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本論壇第二卷第二期(2013年9月)之「寄養家庭親子互動與支持系統之研究-寄養父親的觀點」乙文作者誤植為「楊倫潔、陳桂英」應為「楊倫潔、羅幼瓊」此為本刊編輯校對不嚴謹之誤。謹此更正，並向讀者致歉。

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以符號互動觀點探究托育服務之親師同理心品質*

A Study about the Empathy Service Quality of Childcare Services with Symbolic Interaction*

黃俐婷 Li-Ting Huang**

摘要

幼兒教師們參與托育服務的角色定位屬於情緒勞務專業，當幼兒教師們與家長溝通時，通常會面臨角色負荷與家長態度的挑戰，致使阻礙同理心服務品質的發揮。本研究以符號互動觀點為基礎，探討托育服務行動者如何透過不同的語言、文字符號與家長互動以達成服務品質同理心之目的？本研究以某一幼兒園為例進行個案研究法，資料收集主要採用機構內的文件、檔案紀錄與導引式個別訪談方式。在研究結果分析方面，本研究發現托育服務行動者與家長的主要互動類型包括舉證型的情感介入、教導型的情感介入、告知型的情感介入、連結型的情感介入等四類。

本研究結論發現幼兒教師情感介入類型隱含著「符號差異性」、「文化差異性」；對於家長隱含著「個人歸因的評價解釋」、「母職相似性的偏見」。本研究建議，為了提升托育服務同理心的服務品質，實務意涵主要在於親師互動過程中「文字與語言符號深淺演出」、「提升角色取替的文化能力」、「環境歸因的擬情瞭解」、「保持理性的專業距離」。

關鍵字：托育服務、符號互動、情緒勞務、服務品質、同理心

Abstract

As a participant in childcare services, preschool teachers belong to emotional labor professionals. When they communicate with parents, they always meet with some difficulties concerned with role strain and parental attitude. The difficulties will hinder the service quality of empathy. The purpose of this research is to explain about how the childcare actors interact with parents with the oral communication symbol and written communication symbol to promote the empathy of childcare service quality. The research applies the case study inquiry and uses the homogeneous sampling. The interviews are responded to by four childcare actors. The research also applies the illustrative analysis as the method of qualitative data analysis. The research results indicate the childcare actors' interaction with the parents includes "illustrated emotional involvement", "instructive emotional involvement", "informative emotional involvement", and "linking emotional involvement."

It was found that kindergarten teachers' emotional involvement implied "symbolic differences" and "cultural differences"; while for parents, it implied "the explanation of evaluation of personal attribute" and "similarity bias"

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of a mother's duty." This study suggests that in order to promote the service quality of childcare service empathy, practical implications are mainly: "text and linguistic symbols shades performances", "enhancing the cultural ability of role-taking", "hermeneutic understanding of situational attribute"; and "maintaining a reasonable professional distance" in the process of parent-teacher interactions.

Keywords: childcare service, symbolic interaction, emotional labor, service quality, empathy

壹、研究背景與目的

依據台閩地區(2010)調查報告指出學齡前兒童家庭曾遭遇的照顧或養育問題困難，主要在於「沒時間陪孩子」、「經濟困難，不能滿足孩子身心發展」。學齡前兒童家長認為理想的托育方式依序為「在家由母親帶」、「送至幼兒園」(內政部兒童局，2010)。托育服務具有社會福利屬性，其源起本就是回應家庭功能變化所產生之社會需求，而發展出的服務輸送體系(馮燕，2009)。在少子化社會與家庭功能式微的環境脈絡下，強調托育服務輸送過程中的品質輸出，有助於發揮補充性兒童福利服務之功能。

托育服務是補充性服務，是在彌補家庭照顧之不足或不適當而有的福利服務。主要目的是在因應父母角色不適當執行，致影響親子關係，但經由家庭系統之外提供補充性之適當協助，補助父母實行照顧子女的功能(彭淑華，2008)。在托育服務品質面向上，父母使用托育的態度及其社經地位等會影響其對托育服務之選擇，而最終即能對兒童發展產生一定程度的影響(楊曉苓、胡倩瑜，2005)。Newman和Gauerholz(2002)指出兒童有愈來愈多的時間待在托育機構與學校之中，此外，因為多元性家庭，如單親家庭、隔代教養家庭的增加，也使得托育服務衍生出文化差異與語言等問題(葉郁菁，2006)。依據國內192位年資3至10年幼兒教師的研究結果顯示讓他們最常感到的困擾問題來自家長態度，主要包括「家長把教育子女的責任推給教師」、「家長不斷要求讀寫算，和教師的理念不同」(陳國泰，2003a)。也就是說，幼兒教師與家長之間的互動困難會成為親師之間的溝通阻礙。

Chrisman (2000) 研究發現指出，親與師都認為不當互動與接觸時間少是彼此無法有效溝通的重要原因之一(許錦雲，2008a引自Swick,2003)。在親師互動過程中，有些家長可能過度關心、凡事建言；有些可能是目標偏頗，造成學生學習障礙；有時是

Background and Purpose of the Study

According to the Taiwan-Fukien Area (2009) Survey Report, The families with preschool children experienced problems and difficulties in care or parenting mainly because of “no time to accompany the children” and “economic difficulties hindering the physical and mental development of the children”. Parents believe that the ideal preschool childcare ways are “staying at home with the mother” and “being sent to kindergarten” (Child Welfare Bureau, Ministry of the Interior, 2009). Childcare services have the social welfare attribute, which originates from the social needs arising in response to the functional changes in family and developing a service delivery system (Feng Yan, 2009). In the environmental context of low birthrate society and weakened family functions, the focus of quality output in the process of childcare service conveyance is conducive to the exertion of a complementary function of child welfare services.

Early childhood experiences and living environment have an important impact on the future growth and development. The effectiveness of institutional care is inconclusive, but in terms of child development, childcare services should emphasize high quality institutional care (Shu-Hua Peng, 2000). In the dimension of childcare service quality, the parents' attitude to using childcare and socioeconomic status may affect their option of childcare services and eventually impact children's development to a certain extent (Xiao-Ling Yang, Qian-Yu Hu, 2005). Newman & Gauerholz (2002) pointed out that children are spending more and more time in care institutions and schools. In addition, because of the increase of diverse families, such as single-parent families and grandparent families, childcare services derived cultural differences and language problems (Yu-Jing Ye, 2006). Based on study findings of 192 domestic preschool teachers with 3-10 years of seniority, the problem that made them feel most troubled was the attitude from parents, including “Parents push the responsibility of education of their children to teachers.”, “Parents repeatedly ask for reading, writing, and arithmetic, which are different from teachers' beliefs” (Guo-Tai Chen, 2003a). In other words, the difficulty in interaction between preschool teachers and parents will become an obstacle in the communication between parents and teachers.

Chrisman's (2000) study found that parents and teachers deemed inappropriate interaction and less contact time as important reasons that both sides are unable to communicate with each other effectively (Jin-Yun Xu, 2008a cited from Swick, 2003). In the process of interaction between parents and teachers, some parents may be overly concerned and suggest anything; some may be biased targets, resulting in students' learning disabilities. Sometimes teachers' discipline attitudes or verbal styles and other reasons that make acceptance difficult for parents are likely to

因教師自身管教態度或言語上令家長難以接受等原因均有可能是日後引發問題的重要因素(何淑禎, 2004)。有的幼兒園怕流失學生, 教師會隱瞞孩子的行為問題, 或者知道家長的教養方式不合適, 也不敢與家長溝通(孫麗卿, 2010a)。在親師溝通的相關變數中, 不管是教師變數與雙親變數皆重視溝通態度(Douglsa R. Powell, 2001)。教師與家長在溝通過程中的態度或言語, 會使得親師互動不良, 進而致使托育服務的品質受到限制。

同理心是工作人員展現對服務對象特定需求的瞭解, 並提供個別而非刻板的關懷和服務(黃源協, 2008; Martin & Ketter, 1996)。幼兒園中的教師們, 在執行托育服務過程中, 展現同理心可以幫助工作者和服務使用者及其家長建立和維持良好的助人關係。同理心是站在對方的立場, 設身處地去體會對方的心境並將所瞭解到的反映給對方(謝秀芬, 2010a)。Larson & Yao將同理心視為一種情緒勞動, 身為專業人員被期待成為有同理心的照顧提供者, 經常須表達合宜的情緒而有情緒耗竭, 長時間累積下因為倦怠而呈現出不善意的批評、不關心服務對象、忽視其需求或未適時協助或照顧等態度(汪秀玲、黃俊英, 2010)。也就是說幼兒教師在執行托育服務的同時, 基於工作負荷或者不善批評, 致使未能提供個別的關懷和服務, 在控制與展現自身情感以發揮同理心的服務品質是面臨挑戰的。基於上述, 本研究的目的為: 以一家幼兒園為例, 探討提供托育服務的幼兒教師如何透過不同的符號與家長互動以達成同理心服務品質?

貳、文獻探討

符號互動論的焦點在於要瞭解社會行為, 研究者必須瞭解行動者賦予情境與行動的意義, 個人有塑造角色的自由並且有與他人溝通這些角色的自由, 文化與社會是被行動者的互動所塑造(White & Klein, 2009a)。社會互動是指人與人之間的關係, 藉由相互參與、引導他人行動的過程組成。群體行為之所以產生, 是因為人們在持續定義與解釋行為的

be important factors that will cause problems in the future (Shu-Zhen He, 2004). Some kindergartens fear the loss of students and teachers will conceal the child's behavior problems or know that the parents' rearing styles are inappropriate, but dare not communicate with parents (Li-Qing Sun, 2010a). In the relevant variables of parent-teacher communication, whether teacher or parent variables, both attach importance to communication attitudes (Douglas R. Powell, 2001). Teachers' and parents' attitude or speech in the communication process will cause poor interactions between parents and teachers, thereby limiting the quality of childcare services.

Empathy means the staff shows understanding of the clients' specific needs and provide individual rather than stereotyped care and services (Yuan-Xie Huang, 2008; Martin & Ketter, 1996). Kindergarten teachers in the process of performing childcare show empathy, which can help workers and service users and their parents establish and maintain good helping relations. Empathy is standing in the counterpart's position to understand the counterpart's mood and respond to the counterpart what they learned (Xiu-Fen Xie, 2010a). Larson & Yao regarded empathy as a kind of emotional labor, as a professional is expected to become an empathetic care provider and often needs to express the appropriate emotion and thus has emotional exhaustion. Under a long accumulation of time due to fatigue, they show no constructive criticism, or do not care about service objects, and ignore their needs, or do not give timely assistance or care and other attitudes (Xiu-Ling Wang, Jun-Ying Huang, 2010). The preschool teachers face challenges in the implementation of childcare services. According to the workload or poor criticisms, they fail to provide individual care and service or control their emotions in order to exert the quality of service in empathy. On the above basis, the purpose of this study is to take a kindergarten as the example to explore how childcare teachers providing childcare services through different symbols interact with parents in order to achieve empathetic service quality.

Literature Review

The focus of the symbolic interaction theory lies in the intention to understand social behavior. Researchers must understand the significance of the caregivers given the situation and the actions. Individuals have the freedom to shape the role and to communicate these roles to others. Culture and society are shaped by people's interaction (White & Klein, 2009a). Social interaction refers to the relationship between people. It is composed of the process to guide the action of others through mutual participation. Group behavior arises because people in the two-way process of continually defining and explaining the behavior reconcile with each other to reach a consensus (Li Li Yeh, 2008).

雙向過程中、相互調和、產生共識(葉莉莉, 2008)。社會互動在於透過參與調和過程, 並持續互相解釋彼此行為意義, 以達成共識。

符號互動論將焦點放在人際間的互動, 要瞭解人的行為, 應該以社會, 而不是以個人做為起點, 事情對人的意義是在符號互動過程中塑造出來的(周雅容, 2008a)。個體對於符號意義的反應是依互動的方式而不同, 個體能夠透過與週遭環境人、事、物的解釋而對於符號給予不同的情境定義, 據此結果執行行動(林進丁, 2011a)。而符號的意義隨個人與情境而變化, 有著不同的詮釋, 並因著此解釋產生與之相呼應的後果(章英華、葉至誠、吳來信, 2007)。在托育服務過程中, 幼兒教師與家長以符號意義彼此互動著, 並有著不同的角色界定。

依據Keyes(2000)指出家長對孩子是扮演長期與高度情感依附關係的功能, 而幼兒園教師是扮演專業與理性的教育工作者(引自陳玉玫, 2009)。Crowson(1998)認為家長和老師是「天生的敵人」, 當教師被賦權時, 他們傾向於視家長為顧客或教育的繳費者, 而不是夥伴, 為了保護自己的專業自主, 教師可能拒絕家長的參與而引發社會互動的潛在衝突(引自陳玉玫, 2009)。也就是說家長的角色偏向於家庭之情感依附角色, 幼兒教師則是傾向於工作之理性專業角色, 彼此在理性與感性之間有所矛盾, 致使幼兒教師因其專業本質的情緒勞務性, 對於家長的解讀有所差異性。

一、幼兒教師為情緒勞務專業角色

Hochschild(1983)以社會觀點詮釋「情緒勞務」來形容「與顧客高度私人接觸, 展現組織所期待的愉悅、感激等情緒來達成交易的勞務(張純子、洪志成, 2008)。Morris & Feldman(1996)為情緒勞務定義「人際互動之中, 為了表達組織所期望的情緒時, 必須付出的努力、計畫和控制」。托育服務將家長視為服務顧客, 幼兒教師勢必為了滿足顧客需求, 維繫情緒展現與表達, 才能發揮符合幼兒發展且家

Social interaction lies in the process of participation and reconciliation, and continuing to explain to each other the significance of mutual behavior to reach a consensus.

The symbolic interaction theory focuses on interpersonal interactions. To understand human behavior, social rather than individual should be the starting point. The meaning of things for people is shaped in the process of mutual symbolic interaction (Ya-Rong Zhou, 2008a). Individual reactions to the significance of the symbol vary with the ways of interaction. The individual can, through the explanation of people, things, and matters in the surrounding environment, give different scenario definitions to a symbol. Based on the results, the action is implemented (Jin-Ding Lin, 2011a). The significance of the symbols varies with the individual and the scenarios and has different interpretations. Because of this explanation, a reverberating consequence is generated (Ying-Hua Zhang, Zhi-Cheng Ye, Lai-Xin Wu, 2007). In the process of childcare, preschool teachers and parents interact with each other with symbolic significance and have different roles defined.

According to Keyes (2000), the parents are to play the role of long-term relationships with highly emotional attachment function for the child, and kindergarten teachers are to play the role of professional and rational educators. Crowson (1998) believes that parents and teachers are “natural enemies.” When teachers are empowered, they tend to regard the parents as customers or education consumers rather than as partners. In order to protect their own professional autonomy, teachers may refuse to promote parental involvement, which triggers latent conflicts in social interactions (Yu-Mei Chen, 2009a). That is, the role of parents is biased in favor of the family’s emotional attachment role. Preschool teachers are inclined to professional roles of work rationality. There is a contradiction between rationality and sensitivity, resulting in differences in preschool teachers’ interpretation of the parents due to the professional nature of emotional labor.

I. Preschool teacher is a professional role for emotional labor

Hochschild (1983) interprets “emotional labor” from the social point of view as “labor involving highly personal contact with customers, to show the organization’s expected joy, gratitude, and other emotions to achieve the deal.” Morris & Feldman (1996) defined emotional labor: “In interpersonal interactions, in order to express the emotions expected in the organization, efforts, planning and control must be rendered.” Childcare services regard parents as customers. The preschool teacher is bound to meet customer needs and maintain emotional demonstration and expression, in order to exert specifications and quality of service in line with early childhood development and parents’ expect-

長期待之服務規格與品質(張純子、洪志成, 2008)。然而適度合宜的情感介入有其限制在。

教師經常處理幼兒學生的爭執、喧嘩、吵鬧、講話、帶頭起鬨、不專心以及不遵守規則等教室管理方面的問題, 因其幾乎天天會在課堂中上演, 且總需要教師不斷的叮嚀與糾正, 形成一種精神上與肉體上的疲勞轟炸(陳國泰, 2003)。因此, 當幼兒教師面對家長與其幼兒子女, 在多重角色負荷下, 也會對家長產生過與不及的情感介入, 此點與其如何解讀家長是有所關聯的。

二、幼兒教師對於家長的解讀

人與人之間的互動關係有賴於溝通, 溝通是否良好與溝通的時機、方式、心情、態度與技巧都有密切關係。以家庭本位的幼兒教育重視的是幼兒教育必須透過家長才能滿足孩子的需求, 更突顯了親師雙方建立良好關係的必然與必要性(趙蕙鈴、林欣怡、符如玉, 2010)。學前幼兒之親師溝通不同處在於, 服務的使用者不僅包含幼兒本身也包含家長, 通常教師為傳訊者, 透過編碼與譯碼的過程傳送給接收者。

編碼是傳訊者想達成訊息傳送的象徵意義而做的必要處理, 意即把想法和情感轉換成符號以及把它們組織成訊息的過程; 相對地, 把別人的訊息轉換成自己的想法和感情, 我們稱之為譯碼。經由編碼與解碼的歷程, 使溝通的訊息能夠有效傳送與接收(鄭佩芬, 2010)。編碼和解碼涉及解讀, 服務品質視為一種態度(Parasuraman, Zeithamal & Berry, 1991)。解讀視為一種人際態度(Michael, 1998)。「不要讓您的小孩輸在起跑點上」似乎已經成為所有家長對於學前教育的普遍性認知, 學前教育的非義務化、市場化與機構型態多元化的特性下, 家長更像是一個消費者, 挑選學校以供給其子女獲得最大利益(陳俊升, 2005)。政府與市場機制互動的結果, 造成家長誤認為昂貴收費是幼托品質的標準, 進而衍生階層分化問題(林廷華, 2008)。在不同階層中衍生出幼兒教師對於弱勢家長有加以分類的看法。

tations (Chun-Zi Zhang, Zhi-Cheng Hong, 2008). However, moderate and appropriate emotional involvement has its limits.

Teachers often deal with the preschool student disputes, noise, talking, heckling, inattentiveness, non-compliance with rules, and other classroom management issues. Because these are staged in the classroom almost every day and the teachers always need to constantly exhort and correct the children, teachers have both mental and physical fatigue (Guo-Tai Chen, 2003b). Therefore, when faced with parents and their preschool children, teachers under the load of multiple roles will also generate excessive or deficient emotional involvement with parents, which is somewhat related with how they interpret parents.

II. Interpretation of parents by preschool teachers

Interpersonal interaction depends on communication. Whether communication is good or not, it is closely related to timing, manner, mood, attitude, and skills. Home-based preschool education must be valued by parents to meet the child's needs, but it also highlights the inevitability and necessity of parents and teachers to establish a good relationship (Hui-Ling Zhao, Xin-Yi Lin, Ru-Yu Fu, 2010). The differences in communication between preschool children's parents and teachers lie in that service users include not only children themselves but also parents. Usually, the teacher is the courier and transmits the messages to the receiver through the process of encoding and decoding.

Encoding is the necessary treatment done by the courier in order to achieve symbolic meaning of the messages transmitted. It means the process to transform ideas and emotions into symbols and organize them into a message. In contrast, transforming other people's messages into their own thoughts and feelings is called decoding. Through the encoding and decoding process, communication messages can be sent and received effectively (Pei-Fen Zheng, 2010b). Encoding and decoding involve interpretation, and quality of service is regarded as an attitude (Parasuraman, Zeithamal & Berry, 1985). Interpretation is regarded as a kind of interpersonal attitude (Michael, 1998). "Do not let your child lose at the starting point" seems to have become the universal cognition of all parents for preschool education. In the non-compulsory pre-school education, under the characteristics of market and institutional patterns diversification, parents are more like consumers choosing a school for their children in order to get the maximum benefit (Jun-Sheng Chen, 2005). The government interacts with the market mechanism, resulting in parents mistaking expensive costs to be indicative of the pre-schools' quality standards and deriving stratum differentiations issues (Ting-Hua Lin, 2010a). Deriving different levels, pre-school teachers view to classify the disadvantaged from parents.

學校教師常有意識或不自覺地對少數族群與弱勢家庭有著某種刻板印象。而少數族群與弱勢家庭的家長可能非常關心其子女，卻不敢參與子女教育(何祥如，蔡佳燕，2010)。低社經地位家長不積極參與學校校務，因其知覺自己的效能感低，認為自己不屬於該團體(蕭仲廷，2012)。低效能感的父母親很多是來自弱勢家庭，這些家長本身之教育程度不高，或因來自於不同文化社會，對幼兒教育的參與度很低，不願參加幼兒園舉辦的親職講座或活動或是根本看不懂聯絡簿的內容(孫麗卿，2010b)，致使幼兒教師，對於經濟弱勢的家長，容易在社會標籤化與情緒勞務特性的交互作用下，易於解讀其為參與較低，甚至是低效能感的家長，更進一步地說這樣的解讀有著刻板印象。

刻板印象是對一個團體的全體成員之概論，將相同的性格援用在團體的每一個成員身上。當同理心缺席時，有時候就很難避免陷入責怪受難者的陷阱，將別人的困境歸因於能力或性格上的缺點(李茂興、余伯泉譯，2005)。刻板印象的形成涉及到分類，我們將人歸類到不同團體；以及我們知覺到自己所屬之內團體不同於外團體之歷程(王慶福等譯，2006)。責難受害者的歸因形之於刻板印象以及同理心的缺乏，致使幼兒教師與家長之間的互動中，難以透過傾聽以作有目的之情感表達。

三、幼兒教師與家長互動的同理心品質

在服務品質面向中，同理心是指工作人員展現對服務對象的瞭解並提供個人化的關切(黃源協，2008)。通常社會期待幼兒教師能夠先包容不稱職父母，在傾聽父母困難後引導其積極尋找解決策略，同時支持父母的教養意向與催化父母的自信心，能使其表現得更稱職、也更具專業形象(蔡淑桂，2010)。有鑒於此，在多項托育服務品質面向中，本研究特別著重「同理心」服務品質。

同理心是正確瞭解案主，敏銳覺察案主內在的感受，並將這些瞭解以語言表達給案主。工作者對案主

School teachers often consciously or unconsciously have a certain stereotypical impression of ethnic minorities and disadvantaged families, and parents of ethnic minorities and disadvantaged families may be concerned about their children, but dare not participate in their children's education (Xiang-ru He, Jia-Yan Cai, 2010). Parents of low socioeconomic status do not actively participate in school affairs, because they perceive their efficacy to be low and they do not belong to that group (Zhong-Ting Xiao, 2012). Many parents of low efficacy come from disadvantaged families. The parents themselves are not highly educated. Or because they are from different cultures and societies, they have a low degree of participation in preschool education and are unwilling to participate in the kindergarten's organized parenting seminars or activities or simply do not understand the contents of the contact book (Li-Qing Sun, 2010b). Preschool teachers easily assume economically disadvantaged parents, under the interaction of social tagging and emotional labor characteristics, as parents of low participation and even of lower efficacy. It has been further stated that this interpretation has a stereotyped impression.

Stereotyped impressions are a generality for all members of a group, availing of the same character for every community member. When empathy is absent, sometimes it is difficult to avoid falling into the trap of blaming the victims and attributing the plight of others to the ability or personality shortcomings (translated by Mao-Xing Li and Bo-Quan Yu, 2003). The formation of the stereotyped impressions involves classification. We classify people into different groups, and we perceive the differences between the internal groups we belong to and the external groups (translated by Qing-Fu Wang et al., 2006). Blaming the victims is attributed to the formation of stereotyped impressions and a lack of empathy, resulting in difficulty listening for a purposeful emotional expression in interactions between preschool teachers and parents.

III. Empathic quality in the interaction between preschool teachers and parents

In the dimension of quality of service, the five main elements of quality include reliable, reactive, ensuring, empathetic, and tangible entity (Zeithaml et al., 1990). Empathy refers to the staff demonstrating an understanding of the service object and providing personalized concerns (Yuan-Xie Huang, 2013, Francis and Netton, 2004). Usually, the community expects preschool teachers to tolerate incompetent parents. After listening to the parents' difficulties, they guide them to seek strategies actively for solutions while supporting parents' parenting intention and catalyzing parents' confidence, making them more competent and giving a more professional image (Shu-Gui Cai, 2010). In view of this, in a number of dimensions of childcare service quality, the present study particularly emphasizes "empathic" service quality.

的感受作反應時，應避免被案主情緒的表象所誤導以及避免對案主的邏輯和感受作工作者個人的解釋和評斷(Hepworth et al., 2010a)。Biesteck(1957)則指出「適度的情感介入」是專業關係之重要原則之一同理的回應即是適度情感的介入，包括感受性、瞭解和反應。為了傾聽同理其感受，以作有目的的情感表達，在於工作者不要過早和過多的解釋和不實保證(引自謝秀芬，2011)。同理心服務品質為了顧及個別化的關懷，在於避免偏見的傾聽與表達。幼兒教師為了有目的的情感表達，必須透過傾聽口語與非口語溝通之訊息，有賴於解讀符號互動後的意義。

Doherty(1989)在符號互動論的假定中，主張一個社會人，可以經由語言與人們作符號上的溝通，其是行動者，也是反應者(引自周月清，2001)。Peirce(1931)指出符號為一個具有意義的實體，隱含義則是說明符號如何與使用者的感覺或情感，及其文化價值觀互動(引自徐茂練、王心怡、鐘國禎、張師淳，2009)。符號包括語言、文字、動作、姿態等(林進丁，2011b；黃宗堅，2006)。幼兒教師在提供托育服務過程中，如何透過語言、文字符號與家長互動，有必要探討語言與文字符號的各自意涵。

語言符號是社會工作實踐陪伴者、傾聽者、問題分析者、使能者和教育者等各種角色，以及與服務使用者建立關係，完成需求預估，擬定與實施處遇計畫的重要工具。透過語言的現實建構過程，權力議題隱晦地藏於其中(莊曉霞、劉弘毅，2012)。幼兒教師與家長透過電話訪問聯繫、面對面溝通、定期訪問、各類型親子活動、教學參觀日等多類形式，與之以語言符號互動，由於語言掌握音調、音量、頻率與音質，因此，其之互動性較高且較能將訊息作直接的傳達。

文字符號或可稱為書面溝通，可包括信件、字條、備忘錄、公文、刊物、佈告、書籍等，可透過文字、圖畫、數字、符號、記號、藝術品等方式呈現，溝通者較為謹慎行事(周談輝，2011)。幼兒教師

Empathy means properly understanding the client, acutely noticing the client's inner feelings, and expressing this understanding through language to the client. When the working personnel react to the client's feelings, they should avoid being misled by the emotional appearance of the client and avoid personal interpretation and judgment of the client's logic and feelings (Hepworth et al., 2010a). Biesteck (1957) pointed out that "moderate emotional involvement" is one of the important principles of professional relationships. The empathic response is appropriate emotional involvement, including sensitivity, understanding, and response. In order to listen to their feelings with empathy, the working personnel should not do premature and excessive explanations and unreal guarantees to do a purposeful emotional expression (Xiu-Fen Xie, 2010b). In order to take into account individualized care, empathic service quality should avoid biased listening and expression. Preschool teachers, for purposeful emotional expression, must listen to the message through verbal and non-verbal communication, which depend on the interpretation of the meaning behind symbolic interactions.

Doherty(1989) according to the assumption of the symbolic interaction theory, advocated that a social person can through language communicate with people by using symbols. The actors and responders can do the same (Yue-Qing Zhou, 2001). Peirce (1931) pointed out that a symbol is a meaningful entity. The hidden meaning explains how symbols interact with the user's feelings or emotions and cultural values (Mao-Lian Xu, Xin-Yi Wang, Guo-Zhen Zhong, Shi-Ting Zhang, 2009). Symbols include language, words, actions, gestures, etc. (Jin-Ding Lin, 2011b; Zong-Jian Huang, 2006). In how preschool teachers in the process of providing childcare services use language and text symbols to interact with parents, there is a need to explore their own meaning of language and the text symbol.

Linguistic symbols are an important tool for social work practice companions, listeners, problem analyzers, enablers, educators, and other various roles, as well as for building relationships with service users, completing the demand forecast, and developing and implementing the plan. Through the process of constructing the reality of language, the power issue is implicitly hidden in it (Xiao-Xia Zhuang, Hong-Yi Liu, 2012). Preschool teachers and parents interact by using linguistic symbols through telephone interviews, face-to-face communication, regular visits, various types of parents-children activities, open school days, and other types of teaching styles. If one masters language tone, volume, frequency, and sound quality, the interactions are higher, this better enables messages to be directly conveyed.

Text symbols, also known as written communications, may include letters, notes, memos, official documents, publications,

與家長透過開學時的父母手冊、親師聯絡單、教室內的佈告欄以及各項書面通知(鄭中文, 2010a; 郭靜晃, 2012)等方式與之以文字符號互動, 反映在每日的親師聯絡簿上, 簿中主要以勾選題目為主, 預留一點空白繕寫之空間, 因此, 在符號使用上, 較需要經過思考組織整理, 在互動上較為間接。不管是運用語言符號或者文字符號。幼兒教師如何使用語言與文字的符號互動方式解讀家長, 以發揮同理心之服務品質? 此為本研究之關注重點。

參、研究方法

由於本研究主題為托育服務的品質輸出, 涉及幼托整合政策及其組織與管理層面, 主要是針對一個場域、單一個體, 或某一特定事件作鉅細靡遺的檢視, 以個殊式的方式進行檢視, 現象描述與嘗試性解釋為其主要目標。研究焦點在直接的生活經驗, 一般而言, 在提出「如何」和「為什麼」的問題(Yin, 2001)。依此, 個案研究法主要是針對一些可以集中調查之特殊樣本, 其之特性在於在自然情境下探究問題、深入式的研究、重視脈絡觀點、建構理論、經驗理解、獨特性以及探討整個單元與採取多元方法與資料來源(Sarantakos, 2005)。個案研究法之目的在於探討一個個案在特定情境脈絡下的活動性質, 以瞭解個案的獨特性及複雜性, 並著重在對一個系統體系的各種不同現象進行理解(鄭怡世, 2002)。

由於個案研究法著眼於測試一個成熟理論的關鍵性個案, 依此以某一幼兒園為例, 並採用機構內的文件與檔案紀錄, 關鍵人物訪談、焦點團體訪談與導引式個別訪談作為資料收集的多元證據來源。研究之步驟共包括五項, 步驟一、關鍵人物訪談是以研究機構之托兒所園長為主要關鍵人物, 訪談內容主要包括輸入人力、輸入資源與輸出品質之項目, 並協商確認資料收集內容與簽定機構研究同意書。步驟二、機構內文件與檔案紀錄主要以園內大中小班九十八學年第二學期之家長聯絡簿與教師日誌為主要分析之檔案文件, 家長聯絡簿的分析項目主要

bulletins, books, etc., and can be presented through words, pictures, numbers, symbols, signs, and art works. Communicators become more cautious (Tan-Hui Zhou, 2011). Preschool teachers interact with parents using text symbols through the parents' handbook on school opening, parent-teacher contact book, classroom bulletin board, as well as various written notices (Zhong-Wen Zheng, 2010a; Jing-Huang Guo, 2012). The daily parent-teacher contact book mainly contains check items and blank spaces set aside for writing. Therefore, the use of symbols needs more thinking, organizing, and sorting and it is more of an indirect interaction. Whether linguistic signs or text symbols are used, how do preschool teachers use the linguistic and text symbols in interactions in order to interpret parents and exert empathetic service quality? This is the focus of this study.

Research Methods

Since this study's theme is the quality output of childcare services, involving preschool integration policy and its organization and management level, the study mainly aimed at a single field, single individual, or particular incident to view in meticulous detail. The main goal is to use a special way of viewing to describe the phenomenon and do interpretation. The research focuses on the direct experience of living. In general, "how" and "why" questions are proposed (Yin, 2001). Therefore, the case study method mainly targets some specific sample that can be surveyed in concentration. The characteristics of the method are exploration of the problem in its natural setting, in-depth study style, attention to context view, constructivism theory, empirical understanding, uniqueness, exploration of the entire unit, and adoption of diverse methods and data sources (Sarantakos, 2005). The purpose of the case study method is to explore the nature of activity of a case in the specific situational context in order to understand the uniqueness and the complexity of the case, and focus on understanding the various phenomena of the system's architecture (Yi-Shi Zheng, 2002).

As the case study method focuses on the test of the crucial case of a mature theory, a kindergarten is used as an example, and the organization documents and archival records are adopted. The key figure interviews, focus group interviews, and guided individual interviews are multiple sources of evidence for data collection. The study includes a total of five steps. Step 1: The key figure interview is based on the kindergarten principal as the main key figure for a research institution. The interview contents mainly include the input of manpower, input of resources, and output quality. The contents of data collection were confirmed in consultation, and the institutional research consent was signed. Step 2: The organization documents and archival records are mainly based on the parent-teacher contact book, and the teachers' logs

包括家長與老師的繕寫內容、家長與老師間的溝通問題以及資源運用面向。教師日誌的分析項目主要包括教學主題內容、教學特色、老師與孩子們的溝通、以及老師培養孩子生活自理能力方法以及特別記錄事項。步驟三、焦點導引式訪談主要以園內六位教保人力，包括園長、行政老師、幼幼班至大班共四位老師為主要訪談對象，針對黃源協(2008)十八項服務品質滿意項目，包括有形資產、安全性、保密性、可近性、夥伴/合作關係、公開、保證性、才能/技術和知識、同理心、溝通、參與、選擇、可接受性/回應性、可靠性、公平性、效率、持續性、效能、持久性之前五項排序並說明原因。步驟四、半結構式個別訪談主要針對大班、中班、小班三位導師進行一小時至一小時半的個別訪談，本研究主要以四位個別訪談的受訪者作為研究分析的資料。

受訪者基本資料主要來自於關鍵人物訪談及導引式個別訪談大綱，包含老師班級基本資料以及老師本人基本資料。老師本人基本資料包括教育程度、畢業科系、修習社會工作學科背景、年齡以及婚姻狀況、家中子女數。研究者主要訪問幼兒園園長、大班、中班與小班三位導師，共四位，其教育程度皆為大專畢業、並修習社會工作學科學分在20學分以上，年齡則介於三十歲至五十歲之間，婚姻狀況皆為已婚，家中孩子數平均2-3個，且在此家園所平均年資為三年以上，幼教年資皆達七年以上。

園內班級基本資料包括任教班級、班上同學人數、班上同學性別組成、班上同學家中兄弟姐妹數、家庭型態、主要聯繫的家長角色、交通安排、班上同學的教育程度、職業類別以及住家環境。大班、中班與小班每班平均在十至二十人；性別組成男女約1:2；大多數幼兒家中有一至二位手足；班上同學的家庭型態主要為雙親家庭，約1/3至1/2為單親家庭；主要聯繫的家長大部份為母親，少有父親與祖父母；幼兒家長的教育程度大抵為高中者居多；家長的職業以工商類別居多；班上孩子住家附近大抵為鄉村型社區，多為客家人。

in the second semester of academic year 2009 for senior, intermediate, and junior classes are the primary archival documents for analysis. The analytical projects of the parents' contact book include written content of parents and teachers, communication problems between parents and teachers, and use of resources. The analytical projects of the teachers' logs include teaching subject content, teaching features, communication between teachers and kids, methods that teacher use to foster children's autonomous living skills, and specific records of matters. Step 3: Conduct the focus-guided interviews for six childhood educators on campus, including the principal, administrative teacher, with a total of four junior to senior group teachers as the main interview targets. Focus on Yuan-Xie Huang's (2008) 18 service quality satisfaction projects, which include tangible assets, security, confidentiality, accessibility, partnership/cooperation, openness, assurance, talent / technology and knowledge, empathy, communication, participation, choice, acceptability/responsiveness, reliability, fairness, efficiency, sustainability, efficacy, and durability. Rank the first five projects in sequence and explain their reasons. Step 4: The semi-structured individual interviews mainly focused on the three tutors from the senior class, intermediate class, and junior class. One- to one-and-a-half hour individual interviews were conducted. This study mainly used individual interviews of four respondents as the data for research and analysis.

Respondents' basic information is mainly from the key figure interview and guided individual talk outline, which include the teacher's class basic information and personal basic profile. The teacher's personal basic profile includes education level, the department graduated from, social work and academic background, age and marital status, and number of children at home. Researchers mainly visited the kindergarten principal, three tutors from the junior, intermediate, and senior classes, respectively, a total of four. They all practiced social work with 20 or more academic credits in the University. The age is between 30 to 50 years old. All are married. The average number of children at home is two to three, and the average length of service in this kindergarten is more than three years. Preschool years of service are more than seven years.

Basic information of the classes includes classes taught, number of classmates, gender composition, number of siblings, family patterns, main parental contact, transportation arrangements, classmates' educational level, occupational category, and home environments. The average class size of senior, intermediate, and junior classes is ten to twenty people. The gender composition of male to female is about 1:2. Most young children have one or two siblings. Classmates' family patterns are mainly two-parent families. About a third to half has single-parent families. Primary parent contact for the majority is the mother and rarely the father or grandparents. The educational level of parents is mostly high

肆、研究結果分析

同理心品質在於工作人員提供個別化的關懷和服務，主要在於瞭解服務對象的特定需求，據之以同理其想法與感受，在幼兒教師解讀家長後，往往因其情感介入之適度、過與不及，因而產生同理心的不同層次。Hammond、Hepworth & Smith(1977)指出低層次同理反應為工作者與服務使用者爭辯或建議；中低層次同理反應是工作者僅部份反應或不完全瞭解服務使用者的陳述和感受。可交換式同理反應是工作者針對服務使用者明顯的表達做重要的交換，並正確反應其陳述中的事實、想法與感受。中高層次同理反應表達了服務使用者陳述中隱藏的訊息及其感受。高層次同理反應是指工作員正確反應服務使用者全部的、表面的、隱藏的感受和意義(引自Hepsorth, et al., 2010)。在此五層次中，幼兒教師與家長在托育服務行動過程中，會因瞭解服務對象之深度與廣度的不同，而有著不同層次類型的情感介入。幼兒教師如何透過符號解讀家長的情緒感受與想法，並扮演出不同類型的情感介入？本研究據之分析如下：

一、舉證型的情感介入

在華人文化中，相當重視師長權威，幼兒教師在傳遞訊息給家長的同時，必須留意到安全距離的問題。多位幼兒老師都表示他們會避免跟家長太親近，因為怕別人認為老師偏心，或擔心家長會有所期待(許錦雲，2008b)。同時，家長與教師透過聯絡簿，針對幼兒的健康、情緒、人際與課業問題進行文字符號互動，並以回報、留言、叮嚀與命令來作互動。小班則請老師多幫忙注意孩子學習和身體狀況。中班則比較傾向希望老師要怎麼做，如何做就好(99年度家長聯絡手冊)。

我跟家長的溝通相當重視聯絡簿，我跟家長就是從普通朋友開始，慢慢的建構，跟他們的孩子一起建構，因為我覺得用說的話，辭不達意的話很容易引起誤會，講出去的話，話一出去很難收回，所以我都用寫的有整理

school. Business is the majority of parents' occupations. Class children's neighborhoods are mostly rural-based communities and mostly Hakka.

Result Analysis

Empathy quality lies in the staff providing individualized care and services, mainly to understand the specific needs of clients in order to empathize with their thoughts and feelings. After the preschool teachers have interpreted the parents, because the moderation of their emotional involvement is too much or too less, it resulted in different levels of empathy. Hammond, Hepworth & Smith (1977) pointed out that the low-level empathic response is the working personnel and service users making an argument or a recommendation. Low/intermediate levels of empathy occur when working personnel only make a partial response or do not fully understand the service users' statements and feelings. The changeable empathic response refers to working personnel aiming at service users' obvious expression to do important exchanges and accurately reflecting their facts, thoughts, and feelings in their statements. The intermediate high-level empathetic response expresses the hidden messages in service users' statements and their feelings. The high-level empathetic response refers to working personnel correctly responding to all service users' surface, and hidden feelings and meanings (Hepsorth et al., 2010b). In these five levels, the preschool teachers and parents in the course of childcare service action may be different in the depth and breadth of understanding of the service objects, and the types and levels of emotional involvement are different. How do preschool teachers interpret parents' feelings and thoughts through symbols and play different types of emotional involvement? This study analyzes as follows:

I. Illustrated emotional involvement

In Chinese culture, the teachers' authority is considerably focused. Preschool teachers, when transmitting messages to parents, must note at the same time the issue of safe distance. Many preschool teachers have said that they avoid getting too close to parents out of the fear that others would think that the teacher was biased or worried that parents would have expectations (Jin-Yun Xu, 2008b). Meanwhile, parents and teachers through the contact book focus on preschool children's health, mood, interpersonal, and schoolwork problems to conduct the text symbol interaction and reply, leave messages, exhort, and command in interactions. The junior classes ask the teacher to help more in noting the child's learning and physical condition. The intermediate classes tend to hope teachers know what to do, which is just fine (2010 parent contact handbook).

My communication with the parents attaches consid-

過，我是陪家長與孩子一起成長的人，我會上網找資料給家長看，畢竟專家人員作過很多研究，像上週我提供專家寫過的文章，我會問媽媽看完怎樣，我也會特別講，這專家有講喔！你繼續下去這樣子會很不好，有的人也不是說「自我感覺良好」，他一直覺得他孩子是最棒的最好的(T3)。

研究對象T3，透過解讀「家長有必要瞭解孩子的校內生活事宜、教養訊息的需求」，透過因為我覺得用說的話，辭不達意的話很容易引起誤會，講出去的話，話一出去很難收回親師聯絡簿與其互動，可說是並不需要面對面，互動頻率程度最高、有所組織又必須簡短說明的方式，並透過專家權威的論述，以試圖以文章中的例子說服家長，進而產生舉證型的情感介入。

二、教導型的情感介入

當家庭遭遇特定問題時，行動者將家庭問題視為技能欠缺，協助父母用較為正面和有建設性的親子互動來取代口頭和肢體懲罰(魏希聖譯，2009)。亞斯伯格症幼年即出現社會化的困擾，他們不善於與人互動，拙於理解他人的心情、臉部表情及待人接物，因此必須接受社交技巧訓練，教師可採用直接教學法包括教師示範、情境演練、回饋、增強或修正(曾湘淳，2010)。以協助其提升社交技能。

像我們班有一個亞斯伯格症的小孩，她媽媽也滿用心的，她會比一般人還用心，她會每天下午主動溝通，我會給她減敏感法，盡量給她情緒控制的部份，然後告訴她媽媽不要什麼都順她，不要給孩子予取予求，因為我們都有上特教，我就把一些經驗告訴媽媽，我會給她規範，例如上音樂課的時候，我會告訴孩子說：如果你等下上音樂課很乖，等下下課時老師就會給你獎勵，我會告訴媽媽在家裡配合用一樣的方式，不要像以前什麼都放縱她，不要怕她吵就什麼都順著她。我們會互相分享家裡與學校的狀況，媽媽需

erable importance to the contact book. I started to make ordinary friends with the parents and slowly built up friendships. I also befriended their children. I think if words are not properly conveyed, it can easily lead to misunderstandings. Once spoken, words are difficult to take back, so I organize my words in writing first. I am the person who accompanies parents and children through their growth. I go online to find information for parents to see. After all, experts have done a lot of research. Like last week, I provided an article written by an expert, and I asked the mother how she felt after reading it, and I also particularly said that this was what the expert said! To continue like this would not be very good. Some people do not say "I myself feel good." He always felt that his son was the best (T3).

Study respondent T3 gave the interpretation that "Parents need to understand their children's school life issues and the parenting message needs," because words that do not convey the meaning can easily lead to misunderstanding. Once spoken, they cannot be taken back easily. Parents and teachers interact with each other through the contact book. It can be said that they do not need to meet face to face, the interaction frequency is the highest, and organization is done before making a brief description. Through the authoritative exposition of experts, examples from articles are used to convince parents, thus producing the illustrated emotional involvement.

II. Instructive emotional involvement

When families face a particular problem, some regard the family problem as arising due to a lack in skills and assist parents to replace verbal and physical punishments with more positive and constructive parent-child interactions (translated by Xi-Sheng Wei, 2009). Children with Asperger Syndrome show problems in socializing from childhood. They are not good at interacting with people, and they are clumsy to understand others' feelings, facial expressions, and interpersonal skills. Therefore, they must receive social skills training. Teachers may use direct instruction, including teacher demonstrations, situational exercises, feedback, enhancement, or correction (Xiang-Chun Zeng, 2010) to assist them in enhancing social skills.

We have a child with Asperger Syndrome in our class. Her mother is quite considerate, and her child is more attentive than the average person. She takes the initiative to communicate every afternoon. I give her systematic desensitization to try to give her as much emotional control as possible. Then, I tell her mother not to let her have her way in everything. Do not just give whatever the child asks for. Because we all have attended special education courses, I share some of my experiences with her mother. I give her norms. For example, during music lessons, I will tell the children: If you behave well in the next music

要的就是一個要領(T2)。

研究對象T2在「解讀家長用心的態度」，以及同理家長的需求與困難後，針對家長在教養技能上的困難，提供示範說明與增強修正等親職教育技巧，期以指正該母親教養幼兒的改善態度與方法，以發揮親職教育的功能，是所謂教導型的情感介入。

三、告知型的情感介入

在少子化社會中，學校人數減少，下一代因人際互動減少，進而造成人格發展的偏頗(施宏彥，2005)。以往對於完整家庭的迷思，因著許多因素的加入，使得「完整家庭」已經不是一個「必須」或「必然」，家庭結構或不完整，要親職功能可以發揮，就可以是「健全」家庭(邱珍琬，2009)。同時，在實務經驗中，在少子化社會的親職功能受到挑戰，進而使得幼兒教師在托育服務行動出現困擾。

我覺得我自己把他們當作小孩子這樣子阿！就學校裡的媽媽吧！我們班只有一個情緒比較不好，她可能在家裡是爸爸媽媽太寵她了，寵就是她會什麼事情都讓著她，然後她說她爸爸媽媽從來都不會打，然後有一天，她做錯什麼事情，她去弄人家吧，一直去弄人家，我就說不可以這樣子，弄到她也生氣了，我也生氣了，我就打電話跟爸爸媽媽講，她說我爸爸媽媽不會打我，因為我是家裡的公主，我說如果妳是我的女兒，我照樣打，我有跟她媽媽講，要她發洩完之後再跟她講話，她好像要人家捧一下！(T4)

研究對象T4透過與幼兒家長，以電訪、面對面之語言符號互動後，在少子化情境下，「解讀家長對於幼兒的寵愛以及幼兒的人際問題」，對於幼兒真情流露的表達感受，並將孩子在園內的人際表現，主動告知期以家長配合，並隱含著期待父母改善親職表現。

四、連結型的情感介入

Keith-Lucas(1986)指出在助人關係發展的過程

lesson, the teacher will give you a bonus after class. I will tell her mother to use the same method at home and not to indulge her child's every whim as before. Do not let her have her way in everything just because you're afraid of a tantrum. We will share with each other the situations at home and school. What her mother needs is essential (T2).

After “interpretation of parents’ attentive attitude” and empathizing with parents’ needs and difficulties, study respondent T2 focused on parents’ difficulties in parenting skills and provided model descriptions with enhanced corrections and other parenting skills, in order to correct the mother’s attitude and approach to parenting children. To exert the parenting function is the so-called instructive emotional involvement.

III. Informative emotional involvement

With the current low birth rate situation, some parents’ rearing patterns tend toward connivance and protection. The students’ frustration tolerance is low, and the excessive self-centeredness is more likely to cause disputes between classmates (Zhang Ruhui, 2009). The reduction of the number of school students and interpersonal interactions of the next generation even cause biases in personality development (Hong-Yan Shi, 2005). Such troubled upbringing also appears in the course of action in childcare.

I feel that I take them as children! Just take me as the mother of the school! There is only one child in our class with a relatively bad disposition. She may be spoiled at home by her mom and dad. Being spoiled means her mom lets her do anything, and then she says her mom and dad never hit her. Then one day, she did something wrong. She kept on teasing others. I said that it was not allowed, and she got angry. I was also angry, so I called her mom and dad. She said her mom and dad would not smack her, because she was the princess at home. I said if she were my daughter, I would give her a smack just the same. I talked with her mom and asked her to talk to her daughter after her daughter had finished venting. It seems that her daughter wants to be flattered! (T4)

Through interaction with the child’s parents using linguistic symbols in telephone interviews and face-to-face meetings, under the scenario of the low birth rate, “parents’ love for the child and the child’s interpersonal problems are interpreted” by study respondent T4. Regarding the feelings of expressions that reveal genuine love for children, and the child’s interpersonal performance on campus, the initiative is taken to inform the parents of co-ordination and imply expectations of parents to improve their parenting performance.

IV. Linking emotional involvement

Keith Lucas (1986) pointed out that, in the process of helping

中，要能提供一些新的資源、思考方式和溝通技巧等，使得受助者有能力自行解決問題。專業關係由同理接納和指導監督二者間相互融合或交替使用而成，必須在處遇過程中不斷向案主解釋指導監督的用意和必要性(引自許臨高、顧美俐，2010)。

現在老師很需要親職溝通的訓練，特別是媽媽比較衝動、情緒又比較激動，需要理性的人才可以溝通，不然情緒比較負面的話，不容易溝通。我剛剛跟媽媽講，不能這樣請三天假，以後孩子會在有過錯時，就回家，我就說我自己開車去載，因為我想要給媽媽一份支持的力量。早療服務在托育服務很重要，尤其是現在外籍新娘很多，現在的父母親又很少陪孩子。構音上的問題可以矯正，家長要有很大的信心，不要一下子就認為我的孩子是有問題的。我現在的想法是你如果是職能師，你就不要涉入這一塊，就分工清楚一些，你就不要跟家長講太多，讓家長很惶恐。面對家長時要說清楚孩子機會教育的重要性，媽媽原本以為我們老師欺負她，後來她找阿姨一起來談時，就放心多了!(T1)

當行動者沒有足夠的資源來扮演某一角色或眾多角色時，當存在多重的角色、超載的期待可能會太沉重，以致形成角色張力(White & Klein, 2009b)研究對象T1透過「解讀父母很忙、同理於母親的擔心疑慮」，透過提供交通接送的支持、連結早療資源以及連結阿姨的過程，有著連結型的情感介入。

伍、結論與建議

綜合本研究之結果發現，幼兒教師作為情緒勞務專業，透過語言、文字符號解讀家長後，隨著不同的解讀而有著舉證型、教導型、告知型與連結型等四類型的情感介入。

一、結論

(一)情感介入類型隱含著符號差異性

others develop a relationship, some new resources, ways of thinking, and communication skills must be provided, so that recipients have the ability to solve problems. A professional relationship is formed by the mutual merging or alternate use of both empathetic acceptance and guided supervision. In the process of treatment, the intention and necessity of the guided supervision must be continuously explained to the client (Lin-Gao Xu, Mei-Li Gu, 2010).

Nowadays, teachers really need parental communication training, especially mothers who are more impulsive and emotional. Communication requires rational people. Otherwise, if emotions are more negative, communication is not easy. I just told the mother that she could not take three days off like this. Later, when the child had to go home after making a mistake, I said I would drive the kid myself, because I wanted to give the mother the power of support. Early treatment services in childcare are important, especially nowadays when there are many foreign brides and few parents accompanying their children. Articulation problems can be corrected. Parents need to have a lot of confidence and do not suddenly think that their child is a problem. My current thinking is that if you are a professional teacher, you do not need to be involved in just one. You can divide the labor more clearly. You do not have to talk too much to the parents and terrify them. When meeting with parents, be clear about the importance of children's educational opportunities. A mother thought she had been bullied by us teachers. Afterward, she found an aunt to talk with and felt much better! (T1).

When people do not have enough resources to play a role or a number of roles, the overloaded expectations from multiple roles may be too heavy, resulting in the formation of character tension (White & Klein, 2009b). Through “interpretation of busy parents and empathy for the worries and anxieties of mothers,” and through support by providing transport, linking early treatment resources, and linking the process of aunts, the study respondent T1 had linking emotional involvement.

Conclusions and Recommendations

From the integrated results of this study, it was found that preschool teachers in the emotional labor specialty use language and text symbols to interpret parent's motives. Along with the different interpretations, the four types of emotional involvement are illustrated, instructive, informative, and linking.

I. Conclusions

1. The type of emotional involvement implies symbolic differences

In the kindergarten, to maintain friendly relations with

在幼兒園中，和學生保持友好關係，也為了減少與家長的負面衝突，主動釐清真相，具體事證取信於家長，並一再地與家長進行開誠佈公的溝通等，透過同理與反思為所謂的偏愛策略(陳玉玫，2009b)。在本研究結果分析中，舉證型、教導型、告知型與連結型四類型中，幼兒教師主要應用親師聯絡簿與專家文章等書面文字符號，以舉證說服家長改善教養態度；後三類則是應用語言符號為主，語言主題內容分別在教導型的互動主題為親職教養問題；對告知型的互動主題是幼兒人際問題；連結型的互動主題是資源協調問題。依據研究對象指出，在文字符號的使用上，「話說出去怕辭不達意」，在語言符號使用上，則是「見面三分情，大家會比較瞭解」，相較而言，文字符號隱含的情感介入程度可能較少。

(二)情感介入類型隱含著文化差異性

在意義過程體系當中，意義是在文化脈絡中社會創造的，意義的形成和語言的使用是共同行動的形式，並已產生於特定的領域或傳統中(Franklin, 1995; Greene & Blundo, 1999)。人類行為的互動觀點皆主張個人與社會環境之間錯綜複雜的連結。在互動過程中更強調文化的角色，尤其是語言、敘事和社會歷史因素，在我們建構意義當中的定位(Rodwell, 1998)。因此，不同性別、族群與所處社區的文化差異性有必要考量。

由於本研究對象所處之幼兒園，位於客家族群所在的鄉村型社區，在文化面向上，幼兒教師對於族群認同之理念主要來自園長認同客語文化的理念，然而比較看不出其他族群文化的認同。

在本研究結果分析當中，可以發現不管是舉證型、教導型、告知型與連結型，在情感表達上較為含蓄內斂，傾向重視師長權威與非正式資源，「以和為貴」、「愛面子、講人情」、「客家人勤儉持家」的文化價值。因此，幼兒教師在托育服務行動中的情感介入適度與否，特別出現與家長有所衝突時，是會有

students and also reduce negative conflict with parents, the initiative is taken to clarify the truth, win the trust of parents in specific things, and repeatedly conduct open communication with parents, etc. Using empathy and reflection is the so-called preferred strategies (Yu-Mei Chen, 2009b). In the result analysis of this study, among the illustrated type, instructive type, informative type, and linking type, the preschool teachers mainly use the parent-teacher contact book, expert articles, and other written text symbols as proof to convince parents to improve their parenting attitudes. The last three types mainly use linguistic symbols. In the interactive theme of the instructive type, the language thematic content is parenting issues. The interactive theme of the study versus informative type is the preschool children's interpersonal problems; the interactive theme of the linking type is resource coordination problems. The study respondent pointed out that, in the use of text symbols, once the words are spoken, it is feared they do not properly convey the meaning. In the use of linguistic symbols, it meets one-third of the situation, and everyone has a better understanding. In comparison, the text symbols imply that the degree of emotional involvement may be less.

2. The type of emotional involvement implies cultural differences

In the process system of significance, significance is created by the community in the cultural context, and the formation of significance and the use of language are forms of common actions, and have been produced in a particular field or tradition (Franklin, 1995; Blundo & Greene, 1999). Interactive views of human behavior all advocate the complex link between the individual and the social environment. In an interactive process, the role of culture is emphasized, especially language, narrative, and social history factors in the positioning for which we constructed meaning (Franklin, 1995; Rodwell, 1998; Tajalli, 1999). Therefore, different gender, ethnic, and cultural differences in the communities should be considered.

As the kindergarten of the study respondents is located in a Hakka village-type community, and in the dimension of culture, the preschool teachers' idea of ethnic identity mainly comes from the principal's idea of recognizing Hakka language and culture. However, it is relatively hard to see the cultural identity of other ethnic groups.

In the result analysis of this study, it can be found that, regardless of whether it is the illustrated type, instructive type, informative type, or linking type, the emotional expression is more reserved in style, and the tendency is to attach importance to the authority of teachers, informal resources, and cultural values, such as "Harmony is precious"; "Love honor and humanity"; "Hakka people diligently maintain their homes." Therefore, whether the emotional involvement of preschool teachers in childcare operations is moderate or

所矛盾兩難的，比如到底該不該「報喜又報憂」？又該如何與家長溝通互動等同理的苦惱。

(三)情感介入類型隱含著個人歸因的評價解釋

針對舉證型、教導型、告知型與連結型情感介入四層次，本研究發現會有這四類型層次的介入，主要來自幼兒教師對於家長需求的解讀，並且出現為家長「解釋」之預設立場。其一為偏向經濟生活需求層面上的「家長需要低成本」、「家長很忙、很少時間陪孩子」。其二為家長在親職教育與情緒控制之需求，包括「家長需要成長」、「家長是需要的是要領」、「家長太寵孩子」、「家長比較衝動、情緒又比較激動」。

在本研究發現中，幼兒教師「解讀」家長成為一種較為主觀的「解釋」，基於人性使然，研究對象也有本身個人的解釋和評斷，例如「家長太寵孩子」、「家長情緒又比較激動」，諸如此類的解釋，傾向是個別歸因而非環境歸因，因此，形之於語言表達是較多的情緒性，包括因角色扮演而引發的情感介入，導致產生真情流露的主動向家長表達幼兒學生的行為表現，並據之連結資源。

(四)情感介入當中隱含著母職相似性的偏見

在本研究分析中，舉證型、教導型、告知型與連結型四類型的同理心限制，主要在於相似性偏見(Similarity Bias)，特別是出現在性別角色刻板印象，個體有所謂的自我紀律，以維持現實我與理想我的差距，我們透過手勢、聲調、臉部反應與其感受相互溝通以達平衡(Martin,2000a)。

以性別差異而言，在社會規範下，母職守門是一種聚積的信念與行為，藉由限制男性照顧家庭及子女以獲得學習與成長機會(杜宜展、李鴻章，2008)。在托育工作女性化、市場化以及定位不明的問題下(林廷華，2008)。大部份幼兒家長多半期待教師如母親般以愛心、關心與耐心來對待幼兒並認定幼兒園教職工作由女老師擔任最適合(吳姍鐔、許孟勤，2008)。在本

not, especially when conflict occurs with parents, there will be contradictory dilemmas. For example, in the end should “good news and bad news be reported at the same time,” and how can empathic distress be used to communicate and interact with parents?

3. The type of emotional involvement implies the evaluation interpretation of individual attributes

For the illustrated type, instructive type, informative type, and linking type as the four levels of emotional involvement, the study found that the intervention of these four levels of types is mainly from preschool teachers' interpretation of parents' demands and appears to be the default position of “explanation” for parents. First, economic life needs are weighted toward the levels “Parents need low costs” and “Parents are busy and have very little time with their children.” Second, requirements of parents in parenting education and emotional control include “Parents need to grow”; “Parents need the essentials”; “Parents spoil the child too much”; “Parents are more impulsive, and their emotions are more excitable.”

In the findings of the present study, the preschool teachers' “interpretation” of parents become a more subjective “interpretation” based on human nature. The study respondents also have their own personal interpretation and judgment. For example, “Parents spoil the child too much, parents are more impulsive, and their emotions are more excitable.” Such explanations tend to be individual rather than environmental attributes. Therefore, the form of language is more of an emotional expression, including emotional involvement caused by role-playing, which results in taking the initiative to express true feelings of the preschool child's behavioral performance to the parents and serves as the basis for the linked resources.

4. The type of emotional involvement implies similarity bias in motherhood

In the analysis of this study, the four limitations of empathy are the illustrated type, instructive type, informative type, and linking type, mainly due to the similarity bias, which especially appears in gender role stereotypes. Individuals have the so-called self-discipline to maintain the gap between the real me and the ideal me. We have adequate posture, tone, facial reactions, and emotional communication with each other to achieve equilibrium (Martin, 2000a).

In terms of gender differences, in social norms, the long-held belief and behavior that the maternal gate keeping limits men's care for the family and children's learning and growth opportunities (Yi-Zhan Du, Hong-Zhang Li, 2008). Under the problems of feminization, marketization, and unknown market positioning of childcare work (Ting-Hua Lin, 2008), most of the parents expect teachers to treat their children with love, care, and patience as a mother would firmly believe that female teachers are more suited to the work of kindergarten teaching (Meng-Qin Xu, 2008). In

研究採用質性訪談分析之四位幼兒教師，皆是已婚生子的職業婦女，也有為人母的經驗與角色期待，實質上，幼兒教師經常連結的是幼兒母親，父親的參與甚少。於是與母職家長共構了所謂的「相似性偏見」，導致不易適度的情感介入，而在有目的之情感表達中難以發揮同理心服務品質。

二、建議

綜合本研究之結論，幼兒教師與家長之間的親師互動中，為了發揮托育服務行動的同理心服務品質，以提供個別化而非刻板化的關懷，本研究提出以下四點建議：

(一)文字與語言符號的深淺演出

Hochschild (1983)指出，情緒勞務表現可分成表層演出與深層演出，前者主要在偽裝壓抑其外在的情緒；後者則是一種發自內心是由內而外的使其內在情緒感受與組織要求外在情緒表達一致(顏國樑、李昱憲，2008)，因此，為了在情緒上有所控制，透過語言與文字符號互動的深淺演出，有助於適度的情感介入。

文字符號在沒有語音、影像的溝通模式下，使用者可選擇性地揭露適當的個人資訊，減少在溝通過程受到刻板印象束縛的可能性，並降低來自社會規範的壓力(林宛蓉等，2007)。在本研究中發現幼兒教師應用文字符號，比較可以發揮舉證的情感演出，相較於語言產生的社會距離，較不易有情緒性字眼，會顯得較為理性。相對地，也較容易隱匿真實的情緒，拉大與家長互動距離，使得家長較少回饋或者敢怒不敢言。

(二)提升角色取替的文化能力

角色取替是將自己放在行動者的位置，其中包含該行動者被期待要去遵循的規則(White & Klein, 2009)。透過角色取替，意指把自己看做他人，依自己對他人角色的想像而扮演其角色，而後可以降低同理心的過度喚起(Martin, 2000)，致使同理過多或過少引起的防衛。

the present study, the qualitative interview is adopted to analyze four preschool teachers, who are all married working women and also have experienced motherhood and the role of expectations. Essentially, preschool teachers are often in contact with the child's mother, and the father is less involved. The mother co-constructs the so-called "similarity bias," leading to difficulty in moderating emotional involvement. Thus, through a purposeful emotional expression, empathy service quality can be exerted.

II. Proposal

As the comprehensive conclusion of this study, in parent-teacher interactions between preschool teachers and parents, in order to exert the empathy service quality of childcare service actions, individualized rather than stereotyped care should be provided. This study makes the following four proposals:

1. Depth performances of text and linguistic symbols

Hochschild (1983) pointed out that the emotional labor performance can be divided into surface acting and deep acting. The former mainly camouflages a repressed emotion with an outer emotion; the latter is the expression of a heartfelt inner emotion that is consistent with the organizational requirement for emotional expression (Guo-Liang Yan, Yu-Xian Li, 2008). Therefore, in order to have emotional control, the use of language and text symbols to show the depth of interaction can assist in moderate emotional involvement.

When text symbols are absent of audio and video communication mode, users can selectively disclose the appropriate personal information, reducing the possibilities of being bounded by stereotypes in the communication process and the pressure of social norms (Wan-Rong Lin et al., 2007). In the present study, it was found that preschool teachers who apply text symbols are more able to exert the illustrated emotional performances. Compared to the social distance generated by language, emotional words are less likely to occur, showing more rationality. In contrast, it is easier to hide real emotions, widen the distance in interactions with parents, give parents less feedback, or sit in silent resentment.

2. Enhancing the cultural competencies of role substitution

Role substitution means putting yourself in the position of another. This includes obeying the rules that the person is expected to follow (White & Klein, 2009). Role substitution means regarding the other by imagining and playing the other's role. In this way, overactive empathy can be reduced (Martin, 2001b), thereby preventing the defensiveness caused by too much or too little empathy.

說服是一個合理獲得他人順從的方法，主要在於運用論證而不是脅迫，並且允許別人自由選擇是否接受你的影響。影響力來自某種特定的權威地位(鄭佩芬、王淑俐，2008)。在華人文化中，扮演母職相當重視家族長輩的意見以及非正式資源的支持，因此，對於借力使力的溝通甚於過高或低度的自我揭露，例如幼兒教師藉著自己婆婆、家長妹妹、親友連結與客家族群之文化認同，透過語言、文字甚至文物符號，落實在多元文化教育活動中，期以覺察性別、族群、社經地位的文化差異性，進而提升角色取替能力。

(三)環境歸因的擬情瞭解

在專業的助人過程中，牽涉到很多主觀與客觀之間的問題。如何以助人者的客觀態度進入受助者的主觀世界裡，用同理心、用溫暖的關懷、用坦誠的態度與案主相處，才能有效協助案主(簡春安、趙善如，2010)。為了避免個人的解釋與評斷，產生偏見的親師互動，托育服務行動者在解讀家長態度中，可以發展所謂的「擬情的瞭解」，是瞭解人類行動的意義需要抓住行動者的主觀意識或意圖，瞭解社會實體在於每天生活如何在對話與互動中組成，同時人類行動是由規則治理的溝通所組成的(Schwandt2000)。也就是說，托育服務行動者將自己的情緒放在「人同此心、心同此理」的位置中，較可透過生理專注與心理專注來關注到家長與其親師互動中的語言與文字符號，避免「解釋性的解讀」，進而激發出所謂「擬情的瞭解」。

(四)保持理性的專業距離

為了避免相似性的偏見，在「旁觀者清」的立場下，也就是避免將家長當成同為母親、或者像朋友、學生之類的角色，當互相產生情感轉移或反情感轉移時，會有認同過與不及的現象，也就不能產生擬情瞭解當中所謂「同理的認同」。

在與家長合作時，教師必須確定自己的角色，例如提供養育兒童的資訊及建議、提供情感上的支

Persuasion is a rational way to get others to do what you want. Reasoned argument rather than coercion is mainly used, and others are allowed to choose freely whether to accept your influence. Influence comes from a particular position of authority (Pei-Fen Zheng, Shu-Li Wang, 2008). In Chinese culture, the role of motherhood considerably emphasizes family elders' views and the support of informal resources. Therefore, the power of communication is leveraged even more than self-disclosure at high or low levels. For example, preschool teachers through their own mothers, parents' sisters, relatives, and friends can link the cultural identity with Hakka ethnicity. Preschool teachers through language, text, and even cultural symbol can implement activities in multicultural education. That is, in respecting cultural differences in gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status, the substitution ability of the role can be enhanced.

3. Situation awareness of environmental attributes

In the process of professional helpers, many issues between the subjective and the objective are involved. How can the subjective world of recipients be entered into using the objective attitude of helpers? Only by using empathy, warm concern, and a frank attitude to get along with the client can the client be assisted effectively (Chun-An Jian, Shan-Ru Zhao, 2010). To avoid personal interpretation and judgment, which produce biased parent-teacher interactions, childcare service with an attitude of interpreting parents can develop the so-called "situation awareness," which is to understand the meaning of human actions. This requires capturing the subjective awareness or intention. To understand how social entities are composed during dialogues and interactions in everyday life, human action is simultaneously composed by rule-governed communication (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). In other words, childcare service caregivers put their emotions in the position that "people's hearts are the same, and the heart is rational." Through more physiological and psychological focus, attention can be paid to the language and text symbols in parent-teacher interactions, to avoid "interpretive reading," and thus stimulate the so-called "situation awareness."

4. Maintaining a reasonable professional distance

In order to avoid a similarity bias, from the standpoint of a "bystander," the teachers avoid making the parent the same as the mother or friend and peer. When the emotional transfer or counter-transference is mutually generated, there will be the phenomena of over- and under-recognition, which cannot produce the so-called "empathic identity" in the situation awareness.

In cooperation with parents, teachers must determine their roles, such as providing information and advice on how to raise children, providing emotional support, providing a role model for initiation, and accepting trust (Jing-Huang Guo, 2012).

持、提供模仿效法的角色以及接受委託(郭靜晃, 2012)。Waller(1932)指出教師與家長之間的關係, 專業權威是影響親師互動的因素之一。教師經常面臨兩難的局面, 一則教師被要求對學生必須釋放出「關懷」的特質, 一則卻又要在家長面前掩飾自己的情緒, 以一種「客觀的」、「不帶感情的」方式進行控制, 使得教師經常必須掩飾情緒或維持專業形象(引自洪孟華, 2003)。教師在面對家長之際, 需要進行情緒偽裝, 必須經過情緒調整後, 在面部表情上呈現「合宜的」表情與態度與家長互動(張純子、洪志成, 2009)。也就是說情緒必須有其控制能力, 保持理性的專業距離, 在親師尊師的過程中以作適度的情感表達。

綜合本文論述, 為了提升托育服務同理心的服務品質, 本研究主要發現幼兒照顧與教育專業, 「適度的情感介入」有助於「有目的之情感表達」, 在情緒勞務專業定位中, 幼兒教師提供托育服務之行動, 在與家長互動過程中的實務意涵包括「文字與語言符號深淺演出」、「提升角色取替的文化能力」、「環境歸因的擬情瞭解」、「保持理性的專業距離」。

Waller (1932) pointed out that in the relationship between teachers and parents; professional authority is one of the factors affecting parent/teacher interactions. Teachers often face a dilemma. On the one hand, teachers are asked by the students to show “care” characteristics, but on the other hand, they must hide their emotions in front of the parents. To use an “objective” and “dispassionate” approach for control, teachers often have to hide their emotions or maintain a professional image (Meng-Hua Hong, 2003; Addi-Racah & Arviv-Elyashiv, 2008). When the teachers meet the parents, they must carry out emotional camouflage and undergo emotional adjustment to present a “suitable” facial expression and attitude to interact with the parents (Chun-Zi Zhang, Zhi-Cheng Hong, 2009a). That is, the emotion must have controllability to maintain a reasonable professional distance and make the moderate emotional expression in the course of respecting the teachers.

In the comprehensive discussion of this article, in order to improve empathy service quality of childcare service, this study assumes that early childhood care and education professionals have “moderate emotional involvement” to assist their “purposeful emotional expression.” In the emotional labor of professional positioning, preschool teachers provide child care services operations in the process of interactions with parents, the practical implications of which include “depth performances in text and linguistic symbols,” “enhancing the cultural competencies of role substitution,” “having situation awareness of environmental attributes,” and “maintaining a reasonable professional distance.”

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危機與壓力的自我調適—— 班級與小團體輔導之運用*

Crisis and pressure adjustment-Institutes and university to assist community reconstruction after Morakot typhoon disaster services program*

陳振盛 Chen-Sheng Chen**、李麗雲 Li-Yun Lee***

摘 要

2009年8月8日第八號之中度颱風莫拉克，夾帶豐沛的雨量造成台灣50年來最大的颱風災情。受災的範圍遍及11縣市，共173鄉，現在的台南市、高雄市和屏東縣都淪為災區。本服務方案主要是選擇南部莫拉克災區的某些受災國中，進行團體和班級輔導，重點在於強化學生面對災害或危機發生時的壓力調適，以減少災害發生後所產生的心理問題。研究結果顯示，第一階段的班級輔導滿意度相當高，學生對壓力調適的學習回饋相當踴躍。第二階段在執行上遇到的困難較多，包括成員的阻抗，在團體中不願意發言，成員自覺的參與度和開放度也顯示出直到最後幾次團體才形成。因此建議往後類似的團體，尤其在第二階段最好能以團體輔導和個別諮商同時進行，以團體輔導作為暖身，導入當天要個別輔導的議題，之後再進行一對一個別輔導。

關鍵字：莫拉克、災害、危機、壓力調適

Abstract

August 8, 2009. No.8, Typhoon Morakot Entrainment of abundant rainfall caused by Taiwan for 50 years largest typhoon disasters. Affected throughout 11 counties, estimated losses at about NT \$ 90.47 billion. Schools suffer from a loss of as much as NT \$ 2.59 billion. The service key is to choose the Morakot disaster areas in some of the affected countries in the South, groups and classes in counseling, focusing on strengthening student pressure adjustment of the disaster or crisis, to reduce the occurrence of disasters resulting from psychological problems. Studies have shown, the first phase of the class guidance satisfaction is quite high, students 'learning of coping back quite enthusiastically. More difficulties are encountered in the implementation of the second phase, including members of the resistance, not wishing to take the floor in a group, conscious participation and openness of the members also showed up to the

* 本文為教育部九十九學年度大專校院協助莫拉克風災災後社區重建服務（100300-9968）之成果。

This article covers the results of MOE's 2010 Assistance offered by Colleges and Universities in Morakot Post-disaster Community Rebuilding Services (100300-9968).

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last formed several groups. Therefore recommend that future similar groups, especially in the second stage the best guidance and individual counselling to groups at the same time, group counseling as a warm-up, import individual counseling issues and later one-on-one individual counseling.

Keywords: Morakot, disasters, crises and coping

壹、前言

2009年8月8日編號第八號之中度颱風莫拉克，夾帶豐沛的雨量造成台灣50年來最大的颱風災情。受災的範圍遍及11縣市，共173鄉，現在的台南市、高雄市和屏東縣都淪為災區。估計損失約904.7億台幣，光學校遭受到的損失就高達台幣25.9億(國家災害防救科技中心，2010)。依據聯合國國際防災策略中心之統計，全世界在2008年約有236,000人在300場天然災害中喪失生命，損失超過美元1,800億，並且發現主要傷亡來自醫院和學校(黃宏斌，2009)，當天然災害發生時，學校通常是相當嚴重的受害者之一。本服務方案主要是選擇南部莫拉克災區的某些受災國中，進行團體和班級輔導，重點在於強化學生未來面對災害或危機發生時的壓力調適，以減少災害發生後所產生的心理問題，並陪伴少部分有創傷的學生、互相支持，並進行情緒管理和宣洩的團體輔導。

貳、文獻回顧

一、災害、危機與創傷後壓力症候群

所謂危機通常指的是個人面對突發性的無法立即解決之問題。宋麗玉、曾華源、施教裕和鄭麗珍等學者(2009)將危機之要素整理成四點。第一，危機指的是影響個人突發的事件，個人認知上認為生活重要目標達成上受到嚴重之阻礙。第二，有明顯嚴重之情緒困擾。第三，事件發生時個人無能力有系統的去解決問題，心理脆弱，防衛性低。第四，在短時間內，個人必須做選擇，以取得平衡。危機依據發生的類型又可以區分為，發展性危機和意外性危機，前者指的是人生每一個發展階段所必須面臨和解決的問題；後者指的是無法預料的危機，例如暴力傷害、致命疾病或自然災害等等。88水災即屬於意外性危機中的天然災難。

當危機發生導致個人生活功能嚴重失調，無法因應時，有可能導致「創傷後壓力症候群」的發

I. Introduction

On August 8th 2009, Typhoon Morakot, the eighth typhoon of the year, hit Taiwan with an unexpected amount of rainfall and on a scale of disaster unseen in Taiwan for the past 50 years. Catastrophe swept through 173 townships of 11 counties/cities, including municipalities of the current Tainan City, Kaohsiung City, and Pingtung County. Nationwide losses were estimated at NT\$ 90.47 billion, including NT\$ 2.59 billion from losses of school assets (National Science and Technology Center for Disaster Reduction, 2010). According to the statistics published by the United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UNISDR), approximately 236,000 persons lost their lives in 300 natural disasters struck worldwide in 2008. The estimated total losses exceeded US\$ 180 billion, and the major casualties were found in hospitals and schools (Huang Hong-Bin, 2009). When natural disasters strike, schools are often hit with severe devastation. This service program targets on the students of several middle schools in the primary disaster areas of Typhoon Morakot in Southern Taiwan. Counseling was given to students in groups or classes, with emphasis on developing students' ability to cope with the stress arising from dealing with disasters or crisis. The goal of this program aims to minimize the post-trauma issues and help the students' with traumatic experiences to manage and release emotional stress by providing proper support.

II. Literature Review

1. Disaster, Crisis, and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

A "crisis" generally refers to a situation when a person is confronted with an unexpected problem that cannot be resolved right away. Sung Li-Yu, Tseng Hua-Yuan, Shih Chiao-Yu, and Cheng Li-Chen (2009) identified the concept of a crisis with four major elements. First, a crisis is an unexpected event which affects a person's life and cognitively perceived as a severe hindrance to the achievement of significant goals in life. Second, the person confronted by the crisis has obvious emotional disturbance, to a certain degree. Third, when the event occurred, the person did not have the ability to systematically resolve the problem and was emotionally vulnerable and defenseless. Fourth, the person must make a decision to achieve a balance within a fairly short period of time. By type, crises can be categorized into developmental crisis and situational crisis. The former refers to the issues a person must face and deal with in every stage of life, and the latter refers to unexpected events, such as violence, deadly diseases, or natural disasters. Flood 88, as focused in this program, falls into the category of natural disaster classified under "situational crisis".

When a crisis occurs and the affected person appears to have lost balance of their life functions and the ability to cope with the

生。根據美國精神醫學會所出版的診斷與統計手冊第四版定義，「創傷後壓力症候群」指的是當個人經歷嚴重創傷事件後，出現以下三類身心反應的症候群(一)痛苦經驗再現；(二)逃避反應麻木；(三)過度警覺。依其出現時間之長短，可分為持續在三個月以內稱之為急性，三個月以上或更久稱之為慢性，如果延遲到災難和危機事件發生後六個月才出現，稱之為延遲型(周煌智、蔡冠逸、吳泓機、蘇東平和周碧瑟，2006)。

災難發生後相關的精神疾患在台灣的盛行率為何？依據周煌智(2003)在台灣921地震後的相關研究顯示，創傷後壓力症候群的發生率在二十一個月與三十六個月分別為8.44%與1.70%，每千人發生5.6人與0.6人，以重鬱症合併有創傷後壓力症候群的情況最差。換句話說，創傷後壓力症候群的發生率在震後前二年盛行率高達8~10%，但在第三年則明顯下降，顯示創傷後壓力症候群的防治在震後前二年是必須的。另外，蔡維謀(2002)以921震災地區，88年9月21-30日去醫院門診，但未有精神科就醫紀錄的民眾共蒐集339人為樣本，研究結果顯示，地震後符合PTSD診斷的災民74名(22.29%)，其中男性18.52%，女性27.27%。林怡慧(2001)針對921過後災區13-15歲青少年的創傷進行調查，蒐集了1173位樣本。研究結果顯示，在災後一年，平均每人報告了3.3個「PTSD」症狀，以重複經驗和注意力無法集中最多。

國內對災難發生後的研究顯示，在災難發生後一個月到醫院去門診，約有22.29%的民眾符合PTSD診斷，災後二年會下降至8~10%，災後三年再下降至1.7%。單以青少年為主體之自陳調查報告顯示，災後一年仍然平均每人報告3.3個「PTSD」症狀。即使災後二年內，對因災難後危機所導致的自我調適上的壓力所提供的服務，仍然相當需要(洪福建，2003)。

二、壓力因應策略與復原力

至於災難發生後會出現哪一些心理和適應上的壓力？李維庭(2000)，以進入災區提供心理諮商服務

situation, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) may occur. According to the 4th Edition Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-4) published by the American Psychiatric Association (APA), PTSD refers to an individual showing signs of the following three symptoms after experiencing a traumatic event: (1) recurrent recollection of the traumatic experience; (2) avoidance of certain places or situations; and (3) heightened anxiety or startle response. There are three types of PTSD classified by the onset of symptoms. Symptoms of acute PTSD last up to three months and when the symptoms persist for more than three months, the diagnosis is changed to chronic PTSD. Delayed PTSD is diagnosed when the onset of symptoms occurs six months after the event of disaster or crisis (Chou Huang-Chi, Tsai Kuan-Yi, Wu Hong-Chi, Su Tong-Ping, and Chou Pi-Se, 2006).

How prevalent are mental disorders in Taiwan after disasters? According to Chou Huang-Chi's (2003) post-921 Earthquake studies, occurrence of PTSD was 8.44% and 1.70% at the 21st and 36th month, that is, 5.6 and 0.6 persons per 1,000 respectively, and the worst cases were characterized by comorbid symptoms of major depression and PTSD. In other words, prevalence of PTSD reached 8 to 10% in the first two years after the event of earthquake, but significantly declined in the third year. This trend indicates that prevention of PTSD in the first two years after the earthquake was necessary. Furthermore, Tsai Wei-Mo (2002) collected a sample of 339 cases who have received outpatient consultation during the period of September 21st to 30th 1999, but without records of psychiatric consultation. In this research, 74 victims (22.29%) of the earthquake was diagnosed with PTSD; among them 18.52% were male and 27.27% female. Lin Yi-Hui (2001) conducted an investigation on the younger population age between 13 and 15, targeting on the trauma brought by the 921 Earthquake. A sample of 1173 subjects was collected. The result showed that on average each person reported 3.3 PTSD symptoms in the first year after the earthquake, and the most prevalent symptoms are recurring experience and inability to concentrate.

Several post-traumatic studies conducted domestically indicated that approximately 22.29% of the people who have received outpatient consultation within one month after a traumatic event were diagnosed with PTSD; the ratio dropped to 8-10% after two years and 1.7% after three years. A survey on the young population based on self-reporting inventory indicated that each surveyed subject still reported an average of 3.3 PTSD symptoms one year after the event. Therefore, services targeted to help victims of disasters release stress derived from trying to regain their balance in life is still necessary and significant within two years after the traumatic event (Hong Fu-Chien, 2003).

2. Stress coping strategies and recovery

What are the mental and adaptation issues are likely to incur stress after a disaster? Li Wei-Ting (2000) proposed the concept

和實地觀察後，提出「災難情結」的概念。認為災難會在個人知覺上形成強烈的負面經驗和感受，使人脫離原有熟悉的生活世界，並在心理上建構鮮明的災難情境。Norris(2002)等學者之研究認為，處於災難發生後的兒童青少年通常會出現黏人、依賴、拒絕獨睡、脾氣暴躁、攻擊行為、過動以及分離焦慮等現象，有一些研究顯示青少年會出現輕微違規或偏差等現象。林耀盛和吳英璋(2004)以田野觀察、參與深度訪談和解釋互動論，探討九二一地震中，失親家毀的十位女性。研究發現當案主較少敘說創傷經驗時，整體的身心適應相對欠佳。而出現的現象包括心理產生嚴重之罪惡感、深沉之傷痛而無法言語、拒絕悲慘的宿命等等。

當自然災害型的危機發生後，有哪一些因素會影響到心理上的復原？首先，許文耀和曾幼涵(2004)在921災區蒐集了354位受試者，隔年再追蹤。研究結果顯示，災難前之背景因素，屬女性、教育程度較低年齡越大，災後一年後受到心理困擾的比率越高。災難發生後有親友死亡、對災難之威脅感受性高者，在災後一年受到心理困擾的比率也較高。如果是採取逃避式的因應方式、能量資源和時間資源的流失，災後一年受心理困擾比率偏高。許文耀(2003)的另一篇研究也顯示，資源流失對心理症狀之影響較大，其次才是因應型態和社會支持。蕭麗玲(2000)之於九二一地震後六個月使用自陳問卷調查法，調查台中縣災區四、五、六年級的國小兒童共924人。研究結果顯示，家中房屋安全性堪慮、家人受傷的兒童有較嚴重的PTSD、憂鬱及焦慮症狀，而且其自尊心也較低、對人較不信任、對世界也感到較不安全。神經質及內向性的人格特質對PTSD、憂鬱及焦慮症狀的產生也有直接的關係。蘇逸人和陳淑惠(2008)的研究顯示，負向信念可以直接或間接透過記憶威脅中介影響PTSD之嚴重程度。依據上述之研究顯示，影響災民災後的心理社會適應之復原因素，包括災難發生當下的感受和損失(資源之流失)，及經濟和生命的失去等等。

of “disaster complex” after he entered the disaster area to observe first-hand and provide psychological consultation. He thinks that an individual forms strong negative experience and perception in the event of a disaster. Such experience and perception derails this individual from the familiar life and world and construct a vivid scenario of disaster in this person’s mind. Norris et al., (2002) found in their research that children and adolescents often appear to be insecure, dependent, afraid to sleep alone, irritable, aggressive, hyperactive, and restless with separation anxiety. Some researchers found that certain teenagers display signs of rebellion and deviance. Lin Yao-Sheng & Wu Ying-Chang (2004) studied ten female victims who lost their families and homes in the 921 Earthquake through field observation, in-depth interview, and interpretive interactionism. This study found that case subjects who were less willing to talk about their traumatic experiences had comparatively poorer condition in terms of the overall physical and mental health, and several phenomena were observed, including profound sense of guilt, intense and unspeakable pain, and an attitude of refusing the destiny of misery.

When a crisis arises out of a natural disaster, what are the factors that affect recovery of the mind? The research conducted by Hsu Wen-Yao & Tseng You-Han (2004) involving 354 subjects sampled from the 921 Earthquake disaster area and follow-up tracking in the conservative year, indicated that a higher percentage of older female victims with lower level of education show signs of mental disturbance one year after the disaster. Victims who lost families or friends in the disaster and have higher sense of threat from the disaster tend to have higher chance of mental disturbance one year after the disaster. People who dealt with the trauma through avoidance or experienced loss of energy/time resources are also found to have higher percentage of mental disturbance. Another research of Hsu Wen-Yao (2003) also indicated that loss of resources has more impact on mental conditions than coping strategies and social support. Hsiao Li-Ling (2000) conducted a self-reporting survey with a sample of 924 schoolchildren of 4th, 5th, and 6th grades six months after the 921 Earthquake. This research found that children living in unsafe houses or whose family members were injured in the earthquake were suffering more severe symptoms of PTSD, depression, and anxiety, as well as showing signs of having lower self-esteem, becoming less trusting, and feeling the world is unsafe. Personality traits characterized by neuroticism and introversion also have direct correlation to the occurrence of PTSD, depression, and anxiety symptoms. A study conducted by Su Yi-Jen & Chen Shu-Hui (2008) indicated that negative beliefs directly or indirectly affect the severity of PTSD through the intermediary factor of recollected threat. Results of this research screened out several factors that affect the course of socio-psychological recovery in the victims of traumatic events, including perception of the disaster-stricken moment and losses (loss of resources) of financial means and lives.

至於災後的因應型態，如果能直接去面對所遭受的問題，嘗試著提出解決辦法，期望社福機構或團體能提供協助，則較易走出災難之陰影(許文耀，2003)。李維庭(2000)的研究認為，多數的人都能隨著時間，從創傷中復原，但需有人長時間的情緒支持、關懷和陪伴。並建議認為當災害發生後，對受到傷害的災民，所提供的服務類型，可能不在於症狀的找尋，例如是否有創傷後壓力症候群，而是恢復原有生活的平衡，方法包括團體聚會講述、作品抒發、高歌、身體動能、電影分享、過來人談談感受以及賦予正向意義等等。林耀盛、吳英璋(2004)的研究則認為，案主要走出創傷的陰影，關鍵的經驗轉折是「周遭他者的支持和傾聽」，以及「家園原地重建」。蕭麗玲(2000)的研究顯示，採用負向發洩因應方式也會促成較多的PTSD、憂鬱及焦慮症狀。林怡慧(2001)的研究則顯示，具有正向自我效能之少年，回復能力較佳。具正向自我效能者，較自信穩重、合群，相信自己有能力應付環境，也能積極運用環境中資源解決自己的問題，以獲取社會支持。洪福建(2003)的研究顯示，負向認知評估是災後身心反應增高或維持的重要因素，不良適應的因應策略，例如「行為逃避與解離」與「思考反芻」，是災後身心反應增高或維持的重要因素。「分心策略」則是適應且有效的因應策略。

因此，屬於意外性的天然災害發生時，災害發生的當下有親友死亡、對災害之威脅感受高、災害發生時資源之損失高，災害後一年產生心理問題之機率較高。其次，災害發生後如果採取面對災害問題的因應方式、增強自我效能、有人能夠長期情緒上的支持和陪伴，災害發生後案主容易走出災害後之陰影。而負向的因應策略，如逃避行為、思考反芻、負向的認知，則是災後負向身心反應增高的因素。

三、青少年團體工作的功能與模式

上文相關的研究顯示，對於災後受災的災民採取面對災害、增強自我效能、有人情緒支持和陪伴，相對的

In terms of coping strategies, victims who were more willing to face the situation, make attempts to solve problems, and seek help from social welfare organizations were more able to come out from the crisis (Hsu Wen-Yao, 2003). Li We-Ting (2000) found in a study that most people were able to come out from the trauma after a period of time, but they also need continuous emotional support, care, and companionship. Li suggested that the seeking symptoms, like diagnosing PTSD, is not necessarily the most urgent service needed by the victims of a disaster; instead, services targeting to restore the balance of life, such as group talk, painting/writing sessions, singing activities, exercise activities, movie time, experience sharing, and positive encouragement, may be more effective. Lin Yao-Sheng & Wu Ying-Chang (2004), found that the turning point- the crucial moments of recovery, comes when an individual is surrounded by good listeners who offer sufficient support and at the moment of rebuilding of his/her home. A study of Hsiao Li-Ling (2000), on the other hand, found that stress release in a negative tone induces more notable symptoms of PTSD, depression, and anxiety. Lin Yi-Hui's (2001) research found that teenagers characterized by more positive self-efficacy recover better because they have more self-confidence and better social skills; they trust themselves to be able to cope with the situation and are more able to utilizing the resources and support from the society to solve their problems. Hong Fu-Chien (2003) pointed out in his research that assessment of negative cognition processed in the mind of a victim after a traumatic event is a key element in whether his/her physical and psychological reaction escalates or maintains stable. Poor adaptation and coping strategies, such as avoidance and disassociation and rumination of thoughts, play detrimental roles in the stability (escalating or stable) of a victim's physical and psychological reaction, "distraction" strategy, on the other hand, is an effective adaptation and coping strategy.

In summary, when an unexpected event effort natural disaster occurs, there is a higher chance for the victims to experience mental issues within the year after the event when there is a death of friends or families, heightened perception of threat relating to the disaster, or substantial loss of resources during the disaster. Secondly, a victim of a disaster is more likely to come out of the trauma in a shorter period of time if the victim is able to face the issues directly and enhance self-efficacy and has someone around to provide emotional support and companionship on a continuous basis. Negative coping strategies, such as avoidance, rumination, and negative cognition, are significant factors relating to negative escalation of physical and psychological reactions.

3. Functions and models of youth group work

The above literature analysis pointed out that there is a higher chance that a victim of a disaster comes out of the trauma if they are willing to face the issues directly and enhance self-efficacy and has someone by the side to provide emotional support and compan-

走出災後創傷的機率較高。許文甄(2001)針對災後國中生生活適應做調查，發現高社會支持的受震災區國中生有較好的生活適應，受震災區國中學生的因應策略使用愈頻繁，則獲得的社會支持愈高，尤其是「家人親戚支持」和「同學朋友的支持」。另外，危機調適理論認為，當人們面對未來危機，如果自覺有能力、方法或資源可以因應時，自我調適的能力也會增強。

針對災後需要危機調適和因應災後壓力症候群的兒童青少年，應採取何種輔導方式會比較適當？廖文乾(2003)的研究認為災後學校必須先進行班級輔導，並進一步篩選需要諮詢的學生。謝明昆(2010)在莫拉克風災發生後，對某一國小實施為期五個月的班級團體輔導，每二周一次共八次、家長衛教文宣共八次單張、連續三天的寒令營活動一次、之後實施心理量表，篩檢出數名兒童接受個別諮詢服務每次五十分鐘，每位兒童實施八次。此種二階段之服務模式，學校、家長和參與的學生都獲得非常高的滿意度，最後建議有壓力症候群症狀的兒童應採取遊戲或團體治療。陳慶福、邱珍琬、楊妙芬和黃素雲(2006)對發生車禍班級的兒童結合個別諮詢與班級團體輔導同時進行，其中團體班級輔導實施六次為期一個半月，之後對所有受傷及未受傷六年級兒童，以及五所他校國小對照之六年級同一個班級兒童進行「情境焦慮」、「特質焦慮」及「創傷後壓力疾患症狀評估表」之評量。前後測結果顯示，在「創傷後壓力疾患症狀」和「情境焦慮」之評量上有顯著差異。最後作者建議，未來之團體輔導考慮對受傷兒童採小團體或親子諮詢團體方式進行，團體活動內容亦可增加沙遊、黏土等藝術媒材，或國外日漸盛行之眼動身心重建法(EMDR)方式進行。

上述研究，建議對兒童青少年危機發生後之輔導方式，先採班級輔導的方式，之後篩選出需要進一步輔導的對象，或是個別諮詢和團體輔導同時進行等服務模式。而對於有創傷後壓力症候群症狀的兒童青少年，建議採團體輔導或個案輔導的方式，而團體輔導的效果會較佳。

ionship. Hsu Wen-Chen (2001) conducted a survey on the status of adaptation of post-traumatic life, targeting on a group of junior high school students. This Study found that students living in areas where more social support was accessible tended to adapt to the post-traumatic life better, and students using coping strategies more frequently received more social support, especially support from “families and relatives” and “friends and classmates”. Furthermore, the crisis intervention theory suggests that when a person is confronted with a foreseeable crisis, the person will have better ability to adapt to the situation if the person thinks he/she has the ability, means, and resources to cope with the situation.

What then would be a better way to help children and young adults cope with the crisis and the symptoms of PTSD? Liao Wen-Chien (2003) suggested that the school must take the initiative to intervene after the disaster and then screen out the students who need further counseling. Hsie Ming-Kun (2010) implemented a 5-month class counseling program at an elementary school. This program consists of eight sessions implemented once in two weeks, eight health education pamphlets handed to the parents, and one 3-day winter camp. A post-hoc test based on a mental health scale was implemented and a group of students was screened out for further counseling, which was implemented for 50 minutes in each session and a total of eight sessions in the complete program. This two-stage service model received highly positive feedback from the school, parents, and participating students, and children showing symptoms of PTSD were recommend for further game or group therapies. Chen Ching-Fu, Chiu Chen-Wan, Yang Miao-Fen, and Huang Su-Yun (2006) implemented a program integrated with individual counseling and group work to a class of children who have experienced a car accident. Group work was implemented through six sessions in 6 months, and a post-hoc test was given to all injured and uninjured six-graders in this class, as well as a control group consisting of six graders in other five schools, which consists of measurements for “state anxiety” and “trait anxiety” and a PTSD symptom scale (PSS). Significant differences were derived between the results of the pre- and post-tests in the areas of PTSD symptoms and state anxiety, and the author of this thesis recommended small group or family counseling for the injured children, incorporating techniques of sand play, clay modeling, or EMDR activities.

The research introduced in the preceding paragraph recommended counselling sessions within a class for the children and teenagers as an initiative after a traumatic event, which provides an opportunity to further screen out individual cases who need one-on-one or other group work. The research also recommended group or one-on-one counseling work to children diagnosed with PTSD, but noted that group work yielded better results.

參、研究方法

一、研究設計

本研究選擇台南市，遭受莫拉克風災，嚴重淹水區域的某所國中一年級作為研究對象。目的是強化學生的災害應變能力，並對少數經歷過災害的個案進行團體輔導。本服務案，以嘉南藥理科技大學社會工作系三、四年級的學生作為主要的輔導員，得勝者教育協會社工員作為活動現場的督導。研究過程分為二階段，第一階段「班級輔導」，以全體國中一年級做為服務對象(一年級有二個班，每班50人)，每周一次，連續四次，每次由二位輔導員和一名協助輔導員(負責記錄和觀察)帶領一個班級，活動內容和目標如表(一)所示。

表一 Table 1
班級輔導活動內容和目標

Content and goals of class counseling activities

次數 Session	課程主要內容：上課和分組討論 Main content: lecture and group discussion	目標 Goals
第一次 I	認識何謂壓力 Getting to know stress	1. 認識壓力的種類 Introduce the types of stress 2. 辨別壓力與情緒 Identify stress and emotions 3. 了解壓力的意義 Get to know the definition and meaning of stress
第二次 II	壓力解決方式與管道 Ways to release stress	1. 面臨壓力時可透過哪些方式紓解壓力 What are the ways to release stress? 2. 遇到壓力時可以有那些管道尋求協助 Where to find help when stress becomes overwhelming?
第三次 III	認識何謂危機 What is a crisis?	1. 了解危機的意義 Define crisis 2. 辨別危機來臨的情緒 Identify the emotions when crisis hits 3. 認識危機的種類 Get to know the types of crisis
第四次 IV	面臨危機解決因應方式 Coping when confronted by a crisis	1. 面臨危機時可透過哪些管道尋求協助 Where to find help when confronted by a crisis? 2. 面臨危機可運用哪些因應方式或技巧解決危機 Strategies and techniques for coping with the stress when confronted by a crisis

第二階段則在第一階段結束後，由該班輔導員透過學員對活動的參與和反應篩選出個案，並與該班導師討論，認為需進一步提供服務的學員，邀請這一些學員參與第二階段的情緒管理小團體輔導。最後參與小團體的成員共7位，由二位輔導員帶領活動，一位協助輔導員負責記錄觀察整個活動。第二

III. Methodology

Research Design

This research selected a class of 7th graders in the flood area of Typhoon Morakot in Tainan City as the research sample and implemented a program to reinforce the students' abilities to deal with disasters. Group work was also given to several individual cases who had traumatic experience in the disaster. The counseling work was implemented by students of the junior and senior classes from the Social Work Department of Chia Nan University of Pharmacy and Science, under on-site supervision of social workers from Champions Education Association. Studies were done in two stages. The first stage was "class counseling", which was implemented to all students of 7th grade (two classes in a grade and 50 students in each class) once a week for four consecutive weeks and each class was led by two counselors and one assistant counselor (in charge of recording and observation). The content of the activities and goals is summarized in table 1.

In the second stage, the class counselors screened students from the two classes in the first stage for further work based on their reactions in the activities and discuss the cases with their class advisors. These students were then invited to participate in the second stage activities, which involved small group work for emotion management. Seven students were selected to participate in the final group work, which were led by two counselors and one assistant counselor in charge of recording and observa-

階段小團體活動內容和目標如表(二)所示。

tion throughout the activities. Table 2 below shows the content and goals of the small group activities.

表二 Table 2
小團體活動內容和目標

Content and goals of small group activities

次 Session	日期 Date	單元名稱 Unit name	單元目標 Unit goal	活動內容 Content
1	2011/05/11 May 11 th 2011	文心之約 Introduction	使成員了解團體目標、內容及規範。 leader與成員建立關係。 Guide the group members through the goals, content, and rules of the group work and help the leader establish relationships with the members	1【暖身活動】棒打老虎 成員熟悉活動中，借由活動彼此認識，並且開始有互動。 1【Warm Up】Hitting the tiger Bring the group members to know each other and initiate interactivity. 2【主要活動】大手印 成員建立團體的規範，並且了解成員參與團體的原因，以及對團體的期待。 2【Main Activity】Big Hand Establish group rules and give the group members an opportunity to express their reasons for participation and expectations from the group. 3【結束活動】回饋 成員開始表達一些想法，能夠初步說明自己觀察到的事情。 3【Closing Activity】Feedback Group members began to express their thoughts and their initial observation of their own conditions.
2	2011/05/18 May 18 th 2011	情緒你我他 Yours, Mine, and His Emotions	1.引導學生察覺自己的內在情緒。 1.Guide the students to detect their emotions. 2.建立團體成員間的凝聚力。 2.Bring the group members closer. 3.協助團體成員遵守團體規範。 3.Help the group members follow the rules.	1【暖身活動】團隊默契 藉由活動讓成員間彼此培養一定的動力，讓成員增加互動，一起增加表達的機會 1【Warm Up】Teamwork Help the members develop the drive to interact with each other and encourage them to express their thoughts. 2【主要活動】熊、魚、蚊子 增加成員對活動參與的興趣，並且熟悉活動具有變化性，以及在個別競爭後學會團體活動，並能互相表達意見。 2【Main Activity】Bear, Fish, and Mosquito Raise the interest of the group members, bring them to know the variations of the activities, and encourage them to express their opinions after competitive activities. 3【結束活動】情緒卡片 成員藉由卡片分享自己的心情。 3【Closing Activity】Card of Emotions Group members share their thoughts through cards.
3	2011/05/25 May 25 th 2011	遙控器 Remote Control	1.透過體驗活動了解各種表達的方式。 1.Learn the different ways of expressing thoughts through experience activities 2.引導學生了解表達是雙向的溝通。 2.Guide the students to understand the bilateral communication in an expression	【暖身活動】好運旺旺來 可能由於剛吃完午餐加上剛到教室心情亢奮，所以講解時有同學沒有注意聽。 【Warm Up】Good Luck Group member just had lunch and were quite excited when they entered the classroom, some of the students did not pay attention to the instructions. 【主要活動】摩斯密碼 分為兩隊作競賽，可以看出團隊的默契極佳以及合作無間。 【Main Activity】Morse Code Students were grouped into two teams and both teams worked together seamlessly. 【結束活動】撲克牌排排站 併為一個團體的時候，在活動開始前有許多分歧的意見，不過最後還是有統一。 【Closing Activity】Standing Poker Cards When the students were brought together, different opinions arose at the beginning, but they eventually came to a consensus.

次 Session	日期 Date	單元名稱 Unit name	單元目標 Unit goal	活動內容 Content
4	2011/06/01 Jun. 1 st 2011	榨果汁機 Juicier	<p>1. 協助成員認識自己的情緒與身體狀態</p> <p>1. Help the group members identify their emotions and physically responses.</p> <p>2. 引導學生的肢體表達</p> <p>2. Guide the students to express themselves through body language.</p> <p>3. 協助成員建立與團體間的尊重</p> <p>3. Help the students establish respect for others in the group.</p>	<p>【暖身活動】全身啟動 協助成員表達自己，並且讓成員能夠活動。</p> <p>【Warm Up】Launch Pad Help the group member express themselves and carry out activities.</p> <p>【主要活動】超級金頭腦 鼓勵成員思考，並學習發表自己的想法，能夠多方面的思考。主要內容是說出水災發生時家人如何合作度過。</p> <p>【Main Activity】Super Brain Encourage the students to think, express their thoughts, and look at things from different perspectives. The main content involves narrating how they got through the deadly flood with their families.</p> <p>【結束活動】榨果汁 讓成員能夠集中注意力，傾聽其他人的話和分享。</p> <p>【Closing Activity】Juicier Guide the group members to focus on listening and share their stories.</p>
5	2011/06/08 Jun. 8 th 2011	培養接班人 The Next Boss	<p>1. 培養學生對壓力情緒管理的責任。</p> <p>1. Help the students develop a sense of responsibility for stress and emotion management.</p> <p>2. 增進成員溝通個人的想法與感受。</p> <p>2. Encourage group members to communicate their thoughts and feelings.</p>	<p>【暖身活動】 老師說、同學說(當領導者在話語前頭說出「老師說」的時候大家都要跟著說)</p> <p>【Warm Up】 “Teacher Says”, “Student Says” (when the leader opens a statement with “Teacher Says”, everybody repeats the statement).</p> <p>【主要活動】 分組PK 剪刀石頭布(用腳比)，剛開始是2人PK，進階版是分組PK。輸的人要用屁股寫字！並分享下次水災發生時應如何應變。</p> <p>【Main Activity】 Break the group into two teams for the “paper-scissor-rock” game (done with a foot). The game begins with one-on-one playoff and then progress to team championship. The penalty for the losers is writing by wiggle the buttocks and sharing how they reacted when the flood hit their homes.</p> <p>【結束活動】 分享今天活動中，帶給自己什麼樣的感覺。</p> <p>【Closing Activity】 Share their feelings in today’s activity.</p>
6	2011/06/15 Jun. 15 th 2011	變形金剛 Transformer	<p>1. 培養學生將焦點放在可以改變的事情上。</p> <p>1. Guide the students to place their focus on the things that can be changed.</p> <p>2. 協助學生因應壓力的技巧。</p> <p>2. Teach the students techniques for coping with stress.</p>	<p>【暖身活動】講解遊戲規則 促使成員進入團體情境中，讓成員集中注意力。</p> <p>【Warm Up】Explain the rules of the game Help the group members enter the scenario of the game and stay focused.</p> <p>【主要活動】誰是領導者 讓成員能夠組成一個團體，尤其是災難發生時，彼此配合，輪流當領導者，學習表達並培養默契。</p> <p>【Main Activity】Who is the leader? Lead the members to form a group in the scenario of disaster and work together. Members take turns to lead the group. This exercise aims to help the team members express their thoughts and develop rapport.</p> <p>【結束活動】分享 讓成員透過反思回顧活動內容，並能表達自己的意見。</p> <p>【Closing Activity】Sharing Lead the members to retrace the activities in the program and express their opinions.</p>

次 Session	日期 Date	單元名稱 Unit name	單元目標 Unit goal	活動內容 Content
7	2011/06/17 Jun. 17 th 2011	飛向希望 Flying towards Hope	1.引導學生統整團體中的學習及收穫。 1. Lead the students to summarize what they have learned and gained from this program. 2.鼓勵成員建立希望。 2. Encourage the students to have hope.	【暖身活動】顏色小卡 協助成員使用小卡分享自己的心情，用顏色表達感覺。 【Warm Up】Color Cards Lead the members to share their feelings through colors with the cards. 【主要活動】回憶錄 讓成員對整體有個回顧，並且能夠給予彼此成員正向的回應。 【Main Activity】Memory Lead the member to retrace the activities in the program and encourage them to give each other positive feedback. 【結束活動】結業 協助成員統整活動內容，作活動的結尾。 【Closing Activity】Closing Guide the members to reintegrate the content of the activities and draw a conclusion of the program.

二、參與人數

如表三所示，原本預計一班，每班執行四次班級輔導，後來因學校要求，增加一班，所以實際執行二班，每班執行四次班級輔導，共400人次。小團體輔導原本預計輔導人數為10-20人，但在班級輔導過程中發現有實際需要進一步接受小團體輔導者只有7位。

表三 Table 3

參與人數

Participants

課程方式 Format	計畫預定執行人次 Planned Scale	實際參與人次 Actual Implementation
班級輔導 Class Counseling	一年級220人 One class 220 persons-times	400人次 400 persons-times
小團體輔導 Small Group Work	小團體10-20人 Small group 10-20 participants	7人 7 participants

三、評估方法

本方案評估方式採取自陳評估方式，資料來自工作者和觀察者的自我陳述紀錄，相關的評估表參閱何長珠(1980)和宋湘玲、林幸台(1984)之研究後修正。第一階段之過程評估以質性資料為主。要求帶領的輔導員在每一次活動結束後，必須書寫課程紀錄表，內容格式如下：(1)成員參與的情形(2)領導者的自我評價。最後「服務滿意度量表」作為結果評估工具。「成員參與的情形」分為學生參與度、學生開放度、學生了解程度、成員的互動分析和成員與領導者互動情形五面向。學生參與度指的是觀察學生積極參與團體的程度；學生開放度是指觀察學生

2 Participation

As shown in Table 3, the program was initially planned for one class and four sessions. In response to the school's request, an additional class was added to the program. Therefore, the program was implemented four sessions each to two classes, which comes to a total of 400 persons-times. The small group counseling was originally planned for a group of 10 to 20 students, but only seven students were screened out in the class counseling stage for further group work.

3 Evaluation

This program was evaluated by self-reporting inventory. The data was derived from self-reporting records provided by the social workers and observers. Drafts of assessment scales were amended with reference to the researches of He Chang-Chu (1980) and Song Hsiang-Ling & Lin Hsing-Tai (1984). The first stage process evaluation was mainly based on qualitative data. The leading counselor was requested to submit a program report after each session, including the following content: (1) Participation of each member and (2) Leader's self-evaluation. Finally, a "service satisfaction scale" was used as a tool for assessment of the results. Information regarding "member participation" includes students' involvement, openness, comprehension, analysis on member interactivity, and leader-member interactivity. Students' involvement refers to how active the students were involved in the group activities, openness means the students'

願意分享自己內在情緒、感想的程度；學生了解程度則是指學習的成果，資料透過回饋單蒐集；成員的互動情形則是基於團體動力原則，觀察成員彼此合作、衝突和整合的情況；而成員與領導者的互動情形指的是領導者對活動帶領技巧和成員之反應。「領導者自我評價」則是團體領導者，在每一次帶完團體後對整個活動過程的自我評估，這一些資料的蒐集由觀察團體的團體紀錄、學習單和領導者的反省紀錄獲得。服務滿意度量表則在班級輔導結束後進行。

第二階段之團體輔導，由於人數只有七人因此活動過程之評估，以活動過程之觀察紀錄，紀錄內容包括(1)成員參與互動情形(2)領導者之自我評價。最後再以「成員參與態度自我評估表」結果評估工具。「成員參與互動情形」分為成員互動分析與成員與領導者互動情形，相關的資料由觀察團體發展的輔助輔導員紀錄，觀察指標則基於團體動力以團體成員間的合作和衝突的現況描述。「領導者之自我評價」則由該次的主要領導者負責在團體結束後作事後的回顧記錄。至於第二階段的結果評估，則在每一次團體結束後，以「成員參與態度自我評估表」進行，此評估表亦是依團體動力為原則，由學員自行依其在團體中的參與度和開放度二面向作直接的自我評估。參與度指的是自己覺得在此一活動中參與很熱烈、開放度指的是自己覺得在此一活動中可以放心的將事情告訴團體夥伴。

肆、研究結果

一、班級輔導

(一)活動過程評估

本次班級輔導方式，採取團體上課和分組討論的方式進行。以成員的參與互動情形和領導者的自我評價等紀錄，作為過程評估的主要依據。由表四顯示，在「參與度」和「開放度」上學生由互動生疏到熱烈討論的過程。在「學生了解程度」也顯示學生對課程內容的了解。由本次活動結果，學生到

willingness to share their emotions and thoughts, and comprehension is measured by the results of learning. Data was collected through the feedback forms. "Member interactivity" entails observation of how members work with each other, conflicts between them, and how they pull together for one task based on the principles of group dynamics. Leader-member interactivity involves observation of the leader's leading techniques and reactions of the members. "Leader's Self-evaluation" is a self-evaluation of the process after each session. Data was collected from records of the observation group, learning sheets, and the leaders' self-evaluation records. Finally, a service satisfaction survey was implemented at the end of the class counseling stage.

The second stage group work involves only seven members; therefore, process evaluation of this program was mainly based on the observation records taken during the activities. Content of the data includes (1) member participation and interactivity (2) leaders' self-evaluation. Finally, a "member attitude self-evaluation" was implemented as a tool for evaluation of the results. "Member participation" includes analysis of interactivity between the members and between the members and the leaders. Data was collected by the assisting counselors developed by an observation group, and the observation index was set based on the principles of group dynamics and described based on the narration of the actual cooperative and conflict events occurred between the group members. "Leaders' self-evaluation" is a recollected record of the events documented by the main leader of the each group work session. Result of the second stage was evaluated through the "member attitude self-evaluation". This evaluation form was designed based on the principles of group dynamics, providing a space to the students for direct self-evaluation on the status of their involvement and openness in the group. Involvement refers to whether they think they were enthusiastic towards the activities, and openness means whether they feel that they can feel free to tell things to their group members.

IV. Results

1 Class counseling

(1)Process evaluation

The class counseling sessions implemented in this research were conducted in two modes: lecture and group discussion. Process evaluation was mainly based on the observations of participation and the leaders' self-evaluation. Table 4 shows the progress of students' involvement and openness throughout the program from awkwardness to heated discussion. The dimension of "comprehension" records students' progress of learning. As for whether the students achieved the learning goals in the activities, results of this research were derived from subjective observations of the counsellors, and the students' journey of learning was observed from how they interact with each

底有沒有達到本次活動所規畫之學習目標。除了記錄輔導員對活動紀錄的主觀觀察外，青少年的學習歷程，也可由青少年彼此互動的情形和與老師互動情形來觀察。通常討論得越熱烈與老師的互動越密切，學習效果越佳。因此由「成員互動情形分析」顯示一開始因為性別的關係，互動有些問題，此問題解決後，成員彼此之間的討論，顯示「學生發言過於踴躍以及在私下討論非常熱烈，讓秩序有些亂」和「互動非常良好」，顯示學生彼此之間透過討論，可以達到某些學習成果。在與「領導者與成員互動情形」部分，由表四顯示，一開始學生們有一些抵抗，之後「下課仍會找領導者溝通及聊天」，因此認為「可見得成員對於領導者有良好之印象」，到第三次則顯示成員「認真聽並且提出疑問」，到第四次則評估「在課程中與成員的互動還不錯」，也顯示出學員對主題的關注，達到一定的學習效果。

表四 Table 4
成員參與互動情形

Member participation and interaction

第一次：認識何謂壓力 Session 1: Getting to know stress	學生參與度 Students' involvement	學生開放度 Students' openness	學生了解程度 Students' level of comprehension
	1.關係建立：學生皆能專心聽從領導者講解，並向領導者提出問題。 1.Establishing relationship: Students were able to pay attention to the leader's lecture and asked questions. 2.大部分學生積極參與小組討論，僅有少部分無法融入，但整體秩序良好。 2.Most students were active in group discussion; only a small group were unable to get involved, but the classroom was generally in good order. 3.約定下次課程：學生對於自己小組名稱會詳加討論，對於下次輔導時間有期待。 3.Anticipating the next session: Students discussed the names of their groups in details and look forward to the next counseling session.	學生能大膽想像面對災害時期可能發生之情形和壓力，且能與組員熱烈討論，但有許多想法過度天馬行空，開放度為中上。 Students took a bold step to imagine the scenarios of disastrous events and the possible stress and discuss their ideas with their group members. However, some of the ideas were beyond realistic scenarios; therefore, the level of openness is considered medium.	學習單設計用詞有點艱深，雖不至於完全不懂，但學生不易讀懂內容，須再改進。 The learning sheet was designed with wordings that were somewhat harder than the students' level, but the content was still considered comprehensible. Still, this is an area for improvement.
第二次：壓力解決方式與管道 Session 2: Ways to release stress	1.關係建立：學生一開始沒辦法專心聽領導者講解，但是一進入到分組階段後便能專心聽從領導者講解，並向領導者提出問題。 1.Establishing relationship: Students were unable to focus on the lecture given by the leader, but once they entered the stage of group discussion, they became more focused on the leader's lecture and began to ask questions.	學生對於問題回答都有自己的思考方式，回答時常常出現許多天馬行空的想法，也因為時間上的關係，導致學生無法在課堂上提出自己的想法。 Students had their own ideas and often give answers that are far from reality. There was also a general insufficiency of time, so the students were unable to fully express their thoughts.	1.因時間因素造成無法詳加說明壓力紓解的方法，因此學生對於壓力紓解方法了解有限。 1.Time was limited, so the lecture on stress release was not complete; therefore, students' learning on this subject was rather limited.

other and the teachers. In general, students who are more enthusiastic in the discussion and interact with the teachers more closely exhibited better learning effectiveness. Records in "member interaction analysis" show that the students ran into some problems when trying to interact with others due to the presence of the opposite sex. After this problem was resolved, records stating "the classroom was a little chaotic because students were very talkative and discussions heated up among the students" and "good interaction". The records show that the students achieved certain level of learning effectiveness through peer discussion. Records of "interaction between the leader and group members", as shown in table 4, indicates that the students were somewhat resistant at the beginning, but after a while, they began to "communicate and talk to the leader after class sessions." Therefore, we think "group members have good impressions of the leader". When the program entered the third session, statements, such as "students listened to the lecture attentively and began to ask questions", were recorded. In the fourth session, the leader recorded "good interaction with group members". The above statements indicate that the students had a certain level of concern on the subjects and achieved a certain level of learning effectiveness.

	學生參與度 Students' involvement	學生開放度 Students' openness	學生了解程度 Students' level of comprehension
	<p>2.學習單：大部分學生積極參與小組討論，僅有少部分無法融入，但整體秩序良好。</p> <p>2 Learning sheet: Most students actively participated in group discussion; only a small group of students were unable to get involved, but the classroom was considered in good order.</p> <p>3.約定下次課程：學生對於自己學習單會詳加討論，對於下次輔導時間有所期待。</p> <p>3 Anticipating the next session: Students discussed the names of their groups in details and look forward to the next counseling session.</p>		<p>2.此次學習單用字遣詞較於簡化，增加國中生的理解能力。</p> <p>2 The learning sheet used this time was easier for the junior high school participants to understand.</p>
第三次：認識何謂危機 Session 3: What is crisis?	<p>每位學生樂於配合活動。</p> <p>Every student was willing to get involved in the activities and enjoyed the event.</p>	<p>有些學生在回饋分享時比較害羞。</p> <p>Some students were shy during the feedback and sharing session.</p>	<p>多數學生了解危機定義，他們樂於分享也很踴躍。</p> <p>Most students understood the definition of crisis and were quite enthusiastic in sharing.</p>
第四次：面臨危機解決因應方式 Session 4: Coping when confronted by crisis	<p>每位學生都有參與到活動也有填寫活動單，非常踴躍回答並且提問題。</p> <p>Every student participated in the activities and filled out the activity sheet. They were enthusiastic in answering and asking questions.</p>	<p>對於問題之回答會以自我思考方式，回答時常出現許多不符邏輯思考，但發言非常踴躍。</p> <p>Students often answer questions with their own logics and the logics were often unorthodox, but they were quite enthusiastic in answering questions.</p>	<p>對於災害危機知識，有更進一步的了解，在災難發生前、發生時、發生後，都知道該做哪些事情，並互相討論。</p> <p>Students learned more advanced knowledge about disasters and crisis. They understand what to do before, during, and after a disaster hits and discussed their thoughts with each other.</p>

表四 Table 4

成員參與互動情形(續)

Member participation and interaction (continued)

	成員互動情形分析 Member participation	領導者與成員互動情形 Interaction between the leader and the members
第一次：認識何謂壓力 Session 1: Getting know stress	<p>1.在互動過程，有少數同學有班級排擠現象，但在帶領者分組之下，排擠情形已有減少，大致學生討論情形熱烈，但也有少數學生無法進入狀況，帶領者須加強帶領。</p> <p>1. During interaction, a small group of students were unwelcomed because they were from a different class, but the issue was resolved after the students were grouped into teams. In general, most students were quite involved in the conversation, but there was still a small group of students who were unable to get involved. This is an area the leader needs to improve on.</p> <p>2.國中生對於男女性別上之界線十分明顯，造成分組少數組別人不足之現象，需要其他工作人員協助，在討論部分，國中生處於叛逆期，越是強迫便會更加排斥，因此需要多鼓勵便會有其他收穫。</p> <p>2. Junior high school students draw a clear line between male and female students, so some groups did not get enough team members and needed the social workers and get involved. Junior high school students are also more rebellious and react to coercion with resistance. However, they respond positively to encouragement.</p>	<p>1.帶領者的帶領，雖然學生多少有反抗，但也都配合帶領，沒有大問題。</p> <p>1. Although a small group of students showed resistance to the leader, the session generally went unobstructed.</p> <p>2.學生對於領導者的帶領皆十分配合，甚至於下課仍會找領導者溝通及聊天，可見得成員對於領導者有良好之印象。</p> <p>2. Students were quite cooperative with the leader. Some even voluntarily came to chat with the leader. This shows that the member had good impressions of the leader.</p>

	成員互動情形分析 Member participation	領導者與成員互動情形 Interaction between the leader and the members
第二次：壓力解決方式與管道 Session 2: Ways to release stress	1.大家會討論活動內容，互相會比較動作。 1.Members discussed the content of the activities among themselves and show each other the movements. 2.在互動過程中，因為是依自己喜好分組的，大家之間互動相處也很OK，大致學生討論都很熱烈。 2.The students chose their teams based on their preferences; therefore, they interacted with each other on positive terms during the activities and discussion was quite heated.	1.領導者會重複二到三次的動作說明，使同學容易跟上進度。 1.The leader repeated the instructions of the movements two to three times, so the students can catch up. 2.對於領導者的帶領，雖然學生處於亢奮狀態，但也都配合領導，沒有大問題。 2.Although students were quite excited, they followed the leader without any major problems.
第三次：認識何謂危機 Session 3: What is crisis?	學生發言過於踴躍以及在私下討論非常熱烈，讓秩序有些亂。 Students were too enthusiastic about speaking in the class and discuss among themselves, so the classroom was quite chaotic.	主教(領導者在活動中的某一角色扮演)請學生講出自己的想法時，學生都很樂意發言，當主教在分享自己的事情時，學生也會認真聽並且提出疑問。 Bishop (a role played by the leader in the activities) asked the students to share their thoughts. Students were highly enthusiastic in sharing. They also listened attentively to the sharing of the Bishop and asked questions.
第四次：面臨危機解決因應方式 Session 4: Coping when confronted by crisis	互動非常良好 Good interaction	與成員互動良好，由於一開始上課有事先做課程內容說明，因此在課程中與成員的互動還不錯。 The leader interacted with the members quite well. Since the leader explained the content of the session at the beginning, students interacted with each other on positive terms.

最後「領導者自我評價」，由表五顯示，第一次活動領導者的自我評價是「雖無法十全十美但整體已十分完善」，顯示領導者想盡力完成整個活動，但有一些問題。第二次則是「領導者的帶領經驗缺少，所以上課的情形有些許混亂，但因副領導出面協助，使得準時下課，也獲得不少經驗」顯示活動有一些失控，還好較有經驗的副領導者出面，控制混亂的場面。第三次活動則是此次活動最順利的一次，認為「在經過本次課程，學生的回饋與分享，都讓我們感受到學生對於本次課程的吸收程度頗佳，希望日後能繼續維持」。第四次則顯示快結束時，學生上課有一些躁動，但整體而言「這次上課，學生都很聽話，而且也乖乖配合讓課程做一個完美的結束」。

Finally, table 5 shows the "leader's self-evaluation". The leader's self-evaluation for the first session was "the event generally went well although not 100% perfect." This statement indicates that the leader made all efforts to complete the activities, but there were some issues. The leader's self-evaluation for the second session was "the leader is not experienced, so the class was a little chaotic; the class was eventually finished on time because the assistant leader stepped forward to help. A valuable lesson was learned." This shows that the process of the activities was a little out of control and luckily, the more experienced assistant leader came forward to get the class back into control. The third session was the most successful event in this program. The leader stated, "feedback and sharing from the students in this session gave me a feeling that the students absorbed the content quite well and I hope this will maintain." In the fourth session, the students anticipated that the program was ending, so they were more restless during class time, but overall the leader made the following statement: "students behaved quite well in this class and drew a perfect ending with good cooperation."

表五 Table 5
領導者自我評價

Leader's self-evaluation

第一次：認識何謂壓力 Session 1: Getting know stress	在有限的時間內能做到良好的關係建立，對於日後輔導活動能夠順利進行，可見得領導者對於活動之用心，雖無法十全十美但整體已十分完善。 Good relationships were established in such a limited period of time. This was a good beginning for the follow-up counseling activities and a good indication of the leader's dedication in this program. Although it was not perfect, the overall implementation was considered optimum.
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第二次：壓力解決方式與管道 Session 2: Ways to release stress	<p>國中生現在處於叛逆階段，比較不聽從管教，而領導者的帶領經驗缺少，所以上課的情形些許混亂，但因副領導出面協助，使得準時下課，也獲得不少經驗。</p> <p>Junior high school students are in a rebellious stage. They are more resistant to disciplinary commands and the leader was lacking relevant experience. Therefore, classes were somewhat chaotic. Fortunately, the assisting leader stepped forward, so we were able to the close the sessions on time. The experience was worthwhile.</p>
第三次：認識何謂危機 Session 3: What is crisis?	<p>這次課程中，學生能了解到什麼是危機、危機又分成哪幾種、遇到危機時的情緒，而且學生也很樂意配合，此外請學生分享回饋時，雖然有些學生會害羞，但多數都能勇於分享。而在經過本次課程，學生的回饋與分享，都讓我們感受到學生對於本次課程的吸收程度頗佳，希望日後能繼續維持。</p> <p>From this session, students learned what a crisis is, types of crises, and emotions likely to emerge during a crisis. Students responded to the lecture positively. During feedback time, a small number of students were shy, while others were rather enthusiastic in sharing their experiences. Students' enthusiastic feedback and sharing in this session shows that the activities were quite effective. We hope such positive feedback will continue.</p>
第四次：面臨危機解決因應方式 Session 4: Coping when confronted by crisis	<p>這次上課，學生都很聽話，而且也乖乖配合讓課程做一個完美的結束。助教也會注意主教需要什麼樣的幫忙，也會主動去幫助學生，並且隨時注意學生的動靜，再跟主教講。這次上課的內容，學生幾乎都上過類似的課程，所以導致有些學生不怎麼認真聽，雖然在秩序方面有些亂，不過還是會回答主教提的問題</p> <p>In this session, all students behaved very well and followed the leader closely, so we drew a perfect ending to the program. The assisting leader also paid close attention to the classroom activity and stepped forward to help when necessary. She also observed students' movements closely and report the observations to Bishop. The content of this session was a review of the information learned previously, so the students were generally lacking interest in the activities and order of classroom was somewhat chaotic. Nonetheless, the students still answered Bishop's questions.</p>

(二)結果評估

本次班級輔導活動以「服務滿意度評估」量表作為結果評估工具，該量表計分方式為，「很不滿意」給1分、「不滿意」給2分、「無意見」給3分、「滿意」給4分、「很滿意」給5分。評估結果顯示，在活動「帶領方式」平均高達4.86分，顯示成員對於活動之帶領方式，以及和輔導員之互動熱絡，由這一部分可推論成員的學習效果佳。「活動內容」平均分數為4.11，顯示本次的活動設計內容，成員是相當滿意。至於「時間安排」、「場地安排」和「使用道具」，分別為3.57、3.5、3.71則在接近滿意的程度。

(2)Evaluation of results

Effectiveness of this class counseling program was evaluated through the “service satisfaction scale”, which was designed in the format of a 5-point scale, where “1” represents “very dissatisfied”, “2” “dissatisfied”, “3” “neutral”, “4” “satisfied”, and 5 “very satisfied”. Result of the evaluation shows that an average of 4.86 points was given to the “leadership style”. This reflects students' reactions to the implementation of activities and their interactive relationships with the counsellor. This score can be seen as high learning effectiveness. “Content” was rate at an average score of 4.11, which indicates that the students had high level of satisfaction towards the lessons incorporated into the activities. “Time management”, “facility”, and “teaching aids” were rated an average of 3.57, 3.5, and 3.71 respectively, which indicate quality close to the “satisfied level”.

表六 Table 6
服務滿意度評估
Service satisfaction evaluation

項目 Category	發放份數 Samples sent	回收份數 Samples returned	全體平均數 Overall average
帶領方式 Leadership style	400	400	4.86
活動內容 Content	400	400	4.11
時間安排 Time management	400	400	3.57
場地安排 Facility	400	400	3.5
使用道具 Teaching aids	400	400	3.71

二、團體輔導

(一)活動互動過程評估

1.成員參與活動互動分析

第一次「文心之約」主要目的在於讓成員了解團體目標、內容及規範、leader與成員建立關係。此次成員互動分析顯示，成員和原本認識的同學互動較頻繁，也因為個別性在團體中也顯現出來。第二次「情緒你我他」活動之主要目的引導學生察覺自己的內在情緒、建立團體成員間的凝聚力、協助團體成員遵守團體規範。此次活動顯現出成員出現阻抗的現象，領導者花很多時間在協調和鼓勵成員參與活動。第三次「遙控器」，希望透過體驗活動了解各種表達的方式、引導學生了解表達是雙向的溝通。互動過程顯示，活動過程領導者持續在和企圖當成員領袖的學員做溝通。第四次「榨果汁機」目的在協助成員認識自己的情緒與身體狀態、引導學生的肢體表達、協助成員建立與團體間的尊重。互動過程顯示除了成員A外，其他同學已經逐漸投入團體活動當中。第五次活動「培養接班人」活動目標培養學生起對壓力情緒管理的責任、增進成員溝通個人的想法與感受。互動過程顯示，企圖當成員領導者的學員，似乎得不到其他成員之認可，而帶團體活動的輔導員花很多時間注意他。第六活動「變形金剛」，目的在培養學生將焦點放在可以改變的事情上，協助學生因應壓力的技巧。整體互動過程可以觀察到大家聯合起來制止不遵守規則的成員，團體已經有形成的趨勢。第七次活動「飛向希望」引導學生統整團體中的學習及收穫、鼓勵成員建立希望。互動分析顯示，成員都能夠明確地說出對整個活動的感受。由於團體只有七次，前幾次輔導員幾乎花很多時間在整合團體、和較突出的成員溝通，到第六次活動時，團體才逐漸形成，因此，建議類似的團體最少要十次左右才能見到比較好的效果。

2.Group work

(1) Process evaluation

1 Interactive relationship

The first "introduction" session aimed to bring the group members to know the goal, content, and rules of the group activities and help the leader establish relationships with group members. Analysis of the interactive data shows that group members interacted more frequently with their peer previously acquainted in their social circles, and individuality was also presented in the group. The second session, "Yours, Mine, and His Emotions", was targeted to guide the students to explore their emotions, establish team spirit, and help the members learn the group rules. Students exhibited resistance in the activities and the leader spent a large portion of time coordinating and encouraging the students to get involved in the activities. The third session, "Remote Control", aimed to guide the students to identify the different types of expression through experience activities and show them the concept that expression is two-way communication. The record shows that the leader continuously communicated with the member who had the intention to become the leader of the group members. The fourth session, "Juicier", was designed to help the members explore their emotions and physical reactions, guide the students to express through body language, and help the members establish respect for other members in the group. During the process, the majority of the group members became involved in the activities, except Member A. The fifth session, "Who is the Next Boss", was targeted to develop students' sense of responsibility for their own stress and emotion management annoying encourage the students to communicate their thoughts and feelings. The record shows that the student who was trying to become the leader of the group did not get the other members to follow his lead and the counsellor spent a portion of time paying attention to him. The sixth session, "Transformer", targeted to guide the members to place their focus on the things that can be changed and teach them stress-coping techniques. Throughout the session, we observed that the majority members teamed up to stop the individual members who showed disrespect to the group rules. This shows that team (group) spirit was formed. The seventh session, "Flying toward Hope", was designed to guide the group members to share what they learned in the program and encourage them to build hope. Interactive analysis shows that most members were able to express their feelings towards the events. Since the whole program was implemented through seven sessions and the counsellor spent substantial time in consolidating the group and communicating with the members who tried to stand out. Due to which, group unity was not formed until the sixth session. Therefore, we recommend that groups in similar nature may be designed for at least ten sessions for optimum effectiveness.

表七 Table 7
成員參與活動互動分析

Member participation and interactivity

單元 Unit	成員互動分析 Interactivity analysis	領導者與成員互動情形 Interactive relationship between the leader and the group members
文心之約 Introduction	<p>由於第一次參與活動，成員間彼此雖然認識，但因為環境陌生，所以處在觀望的狀態，熟悉的同學彼此間較有互動。成員A較有領導特質，常會主動要求任務，並且發派命令，與成員B時常會說話聊天。成員B個子高大，但個性內向害羞，時常聽成員A的話，但也會時常反駁成員A的話，並且非常想認識帶領的志工姊姊。成員C個子小，較有個性且條理分明，有時會發表意見，並且對自己的喜好有清楚界定，時常會評判好不好。成員D較少說話，與成員C時常私下說話，其實是被動的參與在活動中。成員E缺席。成員F、G是女生，F較為靦腆，會希望可以參與，但還有些害怕。成員G較為內向，說話很小聲，時常讓其他成員為她發言。</p> <p>Since this was the first session and members came to an unfamiliar place, most of them were still in the wait-and-see mode. Although most of the students know each other, they still interact more frequently with their peers from their previous social circle. Member A exhibited leadership quality and often requested to be assigned of a mission. He was commanding the others and loved to chat with Member B. Member B was a stout guy but very shy. Most of the time he followed the lead of Member A, but often rebuked him. He showed high interest in a female volunteer. Member C was not as physically developed as the others, but had clear logic. He expressed his opinions from time to time and has a clear definition of his likes and dislikes, so he gave his opinions of “good or bad” quite often. Member D was rather quite in the class, but loved to chat with Member C in private. He was rather passive in the activities. Member E was absent from the session. Member F and G were girls. F was shy. She wanted to participate but was a little afraid. Member G was an introvert. She whispered when she talked and often asked others to speak for her.</p>	<p>領導者與成員一開始較不熟悉，因此在活動初期都還在認識階段，到活動中期，成員較能與領導者一起進入活動，但是都是團體性質，個別接觸的時間較少，因成員A、C較常說話，因此時常與A、C對話，要求成員B要參與，鼓勵成員D表達意見，但成員D還是不想說話，成員F、G一開始不好意思，但在後來都有些參與，並且能與領導者做些簡單的溝通。</p> <p>The leader and the members did not know each other before the program. Therefore, they were trying to get to know each other in the introduction session. The members began to follow the lead of the counselor when activities proceeded halfway, but interaction was still limited to group actions. Individual contact was limited. Since members A and C were more active in expression their opinions, the leader had more conversation with A and C and tried to get Member B to participate and Member D to express his opinions. However, Member D was still quite reserved throughout the session. Members F and G were shy at the beginning but eventually got into the conversation and were able to communicate with the leader on certain aspects.</p>

單元 Unit	成員互動分析 Interactivity analysis	領導者與成員互動情形 Interactive relationship between the leader and the group members
情緒你我他 Yours, Mine, and His Emotions	<p>成員A所表達的意見不被其他成員認同，因此活動後期越來越不想參與。成員B會和成員A打鬧，並且會一直希望和女生在一起。成員C表示不想參與，比較沒有興趣。成員D保持在持續看其他成員，不願意發表意見。成員E很樂意分享，但與其他成員較少互動，參與得很認真。成員F開始較多的參與，說的話較多一些。成員G還是很害羞，不太講話，說的很小聲，成員A會幫她再說一次。</p> <p>Member A's opinions were often not agreed by the other members, so he lost interest in activities at the end. Member B often played around with Member A and expressed their interest to sit with the girls. Member C expressed his disinterest in the activities. Member D remained silent and continued to watch others by the side. Member E enjoyed sharing and was serious about getting involved but had limited interaction with other members. Member F began to get more involved and spoke a little more. Member G was still shy and quite. She rarely spoke up, so Member A had to repeat what she said to the group.</p>	<p>leader時常會與成員A說話，讓他集中精神在團體中，但成員A在中途後漸漸不願意參與，志工觀察發現成員A今天心情不好，似乎有心事，但成員A沒有說，活動結束後很快離開。成員B希望有志工的電話，但leader告訴他不可以，需要leader講解才比較能明白活動如何進行。成員C只願意參與部分活動，leader鼓勵他，但他只表示盡量，並且在後來有分享自己在學校的事情。成員D會開始說幾句話，但不多。成員E需要一再講解活動程序，他會不斷的想要問清楚，與其他成員互動少，與志工的互動較多，會一直想要問問題。成員F會注意leader，並且會適時的說話。成員G較少說話，但會專注的看著leader。</p> <p>The leader spoke to Member A very often, trying to bring his attention back to the group, but Member A began to show disinterest halfway through the session. The volunteer observed that he was not in a good mood. He seemed to have something on his mind, but he did not say anything. He left as soon as the session ended. Member B asked for the volunteer's phone number, but the leader refused. He needed instructions from the leader to understand today's activities. Member C was only willing to participate in part of the activities. The leader encouraged him to participate. He expressed that he would try his best and began to share his school life at a later part of the session. Member D began to talk but limited. Member E frequently asked questions during the instruction, trying to confirm the steps of the activities. He interacted more with the volunteer and less with the group members. Member F paid close attention to the leader and speak at appropriate times. Member G was rather quiet, but looked at the leader with high level of focus.</p>
遙控器 Remote Control	<p>成員之間互動算良好，G同學還是比較不能夠開放，A同學則是獨我意見，常遭到其他同學抨擊，A同學開始有會吹口哨的習慣，通常他在吹完口哨之後，就會有點莫名的暴走，F則是對於活動的參與度感覺都不高，B則是會與其他男同學打來打去。</p> <p>Members interacted with each other on positive terms. Member G was still quite reserved and Member A loved to express his opinions. He was often criticized in the group and began to whistle for no reason. His temper tended to get out of control after he whistled. Member F was disinterested in any of the activities and B loved to play around with other male members.</p>	<p>與同學之間互動算尚可，只是在講解規則時，同學與同學之間會聊天、講話、玩來玩去等等，同學比較沒有辦法注意聽遊戲規則，導致活動開始後還會再要求聽一次或是提出疑問。</p> <p>The leader also interacted with the group members on positive terms; only, the group member tended to chat with other members and play around in the classroom when the leader was giving instructions. The group members were unable to pay attention to the game rules, so very often the leader had to repeat the rules or answer questions after the activities began.</p>

單元 Unit	成員互動分析 Interactivity analysis	領導者與成員互動情形 Interactive relationship between the leader and the group members
榨果汁機 Juicier	<p>成員間除了對談，較少有討論的機會，但在最後討論分享的時候，因為前面的活動有共同話題，大家說得很開心，也覺得很認同。</p> <p>另外，成員A和成員B，成員C和D都會時常私下聊天，被leader制止，請志工坐到他們中間。</p> <p>成員E有時會對其他成員的畫作出意見，但其他成員並不喜歡，成員A特別會與他起口角。</p> <p>Group members chatted with each other, did not have the chance to discuss on specific subject. Nonetheless, after the activities, they shared interest in the mutual subjects, so they opened up to talk to each other during the discussing session and were quite agreeable to others' opinions.</p> <p>In addition, Member A and B/ C and D often paired up and had long chats in private. The leader stopped them and asked the volunteer to sit between them.</p> <p>Member E often expressed opinions of other members, but the other member did not like his critics and often quarrel with him.</p>	<p>leader由於要注意成員A是否認真，一直在與成員A說話，試圖引導他進入活動。</p> <p>會與成員B解釋，但成員B不懂時會有成員A協助，並且成員B也會詢問其他志工。</p> <p>成員C覺得活動很無聊，不喜歡一直動，因此不太參與。</p> <p>成員D只有輪到自己的時候會參與說話。</p> <p>成員E積極主動的與身邊的志工說話。</p> <p>成員F在活動中覺得有更多的參與，對leader表示不錯。</p> <p>Leader會鼓勵成員G說話要大聲一些，因此G會重複說一次，讓大家都聽清楚。</p> <p>The leader was paying close attention to Member A and talked frequently to Member A, trying to get him involved in the activities.</p> <p>The leader made extra effort to explain the games to Member B and Member A often stepped forward to help him. Member B was also willing to ask other members.</p> <p>Member C was disinterest and did not like to move around, so he was not an active participant.</p> <p>Member D only spoke when it was his turn.</p> <p>Member E was quite interested in talking to the volunteer standing by him.</p> <p>Member F was quite actively involved in the activities and had good relationship with the leader.</p> <p>The leader encouraged Member G to speak out and asked Member G to repeat to the group loudly.</p>
培養接班人 The Next Boss	<p>C從上禮拜開始就有點針對A，可能是因為C比較屬於做事講效率的，所以在分享時間有點延遲下課時間(都是在制止A打斷別人分享時間)，才會對A的態度不怎麼好；B跟A太靠近的話，就會開始吵鬧；D今天在活動中有點心不在焉的。</p> <p>Member C was getting on Member A's case since last week. The reason may be that Member C was particular about efficiency. He was unhappy about the delay in the sharing time (a large portion of time was spent on stopping A from interrupting others), so he had some issues with Member A. B and A started to play around when they got close to each other. D was a little absent-minded in today's activities.</p>	<p>滿多時間都是在注意A身上，所以比較沒有關注到D的反常還有C的不耐煩，在第二項活動中，對B跟F就比較注意到，並且讓她們當上小隊的隊長，領導一個小隊。不過在分享時間，F離大家有點遠，然後我離F又比較遠，所以沒辦法叫F靠近一點，附近的助教在顧B沒有注意我，D感覺有點疲倦，C有點不開心、E是認真在聽我說自己的感想。</p> <p>The leader spent a lot of time on A, so she did not notice the negative reaction of D and expression of impatience of C. In the second activity, the leader noticed B and F and appointed them as the leaders for a small team.</p> <p>During the sharing time, F sat a little far from the group and the leader was also quite far from F, so the leader was unable to ask F to come closer. The assisting leader was paying attention to B, so she did not see the leader. D looked tired, C appeared to have something in his mind, and E was paying close attention to the leader's sharing.</p>

單元 Unit	成員互動分析 Interactivity analysis	領導者與成員互動情形 Interactive relationship between the leader and the group members
變形金剛 Transformer	<p>成員間因活動的設計導致有較多的機會協調合作，因每個人都可以發表意見，因此活動中互動較多。</p> <p>成員A一直想要當領導者，多次不得大多數人的同意後，希望朋友可以選他，雖然初步沒有當選，但多次想要說服其他成員，後來有當選領導者，但因為自己不遵守規則，所以又換人當選，成員A雖有表示不滿，但因為是自己的失誤，所以可以接受。</p> <p>成員B處在猶豫不決的狀態，心情很好，但只與成員A與其他志工說話，並不太想參與，有時候會不懂狀況而發問。</p> <p>成員C一開始不太想參與，有抱怨，但因為被選中當領導者，有想要負起責任，但因不小心一下子就被發現，因此讓大家覺得很好笑，反而在後期認真的參與活動。</p> <p>成員D一開始不太出聲，但到後來因為大家的熱烈有更多的參與。成員E因為沒有被選中，因此此次活動較被動，不太想參與，但仍然一直配合活動，當中會一直想要說話。</p> <p>成員F比較安靜，少說話，但很專注於活動。成員G雖然安靜，在鼓勵她說話大聲，有越來越好，其他成員也會協助她要大聲些說話。</p> <p>The design of the activities gave the members more opportunities to work with each other. Since everyone was welcomed to express opinions, members interacted with each other more frequently.</p> <p>Member A always wanted to become the leader, but the majority did not agree at most times, so he wanted his friends to vote for him. Although he was not selected at the beginning, he made effort to convince some of the members and eventually he was selected. However, he lost the leader title because he did not follow the rules. A protested the penalty, but since this was his own fault, it was quite acceptable to him.</p> <p>Member B was undetermined but in a good mood. He only talked to A and other volunteers and did not want to get involved. He asked questions because he did not understand what was going on. C did not want to get involved at the beginning and complained about it, but he took up the responsibilities because he was elected the leader. Nonetheless, he was discovered too soon and everybody thought it was funny, so he was serious about the activity at the end.</p> <p>D was quiet at the beginning but became more involved later after he saw that everybody was quite enthusiastic. E was not elected, so he was rather passive and disinterested in the activities. Nonetheless, He went along with the game and wanted to express his opinions from time to time.</p> <p>F was quiet but quite focused in the activities. G was quiet but getting better after she was encouraged to speak out. Other members also helped her and reminded her to speak louder.</p>	<p>Leader協助成員了解遊戲規則，然後詢問成員的意見並且有詳細解釋、說明，並做因應當時情況的調整，成員能夠了解leader的解說。</p> <p>志工有在個別成員的狀況的時候協助其進入活動的參與：成員A有要犯規時會被制止，並且鼓勵取得大家的認同；成員B不參與，時常要志工協助他參與；成員F一直因為個子小容易輸，因此志工和leader會鼓勵他。</p> <p>The leader helped the members understand the game rules and asked the members' opinions. She explained and illustrated in details and made necessary adjustments to accommodate the situation. The leader's instructions were effectively received.</p> <p>Volunteers helped individual members to get into the games from time to time. A was stopped when he violated the rules and encouraged to gain recognition from others. B was not involved and often need volunteers to bring him into the activities. F rarely won due to his physical disadvantage, so the volunteers and leader gave him encouragement at appropriate times.</p>

單元 Unit	成員互動分析 Interactivity analysis	領導者與成員互動情形 Interactive relationship between the leader and the group members
飛向希望	<p>成員情緒很高，但在分享的時候比較害羞，女生不好意思說，男生會覺得無話可說，但leader鼓勵成員多思考，成員比較能藉由顏色發揮，但到最後會被整體影響，說出相同的話。</p> <p>成員A、B會一直討論，成員A有時會去詢問成員G。成員B、D會一直看其他人怎麼說，然後只簡單說幾句。成員C會說一些自己的想法；成員E會認真的說較多。成員F、G會需要鼓勵，才說出自己的想法。</p> <p>回顧的時候成員A、C、E比較常發言，其他成員輪到的時候也會說，但比較少。有成員表示會想念志工，並且詢問以後是否還會有活動，但有成員並不太喜歡。</p> <p>Group members were quite excited but looked shy during the sharing time. The girls were shy to tell their feelings, and the boys felt there was nothing to say. The leader encouraged the members to think and the members were more open to sharing when inspired by colors. Most people said the same thing in the end under the influence of the group's collective opinion. Member A and B discussed continuously. A also came to G for opinions. B and D always waited to see what others said and then followed up with a few words. C often expressed his own thoughts and E spoke with a serious attitude. F and G spoke their opinions only when encouraged.</p> <p>During the review session, Members A, C, and E spoke more. Other members also expressed their thought when their turns are up, but not as much. Some members expressed that they would miss the volunteers and asked whether there were more activities in the future. However, some members expressed negative opinions.</p>	<p>Leader會說明清楚活動在做什麼，但成員A有時會插嘴，成員E時常詢問，其他成員較配合。分享的時候，leader會對成員所作的畫作回應，並且引導他們的話。</p> <p>The leader gave clear instructions for the activities, but A often interrupted the lecture. E asked questions frequently; others were quite cooperative. During the sharing session, the leader made responses to their painting works and led them to talk.</p>

2. 領導者自我評價

團體的輔導員，在帶領此次團體的自我評價如表八所示。前四次所帶領的活動，輔導員認為整個活動過程幾乎都是在盡力維持團體之運作，並且與唱反調和加入團體意願不高的學員協調和溝通。直到第五次活動雖然輔導員注意力還是在某一些特定的成員身上，團體運作比前四次都順利。真正團體運作最順暢是出現在第六次，只是此時團體已經快結束。

2. Leader's self-evaluation

Table 8 summarizes the self-evaluation of the counselor-leaders of this program. For the first four sessions, the leader thinks that most of the time was spent on class management and communicating with members who were resistant and disinterested. The activities did not go well until the fifth session although a large share of attention was still focus on certain members. Successful operation came in the sixth session, but up to this point, the program was almost at the end.

表八 Table 8
領導者自我評價

Leader's self-evaluation

活動名稱 Event name	領導者自我評價 Leader's self-evaluation
文心之約 Introduction	<p>1. 領導者第一次帶領，對成員還不夠熟悉，需要盡快了解成員的狀況。</p> <p>1. The leader did not know the members before the program, so she was not familiar with the members. It is essential to get to know the members as soon as possible.</p> <p>2. 對活動流程的熟悉度還須再增加，避免活動之間的不連貫。</p> <p>2. The leader needs to know the process better, so the activities can be run more fluently without interruption.</p>
情緒你我他 Yours, Mine, and His Emotions	<p>1. 帶領活動時需加強引導語，協助成員思考。</p> <p>1. The leader can add guiding sentences to encourage the members to think during activities.</p> <p>2. 對於個別成員的需求不同，應給予不同任務，協助其發揮所長，樂在參與，避免成員彼此間的糾紛。</p> <p>2. Different group members have different needs. Each individual should be given different tasks that inspire them to use their skills and interest in the activities, as well as avoiding arguments between members.</p>

活動名稱 Event name	領導者自我評價 Leader's self-evaluation
遙控器 Remote Control	這一次活動，對於場控的部分顯得微弱，同學還是不時會講話插嘴，對於同學們罵也不是不罵也不是，有點陷入兩難，因此對於如何協助同學遵守團體規範是一種挑戰。 Class control was somewhat weak in this session. The members cut in frequently and the leader was in a dilemma of whether to criticize their behaviors. It is a challenge to get all members to follow the group rules.
榨果汁機 Juicier	因為遊戲屬於動態的，前期很流暢，但成員A因過於興奮，帶全部人一直繞圈，導致大家雖然興致都很高，但都感到很累，因此後期的分享雖然有諸多不滿，但是反而敞開心胸說出自己的話。 This game involves moving around, so it went smoothly at the beginning, but A was too excited in the game and led the whole group running in circles. This excited and exhausted everyone. Even though some of them expressed disapproval in the feedback time, they were all more open to conversation.
培養接班人 The Next Boss	這次的遊戲大家都玩過，而且還有相似度高的，讓學生比較沒有刺激感，不過大家都滿配合的。在第一個遊戲，讓每個人都當發令者，而且有規定自己要先示範，才能要求別人做，所以A沒有特別嚴重的指令出現，女生們的表現都不錯，聲音有比之前還要大聲。在第二個活動上，分組後的小組長我派給女生當，要女生們當領導者，統整小隊的意見並且想出最適當的出來。在分享活動，G的聲音比之前大上很多，說的話也比之前多！有達成我之前所想的目標，不過因為注意力都在A跟B身上，因此有些忽略其他成員，需要再改正。 This game was familiar to most of the group members. The members were less excited, but expressed the willingness to go along. The first part of game makes everyone a commander, but the commander must demonstrate the command first before asking others to do it. Therefore, A did not come up with inappropriate commands. The girls performed quite well in this game and spoke louder than usual. The leader appointed the girls to be the leaders in the second part of the activity and their job was to collect and organize the ideas of the teams. Before the sharing time, G began to speak much more, as well as louder, than usual. The group members indeed achieved the projected goals. However, a substantial portion of attention was still placed on A and B; therefore, some members did not get enough attention. There is still room for improvement.
變形金剛 Transformer	團體整個帶下來，發現在整體帶領的地方還不錯，成員能夠很快進入狀況，但如何協助個別成員積極參與的地方可以加強，但有志工協助帶領，整體成員較能夠被注意。 The overall session was quite successful; the members were able to get into the games quickly. However, the leader needs to work on helping each individual get involved. Nonetheless, with the help of the volunteers, the needs of some members were noticed.
飛向希望 Flying toward Hope	最後一次帶團體，成員們已經比較熟悉，但如何結尾讓成員能夠統整收穫的引言可以再加強，並且希望能更多協助成員說出自己想說的話。 In the final session, the member already got to know each other very well. The leader can work on how to lead the members to consolidate and summarized their gains from the program and help them speak their thoughts more.

(二) 結果評估

團體輔導活動以「成員參與態度自我評估表」做為評估工具。評估方式是讓學員在每一次活動結束後，分別在參與度和開放度，二個向度在自評，分數最高分為10分，最低分為0分，之後再加以平均，成為每一次的團體輔導活動分數。由表9顯示前三次的活動分數都在7分以下或7分左右，第四次活動，才提高到8分以上。所以由「成員參與態度自我評估表」所得分數的推估，整個團體運作，直到第四次才看出一些成效。

(2) Result evaluation

Evaluation of the group work was based on the "Member participation and self-evaluation scale". Evaluation was done after each session and group members were surveyed on their involvement and openness by giving a score of 0 to 10 to each session. The final score of each session was derived from averaging the total scores given by the group members. Table 9 shows that the scores for the first three sessions fell in the range of 7 or under, and the score went up to 8 in the fourth session. This result indicates that the effect of the overall group operation did not show until the fourth session.

表九 Table 9

成員參與態度自我評估表

Member participation and self-evaluation

活動名稱 Session name	參與度 Involvement	開放度 Openness	備註 Remarks
文心之約 Introduction	7.1	4.7	分數由學生在上完每次團體輔導後自評，再加以平均。分數最高分為10分，最低分為0分 The scores were averages of scores given by the group members after each session on a scale of 0 to 10.
情緒你我他 Yours, Mine, and His Emotions	7.7	5.3	
遙控器 Remote Control	6	4.9	
榨果汁機 Juicier	8.4	8	
培養接班人 The Next Boss	9	8.1	
變形金剛 Transformer	9.9	8	
飛向希望 Flying toward Hope	8.9	9.1	
平均 Average	8.1	6.9	

伍、結論與討論

一、結論

本服務方案主要是選擇南部莫拉克災區的某些受災國中，進行團體和班級輔導，重點在於強化學生面對災害或危機發生時的壓力調適，以減少災害發生後所產生的心理問題。輔導活動分為二個階段，第一階段屬於班級輔導，總共服務二班，每班四次，班級輔導的操作方式是以課堂討論和實作為主，該過程評估分成五的指標，觀察員採取質性的觀察紀錄，並透過回饋單的方式蒐集資料。班級輔導結果，由過程之評估顯示，學員討論熱烈、回饋單、學員與輔導員之間的互動良好，推估學員有達到一定的學習效果，例如，以服務滿意度評估作為結果評估，其中活動「帶領方式」平均高達4.86分、「活動內容」平均分數為4.11，顯示本次的活動設計內容成員相當滿意，而活動之帶領方式，以及和輔導員之互動熱絡，由這一部分可推論成員的學習效果佳。第二階段為團體輔導，成員之組成由第一階段班級輔導活動中觀察需要進一步輔導，且和該班導師溝通後推薦，參與的成員有7位。活動過程評估顯示直到第四次團體時，學員才開始進入團體過程，由於團體只有七次，前幾次輔導員幾乎花很多時間在整合團體、和較突出的成員溝通，到第六次活動時，團體才逐漸形成。結果評估則顯示前三次的活動分數都在7分以下或7分左右，第四次活動，才提高到8分以上。所以由「成員參與態度自我評估表」所得分數的推估，整個團體運作，直到第五

V. Conclusion and Discussion

1 Conclusion

A junior high school in a disaster area of Typhoon Morakot in Southern Taiwan was chosen for class counseling and group work in this service program. The focus was placed on reinforcing students' abilities to make proper adjustments when confronted by the stress of disaster or crisis and targeted to prevent occurring of mental disorders induced by traumatic events. The counseling work was implemented in two stages. The first stage was class counseling, which involved two classes for four sessions each and implemented through discussion and practice. The process was evaluated by a 5-point scale and qualitative data was collected by the observers and feedback slips. For the result of class counseling, the process evaluation shows that the students were enthusiastic in discussions and giving thoughts in the feedback slips and the counselors interacted well with the students. From the results, we derived that the class counseling sessions achieved learning effectiveness up to a certain level. For example, the service satisfaction survey shows an average score up to 4.86 for the "leader style" and 4.11 for the "content". The results indicate that the students were quite satisfied with the content of the activities and the leader's style, and the students interacted with the counselors enthusiastically. Therefore, learning effectiveness is considered high. The second stage was implemented in the form of group work. Seven students were selected from the first-stage activities and discussion with the teachers for further work. The process evaluation shows that the group members were not highly involved in the activities until the fourth session, but the full program was only planned for seven sessions. The counselor spent a substantial amount of time on pulling the group together and communicating with the less group-oriented members. Group spirit was not formed until the sixth session. Result evaluation shows that the scores for the first three sessions were all in the range of 7 or under and went up to 8 only in the fourth session. From the member participation and

次才看出一些成效。因此，建議類似的團體最少要10-12次左右才能見到比較好的效果。

二、討論

本研究主要進行的時間點是莫拉克風災過後二年，進行輔導的學校及其學生所受的災情，以水災為主，方案執行和結果的評估可有下列二點問題值得討論。首先，團體輔導將焦點放在災害危機的認識與因應，以教育學習作為團體的主軸，雖然可由回饋單、觀察紀錄和滿意度量表顯示班級輔導有達到一定成效，不過過程評估所採取的指標觀察者，或可由二人以上擔任較為客觀。其次，本次服務方案採取成員參與團體的互動過程作為主要的評估模式，此一模式以團體成員在活動過程的參與和開放程度做為評估指標，而非成員所受到災害，所產生的創傷後壓力症候群的症狀或成員的症狀性行為改變做為方案服務成果的指標。原因在於方案服務的學校並非重災區，相關的症狀行為很難明顯顯示，尤其是國中生不喜歡顯示出自身的脆弱性，即使和老師討論和經過輔導員在第一次團體觀察，亦只能選出七位，且在服務的過程，團體的形成相當困難，直到第5次後才有一些成果，因此建議往後類似以大專生作為主要輔導員，且輔導員人數足夠一對一，面對被服務學生時，方案模式最好以團體作為暖身，之後再配合一對一個別諮商、關懷和陪伴，如此才能達到陪伴和輔導的效果。

self-evaluation scale, we can see that the overall group operation was not quite effective until the fifth session. Therefore, we recommend that similar programs should have 10 to 12 sessions for optimum effectiveness.

2. Discussion

This research was conducted two years after Typhoon Morakot and the main trauma experienced by the school/students was flooding. There are two main points in this discussion relating to program implementation and result evaluation. First of all, group work was focused on the education and coping strategies for crisis through the format of learning. Although information provided by the feedback slips, observation records, and satisfaction survey indicated certain level of effectiveness, to be more objective, indicator observation in the process evaluation can be done by two or more persons. Second, the effectiveness of this service program was evaluated based on the interactive relationships among group members. This model evaluates members' involvement and openness in the activities, instead of the trauma experienced by the members, symptoms of PTSD, and behavioral change. The reason is that this program services school students, not victims of the severely hit disaster area. Therefore, relevant symptoms and behavioral patterns were not highly notable, and junior high school students tend to hide their vulnerabilities. That was why only seven students were selected for the group work, even after the first round screening and in-depth discussion with the teachers. Furthermore, during the program, there was a general difficulty in forming the group spirit, which did not show until the fifth session. Therefore, we recommend that more college students can be recruited to serve as the main counselors. The group may warm up faster if the students received one-on-one help at the beginning, and follow-up one-on-one counseling, care, and companionship will yield optimum effect.

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短式增強權能量表之發展與驗證

The Development and Validation of the Empowerment Scale: Short Form

林佩瑾 Pei-Chin Lin*

摘要

宋麗玉發展增權量表包含「自我效能與內控」、「外在掌控力」、「人際溝通技巧」、「人際自我肯定」、「社會自我肯定」、「社會政治資源與影響」、「社會政治權能」與「社會政治行動」等8個因素和34題項，考量宋麗玉發展之增強權能量表題項過多而造成實務應用上的限制，故本研究之目的在於精簡宋麗玉之增強權能量表以形成短式權能量表。依據相關文獻及研究，將增強權能分為個人、人際與社會政治等三個層次，經LISREL8.72版本進行驗證式因素分析，以12個模式適配指標評估整體模式適配度，發現簡約為9個觀察變項的三因子之模式可以接受，相較八因子及其他三因子模式，其適配指標最具有優越性。至於模式結構內在適合度方面，三因子與八因子模式的組合信度均大於0.6，三因子模式之平均變異萃取量較八因子模式接近大於0.5之標準，故三因子模式的結構內在適合度較八因子模式為佳。綜上顯示，本研究簡約得出之9個觀察變項的三因子模式權能量表，可作為短式權能量表，以提供實務工作評估之實質助益。

關鍵字：增強權能、短式量表、社會工作實務

Abstract

The empowerment scale developed by Li-yu Song is composed of 34-item and eight factors which are “self-efficacy and internal control”, “external locus of control”, “interpersonal skills”, “interpersonal self-affirmation”, “social self-affirmation”, “social and political resources and influence”, “social and political empowerment” and “social and political action”. However, with too many items, it's limited to apply to social work practice efficiently. The aim of this study is to simplify the empowerment scale developed by Li-yu Song to form short form. Based on relevant literatures and researches, the concept of empowerment consists of three levels: personal, interpersonal and political. The confirmatory factor analysis is performed by means of the statistic software LISREL version 8.72. Evaluating the overall fit of the model with 12 goodness-of-fit indexes, the results demonstrated that the three factors model (9-item) fit well. Comparing to the eight factors model and other three factors models, it showed the most proper model fit. In addition, evaluating fit of internal structural of model, the composite reliability of three factors model and the eight factors model are greater than 0.6. Both of them are with the average variance extracted (AVE) below 0.5 but the AVE of the three factors model is nearer 0.5. Thus, the three factors model (9-item) is fit better than other models. To sum up, the three factors model (9-item) can develop the short form and an efficient tool in assessment for the practitioners.

Keywords: empowerment, the empowerment scale: short form, social work practice

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壹、研究目的

增強權能(empowerment)概念的發展，自1976年Barbara Solomon於其著作中提出之後，成為社會工作的重要理論之一及其重要的價值理念與行動策略；1970年代末期至1980年代，社會工作領域提出具生態觀的增強權能理論，使得增強權能觀點更為廣泛地應用在不同的人群的服務。

在西方，對於增強權能的概念、測量工具與工作策略均有長足的發展(宋麗玉，2006)；在臺灣，因民主化的發展與對人權的倡導，增強權能已成為社會工作的核心價值、工作理念與介入觀點。若以增強權能、增權、增能、賦權或充權為關鍵字檢索臺灣碩博士論文資料庫，則查得59篇與增強權能相關之社會工作系所碩博士論文。然而，在實務應用方面，則不如研究領域成果豐碩，目前適用於臺灣的測量工具僅有宋麗玉於2006年以臺灣本土樣本發展之增強權能量表，提供實務界評估使用，並為相關增強權能研究最常使用之測量工具。

宋麗玉發展之增強權能量表共有8個分量表、34題項，因題項過多常造成實務應用上的限制；對此，宋麗玉建議可依處遇目標選擇其中某幾個向度的題項加以施測(宋麗玉，2006)。惟為能完整測得受測者的權能狀態，並避免實務工作者有選擇部分向度的困難，本研究依據相關文獻及研究，將增強權能分為個人、人際與社會政治等三個層次，試圖簡約該增強權能量表以發展「短式權能量表」，藉此提高實務評估的使用率，並增進其助人工作的效能。

本研究採取驗證性因素分析，以宋麗玉於2006年發展之臺灣在地性增強權能量表為基礎，加以精簡形成短式權能量表。首先，以探索性因素分析探索增強權能量表之八因素特質與結構，再建構個人、人際及社會政治等三因子之理論模型，以驗證性因素分析評估模式功能，並進行模型競爭比較，以發展有效之短式權能量表。

Research Purpose

The empowerment concept development has become one of the important theories of social work, important values, and action strategies since it was proposed by Barbara Solomon in his work in 1976. From the late 1970s to the 1980s, the empowerment theory based on the ecological concept in the field of social work has led to more extensive applications of empowerment viewpoints in different kinds of population services.

In the west, the empowerment concept has achieved considerable development in terms of measurement tools and work strategies (Li-yu Song, 2006). In Taiwan, due to the advocacy of democracy and human rights, empowerment has become the core value, philosophy, and intervention perspective of social work. If keywords in Chinese including “zeng-qiang-quan-neng, zeng-quan, zeng-neng, fu-quan, or chongquan” were to be searched from Taiwan’s master and doctorate dissertation database, 59 articles of empowerment-related master and doctorate thesis papers from departments of social work would be found. However, as far as practical application is concerned, the result is not as fruitful as the research field. Currently, the empowerment scale developed through domestic samples by Li-yu Song in 2006 is the only measurement tool suitable for domestic use in Taiwan and available to practitioners. It is also the most commonly used measurement tool in empowerment-related research.

The empowerment scale developed by Li-yu Song consists of 8 sub-scales and 34 questions. As excessive questions often lead to limitations in practical application, Li-yu Song recommended choosing questions from several dimensions based on the treatment goal (Li-yu Song, 2006). In order to obtain full test results of the participants’ empowerment and prevent difficulty in practical workers’ choice of dimensions, based on relevant literatures and researches, empowerment was divided into three levels in this study, namely, personal, interpersonal, and socio-political. An attempt was made to simplify the experiment scale in order to develop a “short form,” thereby enhancing practical assessment usage and improving its effectiveness as a work aid.

Confirmatory factor analysis was adopted in this study with Li-yu Song’s empowerment scale intended for domestic use in Taiwan as the basis. It was subsequently simplified into a short form. First, exploratory factor analysis was adopted to analyse the characteristics and structures of the eight factors in the empowerment scale. Personal, interpersonal, and sociopolitical 3-factor theoretical models were then adopted to analyse and evaluate the model functions using confirmatory factor analysis. Model competition comparison was subsequently conducted in order to develop an effective short form.

貳、文獻探討

一、增強權能概念的發展

有關「empowerment」的譯法，除了增強權能之外，尚包括培力、增權、增強權能、賦權、賦能、增強力量、增能等。「empowerment」最早出現在17世紀，為法律用詞，係指權限的委讓及自由裁量權的給予，二次世界大戰結束後，廣泛運用至性別、種族、宗教、教育、心理、企業等各領域(邱琬雯，2005；何思涵，2009)。

1976年，Barbara Solomon出版著作「Black Empowerment: Social Work in Oppressed Community」，為社會工作領域發展增強權能觀點的起始。Solomon在書中描述美國社會中的黑人長期遭受同輩團體、優勢團體與環境等負面評價，以至於感受到深沉的無權，他明確建議為解除社會中的制度性的壓迫與疏離，社會工作的介入應增進受壓者個人的自我效能與社會改革的力量。Solomon 提出增強權能概念後，成為社會工作重要的觀點與參考知識體系(趙善如，1999；宋麗玉等，2002；鄭麗珍，2003)；1970年末期至1980年代以後，社會工作領域整合傳統社會工作個人取向與基變社會工作社會取向的雙重觀點，發展出生態學的增強權能觀點，同時注重個人、人際、政治三面向的權能，此後更廣泛應用在不同人口群的服務之中(宋麗玉等，2002)。

二、增強權能的定義

在探討增強權能的定義概念時，常引用Solomon(1976)的界定，其指出增強權能是一個過程，為減少無權威的方式，透過發掘無權的群體的權力障礙，以協助其消除非直接權力障礙的效果和直接權力障礙的運作(馮國堅、洪雪蓮，1999)。Solomon強調消除權力障礙的重要性，所謂的間接的權力障礙是內在的負向評價，在個人的成長過程，透過重要他人不適當的影響而內化；而直接的權力障礙，則是透過如經濟上的不安全感、政治上的被虐待、資訊的缺乏、生心理的壓力及習

Literature Review

I. Development of the Empowerment Consent

In addition to *quan-qian-quan-neng* in Chinese, The English term “empowerment” is also translated into several Chinese terms such as “zeng-qiang-quan-neng, zeng-quan, zeng-neng, fu-quan, or chongquan” etc. The term “empowerment” first appeared in the 17th century and was used as a legal term, which referred to the appointment of authorization and discretion. After World War II, it was widely applied in various gender-, race-, religion-, education-, psychology-, and corporation-related fields (Qiu Chu-wen, 2005; He Si-han, 2009).

In 1976, Barbara Solomon’s book entitled “Black Empowerment: Social Work in Oppressed Community” was published, which marked the beginning of empowerment development in the field of social work. Solomon mentioned in this book that black people had long received negative comments from peers, dominant groups, and environment, which seriously made them feel deprived of rights. He clearly advised for social intervention to increase oppressed individuals’ self-efficacy and social reform strength in order to stop society’s institutional oppression and alienation. After the concept of empowerment was put forth by Solomon, it became an important perspective and indicative knowledge system of social work (Zhao Shan-ru, 1999; Li-yu Song et al., 2002; Zheng Li-zhen, 2003). From the late 1970s to the 1980s, the social work field integrated the dual perspective of traditional social work with personal orientation and the base social work with social orientation, thus leading to the development of the empowerment perspective in ecology, while emphasizing empowerment in three aspects: personal, interpersonal, and political. The concept has been widely applied in services to different populations ever since (Li-yu Song et al., 2002).

II. Definition of Empowerment

Solomon’s definition (1976) is often cited in empowerment-related discussions. It is pointed out that empowerment is a process, a method that reduces powerlessness by finding power barriers in the way of powerless groups in order to help them eliminate indirect power barriers and direct power operations (Feng Guo-jian, Hong Xue-lian, 1999). Solomon stresses the importance of eliminating power barriers. The so-called power barriers are internal negative comments internalized through bad influences of significant others while growing up. Direct power barriers, on the other hand, are formed due to economic insecurity, political abuses, information inadequacy, physical and psychological stress, learning helplessness, and other social factors. After Solomon, a number of scholars started paying attention to “empowerment” and put forward related definitions. For instance, Torre (1985) believes that empowerment is the right of

得無助感等社會因素形成權力的障礙。在Solomon之後，陸續有學者關注「增強權能」並提出相關界定，如Torre(1985)認為增強權能是使人們得到參與的技能、知識與充足的權力，以協助自己和他人能夠擁有更好生活的一個過程，使人們能夠主導性的參與、掌握和影響自己的事之權能觀點。Rappaport(1987)將增強權能定義為人們、組織及社區團體歷經關切自己的議題而獲得優勢的一個過程，藉由此增強權能的過程增進人們控制自己生活的能力(曾淑惠，2004)。Payne(1997)認為增強權能是減少社會或個人的阻礙，以運作存在的力量、增加使用的全能和自信，同時需從環境中轉換力量給予案主，以協助案主獲得掌控其生活決定和行動的權利(引自粘容慈，2004；莊瑞彰，2008)。Gutiérrez、Parsons和Cox(1998)與前述學者觀點相同，均認為增強權能是影響個人生活歷程的能力，但Gutiérrez等人在運用增強權能觀點時，除針對服務對象自身能力與正向價值的提升之外，更強調必須協助服務對象參與其所處情境中相關的公共決策機制，才能同時達到個人與社會層面的權能增強。

檢閱相關增強權能的文獻發現，增強權能的定義並無單一性的闡釋，然綜合各個學者不同的界定方式，可歸納出增強權能既是目標、過程，也是結果和介入方式，包括意識覺醒、增進能力和採取行動的動態性歷程，是個人內在自發的，不是他人能夠給予的力量，然他人可協助個人促進與增強其權能，透過集體經驗辨識與確認，產生批判性的思考與行動知識，發展互相合作的行動，以達到社會的變遷。因此，增強權能是受壓迫者覺察受到制度性的壓迫，產生改變造成缺乏權力的因素的想法，發展獲得掌控其生活的知識、技巧與能力，以除去個人內在無力感及個人、人際與社會權能的障礙，增加個人、人際或政治權力，並採取行動改變其生活處境。

三、增強權能之層次與向度

增強權能是動態的過程，出現在社會、心理、經濟、政治及其他領域，同時其概念內涵具有多元

people to acquire skills, knowledge, and contentment, a process that leads themselves and others to a better life. People will be able to dominantly participate and grasp things that affect them from the viewpoint of power. Rappaport (1987) defines empowerment as a process by which people, organizations, and community groups gain a competitive advantage in the experience and concern of their own issues, thereby enhancing people's ability to control their lives (Zeng Shu-hui, 2004). Payne (1997) believes that empowerment is a force that reduces social or personal barriers and enhances omnipotence and self-confidence through operation of the power in existence. At the same time, there is a need to convert power from the environment to case subjects in order to assist them in controlling life decisions and the right to actions (cited from Nian Jong-ci, 2004; Zhuang Rui-zhang, 2008). Gutiérrez, Parsons, and Cox (1998) share the same viewpoint as the above mentioned scholars. They believe that empowerment is the ability to influence the course of personal life. However, Gutiérrez et al., not only targeted the service targets' own abilities and the enhancement of positive values when applying the empowerment viewpoint, but also stressed that assistance must be offered to the service participants to participate in public decision-making mechanisms related to situations they face in order to achieve empowerment at personal as well as social levels.

A review of empowerment-related literature shows that the definition of empowerment has no uniform interpretation. However, based on the definitions of the scholars, it can be summarized that empowerment is a goal, a process, an outcome, and an intervention method, including consciousness, capacity improvement, and the dynamic process of actions taken. Power comes from within rather from others, although others can help individuals promote and enhance their capabilities. Through group experience, identification, and affirmation, critical thinking and action knowledge are produced to develop mutual cooperative action, thereby achieving social change. Hence, empowerment is when the oppressed perceives institutionalized oppression, resulting in change and factors and thoughts that lack power. This leads to the development of knowledge needed to gain control of their lives, skills, and abilities, thereby eliminating individuals' sense of helplessness and personal, interpersonal, and social power barriers, enhancing personal, interpersonal, or political rights, and taking action to change life situations.

III. Levels and Dimensions of Empowerment

Empowerment is a dynamic process that appears in social, psychological, economic, political, and other fields. At the same time, the connotation of the concept possesses multiple levels and dimensions. For example, Saleeby (1996) and Inglis (1997) proposed personal empowerment and social empowerment. The

層次和向度。例如，Saleeby(1996)、Inglis(1997)提出個人式增強權能及社會式增強權能，前者強調增加自我決定的權利，使其自我負責及自我決定，後者則是增加社會處境中的機會、社會資源的動員及改革社會制度。Rowlands(1997)指出增強權能在個人、關係及集體等三個向度中運作。Barker(1999)認為增強權能是協助個人、家庭、團體及社區，增進其個人的、人際的、社會經濟的以及政治的優勢與影響力，以改善生活處境的過程。而Adams(2003)則提到五種層次的增強權能，即個人、人際、團體、組織和社區(宋麗玉，2007)。一般來說，增強權能分為三個層次，分別為個人、人際與社區及政治層次，個人的充權是增強權能的基本要件，進而發展中介與鉅視層次之充權與倡導。持此一觀點的學者主要有Zimmerman等人(Zimmerman, 1990、Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995)，認為增強權能涉及到個人、組織和社區等三個層面；在個人層面，增強權能包括參與行為、施加控制的動機、效能和控制感；組織層面包括共同領導、發展技巧的機會、擴展、有效的社區影響；社區層面則涵蓋受到增強權能的組織、公民參與社區決策的機會。Lee(1994)也認為增強權能分為個人能力的自我增強、人際間組織形成團體及形成全面性的社會政治行動等三個層次(莊瑞彰，2008)。最常被引用的則是Gutiérrez、Parsons和Cox(1998)所提出個人、人際間或政治權能的增強權能過程：1.個人的層次：個人感覺到自己能夠影響自我的生活或具有解決問題的能力，此層次聚焦於個人發展個人權力感和自我效能感的方式；2.人際的層次：個人和他人相互合作形成集體性力量解決生活中的問題，此層次強調使個人可以有更多的影響他人能力的具體技術的發展；3.政治的層次：能夠促進或改善社會制度，此層次重視社會行動和社會改革。

宋麗玉(2006)認為增強權能的概念或策略是一個全觀的概念，含括個人、人際與政治多元向度，並整理相關增強權能量表的研究發現，Rogers等人(1997)、Boehm和Staples(2004)、Dee等人(2003)

former gives an emphasis to increasing the right to make one's own decisions to take responsibility and make decisions; the latter increases opportunities in social situations, the mobilization of social resources, and the reform of the social system. Rowlands (1997) pointed out that empowerment can operate in three dimensions, namely, personal, relational, and collective. Barker (1999) believes that empowerment can help individuals, families, groups, and communities enhance their personal, interpersonal, socioeconomic, and political edge and influence, thus achieving the process of life situations. Adams (2003) mentioned five levels of empowerment (i.e., personal, interpersonal, group, organizational, and communal (Li-yu Song, 2007)). Generally speaking, empowerment can be divided into three levels, namely, personal, interpersonal, communal, and political. Personal empowerment is a basic element in experiment, which leads to the development of the supply and advocacy of power. Scholars that hold this view include Zimmerman et al., (Zimmerman, 1990, Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995). They believe that empowerment involves three dimensions. At the personal level, empowerment includes participation behaviors, motivation for exerting control, performance, and sense of control. The organizational level covers joint leadership, opportunities for skills development and expansion, effective community influence. The communal level covers the organizations that have undergone empowerment and opportunities for citizens to participate in community decision-making. Lee (1994) also believes that empowerment can be divided into three levels, namely, reinforcing individual ability, organizations forming groups, and the formation of comprehensive social and political actions (Xu Bi-shan, 2001; Zhuang Rui-zhang, 2008). The most commonly cited is the process of personal, interpersonal, or political empowerment proposed by Gutiérrez, Parsons, and Cox (1998): 1. Personal level: One feels able to influence one's own life, or one has the ability to solve problems. This level focuses on ways a person develops personal power and self-efficacy; 2. Interpersonal level: A person cooperates with others to form a collective force for solving problems in life. This level emphasizes that individuals can develop specific techniques that influence others' capability; 3. Political level: It can promote or improve the social system. This level gives an emphasis to social actions and social reforms.

Li-yu Song (2006) believes that the concept or strategy of empowerment is a whole new concept constituted by pluralistic dimensions, including personal, interpersonal, and political dimensions. After compiling empowerment-related research, it was found that although the empowerment dimension classification proposed by scholars Rogers et al., (1997), Boehm and Staples (2004), Dee et al., (2003), and Zimmerman (1990) vary, there are still similarities to be summed up. First, competency and self-efficacy, self-esteem, internal control, and degree of

及 Zimmerman(1990)等學者對於增強權能的向度分類雖有不同，但仍可歸納出相同處，首先勝任度與自我效能、自尊、內控，或是掌握度為相關性概念，均指涉個人內在的能力，屬於內在資源；其次自決是另一個共同點，為個人有選擇和決定的能力與權利；此外尚有社會環境的影響，即經由個人行動或集體的倡導，達成社區與社會的改變(宋麗玉，2006)。因此，宋麗玉以Rogers等人之增強權能量表為基礎，將對於增強權能分為自尊與自我效能、權能—缺能、社區行動與自主性、樂觀與控制未來、與正當的憤怒等五個向度，並參考Gutiérrez和Miley等人之向度區分，增加了個人層面自覺與環境配適度，人際面向的互動知識/技巧、自我肯定、自覺影響力、夥伴關係、自覺他人支持等，以及社會政治面向的社區行動和自主性、正當的憤怒、集體行動意願，據以發展進行臺灣在地性增權量表。其最後所得之增強權能量表則有八個因素，包括個人層面的「自我效能與內控」和「外在掌控力」；人際層面的「人際溝通技巧」、「人際自我肯定」與「社會自我肯定」；以及社會政治層面的「社會政治資源與影響」、「社會政治權能」與「社會政治行動」。

宋麗玉指出，所發展之增強量表有8個分量表及34題項，若於實務應用上有整體量表太長或題項過多之考量，可依處遇目標選擇其中某幾個向度的題項加以施測。然而，為能完整測得受測者的權能狀態，並避免實務工作者有選擇部分向度的困難，故本研究之目的在於簡約原有權能量表以發展短式增強權能量表。如前所述，依據相關文獻及研究，往往將增強權能分為個人、人際與社區、政治等層次，同時在心理學領域，對於有關控制和無力感的測量也有類似的發現，在Rotter(1966)建立了測量「對控制的概括化期望」的「內—外控制源量表」之後，許多使用此量表的研究提出，原始的內—外控量表並非嚴格的單維構念，Mirels(1970)、MacDonald和Tseng(1971)以及多位學者的研究均發現可將控制區分為「個人控制」和「社會控制」，

control are correlation concepts that all refer to the individuals' inherent ability, which is an internal resource. Secondly, self-determination is another aspect held in common. It is an individual's ability and right to make choices and decisions. In addition, the influence of the social environment is also to be taken into account. That is, through individual action or collective advocacy, communal and social changes can be achieved (Li-yu Song, 2006). Thus, with the empowerment scales of Li-yu Song and Rogers et al., as the basis, empowerment was divided into five dimensions: self-esteem and self-efficacy, power and lack of power, community action and autonomy, optimism and control the future, and legitimate anger. Additionally, with the dimension classification of Gutiérrez and Miley et al., as the reference, consciousness and environmental fit from the personal dimension, interactive knowledge/skill, self-affirmation, perceived influence, partnerships, perceived support from others, etc., from the interpersonal dimension, and the community action and autonomy, legitimate anger, and collective action intention from the sociopolitical dimension were added, based on which the local empowerment scale for domestic use in Taiwan was developed. Finally, the empowerment scale obtained consists of eight factors, including "self-efficacy and internal control" and "external locus of control" from the personal level; "interpersonal communication skill," "interpersonal self-affirmation," and "social self-affirmation" from the interpersonal level; and "sociopolitical resources and influences," "sociopolitical empowerment," and "sociopolitical action" from the sociopolitical level.

Li-yu Song pointed out that the developed empowerment scale consists of 8 sub-scales and 34 questions. As lengthy questions often lead to limitations in practical application, it is recommended that questions from several dimensions be selected based on the treatment goal. However, in order to obtain full test results of the participants' empowerment and prevent difficulty in practical workers' choice of dimensions, this study aimed to simplify the original empowerment scale to develop the short form. As mentioned above, based on relevant literature and research, empowerment is usually divided into three levels: personal, interpersonal, and sociopolitical. At the same time, the field of psychology also had similar findings in terms of the measurement of control and powerlessness (Yang Zhong-fang et al., 1997). After the establishment of the "internal-external locus of control scale" in "generalized aspirations for control" by Rotter (1966), research has adopted the scale proposed that the original internal-external locus of control scale is not a strictly one-dimensional construct. Mirels (1970), MacDonald, and Tseng (1971) and numerous scholars found in their studies that control can be divided into "personal control" and "social control." Paulhus and Christie (1981) even added a third dimension "interpersonal control" as they believed that control should be explored from personal efficacy, interpersonal control, and social control

Paulhus 和Christie(1981)更增加了「人際控制」第三個向度，認為需從個人效能、人際控制和社會政治控制等層次探討控制(楊中芳等人，1997)。因此，本研究為發展短式權能量表，以宋麗玉的版本為基礎，將增強權能分為個人、人際、社會政治三個層次，個人層次指的是有關個人的自我效能、自我內外控制和自我肯定；人際層次是個人與他人間的人際關係與互動，而社會政治層次則是社會政治權能、資源動員與行動。此外，增強權能可以動詞或名詞的形式來了解，以動詞(empower)而論，係指增強權能的過程，若從名詞(empowerment)釋義，則是經增強權能過程導致的結果狀態。宋麗玉所發展之增強權能量表，較難測量由感到無力轉變為有權能感的動態過程，實質上所測得的應是增強權能過程導致的結果。為符合該量表之實質意涵，故本研究之量表則稱為「權能量表」。

參、研究方法及量表發展過程

一、研究方法

本研究以宋麗玉於2006年發展之臺灣在地性增強權能量表為基礎，加以精簡形成短式權能量表，建構個人、人際及社會政治等三因子之理論模型，以驗證性因素分析評估模式功能，並進行模型競爭比較，以發展有效之短式權能量表。

本研究採取驗證性因素分析，係考量探索性因素分析強調共同因素與測量變項之間的簡單結構以釐清測量得分之間的關係，其未預設特定之因素結構，而藉由統計的數據與指標來研判並決定最適切的因素模式(邱皓政，2011)，故宋麗玉以探索性因素來建構與發展增強權能量表。惟探索性因素分析為主觀判斷，所得的因素結構為資料推導的結果，缺乏理論的先驗性，也無法評估整體模式的適合度。反觀驗證性因素分析，則在研究之初先提出特定結構關係的假設，藉由結構方程模式的分析程序，含括結構化、假設方程式與模型考驗，將研究假設構成有意義的假設模型，且不同的假設模型之

levels. Hence, in this study, the short form was developed with Li-yu Song's version as the basis where empowerment is divided into three levels: personal, interpersonal, and socio-political. The personal level refers to one's self-efficacy, internal and external self-control, and self-affirmation; the interpersonal level refers to interaction between oneself and others; the sociopolitical level refers to the social political power, political power, and resource mobilization and action. In addition, empowerment can be understood in both verb and noun forms. Empower as a verb refers to the process of empowerment, and empowerment as a noun refers to the outcome of empowerment process. It is harder to measure the dynamic process of transforming powerlessness into power using the empowerment scale developed by Li-yu Song. Essentially, the measure result is the outcome of the empowerment process. Therefore, the scale in this study is called the "empowerment scale."

Research Methods and Scale Development Process

I. Research Methods

The empowerment scale for domestic use in Taiwan developed by Li-yu Song in 2006 was simplified into a short form as the basis in this study in the construction of theoretical models for three factors: personal, interpersonal, and sociopolitical. The confirmatory factor analysis was adopted to evaluate the model functions and engage in model competition comparison, thereby developing an effective short form.

The confirmatory factor analysis was adopted in this study. The exploratory factor analysis emphasizes the simple structure between common factors and measured variables to clarify the relationship between the measured scores. The factor structure was not set in advance. Statistical data and indicators were used to determine and decide on the most appropriate factor model (Qiu Hao-zheng, 2011). Thus, Li-yu Song's exploratory factors were used to construct and develop the empowerment scale. However, as exploratory factor analysis derives at subjective judgments, the factor structure obtained was the outcome inferred from data and thus lacks a priori theory and is unable to assess the overall model fit. Confirmatory factor analysis on the other hand first puts forth specific structural-relationship-related hypotheses. Through the analysis procedure of the structural equation model, including structuralization, hypothesized equation, and model test, the research hypotheses were constructed into meaningful hypothetical models. Additionally, competition comparison was performed for the different hypothetical models, thus demonstrating theoretical test and confirmation functions (Qiu Hao-zheng, 2011). Hence, the confirmatory factor analysis

間可以進行競爭比較，具有理論檢驗與確認的功能（邱皓政，2011），故本研究採取驗證性因素分析以簡化並發展短式權能量表。

二、研究對象

本研究之樣本係由中央研究院調查研究專題中心學術調查研究資料庫取得「增強權能量表與實施策略之發展—臺灣本土經驗之探索」之研究樣本資料，其研究對象分別為全國社工系的專任教師、20個縣市家暴中心的社工員及其所服務婚姻暴力個案，問卷預測和最後施測均以結構式的問卷由受試者自填，有效樣本數為358位，其中教師113位、社工員125位及案主120位，本研究則以該資料庫之358份有效樣本資料進行分析。

三、增強權能量表之發展

宋麗玉依據DeVellis(1991)的量表發展步驟發展該增強權能量表，首先檢視增強權能概念及相關量表設計初步的量表內容，再透過專家學者協助檢視與實施預測，以形成正式施測的量表。

宋麗玉之增強權能量表係以Rogers等人(1997)之量表為基礎，並參考概念內涵與其他量表而發展，正式施測量表有55個題項，採用主成分分析法及Varimax轉軸法進行探索性因素分析，問項的因素負荷量 ≥ 0.4 才納為因素的指標，並依據信度檢驗及辨別力刪除42題項中的8個題項(如表一)，最後版本為34題。根據其分析結果，該量表具有因素結構效度，共有八個因素，包括個人層面的「自我效能與內控」(8題)和「外在掌控力」(6題)；人際層面的「人際溝通技巧」(3題)、「人際自我肯定」(3題)與「社會自我肯定」(3題)；以及社會政治層面的「社會政治資源與影響」(5題)、「社會政治權能」(3題)與「社會政治行動」(3題)。同時，該量表施測結果顯示在教師、社工員，和案主之間的整體權能感有顯著差異，即教師的權能感高於社工員和案主，社工員又高於案主。在信度方面，內在一致相當高($\alpha = .946$)，次向度的 α 就題數而言也都在可接

was adopted to simplify and develop the scale into the short form.

II. Research Participants

The research samples in this study comprise the “empowerment scale and implementation strategy development—in search of domestic experience in Taiwan” research sample data obtained from the academic survey and research database of the Center for Survey Research, RCHSS. The research participants include full-time teachers of departments of social work nationwide, social workers of domestic violence centers in 20 cities and counties, and marital violence victim cases. The questionnaire pre-test and the final test in the form of structural questionnaires were filled out by the participants. There are 358 valid samples, 113 teachers, 125 social workers, and 120 case subjects. In this study, the 358 valid samples from the database were adopted for analysis.

III. Development of the Empowerment Scale

Li-yu Song developed the empowerment scale based on the scale development steps of DeVellis (1991). First, the empowerment concept and scale content of the related initial scale design were examined. Then, with the help of experts and scholars, the pretest was examined and implemented, thus forming the scale in the formal test.

Li-yu Song's empowerment scale is based on the scale of Rogers et al. (1997). In addition, the connotation of the concept and other scales served as references for the scale development. In the scale for the formal test, there are 55 questions. The principal component analysis method and the Varimax axis method were adopted for exploratory factor analysis. Only the questions with the factor load of ≥ 0.4 was included as factor indicators. Additionally, based on the reliability test and discrimination, 8 of the 42 questions were deleted (as shown in Table 1), thus the final version of 34 questions. In accordance with the analysis results, in the scale, eight factors showed factor structural validity, including “self-efficacy and internal control” (8 questions) and “external locus of control” (6 questions) from the personal level, “interpersonal communication skills” (3 questions), “interpersonal self-affirmation” (3 questions), and “social self-affirmation” (3 questions) from the interpersonal level, and “sociopolitical resources and influence” (5 questions), “sociopolitical power” (3 questions), and “sociopolitical action” (3 questions) from the sociopolitical level. Meanwhile, the scale implementation results show that the teachers, social workers, and case subjects showed significant differences in terms of the overall sense of power. In other words, the teachers' sense of power was higher than that of the social workers and case subjects, while the social workers' sense of power was higher than that of the case subjects. In terms of reliability, the internal consistency was considerably high ($\alpha = .946$), while the

受範圍0.66-0.89 之間。

sub-dimensions of α were within the acceptable range of 0.66-0.89 as far as “number of questions” is concerned.

表一 Table 1

宋麗玉研究之探索性因素分析結果(N=358)

The exploratory factor analysis results in Li-yu Song's research (N=358)

因素與問項 Factors and questions	共同性 Commonality	因素負荷量 Factor load
因素一：自我效能與內控力 $\alpha = .923$ Factor 1: Self-efficacy and internal control $\alpha = .923$		
07 我認為自己是個有能力的人 I think of myself as a capable person.	.706	.762
06 我覺得自己是一個有價值的人 I think I'm a valuable person.	.692	.724
05 我能夠克服障礙或困難 I am able to overcome obstacles or difficulties.	.629	.690
09 我覺得自己有一些好的特質 I think I have some good qualities.	.608	.660
08 我能夠完成一些事情 I am able to accomplish some things.	.719	.660
04 我對於自己所做的決定具有信心 I am confident about my own decisions.	.638	.602
03 當我做計畫時，我有把握事情可以成功 When I engage in planning, I am confident I will succeed.	.643	.589
10 只要我認為可能的事，就可以做到 I can accomplish things that I think can be done.	.572	.584
01 我能夠完成已經開始做的事 I am able to finish what I have started.	.519	.581
11 我能夠決定我生活中大部分的事情 I can decide most things in my life.	.502	.556
12 一旦設定目標，我會努力去達成 Once I set a goal, I will try my best to reach it.	.563	.529
13 我能樂觀地面對挫折 I can face setbacks optimistically.	.564	.527
因素二：社會政治資源與影響力 $\alpha = .797$ Factor 2: Sociopolitical resources and influence $\alpha = .797$		
54 如果要爭取自身的權益時，我知道可以找哪些人幫忙 When I fight for my own interests, I know who I can turn to for help.	.620	.670
55 如果需要向社會或政府表達自己的聲音時，我可以找到管道 If there is a need for me to be heard by society or government, I manage to find the channels to do so.	.542	.643
34 我可以說服別人接受我的建議 I can convince others to accept my suggestions.	.597	.568
31 對別人不合理的要求，我會勇敢地拒絕 I bravely refuse others' unreasonable demands.	.440	.542
32 別人會重視我說的話 Others value what I say.	.607	.484
35 我覺得自己可以改變所處的環境 I feel I can change the environment I am in.	.568	.464
因素三：外在掌控力 $\alpha = .771$ Factor 3: External control $\alpha = .771$		
14 我對生活感到無力* I feel powerless about life.*	.558	.634
15 我自覺無法和有權力的人對抗* I consciously feel I cannot put up a fight against powerful people.*	.590	.587
18 我通常感到孤獨* I often feel lonely.*	.597	.583
17 我認為運氣不好造成我生命中的不幸* I think bad luck is the cause of misfortune in my life.*	.537	.576
33 我覺得別人忽視我的存在 I feel that others ignore my existence.	.581	.559
44 社會的現實狀況不是市井小民可以改變的* Social reality cannot be changed by people.*	.476	.510
因素四：社會政治權能 $\alpha = .844$ Factor 4: Social and political empowerment $\alpha = .844$		
41 人們一起努力，可以改變社會的環境 We can change the social environment if we all work together.	.805	.818
40 人們應該試著以他們想要的方式過日子 People should try to live the way they want.	.546	.728
42 人們如果團結起來，可以產生更大的社會力量 If people come together, they can generate greater social forces.	.716	.676
43 採取行動就有可能解決社會問題 It is possible to solve social problems by taking action.	.574	.610
因素五：社會政治行動 $\alpha = .814$ Factor 5: Sociopolitical action $\alpha = .814$		

因素與問項 Factors and questions	共同性 Commonality	因素負荷量 Factor load
46 我願意參加集體行動來改善鄰里的問題 I am willing to take part in collective action to improve neighborhood problems.	.815	.805
47 我願意參加集體行動來改善社會的問題 I am willing to take part in collective action to improve social problems.	.851	.780
48 我願意為社會上不公不義的事情挺身而出 I am willing to step up for unjust things in society.	.675	.576
50 採取反抗的行動無助於社會問題的解決* Taking action is useless for solving social problems.*	.456	.4669
因素六：社會自我肯定 $\alpha = .746$ Factor 6: Social self-affirmation $\alpha = .746$		
45 只要是對的事情，我敢向權威挑戰 I dare to challenge authority for things that I believe are right.	.668	.667
29 只要是自己認為對的事情，即使別人不同意，我仍然會堅持下去 I will stick to things I believe are right even if others do not agree.	.570	.357
51 當人們遭遇不公平的社會對待時，我敢表達不滿的聲音 When people encounter unfair social treatment, I dare to express my discontent.	.643	.655
27 我敢在公開場合表達與別人不同的意見 I dare to express opinions that differ from others' in public places.	.556	.426
因素七：人際溝通技巧 $\alpha = .840$ Factor 7: Interpersonal communication skill $\alpha = .840$		
23 我知道如何和別人維持良好的溝通 I know how to maintain good communication with others.	.745	.759
24 我能夠清楚地向別人表達自己的想法 I know how to maintain good communication with others.	.773	.745
25 與別人有不同的意見時，我能夠溝通和協調 I can communicate and negotiate when my opinions are different from others'.	.732	.680
因素八：人際自我肯定 $\alpha = .656$ Factor 8: Interpersonal self-affirmation $\alpha = .656$		
28 當與別人意見不一致時，我可以保持心情的平靜 When I am in disagreement with someone, I can stay calm.	.466	.569
19 我有勇氣面對困難 I have the courage to face difficulties.	.624	.480
26 當我需要別人幫助時，我會向別人提出來 When I need help from others, I let them know.	.451	.468
全量表解釋變異量：61.29%， $\alpha = .954$ Full scale explained variance: 61.29%, $\alpha = .954$		

※ 刪除灰色網底題項後，最後版本為34題，整體量表之 $\alpha = .946$ (引自宋麗玉，2006)。

※ After eliminating the questions with gray shading, the final version consists of 34 questions, and the overall scale is $\alpha = .946$ (cited from Li-yu Song, 2006).

四、短式權能量表之發展

本研究以宋麗玉之增強權能量表為基礎，建構個人、人際及社會政治等三因子之理論模型，以驗證性因素分析發展短式權能量表。

(一)因素面向性評鑑

本研究為發展短式權能量表，依據文獻回顧結果，建立一階三因子之競爭模式，即將增強權能分為「個人」、「人際」和「社會政治」三個層次，並以宋麗玉八因子模式的量表為基礎，將個人的自

IV. Development of the Short Form

In this study, with Li-yu Song's empowerment scale as the basis, the theoretical models of three factors, namely, personal, interpersonal, and sociopolitical were deconstructed in order to develop the short form through confirmatory factor analysis.

1. Factor Dimension Evaluation

In this study, a short form was developed. According to the literature review results, the competition model of three factors per level was established. In other words, empowerment was divided into three levels, namely, "personal," "interpersonal," and "sociopolitical." In addition, with Li-yu Song's 8-factor model scale as the

我效能、自我內外控制和自我肯定面向歸於個人層次；人際溝通或人際自我肯定等人際之間關係與互動為人際層次，而社會政治層次則包括社會政治權能、資源動員與行動。其次，進一步驗證短式權能量表架構，並檢驗與比較三因子模式和八因子模式的模式適配度，並發展適合之短式權能量表。

本研究採用LISREL 8.72版本進行驗證性因素分析，為避免非常態資料以常態理論估計程序，導致整體模式的配適度有高估現象，本研究以加權最小平方方法(weighted least-squares; WLS)進行參數估計來評鑑與分析整體模式，並先以PRELIS獲得原始資料之統計資訊及矩陣資料。本研究以34個觀察變項之三因子模式和八因子模式進行分析時，均出現了非正定(non-positive definite issue)問題，導致模式分析停擺，此非正定問題係因部分觀察變項的相關甚高(>0.7)，即共線性問題干擾了估計程序的進行。為去除雜質並達到簡約效果，參照權能理論及各變項的因素負荷量，刪去多餘變項，最後得到9個觀察變項之三因子模式。

(二)模式適合度分析

Bagozzi與Yi(1988)提出：「評估模式適合度時，宜從基本適合標準、整體適合度及模式內在結構適合度等三個層面分析」，因此以下依據此三面向進行分析：

1.基本適合標準

本研究三因子模式分量表因素負荷量在0.808~0.914之間，八因子模式分量表因素負荷量在0.578~0.876之間，未有太低或太高情形。然而，兩模式均未出現負的誤差變異，所有的誤差變異達顯著水準，依Bagozzi與Yi(1988)的評估標準而言，三因子模式與八因子模式的參數估計皆未違反基本模式適合標準。

2.整體模式適合度

Bagozzi與Yi(1988)認為評估整體模式適合度可採取下列的標準： χ 值、適合度指標(GFI)、調整後

basis, the “self-affirmation,” “internal-external locus of control,” and “self-affirmation” dimensions were placed under the personal level; interpersonal communication, self-affirmation, and other interpersonal relationships and interactions were placed under the interpersonal level; sociopolitical power, and resource mobilization and action were placed under the sociopolitical level. Secondly, the short form framework was further verified, and the model fit of the 3-factor model and the 8-factor model were examined and compared, thus developing an appropriate short form.

In this study, the LISREL 8.72 version was adopted for confirmatory factor analysis, in order to prevent using the normal theory estimation procedures for non-normal data, resulting in overestimated overall model fit. The weighted least-squares (WLS) was adopted for parameter estimation to evaluate and analyze the overall model. In addition, PRELIS was used to obtain statistical data of the original data and the matrix data. The 3-factor model and the 8-factor model comprised of 34 observation variables were adopted in this study for analysis, and non-positive definite issues appeared in all, causing the model analysis to be terminated. This non-positive definite issue is due to the high relevance of some of the observation variables (>0.7). In other words, the co-linearity problem interfered with the estimation procedure. In order to estimate impurities and achieve simplification results, the empowerment theory and the factor loads of the various variables served as the basis for eliminating excessive variables. Finally, the 3-factor model of the 9 variables was obtained.

2. Model Fit Analysis

Bagozzi and Yi (1988) proposed: “When evaluating the model fit, it is preferred that analysis be conducted through three levels: basic fit standard, overall fit, and internal structural fit of the model. Hence, the analysis below was conducted based on the three dimensions.

1. Basic Fit Standard

In this study, the factor load of the 3-factor model scale fell between 0.808~0.914, while the factor load of the 8-factor model scale fell between 0.578~0.876. The factor loads were neither too high nor too low. However, negative error variances did not appear in both models and all the error variances reached significant standards. According to the evaluation standard of Bagozzi and Yi (1988), the parameter estimations of the 3-factor model and the 8-factor model were not in violation to the basic model fit standard.

2. Overall Model Fit

Bagozzi and Yi (1988) believe that the following standards can be adopted for evaluating the overall model fit: χ value, good fit indicators (GFI), adjusted good fit indicators AGFI, and root mean residual (RMR). In addition to the standard of Bagozzi and Yi, the fit indicator classification and determination values

適合度指標(AGFI)、殘差均方根(RMR)。本研究除了參考Bagozzi與Yi的標準外，並參考邱皓政(2011)整理之適配指標分類及判斷值，故本研究所使用的12個整體適配指標如下(整理如表三)：

- (1)卡方檢驗：卡方自由度比(χ^2/df)，小於0.3 (Hair et al.,1998)
- (2)適合度指標：
 - ①適合度指標(GFI)，大於0.9(Bentler,1983)
 - ②調整後適合度指標(AGFI)，大於0.9(Bentler,1983)
 - ③規範適配指標(NFI)，大於0.9(Bentler & Bonett,1980)
 - ④非規範適配指標(NNFI)，大於0.9(Bentler & Bonett,1980)
 - ⑤增效指標(IFI)，大於0.95(Bentler,1995)
- (3)替代性指標：
 - ①比較適配指標(CFI)，大於0.95(Bentler,1995)
 - ②平均概似平方誤根係數(RMSEA)，小於0.08(McDonald & Ho,2002)
 - ③期望交叉效度指標(ECVI)，越小越好(邱皓政，2011)；且理論模式ECVI值須小於獨立模式與飽和模式的ECVI值，理論模式可以接受(Hair et al.,1998；黃芳銘，2006)。
 - ④Akaike訊息指標(AIC)，越小越好(邱皓政，2011)；且理論模式AIC值須小於獨立模式與飽和模式的AIC值，理論模式可以接受(Hair et al.,1998；黃芳銘，2006)。
 - ⑤一致性Akaike訊息指標(CAIC)，越小越好(邱皓政，2011)；且理論模式CAIC值同時小於獨立模式與飽和模式的CAIC值，理論模式可以接受(Hair et al.,1998；黃芳銘，2006)。
- (4)殘差分析指標：標準化殘差均方根指標(SRMR)，小於0.08(Hu & Bentler, 1999)

of Qiu Hao-zheng (2011) served as references. The 12 overall fit indicators adopted in this study are as follows (the compilation is shown in Table 3).

- (1) Chi-square test: The chi-square degree of freedom (χ^2/df) is less than 0.3 (Hair et al., 1998).
- (2) Fit indicators:
 - ①The good fit indicator (GFI) is greater than 0.9 (Bentler, 1983).
 - ②The adjusted fit indicator (AGFI) is greater than 0.9 (Bentler, 1983).
 - ③The normed fit index (NFI) is greater than 0.9 (Bentler & Bonett, 1980)
 - ④The non-normed fit index (NNFI) is greater than 0.9 (Bentler & Bonett, 1980).
 - ⑤The incremental fit index (IFI) is greater than 0.95 (Bentler, 1995)
- (3) Substitutive indicators:
 - ①The comparative fit index (CFI) is greater than 0.95 (Bentler, 1995).
 - ②The root-mean-square error of approximation is less than 0.08 (McDonald & Ho, 2002).
 - ③The expected cross-validation index (ECVI) is supposed to be “the less the better” (Qiu Hao-zheng, 2011); The ECVI value of the theoretical model should also be less than the ECVI values of the independent model and saturated model. The theoretical model is acceptable (Hair et al., 1998; Huang Fang-ming, 2006).
 - ④The Akaike information criterion is supposed to be “The less the better” (Qiu Hao-zheng, 2011); the AIC value of the theoretical model should also be less than the AIC value of the independent model and saturated model. The theoretical model is acceptable (Hair et al., 1998; Huang Fang-ming, 2006).
 - ⑤The consistent Akaike information criterion (CAIC) is supposed to be “The less the better” (Qiu Hao-zheng, 2011); the CAIC value of the theoretical value should also be less than the CAIC value of the independent model and saturated model. The theoretical model is acceptable (Hair et al., 1998; Huang Fang-ming, 2006).
- (4) The residual analysis indicators: The standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) is less than 0.08 (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

表三 table 3
整體適配指標及判斷值

Overall fit indicators and determination values

評估指標 assessment indicators		模式種類 Model type	判斷值 Determination values
卡方檢驗 Chi-square test	X ² /df	X ²	< 3 (Hair et al.,1998)
		df	
適合度指標 Fit indicators	GFI		> .90 (Bentler,1983)
	AGFI		> .90 (Bentler,1983)
	NFI		> .90 (Bentler & Bonett,1980)
	NNFI		> .90 (Bentler & Bonett,1980)
	IFI		> .95 (Bentler,1995)
替代性指標 Substitutive indicators	CFI		> .95 (Bentler,1995)
	RMSEA		< .08 (McDonald & Ho,2002)
	ECVI		越小越好 The less the better
	AIC		越小越好 The less the better
	CAIC		越小越好 The less the better
殘差 Residue	SRMR		< .08 (Hu & Bentler,1999)

依據上述之整體適配指標分析，如表四所示，簡約為9個觀察變項的三因子模式： $X^2=38.57$ 、 $df=24$ ，卡方自由度比=1.607($p < .001$)；GFI=0.99，AGFI=0.98，NFI=0.97，NNFI=0.98，IFI=0.99；CFI=0.99，RMSEA=0.41，ECVI=0.23(大於獨立模式及飽和模式之值)，AIC=80.57(大於獨立模式及飽和模式之值)，CAIC=183.06(大於獨立模式及飽和模式之值)以及SRMR=0.73。從以上指標數值得知，此模式具有可接受的模式符合度。其次，9個觀察變項的三因子模式之各項適配指標之數值不僅符合標準，且較其他模式為佳，其理論模式ECVI、AIC、CAIC值均分別小於獨立模式及飽和模式的ECVI、AIC、CAIC值，表示9個觀察變項的三因子之理論模式可以接受，比其他模式更有預測效度(Hair et al.,1998；黃芳銘，2006)。因此9個觀察變項的三因子模式整體適合度較其他之三因子模式為佳。此外，更重要的是與八因子模式相較，9個觀察變項之三因子模式亦有較佳之適合度。綜合而論，9個觀察變項的三因子模式之適配指標最具有優越性。

有關本研究三因子模式權能量表適合度分析，請參考表四；三因子與八因子模式的整體模式適合度之比較分析，請參考表五。

Based on the abovementioned overall fit indicator analysis, shown in Table 4, the 3-factor model was simplified into 9 observation variables: $X^2=38.57$, $df=24$, chi-square degree of freedom=1.607 ($p < .001$); GFI=0.99, AGFI=0.98, NFI=0.97, NNFI=0.98, IFI=0.99; CFI=0.99, RMSEA=0.41, ECVI=0.23 (greater than the value of the independent model and saturated model), AIC=80.57 (greater than the value of the independent model and saturated model), CAIC=183.06 (greater than the value of the independent model and saturated model), and SRMR=0.73. Based on the indicator values above, it shows that the model has acceptable model fit. Secondly, the fit indicator values of the 3-factor model with 9 observation variables are not only consistent with the standard, but are also better than the other models. The ECVI, AIC, and CAIC values of the theoretical model are all less than the ECVI, AIC, and CAIC values of the independent model and saturated model. This indicates that the theoretical model of the 3-factor model with 9 observation variables is acceptable and has higher predictive validity than the other models (Hair et al., 1998; Huang Fang-ming, 2006). Thus, the overall model fit of the 3-factor model with 9 observation variables is better than the other 3-factor models. More importantly, compared to the 8-factor model, the 3-factor model with 9 observation variables has better fit. In summary, the fit indicators of the 3-factor model with 9 observation variables are the most superior.

Refer to Table 4 for the fit analysis of the 3-factor model empowerment scale; refer to Table 5 for the comparison and analysis of the overall fit of the 3-factor model and the 8-factor model.

表四 Table 4
三因子模式權能量表模式適合度分析(N=358)

Model fit analysis of the e-factor model empowerment scale (N=358)

適配指標 Fit indicators		模式種類 Model type		三因子模式 3-factor model					判斷值 Determination values
		34題項 34 questions	24題項 24 questions	16題項 16 questions	11題項 11 questions	9題項 9 questions			
卡方檢驗 chi-square	X ² /df		1102.11	326.18	114.63	38.57	< 3		
	X ² df		249	101	41	24			
適合度指標 Good fit indicators	GFI		.98	.97	.98	.99	> .90		
	AGFI		.97	.96	.97	.98	> .90		
	NFI		.97	.94	.94	.97	> .90		
	NNFI		.98	.95	.95	.98	> .90		
	IFI		.98	.95	.96	.99	> .95		
替代性指標 Substitutive indicators	CFI		.98	.95	.96	.99	> .95		
	RMSEA		.098	.079	.071	.041	< .08		
	ECVI		3.37	1.11	.46	.23	越小越好 The less the better		
	AIC		1204.11	396.18	164.63	80.57	越小越好 The less the better		
	CAIC		1453.02	567.00	286.65	183.06	越小越好 The less the better		
殘差 Residue	SRMR		.38	.23	.15	.073	< .08		

※ 三分量表之因素：

因素一：自我效能，因素二：人際自我肯定，因素三：社會政治權能及行動

※ 「-」表示出現了非正定問題，導致模式分析停擺。

※ Factors of three sub-scales:

Factor 1: Self-efficacy; factor 2: interpersonal self-affirmation; factor 3: sociopolitical power and action.

※ “-” represents the emergence of the non-definition issue, resulting in model analysis termination.

表五 Table 5
權能量表模式適合度分析(N=358)

Model fit analysis of the empowerment scale (N=358)

模式種類 Model type			八因子模式 8-factor model		三因子模式 3-factor model			判斷值 Determination values
			34題項 34 questions	24題項 24 questions	34題項 34 questions	24題項 24 questions	9題項 9 questions	
卡方檢驗 chi-square	X ² /df	X ²				1102.11	38.57	< 3
		df				249	24	
適合度指標 Good fit indicators	GFI					.98	.99	> .90
	AGFI					.97	.98	> .90
	NFI					.97	.97	> .90
	NNFI					.98	.98	> .90
	IFI					.98	.99	> .95
替代性指標 Substitutive indicators	CFI					.98	.99	> .95
	RMSEA					.098	.041	< .08
	ECVI					3.37	.23	越小越好 The less the better
	AIC					1204.11	80.57	越小越好 The less the better
	CAIC					1453.02	183.06	越小越好 The less the better
殘差 Residue	SRMR					.38	.073	< .08

※ 八分量表之因素：

因素一：自我效能與內控力，因素二：社會政治資源與影響力，因素三：外在掌控力，因素四：社會政治權能，因素五：社會政治行動，因素六：社會自我肯定，因素七：人際溝通技巧，因素八：人際自我肯定

※ 三分量表之因素：

因素一：自我效能，因素二：人際自我肯定，因素三：社會政治權能及行動

※ 「-」表示出現了非正定問題，導致模式分析停擺。

※ Factors of eight sub-scales:

Factor 1: self-efficacy and internal control; factor 2: sociopolitical resources and influences; factor 3 external locus of control; factor 4: socio-political power; factor 5: sociopolitical action; factor 6: social self-affirmation; factor 7: interpersonal communication skills; factor 8: interpersonal self-affirmation.

※ Factors of three sub-scales:

Factor 1: self-efficacy; factor 2: interpersonal self-affirmation; factor 3: sociopolitical power and action.

※ “-” represents the emergence of the non-definitive issue, resulting in model analysis termination.

3. 模式結構內在適合度

Bagozzi與Yi(1988)認為評估模式內在結構適合度可採下列三項標準：個別題目信度大於0.5、組合信度大於0.6及平均變異萃取量大於0.5。

本研究三因子模式(9個觀察變項)個別題目信度均大於0.5，八因子模式則有一個題項(44題)的信度小於0.5。在組合信度方面，兩個模式的組合信度均大於0.6。至於平均變異萃取量，三因子模式在0.49~0.64之間，八因子模式在0.36~0.73之間，三因子模式接近大於0.5之標準。綜合以上評估標準，三因子模式的結構內在適合度較八因子模式為佳。

有關本研究八因子模式結構內在適合度分析，請參考表六；三因子模式的模式結構內在適合度分

3. Internal Fit of the Model Structure

Bagozzi and Yi (1988) believe that the three standards below can be adopted to evaluate the internal structural fit of the models: The reliability of individual questions is greater than 0.5, the combined reliability is greater than 0.6, and the average variance extraction is greater than 0.5.

The reliability of the individual questions in the 3-factor model (9 observation variables) exceeded 0.5, while the reliability of one question in the 8-factor model (44 questions) was less than 0.5. In terms of combined reliability, both models had a combined reliability exceeding 0.6. As for the average variance extraction, the 3-factor model fell under 0.49~0.64, while the 8-factor model fell under 0.36~0.73. The 3-factor model was close to the standard of 0.5. In view of the above evaluation standards, the structural internal fit of the 3-factor model is said to be better than that of the 8-factor model.

Refer to Table 6 for the structural internal fit of the 8-factor model; refer to Table 7 for the structural internal fit of the 3-factor

析，請參考表七；兩者之分析比較，請參考表八。

model; refer to Table 8 for the analysis and comparison of the two models.

表六 Table 6

八因子權能量表模式之信效度分析(N=358)

Reliability and validity analysis of the 8-factor power scale model (N=358)

分量表 sub-scales	信、效度 Reliability and validity		八因素模式 8-factor model	
	34題項 34 questions			
	信度 Reliability		效度 Validity	
因素一 Factor 1	.894		.52	
因素二 Factor 2	.807		.46	
因素三 Factor 3	.771		.36	
因素四 Factor 4	.835		.63	
因素五 Factor 5	.886		.76	
因素六 Factor 6	.738		.49	
因素七 Factor 7	.842		.64	
因素八 Factor 8	.660		.39	

※ 八分量表之因素：

因素一：自我效能與內控力，因素二：社會政治資源與影響力，因素三：外在掌控力，因素四：社會政治權能，因素五：社會政治行動，因素六：社會自我肯定，因素七：人際溝通技巧，因素八：人際自我肯定

※ Factors of 8 sub-scales:

Factor 1: Self-efficacy and internal control; factor 2: sociopolitical resources and influences; factor 3: external locus of control; factor 4: sociopolitical power; factor 5: sociopolitical action; factor 6: social self-affirmation; factor 7: interpersonal communication skill; factor 8: interpersonal self-affirmation.

表七 Table 7

三因子權能量表模式之信效度分析(N=358)

Reliability and validity analysis of the 3-factor empowerment scale model (N=358)

分量表 sub-scales	信、效度 Reliability and validity									
	三因素模式 3-factor model									
	34題項 34 questions		24題項 24 questions		16題項 16 questions		11題項 11 questions		9題項 9 questions	
	信度 Reliability	效度 Validity	信度 Reliability	效度 Validity	信度 Reliability	效度 Validity	信度 Reliability	效度 Validity	信度 Reliability	效度 Validity
因素一 Factor 1	.914	.45	.902	.51	.865	.56	.780	.64	.780	.64
因素二 Factor 2	.839	.34	.811	.40	.801	.45	.816	.48	.820	.54
因素三 Factor 3	.808	.31	.812	.31	.792	.45	.773	.46	.745	.49

※ 三分量表之因素：

因素一：自我效能，因素二：人際自我肯定，因素三：社會政治權能及行動

※ Factors of three sub-scales:

Factor 1: self-efficacy; factor 2: interpersonal self-affirmation; factor 3: Sociopolitical power and action

表八 Table 8

八因子與三因子權能量表模式之信效度比較(N=358)

Reliability and validity comparison of the 8-factor model and the 3-factor model (N=358)

分量表 sub-scales	八因素模式 8-factor model		三因素模式 3-factor model			
	34題項 34 questions		34題項 34 questions		9題項 9 questions	
	信度 Reliability	效度 Validity	信度 Reliability	效度 Validity	信度 Reliability	效度 Validity
因素一	.894	.52	.914	.45	.780	.64
因素二	.807	.46	.839	.34	.820	.54
因素三	.771	.36	.808	.31	.745	.49
因素四	.835	.63				
因素五	.886	.73				
因素六	.738	.49				
因素七	.842	.64				
因素八	.660	.39				

※ 八分量表之因素：

因素一：自我效能與內控力，因素二：社會政治資源與影響力，因素三：外在掌控力，因素四：社會政治權能，因素五：社會政治行動，因素六：社會自我肯定，因素七：人際溝通技巧，因素八：人際自我肯定

※ 三分量表之因素：

因素一：自我效能，因素二：人際自我肯定，因素三：社會政治權能及行動

※ Factors of eight sub-scales:

Factor 1: self-efficacy and internal control; factor 2: sociopolitical resources and influences; factor 3: external locus of control; factor 4: sociopolitical power; factor 5: sociopolitical action; factor 6: social self-affirmation; factor 7: interpersonal communication skills; factor 8: interpersonal self-affirmation.

※ Factors of three sub-scales:

Factor 1: self-efficacy; factor 2: interpersonal self-affirmation; factor 3: sociopolitical power and action.

肆、結論

本研究以探索性因素分析檢驗原有34個觀察變項之八因子權能量表，且為發展短式量表，再以驗證性因素分析驗證短式權能量表(即三因子模式)之架構，並檢驗八因子模式和三因子模式之模式適配程度。依據本研究模式適合度分析結果，三因子模式與八因子模式的參數估計皆未違反基本模式適合標準；本研究使用12個整體適配指標進行整體模式適配度分析，發現簡約為9個觀察變項的三因子之論模式可以接受，且其適配指標最具有優越性，比八因子及其他三因子模式均更有預測效度及較佳之適配度。至於模式結構內在適合度方面，兩個模式的組合信度均大於0.6，惟三因子模式的平均變異萃取量較八因子模式接近大於0.5之標準，故三因子模式的結構內在適合度較八因子模式為佳。綜上顯示，本研究建構的三因子模式與觀察資料的整體適配度有接近良好的整體適配度，顯示理論模式和觀察資料

Conclusion

In this study, the exploratory factor analysis was adopted to examine the original 8-factor empowerment scale with 34 observation variables, from which a short form scale was developed. Then, confirmatory factor analysis was adopted to verify the short form (i.e., the 3-factor model) structure. Additionally, the 8-factor model and the 3-factor model were examined to determine the degree of model fit. Based on the model fit analysis results in this study, the parameter estimates of the 3-factor model and the 8-factor model were not in violation to the basic model fit standard. In this study, 12 overall fit indicators were used for overall model fit analysis. It was found that the 9 theoretical models of the 3 factors simplified into 9 observation variables were acceptable. In addition, the fit indicators showed superiority, thus leading to better predictive validity and better fit compared to the 8-factor model and the 3-factor model. As for the internal fit of the model structure, the combined reliability of the two models exceeded 0.6. However, the average variance extraction of the 3-factor model was close to the standard of greater than 0.5 compared to the 8-factor model. Hence, the 3-factor model structure has a better internal fit than the 8-factor model. In view of the above, the 3-factor model constructed in this study and the overall fit of the observation data have

有相當的適配度，即其理論模式可以用來解釋實際的觀察資料，故本研究簡約得出之9個觀察變項的三因子模式權能量表，可作為短式權能量表(如表九，量表說明請參考附件一)；且該短式權能量表僅有9個題項，於實務應用上個案填寫的意願較高，可作為第一線助人工作之評估工具，並期待能藉此提高實務工作評估之效益。

almost a good overall fit, thus indicating the considerable fit of the theoretical models and observation data. In other words, the theoretical models can be used to explain the actual observation data. As a result, the 3-factor model empowerment scale with 9 observation variables were obtained and simplified into the short form (as shown in Table 9; refer to Attachment 1 for descriptions of the scale). As the short form only consists of 9 questions, in practical application, the cases were more willing to fill in answers. It shall serve as an assessment tool in front line assistance work. It is also expected to enhance the effectiveness of practical work evaluations.

表九 Table 9
短式權能量表
Short form

因素一：個人層次 Factor 1: Personal level	
01	我認為自己是個有能力的人 I think of myself as a capable person.
02	我對生活感到無力 I feel powerless about life.
因素二：人際層次 Factor 2: Interpersonal level	
03	與別人有不同的意見時，我能夠溝通和協調 I can communicate and negotiate when my opinions are different from others'.
04	當我需要別人幫助時，我會向別人提出來 When I need help from others, I let them know.
05	我敢在公開場合表達與別人不同的意見 I dare to express opinions that differ from others' in public places.
06	只要是對的事情，我敢向權威挑戰 I dare to challenge authority for things I believe are right.
因素三：社會政治層次 Factor 3: Sociopolitical level	
07	採取行動就有可能解決社會問題 It is possible to solve social problems by taking action.
08	社會的現實狀況不是市井小民可以改變的 Social reality cannot be changed by people.
09	我願意參加集體行動來改善社會的問題 I am willing to take part in collective action to improve social problems.

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香港學校社會工作人員 如何看待專業的角色、挑戰及發展

Perceptions of School Social Workers in Hong Kong: The Function, Role and Challenges

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摘要

學校社會工作服務的介入手法，是其中一個渠道去協助青少年處理學習、社交及情緒上的問題，並滿足青少年的成長需要，學會成為一個負責任的成年人。有何方法協助學校社會工作者以達至以上的目標？學校社工如何得知這些目標能得以達到？服務受眾包括家長和學生也期望接受有成效及有質素的學校社會工作服務。本篇論文有兩大目的：第一，闡述學校社工服務在香港的發展以及其功能；第二，了解任職學校及機構的學校社會工作者（以下簡稱為學校社工）所擔當的角色。是次研究共邀得十六位學校社工接受訪問，以了解他們如何定義「工作成效」及「有質素」的學校社會工作服務，以回應青少年的需要。同時，亦了解他們如何衡量其工作成效。是次的質性研究亦點出社會服務及教育界如何能促進有成效的學校社會工作服務。

關鍵字：學校社工，專業角色，中學，小學，香港的發展

Abstract

School social work service is one form of social work to assist students in dealing with their academic, social or emotional problems and to meet their developmental needs in order to prepare them for adulthood. In what ways can school social work practitioners achieve these aims? How do they know whether these aims can be achieved? Service users, including students and their parents, also expect to receive effective and quality school social work services. This paper examines the development and function of social work services both in schools and agencies in Hong Kong. Moreover, it will look at the role of practicing school social workers in delivering effective school social work practice to young people. Based upon in-depth interviews with sixteen school social workers, this study explores the way school social workers defined 'effectiveness' and 'quality' of their services in response to the changing needs of young people. This qualitative study also sheds light on how organizational and educational approaches can foster the effectiveness of school social work in Hong Kong.

Keywords: School social workers, role, secondary school, primary school, Hong Kong

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引言

學校社會工作服務於國際間，以至香港本土，於青少年服務中為不可或缺的一環。盧鐵榮、蔡紹基及蘇頌興(2005)指出，香港青少年服務有四大支柱，包括兒童及青年中心、外展社會工作服務、家庭生活教育，以及學校社會工作服務，多年來擔當著舉足輕重的角色。香港學校社工服務自七十年代開始至今，已有三十多年的歷史。現時，單是中學學校社工數目已有574名(香港特別行政區政府新聞公報，2011)，為471所日間中學提供學校社工服務(Social Welfare Department, 2012)。因此，應定期檢視服務情況，以促進服務發展，是有一定的重要性。

首先，本篇論文有兩大目的：第一，闡述學校社工服務在香港的發展以及其功能；第二，了解任職學校及機構的學校社會工作者(以下簡稱為學校社工)所擔當的角色。藉此期望該研究能夠在著重現今香港社會環境下，闡述機構的組織變遷如何影響學校社工的服務發展。在行政管理人員的角度來看，這些組織上的改變更加符合成本效益，有效地促進社會服務的發展。同時，本研究亦希望了解現時學校社會工作人員的角色、專業能力，以及影響服務成效之因素，以提出適切的建議。

一、學校社工服務在香港的發展

1970年代末，在還未正式提供學校社會工作服務以前，一些帶有宗教背景的非政府組織團體已經推行試驗性計劃，在少數的香港中學派駐社工(Chiu & Wong, 2002)。當初這些受聘用的學校社工，主要是提供服務給予真正有需要的家庭，而不是提供服務給予學校裡的孩童和青少年。這可以解釋學校社會工作服務本來是植根於家庭服務，並且著重提供服務給予孩童及其家庭，為他們解決問題。其後，香港教育署及社會福利署聯手合作，挑選一些學校試驗學校社會工作服務，以發掘和探討在香港廣泛擴展這項服務的可行性及效益(Ko & Wong, 1990)。

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Introduction

School social work services, which are an integral part of youth services, are offered internationally as well as locally in Hong Kong. Lo, Choi and Su (2005) pointed out that Hong Kong's youth services consist of four pillars, including children and youth centers, outreach social services, family life education, and school social work services. Over the years, these have played pivotal roles, while Hong Kong's school social work services have over 30 years of history since the 1970s. Currently, there are 574 secondary school social workers (Hong Kong SAR Government Press, 2011) providing social work services to 471 day schools (Social Welfare Development, 2012). In view of this, it is important to examine services offered regularly in order to boost service development.

This paper has two purposes: 1. Describe the development and function of school social work services in Hong Kong; and 2. Gain insight into the roles of social workers serving in schools and institutions. The research is expected to describe how organizational changes affect school social workers' service development under Hong Kong's current social environment. At the same time, this research aims to understand the roles and competence of school social workers, as well as factors contributing to service effectiveness in order to put forth appropriate recommendations.

I. Development of School Social Work Services in Hong Kong

In the late 1970s, when school social work services had not yet become officially available in Hong Kong, certain non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with a religious background launched a pilot scheme and dispatched a small number of social workers to secondary schools in Hong Kong (Chiu & Wong, 2002). At that time, the school social workers were hired mainly to provide services to families that were genuinely in need, rather than to children and youths in schools. This suggested that school social work services have its root in family services, and the focus was to provide services to children and their families, helping them to solve problems. Later on, Hong Kong's Education Bureau and Social Welfare Department cooperated to select some schools as pilot schools for social work services in order to discover and explore the feasibility and effectiveness of the expansion of the services across Hong Kong (Ko & Wong, 1990).

In 1976, Professor Agnes Ng of the Department of Social Work, The Chinese University of Hong Kong was commissioned by the Hong Kong Government to conduct a research

罪問題，其報告書建議設立三項服務：第一，針對街頭遊蕩的青少年而設的青少年外展服務，即外展社會工作服務；第二，針對父母的親子教育服務，即家庭生活教育服務；第三，針對在學的中學生需要的駐校社會工作服務，即學校社會工作服務(香港社會工作人員協會, 2010a)。

直到香港政府發表及刊印《本港青少年個人輔導社會工作之發展》綠皮書(Hong Kong Government, 1977)以及《進入八十年代的社會福利》白皮書(Hong Kong Government, 1979)，香港政府對於擴展學校社會工作服務的承諾才得以落實。透過這些政府發表的文件，香港政府正式並明確認可學校社會工作服務對於孩童及青少年的貢獻，尤其是白皮書的內容提及將政府基金投放於非政府機構，正式派駐學校社工到各中小學校提供服務。值得一提的是，獲得正式認可資格是擔任中學學校社工職務的首要條件。與此同時，在小學任職的學生輔導主任大多數畢業於教育學院，並且獲得有關輔導服務的知識和技能的教師。根據(Chiu & Wong, 2002)的資料，1980年代早期，在缺乏政府的資助下，學校社會工作的服務受到以下的限制：

學生輔導主任獲分派到市區小學任職的人數與學生的比例是1比3,000，而在郊區裡，其比例則為1比2,000。在中學，每4,000名學生，就有一位合資格的社工提供服務……在477間小學裡，一共只有九十三位學生輔導主任提供服務，另外，在297間中學裡，只有九十一位社工提供服務(Hong Kong Government, 1982, as cited in Chiu & Wong, 2002, p. 144)。

即使社會對於學校社會工作的服務需求急劇增加，學校社工與學生人數比例仍然高企，反映了政府投放的資源不足。因此，政府承諾要發展全面的學校社會服務的決心受到香港社會服務聯會的質疑(1977)。香港社會服務聯會以及各個利益相關者，包括校長、教師、社工都要求政府投放更多的資源到相關範疇，增加學校社工的人數，以回應1970和

on the problems of juvenile delinquency, which was increasingly serious at that time. The report recommended three services to be established: 1. youth outreach services targeting youngsters wandering on the streets (i.e., outreach social work services), 2. parent-child education services targeting parents (i.e., family life education services), and 3. school social work services targeting enrolled secondary school students (i.e., school-based social work services) (Hong Kong Social Workers Association, 2010a).

It was not until the time the Green Paper for “Hong Kong Individualized Youth Counselling Social Work Development” (Hong Kong Government, 1977) and the White Paper for “Social Welfare in the 1980s” (Hong Kong Government, 1979) were published and printed by the Hong Kong Government did the Government’s commitment for expansion of school social work service become a reality. Through these published documents, the Hong Kong Government officially and explicitly approved school social workers’ contribution for children and youth. In particular, it is specified in the white papers that government funds are to be put into NGOs, and school social workers are formally assigned to deliver services in primary and secondary schools. It is noted that formal accreditation is a prerequisite in serving as a secondary school social worker, while most student guidance officers (SGOs) serving in primary schools are those who have graduated from the Institute of Education and are teachers who have acquired knowledge and skills in counselling. According to Chiu and Wong (2002), in the early 1980s, school social work services were subject to the following limitations with the absence of government funding:

The ratio of SGOs assigned to serve in urban primary schools to the number of students is 1:3,000, while in the suburbs, the ratio is 1:2,000. There is one qualified social worker as service provider for every 4,000 secondary students; there are only 93 SGOs providing services in the 477 primary schools. On the other hand, there are only 91 social workers who provide services in the 297 primary schools. (Hong Kong Government, 1982, as cited in Chiu & Wong, 2002, p. 144).

Despite the sharp increase in the demand for school social work services, the ratio of school social workers and the number of students remains high, reflecting the lack of resources input from the Government. Hence, the determination of the Government’s commitment to develop comprehensive school social services has been questioned by the Hong Kong Council of Social Service (HKCSS) (1977). The HKCSS and interested parties, including principals, teachers

1980年代青少年人口不斷增長的需求。

改革變遷通常是步伐緩慢而散亂不協調的。在中學學校社會工作服務方面，直到1995年，情況才略有改善。每2,000名學生大約兩間學校當中就有一位學校社工提供服務(Hong Kong Government, 1991; Working Group on Review of School Social Work Service, 1999)。1997年至1999年期間，由於政府決定把學生學業成績稍遜的中學，調整其社工與學生的人數比例，由1比2,000的社工與學生的人數比例，調整至1比1,000。Chiu & Wong (2002)的報告指出「在1997年至1998學年，共有282位學校社工為435間中學提供服務」(p. 145)。而當中的154間中學，均屬學生學業成績稍遜的中學(Working Group on Review of School Social Work Service, 1999)。於2000年9月，有關「一間中學設有一位學校社工」的政策終於落實執行。而且，學校社工與學生的人數比例自此也減至1比1,000。然而，於2000年度，政府再也沒有投放額外的資源或資助給予非政府機構，以減低學校社工與學生的人數比例。而每間非政府機構也需要自行尋求資助，以實行這項政策。直至2011年，社會福利署為加強支援各中學進行聚焦的抗毒工作，並藉此加強有關方面的輔導服務，加開96個學校社工職位，令全港中學學校社工數目增加至574名(香港特別行政區政府新聞公報，2011)。根據官方資料，自2012年12月1日起，香港有三十四間非政府機構，為471所日間中學提供學校社工服務(Social Welfare Department, 2012)。

在小學學校輔導服務方面，教育局設立學校輔導主任(School Guidance Officer, SGO)，派駐小學(一名SGO服務三間或以上小學)，由教師擔任並接受短期輔導訓練。部分資助小學自聘學校輔導老師(School Guidance Teacher)，仍由輔導教師擔任(香港社會工作人員協會, 2010b)。

2002年開始，教育局開始透過逐年招標方式資助小學，向社會福利機構申請駐校社工服務。現時，香港約有560間的主流小學。以一間班數有十八班或以

and social workers, have demanded the Government to add more resources into related fields and to increase the number of school social workers in order to cope with the demand of the growing youth population in the 1970s and 1980s.

Change and reform were typically slow-paced, scattered, and uncoordinated. The social work service in secondary schools only showed slight improvement by 1995, when there was one school social worker that provided services for every 2,000 students (about two schools) (Hong Kong Government, 1991; Working Group on Review of School Social Work Service, 1999). From 1997 to 1999, the Government made the decision to adjust the ratio of social workers to students in secondary schools that had a higher proportion of academically low achievers. The original 1:2,000 ratio of school social workers to students was adjusted to 1:1,000. According to the report of Chiu and Wong (2002), “in the academic year of 1997/1998, a total of 282 school social workers was working in 435 secondary schools (p. 145), while the students from 154 schools were academically low achievers (Working Group on Review of School Social Work Service, 1999). In September 2000, the policy of “one school social worker assigned for each secondary school” was finally implemented. The school social worker-to-student ratio was thus reduced to 1:1,000. However, in 2000, the Government no longer invested extra resources or funding for NGOs in order to reduce the school social worker-to-student ratio. Thus, NGOs had no choice but to seek outside funding to implement this policy. In 2011, the Social Welfare Department began to strengthen the support for anti-drug work undertaken by the secondary schools and related counselling services, which created 96 additional school social worker positions, bringing the number of secondary school social workers to 574 in total (Hong Kong SAR Government Press, 2011). According to official data, a total of 34 NGOs in Hong Kong have provided school social work services to 471 day schools since 1st December 2012 (Social Welfare Department, 2012).

In terms of primary school guidance services, the SGOs Education Bureau set up the post of School Guidance Officers (SGOs) to serve in primary schools (one SGO serving in three or more primary schools). The SGO has to be a teacher and has received short-term counselling training. Some primary schools were aided to hire their own school guidance teachers (SGT) (Hong Kong Social Workers Association, 2010b).

From 2002, the Education Bureau started funding primary schools through yearly tenders, while applications are filed at NGOs to provide school social work ser-

上的學校為例，大約有600名學生，並設有一名學生輔導老師或輔導主任，或領取一份「學生輔導服務津貼」(Student Guidance Service Grant, SGSG)以聘請一名輔導人員(SGP)為學生提供輔導服務；而學校只有十七班或以下，只得半份SGSG或0.5位學生輔導老師(香港社會工作人員協會, 2010b)。

二、學校社工服務的目標及宗旨

一般來說，學校社工服務的目標是在學生、家長和學校人員共同努力下幫助學生，有效地協助學生在學業和個人上的發展(Allen-Meares, 1977; Freeman, Franklin, Fong, Shaffer & Timberlake, 1998)。

香港學校社工服務的宗旨是辨析和幫助學生在學業、社交以及情緒上遇到的問題，以增加他們接受教育的機會、發展他們的潛能、為他們日後成為負責任的成年人作好準備(Social Welfare Department, 2012)。

《學校社會工作服務的檢討報告》中說明學校社會工作的明確目標包括有：幫助學生發展最大的潛能、成就他們健康的個人成長、讓他們獲得足夠及適當的教育、建立人與人之間和諧的關係，喚起他們對社會的關注、幫助學生解決個人、家庭及人際關係及學校遇到的問題，並鞏固學生與朋輩、家庭成員、學校和社會之間的聯繫(Working Group on Review of School Social Work Service, 1999, p. Annex xii)。換言之，這項學校社會工作服務對加強青少年在中學裡獲得的福利與社會的功能有改善、發展及預防的作用。

社會普遍認為，學校的培育是青少年獲得相關的技能、價值觀以及知識的關鍵因素。成功的教育讓他們能夠面對生命的挑戰，從而積極地成長。為了達到這些目標，在非校本的社會資源下，社會工作的介入服務主要有四項：個案工作、小組與活動計劃、諮詢、協調與調動。

毋庸置疑，學校社會工作服務的對象主要是學生和家庭。學校的工作人員如有需要亦可使用這項服務。例如，組織一些有關父母教育和家庭生命教育活

vices. Currently, there are about 560 mainstream primary schools in Hong Kong. Take a school with 18 classes or more about 600 students, there is one SGO or the Student Guidance Service Grant (SGSG) given for hiring one SGP to provide counselling services for students. However, schools with less than 17 classes only have half of SGSG or 0.5 school guidance teachers (Hong Kong Social Workers Association, 2010b).

II. Goals and Objectives of School Social Work Services

In general, the goal of school social work service is to assist students, in terms of their academic and personal development, with concerted efforts from students, parents, and school staff (Allen-Meares, 1977; Freeman, Franklin, Fong, Shaffer & Timberlake, 1998).

The objective of Hong Kong's school social work services is to help identify and assist students in dealing with their academic, social, and emotional problems so as to increase their opportunity to receive education, develop their potentials, and prepare them to become responsible adults (Social Welfare Department, 2012). The "Review Report of School Social Work Services" states that the clear objectives of school social work include: to help students develop their fullest potentials, to assist students in achieving healthy personal growth, to provide them with adequate and appropriate education, to help them establish harmonious interpersonal relationships, to draw their attention to the community, to help them resolve personal, family, interpersonal and school problems, as well as to consolidate their contacts with peers, family members, school, and society (Working Group on Review of School Social Work Service, 1999, p. Annex xii). In other words, school social work service plays the role of improvement, development, and prevention in enhancing the welfare and social functions that youths should acquire in secondary school.

It is generally believed that training in schools is a key factor contributing to youth's acquisition of relevant skills, values, and knowledge. Successful education allows young people to face challenges in life, which in turn let them to achieve substantial growth. In order to achieve these goals, there are four main intervention services with non-school-based social resources: casework, group and activity plan, consultation, as well as coordination and mobilization.

Needless to say, the targets of school social work service are mainly students and their families. School staff can also access this service if needed. For example, parental education and family life education curriculum can be organized to

動課程，從而推廣家庭的價值觀以及子女與父母之間和諧的關係。除此之外，也會建議學校社工為教師提供專業的訓練，幫助他們了解青少年發展多方面的需要，以及學習如何回應他們的訴求。

三、學校社工的角色

根據《學校社工服務指引》，學校社工的重要角色可以分為八類，包括使能者、輔導員、社會教育家、顧問、資源動員者、研究員、倡導者、協調者(Central Guiding Committee on School Social Work, 1984)。以下表1羅列出每項學校社工角色的簡要定義。

列表1顯示，學校社工擔當多方面的角色。然而在1980年代和1990年代早期，在社工與學生人數比例相對高企的情況下，能否實現社工在學校擔當的角色仍難以確定。經過與學校社工和各個利益相關者如學校管理層一連串的討論後，學校社會工作服務檢討工作小組(1991)為了體現學校社會工作服務的專業功能，重新定義並調整學校社工的角色為四種：輔導員、顧問、統籌員和社區及社會教育家。

輔導員的角色是為學生及其家庭成員在家庭和社會議題上提供指導和諮詢的服務，組織及舉辦支援小組和計劃，裝備學生，以面對生命的挑戰。顧問是負責為學校的工作人員、家長和學生提供諮詢服務，以滿足學生的需要。統籌員則負責調動社會資源幫助學生、家庭、學校，及加強社會服務的聯繫以支援學校。

社區及社會教育家擔當的角色就是讓學生及其家庭發展正面的社會價值觀及態度，以面對生命困境。透過學生和家長小組以推行和諧的家庭關係，並且提供支援給予學生小組和家長教師協會(Working Group on Review of School Social Work Service, 1999, pp. 25-26; Social Welfare Department, 2000, p. 3)。

如何衡量社工的表現亦決定於以下提到社工擔當的四種角色，表2總結了主要四項有關表現的參考指標，自2000年度起，中學學校社會工作服務在地區上已採用此參考標準。

promote family values and harmonious parent-child relationships. In addition, professional training offered by school social workers is recommended to teachers so as to help them understand the various needs of youth development and to learn how to respond to such demands.

III. Roles of School Social Workers

According to the "Guidelines for School Social Work Services", the important role of school social workers can be divided into eight categories, namely enablers, counsellors, social educators, consultants, resource mobilizers, researchers, advocates and coordinators (Central Guiding Committee on School Social Work, 1984). Table 1 lists a brief definition of each role of school social workers.

Table 1 shows the multifaceted roles played by school social workers. In the early 1980s and 1990s, when the social-worker-to-student ratio was relatively high, it was difficult to determine whether the role of social workers in school could be actualized. Through a series of discussions with school social workers and interested parties such as the school management team, the Working Group of Review on School Social Work Service (1991) redefined and readjusted the role of a school social worker into four types: counsellors, consultants, coordinators, and community and social educators to demonstrate the professional functions of school social work services.

The role of a counsellor is to provide guidance and counselling services on family and societal issues, organize support groups and programs, and prepare students for challenges in life. On the other hand, a consultant is responsible for providing counselling services to school staff, parents and students in order to cater to the needs of students. A coordinator is responsible for mobilizing social resources to help students, their families, and school as well as strengthening the social services provided to support the school. The role of a community and social educator is to enable students and their families to develop positive social values and attitudes in order to face life difficulties. Harmonious family relationships are promoted through student and parent groups. Additionally, support is provided to student groups and parent-teacher associations (Working Group on Review of School Social Work Service, 1999, pp. 25-26; Social Welfare Department, 2000, p. 3).

These four roles of social workers are also crucial for measuring their performance. Table 2 summarizes the reference indicators of the four main items. Since 2000, this reference standard has been adopted regionally by secondary schools that offer social work services.

表1 Table 1
八類學校社工的角色

The role of school social workers under the eight categories

角色 Role	描述說明 Description
使能者 Enablers	幫助及鼓勵學生制定適當的方法以回應他們的需求，為學生解決有關他們身心發展的問題，以適應校園生活，有效善用資源。 Encourage students to use appropriate means to respond to their needs and solve problems regarding students' physical and mental development in order to adapt to campus life and utilize resources effectively.
輔導員 Counsellors	幫助學生更能認識自己在發展過程中的個性和情感，從而解決自己的行為/情緒問題，以適應校園生活。 Help students to better understand their own personalities and emotions during their development process so as to solve their behavior/emotion-related problems and adapt to campus life.
社會教育家 Social educators	幫助學生以及其家庭成員，建立正面的社會價值觀、態度和行為，推廣和諧的人際關係，以及培育對社會的責任感。 Help students and their family members to establish positive social values, attitudes, and behaviors to promote harmonious interpersonal relationships and foster social responsibility.
顧問 Consultants	提供諮詢服務給予校方人員及相關專業人士如何處理學生問題，涉及的議題例如有社會研究、道德教育以及學生活動。 Provide counselling services to school staff and relevant professionals regarding how to deal with problems of students. Issues involved include social studies, moral education, and student activities.
資源調動員 Resource mobilizers	分配與調動社會資源，例如技能、設施、勞動力與服務，為學生、其家庭成員和學校帶來裨益。 Allocate and mobilize social resources such as skills, facilities, labor and services, etc., which may benefit students, their family members, and the school.
研究員 Researchers	定期與校方人員審察評估服務，收集有關的工作數據，以助發展和改善服務。 Provide review and assessment services to school staff regularly and collect work data to develop and improve services.
倡導者 Advocates	熟悉教育體系的概覽，提出有助改善教育服務的建議，以及提倡資源貧乏下的替補方案。 Familiarize with the overview of the education system, give recommendations for improving the educational services and advocate alternative plans despite the scarcity of resources.
協調者 Coordinators	加強與學生、家長、學校以及社會的聯繫，以提倡互相了解與和諧的關係，調解各方引起的誤會和衝突。 Strengthen contacts between students, parents, school, and society to promote mutual understanding and harmonious relationships to mediate the parties in case of conflicts and misunderstanding.

資料來源: Working Group on Review of School Social Work Service (1999, p. Annex VI)

Source: Working Group on Review of School Social Work Service (1999, p. Annex VI)

表2 Table 2
中學學校社會工作服務的表現標準

Performance standard of secondary school social work services

參考指標 Reference indicators	預期要達到的目標 Expected number
一年內每位社工處理的個案總數 Total number of cases handled by each social worker in one year	70
一年內每位社工成功處理而到達目標的個案總數 Total number of cases each social worker successfully handled to reach the goal in one year	23
一年內每位社工組織的小組和計劃方案的總數(不包括定向計劃) Total number of teams and programs organized by each social worker in one year (excluding orientation programs)	40
一年內每位社工提供諮詢服務的總數 Total number of counselling services provided by each social worker in one year	380

資料來源: Working Group on Review of School Social Work Service(1999) and Social Welfare Department(2000)p.42.

Source: Working Group on Review of School Social Work Service (1999) and Social Welfare Department (2000), p.42.

四、學校社會工作服務現時狀況(中學及小學)

為了更加詳細描述香港中學及小學社工服務的狀況，以下將簡單介紹現時中學學校社會工作服務

IV. Current Situation of School Social Work Services (Primary Schools and Secondary Schools)

In order to give a more detailed description of the current situation of social work services in primary and secondary schools

及小學全方位輔導服務的各項情況，包括服務方針、駐校模式、工作範疇等。簡而言之，中學的社會工作服務主要撥款來自社會福利署；而小學的社會工作服務則主要來自教育局，因資助來源及發展步伐不一致，故他們兩者的工作重心等，均有異同(表3)。

in Hong Kong, the following briefly describes the current situations of social work services available in secondary schools and a full range of counselling services available in primary schools, including the service policy, school-based mode, work scope, etc. In short, the social work services available in secondary schools are mainly funded by Social Welfare Department, while the funding for social work services in primary schools mainly come from the Education Bureau. Due to the development inconsistency in funding sources, the work focuses of the two have similarities and differences, which are outlined in Table 3.

表3 Table 3
學校社會工作服務現時狀況(中學及小學)

Current situation of school social work services (secondary schools and primary schools)

	中學社會工作服務 Social work services available in secondary schools	小學全方位輔導服務 A full range of counselling services available in primary schools
服務目標 Service target	<p>社會福利署： 學校社會工作的目的是：協助學生充分發揮潛能、達致身心健康成長、接受適當教育、建立和諧的人際關係，以及引導他們關心社會；協助學生解決個人、家庭、人際關係或學業問題；加強學生、家庭、學校及社區之間的聯繫(學校社會工作服務—綜合專業指引工作小組，2000年)。</p> <p><u>Social Welfare Department:</u> The purpose of school social work is to help students actualize their full potential, achieve the growth of physical and mental health, receive appropriate education, establish harmonious interpersonal relationships, and guide them to care for society; help students to solve personal, family, interpersonal relationships, or academic-related problems; strengthen the bonding among students, family, school, and community (School and Social Work Services-Comprehensive Professional Guide Working Group, 2000).</p>	<p>教育局： 為校內全體學生提供全面而廣泛的輔導服務；「以人為本，以學生為中心」、「照顧全體學生的成長需要」、「及早識別，及早預防，及早介入」(教育局訓育及輔導組，2011年)。</p> <p><u>Education Bureau:</u> To provide comprehensive and extensive guidance to all students in schools; "People-oriented and student-centered", "cater to the developmental needs of all students", "Early identification, prevention, and intervention" (Student Guidance and Discipline Team, Education Bureau, 2011).</p>
主要資助模式 Mode of funding	<p>服務協約模式(社署資助、學校、社福機構) Service agreement mode (Schools and social welfare agencies funded by Social Welfare Department).</p>	<p>2002年開始，教育局於小學推行全方位學生輔導服務，透過逐年招標方式邀請社會福利機構派出社工提供駐校服務。每年或最多每三年進行的競投制度(由教育局資助)。</p> <p>From 2002, the Education Bureau has promoted comprehensive counselling services for students in primary schools. Through annual tenders, social welfare agencies are invited to assign social workers to provide school-based services. The tender system is conducted annually or up to every three years (funded by the Education Bureau).</p>
	<p>部分學校會尋找額外資源，按學校實際需要，設置更多的社工或輔導人員的職位。</p> <p>Some schools seek additional resources to allocate more job positions for social workers or counsellors based on schools' actual needs.</p>	
社工/ 輔導人員的資歷 Qualifications of social workers/ counsellors	<p>每位學校社工必須的資歷：修讀學位或以上的註冊社工；在香港認可的社工系畢業後，向社會工作註冊局註冊，每年繳費續期註冊，不需要另外考取學校社工的課程或考試，亦不規定要持續地參與訓練或修讀與學校工作或輔導相關的課程。</p> <p>Qualification of school social worker: After graduating with a social work degree from an accredited institution in Hong Kong, social workers may register as a Registered Social Worker at the Social Workers Registration Board and pay a registration fee annually to extend their registration. Social workers neither require to take courses or examinations from abroad, nor to participate in trainings or courses related to school social work or counselling.</p>	<p>每位學校輔導人員的資歷：高級文憑/ 副學士或以上的註冊社工或學生輔導人員/ 老師；在香港認可的社工系畢業後，向社會工作註冊局註冊，每年繳費續期註冊，不需要另外考取學校社工的課程或考試，亦不規定要持續地參與訓練或修讀與學校工作或輔導相關的課程。</p> <p>Qualification of school counsellor: Registered social workers or student counsellors/teachers with higher diploma/associate degree or above; after graduating with a social work degree from an accredited institution in Hong Kong, social workers may register at the Social Workers Registration Board and pay a registration fee annually to extend their registration. Social workers are neither required to take courses or examinations from abroad, nor participate in trainings or courses related to school social work or counselling.</p>

	中學社會工作服務 Social work services available in secondary schools	小學全方位輔導服務 A full range of counselling services available in primary schools
定義 Definition	學校輔導人員由學校社工擔任；輔導組老師等為校內自行安排及直接管理的人員。 The school counsellors are served by school social workers; guidance teachers may be appointed by the school.	學生輔導人員由輔導教師、輔導人員或社工擔任；學生輔導人員；(因學校情況不同，例如：官立小學以聘任學生輔導主任Student Guidance Officers為主，津貼學校則以聘任輔導教師Student Guidance Teachers或學生輔導人員Student Guidance Personnel)。輔導教師/輔導人員的定義與教育局EMB(SG)20/10/10相同，包括了現職的輔導教師，輔導主任及學生輔導員等。 School counsellors are served by guidance teachers, guidance personnel, or social workers. Student guidance personnel; (Hiring is based on varied situations of schools, e.g., government primary schools mainly hire Student Guidance Officers (SGO), while aided schools mainly hire Student Guidance Teachers or Student Guidance Personnel). The definition of guidance teachers or guidance personnel is the same as that of the Education Bureau EMB (SG)/20/10/10, including the serving guidance teachers, SGO, and student guidance personnel.
人手比例 Ratio of manpower	一校一社工(一學校：1,000學生)。(實施日期：2000年) One social worker is assigned for each school (1 school: 1,000 students) (Date of implementation: 2000).	按學校的班數而提供資助。(如不足十八班的學校不獲發一位學生輔導人員) Funding is provided based on the number of classes in a school (Schools with fewer than 18 classes are not assigned with a student counsellor).
駐校天數 Number of days based in school	每週四天; 兩大類：1. 一位學校社工提供四天的駐校服務；2. 兩位學校社工共同負責兩所學校，共同分配兩間學校的四天的駐校社工服務；如社工提供四天的駐校服務，其餘的一天/一天半會回所屬單位工作/ 參與會議。 Four times per week; two categories: 1. One school social worker provides four days of school-based services; 2. Two school social workers are assigned to two schools and share the 4-day school-based social work services in the two schools; for instance, after social workers have provided four days of school-based services, they will return to their affiliated unit to work/attend meetings in the remaining day or one day and a half.	每週五至六天 5-6 days per week
所屬單位及督導者 Subordinate unit and supervisor	由社福機構提供；(按不同機構情況而訂)：(中央性部門)學校社會工作部負責；(地區性單位)綜合青少年服務中心負責；(地區性單位)綜合家庭服務中心負責。 Provided by social welfare agencies (based on the situations of the agencies): Central departments - in charge by the School Social Work Department; Regional unit - in charge by Comprehensive Youth Service Centre; Regional unit - in charge by Comprehensive Family Service Centre.	由學校提供；如直接由學校聘請，督導者則多由校長或輔導主任兼任。 Provided by schools: If directly hired by schools, the supervisor is generally served by the Principal or the Director of Guidance.
服務重點 Service focus	個案工作 Case work	成長課及活動 Growth classes and activities
服務要求/ 指標 Service requirements/ indicators	社署的主要服務指標：七十個個案；每名社工每年完成議定目標而結束的個案總數二十三個；四十節小組及活動；諮詢服務380次。 The main service indicators of Social Welfare Department: 70 cases; 23 closed cases which have completed the agreed goals for each social worker; 40 sessions and group activities; 380 counselling sessions.	教育局的主要服務指標：個案工作約佔學校3%，小組及活動等其他工作則按學校需要而定。 The main service indicators of the Education Bureau: Caseloads account for 3% of the schoolwork, while the group activities and other work are based on the needs of schools.

	中學社會工作服務 Social work services available in secondary schools	小學全方位輔導服務 A full range of counselling services available in primary schools
社工主要角色/專業職能 Main role of social worker/professional functions	四大角色：輔導者、諮詢者、統籌者，和社區及社會教育工作者。(學校社會工作服務－綜合專業指引工作小組，2000年；社會福利署－學校社會工作服務檢討報告書，1998年) Four main roles: counsellors, consultants, coordinators, and community and social educators. (School social work services-Comprehensive professional guide working group, 2000; Social Welfare Department-School Social Work Service Review Report, 1998).	主要職務及責任：作為學校輔導團隊之一份子，駐校輔導社工須協助學校制定適合學生之校本輔導政策，和提供輔導服務以促進學生之整體發展，並為家長和老師提供支援；駐校輔導社工須與學校輔導老師合作，策劃和執行輔導工作。(教育局，年份不詳) Main duties and responsibilities: As a member of the school guidance team, school-based social workers should assist the school in setting up school-based counselling policies for students, and in providing counselling services to enhance the development of students and giving support to parents and teachers; school-based social workers should also collaborate with school guidance teachers to plan and implement counselling work (Education Bureau, n.d.).
工作介入手法/範疇 Work intervention approach/scope	個案服務；小組及活動；諮詢服務；協調和推動社區資源。(學校社會工作服務－綜合專業指引工作小組，2000年) Case services; group activities; counselling services; co-ordination and promotion of community resources (School social work services-Comprehensive Professional Guide Working Group, 2000).	全方位輔導服務；按學校發展和學生需要提供預防性、發展性及補救性輔導服務，包括以下範疇：政策及組織、個人成長教育、輔助服務、支援服務。(教育局訓育及輔導組，2011年；教育局，年份不詳) Comprehensive counselling services: Preventive, developmental, and remedial counselling services are provided based on school development and students' needs, including the following scopes: policy and organisation, personal growth education, counselling services, and support services (Education Bureau Student Guidance and Discipline Services, 2011; Education Bureau, n.d.).
小組/活動 Team/activity	除由社工/學生輔導人員主辦一些符合校內學生需要的活動，活動會由其他政府部門和非政府機構等舉辦，由社工或學校轉介學生參與。 In addition to activities that cater to the needs of students in schools organized by social workers/student counselling personnel, activities are held by other government departments and non-governmental agencies. 與六個紀律部隊合作舉辦的「多元智能躍進計劃」；由香港賽馬會慈善信託基金撥款，教育局及社會福利署合辦的「共創成長路－賽馬會青少年培育計劃」；由教育局資助，由學校或社福機構營辦，申請「優質教育基金計劃」；由教育局資助，由學校/社福機構或其他公司營辦，於校內推行「校本計劃」；由教育局資助，由社福機構營辦，於校內推行「區本計劃」。 The “ESTP” was co-organized by six disciplinary forces; Co-organized by the Education Bureau and the Social Welfare Department, the “P.A.T.H.S. To the Adulthood-A Jockey Club Community-Based Youth Enhancement Programme” was implemented with the funding from the Hong Kong Jockey Club Charities Trust; funded by the Education Bureau and conducted by schools or social welfare agencies, “Quality Education Fund Program” applications were filed; funded by the Education Bureau, the “School-based Plan” conducted by schools/social welfare agencies/other companies was promoted; funded by the Education Bureau, the “region-based plan” conducted by social welfare agencies was promoted.	2004年至2005年開始，教育局在小學推廣以提升學生抗逆力(包括效能感、歸屬感及樂觀感)為目標的「成長的天空」計劃；由教育局資助，由學校或社福機構營辦，申請「優質教育基金計劃」；由教育局資助，由學校/社福機構或其他公司營辦，於校內推行「校本計劃」；由教育局資助，由社福機構營辦，於校內推行「區本計劃」。 From 2004-2005, the Education Bureau has engaged in promoting “Soaring in the Sky” Program, which aims to enhance the resilience (including self-efficacy, sense of belongingness and sense of optimism) in primary schools; Funded by the Education Bureau, the “Quality Education Fund Program” applications conducted by schools or social welfare agencies were filed; Funded by the Education Bureau, the “School-based Plan” conducted by schools/social welfare agencies, or other social welfare agencies was promoted; Funded by the Education Bureau, the “region-based plan” conducted by schools/social welfare agencies was promoted.

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五、學校社工應有的專業能力、功能與角色的文獻探討

學校社工的專業能力

學校社工面對的對象組群多樣化，包括家庭、學生、學校，而他們的需要及問題也多變，因此，學校社工之專業能力是多方面的。Illinois State Board of Education(2002)提出十個標準，專業社工應有的能力。第一項：專業的學校社工需認識有關個人、小組及家庭輔導、危機介入、個案管理、倡議、諮詢、服務及家長教育、預防性計劃、衝突調解服務，與社區組織及發展之相關理論及技巧。學校社工能善用相關的理論及技巧，以改善有關本土教育機構(Local educational agency)的環境。第二項：專業的學校社工能善用多方面的介入手法，支持及提升學生學習上及情緒上的發展。第三項：專業的學校社工能根據教育系統之知識和學生、家長及社區的資訊來設計服務。第四項：專業的學校社工認識並善用多種正式及非正式的評估及檢討策略，以支援所有學生的發展。第五項：專業的學校社工能與同事、家長及社區建立諮詢性及合作性的關係，以支援學生的學習及福祉。第六項：專業的學校社工能倡議及促進改變，並有效地回應學生、家庭，及學校系統的需要。第七項：專業的學校社工鼓勵有效的社交上的互動、主動投入學習和自我動機，以建立正面的學習環境。第八項：專業的學校社工理解不同背景及經驗的學生，以協助他們製造更多的學習機會。第九項：專業的學校社工認識及維持專業社工應有的專業操守及道德，以及提供領袖訓練予學生學習及福祉。第十項：專業的學校社工會主動尋找機會，發展專業。可見，由微觀上的個案介入工作，以至於宏觀上倡議工作上，均要求學校社工擁有不同的專業能力。

黃韻如(2011)指出學校社工應有的專業能力(competence)。她提出基本上應掌握校園內學生生態整合評估的概念及能力。專業的學校社工亦需要有知識的基礎，懂得為校園內不同對象之各層面，

V. Professional Competence, Function, and Role of School Social Workers

Professional Competence

Faced with diverse target groups, including families, students, and schools, the needs and problems of school social workers are also varied. Therefore, a school social worker's professional competence is also multifaceted. The Illinois State Board of Education (2002) put forward ten expected abilities of professional social workers: 1. Professional school social workers should know about individual, team, and family counselling, crisis intervention, case management, advocacy, counselling, service and parent education, preventive planning, conflict mediation services, and community organization and development related theories and skills. They should be able to make good use of theory and practice to improve the environment of local educational agency; 2. Professional school social workers are able to make good use of various intervention techniques to support and enhance students' learning and emotional development; 3. Professional school social workers are able to design services based on the knowledge of particular educational system and information about students, parents, and community; 4. Professional school social workers are able to make good use of various formal and informal assessment and review strategies to support the development of all students; 5. Professional school social workers are able to establish counselling-based and collaborative relationships with colleagues, parents, and community in order to enhance students' learning and wellbeing; 6. Professional school social workers are able to advocate changes in order to respond to the needs of students, family, and the school effectively; 7. Professional school social workers encourage effective social interactions as well as engagement in learning and self-motivation in order to establish a positive learning environment; 8. Professional school social workers should understand students from different backgrounds and with different experiences in order to create more learning opportunities for students; 9. Professional school social workers are aware of and are able to maintain professional conduct and ethics of a professional social worker and provide leadership training to facilitate students' learning and wellbeing; 10. Professional school social workers should actively seek opportunities to develop their competence. Obviously, case intervention works from the microscopic perspective as well as advocacy work from the macroscopic perspective require competence from social workers.

Huang (2011) pointed out the expected professional competence of school social workers. She noted that the basic concept and ability to carry out ecological integration assessment of students in schools should be grasped. Professional school social workers should have basic knowledge

有針對性的介入策略。林萬億(2012)提出學校社工必須熟悉自己所主責的學生問題與需求，並必須於合適的時候介入其他學生議題。除此之外，學校社工在滿足學生的需求與介入問題時，依服務過程需要，應尋求其他專業人員協助。Brumfield (2012)於其論文中提出，因學校系統中有不同的人口，擁有專業能力的社工應有種族的敏感度(cultural awareness)。學校社工需要多方面的專業能力，以面對及照顧不同組群學生的問題及需要。

學校社工的功能與角色

盧鐵榮、蔡紹基及蘇頌興(2005)指出駐校社工角色十分重要，社工為學生提供專業輔導，亦提供小組活動，為學生提供學習機會及指引，令他們在學習過程中成長。社工會轉介社區合適的服務予有需要的青少年。社工更會與社區團體，推動社區人士關注青少年的需要。翁毓秀(2005)指出學校社工作為家長、學校、學生與社區之聯繫者，提供學生問題之三級預防工作。她亦以臺灣的新北市作例子，指出學校社工的功能提供直接服務予危機個案落實三級輔導制度、強化及整合校內的輔導專業、深入家庭及社區、建構區域性青少年福利資源網等。黃韻如(2011)亦從生態系統觀的角度，提出學校社工可介入六個不同與學生相關的系統，包括家庭、個人、同儕、學校、教育行政及社區。例如學校社工可從危機介入中，提升學生的家庭功能。另一例子是，學校社工亦能從社區系統中，強化資源連結，活化資源網絡。最後，有香港本土的學校社工分享，他們對於協助特別是有困難的青少年之角色。他們認為應增加青少年的「成長資本」，當中包括建立正面的人生目標和自我形象等良好的心理素質(明愛青少年及社區服務, 2008, p.62)。從以上可見，學校社工的功能與角色，也是多方面的。

六、影響學校社會工作的成效之因素的文獻探討

第六節將會為讀者分享學校社會工作的成效，以及影響學校社會工作的成效之因素的文獻探討，當中包括「學校社工的角色與定位」、「學校社工

of different target groups in schools and be able to provide target-based intervention strategies accordingly. Lam (2012) mentioned that school social workers must be familiar with problems and needs of students who are under their supervision, and be involved in student-related issues within appropriate time. In addition, while school social workers attempt to meet students' needs and intervene when necessary, they should also seek the assistance of other professionals based on the needs of the service provision. Brumfield (2012) pointed out that, competent social workers should demonstrate cultural awareness due to the diverse population within the school system. A school social worker should demonstrate a wide range of competence to deal with the problems and needs of different groups of students.

The Function and Role of School Social Workers

Lo, Choi and Su (2005) pointed out that school-based social workers play important roles in the growth of students through learning processes by providing professional counselling and group activities in order to offer them learning opportunities and guidance. Social workers also arrange referrals to provide suitable services to youth in need and even work with community groups to promote public concern for the needs of young people. Weng (2005) also suggested that school social workers' role as channels between parents, school, students and community to provide three levels of preventive work for students. She also used New Taipei City, Taiwan as an example to illustrate the function of a school social worker, which is to provide direct services to crisis cases by implementing various levels of the counselling system: strengthening and integrating on-campus counselling expertise, and constructing regional youth resource networks at family and community level for their well-being. Huang (2011) proposed intervention in six student-related systems for school social workers from the ecological system perspective, including family, individuals, peers, school, educational administration, and community. For instance, school social workers can enhance students' family function through crisis intervention. Another example is that school social workers can also strengthen resource links and activate resource network through the community system. Finally, some local school social workers shared about their role in offering assistance, especially to malfunctioning youth. They believed that the "growth capital" of youth should be increased, including establishing positive life goals, self-image, and other positive psychological qualities (Caritas Youth and Community Service, 2008, p. 62). In this sense, it is evident that a school social worker's role is multifaceted.

VI. Factors Contributing to the Effectiveness of School Social Work

In Section 6, the key factors contributing to the effectiveness of school social work are discussed. These include "role and

的訓練」、「學校社工的行政支援」、「學校社工的人手比例」、「時間限制、個案數量及與學生工作人員的協作」，和「學校社會工作的督導」。

Demsch, O'Connor & Friedman(1972)提及有關有效的學校社會工作的重要性。在文中，他們認為有效的學校社會工作可為學校中有困難的兒童(Malfunctioning children)提供服務，社工透過有效地運用兒童之學習經驗(Educational experience)，以幫助兒童發揮其潛能。Dupper(2003)提出一些有效的學校社工介入方法，輔以一些在美國推行的介入計劃，服務不同的對象，例如處理憂鬱的學生、處理有自殺傾向的學生、處理有逃課或缺課的學生、預防校園欺凌的計劃和預防濫用藥物的方法。

不少地方也反映學校社會工作所面對的挑戰。在美國，因每所學校的情況不同，難以統一地制定學校社工的角色(Kelly, 2008)。Altshuler & Webb (2009)亦指出學校社工一般也會被低估曾作出的努力，亦因一般人誤解社工之期望角色(Role expectation)及欠缺特別的學校社工專業資歷，而缺乏認受性(Legitimacy)，不被認為是一門專業。在臺灣，胡中宜(2011)指出如駐校的新進社工不能清楚其職業的角色，將難以發揮真正效益。社工服務的效果，會因有些學校要求社工執行佔據泰半時間的行政事務而降低。他提出「學校行政主管是否妥善運用這些外來的輔導人員(指學校社工)，讓其適才適所，將是成敗關鍵。」在香港，不少前線社工反映，他們不清楚自身的工作定位及角色，常被委派參與不同與輔導無直接關係的工作。Tam & Mong (2005)的研究中，提出不少學校社工也受角色的障礙(Role strain)及身分模糊(Identity confusion)的影響，而影響工作效能。從以上可見，學校社工如何看待自身專業之角色，以及旁人對學校社工的角色之期望，均對學校社工能否有效能地提供服務，有一定的重要性。根據Higy, Haberkorn, Pope & Gilmore (2012)，加強學校的管理層與學校社工之間互相了解各自的角色和責任，有助鞏固提供予學生的服務。

positioning of school social workers”，“training of school social workers”，“administrative support of school social workers”，“ratio of school social worker manpower”，“time constraints, caseload, and collaboration between students and staff”，and “supervision of school social work”。

Demsch, O'Connor and Friedman (1972) noted the importance of effective school social work. They deemed effective school social work as the provision of services to malfunctioning children in schools. Social workers are expected to help these malfunctioning youth to develop their potential through effective use of the educational experience. Dupper (2003) proposed some effective school social work intervention approach in combination with some intervention programs implemented in the United States for different targets, such as dealing with students with depressive disorder, suicidal tendencies, truancy or absence and formulation of programs for prevention of bullying at school and drug prevention methods.

School social work has been facing certain challenges in many different countries. In the United States, it is difficult to unify the role of social workers, due to different circumstances of each school (Kelly, 2008). Altshuler and Webb (2009) also pointed out that the efforts school social workers put in are generally underestimated, since most people misunderstand the role expectations of a school social worker. Additionally, as school social workers are perceived to be lack of specific professional qualifications, it is hard for them to be recognized as a legitimate professional. In Taiwan, Wu (2011) pointed out that if new school-based social workers are not familiar with their professional role, it will be difficult to play a positive effect. The effectiveness of social service diminishes when some schools demand social workers to engage in administrative roles which take up much of their time. According to Wu (2011), “The school administration is the key to whether or not the external counselling personnel (referring to school social workers) are in the right place to provide appropriate guidance”. Many front-line social workers in Hong Kong reflect that they are not familiar with their role and position, as they are often assigned to work unrelated to counselling. Tam and Mong (2005) also mentioned that school social workers may be subjected to stress and identity confusion, which in turn affect their work performance. In this sense, how school social workers see their professional role and others' expectations of a school social worker are significant in determining the effectiveness of service provision. According to Higy, Haberkorn, Pope and Gilmore (2012), it is important for school management to understand the mutual roles and

有學者在一文獻中分享他們訪問由學校聘請的學校社工及由機構聘請的學校社工之研究結果。當中，他們建議服務前(Preservice)機會及服務中的專業發展(In-service professional development)可提升學校社工間之互相協作及支持(Bronstein, Ball, Elizabeth, Wade-Mdivanian, & Anderson-Butcher, 2011)。翁毓秀(2005)分享臺灣的例子，她指出社工師(即社工)本身訓練不足，會影響社工發展應有的功能。她指出學校社會工作師(即社工)本身未曾修習一些與學校社會工作及青少年兒童發展等課程，會影響專業的發揮應有的功能。

再者，學校社工的行政支援亦能影響提供服務的效能，有文獻反映其重要性。翁毓秀(2005)指出在臺灣，因教育體制的運作較為正式及標準化，社工在缺乏行政支援下而需要花不少時間處理行政流程，而限制了提供其他實際服務的空間。

學校社工的人手比例，可影響學校社工能否提供有效的服務。根據美國NASW Standards for School Social Work Services(2012)描述有關建議的人手比例，學校社工服務一般學生的比例為1:250，而服務有特殊需要的學生之比例應為1:50。每個地方對學校社工的人手比例之標準的意見也不同。

最後，有學者亦提出，時間限制及個案數量亦能影響學校社會工作服務的質素。Teasley, Canifield, Archuleta, Crutchfield & Chavis(2012)在美國的研究中反映，時間限制(Time constraints)及個案數量(Caseloads)是最常見阻礙學校社工提供有效的學校社會工作服務。Liu(1997)在一個關於香港學校社工的研究中指出，若不能改善工作時間的分配(一般的諮詢服務與治療為本的工作)，這會阻礙社會工作者的效能及發展。反而，與學校工作人員的協作(School staff collaboration)、溝通(Communication)、合作(Cooperation)、態度(Attitudes)為最有效促進學校社工進行更有效的工作。

responsibilities of school social workers, in order to enhance the services provided to students.

Some scholars shared their findings from interviews with school social workers hired by schools and institutions. In particular, they recommended pre-service opportunities and in-service professional development to enhance collaboration and mutual support between the school and the social workers (Bronstein, Ball, Elizabeth, Wade-Mdivanian, and Anderson-Butcher, 2011). Weng (2005) pointed out social work specialists(i.e., social workers) in Taiwan are lack of training, in which affects the development and performance of social workers. She indicated that school social workers who have never taken up training courses related to school social work and youth and children development may not be able to function professionally in the way they are supposed to.

Furthermore, the administrative support of school social workers can also affect the effectiveness of services provided. Weng (2005) suggested that, as the educational system in Taiwan is relatively formal and standardized, social workers need to spend a considerable amount of time to deal with administrative processes due to the lack of administrative support, thus limiting the opportunities for providing other practical services.

The staffing ratio of school social workers affects whether effective services can be provided. According to the recommended staffing ratio described in the Standards for School Social Work Services (2012) of the United States National Association of Social Workers, the ratio of every school social worker serving general students is 1:250, while the ratio for serving students with special needs is 1:50. However, different schools may have different views on the staffing ratio of school social workers.

Finally, some scholars suggested that time constraints and caseloads may also influence the quality of social work services available in schools. Teasley, Canifield, Archuleta, Crutchfield and Chavis (2012) stated that time constraints and caseloads are the most common factors identified as hindering the provision of effective school social work services. Liu (1997) indicated in a study on Hong Kong social workers that, the failure of efficient work distribution (general counselling services and therapy-based works) may hinder the performance and development of social workers. On the other hand, school staff collaboration, communication, cooperation, and attitudes may most effectively facilitate productive school social work.

根據2003年的澳洲學校社會工作的標準，澳洲社會工作組織(Australian Association of Social Workers)於2011年發表一文件，文中指出學校社工可以透過督導的協助，反映學校社工自己本身的工作及介入手法之合適度及效率。學校社工亦可透過定期參與督導，發展自身的技巧及知識，並了解專業的要求，以及了解組織上、社會上、經濟上和政治上與自身工作相關的情況。

Illinois State Board of Education(2007)有相類似的看法，他們指出專業及行政的督導(Professional and administrative supervision)，有助學校社工提供一個既有效率，亦有效能的服務予學校的持分者如學生及家長，有助學校社會工作計劃達到計劃之目標。

七、研究方法

首先，這是一項初步研究，探討前線的學校社工如何看待自己的角色，以實現香港學校社會工作服務的最終目標。值得一提的是，學校社會工作服務檢討工作小組(1999)於後期進行的工作當中，並沒有研究顯示有關作者曾經探討學校社會工作的角色和功能。希望這項初步研究對未來大型研究的方向範疇上有所幫助。

研究對象

這項研究是由十六位香港前線的學校社工(十位為中學社工、六位為小學社工)為青少年提供服務時所得的工作經驗的定性分析。其社工的經驗可以為讀者提供第一手的資料，這些資料是有關社工介入的服務以及他們對這些措施成效的看法。每位參加研究的受訪者背景資料載於表4。

研究採取了立意和滾雪球抽樣方法(Purposeful and snowball sampling)。如表4所顯示，十三名女性和三名男性受聘自五個不同的非政府組織，他們任職學校社工的年期介乎二至十六年不等。所有社工都是香港本地院校的大學畢業生，獲得社會工作本

According to the Australian Standards for School Social Work in 2003, the Australian Association of Social Workers released a document in 2011 specifying that through supervision, school social workers can reflect on the appropriateness and efficiency of their work and intervention approach. School social workers can also strengthen their skills and knowledge through regular supervision. In addition, they can understand the professional requirements of a social worker and gain insight into organizational, social, economic, and political situations related to their work.

The Illinois State Board of Education (2007) shared a similar view. They pointed out that the professional and administrative supervision is able to help school social workers to provide effective and efficient services to school stakeholders such as students and parents, thereby achieving school social work goals.

VII. Research Methods

First, this is a preliminary study on the frontline school social workers' view on their role so as to achieve the ultimate objective of school social work services in Hong Kong. Worth noting is that the Working Group on Review of School Social Work Service (1999) did not explore the role and function of school social workers in any subsequent research. This preliminary study is therefore expected to provide a direction and scope for further research in the future.

Research Participants

This study is a qualitative analysis of the work experience obtained from 16 frontline school social workers in Hong Kong (10 secondary school social workers and six primary school social workers) who provided services to youth. The experience of the social workers is able to provide researchers with first-hand data. The data obtained include the intervention approach of social workers and their opinions on the effectiveness of implementation. The background of participants in the research is included in Table 4.

In the study, purposeful and snowball sampling method was adopted. As shown in Table 4, 13 women and 3 men were employed by five different NGOs. The number of working years as a school social worker is between 2 to 16 years. All the social workers are graduates from local universities who have obtained social work degree or master's degree. All research participants were recruited from the author's personal network, while efforts were made to include social workers with different backgrounds (e.g., social workers

科或碩士學位。以上的研究對象，均來自作者的個人網絡，盡量找尋不同背景的社工，如年資不同。

研究時間、程序及訪問內容

「訪談」為是次個案研究的主要蒐集資料方式。謝金青(2011)指出，訪談為應用最廣的蒐集資料方法，因訪談能突破檔案紀錄及文件之限制，達到詮釋及理解之目的。在中學社工方面，2008年11月至2009年1月期間，於每位學校社工的辦公地點進行個人訪問。訪問的議程表需在訪問進行前的一星期寄至每位參與研究的受訪者。在小學輔導人員方面，則於2011年7月至2011年10月期間，受訪者先透過電郵回應訪問題目大綱，並如有需要，以電話或面談的方式，跟進訪問受訪者。訪問議程中羅列的問題例如：學校社工在香港主要的角色是甚麼？你怎樣在相關工作上定義「成效」？你如何衡量你的工作成效？你認為你的機構可以怎樣幫助改善你的工作成效？這些問題可以促使受訪者回應相關的工作經驗和學校社會工作的成效等個人看法。

表4 Table 4
受訪者的基本資料

Brief background of respondents

案例 Case	性別 Gender	學校社工在校工作的年資 Number of working years in the school	中學或小學 Secondary school or primary school
1	女 female	6	中學 Secondary school
2	男 male	10	中學 Secondary school
3	女 female	5	中學 Secondary school
4	女 female	13	中學 Secondary school
5	女 female	7	中學 Secondary school
6	男 male	4	中學 Secondary school
7	男 male	5	中學 Secondary school
8	女 female	16	中學 Secondary school
9	女 female	4	中學 Secondary school
10	女 female	8	中學 Secondary school
11	女 female	2	小學 Primary school
12	女 female	4	小學 Primary school
13	女 female	4	小學 Primary school
14	女 female	4	小學 Primary school
15	女 female	5	小學 Primary school
16	女 female	3	小學 Primary school

數據分析方法

研究員處理各受訪者的訪談內容之方法如下。研

with varied number of working years).

Procedures

Qualitative interview was adopted as the main data collection method for this case study. Hsieh (2011) indicated that the interview method is the most widely used method for collecting information, because it is not bound by the restrictions of file records and documentation so that the purpose of interpretation and comprehension can be achieved. For secondary school social workers, individual interviews were conducted in the work venue of particular social workers from the period of November 2008 to January 2009. The interview agenda was sent to every research participant one week before the interview. As for the primary school social workers, the majority of interviews were conducted face-to-face from the period of July 2011 to October 2011, with a few exceptions that were conducted by phone. The questions in the interview agenda, for example, include “What is the main role of a school social worker in Hong Kong?”, “How do you define ‘effectiveness’ in terms of your related work?”, “How do you measure your work effectiveness?”, and “In your opinion, how can your institution help you improve your work effectiveness?” These questions were asked to induce respondents’ personal views on their working experiences and the service effectiveness of school social work.

Method of Data Analysis

The researcher first repeatedly read every paragraph in details to seek for meaningful items (Padgett, 1998),

究員先詳細及反覆地閱讀每一段內容，以找尋有意義的項目 (Padgett, 1998)。研究員組織有意義的項目，分類並加上編碼。最後，研究員根據各分類，組成本研究的分析主題 (Creswell, 1994)，以便進一步的分析。其後，研究員重新檢視相關資料，繼而互相討論，輔以文獻的支持，以驗證結果。

八、從香港執業的學校社工的深入訪問中得出的初步結果

學校社工獲認定的角色

所有參與研究的受訪者都相信他們主要擔當的兩項角色是輔導員和顧問。他們都認為學校社會工作服務的宗旨是透過個案工作、輔導服務和其他形式的社會工作介入服務等，為有需要的家庭及青少年提供協助。有一位受訪者談到有關他們曾經接觸過一些感情或行為上有問題的學生：

即使學校社工與學生的人數比例已經由1：2,000減至1：1,000，但是我不認為學校社工是全能的。在學校肩負了相當繁重的工作情況下，我只能夠選擇性地提供服務予一些有問題和心靈脆弱的學生，我獲派駐的這間中學是屬於成績「第一級」類別的學校，但是並不代表這裡的學生沒有情緒問題。基於我的工作負擔，單是回應學生問題或訴求，已經足夠讓我忙個不停了。(案例三)

一位於中學工作的受訪者再進一步說：

學校社會工作服務主要有補救治療的作用，至於在發展上和預防上，其功能只僅次於補救治療。在有限的時間和資源的情況下，我會優先處理危在邊緣的學生。(案例一)

另一位於小學工作的受訪者亦說到因為資源而影響社工的定位與角色的問題：

在資源極為有限的情況下，加上小學現時投標式的撥款制度 (由教育局撥款)，每一至三年，學校可以自行決定聘請社會福利機構的社工或直接聘請老師，學校擁有一定程度上的權力及決策權。

which were then classified and coded by the researcher. Thus, based on the classification, the theme for this study was formed for further analysis (Creswell, 1994). The researcher later re-examined the relevant data and verified the results through discussion and with supporting literatures.

VIII. Preliminary Results Obtained from In-depth Interviews with School Social Workers Practicing in Hong Kong

Recognized Role of School Social Workers

All the respondents who participated in this research believe they have two main roles: counsellor and advisor. All think that the purpose of school social work is to provide assistance to families and youth in need through casework, counselling services, and other forms of social work intervention services. One respondent mentioned they had come across students with emotional or behavioral problems:

“Even though the ratio of school social workers to students has reduced from 1: 2,000 to 1: 1,000, I do not believe that school social workers can handle this workload. Considering the heavy workload, I have no choice but to selectively provide services to some students with problems and who are especially fragile. The secondary school I have been sent to falls under the “Class I” category in terms of academic achievement. However, it does not mean that students here are without emotional problems. Actually, responding to students’ questions and demands alone already keep me occupied (Case 3).”

One respondent working in a secondary school further noted:

“School social work service functions as remedial therapy. As for development and prevention, its function is only secondary to remedial therapy. With limited time and resources, I give priority to students on the verge of a crisis (Case 1).”

Another respondent working in a primary school said social workers’ positioning and role are affected by limited resources.

With very limited resources, coupled with the existing tender funding system in primary schools (funding by the Bureau of Education), schools may decide to hire social workers from social welfare organizations or directly hire social workers as instructors every one to three years. Schools have certain powers in decision-making. In terms of role and positioning, apart

在角色與定位上，除了窒礙了我發揮能力之外，更阻礙學校社會工作服務的持續性及良性發展。(案例十五)

除了提供青少年個人輔導的服務外，學校社工也會組織其他學校社會工作的項目，如提供諮詢服務予隨時到訪的學生、組織和提供講座給予教師、參加學校職員會議以及組織小組活動和計劃。

當問及社工如何評級學校社工角色的相對重要性時，他們都認為評級只是受到社工表現的參考指標所影響。更明確地說，他們關心的是每位社工每年所處理的個案數目，以及提供諮詢服務的總數。有關這方面，Chiu & Wong(2002)就這樣評論：

令人擔心的是，為了滿足所需的數額，學校社工一定會更加注重個案工作，而減少以校為本的工作。創新的服務和以社區為本的項目的發展空間已經不大，關鍵性或者宣傳性導向的服務就更加不在話下了(p. 151)。

一位在學校做了社工十六年的受訪者反映，自從採用了社工表現的參考指標後，她已經變得以目標為本：

我們在個人和小組可以參與的工作上，面對的限制越來越多。這些限制來自於基金贊助人、學校行政管理層以及機構。在組織變遷的情況下，著重講求的是效益以及文件的處理，同時，給了我們很大的壓力，務求要達到某個數額，以滿足各方機構的需要。我的上司與我討論的並不是關於諮詢服務的進展，相反，他會不斷地問我能否達到所要求的案件數量，還問我在財政年度完結前，還能有多少宗案例可以完成。(案例八)

雖然學校社工對本身角色也有一定的理解，但不少中學及小學社工均反映他們常要花時間參與和輔導或本身無關的工作。其中一個情況是，社工的角色不被學校或其他專業的理解及認識。

如更有效地發揮社工的角色，以至加強對學生的

from hindering my ability, limited resources may also hinder the continuity and positive development of school social work services (Case 15).

In addition to providing youth with personal counselling services, school social workers also organize other related services such as providing consultation services to students at any time, organizing and providing seminars to teachers, participating in school staff meetings, and organizing group activities and plans.

When asked about the relative importance of the role of a school social worker, they all said it was merely affected by the reference indicators for the performance of social workers. More precisely, their concern was the number of cases handled by each social worker every year and the total number of cases with counselling services provided. In this regard, Chiu and Wong (2002) commented as follows:

The concern is, in order to meet the required quota; school social workers attach more emphasis on case work, while they are less likely to focus on school-based work. Innovative services and community-based items have little room for development, let alone crucial or advocacy-oriented services (p.151).

One respondent who has worked as a school social worker for sixteen years claimed that since the adoption of the reference indicators for social workers' performance, she became target oriented.

More restrictions in individual counselling and group work come from fund sponsors, school administration, and institutions. Under the organizational change, the emphasis lies in effectiveness and documentation. At the same time, there is tremendous pressure for reaching a certain quota in order to meet the needs of particular institutions. My supervisor and I do not discuss about the progress of counselling services. Instead, he repeatedly asks me whether I could reach the required number of cases and how many cases I could finish before the end of the fiscal year (Case 8).

Although school social workers do understand their own role to a certain extent, many primary and secondary school social workers indicated that they often had to spend time participating in works that are unrelated to counselling or their own work. In addition, the role of social workers is not recognized by the school and other professionals.

In order to perform the role of social workers more

支援，讓學校清楚了解全方位小學輔導的真正角色及效能，減少被學校安排處理與輔導無關的工作，至為重要。(案例十四)

應多與學校聯絡，以理解他們對學校社工的期望，包括工作範疇及角色。若有很多工作需要找人處理及跟進，他們還能提供多少空間讓我們發揮社工應有的角色？(案例十一)

定義學校社會工作的實踐成效

當問及參與研究的受訪者如何定義「有效的學校社會工作」，一位受訪者提到社會福利署訂明的有關符合表現參考指標的能力和服務質素的標準。她解釋：

我可以做的就是符合質素的標準，而且不會有人投訴我的工作表現。我只需遵守遊戲規則，因為我們可以談判的空間不大。(案例四)

當承認問責制重要性的同時，參與研究的受訪者嚴厲地批評目前的表現參考指標用作衡量他們的工作成效。一位受訪者評論：

這些參考指標用作衡量我提供的社會工作介入服務，而要符合這些參考指標並不困難。坦白說，對於我來說，打個勾就可以聲稱已經完結的案例符合了要達致的目標，實在是一件容易的事。其他人怎會知道這宗個案所顯示的進展？(案例八)

綜合各參與研究的受訪者之建議，以用作定義學校社會工作服務成效的參考指標。首先，其參考指標是以學生的福祉為依歸的；第二，其參考指標是在社區方面關心社區學生的心理健康狀態；第三，參與研究的受訪者普遍相信學生在校園生活的滿意程度是相當重要的。還有，大部分受訪的學校社工對於介入的服務素質的專業反饋是改善和進步不可或缺的部分。

最後，受訪者認為能夠收到服務對象，如家長和校方人員的反饋，對於參考指標的制定會來得更準確和更有意義。所有受訪的社工都建議以學校社工其他的表現結果制定參考指標是有其必要性的，而並非單

effectively and strengthen student support, it is most important to let the school clearly understand the genuine role and effectiveness of comprehensive primary school counselling, so as to prevent school social workers handling works that are irrelevant to counselling (Case 14).

(School social workers should) communicate with the school frequently in order to understand their expectations, including the role and scope of work. If there is a lot of work to be handled and followed up, how much room is left for us to properly play our role as a social worker? (Case 11)

Definition of the Effectiveness of School Social Work Implementation

When asked about the definition of “effective school social work”, one respondent mentioned the ability and service quality standards in line with the performance reference indicators stipulated by the Social Welfare Department. She explained:

What I can do is to meet the standards for quality, then no one will complain about my job performance. All I have to do is to follow the rules of the game, because there is not much room for negotiation (Case 4).

While the respondents acknowledged the importance of the accountability system, they harshly criticized the current performance reference indicators used to measure their work performance. One respondent commented:

These reference indicators are used to measure the social work intervention services I provided. It is not hard to meet these reference indicators. Frankly, it is really easy to place a checkmark and claim a closed case to have met the goal. Who will know about the actual progress of the case? (Case 8)

In terms of the performance reference indicators of school social work service effectiveness, the suggestions made by the research participants were summarized as follows. Firstly, the reference indicators should mainly focus on the welfare of students. Secondly, the reference indicators should concern the mental health of students on a community basis. Thirdly, it was generally believed that satisfaction in school is very important. In addition, most participants expressed that professional feedback of intervention service is indispensable to improvement and progress.

Finally, the respondents believed that receiving feedback from parents and school staff would make the reference indica-

純依賴定量或案例的數量作為衡量的標準。同時，採用以證據為本的實踐方法及多方面的參考指標對於學校社會工作的持續發展十分重要(Kelly, 2008)。

質素/具有成效的學校社工其重要的技能

參與研究的受訪者能夠指出一位具有工作成效的學校社工其廣泛的質素和基本技能。有能力參與青少年及其家庭的工作是非常重要的。一位受訪者曾說：

一位學校社工需要與青少年和他們的家庭成員以每天實踐的方式溝通。如果社工不能夠使用青少年慣用的語言以了解他們的次文化，我恐怕她/他在與青少年溝通方面注定失敗。現今的青少年需要懂得去愛人和讓人關愛他們。最重要的是，他們同時需要受到尊重。然而，我接觸的一些學生仍然很年輕，譬如說有些十一歲的學生，他們很需要家長的指導。在這方面，我發現了有關參與家庭工作的相關知識。在過去的幾年，除了個人案例服務外，我還曾介入了很多家庭服務，只要家長隨時願意與我們共同改善他們子女的福祉為目標。(案例十)

家庭在很多方面是提供支援和指引的重要個體，讓年輕人有能力處理現今社會所面臨的高速變遷和複雜的挑戰(Freeman, et al., 1998)。具有成效的模型(例如家庭預防服務、多系統治療、結構性家庭治療)在這些治療程序中，主要集中家庭事務，以幫助處理學生的問題包括濫用藥物、精神病和犯罪行為(National Institutes of Health, 2005)。例如，一位受訪者說：

幫助家長和監護人管理和教育他們的孩子和年輕人的行為，在邊緣的青少年當中推行積極正面的社會價值觀和行為是有所裨益的。(案例四)

有幾位參與研究的受訪者深信，作為學校社工要展現的基本質素就是了解學校動態和結構的能力。這與在第五節中的文獻探討相呼應，黃韻如(2011)曾強調專業的學校社工能評估學校核心的生態環境，以介入不同系統，協助學生。他們提到當要處理問題學生

tors more accurate and meaningful. All the interviewed social workers presumed that it is advisable to use other performance results as the reference indicators, rather than purely relying on quantitative measures or the number of caseloads as the evaluation standards. Meanwhile, the evidence-based practice and various reference indicators are essential for the sustainable development of school social work (Kelly, 2008).

Important Skills of School Social Workers with Qualities and Effectiveness

The research participants were able to point out the essential qualities and skills that a school social worker should display. It is very important to be capable of engaging in youth and family work. One respondent said:

A school social worker needs to communicate daily with youth and their family members. If they are incapable of using the common language of young people to understand their sub-culture, I am afraid they are doomed to fail to communicate with young people successfully. The youth of today need to know how to love and be loved. Most importantly, they need to be respected. However, some students I have come to contact with are still young (e.g. 11-year-old students) that they need guidance from parents. In this regard, I have learned about some knowledge in doing family work. Over the past few years, apart from providing individual case services, I was also involved in family work as long as the parents were willing to work with us to achieve the goal of improving the well-being of their children. (Case 10)

In many ways, family is an important body that provides support and guidance, so that young people can possess the ability to handle rapid social changes and complex challenges in nowadays society (Freeman, et al., 1998). Effective models in therapeutic procedures (such as family preventive services, multi-systemic therapy, and structural family therapy) mainly focus on family matters to deal with problems associated with students, such as drug abuse, mental illnesses, and criminal conducts (National Institutes of Health, 2005). For instance, one respondent indicated:

Helping parents and guardians to manage and educate their children's behavior is conducive in promoting positive social values and behavior among young people. (Case 4)

A few research respondents deeply believed that the ability to understand the dynamics and structure of the school is the basic quality of a school social worker. This point coincides with the literature review in Section Five. Huang (2011)

的事務時，學校社工需要與校方人員合作，社工在作出決定前也需要尋求校方人員適當的意見、認同和支持。例如，學校社工在建議學生轉校前，必須諮詢有關教學人員和校長。數位受訪者認為取得校方人員的信任和支助是絕對有利於學校社會工作的實踐成效，包括提出建議給予學生。他們也認為與校方的重要人員包括校長、輔導教師、訓導主任建立彼此互信的工作關係，有利於學校社會工作的成效。

學校社工除了需擁有了了解學校動態和結構的能力，並能與重要人員建立彼此互信的工作關係外。事實上，無論是中學或小學的社工，有受訪者也指出學校社工需要有應付危機的能力。例如，其中一位受訪者無論在問及「如何於工作中，定義何謂有效率」以及「如何量度的工作效率」，她均指出：學校社工應有能力去處理各種大大小小的危機，學校社工如能好好作評估、聯繫各專業協助，並好好排列各項跟進工作之優次，以應付危機和保障學生的利益及發展需要，至為重要。(案例十四)

另外，有受訪者認同訓練的重要性，以解決青少年及其家庭的需要和複雜問題。有一受訪者指出「我在工作間遇到不少困難，發現自己的不足。我在畢業前，在學院中只能掌握基本的社會工作的態度、知識和技巧，在職訓練能提升我處理不同個案及回應不同群組需要。」(案例十六)。當問及受訪者有關學校社工應該具備的技能，所有受訪者一致回應「通用社會工作技能」。為了符合表現參考指標，學校社工在參與個人、小組及社區的工作上，必須展現足夠的才幹和運用廣泛的社會技能。在一系列的技能當中，最重要的兩者就是人際關係的技巧和談判或者調解技巧。

首先，人際關係和溝通的技巧對於接觸在教育制度上不同的團體和利益相關者都相當重要。與家長、學生與教師保持良好的關係是一個有效改變教育制度的基石。值得注意的是，校方人員會更願意與他們信任的人士分享較多的內部消息和資訊。一位參與研究的受訪者解釋說：「維持良好關係的同時，我們必須學會果斷自

stressed that professional school social workers are able to evaluate the core ecological environment of the school so as to integrate different intervention systems to assist students. When handling matters of troublesome students, respondents noted that school social workers should work with school staff and seek their opinions, recognition, and support whenever appropriate before making a decision. For instance, before advising a student to transfer, they must consult with corresponding teachers and the principal. Some respondents considered gaining the trust and support of school staff being definitely conducive to the practice of social work, such as giving advice to students. They also think that building mutual trust with key school staff such as the principal as well as the discipline and guidance teachers is beneficial to school social work.

Apart from the ability to understand the dynamics and structure of the school and establish mutual trust with key school staff, school social workers should also be able to cope with students in crisis. In fact, when asked “How do you define efficiency at work?” and “How do you measure work efficiency?”, one respondent pointed out that school social workers should have the ability to handle crises of all magnitudes. It is most important for school social workers to properly carry out evaluations, contact professionals for assistance, and set priority of follow-up work, so as to cope with crisis and protect the interests and development of students. (Case 14)

Additionally, some respondents recognized the importance of training in order to address to the needs of youth and their family and to solve their complex problems. One respondent expressed, “I encounter quite a lot of problems at work, which makes me realize my insufficiencies. Before I graduated, I was only able to grasp the basic social work knowledge, attitudes, and skills in college. Fieldwork helped me to enhance my ability in handling different kinds of cases and responding to the needs of different groups” (Case 16). When asked about the skills required for school social workers, all respondents answered “common social work skills”. In order to meet the performance reference indicators, school social workers must display sufficient and comprehensive social skills in their participation of individual, group, and community services. In this respect, two most important skills are interpersonal skills and negotiation or mediation skills.

First, in terms of education system, interpersonal and communication skills are quite important when coming to contact with different groups and stakeholders. Maintaining good relationships with parents, students, and teachers is the

信，這樣才可以與一些未必時時刻刻支持我們決定的同事工作，有時我們需要代表學生提出建議。」(案例四)她進一步說到：「社工必須運用她／他的個人技巧凝聚集結所有欲參與的團體，從而找出最佳的解決方法給予學生，然而，這並不是一件容易的事！」

其次，在參與研究的受訪者眼中，談判或者調解技巧也相當重要。受訪者憶述他們常常要在校內處理不同團體，例如家庭、學生或校方人員之間發生的人際交往或者群體上的衝突。社工具備足夠的談判或調解技巧可以幫助他們解決紛爭、修復關係，以達致和諧融洽。在當代學校社會工作服務範疇上，社會非常著重具備解決衝突技能的重要性，包括調解和談判技巧。例如，香港和其他地方已經展開了朋輩調解計劃，以解決學校內學生之間的欺凌事件和人際衝突 (Constable, Massat, McDonald & Flynn, 2006, pp. 670-671; Wong, Lok, Lo & Ma, 2008)。

九、研究的影響和含意

學校社工獲認定的角色

從以上的結果中可見，不少受訪者均指出，他們被指派參與不少與輔導無關的工作、行政交代及會議，社工的角色不被學校或其他專業理解及認識。於本文之第六章節曾引述臺灣的學者翁毓秀 (2005) 的觀點，行政支援對學校社工來說，有一定的重要性。在此，若香港的學校能為學校之社工提供更多的行政支援，並優化行政交代之流程，社工能夠集中處理更多重要的學生事務，以回應受訪社工的需要，「他們還能提供多少空間讓我們發揮社工應有的角色？」(案例十一)。Tam & Mong, (2005) 建議學校社工應透過 In-service programs 及其他公共關係的活動，向持分者如教職人員、學生及老師，介紹有關社工的哲理及學校社工的角色。這可加強他人對學校社工的了解及認識，亦有利調整學校社工在校工作的時間分配。

除此之外，綜觀受訪者的意見，認清與其他專業的合作之定位及角色，實為重要。無可否認，學校社工應提供服務回應學生的社交、精神健康及行為上的

cornerstone for effectively changing the education system. Noteworthy is that school staff members are more willing to share internal messages and information with people they trust. One participant stated, "While we try to maintain good relationships, we must learn to be assertive and confident in order to work with colleagues that may not always be supportive of our decisions. At times, we need to raise suggestions on behalf of students" (Case 4). She further noted, "Social workers must utilize their personal skills to gather all groups that intend to participate, thereby finding the best solution for students. However, this is not an easy task!"

Secondly, in the view of the research participants, negotiation or mediation skills are also quite important. The respondents recalled how they handled conflicts arising from interpersonal relationships in the family and between students or staff. In this sense, social workers with negotiating or mediating skills can help others to resolve disputes and repair relationships, thus achieving harmony. In terms of school social work services in nowadays society, it is of great importance to hold the ability in resolving conflicts, such as mediation and negotiation skills. For instance, Hong Kong and other places have launched the peer mediation plan which intends to resolve bullying and interpersonal conflicts between students at school (Constable, Massat, McDonald & Flynn, 2006, p. 670-671; Wong, Lok, Lo & Ma, 2008).

IX. Implications of the Research Findings

Recognized role of school social workers

From the above results, quite a number of respondents pointed out that they were assigned to a considerable amount of work, such as administrative work and conferences, which are irrelevant to counselling. Moreover, the role of social workers was neither understood nor recognized by schools or other professions. According to Weng (2005) cited in Chapter Six, administrative support has its importance to school social workers. If schools in Hong Kong can provide more administrative support to school social workers and optimize administrative-related processes, social workers may concentrate to handle more important student matters. In this sense, it is able to respond to the needs of social workers as stated in the interviews, "How much room is left for us to play out the role of a social worker?" (Case 11) Tam and Mong (2005) recommended that school social workers should introduce the philosophy and the role of school social workers to the corresponding stakeholders such as teachers and students through in-service programs and other public relations activities. This will strengthen others' understanding and knowledge of school social workers and will thus facilitate adjustments in time allocation of school social workers at school.

需要，以加強支援青少年的發展及成長(Berzin et al., 2011)。學校社工於學校中需要與多個專業保持合作，他們的參與度及角色可分為四個層面，包括(1)非合作者(non-collaborators)；(2)系統層面的專家(system-level specialists)；(3)顧問(consultants)；以及(4)能平衡的合作者(well-balanced collaborators)，可參閱表5(Berzin et al., 2011)。

若學校社工能從以上的方向中，意識到自身在跨專業合作上之角色及定位，這可提升他們的工作效能及有利他們分配工作優次(Berzin et al., 2011)。回顧上一章節的研究結果，有社工帶出讓學校了解社工的真正角色及效能(案例十四)，以及理解(案例十一)之必要性，而以上的表5所描述學校社工所扮演的角色及參與度，亦能協助學校與學校社工共同商議，為學校社會工作服務定位及編配優次。

In addition, an overview of the respondents' opinions shows that it is crucial to clarify the positioning and role of cooperation with other professionals. Undeniably, school social work should provide services in response to students' social, mental health, and behavioral needs, in order to strengthen the development and growth of young people (Berzin et al., 2011). School social workers also need to maintain collaboration with different professionals in school. Their participation and role can be divided into four aspects, including: (1) non-collaborators; (2) system-level specialists; (3) consultants; and (4) well-balanced collaborators, referring to Table 5 for details (Berzin et al., 2011).

If school social workers can become aware of their own role and positioning in interdisciplinary collaboration from the directions above, their work performance will be improved and their work assignment priorities will be set (Berzin et al., 2011). The results in the previous chapter brought up that it is essential for schools to understand the genuine role and effectiveness of school social workers (Case 11). Thus, the role and participation of school social workers described in Table 5 can also help schools and school social workers to discuss the positioning and allocation priorities of school social work services.

表5 Table 5

學校社工與不同人士合作上扮演的角色及參與度

Role and participation of school social workers in their collaboration with different people

角色 Role	參與度 Participation
(1)非合作者(non-collaborators)	較少與老師合作，他們使用約50%的時間接觸學生的家長及社區機構。 They have less frequent cooperation with teachers, and they spend 50% of their time in contact with students' parents and community agencies.
(2)系統層面的專家(system-level specialists)	透過聯繫老師和家長及社區機構合作，他們提供學校層面的合作、改善學校的文化、分析數據及參與不同的委員會。 Through contact with students' family members, teachers, and community agencies, they maintain a school-level collaboration to improve school culture, analyze data, and participate in various committees.
(3)顧問(consultants)	大多提供顧問的工作，為老師提供學生的行為更改計劃、班房管理技巧及專業發展分享，但大多不會善用學生及老師的課程。 They mostly provide consultation and offer plans for changing behavior of students, classroom management skills, and professional development sharing. However, most of them do not sufficiently utilize existing students and teachers courses.
(4)能平衡的合作者(well-balanced collaborators)	他們全面地聯繫三個重要的伙伴，包括老師、家庭及社區，並提供適當的支援及提供建議。 They are fully engaged with three important partners, namely, teachers, family, and community to provide appropriate support and recommendations.

資料來源: Berzin et al., 2011

Source: Berzin et al., 2011

定義學校社會工作的實踐成效

訪問調查得出的結果，顯示了多重指標在衡量學校社會工作服務成效方面有著重要的價值。測量學校社會工作介入服務成效的質量方法，往往與定量結果之間有著密不可分的關係。透過參與研究的受訪

Definition of the Implementation Effectiveness of School Social Work

The interview results show that it is necessary to use multiple indicators to measure the effectiveness of school social work services, for example, encompassing both the qualitative method and quantitative method. The qualitative method used in the present research does not necessarily guarantee

者，我們了解到現時的測量方法主要是定量方法。然而，這未必能夠準確量度學校社會工作服務對服務對象的成效。一些參與研究的受訪者建議除了每年計算已經處理及完成的個案之外，也必須採用其他結果作為參考指標。例如，在每個學年的開始和結束時，量度學生在生活上的滿意程度、快樂程度、精神狀況等方面。透過這些方面，學校社工和校方人員能夠評核和得知他們在該學年裡的工作是否有效改善學生生活和精神素質，同時也可以將其前後不同的結果作分析，以獲得更多的研究經驗和知識。在另一方面，這個研究當中有相當數量的受訪者提及，組織架構不斷變遷對他們每天日常的實踐帶來了影響，例如管理主義和問責制度對社會福利服務的影響越來越大；一次性撥款的實行影響了機構如何制定職員編制和出納架構；以及要求符合服務質量標準的要求(Social Welfare Department, 2012)。所有的衡量標準，目的在於改善學校社會工作服務偏重成本效益所帶來的巨大工作壓力和混淆的社工角色。一位受訪者說，要在「低成本，高效益」和「重量不重質」的前提下參與社會工作服務令他感覺很沮喪。(案例二)

Tam & Mong(2005)進行了一項小規模、具代表性的研究，其研究顯示這些測量措施對於154位完成問卷的學校社工的工作壓力水平只帶來輕微的影響。他們所得出的調查結果與本研究報告中參與研究的學校社工所顯示的結果大相逕庭，因此對於不斷改變的組織環境所帶來的影響確實需要進一步的調查。參與研究的受訪者提出主要兩項關注：第一，他們提出監管不足，所以有需要恆常地設有系統性案例評估和其他服務的監督，這對於評核社工在工作上的服務質素有很大幫助。根據2009年香港社會工作註冊局的「社會工作督導指引」，此指引參考較為全面的「澳洲社會工作者協會」(Australian Association of Social Workers)作藍本。社會工作督導包括行政、教育及支援的功能，應加以平衡，並應根據服務的實況及員工的需要而調整(社會工作註冊局，2009年)。特別值得注意的是，部分受訪者(特別是年資較輕的學校社工)，除了

accurate measurement of the effectiveness of school social work services. Some respondents even suggested calculating ongoing and completed cases annually as well as the use of other results as reference indicators. For example, at the beginning and the end of every school year, life satisfaction, degree of happiness, and mental health of students are to be measured. Through these aspects, school social workers and staff will be able to evaluate whether their work has effectively improved the life and spiritual qualities of students. At the same time, the pre- and post-test results can be analyzed to obtain more research experiences and knowledge. On the other hand, a considerable number of respondents mentioned that the ever-changing organizational structure might influence their practice. For instance, managerialism and the acceptability system have an increasing impact on social welfare services; one-time appropriation may affect how institutions develop the staffing and financial structures; it is required to comply with the service quality standards (Social Welfare Department, 2012). All the measurement standards aim at improving social work services that emphasize on cost-effectiveness, in which triggers tremendous work stress and confusion of social roles. One respondent indicated that he became frustrated with his involvement in social work services under the premises of “low cost, high efficiency” and “quantity over quality” (Case 2).

Tam and Mong (2005) conducted a small-scale representative research. It shows that the measurements only brought slight impact on the 154 school social workers who had completed the questionnaires as far as their level of work stress is concerned. Such findings are completely contrary to the results presented in this study. Therefore, the impact brought about by the ever-changing organizational environment indeed requires further investigation. In respect to current research study, the respondents put forth two main concerns: First, they pointed out the inadequacy of supervision, thus it is necessary to constantly maintain systematic case assessment and supervision of other services. This is said to greatly enhance the evaluation of the service quality provided by school social workers. According to Hong Kong Social Workers Registration Board's "Social Work Supervision Guidelines" in 2009, the guidelines refer to Australian Association of Social Workers as the comprehensive blueprint. The supervision of social work includes administrative, educational, and support-based functions, which should be balanced and subject to adjustments in accordance with the actual situations and the needs of employees (Social Workers Registration Board, 2009). Worth noting is that respondents with less experience expressed their hope to receive supervision and support, in addition to the quantita-

一些量化的指標(如個案數目)之達成度等，他們均表示希望得到多方面的督導及支援。該指引(社會工作註冊局，2009年)建議新近畢業生(少於三年全職經驗)應每月接受最少一小時不受干擾的個別面談督導。指引亦有就督導的形式，提出建議，如除個別面談督導外，可考慮以集體督導、服務團隊會議及內部訓練等方式作為一項補充措施，亦應予以鼓勵，但不能取代督導的重要地位(社會工作註冊局，2009年)。

第二，幾位受訪者提到學校社工的工作量的計算方法過於死板，因為在每間學校裡出現情況特殊的學生數量和需要並不會計算在內。一位受訪者解釋：「每間學校的學生人數都不一樣，而每間學校裡需要向學校社工尋求支援和協助的學生人數也不一樣。所以我們豈能採用一個劃一標準而缺乏彈性的個案數額作為量度方法？採取此種劃一量度方法去衡量所有案例是不可行的。」(案例八)

質素/具有成效的學校社工其重要的技能

為了改善香港學校社會工作服務的發展，參與研究的受訪者提出了幾項建議。首先，他們指出學校社工需有人際關係及溝通技巧，去連繫及爭取專業人員的支持。他們能與專業人員，例如臨床心理學家、教育心理學家、註冊護士和計劃工作者一起合作，以解決青少年及其家庭的需要和複雜問題。如果獲得這類專業人士的支持，學校社工能夠投入更多時間參與青少年發展和預防工作。根據現時學校社會工作服務的體制，社工被派駐在學校工作時，單是應付一些有問題和有危機的青少年，已經消耗了他們所有的精力。其次，除了在社工開始工作時提供在職培訓外，也需要提供此項服務給予有經驗的學校社工。他們都是接受正式社會工作訓練的畢業生，當他們註冊成為社工，訓練機構和組織必須支持以及組織持續並有系統的訓練給予學校社工。Allen-Meares(1977)及Kelly(2008)其中值得探討的議題是如何促進學校社工透過扮演「專業的領導角色」而非「替補角色」去幫助學生適應學校的新環境(Allen-Meares, 1977)。對於有受訪者憶述他們常常要在校內處理不同團體，例如家庭、學生

tive indicators (such as the number of cases). The guidelines (Social Workers Registration Board, 2009) recommend fresh graduates (less than three years of full-time work experience) to receive at least one hour of supervision on individual interviews. The guidelines also encouraged different forms of supervision, for example, supervision on group work, service team meetings, and internal training, as complementary measures, though these cannot substitute direct supervision (Social Workers Registration Board, 2009).

Second, several respondents mentioned that the calculation of their workloads is rather arbitrary, because the special circumstances and needs of students are not included in the calculation. A respondent further explained: "As the number of students in every school varies, the number of students who needs support and assistance from social workers may also vary. Therefore, due to the lack of flexibility, we cannot use the amount of cases handled as a uniform standard to measure the effectiveness of school social work services." (Case 8)

Essential Skills of School Social Workers

In order to facilitate the development of school social work service in Hong Kong, the respondents proposed several suggestions. First, school social workers should possess interpersonal and communication skills in order to contact with professionals and gain their support. They should also be able to collaborate with professionals such as clinical psychologists, educational psychologists, registered nurses, and activity planners to address to the needs of the youth and their families as well as to solve their problems. With the support from professionals, school social workers will be able to spend more time in youth development and prevention work. When assigned to work in schools, handling some troublesome youth and youth at risk can already make school social workers exhausted. Secondly, in-service training should be provided to both new and experienced school social workers. When they register to become social workers, training agencies have to provide support and sustainable systematic training to school social workers. According to Allen-Meares (1977) and Kelly (2008), school social workers should perform as "professional leaders" rather than "replacements" to help students adapt to new school environment (Allen-Meares, 1977). Few respondents stated that they often had to deal with different stakeholders in schools, such as families, students, or school staff, especially when interpersonal or group conflicts arise. An example will be the conflict between Hong Kong local students and students that are new immigrants. In addition, school social workers should engage in training of increasing cultural literacy and sensitivity (Teasley, 2005). There is sufficient evidence of increasing number of Main-

或校方人員之間發生的人際交往或群體上的衝突，其中的例子包括本土學生與新來港學生的相處情況。在此，另一種可以訓練學校社工能力的範疇是增加學校社工的文化涵養和敏感度(Teasley, 2005)。有足夠的證據顯示就讀小學和中學的中國內地和少數族裔(例如巴基斯坦和尼泊爾)的新來港人士的數目有所增長(Hong Kong Council of Social Service, 2002 and 2008)。因此，學校社工必須具有最新的技能和知識，為來自不同文化和種族背景的青少年提供社會工作服務，並促進不同文化的學生互相了解及融洽相處。雖然在香港沒有強制性持續專業發展計劃，逼使社工參加訓練課程，但是參與研究的受訪者相信推廣自願性持續專業發展計劃是正確的方向(筆者指：2011年6月開始，社會工作註冊局已推出3年最少30小時的自願性持續進修計劃)，對於學校社會工作的持續發展有莫大的好處。

於上一節，研究中有受訪者反映，學校擁有一定程度上的權力及決策權，此窒礙了社工之發揮外，更阻礙學校社會工作服務的持續性及良性發展。(案例十五)另一香港本土研究 To (2012) 指出學校期望學校社工在校幫助學生，但排除學校社工參與討論學校的事務。學校社工每天接觸不少學生、家長及老師，對他們的情況有一定的掌握，若學校能讓學校社工參與一些和學生問題重要之討論及決策，實能協助學校提供及營造一個更好的學習及成長環境。

另一方面，一些服務的理念及手法，也可以加強學校社會工作的效能。以充權為例，充權為近代不少社工處理青少年工作手法之一。學校社工可用充權的方式，協助青少年的成長。他們可鼓勵青少年於校內外的參與，提升他們的自我效能感(To, 2007)。To (2007)建議從以下的三個層面去檢視在學校充權的工作。首先，在個人層面上，如何協助學生重新擁有效能感去處理人生的挑戰，並會爭取他們的利益，肯定學生的能力。其次，在學校及社區的層面上，如何與服務受眾及伙伴去開展在學校政策上之建設性改變，加強學校及社區合作以助青少年發展。再者，在機構的層面上，如何在教育界

landers and minority groups (such as students from Pakistan and Nepal) studying in primary and secondary schools in Hong Kong (Hong Kong Council of Social Service, 2002; 2008). Hence, school social workers must be equipped with the latest skills and knowledge to provide social work services to youth from different cultural and racial backgrounds and to promote mutual understanding and harmony between students with different cultures. Although social workers are not mandatory to attend training programs for sustainable professional development, the research respondents believe that the promotion of voluntary training programs is in the right direction. According to the authors, starting from June 2011, the Social Workers Registration Board has launched at least 30 hours of voluntary continuing education programs, which are expected to bring great benefits to the sustainable development of school social work.

In the last section, some respondents claimed that the authority and decision-making powers of the schools may hinder the function of social workers as well as the continuity and positive development of school social work services (Case 15). Additionally, To (2012) pointed out that the schools exclude the social workers from participating in discussions of school-related matters, but expect them to assist students in schools. School social workers are in contact with students, parents, and teachers every day, so they should have a certain degree of understanding regarding the actual situations. In this sense, if schools allow social workers to participate in important discussions and decision-making related to student issues, they will be able to assist the schools to provide and create a better environment for students' learning and growth.

On the other hand, some concepts and techniques of services can also enhance the effectiveness of school social work, for example, empowerment. It is one of the means used by school social workers to deal with adolescents. School social workers can assist youth to achieve growth through empowerment. They can also encourage youth to participate in activities held on and off campus in order to enhance their self-efficacy (To, 2007). To (2007) suggested examining school empowerment work in the following three aspects. First, at the personal level, the focus lies on how to assist students regaining a sense of efficacy to take on challenges in life, to fight for their interests, and to give affirmation to students' abilities. Secondly, at the school and community level, the issue is how to launch constructive school policy changes with concerted efforts of the general public and peers as well as to strengthen the collaboration between school and community so as to aid the youth development. Furthermore, on an institutional level, the key lies in how to play the role of advocators in the field of education. For specific contents,

上扮演倡導者的角色。具體內容可參閱To(2007)的文中，內有不同個案的分享，指出如何從此三個層面，推動充權的工作，並指出當中的潛在好處。

總的來說，本研究提供了一部分學校社工對於香港學校社會工作服務所分享的意見。他們在各方面所表達的意見，對於支持和展開可持續發展的服務有著重要的作用。誠然，香港學校社會工作服務自設立起沒有發生太大的改變，學校社工的角色自1999年來也未曾重新定義或修改(請參考表1)。一些重要的服務，如綜合家庭服務中心，亦已於2010年進行檢討，以確保服務得以發展。由於學校(小學及中學)在青少年的成長佔一重要的席位，以官方牽頭及支援，蒐集最新學校社工的意見及想法，以及蒐集持分者的意見及期望(如校方、家長及學生等)，以重新調節社工的角色及工作，這也是不少受訪的社會工作者願意看到的改進。這的確需要及早審核和檢討學校社會工作的成效，只有這樣，建設現代化服務的方法才得以確立。

please refer to the case sharing in the paper of To (2007), in which he pointed out how these three aspects promote empowerment work and the potential benefits that lie within.

Overall, this study provides some opinions of school social workers regarding the school social work services in Hong Kong. The opinions are important to support the launch of sustainable development services. Obviously, school social work services in Hong Kong have not undergone significant changes since inception. The role of school social workers also has not been redefined or modified since 1999 (refer to Table 1). Some important services such as comprehensive family services were reviewed in 2010 to ensure continuing development of the services. As schools (primary schools and secondary schools) play an important part in youth's development. With the guidance and support from the government, the latest opinions and ideas of school social workers, as well as the comments and expectations of corresponding stakeholders (such as the school, parents, students, etc.) can be gathered to regulate the role and work of school social workers. In this regard, it is believed that many social workers would be keen to see such improvements. Therefore, examining and reviewing the effectiveness of school social work need to be done from time to time, so as to keep up with the ever-changing society and establish effective social work services that are consistent with the ever-changing needs.

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The Usefulness of the Political Economy Perspective to the Analysis of Social Welfare in Hong Kong—a Case Study of the Retirement Protection Measures

政治經濟學觀點於香港社會福利制度分析上的應用 —退休保障措施個案研究

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摘 要

This article is intended to demonstrate the usefulness of the political economy perspective to the analysis of the development of social welfare in Hong Kong. This perspective stresses that the development of social welfare in capitalists societies are dominated by the contradictory relationship between social welfare and capitalism – that is that social welfare strengthens capitalism by carrying out functions such as facilitating the reproduction of labour and promoting social stability on the one hand; it weakens capitalism by financially overburdening the government and as a result requiring the government to tax capitalists heavily on the other hand. To meet the objective of this article, two analytical tasks are carried out. The first is to identify two tactics adopted by capitalist governments to respond to the contradictory relationship between social welfare and capitalism – the residual and collaborative. The second is to discuss the retirement protection measures (note 1) (the Comprehensive Social Security Assistance Scheme and the Mandatory Provident Scheme) as the cases for showing how the Hong Kong government attempts to use the residual and collaborative tactics to reduce the negative effects of social welfare on capitalism, and its difficulties in carrying out these tactics.

Keywords: Political Economy Perspective, Social Welfare, Residual Tactics, Collaborative Tactics

Abstract

本文旨在說明政治經濟學觀點於香港社會福利制度分析上的應用。政治經濟學觀點強調，資本主義社會的社會福利發展，受社會福利與資本主義間的矛盾關係支配：一方面，社會福利能達成勞動力再生產、維持社會安定，從而鞏固資本主義；另一方面，社會福利拖垮政府財政負擔，使政府必須加重對資本家課稅，因此削弱資本主義。為達本文目的，我們執行兩個分析任務：首先檢視資本主義政府用以因應社會福利與資本主義間矛盾關係的兩個策略，即殘補(residual)策略與合作(collaborative)策略；再以退休保障措施(註1)。(即綜合社會保障援助計劃與強制性公積金計劃)為

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例，探討香港政府如何兼採殘補與合作兩種策略，減低社會福利制度對於資本主義的負面效果，以及哪些困難可能使這些策略無法有效施行。

關鍵字：政治經濟學觀點、社會福利、殘補策略、合作策略

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this article is to study the relevance of the political economy perspective to the analysis of the development of social welfare in Hong Kong. The political economy perspective draws our attention to the tactics used by capitalist governments to handle the contradictory relationship between social welfare and capitalism, and their difficulties in implementing these tactics effectively. To meet the objective of this article, we rely on the methodology of case studies. In specific, two analytical tasks are implemented. The first is to examine two tactics adopted by capitalist governments to respond to the contradictory relationship between social welfare and capitalism – the residual and collaborative. The second is to discuss the retirement protection measures (the Comprehensive Social Security Assistance Scheme and the Mandatory Provident Scheme) as the examples for showing how the Hong Kong government attempts to employ the residual and collaborative tactics to reduce the adverse effects of social welfare on capitalism, and the difficulties in implementing these tactics effectively.

Before going into the details of these two analytical tasks, we shall discuss the political economy perspective, and highlight different views on its applicability to the analysis of the development of social welfare in East Asia.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY PERSPECTIVE

Capitalism in general refers to an economic system in which natural resources and means of producing goods and services are privately owned (Macionis, 2006). It has three core features – the private ownership of property, the emphasis on pursuit of personal profits and the stress on the commodification of labour (Macionis, 2006; Room, 1979; Giddens, 1985). Capitalism is not a static system; rather it has been continuously changing (Lee & Ching, 2011). History bears witness that it can take different forms – mercantilism, free-market capitalism and state capitalism are the examples (note 2). As a part of capitalism, the capitalist state is required to defend the core elements of capitalism (Chau, 1995; Walker & Wong, 2004). On the one hand, the capitalist state is expected to play an important role in protecting the private ownership of property, encouraging people to pursue their private interests through taking part in the market mechanism and regulating the sale of labour as a commodity in the job market (Gough, 1979; Offe, 1984). On the other hand, there is a need for the capitalist state to seek a high degree of political legitimacy (Mishra, 1984). Hence, the capitalist government (as an executive arm of the capitalist state) is required to launch policies to meet three ruling goals – strengthening the capitalist values (such as profit-making motives and individualism),

緒論

本文旨在探討政治經濟學觀點是否適於分析香港社會福利制度發展。政治經濟學觀點關注的是，資本主義政府用何種策略處理社會福利與資本主義兩者間的矛盾關係，以及哪些困難可能使這些策略無法有效施行。為達本文目的，我們使用個案研究法具體執行兩個分析任務：首先檢視資本主義政府用以因應社會福利與資本主義間矛盾關係的兩個策略，即殘補(residual)策略與合作(collaborative)策略；再以退休保障(即綜合社會保障援助計劃與強制性公積金計劃)為例，探討香港政府如何兼採殘補與合作兩種策略，減低社會福利制度對於資本主義的負面效果，以及哪些困難可能使這些策略無法有效施行。

在介紹兩個分析任務的細節前，我們將先討論政治經濟學觀點，並重點回顧幾個對於應用此觀點分析東亞社會福利發展的不同意見。

政治經濟學觀點

一般而言，資本主義意指一個經濟體從自然資源到財貨與勞務生產方式均為私有(Macionis, 2006)。該經濟體具有下列三大核心特色：財產私有、強調個人利益追求、強調勞動商品化(Macionis, 2006; Room, 1979; Giddens, 1985)。資本主義並非一個靜止的系統，而是持續不斷變化(Lee & Ching, 2011)。歷史見證了資本主義可以有不同的型態，例如：重商主義、自由市場資本主義、國家資本主義等(註2)。資本主義國家是資本主義經濟體的一部分，必須維護資本主義的核心要素(Chau, 1995; Walker & Wong, 2004)。一方面，資本主義國家的重要工作包括：保護私有財產、鼓勵人民參與市場機制追求個人利益、調節就業市場上勞動商品的販售等(Gough, 1979; Offe, 1984)。另一方面，資本主義國家也需尋求高度政治合法性(Mishra, 1984)。因此，國家的執行部門—資本主義政府，必須採行政策以達到下列三個統治目標：鞏固資本主義價值(如：以獲利為目的、個人主義)、創造累積資本機會、獲得政治合法

providing the opportunities for capital accumulation and gaining political legitimacy. Recently it is increasingly recognized that welfare capitalism becomes an important form of capitalism especially in Western Europe and members of the Anglo-Saxon world (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Holliday & Wilding, 2003). Welfare capitalism in general refers to an economic and political system that combines a mostly market-based economy with extensive social welfare programmes (Macionis, 2006). In the welfare capitalism, the government relies heavily on the provision of social welfare for meeting the ruling goals. However, it is important to note that there is a lack of universal form of welfare capitalism. Instead analysts have been developing different frameworks for classifying the forms of welfare capitalism (Mishra, 1984; Titmuss, 1974; Room, 1979). A widely discussed classification research is the ‘three worlds of welfare capitalism’ thesis presented by Esping-Andersen (1990) - the liberal, the conservative and the social democratic. The social democratic world emphasizes the principle of universalism, providing benefits and services based on citizenship; the conservative world stresses the principle of subsidiarity and the dominance of social insurance schemes; and the liberal world is based on the ideas of market dominance and private provision (Bambra, 2007; Gerragina & Seeleib-Kaiser, 2011). In developing the thesis of ‘the three worlds of welfare capitalism’, Esping-Andersen (1990) focuses on studying 18 OECD countries (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States). Japan is the only country located in East Asia among these 18 countries.

Since 1990, there have been discussions about whether East Asian capitalist countries should form the fourth world of welfare capitalism (Ku & Jones, 2007; Jones, 1993; Goodman & Peng, 1996). However, there is an absence of a unanimous view on this issue. Instead, different analysts study whether the East Asian capitalist countries should be seen as a part of the ‘three worlds of welfare capitalism’ or should be regarded as a separate world of welfare capitalism from different perspectives. A widely discussed perspective on these issues is the cultural perspective on welfare. This perspective is well represented by Jones’ research. In studying the question of whether East Asian countries might fit into Esping-Andersen’s comparative framework for the analysis of welfare regimes, Jones (1993) stresses that they do not fit. She argues that East Asian countries having a Confucian heritage should be classified as the fourth world of capitalism (Jones, 1993). This world of capitalism has several distinguishable features:

Conservative corporatism without (Western-style) worker participation; subsidiarity without the Church; solidarity

性。近年來，越來越多學者認為福利資本主義是資本主義的一個重要形式，在西歐與英語系國家尤然(Esping-Andersen, 1990; Holliday & Wilding, 2003)。一般而言，福利資本主義意指一個政治經濟體系結合了大致以市場為本的經濟體與廣泛的社會福利計劃(Macionis, 2006)。於福利資本主義經濟體，政府高度仰賴社會福利的提供達成統治目標。值得注意的是，福利資本主義並沒有世界通行的單一形式；學者仍在建立不同的架構，以對福利資本主義進行分類(Mishra, 1984; Titmuss, 1974; Room, 1979)。其中，一份曾引起廣泛討論的研究是Esping-Andersen(1990)的論文《福利資本主義的三個世界》，即自由主義、保守主義、社會民主主義的福利體制分類。其中，社會民主主義強調普及(universalism)原則，凡具公民權(citizenship)者即享有照護優待和服務；保守主義強調輔助(subsidiary)原則與社會保險制度為先；自由主義則以市場為本，由私部門提供照護(Bambra, 2007; Gerragina & Seeleib-Kaiser, 2011)。Esping-Andersen(1990)建構其《福利資本主義的三個世界》時，以18個經合組織會員國（即澳洲、奧地利、比利時、加拿大、丹麥、芬蘭、法國、德國、愛爾蘭、義大利、日本、荷蘭、紐西蘭、挪威、瑞典、瑞士、英國、美國）為依據，其中只有日本位於東亞。

1990年起開始有學者討論東亞資本主義國家是否屬於第四個福利資本主義體制 (Ku & Jones, 2007; Jones, 1993; Goodman & Peng, 1996)，然而各界對此議題目前尚未有共識，仍從不同觀點探討東亞資本主義國家係應歸於原來的三種體制內，或是自成一類。東亞資本主義國家的福利議題中，廣受討論的是福利的文化觀點，此觀點可以Jones的研究為代表。Jones(1993)強調東亞國家並不適用Esping-Andersen的福利體制對比架構，而主張受儒家傳統影響的東亞國家應屬於第四類資本主義福利架構。這類社會福利架構具有下列鮮明特色：

具保守統合主義特色，但無(西方國家形式的)勞工參與；具輔助功能，但無教會媒介；沒有平等的社會連帶關係；採取放任態度，但並非奉行自

without equality; laissez faire without libertarianism... household economy welfare states – run in the style of a would-be traditional, Confucian, extended family (Jones, 1993; p.124).

The importance of the cultural factor in shaping the development of social welfare in East Asia has also been discussed by other analysts (Karim, et al, 2010; Bambra, 2007; Chau & Yu, 2013; Yu, 2012). For example, Bambra (2007) argues that East Asian countries such as Japan, Singapore and South Korea can be identified as Confucian welfare regimes. Goodman and Peng (1996) argue that East Asian welfare states are shaped by Confucian principles.

However, not all studies of East Asian welfare regimes attach importance to the cultural perspective. Some analysts study the development of social welfare in East Asia from the political economy perspective (Walker & Wong, 2005; Chau & Yu, 2009). They stress that the development of social welfare in East Asian countries is mainly the results of the governments' responses to the political and economic factors (Walker & Wong, 2005; Kim, 2006; 2008). They argue that the similarities in how welfare is organized between East Asian countries and Western countries should not be overlooked. On the one hand, similar to their counter-parts in western capitalist societies, capitalist governments in East Asia are worried about the negative impacts of social welfare on capitalism (Walker & Wong, 2005). For example, the provision of social welfare may reduce people's willingness to sell their labour in the job market, strengthen some values such as social solidarity and social equality at the expense of the values of making profits and encourage people to demand for meeting their needs through collective means such as national industries and national enterprises (Walker, 1984; Chau & Yu, 2009; Mishra, 1984). Despite these worries, it is common for them to try to strengthen capital accumulation and secure political legitimacy through the provision of social welfare (Walker & Wong, 2005; Kim, 2006). For example, studies show that they are keen to secure a steady supply of quality labour by developing comprehensive health care and public education programmes (Yu, 2012; Wilding, 1997; Walker & Wong, 2004). For this reason, analysts (such as Walker & Wong, 2004; Chau & Yu, 2009) argue that it is not reasonable to overlook the similarities in how social welfare is organized between Western capitalist societies and East Asian societies. To substantiate their claims, Walker and Wong (2004) use Hong Kong as an example. They argue that Hong Kong is not given a welfare state status in comparative studies, not because of its government's limited commitment to social welfare but due to its lack of a parliamentary democratic institution (Walker & Wong, 1996). Yet, as a matter of fact, Hong Kong government provides more social welfare than allowed

由主義……以家庭經濟為本的福利國家，透過類似傳統儒家文化延伸的家庭結構施行社會福利 (Jones, 1993, 124頁)。

其他學者(Karim, et al., 2010; Bambra, 2007; Chau & Yu, 2013; Yu, 2012)也曾探討文化因素在形塑東亞社會福利制度發展上的重要地位，如：Bambra(2007)主張日本、新加坡、南韓等東亞國家可視為儒家文化福利國家；Goodman與Peng(1996)則認為東亞福利國家由儒家思想要義形塑而來。

然而，並非所有東亞福利體制的研究都側重文化觀點。部分學者從政治經濟學的角度切入(Walker & Wong, 2005; Chau & Yu, 2009)，強調東亞國家的社會福利發展導因於政府對政治與經濟要素作出的因應(Walker & Wong, 2005; Kim, 2006; 2008)，主張不應忽視東亞國家與西方國家間社會福利規劃的共通點。一方面，東亞資本主義政府與西方資本主義國家同樣憂心社會福利制度對資本主義造成負面衝擊(Walker & Wong, 2005)，例如：提供社會福利照護可能降低人民在就業市場出售勞力的意願，或犧牲資本主義社會根本的「獲利」價值觀，轉而鞏固社會連帶、社會平等價值觀，甚至鼓勵人民透過集體手段(如國營產業、國營企業等)滿足個人需求(Walker, 1984; Chau & Yu, 2009; Mishra, 1984)。儘管有這些憂慮，東亞資本主義政府仍常藉由提供社會福利照護強化資本累積、鞏固政治合法性(Walker & Wong, 2005; Kim, 2006)。例如：研究顯示，資本主義政府往往藉由提供發展綜合性醫療保健與公眾教育，確保高品質勞動力的供給(Yu, 2012; Wilding, 1997; Walker & Wong, 2004)。因此有學者(如Walker & Wong, 2004; Chau & Yu, 2009)認為，忽視西方資本主義社會與東亞社會間社會福利規劃上共通點是不合理的。Walker與Wong(2004)以香港為例，指出對比研究中未將香港列為福利國家，不是因為政府不致力於社會福利，而是因為缺乏議會民主體制(Walker & Wong, 1996)。實際上，香港政府提供的社會福利照顧比殘補體制提供的更多(Chau & Yu, 2009)。根據Walker與Wong的論點，我們不應低估政

by the residual welfare model (Chau & Yu, 2009). Based on the Walker and Wong's argument, we should not underestimate the importance of the political and economic factors in shaping the development of social welfare in Hong Kong.

THE RESIDUAL AND COLLABORATIVE TACTICS

At the same time as providing social welfare, it is not unusual for the capitalist governments to use tactics to reduce the negative impact of social welfare on capitalism (Offe, 1984; Chau & Yu, 2003). This section is particularly concerned with two types of tactics. The first type, termed as the residual tactics in this article, focuses on making social services a poor substitute to the services provided in the private market (Chau & Yu, 2001). To carry out these tactics, the government constructs social services based on the residual welfare model. This model is built on the assumption that the private market and the family are the natural channels for fulfilling people's needs and that the government should only play a secondary role in providing social services (Titmuss, 1974; Williams, 1989; Goodin, 1999). To make social services residual, a possible way is to screen out those who can afford to use private services through the means-tests and wealth tests. Another possible way is to keep the quality of social services lower than that of private services.

The second type, termed in this paper as the collaborative tactics, is concerned with linking people's entry into the private market to their entitlement to social services (Yu, 2007). An example of these tactics is the government's attempt to financially support people to buy a private flat through a public loan scheme. If people refuse to purchase their flat from the private market, they will not be entitled to the loan. Another example is the financial scheme intended to subsidize people to look for jobs in the private market. If people choose not to take part in the job market, they will be denied the access to this financial scheme.

The residual and collaborative tactics are highly related to the liberal welfare regime. According to Esping-Andersen (1999), there are three core elements that characterize the liberal welfare regime: first it is residual because social guarantees are typically restricted to 'bad risk'; second, it is residual because it adheres to a narrow conception of what risks should be considered 'social'; and third, it motivates people to participate in the private market – for example, the government encourages people to join the private insurance scheme by giving them tax concessions. Evidently the residual tactics are associated with the first and the second elements of the liberal welfare regimes, and the collaborative tactics are related to the third element. Hence, it could be said that the implementation of these two types of tactics reinforces the liberal welfare regime.

治與經濟要素在形塑香港社會福利制度上的重要性。

殘補策略與合作策略

資本主義政府在提供社會福利照護的同時，並非常使用部分策略減低社會福利對資本主義的負面衝擊 (Offe, 1984; Chau & Yu, 2003)。本部分將探討兩種策略，第一種在本文裡稱為殘補策略，指照護服務主要由私有市場供給，社會福利是個人無法負擔私有照護服務時，由政府提供的取代方式 (Chau & Yu, 2001)。為執行此策略，政府根據殘補福利模式規劃社會服務；此模式的基本假設是私有市場與家庭是滿足人民需求的自然管道，而政府在社會服務方面應只扮演次要角色 (Titmuss, 1974; Williams, 1989; Goodin, 1999)。要使社會服務具殘補性質，一個可能的辦法是用經濟情況審查與財富審查，將有能力負擔私有服務的個人排除在外；另一個可能的辦法，則是使社會服務的品質低於私有服務品質。

第二種策略在本文裡稱為合作策略，指政府將人民進入市場的權利與其享有社會福利的權利作連結 (Yu, 2007)。此策略其中一例是政府透過公有貸款制度支援人民購置私有房屋的措施：人民若不從私有市場購屋，將無法獲得此公有貸款。另一例子是補助人民在私營企業求職的財政援助計劃：人民若不進入私部門就業，則無法取得此財政援助計劃的補助。

殘補策略與合作策略都與自由主義社會福利體制高度相關。Esping-Andersen (1999) 指出，自由主義體制有三大核心特色：首先，因為此體制的社會福利往往局限於「不良風險」的保障，所以具有殘補性質；其次，此體制本於一個相當狹隘的「社會」風險概念，即具有「社會」性質的風險相當少，所以具有殘補性質；最後，此體制鼓勵人民參與私有市場，例如政府提供減稅優惠，鼓勵人民加入私營保險制度。這裡探討的殘補策略顯然與自由主義體制的前兩大特色相關，而合作策略則與第三大特色相關。因此我們可以說，採行此兩種策略能

However, it is one thing that capitalist governments have the intention of implementing the residual and collaborative tactics for reducing the negative effects of social welfare on capitalism and strengthening the liberal welfare regime, whether these two types of tactics can be effectively carried out may be quite another.

In reality, it is quite rare, even for right-wing governments, to provide all social services based on the residual welfare model. As mentioned above, capitalist governments may be required to promote social stability and create profit-making opportunities for the private sector. In order to meet these goals, they may be required to provide some social services on a larger scale than that allowed by the residual welfare model. Facing this political reality, the capitalist governments may try to keep social services as close to the residual welfare model as politically possible.

The effectiveness of the residual and collaborative tactics is affected by the conditions of the private market, which is not totally within the government's control. For example, if the quality of the private services unwittingly deteriorates, the government will be required to continuously lower the quality of social services; otherwise the residual welfare model will be challenged. If private services cannot attract the public to consume, the government will be required to provide them with financial incentives; otherwise its collaborative tactics cannot be effectively implemented.

Hence, unsurprisingly the capitalist governments continuously adjust their residual and collaborative tactics in response to the changing economic and political conditions. Their attempts to do so show the importance of the political and economic factors in continuously shaping the development of social welfare.

RETIREMENT PROTECTION MEASURES IN HONG KONG

The reforms on the retirement protection measures in Hong Kong provide important examples of how the residual and collaborative tactics operate in practice, and in turn the relevance of the political economy perspective to the analysis of the development of social welfare in Hong Kong. Evidence shows that the economy in Hong Kong in the last decade maintained its efficiency in creating wealth despite the drastic economic downturns during the SARS period in 2003 and the global financial tsunami in 2008. Over the past ten years, there has been an average of 4.5 per cent of Hong Kong GDP growth. From 2008 to 2012, the economy was marked by 13% of cumulative growth (Hong Kong SAR Government, 2013). The impressive performance of the economy not only helps Hong Kong keep its reputation as an example of successful market economy but also provides the government with resources to expand its social

強化自由主義社會福利體制。

然而，儘管資本主義政府意圖透過殘補與合作策略降低社會福利對資本主義的負面效果，但這兩種策略是否能有效執行，又另當別論。

事實上，即使是右翼政府，也不太可能依據殘補福利模式提供所有社會服務。如前述，資本主義政府可能必須推動社會安定並為私部門創造獲利機會；而政府為了達到這些目標，可能必須提供比殘補福利模式範圍更廣的社會服務。面對政治現實面，資本主義政府可在政治允許下，盡可能讓社會服務接近殘補福利模式的範疇。

殘補策略與合作策略的效果會受私有市場的狀況影響，這點政府無法完全掌控。例如：若私有照護服務的品質意外降低，政府就必須不斷降低社會服務的品質，否則殘補福利模式將難以為繼；若私有照護服務無法吸引大眾消費，則政府必須提供財務誘因，否則合作策略將無法有效執行。

因此，資本主義政府理當持續調整殘補與合作策略，藉以因應不斷變化的經濟與政治情勢。而政府調整策略的做法，正好反映了政治與經濟要素能持續形塑社會福利制度的發展。

香港的退休保障措施

香港退休保障制度的改革足以作為殘補與合作策略實際運用之例證，以及政治經濟學觀點是否適於分析香港社會福利制度發展。證據顯示，在2003年嚴重急性呼吸系統綜合症(SARS)與2008年全球金融海嘯的衝擊之下，香港經濟在過去十年間仍能有效持續創造財富，平均GDP成長為4.5%。2008至2012年，香港經濟累積成長13%(香港特別行政區政府，2013)，亮眼的經濟表現不只維持其成功市場經濟的聲望，更讓香港政府有足夠資源擴大社會福利制度範疇。2008年，港府將免費教育的年限從九年延長至十二年；2013年，則宣布可望在五年內將此

welfare programmes. In 2008, the government extended the period of free education from nine years to 12 years. In 2013, it announced that the period of free education will hopefully be further extended to 15 years within five years (South China Morning Post, 3 Mar 2013; SingTao Daily, 3 Mar 2013). It also intends to reform the health care systems. Two large scale public consultations were launched with the focus on enhancing primary care, promoting and strengthening the public healthcare safety net (Food and Health Bureau, 2010).

Despite the steady expansion of social welfare programmes, the Hong Kong government emphasizes that it has no intention of developing a Western-style welfare state (Chiu & Wong, 2005; Chau & Yu, 2009). On the contrary, it expresses its worry about the negative effects of social welfare on capitalism such as generating the dependency culture and overburdening the government financially (Chau & Yu, 2009). In response to these possible adverse effects on capitalism, it stresses the importance of work in improving the life of the public, and importance of encouraging unemployed people to reduce reliance on social welfare.

Subsidised welfare services in Hong Kong are available to all who need them..... Yet, the Government is also mindful that the welfare services provided should not create a culture of dependency among the recipients, reduce their motivation or remove their incentive to work (Social Welfare Advisory Committee, 2011:35)

Working is the best way for employable persons to move towards self-reliance. Through paid employment, one would be able to improve their living, raise their self-esteem and sense of worthiness, build up a social network and set up a good model for their children (Social Welfare Department, 2006:1).

These quotes show that the key mechanism for improving people's quality of life, in the government's mind, is the job market. Hence unsurprisingly, the government is reluctant to make commitments to providing sufficient protection to retirees. However, Hong Kong is facing ageing population. The proportion of the population aged 65 and over will increase from 12% in 2003 to 27% in 2033. The age dependency ratio will also increase from 378 to 598 in the same period (Census and Statistics Department, 2004). This implies that the younger population will bear increasing responsibilities for meeting the financial needs of older people. In response to this issue, the Hong Kong government is under pressure to review its social security measures. However, despite the fact that it has so far only launched some piecemeal reform measures, it is already wary of the possible negative effects of these measures on capitalism. Hence, it tries to keep the design of the main retirement protection measures (the Comprehensive Social Security Assistance Scheme and the Mandatory Provident Fund) close to the essence of the residual and collaborative tactics.

年限延長至十五年(南華早報, 2013年5月3日; 星島日報, 2013年3月3日)。除此之外, 港府也計劃進行醫療保健制度改革, 並已舉行兩次大規模的公眾諮詢會, 諮詢重點為改善基層醫療、促進並強化公共醫療安全網的品質(食物及衛生局, 2010)。

儘管香港政府持續拓展社會福利計劃範疇, 卻強調並無意發展成為如西方社會定義的福利國家 (Chiu & Wong, 2005; Chau & Yu, 2009), 反而擔憂社會福利對資本主義造成負面效果, 例如產生依賴文化、拖垮政府財政負擔等(Chau & Yu, 2009)。為因應這些負面效果, 香港政府強調就業對改善大眾生活品質的重要性, 也將鼓勵失業人士減低對社會福利制度的依賴列為要務。

香港的資助福利服務惠及所有有需要人士……然而, 當局亦注意到所提供的福利服務, 不應令受惠人產生倚賴, 減少他們的動力和令他們失去工作意慾(社會福利諮詢委員會, 2011: 35)。

對於有工作能力的人士來說, 工作是自力更生的最佳途徑, 努力工作除可增加家庭每月的入息, 改善自己和家人的生活外, 也能增加個人的自尊自信, 建立良好的人際關係和網絡, 更可為子女樹立正確榜樣(社會福利署, 2006: 1)。

這些引言顯示, 香港政府認為就業市場仍是改進人民生活品質的關鍵機制, 也因此仍不願意承諾為退休人士提供足夠保障。然而香港面臨人口老化考驗, 從2003年到2033年, 65歲以上人口將從12%上升至27%, 扶養比也將從378上升至598(政府統計處, 2004), 意即年輕一代要滿足老年人的財務需求, 背負的責任將逐漸加重。為因應此問題, 香港政府面臨不得不檢討社會保險制度的壓力, 雖然目前只推行部分片面的改革措施, 卻已警覺這些措施可能對資本主義造成負面影響。因此, 香港政府讓主要退休保障措施(即綜合社會保障援助計劃與強制性公積金計劃)的設計方式盡可能符合殘補與合作策略的要義。

1. The Comprehensive Social Security Assistance Scheme (CSSA)

The aim of the Comprehensive Social Security Assistance Scheme (CSSA) is to provide a safety-net not only for retirees but also for all those who cannot support themselves financially (Chau & Yu, 2003). There are reasons to believe that the CSSA is heavily shaped by the residual welfare model. Firstly, applicants are required to go through the income tests and asset tests. A single able-bodied adult is not allowed to apply for the CSSA if he or she earns more than HK\$2,070 (US\$265) per month (note 3). This amount of money is less than 20% of the current median income (Sing Tao Daily, 22 Feb 2013). Moreover he or she is not allowed to have assets worth more than HK\$ 25,000 (US\$ 3,205). Secondly, those aged 16 to 59 years are required to register for job placements in the government departments unless proven not suitable to work. Thirdly, the financial assistance offered by the CSSA is kept below a level necessary for securing a decent standard of living. For example, the CSSA-Alliance criticizes that the government has not reviewed the price and significance of the “basket of items” based on which the formula for calculating the CSSA benefits is developed since 1996 (Legislative Council Secretariat, 2007). As a result, the formula for setting the CSSA benefits does not accurately reflect the current level of the basic living standard. For example, the expenses on internet and extra-curriculum activities are not included in the basket of the items. Moreover, there has been substantial rise in the prices of some items (such as the food and accommodation) in the basket. However, the government pays little attention to these changes. Fourthly, in order to reduce the number of people relying on the CSSA, the government extended the residence requirement for applying for the CSSA from one year to seven years in 2004 (Social Welfare Department, 2004). As a result those older people arriving in Hong Kong after 2003 are not allowed to receive the CSSA until they meet the new residential requirement. This policy was abolished at the end of 2013.

2. Mandatory Provident Fund (MPF)

The Mandatory Provident Fund (MPF) is shaped significantly by the collaborative tactics. This scheme was implemented in 2000. It is by nature a privately managed, employment-based, defined-contribution scheme intended to protect the entire workforce (Siu, 2002). According to the MPF ordinance, almost all full-time employees between the ages of 18 and 65 and their employers are required to contribute 5% of the employees' relevant income to a recognized private provident fund each month. Employees earning less HK\$6,500 (US\$833) a month are not required to make contribution, but their employers are required to contribute 5% of the employees' income. For employees earning more than HK\$6,500 (US\$833) a month, mandatory contributions are capped at HK\$1,250 (US\$160). Self-employed people are required to 5% of their income subject to a maximum

1. 綜合社會保障援助計劃(綜援)

綜合社會保障援助計劃(綜援)的目的，在於為退休人士與財務上無法自立者提供安全網(Chau & Yu, 2003)。我們相信綜援絕大部分是由殘補福利模式形塑而成，首先因為申請者必須經過收入審查與資產審查，無殘疾的成人月收入超過2,070 港幣(265美元)者即不得申請(註3.)，此金額低於目前收入中位數的20%(星島日報，2013年2月22日)，且申請者不得擁有價值超過25,000 港幣(3,205美元)之資產。其次，16歲至59歲的申請者除證實不適合工作者外，皆必須在政府部門註冊就業安置服務。再者，綜援提供的財務援助不及維持一定生活水準所需的金額；例如：關注綜援低收入聯盟就批評，此計劃援助金額是按過時的1996年「一籃子物品」計算得出，政府未重新檢討資料是否仍適用(立法會秘書處，2007)。因此計算綜援補助金額的公式無法正確反映現今的基本生活水準，例如：網路與課外活動開銷並未計算在內，且部分商品價格(如食物與住房)已大幅上漲，但政府並未留意這些改變。最後，為減低依賴綜援的人數，香港政府於2004年將申請者需具備的居留年數從一年提高為七年(社會福利署，2004)，因此於2003年抵港的年長申請者需達到新的居留年數規定後，才能領取綜援補助金，此規定於2013年底才被廢除。

2. 強制性公積金計劃(強積金)

強制性公積金計劃(強積金)則大部分由合作策略形塑而成。此計劃於2000年上路，本質上是一個由私部門經營、以就業為本、清楚定義繳付金額的計劃，目的在於保障全體勞動力(Siu, 2002)。根據強積金規定，幾乎所有18至65歲的全職勞工與其僱主每月均須提撥勞工有關入息的5%到一個認可的私營公積金。每月所得不足6,500港幣(833美金)之勞工無須提撥，但其僱主仍須提撥該勞工收入的5%。每月所得超過6,500港幣(833美金)者提撥之強制性公積金最高為1,250港幣(160美元)。自僱人士須提撥收入的5%，最高撥付金額為1,250港幣(160美元)。為

of HK\$1,250 (US\$160) per month. In order to encourage people to join the MPF, the government provides HK\$600 million (US\$76.9 million) to a compensation fund, supplemented by a levy of 0.03% of the MPF net asset value (Mandatory Provident Fund Schemes Authority, 2002). Moreover, the mandatory contributions made by employees and employers are tax deductible, subject to a maximum limit of HK\$14,500 (US\$1,859) per year (Mandatory Provident Fund Schemes Authority, 2013a). Instead of having regular income after retirement, the members of the MPF can only get back their saving in a lump sum when they reach the age of 65. Even worse they are not normally allowed to withdraw their total accrued benefits before 65 (note 4).

DIFFERENT VIEWS ON THE DESIRABILITY OF THE RETIREMENT PROTECTION MEASURES

The government sees the MPF and CSSA as important measures for helping people organize their retirement life. It openly stresses that these two measures together with the private saving are the three pillars of the pension system in Hong Kong (Leung, 2013). From the government's point of view, the MPF and the CSSA are desirable measures as they promote core capitalist values – the individualism, the inequality and marketism (Yu, 2008). Firstly it is stressed that people have the individual responsibilities to prepare for the retirement life. That is why the MPF relies heavily on individual efforts to save money for the future. The CSSA is by nature a collective measure for helping retirees to meet financial needs but it is seen as an ambulance service rather than a normal service. It conveys the message that except under abnormal circumstances, people should avoid relying on the CSSA to meet their financial needs. Secondly, as people differ significantly in the amount of money they can accumulate through individual savings and the MPF (depending very much on how much they earn from the labour market), there can be vast inequalities between retirees. Thirdly, as the MPF relies mainly on the private sector to manage people's saving, the importance of the market is promoted.

However, evidence shows that the public do not support these three core capitalist values. As a result they do not see the MPF and the CSSA as desirable retirement measures. Firstly, analysts (Ho, 2005; Yu, 2008) point out that the social inequalities are the main causes of people's failures to achieve a secure retirement life. As the MPF and the CSSA are not designed to reduce the social inequalities, they do not think that the MPF and CSSA are effective measures for helping people to secure a decent retirement life. It is not difficult to understand their view. The wealth gap in Hong Kong is seriously wide: the GDP per capita at current market prices is HK\$23,758 (US\$3,046) (Hong Kong

鼓勵人民參加強積金計劃，香港政府除提供6億港幣(7690萬美金)給一個補償基金外，並徵收強積金計劃資產淨值0.03%的費用(強制性公積金計劃管理局，2002)。此外，勞工與僱主所提撥之金額可扣抵稅額，惟扣抵總金額以每年14,500港幣(1,859美元)為限(強制性公積金計劃管理局，2013a)。參與強積金計劃者並不能在退休後定期獲得收入，只能在達到65歲時一次提領所有儲蓄的積金，且一般而言未滿65歲者不可領取累積的全部累算權益(註4)。

針對退休保障制度理想與否的不同觀點

香港政府視強積金與綜援為幫助人民規劃退休生活的重要措施，並公開強調此兩種制度加上個人儲蓄，堪為香港退休金制度的「三大支柱」(Leung, 2013)。從香港政府的觀點看來，強積金與綜援能發揚資本主義價值(即個人主義、不平等與市場主義)，所以是理想的制度(Yu, 2008)。香港政府首先強調，個人有責任為退休生活做準備，因此強積金高度依賴個人為未來所做的儲蓄。而綜援本質上是協助退休人士滿足財務需求的集體方式，但視為緊急救助，而非正常救助；此制度傳達的訊息是：除非遭遇非常情況，否則人民應避免仰賴綜援滿足財務需求。其次，因為不同個體間能透過儲蓄積累的金額差異甚大，而強積金的金額又取決於參加者本身能從勞動力市場賺取的工資金額，不同退休人士可享有的待遇可能有極大的不平等。再者，強積金主要仰賴私部門管理人民儲蓄，市場的重要性因而提升。

然而，證據顯示社會大眾並不支持前述三個資本主義價值，因此不視強積金與綜援為理想的退休制度。首先，有學者指出(Ho, 2005; Yu, 2008)，人民無法擁有有保障的退休生活，主要原因正是社會不平等；而強積金與綜援設立的目的並非降低社會不平等，所以人民不認為強積金與綜援能有效幫助其保障一定水準的退休生活，此觀點並不難理解。香港的貧富差距相當懸殊：目前人均GDP的市場價格為23,758港幣(3,046美元)(香港特別行政區政府，

SAR Government, 2013), however, as mentioned above the individual median income is only HK\$12,000 (US\$1,538) (Sing Tao Daily, 22 Feb 2013). Hence even if the low income groups make contributions to the MPF for more than twenty years, there is no guarantee that they can save sufficient money to maintain a decent retirement life (Ho, 2005; Yu, 2008; Chou, 2009).

Secondly, not many people believe that the private sector (especially those managing the MPF fund) is effective in creating and managing the resources reserved for their retirement life. An important reason is that the return rate of the contribution to the MPF is too low and the management fees are too high. Over the past 12 years, the annualized return rate of the MPF constitute fund was only 2.7%; lower than the inflation rate (Next Magazine, 2012). The Consumer Council discovers that 45% of the 341 MPF constitute funds in the territory recorded a bad loss in the past five years (Hong Kong Economic Times, 16 October 2012). There is a lack of an effective mechanism for keeping the management fees of the MPF at a reasonable level. The variations of the fees adopted among the constitute funds are 26 times, with the least 0.17% and the most 4.62%. Although the government claims that the average MPF management fee has dropped from 2.1% in 2008 to 1.82%, it is still far from acceptable to the public. For example, Edward Prescott (a Nobel Prize winner) points out that most of the pension management fees in other countries are only 0.18% (Ming Pao Finance, 3 Jan 2012).

Thirdly, more and more pressure groups stress that collective measures are more effective than individual efforts in providing retirement protections. In addition to making protests against the retirement protection measures provided by the government, they have put forward counter-proposals on pension reform (Civic Party, 2011; Alliance for Universal Pension, 2012; RTHK, 16 March 2013; Sing Tao Daily, 24 March 2013;). It is important to note all of their counter-proposals are based on collectivism. A widely discussed proposal is the scheme developed by the Alliance for Universal Pension (2012). The scheme is composed of two key elements - firstly, it is built on the universal principle as it gives all older citizens aged 65 and above HK\$3,000 dollars (US\$385) monthly, irrespective of the contributions they have made; secondly, it is financed by the contributions made by the government, employers and employees. Similar proposal was formulated by the Hong Kong Council of Social Service (Legislative Council Secretariat, 2012). Although the Hong Kong Council of Social Service suggests a different way for raising the money to finance the pension scheme, it supports the universal principle and the ideas of guaranteeing all retirees aged 65 and above HK\$3,000 (US\$ 385) every month.

2013), 但如前述, 個人收入中位數只有12,000港幣(1,538美元)(星島日報, 2013年2月22日), 因此即使低收入族群提撥強積金達二十年之久, 也無法保證他們的儲蓄足以支持一定水準的退休生活(Ho, 2005; Yu, 2008; Chou, 2009)。

其次, 許多人不相信私部門(特別是經營強積金的機構)能有效創造、管理其退休生活的儲備資源, 其中一個重要原因是強積金的回報率過低、管理費過高。過去12年來, 強積金集成基金的年化回報率只有2.7%, 低於通貨膨脹率(壹週刊, 2012)。消費者委員會發現, 香港當地341個強積金集成基金中, 有高達45%在過去五年間都蒙受大幅損失(香港經濟日報, 2012年10月16日), 缺乏將強積金管理費控制在合理範圍的有效機制。集成基金的管理費最低為0.17%、最高為4.62%, 其間差異高達26倍。儘管香港政府聲稱平均強積金管理費已從2008年的2.1%降到1.82%, 仍難以為社會大眾所接受; 諾貝爾獎得主 Edward Prescott 就指出, 其他國家的退休金管理費大多只有0.18%(明報財經, 2012年1月3日)。

再者, 越來越多壓力團體強調, 集體制度比個人努力更能有效提供退休保障。除了抗議政府採行的退休保障措施外, 這些團體也提出退休金制度改革的反建議(公民黨, 2011; 全民退休保障, 2012; 香港電台, 2013年3月16日; 星島日報, 2013年3月24日)。值得注意的是, 這些反建議都是依集體主義的原則提出, 其中一個受到廣泛討論的是全民退休保障提出的方案(2012)。該方案由兩個關鍵要素構成: 首先是普遍原則, 它主張不論個人提撥金額多寡, 一律提供所有65歲以上的年長公民每月3,000港幣(385美元)的津貼; 另一關鍵要素, 則是其資金來源為政府、僱主與勞工三方的提撥。香港社會服務聯會也提出類似建議(立法會秘書處, 2012), 雖然提出不同的退休金計劃籌資方式, 但同樣支持普遍原則以及保障所有年滿65歲以上的退休人士每月3,000港幣(385美元)的津貼。

In response to the fact that the public do not see the MPF and CSSA as effective retirement measures and do not support the values underpinning these measures, the government has recently promised to make some piecemeal changes on the MPF and the CSSA. It has started allowing employees to choose their own financial institution to manage their contribution to the MPF. It hopes that this new measure can improve the performance of the financial institutions through the market forces. Obviously this limited change cannot satisfy those people who want to see the security (or insecurity) of their retirement life guaranteed by the state rather than determined by the private market. The government has also promised to review the level of benefits offered by the CSSA. But no concrete action has yet been taken. The government's unenthusiastic responses to the demands of the public suggest that it is keen to stick to the residual and collaborative tactics.

At the same time as making changes in the retirement protection measures, the government has launched a moral campaign commonly known as 'social harmony campaign' (Chau & Yu, 2009; Tsang, 2007). This campaign emphasizes that Hong Kong people should learn from the Chinese tradition. In particular Hong Kong people are encouraged to make efforts to realize some social virtues such as building a harmonious society. To achieve this goal, the government suggests that the public should uphold an individualistic view on the division of responsibility between individuals and the government in the provision of welfare. This division emphasizes individual responsibility for meeting their own needs through improving their capacity to participate in the labour market and product market rather than relying on social welfare. By doing so, it can help the government focus on helping people adjust to the requirements of the private market rather than giving challenges to the private market through high levels of tax and comprehensive welfare policies. The link between the promotion of social harmony and this kind of division of responsibility between individuals and the government is shown in the 2007 Policy Address made by the Chief Executive:

Promoting social harmony under the concept of helping people to help themselves... In my view, the Government should not attempt to narrow the wealth gap by redistributing wealth through high levels of tax and welfare. The role of the Government should be confined to creating the social conditions that help improve the livelihood of people with low income using a multi-pronged policy approach. This includes promoting infrastructure development to achieve higher wages; developing soft infra-structure on all fronts including expanding retraining programmes to help the middle class and the grassroots upgrade their skills (Tsang, 2007, p. 4).

It is widely believed that the social harmony campaign is designed to reduce the public's demand on welfare measures

為因應社會大眾不視強積金與綜援為有效的退休制度，亦不支持此二制度為本的價值，香港政府近來承諾將對強積金與綜援進行片面修正，並以開始開放勞工選擇管理個人提撥強積金之金融機構，希望新的措施能透過市場力量增進金融機構績效。顯然，這項有限的改變無法滿足希望政府能保障其退休生活穩定(不穩定)，而非交由私有市場決定的人。此外，香港政府也承諾將會重新檢視綜援的補助金金額，不過尚無具體行動。對社會大眾的要求反應冷淡，似乎也顯示香港政府希望堅守殘補與合作策略。

在改變退休保障措施的同時，香港政府也進行了一個名為「社會和諧運動」的道德運動(Chau & Yu, 2009; Tsang, 2007)，強調香港人應學習中國傳統，特別鼓勵其努力實踐「創建和諧社會」等社會價值。香港政府表示，為達社會和諧目標，社會大眾需以個人主義觀點看待個人與政府在福利提供上的責任分工，強調個人有責任透過提升個人的能力參與勞動與商品市場以滿足自身需要，而不是仰賴社會福利制度達到目的。提升人民市場參與的機會和能力，將有助於政府將重心集中在幫助人民適應私有市場需求，致使政府不會用高稅率政策和綜合福利政策挑戰私有市場的運作。推廣社會和諧與個人、政府間的責任分配兩者之間的關係，反映在香港特首2007年的施政報告中：

以助人自助理念推動社會和諧……我認為不應以高稅收高福利方式進行財富再分配，以求拉近貧富差距。政府的角色應該是締造適當環境，通過多管齊下的政策協助低收入人士，包括推動基建，令工資上升；全面發展軟基建，擴大培訓計劃，幫助中產及基層人士自我增值及提升技能(曾蔭權，2007，第4頁)。

一般認為，社會和諧運動的目的在於減低社會大眾對福利措施(包括退休保障措施)的需求(Chau & Yu, 2009; Chiu & Wong, 2005)。既然香港政府只願意對退休保障措施做片面的改革，且意圖使用道德

(including the retirement protection measures) (Chau & Yu, 2009; Chiu & Wong, 2005). Given that the Hong Kong government is only willing to make piecemeal reforms on the retirement protection measures and intends to use moral campaign to reshape the public's demands on welfare measures, it is clear that it is reluctant to make any welfare reforms that would challenge the three capitalist values (the individualism, marketism and inequalities). This also implies that unless the government faces huge political pressures, those retirement measures emphasizing social equality, collectivism and state planning will not be accepted by the government.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE RETIREMENT PROTECTION MEASURES

The discussion of the retirement measures provides concrete examples showing the relevance of the political economy perspective to the analysis of the development of social welfare in Hong Kong. Firstly, the Hong Kong government takes an active role in dealing with the contradictory relationship between capitalism and social welfare. As mentioned above, at the same time as providing the retirement protection measures, it tries to reduce the negative effects of these measures on capitalism by launching the residual and collaborative tactics. Secondly, it is one thing that it attempts to reduce the negative effects of social welfare on capitalism, whether it could successfully do so may be quite another. As mentioned above, neither the CSSA nor the MPF is effective in giving retirees a secure retirement life and gaining support from most of the members of the public. Thirdly, the Hong Kong government may adjust the balance between the two ruling tasks (using social welfare to strengthen capitalism and reducing the negative effects of social welfare on capitalism) in response to the reaction of the public. Hence, it is not surprising to see that it makes some changes in the retirement protection measures in response to the criticisms of the public on these measures.

As mentioned in the previous part, some analysts (such as Bamba, 2007; Jones, 1993) draw attention to the importance of the cultural factor in shaping the development of social welfare in East Asia in general and Hong Kong in particular. The discussion of the retirement protection measures in Hong Kong to a certain extent provides support to these views. As discussed above, the Hong Kong government associates its policy measures with the Chinese traditional values such as the concept of social harmony. Hence we should not take for granted that the development of social welfare is only shaped by the political and economic factors but not the cultural factor. However, care should be exercised not to exaggerate the importance of the cultural factor in influencing how welfare is organized in Hong Kong. There is no proof that the Hong Kong government is sincere in promoting Chinese tradition. Some analysts even suspect that the government only regards the Chinese tradition as an instrument for

運動重塑社會大眾對福利措施的需求，可見其並不願意推行任何可能威脅資本主義三個基本價值(個人主義、市場主義、不平等)的福利政策改革。此事實也意味著除非政府面臨巨大的政治壓力，否則將不會接受強調社會平等、集體主義與國家計劃的退休制度。

退休保障措施的涵義

退休制度的討論提供具體範例，顯示政治經濟學觀點適於分析香港社會福利制度的發展。首先，香港政府在處理資本主義與社會福利間矛盾關係上扮演積極角色：如前述，香港政府除提供退休保障措施外，同時也藉由採行殘補與合作策略，盡力減低這些措施對資本主義造成的負面影響。其次，儘管香港政府試圖減低社會福利對資本主義造成的負面影響，是否能達到此目標，又另當別論。如前述，綜援與強積金不僅無法有效為退休人士帶來退休生活保障，亦無法得到多數社會大眾支持。再者，香港政府為因應社會大眾反應，可能調整兩個主要任務之間(即以社會福利鞏固資本主義，與降低社會福利對資本主義造成的負面影響)的平衡關係，因此香港政府調整退休保障措施，以回應社會大眾對這些措施的批評，係完全合理。

如前一部分所述，部分學者(如Bamba, 2007; Jones, 1993)關注形塑整個東亞地區(尤其香港)社會福利發展的文化因素；香港退休保障制度的討論某種程度上支持此觀點：如前討論所述，香港政府將政策措施與中國傳統價值(如社會和諧的概念)做連結，因此我們也不應理所當然地認為唯有政治與經濟因素能形塑社會福利的發展，文化因素則不能。然而，我們也勿過分強調文化因素在影響香港福利制度施行方式上的重要性，並沒有證據顯示香港政府誠心推廣中國傳統，有部分學者甚至懷疑，香港政府只視中國傳統為工具，為其政策措施提供合法性(Chiu & Wong, 2005; Chau & Yu, 2009)。有鑒於這些意見，較保守的主張是：在決定社會福利發展方

giving legitimacy to its policy measures (Chiu & Wong, 2005; Chau & Yu, 2009). Based on their views, it is safe to argue that the government's political and economic considerations play a much more important role than its intention to strengthen Chinese tradition in determining its decision on the development of social welfare.

CONCLUSION

So far this article has demonstrated the usefulness of the political economy perspective to the analysis of the development of social welfare in Hong Kong through the implementation of two analytical tasks – to identify the residual and collaborative tactics adopted by capitalist governments to respond to the contradictory relationship between social welfare and capitalism; and to discuss the retirement protection measures as the examples for showing how the Hong Kong government attempts to use these tactics to reduce the negative effects of social welfare on capitalism, and its difficulties in implementing these tactics effectively.

As the last part of this article, it is important to stress that the main objective of providing social services should be to meet the needs of the public rather than reducing the challenges to capitalism. Hence, even though the CSSA and MPF can to a certain extent reduce the government's risk of being confronted with the financial crisis in Hong Kong, they should not be seen as effective retirement measures. As shown above, a lot of people (such as the CSSA users and low paid workers) suffer from the ineffectiveness of these measures in securing a decent retirement life. As social workers have the mission of giving protection to disadvantaged groups, they should organize the victims of the retirement measures to voice out their discontents. Moreover they should draw attention to the fact that the Hong Kong government has more concerns about reducing the negative effects of social welfare on capitalism than meeting the financial needs of the retirees. By doing so, greater political forces may be mobilized to pressurize the Hong Kong government to launch more fundamental reforms on social security systems in favour of the disadvantaged groups.

NOTES

1. The term retirement protection measures have been used by academics and welfare organizations in Hong Kong such as the Hong Kong Council of Social Services (Yu, 2007; LEGCO, 1997). They refer to those measures which enable retirees to have a reasonable standard of living without taking part in the labour market. Examples of these measures are the compulsory saving schemes, means-tested financial aids and pension schemes based on the pay-as-you-go principle.

面，香港政府的政治與經濟考量所扮演的角色，遠比其強化中國文化的意圖重要。

結論

本文至此說明了政治經濟觀點適用於香港社會福利制度的分析，使用的方法為兩個分析任務：一為研究資本主義政府使用哪些殘補策略與合作策略，以因應社會福利與資本主義間矛盾關係；再以退休保障措施為例，討論香港政府如何兼採兩種策略，藉以減低社會福利制度對於資本主義的負面效果，以及哪些困難可能使這些策略無法有效施行。

在本文最後，我們有必要強調，提供社會服務的主要目的在於滿足社會大眾需要，而非減低對資本主義的衝擊。因此，雖然綜援與強積金某種程度上能減低政府面臨香港金融危機的風險，我們仍不該視其為有效的退休制度。如前所示，許多民眾(包括綜援計劃的使用者和低工資勞工)都苦於這些制度無法保障一定水準的退休生活。社工人員的使命是為保護弱勢團體，因此必須將退休制度受害者聚集，以便為他們發出不平之鳴。此外，社工人員也需留意，相較於滿足退休人士財務需求，香港政府其實更在意減低社會福利對資本主義的負面效果；體認到這點，才能動員更多的政治力量向香港政府施壓，迫其進行更徹底的社會保險制度改革，進而照顧到弱勢團體的權益。

註釋

1. 「退休保障措施」一詞為學界與香港的福利機構(如香港社會服務聯會)使用(Yu, 2007; LegCo, 1997)，意為使退休人士不須參與勞動市場，即可享有合理生活水準的方式；例如：強制儲蓄制度、須經經濟情況調查篩選的補助金、以隨收隨付原則為基礎的退休金計劃。
2. 重商主義的特色為將國營企業的利益與國家利益與帝國主義緊密結合；自由市場資本主義的特色

2. Mercantilism is characterized by the intertwining of national business interests to state-interest and imperialism; free-market capitalism is marked by the forces of supply and demand as the dominant factor for the allocation and creation of wealth; and state capitalism is marked by the significant role played by the state in owning the means of production and regulating the economy (Macionis, 2006; Kates, 2011; Stark, 2004).
 3. The currency exchange rate used in this article is HKD\$ 7.8 = USD\$ 1.
 4. When employees reach the age of 65, they can withdraw their accrued benefits in a lump sum. However, under the law, there are five specific circumstances where accrued benefits may be withdrawn before people reach at the age of 65.
 - a. **Early retirement.** Employees must be at least 60 years old and declare that they have permanently ceased their employment or self-employment. After employees withdraw their benefits at the age of 60, they can be employed again later, say at the age of 63. However, they will need to be enrolled in an MPF scheme again since they have not reached the age of 65.
 - b. **Permanent departure from Hong Kong.** Employees must declare that they have departed or are about to depart from Hong Kong permanently, and provide proof satisfying the trustee that they are permitted to reside permanently in a place outside Hong Kong. This reason for early withdrawal can only be used once in a lifetime.
 - c. **Total incapacity.** Employees are eligible if they have become permanently unfit to perform the particular kind of work they were doing in their previous job. They must provide a medical certificate issued by a registered medical practitioner or registered Chinese medicine practitioner certifying such condition and a letter issued by their former employers showing their termination of employments. If they are unable to obtain a letter from their former employer, they may make a statutory declaration instead.
 - d. **Small balance account.** Employees must have only one MPF account with a balance of not more than \$5,000, with no mandatory contribution payable to any schemes during the past 12 months, and they declare that they do not expect to become employed or self-employed in the foreseeable future.
 - e. **Death.** The accrued benefits of a deceased member are a part of the member's estate and therefore must be claimed by the scheme member's personal representative or the Official Administrator (Source: Mandatory Provident Fund Schemes Authority. (2013b). Early withdrawal of benefit. Retrieved from http://www.mpfa.org.hk/eng/main/employee/early_withdrawal_of_benefits.jsp).
- 是以供給和需求為財富分配和創造的支配要素；國家資本主義的特色是國家在決定生產方式和調控經濟上扮演重要角色(Macionis, 2006; Kates, 2011; Stark, 2004)。
3. 本文撰寫當時，港幣兌美元匯率為7.8:1。
 4. 勞工年滿65歲時，可一次提領所有累算權益，但法律規定符合以下五種特殊情形者，可在年滿65歲前提領累算權益：
 - a. 提前退休：勞工須滿60歲並聲明將永久停止其受僱或自僱職業活動，方符合此資格。於60歲提領累算權益後，可再次受僱，例如於63歲時再次就業，但因為尚未滿65歲，故仍須再次加入強積金制度。
 - b. 永久離港：勞工必須聲明已永久離港或即將永久離港，並提供予託管人足夠證據，顯示其擁有在香港境外永久居留之權利。此種提前提領理由，每人一生只能使用一次。
 - c. 完全喪失行為能力：適用於永久喪失執行前一職位工作之能力者。申請者須提供立案中西醫醫療從業人員開立之證明，與前任僱主出具、說明僱傭關係終止之信函。若無法從前任僱主取得此信函，則可片面做出喪失行為能力狀態宣告。
 - d. 小額結餘帳戶：強積金帳戶結餘未滿5,000港幣，且過去12個月內無提撥予任一積金計劃之義務，並宣告未來不預計受僱或自僱者。
 - e. 死亡：身故之參與成員累積之積金為其財產，須由其代表人或法定管理人提出申請(資料來源：強制性公積金管理局，2013b. 提早提取權益。網址：http://www.mpfa.org.hk/eng/main/employee/early_withdrawal_of_benefits.jsp)。

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