, prompted the government and medical care providers to respond, and successfully brought public attention to the influence of United Way sponsored public initiatives. Therefore, we recommend United Way to expand its sponsorship to investigation projects, initiatives that demands for establishment of long-term effectiveness evaluation indicators, projects tracking implementation issues of system reform, and implementation of comprehensive education and resource networks to maximize the influence of public projects in pursuit of the greater good of the society of Taiwan.

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# 陽光口腔癌防治專案

## Sunshine Social Welfare Foundation Oral Cancer Prevention Program

林怡君 Yi-Jiun Lin、莊麗真 Li-Chen Chuang  
財團法人陽光基金會 Sunshine Social Welfare Foundation

### 摘要

為回應社會需求及組織發展的需要，陽光基金會自民國93年起開始積極投入口腔癌病友之服務，在組織願景中將93-96年之階段目標定為對口腔惡性腫瘤服務之需求評估、服務模式建立、專業團隊培訓，自民國94年起開展口友服務及防治宣導等工作。

除了針對已患病之口友提供社工、復健、居家護理、就業與經濟協助，滿足生理、心理、經濟與社會適應等需求，維持其與家屬之生活品質之外，另亦特別針對高危險族群進行教育宣導，以提高其預防甚於治療之意識，並基於三級預防的原則與策略設定不同階段性目標。

將近十年來，本會持續投入之專業人力，與不斷連結會外補助及服務資源，逐漸奠定現有的服務模式及預防宣導策略，唯仍難以突破的是口友的就業困境與檳榔防制之立法不易，期未來能發展出更有效之解決策略。

### Abstract

*In response to social needs and the needs of organizational development, the Sunshine Social Welfare Foundation has been actively involved in the services for patients of oral cancers since 2004. In the plans of the Foundation, a series of tasks relating to oral cancers was set as strategic goals for the period from 2004 to 2007, including assessment of needs, establishment of service model, and development of professional human resources. The services and prevention campaigns were launched in 2005.*

*This program offers social work services, rehabilitation, home care, employment, and financial aides to patients of oral cancers, targeting to fulfill their physical, psychological, and financial needs, as well as the need to integrate into the society and maintaining the quality of family life. Education and promotion campaigns were also launched to raise the awareness for prevention, and strategic goals were set for the different stages based on the three-tier prevention principles and strategies.*

*During the past decade, Sunshine Social Welfare Foundation has continuously invested professional manpower and established links to external sponsorships and resources. Over the years, we have achieved a well-established service model and effective strategies for promotion and education; only, it is still quite difficult to break through the bottleneck of employment and legislation of preventive measures against betel nuts. As a continuous pursuit, we strive to develop more effective strategies in the future.*



## 前言

陽光基金會(以下簡稱本會)於民國70年12月18日創立，提供顏面損傷及燒傷者全方位服務。隨著臉部腫瘤病變患者(血管瘤、神經纖維瘤、口腔惡性腫瘤)需求日益增加，是故自民國92年起開始強化對腫瘤病變顏損者的服務。其中，罹患口腔惡性腫瘤導致顏損者(以下簡稱口友)因五年存活率提高，加上發病年齡下降，使得口友多是四、五十歲男性且為家中經濟支柱，罹病後往往導致個人和家庭陷入困境。因此，本會自民國93年起開始積極投入此一新顏損族群之服務領域，並在組織願景中將93-96年之階段目標定為對口腔惡性腫瘤服務之需求評估、服務模式建立、專業團隊培訓，自民國94年起開展口友服務及防治宣導等工作。

根據實際服務經驗的累積，本會逐步修正服務模式，針對族群之直接及間接對象，掌握適當的服務模式。除了提供口友醫療復健、休閒活動與經濟協助，滿足生理、心理、經濟與社會適應等需求，維持服務對象及其家屬之生活品質之外，另亦針對尚未罹癌之社會大眾進行教育宣導；期望能透過衛教知識之傳遞，增加對於罹癌高危險因素(如嚼食檳榔)的認識，以降低未來潛在的病患數目。

然而，口腔惡性腫瘤之發生率與死亡率仍逐年創下新高，對於國人的健康威脅未曾稍減。是故本會在97-101年的五年願景規劃中，將服務重點置於「個案服務」、「預防宣導」、「研究發展」等三大部分，旨在強化對於口友家庭的心理支持、生活品質改善以及對未來希望，同時透過96年底跨機構所組成的「檳榔防制 口腔癌防治聯盟」，逐步向「政策立法」之長程目標邁進。

儘管口腔惡性腫瘤罹患率日益影響國人生命，亦連帶影響著患者及其家人之生活。本會將延續歷年來的工作成果，繼續深化服務品質並加以推廣，以發展出「專業化」、「標準化」與「普及化」的口友服務，使其與家屬的生活品質得以維持、生命

## Introduction

Sunshine Social Welfare Foundation (hereafter refers to as the Foundation) was founded on December 18 1981, offering comprehensive services to people with facial disfigurement and burn survivors. Along with the increasing number of facial tumor patients (hemangioma, neurofibromatosis, and oral cancers), the Foundation expanded its services to patients scarred by facial tumors in 2003. Many oral cancer patients are in their 40's and 50's; they are the main providers for their families and their illness often brings themselves and their families into financial difficulties. In view of which, the Foundation initiated active services for this new group of facial disfigurement patients in 2004 and set strategic goals for services to patients of oral cancers for the period between 2004 and 2007; services and prevention education for oral cancer patients were officially launched in 2005.

Through accumulation of experiences in field service, the Foundation makes continuous adjustments to the service models, striving to provide optimal services to the direct and indirect subjects of the services. The Foundation offers medical rehabilitation services, recreational activities, and financial aides to the survivors of oral cancers, targeting to fulfill their physical, psychological, and economic needs, as well as the needs to reintegrate into the society and maintaining the quality of life for themselves and their families. In addition, a series of public education and promotion projects was also launched, targeting to lower the number of potential patients through public health education and spreading the knowledge of high cancer risk factors (e.g. chewing betel nuts).

The occurring and death rate of oral cancers continue to accelerate and hit a new height every year. Its threat to the health of Taiwan has never diminished. In view of which, the Foundation placed its focus on three major areas when making the five-year plan for the period from 2008 to 2012, including individual services, prevention and promotion, and research and development. The plan aims to reinforce psychological support for the families of oral cancer patients, improve the quality of their lives, and probe into the hopes in the future. The Foundation continues its advocacy for legislation and policymaking of relevant laws through the works of the "Betel Nut Control and Oral Cancer Prevention Alliance" established in 2007.

Oral cancers are jeopardizing the health of Taiwanese, as well as the quality of life of the patients and their families. Therefore, from the solid base built by years of involvement, the Foundation continues to develop professional, standardized, and accessible services for the oral cancer patients and their families, targeting to maintain the quality and dignity of life for both the patients and their families. Through the expanded scope and high quality services, we strive to "keep everyone away from oral cancers and put smiles back on everyone's face."

尊嚴得以維護。藉由服務範疇的擴展與服務品質的維持，期可完成「遠離口癌、展露笑顏」目標。

## 口腔癌防治服務方案之重要性

### 一、方案背景

在台灣，88%口腔惡性腫瘤患者有嚼食檳榔的習慣，因此防治工作便與檳榔防制息息相關，然而高危險群介入不易、公部門政策缺乏整合加上檳榔產業施壓予民代、藍領階級的檳榔食用文化等，使得不僅檳榔問題欠缺法律管理，社會大眾也普遍缺乏口腔惡性腫瘤與檳榔防治資訊，唯有在真正罹癌之後，才會意識到會對於個人心理、家庭經濟安全、生活品質的極大衝擊。

由於口腔惡性腫瘤臨床症狀以及治療手段影響，患者在身體上會有許多的困擾與不適，在心理上也會產生許多壓力。口友往往有張口、說話、咀嚼、吞嚥等困難、口乾、牙齒問題、疤痕組織攣縮、身體虛弱、焦慮、缺乏自信、對未來充滿無力感等問題，嚴重影響他們的生活品質。

口腔惡性腫瘤防治服務方案的預防宣導雖然引起少數民眾正視口癌的嚴重後果，但仍有不少人忽略此威脅而拒絕戒除檳榔，使得檳榔嚼食率下降的速度仍遠不及口癌威脅的增加(死亡率排名已從98年的第六名上升至99年的第五名)。再者，檳榔防制工作的缺乏整合及預算不足實難以達到「預防勝於治療」之目標，正本清源的作法仍應立法管制檳榔之種植與販賣，才能杜絕後患。因此，在服務累積與深化的過程中，本會依序建立不同階段的目標，期能逐步協助口友的需求並降低口腔惡性腫瘤的發生。

### 二、方案目標

本會方案目標之設定，係基於三級預防的原則與策略：一級預防的目標在於增進對口腔癌疾病認識、檳榔危害認知，以達拒食檳榔；策略是預防宣導。二級預防的目標在於針對高危險族群，推展口腔篩檢、

## The significance of oral cancer prevention services

### I. Background

In Taiwan, 88% of oral cancer patients had the habit of chewing betel nuts. Therefore, the prevention work is naturally linked to advocacy against betel nuts. However, it has been rather difficult to get into the high risk groups, and several social factors, such as lacking consolidated public policies, pressures on the legislators from the betel nut industry, and deeply-rooted betel nut culture in the blue-collar communities, have prevented development of a proper management system to the betel nut issues. The public is also lacking the information on the threats of oral cancers and the consequences associated with chewing betel nuts. Most of the patients did not realize the serious impact on mental wellbeing, financial safety, and quality of life at both personal and family levels until they fell ill.

Clinical symptoms and treatments of oral cancers often cause serious physical inability and discomfort, as well as tremendous mental stress. Common problems associated with oral cancers include difficulties in opening mouth, speaking, chewing, and swallowing, which brings along the problems of dry mouth, bad teeth, scar tissue contracture, weakness, anxiety, lack of confidence, and powerlessness to their prospects. The converging effect of the factors seriously affects the quality of their lives.

Campaigns of the oral cancer prevention services brought a small group of people to take the consequences of oral cancer seriously, but the majority still refuses to quit betel nut. In reality, the rate of betel nut usage is dropping far slower than the rate of increasing oral cancer threats (the death rate has climbed from the rank of number 6 in 2009 to number 5 in 2011). Furthermore, lacking of consolidated efforts and funding makes the goal of prevention in the betel nut control advocacy rather difficult to achieve. In our pursuit, only legislated control of betel nut planting and selling will completely eliminate the problems. Therefore, in the process of accumulating experiences and in-depth exploration, the Foundation set different goals for different stages to take the work of providing for the needs of oral cancer patients and controlling the occurrence of oral cancers forward step by step.

### II. Goals

The Foundation set the goals based on the three-stage principles and strategies of prevention. The first-stage targets to raise the awareness to oral cancers and the hazards of betel nuts to achieve quitting the habit of betel nut chewing; therefore, the strategy is advocacy for prevention. The second-stage targets on identifying the high risk groups through promoting oral cancer screening, self-examination, and the concept of early discovery and proper treatment; therefore, the strategy is advocating the concept of regular

自我檢測，以能早期發現，正確治療；策略是推動早期就醫確診，正確治療的概念。三級預防的目標在於協助罹患口腔癌的人口接受妥適治療，並維持案主及其家屬之生活品質；策略是提供口腔癌病友多元服務。根據此三級預防的原則及策略，並考量所需期程而設定了短、中、長期之目標：

### (一)短期目標

- 1.病友及家屬了解正確的自我醫療照顧作法、傷口照護方法，減少對照護的擔憂
- 2.病友能維持基本營養並穩定就醫、生理問題獲得明顯改善
- 3.病友提昇了就業所需的體耐力、技術等職能準備
- 4.潛在罹病人口了解口腔癌嚴重性及檳榔健康危害且高危險群了解自我檢查或定期口腔癌篩檢的重要性

### (二)中期目標

- 1.口腔癌病友有較佳的疾病適應
- 2.病友或家屬了解正確的自我營養照護知能、維持正確的傷口照護及口腔衛生
- 3.建立病友復健模式，提升台灣醫療人員對於口癌復健的認識，避免病友延誤復健時機
- 4.病友在就服員陪同或協助下外出謀職或創業
- 5.未嚼食人口願意拒嚼檳榔

### (三)長期目標

- 1.病友的生活品質可以維持或提升
- 2.口癌復健模式知識與技術輸出，使病友有更多復健資源可供選擇
- 3.病友可獨立運用就業資源協助找工作，就業後穩定就業
- 4.口腔癌之發生率及死亡率逐年下降

## 口腔癌防治方案執行概況

### 一、資源運用

#### (一)專業人力

本會於北中南東四區所配置的專業人員包括，社工員12-15人、就業服務員3人、心理師1人、復

check-up and proper treatment. The third-stage targets on helping oral cancer patients to receive proper treatments and maintaining the quality of life for the patients and their families; therefore, the strategy is providing comprehensive services to oral cancer patients. The following short, medium, and long term goals are set up based on the above three-stage principles and strategies of prevention.

#### 1. Short-term goals

- (1) Help the patients and their families to learn the correct way of self-care and wound care and relieve stress.
- (2) Help the patients to maintain stable diet and medical care and achieve notable improvement on the physical symptoms.
- (3) Help the oral cancer patients to prepare for employment, including training for physical strength and employment skills.
- (4) Help the high risk oral cancer population to understand the serious consequences of oral cancers and betel nut chewing and the significance of regular self-checking and oral cancer screening.

#### 2. Medium-term goals

- (1) Help the oral cancer patients to better adapt to life with the disease.
- (2) Help the patients and their families to learn the correct way of nutrition and self-care, wound care, and oral hygiene.
- (3) Help the patients to establish rehabilitation models and enhance the knowledge of medical care practitioners in Taiwan on oral cancer rehabilitation to prevent the oral cancer patients from missing the best time for rehabilitation.
- (4) Help the patients to seek employment or start business with accompaniment of employment service workers.
- (5) Advocate against betel nut to the non-chewing population.

#### 3. Long-term goals

- (1) Improve and enhance the quality of life for the oral cancer patients.
- (2) Output oral cancer rehabilitation models, knowledge, and technology to provide the patients with more options in the rehabilitation resources.
- (3) Help the patients to seek employment and maintain stable employment independently.
- (4) Achieve continuous trend of decrease in the occurring and death rate of oral cancers.

## Overview of the Oral Cancer Prevention Program

### I. Utilization of Resources

#### 1. Professional Manpower

The Foundation allocated a full panel of staff at all four centers in Northern, Central, Southern, and Easter Taiwan, including 12 to 15 social workers, three employment service worker, one psychologist, four rehabilitation therapists, 2 to 4 social education

健治療師4人、社教專員2-4人、部門督導2-3人、部門主任3人。並不定期透過針對會內服務人員及會外相關醫療人員進行教育訓練與研討會，以期培養更多專業服務之工作人員，加強口癌服務品質。

## (二)財務資源

### 1.民間單位

除了聯合勸募給予的支持，本會亦爭取企業資源投入，包含新竹物流、感恩基金會、永齡基金會等單位都曾給予支持，其中新竹物流不僅贊助服務經費，亦協助推展宣導，口友遶境祈福與口友環島宣導都獲得社會的關注與回響。

### 2.政府部門

97年本會組訓「陽光口友宣導服務隊」，號召口友現身說法共同投入宣導，此計畫年年獲得國民健康局營造無檯支持環境計畫之補助，100年起部分病友服務亦獲國健局補助。

## (三)服務資源

- 醫療院所：本會透過拜訪各大醫療院所並推介本會口腔癌患者服務，以建立轉介及合作服務關係。
- 各縣市衛生局：藉由拜訪各縣市衛生局，以連結並進行區域之防治計劃。
- 其他民間團體資源及社福團體(例如，慈濟、世展、家扶、中華基督教救助協會…等)，以協助本會進行「確診而非顏損病例之關懷追蹤」，以達到「早期發現、早期治療」的目標。

## 二、服務策略

為降低口腔癌對於國人的影響，本會針對不同對象提供其所需服務，並隨著服務經驗的累積，從基本的個人服務逐漸拓展到廣泛的政策倡議。

### (一)口友服務

針對病友及其照護者進行支持關懷、生理復健與居家護理服務、就業服務、心理諮商與經濟協助，以減輕其身、心、靈壓力，改善生活品質：

representatives, 2 to 3 department supervisors, and three department leaders. Several seminars and conferences are implemented to provide continuous training to the external and internal medical staffs. We strive to develop more professional human resources to enhance the quality of services for oral cancer patients.

## 2. Financial Resources

### (1)Private Sector

In addition to the support from United Way, the Foundation has also gained sponsorships from private organizations, including HCT Logistics, Graceful Social Welfare Foundation, and YongLin Healthcare Foundation. HCT Logistics not only sponsored the funds, but also resources for promotions. Several events, including the oral cancer patient parade of blessings and oral cancer patient cross-island campaign, received tremendous response from the society.

### (2)Public Sector

In 2008, the Foundation organized the Sunshine Oral Cancer Patient Service Team, calling the oral cancer survivors to join in the campaigns. This program is sponsored by the Building a Betel Nut Free Environment Support Plan set up by the Bureau of National Health Insurance, and starting from 2011, the Bureau of National Health Insurance begin to sponsor part of the services to oral cancer patients.

## 3. Service Resources

- Hospitals: the Foundation established referral and cooperative services through visiting the hospitals and introducing the oral cancer patient services offered by the Foundation.
- County/city health authorities: the Foundation links local resources to the regional prevention programs through visiting the county/city bureau of health.
- Other private resources and social welfare organizations (e.g. Tzu Chi, World Vision, Taiwan Fund for Children and Families, Chinese Christian Relief Association, and others) assisted the Foundation to implement the “Tracking Oral Cancer Patients without Facial Disfigurement” program, targeting to achieve the goal of early discovery and treatment.

## II. Services Strategies

To minimize the hazard of oral cancers to the population in Taiwan, the Foundation offers customized services to the different groups and expanded the individual services to comprehensive advocacy along accumulation of experiences.

### 1. Services to oral cancer patients

The Foundation offers support, rehabilitation, home care, and employment services, as well as psychological counseling and financial aides to help the patient relieve physical, mental and spiritual stress and improve the quality of life.



## 1. 社工服務

由社工員結合復健治療師、護理師、諮商員、就業服務員等進行電話關懷、家庭訪視、心理支持、就業評估等服務之外，另規劃各式與口腔癌相關之活動，透過這些綜合性服務方案，回應病友及案家之需求，減輕口友的身、心、靈壓力，陪同走過生命最重要的時期。

## 2. 營養品補助

口友因為疾病本身或治療後遺症影響，常合併進食困難而必須長期以流質飲食維生。由於病友族群多數為勞力工作者，罹病後家庭經濟受到嚴重衝擊，為支應長期補充流質營養品，負擔更為沉重。因而提供營養品補助，紓解其經濟壓力。

## 3. 生理重建服務

由治療師搭配區域中心社工，提供案主居家復健諮詢服務，或本會位於台北市的重建中心定點式復健治療，以回應術後關節活動限制、進食、說話等生理問題(病患側皮瓣僵硬，張嘴角度受限、流口水、患側縫線疤痕僵硬緊繃、肩頸部關節角度受限)。

## 4. 居家護理

口友治療後有傷口護理及口腔清潔衛生教育之需求，以改善傷口可能造成異味而影響個人生活甚或居家環境品質的情況。此外，另結合會外醫療資源，針對出院後自行療養對象，提供外展式居家護理服務。除了加強病患及其照護者有更正確之術後照護衛教知識，亦對處於安寧療護期之病友及家庭，教導疾病變化及居家安寧之方式。

## 5. 就業服務

由於患者在術後往往因身體狀況大不如前而影響工作持續度，但以就業維持家庭經濟之需求仍在，故本會於98年發展「職前準備方案」，針對尚有就業能力及需求之病友，安排個案接受職業輔導評量--生理功能評估，繼之擬定個別計畫進行再就業調適及工作機會媒合，在就業協助方面較往年有很大的進展。而各區就服員各自針對區域內可用資源發展實驗方案，以有效創造就業機會，例如運用陽

## (1) Social Work Service

The social workers integrates teams of rehabilitation therapists, nursing professionals, counselors, and employment service workers to conduct telecare, home visit, mental support, and employment assessment services. Various oral cancer activities and comprehensive service programs respond to the needs of the patients and their families and help them through the critical period of their lives by relieving the physical, mental and spiritual stress.

## (2) Nutritional Supplements

Oral cancer patients often experience serious problems caused by the disease or treatment and one of the major issues is the difficulty to chew. Therefore, many of them rely on fluid diet on a long-term basis. However, the majority of the patients were laborers before they fell ill and their illness often puts their families in financial deadlock. The burden on them is too heavy to support them for long-term consumption of fluid nutritional supplements. In view of which, the Foundation launched the nutritional supplement program to relieve their financial stress.

## (3) Physical Rehabilitation Service

The therapists work with the social workers at the regional centers to provide the patients at-home rehabilitation consultation services or services at the rehabilitation center in Taipei. The therapists respond to the issues associate with post-surgery physical conditions, including limited activities, eating, and speaking (stiff side flaps, limited mouth-opening angle, slobbering, stiff stitch scars, and limited angles of neck/shoulder rotation).

## (4) Home Care

Oral cancer patients require wound care and oral hygiene education after treatment to prevent the bad odor from affecting his of the family's quality of life. In addition, expanded home care services integrated with external medical care resources were also offered to post-treatment patients. The services provide the patients and their caretakers the knowledge and techniques for post-treatment care, as well as information for the patients under palliative care and their families, including progression of the disease and home palliative care techniques.

## (5) Employment Services

The majority of the patients are unable to return to their previous jobs due to the fabled physical conditions after surgery; nonetheless, they still have to provide for their families. In response to this issue, the Foundation set up the Pre-employment Preparation Program in 2009, targeting on the patients with the ability and the need to seek employment. Individuals are given employment and physical assessments and then set up plans for adaptation and job placement. There has been leap in the employment program this year. The employment service workers at each regional center develop experimental projects integrating the available resources in the region to effectively create job



光汽車美容中心發展工作隊、或協助其培養網拍技能「居家創業」等。

## 6. 醫療講座或聯誼活動

配合講座與聯誼活動的安排，協助口友可以連結更多的資源並獲得支持的力量。例如透過醫療復健與護理講座，教導罹病或術後之自我健康照顧、維持口腔和身體清潔；藉營養飲食講座，教導如何調理飲食，維持營養與健康；並經營病友團體以促進病友彼此之間的鼓勵與分享。

## (二) 預防宣導

由於國人對癌前病變認知不足加上諱於就醫，往往拖到病徵嚴重才求醫，確診時常已是三、四期。根據文獻、專家訪談及病友服務經驗，在確診為口腔癌前，都先歷經約莫20年的癌化過程，若能及早在癌前病變階段便予發現及治療，即可降低癌症發生風險。因此，本會目前運用三段預防的概念為基礎，對於不同階段的人口族群規劃不同的預防策略，以本會北、中、南、東四個服務中心為據點，推展預防宣導工作。

### 1. 人員宣導：校園/社區/職場

由本會社教專員主動或受邀到校園、社區及職場宣導，以高危險族群及潛在人口為主要目標對象：校園以高嚼食區的國中、高中職為主；社區及職場宣導的進行則以配搭衛生單位篩檢活動、主題講座及社區動態活動三大方式，同時結合口友志工協力進行。經由與口友志工互動，高危險族群多因此更堅定戒檳決心。

### 2. 「口友宣導服務隊」組訓：

由社工推薦適合口友，面談、培訓與實習後成為服務隊志工。口友志工之組訓由專案經理主責，宣導服務則配搭社教團隊於全省社區、職場及高中職校，以過來人經驗現身說法推展宣導服務。口友的投入深化了宣導效果，尤其是對高危險群的影響，另方面「走出來宣導」以及服務隊的同儕支持，也增進了口友自身的疾病適應及社會參與。

opportunities, for examples, the Sunshine Car Beauty Center Development Taskforce and home business startup team.

## (6) Medical Care Seminars or Networking Activities

Seminars and networking activities were organized to help the oral cancer patients gain access to resources and support. For examples, we teach the patients how to care for themselves and maintain oral and personal hygiene through the medical care, rehabilitation, and nursing seminars, show them how to maintain balanced diet, nutrition, and health through the nutritional diet seminars, and bring them other for support and sharing through the patient support groups.

## 2. Prevention Campaigns

The general public is lacking the knowledge on the signs of oral cancers and many people hesitate to go to a doctor. This delay has serious consequences; many of them were not diagnosed until the cancer develops to the third and fourth stage. According to several literatures, expert interviews, and patient experiences, cancer takes approximately 20 years to develop before diagnosis. Therefore, early discovery and early treatment can effectively lower the chances of cancer occurrence. Currently, the Foundation uses the three-stage prevention concept as the basis to develop preventive strategies for the different groups and launched a series of campaigns from the four services center in Northern, Central, Southern, and Eastern Taiwan.

### (1) Social education: campus, communities, and workplaces

The social education representatives of the Foundation were invited to lecture on campus, in communities, and at workplaces, targeting on the potential high risk population. The lectures focus on junior high schools and high/vocational high school at betel nut prevalent areas and enter the communities through collaboration with health authority's health screening activities, seminars, and community events. Oral cancers volunteers were also involved to reinforce the message of quitting betel nuts to the high risk groups.

### (2) Oral Cancer Patient Taskforce

Oral cancer patients recommended by social workers are organized by the project manager and become the official members of the taskforce through interviews and training (including internship). This taskforce is launched to share their experiences in the social education campaigns in the communities, at workplaces, and high/vocational high schools. Involvement of the oral cancer patients effectively reinforced the messages, especially to the high risk groups. The "walk-around" promotion and support from the peers has also helped the patients to face their physical conditions and get involved in social activities.

### (3) Development of Promotion Resources

The Foundation produced a range of publications and literature for the different niches and different promotional campaigns, and the resources are made available to education personnel and com-

### 3. 宣導資源研發：

依分眾原則製作宣導品，以支援各項宣導方案，並提供教育及社區宣導人員索取，促成委外宣導。

### 4. 技術轉移：

彙整本會口癌預防宣導知識及教案，透過相關推動人員研習會、教師專區經營，將本會宣導技術與資源分享，促成教育、衛生相關專業人員學習運用進行委外宣導，以使宣導概念更為普及。

### (三) 政策倡議

倡議的進行分「結盟倡議」與「獨力倡導」兩種方式進行。結盟倡議方面，96年召集專家會議後，取得共識於97年4月正式組成「檳榔防制暨口腔癌防治聯盟」，以政策倡議為目標。獨力倡導方面，同時本會也開始進行議題研究、遊說及媒體。

### (四) 研究發展

在服務過程中，除了不定期整理蒐集口癌相關研究文獻、統計資料，掌握國內口腔癌趨勢及需求之外，另亦透過研究來探討口腔癌病友所面臨的困境與服務需求，依據研究成果擬訂服務策略、進行預防宣導、規劃社會倡議等。相關研究包括：

- 94年「陽光基金會口腔癌服務模式初探」研究中，除了探討不同患病階段問題與需求，亦盤點既有資源概況，藉由了解口腔癌知識與服務資源，以評估本會介入服務的基礎與模式。
- 97年「口腔惡性腫瘤術後之顏損患者就業意願之探究」研究，旨在瞭解口友罹癌治療後的就業意願，以及影響他們再就業意願的因素。
- 99年執行「檳榔勞動文化背景研究」，初步探討陸上運輸業駕駛之勞動條件、環境與嚼食檳榔行為的相關性。
- 101年「陸上運輸業(貨運)無檳環境規範標準」，藉由擬訂無檳職場環境規範標準，透過政策引導企業改善勞動條件及職場文化，廣泛地推動無檳職場。

community advocates to facilitate external promotion.

### (4) Technology Transfer

The foundation shares the technology and resources of health promotion through offering the consolidated oral cancer information and teaching plans developed by the Foundation to seminars and development of the teacher's zone. Our goal is to achieve external promotion through the education and medical care professional and spread the information to promote the concept of prevention.

### 3. Policy Advocacy

The Foundation launched its advocacy campaigns in two modes, allied and independent advocacy. For allied advocacy, after the expert meeting in 2007, the "Betel Nut Control and Oral Cancer Prevention Alliance" was officially formed in April 2008. The alliance targets on policy advocacy. For independent advocacy, the Foundation has launched a series of projects for research, lobbying, and media report.

### 4. Research and Development

In the process of service, the Foundation collects research literature and statistics relating to oral cancers to update the domestic trend and needs. The Foundation also conducts researches to explore the issues and service demands from the oral cancer patients. Results of the researches are used as the basis for formulation of service strategies, prevention education, and social advocacy. The following researches have been launched in the previous years.

- The 2005 "Preliminary Study on the Sunshine Welfare Foundation Oral Cancer Service Model" explored the different issues and needs of patients at different stages and took an inventory on the available resources. The survey on the knowledge of oral cancers and service resource provides the basis for evaluation of the foundation and models of the intervention services.
- The 2008 "Survey on the Employment Tendencies of Oral Cancer Patients with Facial Disfigurement" was targeted to explore the willingness of oral cancer patients to seek employment.
- The 2010 "Study on the Background of the Betel Nut Culture Associated with the Labor-intensive Workforce" explored the labor criteria and environment of land logistics drivers and the correlation to the behavior of chewing betel nuts.
- The 2012 "Land Transportation (logistics) Betel Nut Free Environment Standards" aims to establish a set of betel nut free work environment standards, guide the corporations to improve labor criteria and workplace culture, and promote betel nut free work environment through policymaking.

## The Effectiveness of the Oral Cancer Prevention Program

### I. Achievements

The Foundation launched a series of services and prevention

## 口腔癌防治方案執行成效

### 一、服務成果

本會自94年起展開口腔癌病友服務及防治宣導，歷年來平均每年增加約500名個案(表1)。

### 二、病友之服務滿意度

本會自97年起開始以電訪問卷進行口友之服務滿意度調查。歷年來雖有因應服務調整而改變問卷題項，但每年皆至少有85%之口友對於本會整體服務感到滿意，例如97年85.2%(N=155)的口友認為陽光的服務能夠有效協助他們解決所面臨的問題，99年至101年最滿意的服務為居家護理，滿意分數皆達93至94分。不過，分數最低是經濟補助項目，主要是因為服務使用者認為補助對於減輕經濟負擔的效果有限。

### 三、病友之生活品質改善情形

本會自100年起發展生活品質測量指標，開案後每隔半年及結案前各予以施測。100年全年共有572位受測，扣除因故未進行施測者，完成二次施測的有效問卷共有66份。結果顯示，樣本在生理、心理，以及社會參與構面上，其生活品質分數均有提高，由前後測的均數差可以看出，改善程度最多的為味道題項，其次為活動程度題項，再其次為心情題項。而101年

advocacy campaigns in 2005. On average, the number of cases increased by approximately 500 cases every year (table 1).

### II. Service satisfaction rate

The Foundation launched a telephone survey on the satisfaction rate of the services in 2008 and a small portion of the questionnaire was updated along the adjustments in the services over the years. The annual survey shows that at least 85% of the oral cancer patients are satisfied with the services provided by the Foundation. For example, in 2008, 85.2% (N=155) of the oral cancer patients think that the Foundation's services effectively helped them solve their problems, and the service received the highest scores (93 and 94 respectively) in 2010 and 2012 is home care. However, the service receiving the lowest score is financial aides; in general, the service users think that this service has limited help to their conditions in terms of relieving their financial burdens.

### III. Improvement on the quality of life for oral cancer patients

The Foundation began the development of quality of life indicators in 2011. Service subjects are given a test in every half-year after initial service and until the case is closed. In 2011, a total of 572 service subjects were tested. After subtracting the incomplete cases, the final count of valid questionnaires after second test is 66. Results of this research show that the samples exhibited improvement in the physical, psychological, and social dimensions of the quality of life and the differences in the pre and post test scores indicators that most extensive improvement lies in the sense of "taste", followed by categories of activeness and mood. In 2012, a total of 44 case subjects participated in the second test and comparison of the pre and post test results indi-

表1 Table 1

本會2005年至2012年開案服務口友之年齡分佈情形

*Distribution of age of oral cancer patients serviced from 2005 to 2012*

年度 Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
開案時之年齡 Age at initial service								
未滿30歲 Under 30	0	1	4	2	2	3	3	0
30歲~未滿40歲 30 to 39	1	31	43	57	48	66	60	28
40歲~未滿50歲 40 to 49	8	113	111	212	193	234	213	157
50歲~未滿60歲 50 to 59	5	85	138	169	169	207	225	161
60歲~未滿70歲 60 to 69	0	45	46	57	60	63	119	70
70歲以上 70 and older	0	8	17	15	13	20	32	20
不詳 Unknown	1	8	10	9	10	5	6	11
總計 Total	15	291	369	521	495	598	658	447

資料來源：本會個案管理系統資料庫(2005年-2012.11.23)

Source: Case database of the Foundation (from 2005 to Nov. 23rd 2012)

全年共有44位進行二次施測，前後測比較結果顯示服務對象的生活品質的確有改善，不論在生理、心理與總分構面上，其生活品質分數均有增加，且達統計上顯著水準。從前後測的均數差看出，改善程度最多的為焦慮擔心題項，其次為心情與咀嚼能力。

## 困難與展望

雖然本會個案服務普遍受到口友的肯定，然而服務推展往往受致於外在環境的變化及影響。例如，本會新案七成來自醫院轉介，但醫院人員異動或評鑑時而造成轉介停滯的情況，有賴於經常聯繫與合作來保持轉介管道之通暢。

此外，口友就業的最大障礙是缺乏適宜的工作機會(主因口友體能無法競爭及須常請假回診)，除一般性就業協助，為解決長期失業的弱勢口友困境，必須持續開發創新的就業服務，以符合口友的需要。例如結合企業資源，持續協助參與「100-101年顏損弱勢家庭脫困計畫」後，有意願家庭之進階車縫技能，並開發區域內代工廠商訂單，協助其成為具競爭力之車縫代工；並以團隊力量突破個別口友缺乏接單競爭力的限制，依各區域機會與口友技能，發展小型工作隊承接企業訂單，如北區及南區運作車縫工作隊、中區集結水電裝潢專長口友籌組居家修繕工作隊。同時由中區協助口友家庭小規模創業的基礎擴展，結合中小企業總會創業輔導中心之專業顧問資源，協助全會自行創業或預備創業之口友家庭健全其事業。

最後，檳榔產業結構及嚼食文化仍難鬆動，除了持續結合口友宣導服務隊進行宣導，亦將持續致力於社會倡議行動，監督中央相關政策的制定與規劃，並透過定期進行的「縣市口腔癌防治力調查」敦促地方政府落實口腔癌防治工作，亦將持續舉辦「檳榔防制論壇」，與專業及社會對話，而正本清源之道，仍將進一步研修今年提出的「檳榔防制法草案」，推動檳榔防制法專法通過。

cated improvement in physical and psychological dimensions of the quality of life, as well as the total score, and the all differences reached the level of statistical significance. The differences between the pre and post averages indicated that the most extensive improvement falls in the category of anxiety, followed by mood and chewing ability.

## Current Issues and the Future

Although the services launched by the Foundation have been received positive responses, the operations are often subjected by the changes or situations in the external environment. For examples, 70% of the new cases are referred by the hospitals. So, when the hospitals are under certain events of staff reorganization or in the accreditation process, referrals stop. Continuous and non-interrupted services rely on consistent contact and collaboration to maintain the channel of referral.

Furthermore, the biggest hurdle in the patients' way to independence is lacking employment opportunities (patients of oral cancers are less competitive in terms of physical strength and frequent clinic visits). To solve the problem of long-term employment among the less advantaged oral cancer patients, we must seek beyond corporate resources to continuously develop innovative employment services that meet the needs of the oral cancer patients. For example, we integrated corporate resources to help the patients to launch the "2011 to 2012 Turnaround Program for Families with Facial Disfigurement Survivors". Some families expressed their inclination to move on to the advanced level of sewing skills, so the Foundation set up a development taskforce to solicit corporate orders for the oral cancer patients at different regions and with different skill levels. Several taskforces were set up through this program, including the sewing taskforce in the northern and southern Taiwan regions and the home repair taskforce with skilled water, electricity, and interior construction technicians in the central Taiwan region. At the same time, the Central Taiwan Center helped the families of oral cancer patients to expand their small businesses and all families seeking to improve or start businesses with integrated professional consultation services provided by the Business Startup Center of the Small and Medium Enterprise Administration.

Finally, the structure of the betel nut industry, as well as the betel nut chewing culture is still quite hard to shake. The Foundation will continue its work in education and promotion services, as well as social advocacy actions, including monitoring the policies and programs launched by the central government. We will also advocate the local governments to implement effective oral cancer prevention measures through the regular "County/City Oral Cancer Prevention Force Survey". The "Betel Nut Cancer Prevention Forum" will be continued to facilitate dialogues between the professionals and the society. However, the ultimate goal is to push forward legislation for the "Betel Nut Control Bill." Therefore, the Foundation will continue to study and amend the draft this year.



## 關於聯合勸募



聯合勸募(以下簡稱聯勸)擴大募集社會資源，透過專業審查監督將資源合理分配予社福組織，激發社會的關懷互助，然而聯勸不只扮演著機構的資源分配者，也是促進社會服務效益改善的推動者。主要目標有：

- ◆ 協同公益組織與政府，就台灣社會重要的議題提出有效的解決方案，實踐公益社會的共好(Common Good)價值。
- ◆ 推動捐贈(Give)、倡導(Advocate)與志願服務(Volunteer)等參與方式，積極提昇公益參與，以增加服務資源。
- ◆ 發展「教育及學習機會、身心健康維護以及經濟生活穩定」等重要議題的解決方案，以落實社區生活的改善(Community Impact)。
  - 1.教育及學習機會：提升或促進能力養成，以獲得未來發展的機會
  - 2.身心健康維護：解決醫療、疾病及安全的問題，維護和促進個人/家庭身心健康
  - 3.經濟生活穩定：解決個人及家庭收入、工作的問題，維持生活及財務穩定

## About United Way of Taiwan

United Way of Taiwan (UWT) mobilizes the caring power of communities around Taiwan to advance the common good. To do this UWT will:

- ◆ Inspire and connect all sectors of society—individuals, businesses, non-profit organizations and governments—to create long-term social change that produces healthy, well-educated and financially-stable individuals and families.
- ◆ Raise, invest and allocate funds annually in philanthropic contributions to create and support outcome-oriented programs and innovative approaches to generate sustained impact in local communities.
- ◆ Conduct nationwide research on major social issues and provide solutions based on facts and analysis. UWT's work is focus on the building blocks of a good life:
  1. Education—helping children and youth achieve their potential
  2. Income—promoting financial stability and independence
  3. Health—improving people's health

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發行人：魏永篤理事長  
秘書長：陳文良  
助理編輯：賴湘絮、陳昱婷  
會址：10667 台北市大安區復興南路二段363號4樓  
電話：(02)23782256 轉701或603 學刊編輯委員會  
傳真：(02)23781292  
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Taiwan United Way Review, 4F, No.363, Sec.2, Fuxing S.  
Rd., Da-an Dist. Taipei City 106, Taiwan (R.O.C)  
Tel: 886-2-23782256 ext.701 or 603 Fax: 886-2-23781292  
Design: Victory Potential Development Center for the Disabled

### 編輯委員會

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