

目錄 Contents

1. 社會工作教育反思：承諾抑或背叛？
Reflection on Social Work Education: Commitment or Betrayal of a Trust?01
余漢儀 Hon-Yei Yu

2. 原鄉獨居老人社會照顧與社會文化脈絡模型
Social Care Arrangement and Socio-cultural Context Model among Aboriginal Elderly
Living Alone.....19
黃松林、楊秋燕、陳宇嘉
Song-Lin Huang, Chiu-YenYang, Yu-Chia Chen

3. 我國兒童少年發展之未竟事業與社會課題
The Unfinished Business of Welfare and Rights for Children and Youth in Taiwan: Social
Development Perspective.....45
闕漢中 Hann-Jong Chueh

4. 就業與家庭政策整合途徑的探討：以人口政策白皮書的政策目標檢視為例
The Research Approach Exploring of Integrating Employment and Family Policy:
the Review of Policy Objective for the Population Policy White Paper in Taiwan.....67
黃志隆 Chih-lung Huang

5. 推展少年自立宿舍之經驗探討
Exploring the Experience of Independent Housing103
徐錦鋒 Jiin-Feng Hsu

6. 台灣社會工作倫理教育的現況與發展
Social Work Ethics Curriculum in Taiwan: Current Status and future Development.....129
秦燕、張允閔
Yen Chin, Yun-Hung Chang

聯合勸募論壇

徵稿啟事

Taiwan United Way Review's Notice Inviting Contributions

- 一 本刊為中華社會聯合勸募協會(以下簡稱聯勸)發行之學術期刊，內容分三大類：社會工作、社會福利或社會政策、社會公益、社會創新與公民社會發展相關議題之學術論著；研究報告(包括量化研究與質性研究)；聯勸方案之實務經驗整合。
- 二 本刊自下期起特別增加實務整合專論區，徵求聯勸補助方案實務經驗整合相關理論之論文稿件，歡迎各界踴躍賜稿。
- 三 本刊為半年刊，內容以中英雙語呈現，中文稿件將由聯勸聘請專人翻譯為英文，英文稿件則翻譯為中文。
- 四 本刊全年收稿，隨到隨審。來稿中英文不拘，中文以12,000字為限，英文以8,000字為限。
- 五 如需徵稿辦法等詳細資訊，請洽：02-23782256*602學刊編輯委員會，聯勸將竭誠提供資料及解答予有意投稿者。

Taiwan United Way Review (TUWR) is an academic and professional periodical in the field of social work, social welfare and social policies in Taiwan. It is biannually and bilingually published by United Way of Taiwan. We aim to provide a forum for international exchanges of academic theories and practices (quantitative or qualitative) in the field. TUWR invites papers of the following forms:

- Research Article
- Research Note
- Critical Review

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

TUWR accepts articles/essays in either Chinese or English. Theme articles and research articles should normally be within 10,000-12,000 words in Chinese and 8000 words in English, including all notes and references. If more detailed

information is needed, please

Please email to:

unitedway@unitedway.org.tw

kmchen@unitedway.org.tw or Telephone: 02-23782256*602

社會工作教育反思：承諾抑或背叛？*

Reflection on Social Work Education: Commitment or Betrayal of a Trust?

余漢儀** Hon-Yei Yu

摘要

隨著臺灣自1990年代初普及大學教育的國家政策、及1997年社工師證照化後，相關社工系所數目急速增加。本文以社工教育組織為主軸，試圖剖析其資源競逐、社工實習、本土化、倫理與性別/文化敏感教學的師生互動。作為主要培育未來專業助人者的學院機構，社工系所的教師聘僱標準、升等/表現評鑑，無疑也會直接影響師生互動的體質。社工教師個人的能動性是否能掙脫被學院組織結構制約的宿命？而社工教育機構在國家規訓專業的過程中該如何自我定位，避免不自覺成為共犯結構的一員？當我們討論社工組織內實務工作者與案主的權控關係、或實務工作者與組織共謀壓迫案主時，是否也能反思在專業人員的養成階段，社工學生與其系所及教師的互動，是否會複製成為其後她/他與案主的權控關係？作者在文末建議以專業組織及相關工會作為改變的機制。

關鍵字：社工教育、性別及文化敏感、教育雙軌化、專業組織、權控關係

Abstract

Since the higher education popularization policy in the early 90's and the Social Work License Act of 1997 took effect, the number of social work departments in Taiwan has increased dramatically. This article tries to examine how the social work educational organizations struggle for resources, practicum designs, indigenization, and positive faculty-student interaction while facing ethics and gender/culturally sensitive teaching requirements. The criteria for faculty recruitments and performance evaluation of teaching staff by the social work departments definitely have also had impacts on the quality of their faculty-student relationship. Is it possible for the faculty individual actions to reverse the negative conditioning of his/her host institution? As educational organizations, how social work departments could be self-directing and avoid becoming conspiracy of the state while the latter over regulates the professions? When the professionals overpowering their clientele, or together with the human service organizations oppressing their clientele have been continuously criticized, reflection on social work education is necessary so that the negative faculty-student interaction would not be transformed into the future professional relationship at the human service organization, after the students become the practitioners. In conclusion, professional organizations and unions are proposed to be the change agents..

Keywords: social work education, gender and culturally sensitivity, dual-track education, professional organizations, power control relationship

* 曾發表於《承諾與失落：當代臺灣社會工作省思學術研討會》，暨南大學社會政策與社會工作學系、臺灣社會工作管理學會、臺灣社會政策學會主辦，嘉義，2011年11月04日。

This paper was presented at the symposium 《Promises and Discontents: Contemporary Social Work in Taiwan》，organized by the Department of Social Policy and Social Work, National Chi Nan University; the Taiwan Association for Social Work Management; and the Taiwanese Association of Social Work in Chiayi on November 4, 2011.

** 余漢儀，臺灣大學社會工作學系教授。E-mail: honyeiyu@ntu.edu.tw

Hon-Yei Yu, Professor, Department of Social Work, National Taiwan University.

隨著臺灣自1993年普及大學教育的國家政策、及1997年社工師證照化後，社工系所數目急速增加，而在臺灣這波高等教育市場/商品化、管理主義盛行的浪潮(黃彥宜、陳美智、劉鶴群，2008)下，社工教育質、量的管控成為焦點，學分班/在職專班開設爭議、課程標準化、核心知能指標建構、國際化/本土化等議題也在相關研討活動中熱鬧登場。相對於此波論及學生的知識認知能力的系列行動，學界較少著墨社工教育中學生的個體發展及倫理價值內化過程，而此一社工專業教育特色是否會日漸模糊？讓我們先從臺灣近年社工教育研討活動來發掘相關議題。

一、近10年相關社工教育研討活動呈現議題

就筆者所知或曾參與的相關社工教育研討活動，近10年林林總總就有8場(表1)，處理的議題雖然反映了對當時處境的關照、愈來愈聚焦，但社工教育的困境/危機似乎總有些是歷久彌新的。例如周月清(2001, 2002a)十年前根據11位有十年

The number of social work departments has increased dramatically after the implementation of the higher education popularization policy in 1993 and the enactment of the Social Worker License Act in 1997. With the rise in the market-orientation and merchandization of higher education and the prevalence of managerialism (Huang, Chen and Liu, 2008), the quality and quantity control of social work education has become one of the main concerns; and the disputes over the opening of credit classes and part-time degree programs, standardization of curricula, development of core competence indicators and issues concerning internationalization and indigenization have also played a part in related symposia. In contrast with these activities to discuss the knowledge cognitive abilities of students, the individual development and the internalization of ethic values of social work students received less emphasis from the academic organizations. Will these professional characteristics of social work education cause a loss of focus? Let us uncover the related issues from the symposia on social work education held in Taiwan in recent years.

1. Issues Presented at the Symposia on Social Work Education in the Past Decade

Of the various symposia related to social work education, the author has participated in eight such events (Table 1) over the past decade. Although the issues discussed at these symposia have reflected current circumstances and have been gradually focused, the predicament and crisis in social work education seem to be a com-

表1 Table 1

近10年相關社工教育研討活動

Social Work Related Symposia in the Past Decade

年份 Year	相關社工教育研討會名稱 Name of Symposium	主辦單位 Organizer
2001	前進e世紀—社會工作發展研討會 Toward the e-Century: Social Work Development Symposium	臺灣社工專協、臺灣大學 Taiwan Association of Social Workers, National Taiwan University
2003	社工專業教育-現況與展望學術研討會 Symposium on Professional Social Work Education: Present and Future	實踐大學、社工師全聯會 Shih Chien University, National Union of Professional Social Workers
2003	社會工作理論與研究教學研討會 Symposium on Social Work Theory and Research	東吳大學 Soochow University
2003	社會變遷中社工角色與社工教育研討會 Symposium on the Role and Education of Social Work in Social Change	社工教育學會 Taiwan Association of Social Work Education
2005	社會變遷中社工者角色定位與社工教育 Symposium on the Role Positioning of Social Workers and Social Work Education in Social Change	東海大學、社工教育學會 Tung Hai University, Taiwan Association of Social Work Education
2007	社工師之教考訓用制度與國際接軌研討會 Symposium on the Connection with the World of the Education, Examination Disciplines, and Hiring for Professional Social Workers	考選部 Ministry of Examination
2008	跨文化學習與社會工作教育國際學術研討會 International Symposium on Cross-Cultural Learning and Social Work Education	長榮大學 Chang Jung Christian University
2011	社會工作核心知能建構研討會 Symposium on Core Competence Development for Social Work	社工教育學會、實踐大學 Taiwan Association of Social Work Education, Shih Chien University

以上實務/教學經驗的受訪者填答開放式問卷，及兩個焦點團體(計15位資深社工實務、教學者)的討論內容，歸納出社工教育面臨的危機：(1)課程內涵與實務脫節、非本土、及缺乏一致/連續性，教出學生專業能力不足、無使命感、實務缺時代性，(2)實習課程不足未能滿足實務需求，(3)學界追求主流研究典範、不重視實務、搶研究案、販賣學位交換權力與資源，(4)學者反省不足、保守(教出學生未能將倡導與實務連結)、被寵壞、實務認知不足、結合行政體系/政治壓迫實務者，都是為了競逐資源。前兩項有關課程，後兩項則直指對學界觀感，經過十年，身為學界成員的我們當可反省是否已有哪些改變？

在*Social Work Education*的26卷第6期(專題為「亞太地區的社工教育發展」)，Feng(2007)歸納臺灣社工教育面對的議題有：(1)發展核心專業知能指標(competence indicator)作為評估社工教育的標準、(2)在社工師證照考試內容平衡知識理論及實務經驗、(3)擴張社工教育量產學生不代表優質社工實務者、(4)更多著墨本土工作經驗的教材、(5)需釐清教育體系中的社工專業認同、及(6)發展各社工研究所專精。Chang及Mo(2007)則指出本土化的社工實務、在多元文化社會建立文化知能、及社工教育產出評量是要面對的議題。國內在2007年底第120期《社區發展季刊》中心議題為「社會工作專業教育與發展」，莫藜藜(2007)再次提出課程規劃、教學品質、實習課程、人格及倫理教育等困境，且認為後者往往透過師生互動中老師的身教、言教發揮作用。

黃彥宜、陳美智及劉鶴群(2008)回顧當前高等教育體制下的臺灣社工教育後，發出不同於主流(指北部都會、公立大學、評鑑體制的管理主義且重學歷輕經驗、核心專業能力指標評量單一化、教育只重知識、教師學門背景純化等)的聲音，也生動的描繪出(私校)社工學生圖像，提出受傷的療癒者、教育階層化、學習情緒需求等

mon issue in all forums. For example, based on 11 respondents with over ten years of field or teaching experience and two focus groups partaken by 15 experienced practitioners and teachers, Zhou (2001, 2002a) drew the following conclusions: (1) course contents do not match the need for field practice and are not suitable for local use, them being inconsistent and incoherent; graduates are not professional enough and lack a sense of mission; and the practice is out of date; (2) there are insufficient practicum hours to meet the demands of the practice; (3) educational organizations emphasize only the mainstream research paradigms and overlook the need for practice; compete for research funds; trade power/resources for degrees; and (4) the academics lack reflections and act conservatively (as a result making their students unable to integrate advocacy with practice); the academics are spoiled and have inadequate practice experience; and they compete for resources by teaming up with the administration system and engaging in politics to oppress the practitioners. The first two conclusions are related to curriculum planning and design, and the last two are the comments on the academics. It has been ten years now since Zhou made these conclusions, and, what have we, academic organizations, done to remedy these problems?

In Volume 26, No. 6, *Social Work Education* (issue topic: Social Work Education Development in Asia Pacific), Feng (2007) concluded the issues facing social work education in Taiwan: (1) to develop competence indicators as the criteria for social work education evaluation; (2) to equally distribute theory and practice materials in the license examination for professional social workers; (3) to understand that the increase in the quantity (of students) does not mean an improvement in the quality (of social workers); (4) to address more teaching materials derived from the local experiences; (5) to clarify the importance of professional identity in the social work education system; and (6) to develop an area of specialization for each social work graduate institute. Chang and Mo (2007) pointed out the need for the indigenization of social work practice, the establishment of cultural competence in a multicultural society, and the evaluation of the outputs of social work education as the main issues that we need to settle. In Volume 120 of the *Community Development Quarterly* (issue topic: Social Work Professional Education and Development) published at the end of 2007, Mo (2007) brought out again the predicaments in social work education including curriculum planning, teaching quality, practicum design, and character & ethic education; and indicated that teaching by setting example and giving verbal directions through instructor-student interaction will affect character and ethics education.

After reviewing the social work education in Taiwan in the present higher education system, Huang, Chen and Liu (2008) expressed opinions different from the mainstream: the urban areas in northern Taiwan, public universities, the managerialism as well as the overemphasis of degree than experience in the evaluation system, the simplification of core competence indicators evaluation, the overweight of

議題。從公、私立大專社工學生家庭社經逐漸呈現雙軌化圖像(相對於多為中產階級背景的公立學校學生，私校學生多來自藍領家庭)，進而衍生到畢業生進入實務界公、私部門的雙軌化現象(私校社工學生似較傾向於民間非營利組織工作，而公立學校畢業生則擅長國家考試成為公務員)的意涵：來自藍領家庭的社工學生支付較高額的四年學費後終於畢業了，卻進入薪給福利等勞動條件都較公部門相對差的民間社服體系工作，這樣的雙軌化後續發展值得注意。

在台灣高等教育走向商品化、管理主義盛行的脈絡中，以上眾多議題，筆者想以社工教育組織為主軸，以下針對資源競逐、社工實習課程、本土化、倫理與性別/文化敏感教學的師生互動，提出一些觀察作進一步討論。

二、組織競逐資源的手段：在職專班/學分班/技職教育

截至99學度，經整理臺灣的25個相關院校社工系所師生統計後(附錄1)，可看到各相關社工學系普遍兼設學士及碩士班，且有台大、中正、陽明、暨大及東海五所有社工博士班。至於進修學分班或在職專班等開設，在私立大學較為普遍，有文化、靜宜、實踐、玄奘、及亞洲五所；公立大學中只有北大及暨大有另開進修班及二技班，除了師生比率因而提高外(參考附錄1括弧內師生比率)，由於教學資源配置不足、或放水的傳聞，這體制下的畢業生品質管控也一直有爭議。雖然一般教育體制也偶有販賣學位交換權力與資源的聽聞，但成人/推廣教育(adult/extension education)如何不論為教育組織單為競逐資源的場域，除了訴諸各別教學者良知為學生教育品質把關，是否還能有對社工系所制度性的規範？現今的大學評鑑對此能有著力點嗎？

99學年度在25個相關院校社工系所共有298位專任教師、8,025位在學大專學生(含學分班/在職專班/

cognitive knowledge in social work education, and the uniformity of the background discipline of instructors. They also vividly depicted the picture of social work students (private schools) and raised the issues of wounded healer, the stratification of education and the need for relieving learning emotions. From the interrelations among educational organizations (public schools vs. private schools), student family background (middle class vs. blue-collar class) and student career development (government organizations vs. non-governmental organizations), a dualistic trend has been observed. In this dualistic trend, students from the public higher-education establishments usually come from middle-class families and work in government organizations after graduation as they tend to make good at civil service examination. In contrast, students from the private higher-education establishments usually come from blue-collar families and work at NGOs after graduation. Although the latter group needs to pay more for their tuition, they work for NGOs with lower salaries and less benefits than government organizations. Therefore, this hidden social justice problem deserves further attention.

Among a host of issues that emerged from the context of merchandization of higher education and the prevalence of managerialism in Taiwan, this article, from the perspective of social work educational organizations, discusses the competition for resources, problems in practicum design, indigenization of social work, and the need for professional ethics and gender/culture sensitive teaching as the instructor-student interactions.

2. Means for Competing for Resources: Part-time Degree Programs, Credit Classes, and Vocational Education

After collating the statistics on 25 social-work-related departments in Taiwan in academic year 2010 (Appendix 1), we can see that these departments generally offer both undergraduate and post-graduate programs; and five universities even offer related doctoral programs, including the National Taiwan University, National Chung Cheng University, National Chi Nan University, National Yang Ming University, and Tung Hai University. Credit classes for adult education and part-time degree programs are commonly offered by private schools, such as the Chinese Culture University, Providence University, Shih Chien University, Hsuan Chuang University, and Asia University. Among all public universities, only the National Taipei University and the National Chi Nan University offer the continuing education program and two-year diploma program for social work. Although the student-instructor ratio has since been raised (student-instructor ratio in the parentheses in Appendix 1), the quality control of graduates from these programs is always controversial due to insufficient teaching resources or point-shaving rumors. Although trading power and resources with degrees is sometimes heard in the general education system, apart from controlling the education quality of students based on the professional ethics and conscience

二技)，其中有6,544位大學生、1,127位碩班學生、118位博班學生及166位二技生；在2010年暑假則已量產1,800位畢業生，其中包括1436位學士、265位碩士、8位博士、及81位二技畢業生。不可忽略的還有技職體系的社工教育，有屏科大、朝陽科大、嘉南藥理科大、大仁科大及美和技術學院等五所。在99學年度有2,799位在學的科大學生，其中包括2,590位四技生、70位碩班生及209位二技生；並2010年暑假畢業的656位科大生(含523位四技生、10位碩士及133位二技畢業生)(表2)。技職體系在學的社工四技生人數約為一般社工大學生的四成，由於多為私校(除了屏科大)，他們通常要繳納較高的學費，但他們所分配到的教學資源卻未必相對較優。雖然技職社工教育體系不必然就較差，端視辦學主事者是否願投資社工師資、設備、及提高師生比，但是臺灣現況卻不甚樂觀。

社工教育組織若只為極大化學雜費收益，在職專班及學分班開設及技職大學新增社工系，都可成為組織競逐資源的手段。不負責任的量產學生，爾後其社工畢業生進入專業職場，實務機構及接受他們服務的案主勢必承擔成本。社工教育課程中最能體現專業特色的莫如社工實習/實地工作，除了挑戰社工教師及實習機構的專業性，也是關乎學生專業認同的試金石，我們接著討論這塊社工學界與實務界交會的場域。

of instructors, can we do something in the education system of social work to prevent educational organizations from using adult/extension education as an arena for competing resources? Can the present university evaluation system do something about this?

By academic year 2010, there were 298 full-time faculty members and 8,025 students (including credit classes, part-time degree programs and two-year diploma programs) in all 25 social-work-related departments in Taiwan. These included 6,544 students enrolled in undergraduate programs; 1,127 students enrolled in master's programs; 118 students enrolled in doctoral programs; and 166 students enrolled in two-year diploma programs. In the summer of 2010, a total of 1,800 graduates were produced, including 1,436 bachelors of social science; 265 masters of social science; 8 doctors of social sciences; and 81 baccalaureates of social science. Apart from the general education system, we should not overlook the social work discipline in the vocational education system. In the vocational education system, schools offering social-work related programs include the National Pingtung University of Science and Technology, Chaoyang University of Technology, Chia Nan University of Pharmacy and Science, Tajen University and Meiho University. In academic year 2010, there were 2,799 students enrolled in the social-work related programs offered by these universities of technology (vocational), including 2,590 students enrolled in four-year degree programs, 70 students enrolled in master's programs and 209 enrolled in two-year diploma programs. Also, there were 656 students graduated from the vocational education system in 2010 (including 523 from four-year degree programs, 10 from master's programs and 133 from two-year diploma programs, as shown in Table 2). From these figures, we can see that the number of social work students enrolled in the four-year degree programs of universities of technology is about 40% of that in the general universities. As most universities of technology are private schools (except the National Pingtung University of Science and Technology), students in the vocational education system need to pay more for tuition, but they do not receive better teaching resources in proportion to the higher tuition fees. Although this does

表2 Table 2

99學年度社工系所師生統計(2010-2011)

Statistics on Social Work Instructors and Students in AY 2010 (2010-2011)

		大學生/四技生 4-year Degree Programs	碩班生 Master's Program	博班生 Doctoral Programs	二技生 2-year Diploma Programs	總計 Total
在學(99) In Study(2010)	一般 General Universities	6544	1127	118	166	8025
	技職 Universities of Technology	2590	70	0	209	2799
	小計 Subtotal	(9134)	(1197)	(118)	(375)	(10824)
畢業(98) Graduated(2009)	一般 General Universities	1436	265	8	81	1800
	技職	523	10	0	133	656
	小計	(1959)	(275)	(8)	(214)	(2456)

說明：整理自附錄1

Source: Compiled from Appendix 1

三、專業教育特色之社工實習：理論與實務相遇？

趙善如(2011)透過分析23個相關社工系所的大學部實習辦法/規定，及北中南三場焦點座談(共計17學校社工代表參與)瞭解社工實習現況。她發現2009年《專技人員高考社工師考試規則》對實習次數(兩次)及時數(400小時以上)的規定，並其後所訂《專技人員高考社工師考試社工(福利)實習或實地工作認定標準》，雖然發揮建立社工教育實習課程標準的影響力(至少在形式條件方面)，但焦點座談參與者也表達各校資源投入不一導致師生比率差異，若想全面提升現階段社工實習教育，勢必透過外部力量(大學系所評鑑?)來規範學校。

梁鳳玲、何振宇、黃韻如(2003)曾比擬社工實習對學生，有如入口閘道(比擬選擇入行社工為預備上高速公路)或是交流道(決定轉行則有如駛離高速公路)的功效。相對於一般學科，專業教育的實習課程提供學生機會在進入職場前實地參與、統整課堂所學理論知識與實質經驗，更讓學生具體實地工作以測試自己是否合適進入此專業生涯。然而要達成以上目標，除了學習主體的學生，學校及機構督導的師徒式小班督導品質固然是關鍵，實習機構及社工教育組織所願投入資源多寡，更形塑了督導的能量及其可揮灑的空間。很不幸的，大多數相關人群服務機構雖聲稱基於對社工專業發展與傳承的社會責任而接受實習學生，但並未因而調整/減輕擔任機構實習督導者的原有工作負荷，而是由擔任實習學生督導的各別社工員工自我吸納成本，又是一種慣見的人群服務組織內員工自我剝削現象。多數教育單位為成本考量更會擠壓師生比例，以致有些學校老師僅能維持最低標準的督導品質(或自我剝削來提升品質)，諷刺的是學界竟然是在實習督導師生比率上體驗了實務界常見的不合理個案負荷量。以現今需要實習的社工學生數量、實務機構人員工作負荷量、流動率而言，梁鳳玲等人當年(2003)指出

not necessarily imply that the quality of the social work discipline in the vocational education system is worse, as it all depends on the leader's willingness to invest more in hiring good teaching staff, improving related facilities, and lowering the student-instructor ratio. However, the case in Taiwan is not so optimistic.

By offering part-time degree programs and credit classes, both general universities and universities of technology can maximize their income from tuition and fees and compete for more resources. If educational organizations simply increase the quantity without improving the quality of outputs, the social service organizations and their service recipients will need to pay for the consequences after these students graduate from school and enter the job market. The Social Work Practicum/Field Work can demonstrate the professional characteristics of social work among all courses in the social work curriculum. Apart from challenging the expertise of both instructors and practicum agencies, this course is the touchstone for students to identify with professional social work. In the next section, we will discuss this field where academics and practice meet.

3. Social Work Practicum as the Characteristic of Professional Social Work: Theory Meets Practice?

After analyzing the practicum regulations and requirements of 23 social-work-related departments and three focus group discussion (with representatives from 17 social-work-related departments) respectively held in northern, central and southern Taiwan, Chao (2011) tried to understand the state of social work practicum. From the requirements on the practicum frequency (two times) and length (at least 400 hours) in the Regulations of the Senior Examination for Social Workers of 2009 and the Social Work (Welfare) Practicum or Onsite Work Criteria for the Senior Examination for Social Workers established later on, Chao (2011) discovered that although these regulations and criteria have an effect (at least formalistic) on the practicum requirements in social work education, the student-instructor ratio of different schools varies as the resources invested in practicum differs according to the school representatives participating in the focus groups. Hence, authority (university and department evaluation system?) outside schools must be exerted to regulate the practicum in social work education.

Liang, He and Huang (2003) made an analogy of the social work practicum with driving on the entrance gateway or leaving an interchange of a freeway. According to them, the social work as a career is like a freeway, and the practicum is like an access to the entrance gateway when students decide to join the line of social work, or to an interchange of the freeway when students decide to quit social work. Compared with ordinary courses, the practicum as professional training in social work provides students with an opportunity to participate in field practice before joining the line of social workers, to integrate theories learned from school with practice, and to find out if they are

的實習教育困境：機構品質良莠不齊、數量供不應求以致無法依學生興趣分配、機構督導訓練不足、機構與學校溝通不良等現象，現今是否更形變本加厲？而周月清(2002a)十年前研究中呼籲增長實習期程也就更不可得？

實習課程不只是學生統合理論與實務所在，也常被視為學界與實務發展更緊密連結的場域。透過實習學生督導，學界向實務界學習、更貼近本土實務工作的脈動，若因而與實習機構實務工作者合作(例如協助機構方案評估、整理實務經驗發表研究等)，更能將隱微(*tacit*)的經驗知識轉化為社工外顯(*explicit*)知識，社工知識生產不再獨尊學理、也不專屬學界。但是在教育組織縮減教學資源下，不論是以較差條件外聘實務工作者擔任學校實習督導(例如不合理的師生比率、鐘點費)、或學校督導將學生丟給實習機構後不聞不問，實習課程反而有可能成為學界壓迫/剝削實務界的另一場域。對社工教育的另一持續批駁就是本土化(*indigenization*)的問題，下面就接著處理此一課題。

四、本土化/主體性兼顧全球化：放眼全球、在地行動

社工教育不夠本土化是個複雜的指控，對你我可能指涉不同的意義，它可能隱含對外來知識不加消化勉強應用、或是架空本土實務經驗、或是完全脫離本土政經文化脈絡的教學。由於社工教育素材與應用社工研究發現息息相關，此一課題也涉及社工研究主題是否能扣連本地實務及政策，亦即社工知識生產並非出自象牙塔僅供小群學界人士研讀，而是要能回饋實務界。張英陣(2006)曾指出臺灣由社工員生產的實務知識少之又少，而學界生產的知識又被認為不好用、不實用，對如何修補實務與研究的間隙(*gap*)，其一建議為學界與實務者基於平權基礎合作。但如何能不陷入徒然增加實務者工作量、成為學者掠奪實務智慧成果的結局(周月清，

suitable for this profession. Apart from students who are the learning subjectivity and the quality of the apprenticeship-based small-group supervision both in schools and practicum agencies, the amount of resources invested by practicum agencies and social-work education organizations will affect the strength and space for supervision. Although most human services organizations claim to accept practicum students so as to fulfill their social responsibility to continue the professional development and legacy of social work, unfortunately, none of them share the workload of practicum supervisors with organizational resources. In fact, these supervisors must take up additional responsibilities (cost) as individual social workers. This is another form of labor exploitation commonly found in human services organizations. As most schools deliberately increase the student-instructor ratio to cut down expenses, some instructors can only maintain the minimum quality of student supervision (or they need to improve quality through self-exploitation). Ironically, through unreasonable student-instructor ratio in practicum, the academics experience labor exploitation (unreasonable caseload) which has been commonly found among the practitioners. Liang *et al.* (2003) once pointed out the predicaments in social work practicum: inability to assign students to practicum according to their interest, inadequate training of agency practicum supervisors, and poor communication between practicum agencies and schools. Given the number of social work students requiring practicum and the workload as well as attrition rate of practicum agency staff nowadays, are these situations getting worse? Will the appeal to increase social work practicum hours in the research of Zhou (2002a) become a goal out of reach?

Despite an opportunity for students to combine theory with practice, social work practicum is usually considered as a means to integrate the academics with field practice development. By supervising students in practicum, the academics can learn from the field practitioners and better understand the needs of field. Also, by teaming up with practitioners in practicum agencies (*e.g.*, assisting practicum agency in projects evaluation and co-authoring the findings in field practice), they together can further turn tacit knowledge accumulated from field practice into explicit social work knowledge. This way, the power to produce social work knowledge no longer belongs exclusively to the academia. However, practicum may become another arena for exploiting field practitioners as educational organizations continue to reduce social work teaching resources, whether by hiring practitioners as practicum supervisors with less favorable benefits (*e.g.*, unreasonable student-instructor ratio or hourly pay) or simply leaving students to practicum agencies without school supervision. As indigenization is continuously criticized in social work education, this issue is discussed in the following section.

4. Indigenization/Subjectivity with Globalization: Global View, Local Action

Lacking indigenization of social work is a complex accusation as it implies different circumstances for different people. It may mean the

2002a)，對學者自律、實務者自信都是個嚴苛的考驗。

幾十年前臺灣的社工教育本土教材不多，需仰賴外來教科書，或有囫圇吞棗/照單全收/消化不良的現象，然而隨著臺灣本土社會現象諸多觀察及研究發現，本土素材俯拾皆是、地球村無疆界的互動，「本土化」在現今的臺灣社工教育脈絡下，是否可能轉化指稱「主體性」(subjectivity)？主體性雖強調對自身位置/處境的覺察及能動性，卻並不排斥與外界的相連結。

自二十世紀後葉，我們面對更劇烈、複雜的全球變化，例如跨國企業的普及就是經濟國際化的具象之一。學者稱之為「當地問題肇因於全球」(local problems, global causes)時代的來臨，牽動人們生活的因素，不再受限於週遭可見的人、事、物，有時甚至無法溯及元凶(Pilisuk, McAllister, & Rothman, 1997)。日新月異的數位傳播科技改變了傳統的人際關係，但也進一步弱化個人抗拒國家、企業這類巨型組織的能力，因而更需要充權取向(empower-orientation)的社會工作者，特別重視如何為弱勢群體倡導、助其發聲爭取社會正義的議題。而面對全球化問題成因，除了連結地域性的自助團體，更需善用無遠弗屆的網路社群，發展出跨國的弱勢組織聯結，亦即所謂「放眼全球、在地行動」(think global, act local)的實踐，本土與全球成為一體兩面。

無獨有偶的，社會工作與全球化這個課題自21世紀以來也備受國際社工界矚目(周月清，2002b)，公民身份(citizenship)概念的提出用以強調人權、平等及福祉，在社工實踐則為尊重差異、反壓迫/歧視、社會融合、及對抗貧窮的經濟正義。而由於非屬聯合國會員及諸般政治因素，臺灣長久以來被隔絕於國際社會之外，現今臺灣社工於解決本地需求的同時，更應致力於覺察並揭露全球化對臺灣社經脈絡的影響，並積極拓廣國際社群網絡的

direct application of knowledge from external sources without comprehension or discrimination, or without considering local practice experiences, or out of the local political, economic and cultural contexts. As social work teaching materials are indispensable from the applications of social work research findings, this issue also involves the matter of whether we can connect the topics of social work research with local practice and policies. This is to say, instead of the outputs from the ivory tower being used by a minority group of academics, social work knowledge should address field practice. According to Chang (2006), in Taiwan the practice knowledge produced by field practitioners is few and far between, yet knowledge produced from academic research is considered useless and impractical, academic-field cooperation on an equal basis is recommended to bridge the gap between research and practice. However, how to prevent an increase of the workload of practitioners and the marauding of their intellectual property by the academics (Zhou, 2002a) will be a tough challenge to the self-discipline of academics and the self-confidence of practitioners.

In Taiwan, local social work teaching materials was few and had to rely on imported textbooks a few decades ago. Accepting the knowledge in these textbooks without comprehension or without discrimination, misunderstanding might happen. With various observations and research findings of local phenomena, we discovered that social work materials are everywhere in our society and that there is no boundary for the interaction across the globe. Given the context of social work education development in Taiwan nowadays, will the implication of “indigenization” be transformed into “subjectivity”? Although subjectivity emphasizes motility and the awareness of one’s position and circumstances, it does not reject external connections.

In the late twentieth century, a more dramatic and complex global change finally came. For example, the popularization of multinationals is a representation of economic globalization. In this era of “local problems, global causes”, factors affecting human life are no more limited to the people, events and objects around us and sometimes, we may not be even able to track down what they are (Pilisuk, McAllister and Rothman, 1997). Although the continuously advancing digital and communication technologies have changed traditional interpersonal relations, they further weaken our ability to resist such gigantic organizations as governments and enterprises. In this respect, we need empowerment-oriented social workers more desperately, particularly in issues concerning advocacy for the disadvantaged groups and helping them to struggle for social justice. In order to track down the global causes of local problems, apart from linking up with regional self-help groups, we should make better use of the far-reaching internet communities to develop cross-national connections for the disadvantaged. This way, we can make indigenization and globalization into two sides of the same coin through “think globally and act locally”.

連結(Chou, Haj-Yahia, Wang, & Fu, 2006)。

從公、私立大專院校社工學生家庭社經逐漸呈現雙軌化，進而衍生到畢業生進入實務界公、私部門的雙軌化現象，其長遠意涵不可輕忽。緊接著宣稱為提昇國際競爭力，但也被質疑為政策不當後的補救退場機制的大學評鑑活動，社工教育質、量的管控成為焦點，學分班/在職專班開設爭議、課程標準化、核心知能指標建構、國際化/本土化等議題隨即熱鬧登場。相對於此波顧及學生的知識認知能力的系列行動，學界較少著墨社工教育中學生的個體發展及倫理價值內化過程，社工專業教育特色是否會日漸模糊？最後就讓我們來檢視社工課程在這方面的進展。

五、倫理與性別/文化敏感的教學：言教不如身教？

因教育部所頒必修課程並無專業倫理課程，各校也普遍沒開授倫理方面選修課程，故而曾華源及胡慧嫻(2002)認為台灣社工教育偏重知識及技術。他們歸納出案主問題複雜及責信、避免專業濫權、社會變遷使價值倫理多元、及社工價值與主流價值共容問題等四項理由，說明專業倫理課程的重要性，呼籲將社工價值與倫理成為核心必修課程。但根據臺灣社工教育學會委請社工教師針對8門課的核心知能建構報告(2011)看來，所有必修科目的課程架構都一致分為知識、技巧、倫理與承諾三大層面，顯然是採取不另開一門，而是將社工倫理價值融入各核心必修課程的策略。

沈慶盈(2002)則認為價值倫理屬於情意或潛在課程，身教比言教重要，即使開設相關課程也未必能提升學生專業認同，學生會從學校的制度、組織方式、社會過程及師生互動等方面接收到其中隱含的價值訊息。所以當我們討論社工組織內實務工作者與案主的權控關係、或實務工作者與

Coincidentally, the globalization of social work has caught the attention of the global social work circle since the turn of the 21 century (Zhou, 2002b). The concept of citizenship was proposed to address human rights, equality, and well-being. In social work practice, this refers to the respect for differences, anti-oppression, anti-discrimination, social inclusion, and economic justice for fighting poverty. Taiwan has long been blocked away from international society after leaving the UN for political reasons, while resolving local social problems, we should make greater effort to observe and disclose the effects of globalization on Taiwan's social and economic development and aggressively extend our connections with international social networks (Chou, Haj-Yahia, Wang and Fu, 2006).

In fact, we should not overlook the latent implications of the transformation of the dualistic trend of the family background of social work students in public and private universities into the dualistic future career of students. Next, the university evaluation activity claims to enhance the international competitiveness of higher education but is questioned as a remedy or withdrawal mechanism for inappropriate policies. The quality and quantity control of social work education became the focus: the dispute over the opening of credit classes for adult education and part-time degree programs, the standardization of curricula, the development of core competence indicators, and the issues concerning internationalization and indigenization entered the stage with a hustle and bustle. In contrast with these activities, discussing the knowledge cognitive ability of students, the individual development and the internalization of ethic values of social work students were less emphasized by the academia. Will these professional characteristics of social work education lose focus? Lastly, let us examine the progress of the social work curriculum in these respects.

5. Ethics and Gender/Culture Sensitive Issues: Action Speaks Louder than Words!

As professional ethics is not compulsory in the social work curriculum announced by the Ministry of Education and not even an elective for most social work departments in Taiwan, Tseng and Hu (2002) asserted that social work education in Taiwan over-emphasizes knowledge and skill training. Based on the following four reasons, they explained the importance of professional ethics in social work practice and thus urged to make social work value and ethics as a compulsory core course in the social work curriculum. These reasons include: (1) the complexity of clientele problems and accountability; (2) avoidance of the power abuse of the professionals; (3) ethical value diversification due to social changes; and(4) the compatibility between social work values and mainstream values. Based on *the Report on Core Competence Development* (2011) for eight courses written by social work instructors on the commission of the Taiwan Association of Social Workers, the framework of all compulsory courses falls into three main aspects: knowledge, skill,

組織共謀壓迫案主時(Hasenfeld, 1992)，是否也能反思在專業人員的養成階段，我們的社工學生與系所組織及教師的互動經驗是否充滿權力宰制？而這種充權或失權/無力感的學習經驗日後會如何轉化、複製成為她/他在職場上與案主的權控關係？

黃彥宜(2007)運用戲劇訓練於社工教學活動，透過工作坊的肢體開發、角色扮演、即興表演及兒童保護劇編演，讓學生展現創意、來自生活經驗的專業實習、及體察到與環境互動的自我，她也提出對教學的許多省察：敏感覺察本身的情緒回應、「如何教」比「教什麼」重要、洞察環境(校園及教育體制)對學習的影響、重新審視師生間權力關係(是否能創造一個讓學生覺得批判老師是安全的環境)、重視沈默的多重意義(退縮害怕？抗拒？思考？)及不斷自我提問(擔心什麼、如何看待學生、體認自己的優勢位置)。更強調學生唯有覺得安全才能有情緒空間、足夠能量及省思能力，若教師不能將學生處境脈絡化，就很容易歸因於個人不努力或缺乏動機而將學生邊緣化。「教學始於自省」，身為社工教育者一員的省思的確發聾振聵。

雖然臺灣社工教育不像美國，專業教育認證將性別(gender)及弱勢群體(minority)議題是否貫穿每門科目作為重要指標，但性別及族群(ethnicity)議題卻充斥於我們日常生活習作及社工實務中，更遑論國內諸多相關立法的影響所及。例如隨著全球化，跨國居住遷徙漸成常態，婚姻移民也更為頻繁，近年在臺灣每100位初生嬰兒的生母就約有10位原屬外籍人士，其中大陸港澳及東南亞為大宗(余漢儀，2011)，服務移民家庭就成為社工是否具備性別及族群敏感的試金石。愛滋議題則糾葛了性別及弱勢群體的課題，然而莫藜藜、鍾道銓(2008)檢視108本(1985-2005年出版)的中文(含譯本)社工教科書後，發現呈現愛滋訊息時有「隱匿不見、零碎孤立、刻板印象/錯誤認知」等問題，因而質疑社工教科書或社工教育體系也只是社會刻板印象或偏

and ethics & commitment. Instead of opening an independent course on social work ethics, TASW prefers to integrate the value and ethics of social work with all compulsory core courses.

According to Shen (2002), as value and ethics belong the affective or hidden curriculum and action speaks louder than word, students may not identify with the professional ethics of social work even if there is such a course in the curriculum. Instead, students will acquire the tacit value message from the institutions, way of organizing, social process and instructor-student interaction in the schools. When discussing how social workers overpower their clientele or oppress their clientele along with human services organizations (Hasenfeld, 1992), should we also review the formation of professional social workers and if students also experience the power struggle and compromise when interacting with educational organizations (departments and schools) and instructors? Will this kind of empowerment or loss of power (helplessness) experience from learning be transformed into or be replicated into the overpowering of clientele in the future social work career of students?

By applying drama training to social work teaching, Huang (2007) allowed students to demonstrate creativity and professional practice from daily life experiences, and experience the self in the interaction with the environment in her workshop through somatic training, role play, improvisation, and acting child protection plays. She also proposed many reflections on teaching, such as the sensibility to one's own emotional response, "how to teach" is more important than "what to teach", insights into the effects of the environment (campus and education system) on learning, review of the instructor-student power relationship (development of an environment where students feel safe to criticize teachers), addressing the multiple meanings of silence (recession from fear? resistance? thinking?), and continuous self-questioning (what to worry about, how to treat students and awareness of one's own privilege). She further emphasized that students can have space for relieving emotions and adequate energy and ability to think only when they feel safe. Instructors will easily marginalize (ignore) students for not working hard enough or the lack of motivation when they are unable to contextualize the situation of students. "Teaching begins with self-reflection". Her reflection as a social work educator can truly wake even the deaf.

Although the social work education in Taiwan does not consider gender and minority issues as important topics in all social work courses as in the USA, gender and ethnicity issues are everywhere in the daily life assignments and social work practice and not to mention about their effects on the legislation of Taiwan. For example, international migration has become a normal phenomenon and the number of marriage immigrants increases continuously with the rise of globalization. In recent years, the mother of about 10 out of 100 newborns in Taiwan is an alien, mostly from China, Hong Kong,

見存在與盤旋之處。雪上加霜的是傳統華人文化中的父權又總是如影隨形、遊走於組織內外，伺機操控我們的人際關係，社工教育組織中的師生互動能掙脫這樣的魔障嗎？

作為主要培育未來專業助人者的學院機構(提供實習場域的實務機構也扮演重要角色)，社工系所的聘僱教師標準(因評鑑標準影響重論文出版不重實務經驗)、升等/表現評鑑(還是以論文出版為重)，無疑也會直接影響師生互動的體質。在現今學界追求論文發表、重研究、輕教學及社會服務的潮流下，社工教師是否還能有自主空間，其個人的能動性是否能掙脫被學院組織結構制約的宿命？而社工教育機構在國家規訓專業的過程中又該如何自我定位，避免不自覺的成為共犯結構的一員？現今臺灣的社工教育之於學生的專業養成是否能力挽狂瀾，忠於初始的承諾？還是隨波逐流，至終背叛了社會的託付及學生的信任，也悖離了起初的專業理想？

六、代結語

無可諱言，始自1993年的普及大學教育政策、1997年的社工師法、及2006年開始的高教評鑑，是造就台灣社工教育現狀的關鍵性制度環境，而遺憾的是社工教育機構正如同其他人類服務組織(human service organization)一般，為了生存無所不用其極的競逐合法性及經濟資源(Hasenfeld, 1992)。以上引述的諸多文獻中已不乏對台灣社工教育的各種針砭及建議，筆者發現各類「應然」的建議總須透過某種載體傳達方能落實，故而想討論在專業化中極為重要卻較少被著墨的兩類機制：社工專業組織及相關工會。

余雲楚及丘延亮等人(2004)在其「生業、職業、專業、與志業：助人志業自主抗爭的行動社會學反思」一文中，藉由社會學中對「專業」研究典範轉移的不同論述發展，赤裸裸的將一個行業在追

Macau and Southeast Asian countries (Yu, 2011). In this case, the service for immigrant families has become the touchstone testing the gender and ethnicity sensitivity of social workers. Although AIDS involves both gender and minority issues, after reviewing 108 social work textbooks (including translations) published during 1985-2005, Mo and Chung (2008) discovered that AIDS messages in those textbooks have been presented in an invisible, segmented, stereotyped and misconceived way. Therefore, they questioned if social work textbooks or the social work education system is the origin or lingering place of social stereotype or bias. Even worse, in Chinese culture as patriarchy always accompanies and walks in and out the organizations awaiting an opportunity to manipulate our interpersonal relationship, can the instructor-student interaction in the social work educational organization break this curse?

As the educational organizations dedicated to prepare social work helping profession (human services organizations providing practicum opportunities also play an important role), the recruitment criteria (over-emphasis on publications than practice due to the university evaluation) and promotion/performance evaluations (always emphasizing publications) of social work departments will doubtlessly affect the instructor-student interaction directly. As publication and research overwhelm teaching and social services, do social work instructors have space for self-determination? Will their personal motility allow them to get rid of the constraints of academic institutions? How should social work educational organizations position themselves so as not to unconsciously become conspiracy of the state while the latter over regulates the profession? Can the present professional training for students of the social work education in Taiwan stop the rot? Or, will it simply follow the big trend, betray its social commitment and the trust of students, and even go astray from the original professional ideal?

6. Conclusion(on behalf of)

It is undeniable that the popularization of higher education policy implemented in 1993, the Social Worker License Act enacted in 1997 and the higher education evaluation started in 2006 were the key factors contributing to the present condition of the social work education in Taiwan. However, it is regretful that like other human services organizations, social work educational organizations also try whatever it takes to compete for legitimacy and financial resources (Hasenfeld, 1992). Although the literature cited above has included a host of comments and recommendations for the social work education in Taiwan, the author realized that the “ought’s” can only be enforced through some kind of a carrier. Therefore, we had moved to two mechanisms that are seldom discussed but are extremely important to the professionalization of social work: social work professional organizations and social worker unions.

Yu and Chiu (2004) provided a vivid and naked description of

求「專業化」的過程中，為爭集體特權的排他性、及攀附權貴以求認可的必要性，提供了生動的解說，更根據此視框來詮釋香港社會工作此一行業「專業計畫」的政治過程。台灣的社會工作追求專業化的過程，自1997年社工師證照/建制化後，的確有較高的能見度及社區認可，也有所謂較高的「專業自主」。然而「專業自主」的相對條件應是「專業自律」，能否落實對執業不良 (malpractice) 成員的懲戒，就得先看專業團體的認定、及其對所屬成員的約束力。就這方面而言，目前台灣尚未聽聞有任何社工專業組織處理過實質案例及建立可循流程。

專業社群原是對所有同行成員的泛稱，不論是身處教學/研究機構或第一線實務機構的同行，它的具象化卻是透過一個個的專業團體組織。若細數台灣目前與社工相關的專業團體，除極少數外，大部分團體的活動性質既不多元也不夠異質，更少有直接扣連案主權益的議題處理，至於其內部成員的異議空間有多大更是不得而知(余漢儀，2006)。由於政府單位常透過諮詢專業團體建立相關社工制度及政策，故而社工專業組織的決策核心成員是否夠多元異質、具代表性，就極為關鍵。例如與專業相關的社工專協是否有足夠實務者決策代表，能關照實習機構督導制度、證照化後遺症、公私部門社工勞動條件等實務議題？而與社工教育息息相關的臺灣社工教育學會，對公私校社工教育差距、社工核心課程(含實習)規範建立、師生教學倫理等課題的立場又是如何？針對未來十年台灣社工人力的供需規劃，這兩個專業團體是否能對政府教育及社福主管單位發生影響力，主動建言/倡導其社工教育單位師生規模(特別是在職專班、學分班開設及技職大學新增社工系)、評鑑標準(教學高於研究)、及公私社福部門社工人力編制/基本勞動條件？

權力(power)無所不在，在所謂助人關係中更是無可迴避，近年它在台灣社工實務領域中開始較多

how, in the pursuit of professionalization, a profession persecutes others for collective privilege and plays tuft-hunting for recognition, given the different discourses accounting for the paradigm shift on profession studies in sociology. Based on this framework, they further interpreted the political process of the “professional project” in the social work profession of Hong Kong. In the pursuit of professionalizing social work in Taiwan, the visibility, community recognition and “professional autonomy” of social work have been increased after the enactment of the Social Worker License Act in 1997. However, will “professional self-discipline”, the corresponding principle of “professional autonomy”, be enforced to discipline members of malpractice? It all depends on the judgment of professional groups and their power of sanction over members. So far, no such action has been heard of and no related procedure has been established in any social work professional groups in Taiwan.

A professional community is a collective label for all associates in the same profession. With members including instructors, research fellows or field workers, a professional community could be represented by different professional organizations. However, the activities of most social-work-related professional organizations in Taiwan are neither diversified nor heterogeneous, and rarely will they directly link with the rights and benefits of its clientele. Also, the power of objection of members is remained unknown (Yu, 2006). As the government habitually consults professional organizations prior to establishing related social work systems or policies, the diversity, heterogeneity and representation of the decision-makers of professional social work organizations will be extremely decisive. For example, do the decision-makers of the Taiwan Association of Social Workers have adequate practical experience to deal with the supervision system of practicum agencies, the aftermaths of the license act and with issues concerning the labor conditions of field social workers of both the government and private sectors? As a professional organization dealing with the social work education in Taiwan, what position does the Taiwan Association of Social Work Education hold when dealing with the gap in social work education between public and private schools, the establishment of the specifications for social work core courses (including practicum), and the ethics in instructor-student interaction? Will these two professional organizations exert their influence on the government, education and social welfare authorities, regarding the planning of the supply and demand of social workers in Taiwan in the next decade? Will they make propositions or advocate for the scale of social work educational organizations (particularly for the part-time degree programs, credit classes for adult/extension education and the new social work departments of universities of technology), the criteria of higher education evaluation (more teaching than research), and the workforce planning and basic labor conditions of both government and private social welfare agencies?

Power is everywhere and inevitable in the so-called helping relations. In recent years, it has been addressed more frequently

被著墨，以致一線社工也多能覺察權力關係，發展所謂的反制/抵抗 (resistance) 策略。社工實務人員為爭取合理工作條件的行動，漂流社工(主要是任職民間部門的社工)多方努力串連籌組工會即為一例。而針對2006年上路的高教評鑑制度所引發各種負面後遺症，要求教育部徹底檢討評鑑制度，在學界未有共識前暫停第二週期評鑑，台灣高等教育產業工會(以大專院校之教職員及研究人員為主)也應運而生。訴諸個人努力既然無法掙脫學術霸權的轄制，身處社工學界的個體，透過參加類似此種集體的聯結未嘗不是一種策略。

社工的專業組織是否能鼓勵其成員群而不黨、合而不同的互動關係？是否能虛心向我們的服務對象學習，與服務使用者/自助團體成為一路結伴同行的好夥伴？更重要的是，不論是透過現有專業團體、或新的職/產業工會的 effort，我們有沒有辦法，使一些人群服務組織(含社工教育機構)不能再肆無忌憚的剝削受雇員工，還給社工一個有尊嚴的工作環境？有待努力的議題的確很多，卻不是毫無頭緒的，有很多創新策略會逐漸在屢敗屢戰、且戰且走間揣摩出來。

in the field practice of social work in Taiwan. As a result, first-line social workers have begun to realize the power relationship and thus developed the resistance strategy. For example, field social workers are taking action to fight for reasonable labor condition, the Drifting Social Workers (mainly working for private social service agencies) is making the effort to form a social worker union. Established to fight against the adverse effects of the higher education evaluation system started in 2006, the Taiwan Higher Education Union (formed mainly by the teaching staff of colleges and universities and research fellows) requests the Ministry of Education to make an overall review of the evaluation system and suspend the evaluation for the second cycle before a consensus is reached in the academic circles. If individual effort is unable to get rid of the control of academic hegemony, it may be an alternative for individuals in social work to unite together by joining such kinds of collective actions.

Can the social work professional organizations encourage their members to unite together without collusion and cooperate yet be different? Will they humbly learn from their clientele and form partnership with service users and self-help groups? More importantly, with the effort of existing professional organizations and new profession unions, are we capable of disciplining some human services organizations (including social work education organizations) for wantonly exploiting employees, and giving social workers back a work environment with dignity? There are many issues deserving greater effort, but they are not in a hopeless tangle. Many new strategies will gradually emerge if we do not surrender and have the courage to go further.

附錄 Appendix

表1 Table 1

99學年度大專院校社工系所師生概況統計(2010 - 2011)

Statistics on Instructors and Students of Social Work Departments in 2010-2011

校名/系名 Department/ School	99學年度在校 Active Students in 2010	98學年度畢生 Graduates in 2009	(專)教師 Instructors (full-time)	師生比率 Student- Instructor Ratio	學生/每班 Student/Class	備註 Remarks
	學/碩/博(undergraduate and postgraduate pro- grams)	學/碩/博 (undergraduate and postgraduate programs)				
政大社工所 Graduate Institute of Social Work, National Ching Chi University	0/48/00	0/09/0	4	12.0	----	
台大社工系 Department of So- cial Work, National Taiwan University	220/70/09	47/10/0	15	19.9	27.5	
台師大社工所 Graduate Institute of Social Work, Na- tional Taiwan Normal University	0/68/00	0/08/0	5	13.6	----	
中正社福系 Department of Social Welfare, Na- tional Chung Cheng University	212/54/25	55/14/1	15	19.4	53.0	
陽明衛福所 Institute of Health and Welfare Policy, National Yang Ming University	0/55/21	0/14/0	7	10.9	----	
北大社工系 Department of So- cial Work, National Taipei University	190/63/00	38/13/0	11	23.0(39.9)	47.5	學(進)在186，畢43， 學生/班：37.2 BSc (extension education) active 186, graduated 43, student/class:37.2
暨大社工系 Department of So- cial Work, National Chi Nan University	241/80/29	49/15/2	13	26.9(32.5)	60.3	二技(夜)在73，畢29， 學生/班：36.5 2-year diploma (evening section) active 73, gradu- ated 29, student/class: 36.5
屏科大社工系 Department of Social Work, National Ping- tung University of Science and Techno- log0	0/39/00	0/05/0	11	03.5(42.6)	----	四技在212，畢47，學 生/班：53；四技(夜)在 216，畢52，學生/班： 43.2；二技(夜)在2，畢72 4-year diploma, active 212, graduated 47, student/ class:53; 4-year diploma (evening section), active 216, graduated 52, student/ class: 43.2; 2-year diploma (evening section) active 2, graduated 72

校名/系名 Department/ School	99學年度在校 Active Students in 2010	98學年度畢生 Graduates in 2009	(專)教師 Instructors (full-time)	師生比率 Student- Instructor Ratio	學生/每班 Student/Class	備註 Remarks
	學/碩/博(undergraduate and postgraduate pro- grams)	學/碩/博 (undergraduate and postgraduate programs)				
東海社工系 Department of Social Work, Tung Hai University	508/78/34	116/15/5	14	44.3	63.5	
輔大社工系 Department of Social Work, Fu Jen University	259/60/00	52/07/0	10	31.9	64.8	
東吳社工系 Department of So- cial Work, Soochow University	553/67/00	100/19/0	16	38.8	69.1	
文化社福系 Department of Social Welfare, Chinese Culture University	495/37/00	102/05/0	11	48.4 (53.3)	61.9	碩(職)在54, 畢25, 教 師1, 學生/班: 18 MSc. (part-time) active 54, graduated 25, instruc- tor 1, student/class: 18
宜社工兒少 Department of So- cial Work and Child Welfare, Providence University	556/66/00	167/15/0	16	38.9 (41.1)	61.8	碩(職)在36, 畢38, 學 生/班: 12 MSc. (part-time), active 36, graduated 38, student/ class: 12
實踐社工系 Department of Social Work, Shih Chien University	450/34/00	95/05/0	13	37.2 (50.9)	56.3	學(進)在178, 畢31, 學 生/班: 44.5 BSc (extension education) active 178, graduated 31, student/class: 44.5
朝陽科大社工 Department of Social Work, Cha- oyang University of Technology	0/31/00	0/05/0	13	02.9 (55.2)	----	四技(夜)在216, 畢38, 學 生/班: 43.2; 四技在 471, 畢108, 學生/班: 58.88 4-year diploma (evening section), active 216, graduated 38, student/ class: 43.2; 4-year diplo- ma, active 471, graduated 108, student/class: 58.88
高醫醫事社工 Department of Medical Sociology and Social Work, Kaohsiung Medical University	210/31/00	47/06/0	8	30.1	52.5	
*南華應用社會 *Department of Applied Sociology, Nanhua University	205/00/00	41/00/0	7	29.3	51.3	有社工學程 All social work programs

校名/系名 Department/ School	99學年度在校 Active Students in 2010	98學年度畢生 Graduates in 2009	(專)教師 Instructors (full-time)	師生比率 Student- Instructor Ratio	學生/每班 Student/Class	備註 Remarks
	學/碩/博(undergraduate and postgraduate pro- grams)	學/碩/博 (undergraduate and postgraduate programs)				
嘉南科大社工 Department of Social Work, Chia Nan University of Pharmacy & Science	00/00/00	0/00/0	18	---- (45.1)		四技(夜)在168, 畢 31, 學生/班: 42; 四 技在644, 畢149, 學生 /班: 53.67 4-year diploma (evening section), active 168, graduated 31, student/ class: 42; 4-year diploma, active 644, graduated 149, student/class: 53.67
慈濟社工系 Department of So- cial Work, Tzu Chi University	193/42/00	48/09/0	10	23.5	48.3	
中山醫社工系 Department of Social Work, Chung Shan Medical Uni- versity	415/05/00	83/02/0	13	32.3	51.9	
長榮社工系 Department of Social Work, Chang Jung Christian University	235/39/00	50/12/0	12	22.8	58.8	
玄奘社工系 Department of Social Work, Hsuan Chuang University	317/44/00	85/06/0	15	24.1 (44.9)	39.6	二技(夜)在93, 畢52, 學生/班: 46.5; 學(進) 在173, 畢26, 學生/ 班: 43.3; 碩(職)在46, 畢10, 學生/班: 23 2-year diploma (eve- ning section), active 93, graduated 52, student/ class: 46.5; BSc (extension education) active 173, graduated 26, student/ class: 43.3; MSc. (part- time), active 46, graduated 10, student/class: 23
大仁科大社工 Department of Social Work, Ta Jen University	0/00/00	0/00/0	10	---- (23.8)	----	四技在238, 畢41, 學 生/班: 34 4-year diploma, active 238, graduated 41, stu- dent/class: 34
亞洲社工系 Department of Social Work, Asia University	514/50/00	124/08/0	15	37.6 (53.2)	64.3	學士(進)在234, 畢37, 學生/班: 58.5 BSc (extension education), active 234, graduated 37, student/class: 58.5

校名/系名 Department/ School	99學年度在校 Active Students in 2010	98學年度畢生 Graduates in 2009	(專)教師 Instructors (full-time)	師生比率 Student- Instructor Ratio	學生/每班 Student/Class	備註 Remarks
	學/碩/博(undergraduate and postgraduate pro- grams)	學/碩/博 (undergraduate and postgraduate programs)				
美和技術學院社 工系 Department of Social Work, Meiho University	0/00/00	0/00/0	16	---- (39.5)	----	二技(夜)在205, 畢88, 學生/班: 51.3; 二技在2, 畢38; 四技(夜)在190, 畢2, 學生/班: 47.5; 四技在235, 畢36, 學生/班47.0 2-year diploma (evening section), active 205, graduated 88, student/class: 51.3; 2-year diploma, active 2, graduated 38; 4-year diploma (evening section), active 190, graduated 2, student/class: 47.5; 4-year diploma, active 235, graduated 36, student/class: 47.0
總計Total	5773/1061/118	1299/202/8	298			學(進)在771, 畢137; 碩(職)在136, 畢73; 二技在375, 畢214; 四技在2590, 畢523 BSc (extension education) active 771, graduated 137; MSc. (part-time), active 136, graduated 73; 2-year diploma, active 375, graduated 214; 4-year diploma, active 2590, graduated 523

說明：整理自大專校院概況統計(99學年度) 第二章(國/私立大專校院概況),教育部統計處網頁：http://www.edu.tw/statistics/publication.aspx?publication_sn=1709。師生比率=99學年度在校生人數/教師人數；(師生比率)=99學年度所有在校生(含備註欄內班別)/教師人數；*南華應用社會學系因有社工學程而納入，但不含政戰學院心理及社工學系，共計25相關社工單位。

Note: Compiled from Department of Statistics, Ministry of Education. National/private university statistics. 2010 Statistics of Higher Education Institutions. Retrieved from http://www.edu.tw/statistics/publication.aspx?publication_sn=1709.

Instructor-student ratio= Active students/active teaching staff in 2010; (instructor-student ratio)= Active students (including classes listed in the remarks)/active teaching staff in 2010.

*The Department of Applied Sociology of the Nanhua University is included because of its social work program; except the Department of Social Work of the College of Political Warfare; totaling 25 social-work-related departments.

參考文獻 References

- 余雲楚、丘延亮(2004)。生業、職業、專業、與志業：助人志業自主抗爭行動社會學反思。
Alternative論壇 <http://psy.hi-all.com>
- 余漢儀 (2011)。兒童福利服務，載於呂寶靜(主編)，**社會工作與台灣社會(增訂版)**(頁89-129)。台北：巨流。
- 余漢儀(2006)。錯把專業當志業？**應用心理研究學刊**，31，24~27。
- 沈慶盈(2002)。談當前社會工作專業課程之問題與改革。**社區發展季刊**，99，41-50。
- 周月清(2001)。臺灣社會工作專業發展的危機與轉機，發表於「前進e世紀社會工作發展研討會」。台北：臺灣社工專協與臺灣大學。
- 周月清(2002a)。臺灣社會工作專業發展的危機與轉機。**社區發展季刊**，99，95-125。
- 周月清(2002b)。全球化、公民身份、社會工作教育：參與第30屆國際學校社會工作會議心得。**社區發展季刊**，100，423-433。
- 梁鳳玲、何振宇、黃韻如(2003)。入口開道還是交流道？實習與社會工作教育的對話，發表於「社會變遷中社工角色與社工教育研討會」。台北：社工專協。
- 莫藜藜(2007)。臺灣社會工作學科教育的發展與變革需求。**社區發展季刊**，120，30-47。
- 莫藜藜、鍾道銓(2008)。社會工作教科書受滋議題呈現之內容分析檢視與批判，**社會政策與社會工作學刊**。12(2)：41-90。
- 黃彥宜(2007)戲劇訓練與社會工作教學的省思。**東吳社會工作學報**，16，123-150。
- 黃彥宜、陳美智、劉鶴群(2008)。不同的聲音：臺灣社會工作教育發展方向初探，發表於「跨文化學習與社會工作教育國際學術研討會」。高雄：長榮大學主辦。
- 張英陣(2006)。Mind the Gap: 研究與實務的整合。**社會政策與社會工作學刊**，10(2)，87-116。
- 曾華源、胡慧嫻(2002)。強化社會工作專業教育品質：建構價值與倫理課程為學校核心課程。**社區發展季刊**，99，73-89。
- 趙善如(2011)。社會工作核心知能建構(一)社會工作實務實習，發表於「社會工作核心知能建構研討會」，頁5-63。台北：臺灣社工教育學會、實踐大學。
- Chang, C. & Mo, L. (2007). Social Work Education in Taiwan: Toward Professionalism, *Social Work Education*, 26(6): 583-594.
- Chou, Y., Haj-Yahia, M. M., Wang, F. T., & Fu, L. (2006). Social Work in Taiwan: A historical and critical review, *International Social Work*, 49(6): 67-78.
- Feng, J. Y. (2007). Quality vs. Quantity: The Developments of Social Work Education in Taiwan, *Social Work Education*, 26(6): 595-600.
- Hasenfeld, Y. (1992). Power in Social Work Practice. In Y. Hasenfeld(ed.), *Human Services as Complex Organizations*(259~275), CA: Sage Publications.
- Pilisuk, M., McAllister, J., & Rothman, J. (1997). Social Change Professionals and Grassroots Organizing: Functions and dilemmas. In M. Minkler(ed.), *Community Organizing and Community Building for Health*(103~119), NY: Rutgers University Press.

原鄉獨居老人社會照顧與社會文化脈絡模型

Social Care Arrangement and Socio-cultural Context Model among Aboriginal Elderly Living Alone

黃松林 Song-Lin Huang* 楊秋燕 Chiu-YenYang** 陳宇嘉 Yu-Chia Chen***

摘要

根據內政部(2009)老人生活狀況調查資料分析發現，台灣地區老人閩客族之獨居老人之比例為6.8%，而原住民獨居老人之比例為7.5%，且其入住機構之比例為1.8%，較之閩客族之老人之比例為1.2%，高出相當多，雖然在不同的原住民族群中可能有不同之比例，但整體來看，均有相當高的比例。一般而言，原鄉老人之照顧安排其三代同堂的比例應極高，依內政部(2009)老人生活狀況調查資料分析，其三代同堂的比例亦接近五十百分比(49.7%)，較閩客族之老人比例30.6%高出許多，但入住機構之百分比卻較高，原鄉老人如何從原鄉社區照顧到機構照顧，其照顧居住安排值得吾人探討。當前台灣針對社會照顧以「社區照顧」為其服務目標，依序提供居家式、社區式與機構式等三大層面之服務，對於原鄉的社會照顧，如何從非正式到正式照顧？原鄉獨居老人如何做社會照顧安排，值得深入探討。近年來少數族群之社會照顧服務使用與獨居安排，社會文化脈絡模型逐漸佔有主導的地位，本文探討原鄉獨居老人之特質之差異現況與社會照顧安排模型，對於原鄉老人獨居安排與社會文化脈絡模型相關性也有進一步的瞭解。

關鍵字：社會照顧安排、社會文化脈絡模型、原鄉獨居老人

Abstract

According to survey data analysis of the living conditions of elderly by the Ministry of the Interior (2009), it is found that the Minnan and Hakka elderly in Taiwan account for 6.8%, while aboriginal elderly living alone account for 7.5%. In addition, the ratio of their institutionalization is 1.8%, much higher than that of Minnan and Hakka elders, which is 1.2%. Although different aboriginal ethnic groups may have varied ratios, as a whole, the ratios are considerably high. Generally speaking, as far as the care arrangement of aboriginal elderly is concerned, three generations living under one roof account for quite a high ratio. According to survey data analysis of the living conditions of elderly by the Ministry of the Interior (2009), the ratio of three generations living under one roof account for close to 50% (49.7%), which is much higher than the 30.6% for Minnan and Hakka elderly. However, the percentage of their institutionalization is higher. How aboriginal elders care and living arrangements are made from aboriginal community care to institutionalized care is worthy of further study. At present, targeting social care, Taiwan engages in "community care" as the service goal to provide three types of service, as ranked in order: home, community, and institutional services. How is the aboriginal social care transformed from informal to formal care? How are social care arrangements for aboriginal elderly made? These questions require more in-depth exploration. In recent years, when it comes to the social care service use and living-alone arrangements of minority groups in society, the socio-cultural context model has gradually taken the lead. In this paper, the current situation of the social care arrangements for aboriginal elderly living alone was adopted to explore and gain an insight into the characteristics of the socio-cultural context model, including issues involving informal and formal care arrangements. Specifically, the research explored the current situation of the differences of the characteristics of the aboriginal elderly and the social care arrangement model and an insight into the correlation between the arrangements for aboriginal elderly living alone and the socio-cultural context model were revealed.

Keywords: Social Care Arrangement, Socio-cultural Context Model, Aboriginal Elderly Living Alone

* 黃松林，朝陽科技大學社會工作系副教授。E-mail: slh4221@yahoo.com.tw

Song-Lin Huang, Associate Professor, Social Work Dept., Asia University.

** 楊秋燕，台灣社會發展研究學會社會工作督導員。

Chiu-YenYang, Senior Social Worker, Social Work Dept., TSDS.

*** 陳宇嘉，國立東華大學民族發展與社會工作學系副教授兼系主任。E-mail: yuchia@mail.ndhu.edu.tw。

Yu-Chia Chen* Associate Professor, Social Work Dept., Tung-Hua University.

壹、前言

根據內政部(2009)老人生活狀況調查資料分析發現，台灣地區老人閩客族之獨居老人之比例為6.8%，而原住民獨居老人之比例為7.5%，且其入住機構之比例為1.8%，較之閩客族之老人之比例為1.2%，高出相當多，雖然在不同的原住民族群中可能有不同之比例，但整體來看，均有相當高的比例。一般而言，原鄉老人之照顧安排其三代同堂的比例應極高，依內政部(2009)老人生活狀況調查資料分析，其三代同堂的比例亦接近五十百分比(49.7%)，較閩客族之老人比例30.6%高出許多，但入住機構之百分比卻較高，原鄉老人如何從原鄉社區照顧到機構照顧，其照顧居住安排值得吾人探討。

原住民獨居老人所面臨的困境與需求是與一般老人有相當大的差異，不僅可能在經濟匱乏的情境下，發生失能疾病、無法自我照顧的困境，更在社會、家庭人際互動不足的狀況下，形成所謂老人撤退理論(disengagement theory)之相關問題。先進國家針對獨居老人也有相關之服務措施，不同的服務均開放各類型的老人接受服務，但此類相關服務措施，對原鄉的獨居老人常是看得到，得不到，如果有完整之社區照顧，尚能有解決的照顧方式，但是一旦需要進入替代性照顧時，機構照顧常不是獨居老人照顧居住的選項，如何考量先由親人提供照顧，如在無法提供照顧之情況下，才由政府及正式組織部門介入提供服務，應是值得考量的問題。

當前台灣針對社會照顧以「社區照顧」為其服務目標，依序提供居家式、社區式與機構式等三大層面之服務，對於原鄉的社會照顧，如何從非正式到正式照顧？原鄉獨居老人如何做社會照顧安排，值得深入探討。近年來少數族群之社

I. Introduction

According to survey data analysis of the living conditions of elderly by the Ministry of the Interior (2009), it is found that the Hokloand Hakka elderly in Taiwan account for 6.8%, while aboriginal elderly living alone account for 7.5%. In addition, the ratio of their institutionalization is 1.8%, much higher than that of Hokloand Hakka elders, which is 1.2%. Although different aboriginal ethnic groups may have varied ratios, as a whole, the ratios are considerably high. Generally speaking, as far as the care arrangement of aboriginal elderly is concerned, three generations living under one roof account for quite a high ratio. According to survey data analysis of the living conditions of elderly by the Ministry of the Interior (2009), the ratio of three generations living under one roof account for close to 50% (49.7%), which is much higher than the 30.6% for Hokloand Hakka elderly. However, the percentage of their institutionalization is higher. How aboriginal elders care and living arrangements are made from aboriginal community care to institutionalized care is worthy of further study.

The difficulties and needs of aboriginal elderly living alone considerably differ from those of general elderly population. Since they are economically deprived, not only are they likely to suffer from disability and disease and the inability to take care of themselves, but also disengagement theory related problems arise due to insufficient family and social interactions. Advanced countries have adopted related service measures for elderly living alone, and different services are open for access by different types of elderly. However, these types of related services are often out of reach for elderly living alone. Care solutions are only possible with complete community care, but once there is a need to enter alternative care, institutional care is often not an option as far as the care and living needs of elderly living alone are concerned. Therefore, the issue of offering family care before the intervention of government and formal organizations and departments when care fails to be provided is worthy of consideration.

At present, targeting social care, Taiwan engages in "community care" as the service goal to provide three types of service, as ranked in order: home, community, and institutional services. How is the aboriginal social care transformed from informal to formal care? How are so-

會照顧服務使用與獨居安排，社會文化脈絡模型逐漸佔有主導的地位(Bernstein & Van Rooyen, 1994; Angel & Angel, 1997; Luong, 2000; Abdel-Fattah & Huber, 2003)，此一模式認為少數群體對於社會照顧服務之使用或獨居，不強調受服務之個人、互動與他們的支援網絡，而是從環境、社會結構、教育文化與信仰對他們使用社會照顧服務的影響為重點，包括對他們求助行為的影響在內。本文針對原住民獨居老人在社會照顧安排之現況做探討與了解社會文化脈絡模型特質，從非正式到正式照顧之安排等議題進行探討，具體而言，本文之研究目的如下：

1. 探討原鄉獨居老人之特質之差異現況與社會照顧安排模型。
2. 瞭解原鄉老人獨居安排與社會文化脈絡模型相關性。

貳、文獻探討

一、台灣原鄉老人人口獨居情形

獨居為老人居住安排中最受矚目的議題，根據行政院主計處(2006)指出，全世界每7個60歲以上的老人有1個獨居，台灣每14個、日本每8個老人有1位，均低於歐美國家4個老人就有1個獨居。一般而言，台灣人口無論原鄉與漢人其老化已為極其重要的趨勢，人口老化也必帶來獨居老人人口比率的增加。然而，台灣自1986年至1996年，65歲以上老人獨居安排比率均在11%以上，但至2002年似乎有下降的趨勢，一般認為除了傳統社會文化的觀念因素仍存外，由於依據黃松林在1999年之調查(Huang, 2003)，獨居老人有16%榮民，但逐年下降，因此，台灣65歲以上老人獨居安排比率部分原因可能與來台老兵逐年凋零有關。至2009年時，榮民、榮眷老人獨居比例為9.3%，一般民眾老人獨居比例為6.8%，但原住民老人獨居比例為7.5%，為各類人口群最高者；另

cial care arrangements for aboriginal elderly made? These questions require more in-depth exploration. In recent years, when it comes to the social care service use and living-alone arrangements of minority groups in society, the socio-cultural context model has gradually taken the lead(Bernstein & Van Rooyen, 1994; Angel & Angel, 1997; Luong, 2000; Abdel-Fattah & Huber, 2003). In this model, it is believed that when it comes to the minority groups' social care service use or living alone, the individuals receiving service, the interactions, and their support network are not the emphasis; instead, the focus lies in the influence of environment, social structure, education culture, and faith on their use of social care service, including the influence of their behavior of seeking help. In this paper, the current situation of the social care arrangements for aboriginal elderly living alone was adopted to explore and gain an insight into the characteristics of the socio-cultural context model, including issues involving informal and formal care arrangements. Specifically, the research purposes are as follows:

1. To explore the current situation of the differences of the characteristics of the aboriginal elderly and the social care arrangement model.
2. To gain an insight into the correlation between the arrangements for aboriginal elderly living alone and the socio-cultural context model.

II. Literature Review

1. Aboriginal Elders Living Alone in Taiwan

“Living alone” is the issue of the greatest concern when it comes to the elderly's living arrangements. According to the Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (2006), it was pointed out that one out of every seven elders aged above 60 lives alone. In Taiwan, one out of fourteen elders lives alone; in Japan, one out of eight elders lives alone. These figures are both lower than European countries and the United States where one out of every four elders lives alone. In general, Taiwan's aging population, aboriginal or Han, has become an extremely important trend. The aging population will inevitably lead to an increase in the ratio of elderly living alone. However, from 1986 to 1996, the ratio of arrangements or elderly above the age of 65 and living alone was 11%, but the ratio showed the trend of decline in 2002. It is generally believed that in addition to the existence of the traditional socio-cultural concept factor, according to the survey of Huang, Song-lin in 1999 (Huang, 2003), 16% of the elderly living alone comprised of veterans, but the ratio showed a yearly decrease. Hence, the decline in the ratio of arrangements for elderly aged above 65 and living alone may

一方面，三代家庭比例部分，榮民、榮眷老人三代家庭比例為25.1%，一般民眾老人三代家庭比例為30.6%，但原住民老人三代家庭比例則為49.7%，亦為各類人口群最高者(詳如表2.1)。此正說明原住民老人社會照顧與居住安排與一般平地民眾之不同，一般平地民眾核心家庭化，而原住民老人獨居與三代家庭的情形卻仍均高，其兩極化的現象值得注意。

整體而言，自1986至2009年台灣高齡者獨居或只與配偶一起生活之獨立居住安排者雖因老人人口增加而倍增(行政院主計處，2006)，但原鄉老人卻有不同的發展，其社會與文化的影響應是極重要的關鍵因素。Huang, Lai & Black(2010)在其研究中發現原鄉老人是四大族群中(包括閩南、客家與榮民眷族群)疾病項目最多，但即使多種疾病纏身，ADL之自我照顧能力仍是四大族群中最佳，使用非正式社會照顧服務及獨居者最多，其社會照顧與居住之安排，應有其社會文化特質值得深入探討。

二、社會照顧

在部分國家，一如前述，「社會照顧」有狹義與廣義二者。如果依社區照顧的觀點而言是廣義

be related to the passing of old veterans in Taiwan every year. In 2009, the ratios of veterans and veteran dependents living alone was 9.3%, the ratio of general elderly living alone was 6.8%, but the ratio of aboriginal elderly living alone was 7.5%, which was the highest among the population groups. On the other hand, in terms of the ratio of extended families, the ratio of veterans and veteran dependents with extended families is 25.1%, the ratio of the general elderly with extended families is 30.6%, but the ratio of aboriginal elderly with extended families is 49.7%, which is also the highest among the population groups (See Table 2.1 for details). This explains the social care and living arrangements for aboriginal elderly differ from those of the general public. The general public is inclined toward nuclear families, while aboriginal elderly living alone and with extended families are frequently seen. This extreme phenomenon is noteworthy.

Overall, from 1986 to 2009, seniors that lived alone or with a spouse in Taiwan with independent living arrangements doubled due to an increase in the elderly population (Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2006); however, the aboriginal elderly had different development, the social and cultural influence being the key factors of great importance. Huang, Lai & Black (2010) found in their study that the aboriginal elderly had the most number of diseases among the four ethnic groups (including Minnan, Hakka, and veteran dependent groups). Despite the many types of diseases they had, they had the best ADL self-care ability among the four ethnic groups, and informal social care and elderly living alone comprised the majority. The social care and living arrangements are worthy of further exploration as far as the social and cultural characteristics are concerned.

2. Social Care

As mentioned above, in some countries social care are

表1 Table 1

2010年家庭組成與身分別交叉分析表 單位：%

Cross-analysis of family makeup and identity, 2010 Unit: %

家庭組成 Family makeup	一般民眾 General public	榮民、榮眷 Veterans and veteran dependents	原住民 Aboriginal people	整體人口 Entire population
獨居 Living alone	6.8	9.3	7.5	7.1
僅與配偶(同居人)同住 Living with spouse (live-in partner) only	17.7	21.2	18.6	18.1
兩代家庭 Nuclear family	41.8	38.7	16.9	41.2
三代家庭 Extended family	30.6	25.1	49.7	30.1
四代家庭 Family of four generations	1.0	1.1	2.8	1.0
與其他親戚或朋友同住 Living with other relatives or friends	1.0	6.0	2.8	1.0
住在共同事業戶 Common business household	1.2	3.9	1.8	1.5

資料來源：內政部統計處，2010。

Source: Statistics Department of the Ministry of the Interior, 2010

的觀點，是包含任何由健康與福利部門工作者所提供之非醫療服務，包括從在自己家中提供居家支持(domiciliary support)、喘息照顧、對有密集性照顧需求提供日間照顧，到底護性公寓、團體家屋、旅舍，至機構安養護照顧、護理之家及長期醫院照顧(DoH, 1989; Braye & Preston-shoot, 2003)。其重點是支持人們在無法為自己安排時，所進行之行動、個人照顧、家事服務、財務事務、住宿、休閒與僱用(Braye & Preston-shoot, 2003:7)。因此，社會照顧包括了二大部分，一為社會工作，一為照顧服務。前者是心理與社會服務專業，後者是個人與生理照顧技術服務。

事實上，長期照顧服務在部分國家如英國，被區分為社會照顧(Social Care)與健康照顧(health care)，以期使社會照顧專業有更高的服務品質(Braye & Preston-Shoot, 2003)。社會照顧重點係從事非技術性的生理、心理、家庭及社會的照顧，因此與技術性的生理健康護理服務有相當的不同(Thomas et al., 2003)。健康照顧部分有相關衛生健康委員會來負責，如脊椎治療委員會(General Chiropractic Council (GCC))、牙科醫師委員會(General Dental Council (GDC))、醫學委員會(General Medical Council (GMC))、眼科委員會(General Optical Council (GOC))、骨科委員會(General Osteopathic Council (GOsC))、健康專業委員會(Health Professions Council (HPC))、護理與產科委員會(Nursing and Midwifery Council (NMC))、英國皇家藥學會(Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain(RPSGB))、北愛藥學會(Pharmaceutical Society of Northern Ireland(PSNI))、健康照護優良規範委員會(Council for Healthcare Regulatory Excellence(CHRE))，以規範醫學相關專業人力登記作業，此皆以健康照顧為主，是長期照顧使用者在急性醫護服務中服務的主要提供者。而在社會照顧方面，有威爾斯照顧委員會(Care Council for Wales)，綜合社會照顧委員會(General Social Care Council (GSCC))、北愛社會照顧委員會(Northern Ireland Social Care Council (NISCC))及蘇格蘭社會照顧委員會(Scottish Social

defined in the broad and narrow sense. The perspective of community care in the broad sense includes any non-medical services provided by any health and welfare department workers such as domiciliary support provided from one's own home, respite care, the provision of daycare for those with intensive care needs, shelter apartments, group houses, hostels, eldercare/nursing facilities, nursing homes, and long-term hospital care (DoH, 1989; Braye & Preston-shoot, 2003). The focus lies in offering support through action, personal care, house chore services, financial services, accommodation, leisure, and employment when people fail to make their own arrangements (Braye & Preston-shoot, 2003:7). Hence, social care consists of two parts: social work and care service. The former involves the professionalism of psychological and social service, while the latter involves the technical services of personal and physical care.

In fact, long-term care service in some countries such as the United Kingdom is divided into social care and health care, with the hope of improving the service quality of social care professionalism (Braye & Preston-Shoot, 2003). The focus of social care lies in the engagement of nontechnical physical, psychology family, and social care. Thus, it varies considerably from technical physical and health care services (Thomas et al., 2003). In the health care part, the responsibility falls on the related health committees, such as General Chiropractic Council (GCC), General Dental Council (GDC), General Medical Council (GMC), General Optical Council (GOC), General Osteopathic Council (GOsC), Health Professions Council (HPC), Nursing and Midwifery Council (NMC), Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain(RPSGB), Pharmaceutical Society of Northern Ireland(PSNI), and Council for Healthcare Regulatory Excellence (CHRE) in order to regulate medical-related professional manpower registration operations, which are health care-oriented and are the main providers of long-term care of acute medical services. On the other hand, the social care part is taken care of by Care Council for Wales, General Social Care Council (GSCC), Northern Ireland Social Care Council (NISCC), and Scottish Social Services Council (SSSC) in order to regulate the social care personnel, professional social workers, and social work students' degree course certifications and professional manpower registration operations (Kendall, 2000; McLaughlin, 2006). This indicates that health care and social care possess different characteristics, so it is not appropriate for healthcare personnel to directly cross the boundaries and replace them.

Services Council (SSSC))以規範社會照顧人員、專業社會工作人員及社會工作學生學位課程認證及專業人力登記作業(Kendall, 2000; McLaughlin, 2006)。此皆說明健康照顧與社會照顧仍有其不同的特質，不宜由健康照顧人員直接橫跨取而代。

事實上，長期照顧服務在部分國家被認定為社會照顧(social care)(行政院經建會，2003)，英國政府在2000年提出照顧標準法案(Care Standards Act, 2000)，此一法案為照顧服務供給之基礎，其中包括了居家照顧服務、寄養家庭的服務以及家庭服務中心的服務規範，大部分以社會照顧為主軸。此類服務在過去並未予以規範，但在此一法案中規定地方政府及衛生機關至2002年4月開始，所有照顧標準應由全國照顧標準委員會負責規範監督。此一標準委員會係屬獨立部門、非政府組織之全國性監督與規範的單位，此一委員會之目標係在增進不同部門之間照顧標準的一致性。另外，英國政府亦依據法案第23條規定提出了全國最低照顧標準內容，此一內容規範了所有住宿型的機構、個人照顧機構及成人護理照顧機構，包括生理障礙者、官能障礙者、學習障礙者、聽障、精障、酒精藥物濫用者、HIV或AIDS及多重障礙者的服務機構。照顧的標準之訂定係來自服務提供者、服務使用者及行政管理所共同討論制訂。其中認可個人的特殊性並強化全人化的服務以及以個人為中心的成套式的照顧，針對老人、兒童、年輕成人都訂定了不同的標準，各個不同的標準有其特殊的內容，例如針對成人全國性的最低服務標準有以下的內涵(Thomas et al., 2003:3)：

1. 以服務使用者為焦點：服務供給者應顯示受服務者有選擇性、包容性及相關權益促進之證明。
2. 目標達成情形：服務供給者機構應描述機構之目標及目的達成的比例。
3. 服務的完整性：服務供給者應透過有效的服務與工作，考量案主是否能夠獲得整套的照顧。
4. 正向的選擇：評估規範者應瞭解受照顧者住在機構是否出於個人意願。
5. 需求評估之因應：服務供給者應針對需求評估及

In fact, long-term care services in some countries are deemed as a form of social care (Council for Economic Planning and Development, 2003). The British government put forth the Care Standards Act in 2000. This act is the basis for providing care services, including the norms for home care services, foster family services, and family service centers, which are mainly social care oriented. This type of services had not been regulated in the past, but this act specifies that all the care standards of the local governments and health authorities should be under the supervision of the National Care Standards Commission beginning April 2002. This standard commission is an independent department and non-governmental organization national supervisory and regulatory unit. The goal of this commission is to enhance the consistency of care standards among different departments. In addition, according to Article 23 of the Act, the British government put forward the minimum requirements for the content of the National Care Standards. This content regulates all the accommodation-type institutions, personal care institutions, and adult nursing care institutions, including service institutions for physiological disorders, dysfunction, learning impaired, hearing impaired, mental illnesses, alcohol and drug abuse, HIV or AIDS, and multiple disabilities. The care standards were set up through joint discussion by the providers, service users, and administrative managers. In particular, the particularity of individuals was recognized holistic services and package care for individuals were strengthened. Targeting elderly, children, and young adults, different standards were set up, and each standard had special contents. For example, targeting the national minimum service standard requirements for adults, the following contents shall apply (Thomas et al., 2003:3):

1. Service users as the focus: The service provider should show proof of the selectivity, inclusiveness, and the promotion of related interests of service receivers.
2. Goal achievement situation: The service providing institution should describe the goals of the institution and the goal achievement ratio.
3. The service completeness: The service provider should take into consideration whether a case can obtain the complete set of care through effective service and work.
4. Positive options: Assessors of regulations should understand whether or not individuals under care live in the institution out of their own will.
5. Responses for needs assessment: Service providers should formulate care plans targeting the needs assessment and needs changes.
6. Service quality: Service providers should continue to promote

需求改變擬具照護計畫，並加以認可和採取行動執行。

6. 服務品質：服務提供者應持續促進服務使用者之生活品質。
7. 人員專業品質：評估規範者應瞭解管理者與員工是否持續接受社會服務專業訓練，其中包括新進人員之入門課程及在職教育。

此皆是從人群社會服務觀點所提供的服務品質，而非單以生理健康服務為其重點。另外，如再就英國針對老人機構全國最低照護標準的要求來看，其標準更是社會照顧權益的議題而非生理照顧的議題。英國針對老人機構全國最低照護標準如下(Thomas et al., 2003:4)：

1. 老人之家的選擇：評估規範者應瞭解受照顧者住在機構是否出於個人意願，亦即心理與社會照顧權益選擇考量。
2. 健康及個人照護服務：服務提供者應提昇健康及個人照護服務品質，亦即以非技術護理為主的照顧服務品質。
3. 日常生活及社會活動：服務提供者應針對老人提供多元化日常生活及社會活動，亦是心理與社會照顧照顧內容。
4. 環境設施：服務提供者應提供適合老人之相關環境設施，此亦可以是老人福利法規執行的相關標準。
5. 員工人力：則評估規範者應瞭解管理者與員工是否持續接受社會服務專業訓練，其中包括新進人員之入門課程及在職教育。
6. 機構管理及行政：服務提供者應有標準化之機構管理及行政。
7. 申訴及保護措施：服務提供者應容許受服務者有申訴及保護之管道，此亦是心理與社會照顧權益選擇考量。

整體來說，以英國多年高齡化社會發展結果，2000年所提出「照顧標準」實是以社會照顧為主，而以健康照顧為輔。因此根據是項法令，

service users' quality of life.

7. Professional quality: Assessment regulators should understand whether or not managers and employees continue to receive social service related professional training, including introductory courses and in-service education for new staff.

All of the above falls under the service quality provided from the perspective of crowd social service, rather than focusing solely on physiological health service. In addition, from the viewpoint of the targeted minimum care standard for institutions for elderly in the United Kingdom, the standard is a social care rights issue, rather than a physiological care issue. The national minimum care standard for institutions for elderly in the United Kingdom are as follows(Thomas et al., 2003:4):

1. Choice of homes for the elderly: The assessment regulators should understand whether or not the care receivers live in institutions out of their own will (i.e., the psychological and social care rights related choices and considerations).
2. Health and personal care service: Service providers should enhance the quality of health and personal care service (i.e., the non-technical nursing oriented care service quality).
3. Daily life and social activities: Service providers should, targeting elderly, provide diversified daily life and social activities (i.e., the psychological and social care contents).
4. Environmental facilities: Service providers should provide appropriate environmental facilities for elderly (i.e., the relevant standards for the implementation of elderly welfare laws and regulations).
5. Employee manpower: The assessment regulator should understand whether or not managers and employees continue to receive social service related professional training, including introductory courses and in-service education for new staff.
6. Institutional management and administration: Service providers should have standardized institutional management and administration.
7. Complaints and protection measures: Service providers should allow service receivers' complaint and protection channels, which are also psychology and social care rights option considerations.

Overall, based on the aging society development results in the United Kingdom, the "care standards" proposed in 2000 are essentially social care-based and supplemented by healthcare. Therefore, according to

綜合性的社會照顧委員會便組織而成，其責任在促進較佳的實務服務，維護社會照顧人力的訓練標準。此外，社會照顧委員會也受理社會照顧工作專業人力之登記與資格之審查，以利監督弱勢群體服務與保護之促進。因此，社會照顧委員會規範之內容包括兩大服務專業人口群(General Social Care Council, 2007)：1. 社會工作專業人力；2. 社會照顧工作專業人力。前者係提供整合性的個案、團體、家庭及社區服務，後者是提供弱勢群體之個人照顧服務。

如果以這樣的觀點來看，社會照顧是與生理健康照護(Health Care)是相輔相成的照顧概念，由於全人化的照顧是從生理的健康，也就是醫護的照顧以至個人心理的、家庭的與社會的照顧。如果我們說醫護的照顧是一種照顧專業，心理的照顧是一種諮商的專業，整合個人、家庭與社會的照顧亦是一種照顧專業，而此種照顧專業就是社會照顧。這些在在說明社會照顧在長期照顧系統中，有其基本的特質與必要性，其重點是關注老人的個人基本人權、個人生存權、家庭人際互動的技巧、發展社會技巧、社會支持以及獨立生活的技巧等，都不是醫護健康照顧專業者所能執行的工作。

三、獨居之社會照顧模型與正式部門角色

一般而言，家庭成員同住與否是照顧與否最重要的指標，如果家庭成員未能同住，則代表相當程度是無法提供照顧或較少身體照顧之意，因此，是否提供照顧便與是否同住有相當密切的相關，我們如以照顧與否做為基礎來詮釋時，則考量照顧模型理論(Dono et al., 1979; Cantor, 1979; Cantor, Brennan & Sainz, 1994; Chappell, 1990; Huang, 2003)可解釋受照顧者所以社會照顧選擇的因素；另外，學者認為受照顧者的社會照顧安排方式常是其使用正式照顧服務或非正式照顧服務的關鍵議題(Crimmis et al., 1990; Soldo et al., 1990; Wolf, 1984; Thomas and Wister, 1984; Bishop, 1986; Wolf

the decree, the comprehensive social care commission was formed, and the responsibility of the commission is to promote better practice service and maintain the standard of social care manpower training. In addition, the Social Care Commission is subject to the registration and qualification review of professional manpower of social care work, so as to facilitate the promotion of supervising service and protection for disadvantaged groups. Hence, the content of the Social care Commission comprises two service profession populations (General Social Care Council, 2007): 1. Professional manpower of social work; 2. Professional manpower for social care work. The former provides integrated case, group, family, and community service, while the latter provides personal care services for disadvantaged groups.

Based on this point of view, social care and physical health care are care concepts that complement each other, as holistic care starts from physical health, from medical care to personal psychological, family, and social care. If medical care is a type of care profession and psychology care is a type of counseling profession, the integration of personal, family, and social care is also a type of care profession, known as social care. All these explain that in the long-term care system, social care possesses its basic characteristics and necessity. The focus lies in giving attention to elderly's fundamental human rights, individual right to life, family social interaction skills, the development of social skills, social support, and independent living skills, which are not tasks that can be performed by medical and health care professionals.

3. Solitary Elderly Social Care Model and the Role of Formal Sectors

Generally speaking, whether or not family members live together is the most important indicator for care. If family members fail to live together, to a considerable extent, care cannot be provided, or less physical care is given. Hence, whether or not care is provided and whether or not family members live together is closely related. If we base our interpretation on the presence of care as the basis, the care model theory (Dono et al., 1979; Cantor, 1979; Cantor, Brennan & Sainz, 1994; Chappell, 1990; Huang, 2003) taken into account can explain the care receivers' social care option factors. In addition, scholars believe that the social care arrangements of care receivers are often the key issues of formal care service or informal care service. (Crimmis et al., 1990; Soldo et al., 1990; Wolf, 1984; Thomas and Wister, 1984; Bishop,

and Soldo, 1988; Wolf, 1990; Soldo et al., 1990; Hays, 2002; Huang, 2003)亦有針對受照顧者的社會照顧安排之理論模型做分析，亦可對受照顧者的社會照顧相關因素有相當完整之詮釋。如此，政府在提供正式部門之社會照顧服務政策中，可以考量有不同的對策。茲綜合其社會照顧理論模型說明如下：

1. 附加模型(the additive model)：

此模型是認為照顧者主要是來自受照顧者之親戚、朋友和鄰居，當有必要時將隨機地提供協助給受照顧者。它強調所有人是在同一個水平上共同支持受照顧者。每個家庭成員、親戚、朋友或鄰居是提供附加性的支持(Dono et al., 1979; Cantor, 1979)。正式社會照顧系統的角色在此模型中將是一個選擇，亦即是支援或補充性照顧服務。此模型可能使受照顧者在親戚、朋友和鄰居隨機的照顧情況下，僅獲得部分時間的照顧，同住的可能性便大幅減少，反之乏人照顧可能性增高。

2. 不對稱模型(the asymmetrical model)：

此模型是認為受照顧者均可能有一個照顧者的團體。此模型認為受照顧者的社會支持來自此一團體，如果此一團體不照顧受照顧者，所有照顧支持工作將崩潰(Dono et al., 1979; Cantor, 1979)。根據此一模型觀點，當受照顧者沒有主要照顧群支持時，不可能有其他模型的混合，正式社會照顧服務只發生在無主要照顧群體時才有可能提供，而一旦提供時，便是其提供替代性的照顧服務。另外，受照顧者的照顧支持團體是一般而言應是受照顧者家庭成員，此模型是一旦無家庭成員，則便是乏人照顧或正式社會照顧一途。

3. 層級補償模型(the hierarchical-compensatory model)：

此模型是認為受照顧者對於照顧體系的成員有偏好，家庭成員是受照顧者的最先首選，是以互惠性、可獲得其接受性為基礎(Cantor, Brennan &

1986; Wolf and Soldo, 1988; Wolf, 1990; Soldo et al., 1990; Hays, 2002; Huang, 2003) also targeted the theoretical model of social care for the care receivers in the analysis, which comprehensively interpreted the related factors of social care for the care receivers. This way, the government may take different strategies into consideration when providing service policies related to the social care of formal sectors. The summary of the social care theory model is described below:

1. Additive Model

In this model, it is deemed that caretakers are usually the relatives, friends, and neighbors of care receivers. Whenever necessary, assistance is randomly offered to care receivers. It emphasizes that on the same basis, everyone jointly supports care receivers. Every family member, relative, friend, or neighbor provides additive support (Dono et al., 1979; Cantor, 1979). The role of the formal social care system on the other hand is a choice (i.e., supportive or supplementary care service). This model grants care receivers partial time of care, as the relatives, friends, and neighbors of care receivers only offer care at random, thus the greatly diminished possibility of living together. Conversely, the possibility of lacking care increases.

2. Asymmetrical Model

In this model, it is believed that care receivers may have one care group. It is deemed in the model that care receivers' social support comes from this group. Thus, if this group fails to take care of care receivers, all the care support work will collapse (Dono et al., 1979; Cantor, 1979). According to the viewpoint of this model, when care receivers fail to have the support of the main care group, there cannot be other model mixes. Formal social care service is only provided when there is no other main care group, but once the service is provided, it is the alternative care service that is provided. In addition, the care support group of care receivers is generally the family members of care receivers. In the absence of family members, this model will lead to lack of care or formal social care.

3. Hierarchical-compensatory Model

In this model, it is believed that care receivers have preferences for members in the care system, and family members are preferred by care receivers, which are based on mutual benefits and acceptance (Cantor, Brennan & Sainz, 1994; Chappell, 1990, pp. 1-8). The compensatory nature, or even the alternative function exists among the members in the elements. When the preferred family members are absent, other members become the compensatory alternatives. In this model, formal social care service is only a type of compensatory service of

Sainz, 1994; Chappell, 1990, pp. 1–8)。各要素成員之間有補償的性質，甚至互相替代的功能。當首選的家庭成員缺席時，其他成員便做補償替代。在這個模型中，正式社會照顧服務是補充資源和非正式的照顧支持的一個補償性服務而已。由於此一模型認為受照顧者對於照顧體系對家庭成員有偏好順序，且是互惠性、可接受性則是否同住以家庭成員有無為其重要關鍵因素，如果無家庭成員，則有其其他成員替補之。因此，在此模型中，只要有可替補的人選，則受照顧者會採取與他人同住而非乏人照顧或正式社會照顧，乏人照顧或正式社會照顧乃是受照顧者不得已之選擇。

4. 特定職能模型(task-specific model)：

此模型係由Litwak(1985)所提出，Messeri, Silverstein & Litwak (1993)指出，此模型認為非正式體系較適合從事不可預測的、偶發的、簡單的(只需日常生活知識的)項目；反之，正式照顧體系較能處理可預測的、例行性的、需要技術性知識之工作。受照顧者照顧的供給強調任務的本質，而與家庭、朋友和鄰居的結構特質有關。正式社會照顧服務僅是另一項補充服務而非替代性服務。依此模型則是否同住照顧是在於受照顧者是否已達需要較多不可預測的、偶發的、簡單的(日常生活知識者)服務，在有非正式照顧成員之下，受照顧者是否有人同住便與其身體功能之情形有密切的關係，亦即無人照顧或正式社會照顧的選項是因受照顧者身體功能較佳方有可能。

5. 隱私模型(privacy model)：

此乃從受照顧者的生活安排來探討之理論模型，由於現代化，受照顧者獨立生活的期待增加，照顧者與受照顧者同住者，其情感負擔增加，如果受照顧者是身心障礙時，如能在有距離之下保有情感親近關係是較佳的，則身心障礙受照顧者與子女同住便將減少。此模型應是在受照顧者有輕度身心障礙時，仍期待在有距離之下保有情感親近關係，則其無人照顧或正式社會照顧之情形便不致改變。此一模型中，正式社會照顧服務則是角色與功能初

complementary resources and informal care support. As it is deemed in this model that care receivers have preferences for the care system and family members and that the mutual benefits, acceptance, and whether or not living with family members are the important key factors. If there are no family members, the other members will take their place. Therefore, in this model, as long as there are alternative candidates care receivers will choose to live with others instead of lacking care or formal social care. Thus, the lack of care or formal social care is the last resort of care receivers.

4. Task-specific Model

This model was proposed by Litwak (1985). Messeri, Silverstein & Litwak (1993) pointed out that this model deems the informal system more fitted for engaging in unpredictable, occasional, simple (requiring only daily life related knowledge) items. On the contrary, the formal care system can better handle predictable and routine tasks that require technical knowledge. The supply of care for care receivers stresses on the nature of missions, which is associated with the structural characteristics of family, friends, and neighbors. On the other hand, formal social care service refers to another type of complementary service, rather than non-alternative service. Based on this model, “living together” or not depends on whether or not care receivers require more unpredictable, occasional, and simple (requiring only daily life related knowledge) services. When informal care members are available, whether or not care receivers live with others and their physical functions are closely related. That is, the “no one to offer care” of “formal social care” options are possible when the care receivers have better physical functions.

5. Privacy Model

Based on the living arrangements of care receivers, the theoretical model was explored. Due to modernization, if care receivers' expectations for independent living increase, the caregivers and care receivers that live together will have increased emotional burden as well. If care receivers have physical and mental disabilities, it is better to retain emotional closeness while keeping distance, so that incidences of care receivers with physical and mental disabilities living with their children will decrease. In this model, the care receivers with mild physical and mental disabilities still expect to retain emotional closeness while keeping distance, and the situation of “having no care” or “formal social care” will not change. In this model, formal social care services are mainly supportive services during the early period of acting out their role and function, but additional services of other natures are possible in the later period.

期是以支持性服務為主者，但後期則有增加其他性質服務的可能。

6. 協助模型(assistance model)：

此亦是從受照顧者的生活安排來探討之理論模型，此一假設係基於受照顧者是身心障礙有對非正式親友同住的安排的正向作用，為了使自己之身心障礙獲得照顧，使受照顧者可能與其子女同住，反之則無人照顧或正式社會照顧可能較高(Wolf, 1984; Thomas and Wister, 1984; Bishop, 1986; Wolf and Soldo, 1988; Wolf, 1990; Soldo et al., 1990)。依此模型則身心障礙與同住安排有相關，而對無人照顧或正式社會照顧之安排則有負向的影響。在此一模型理論下，正式社會照顧服務應是以支持性的照顧為主，至多是補充性服務即可。

7. 特質模型(characteristics model)：

此一模型認為受照顧者的健康情況並未對受照顧者社會照顧安排有任何作用；其主要因素是老年人的特質，如收入、種族、年齡、婚姻、子女數、教育、性別和地點(Bishop, 1986; Worobey and Angle, 1990; Silverstein, 1995)。則此一模型可能是依不同的族群或基本人口特質而有不同的居住安排，則致使受照顧者無人照顧或正式社會照顧並非是單一因素所造成。在此一模型理論下，正式社會照顧服務並無一定性質之照顧，支持性、補充性與替代性均有其可能性。

8. 緩衝轉換模型(buffering model)：

此模型認為受照顧者之間相互作用；其健康情況和他們的社會和經濟特徵影響他們的生活安排(Bishop, 1986; Worobey and Angle, 1990; Silverstein, 1995)。依此模型受照顧者互動人群中，彼此相互影響其社會照顧的看法，可能是其社會照顧的關鍵因素。在此一模型理論下，正式社會照顧服務應以補充性與替代性之正式照顧服務為主。

9. 家庭生命週期模型(family or life-cycle model)：

此模型認為受照顧者的社會照顧生活安排是動態的，並且他們是否無人照顧或正式照顧或與

6. Assistance Model

The theoretical model also explored the living arrangements of care receivers. This hypothesis is based on care receivers with physical and mental disabilities that have positive actions on Informal living arrangements with relatives and friends. In order to ensure the acquisition of care for those with physical and mental disabilities, care receivers may live with their children; otherwise, having no care or the likelihood of formal social care may be higher (Wolf, 1984; Thomas and Wister, 1984; Bishop, 1986; Wolf and Soldo, 1988; Wolf, 1990; Soldo et al., 1990). Based on this model, it was found that physical and mental disabilities are related to living arrangements, while having no care or the arrangement of formal social care have negative effects. Under this model theory, formal social care services comprise mainly of supportive care, and complementary service will suffice.

7. Characteristics Model

In this model, it is believed that care receivers' health conditions have no impact on care receivers' social care arrangements. The main factors include: the characteristics of elderly such as income, race, age, marital status, number of children, education, gender, and venue (Bishop, 1986; Worobey and Angle, 1990; Silverstein, 1995). This model may have different living arrangements based on different ethnic groups or basic demographic characteristics, which means care receivers' having no care or formal social care service may not be caused by single factors. Under this model theory, formal social care does not only involve care of a specific nature, thus indicating supportive, complementary, and alternative natures may be possible.

8. Buffering Model

In this model, it is deemed that in terms of interactions among care receivers, their health conditions and social and economic characteristics affect their living arrangements (Bishop, 1986; Worobey and Angle, 1990; Silverstein, 1995). Based on this model, the care receivers' interactive crowds affect one another's social care views, which are possibly the key factors of social care. Under this model theory, formal social care services should target mainly the complementary and alternative formal care services.

9. Family or life-cycle model

This model believes that the social care living arrangements of care receivers are dynamic. Also, whether or not they have no care, have formal care, or have families depend on personal accomplishment of certain special stages in life (Hu, 1997; Chen, 1999). However, the family and marriage of care receivers have a significant impact on their social

他們的家人取決於在個人達到生命的某些特殊階段有關 (Hu, 1997; Chen, 1999)。但如受照顧者之家庭婚姻對其如何安排社會照顧有顯著性之影響 (Aquilino, 1990)，亦即無人照顧或正式照顧的比例將形增加。此一模型中，正式社會照顧服務則是角色與功能初期是以支持性服務為主者，但後期則有增加補充性與替代照顧性質服務的可能。

10. 發展模型 (the developmental model) :

此模型是由 Litwak and Longino (1987) 提出，其認為受照顧者有三種結構事件促成新的社會照顧安排動機，其一是因退休並期待有優雅豐富的生活型態；其次是由於受照顧者發生身心障礙欲尋求較佳之照顧，遷移至子女附近或與子女同住；其三則是進入機構，當受照顧者有嚴重的身心障礙時，便使受照顧者由自立或獨立之居住環境進入正式照顧機構體系，而難以尋求非正式照顧者的協助。因此，依此模型社會照顧安排應是在受照顧者身體未重度障礙以前的重要選項，可提供補充性之服務一旦進入重度障礙，則只有尋求正式社會照顧替代性體系的協助。

11. 資源改變模型 (resource change model) :

此模型是認為受照顧者之社會照顧安排之選擇是以受照顧者之資源存在與否為條件。其中經濟、健康與親人關係狀態是受照顧者社會照顧安排之選擇所特別明顯所要考量的資源。部分研究 (Mutchler & Burr, 1991; Hu, 1997; Chen, 1999) 針對長期資料探討發現，經濟資源是決定轉移不同社會照顧安排的重要因素，而健康狀況是解釋入住機構的主要原因。此一模型正式社會照顧服務主要是提供中低、低收入者社會照顧，並無一定性質之照顧—支持性、補充性與替代性均有其可能性。

12. 遷移模型 (migration model) :

此模型乃在探討受照顧者複雜網絡因素與晚年生活居住遷移的相關性，包括受照顧者家戶人口的組成及晚年遷移均可能與受照顧者照顧狀況有相

care arrangements (Aquilino, 1990). That is, the ratio of having no care or formal care will increase. In this model, social care service during the early stage of role and function is mainly support service oriented, but in the later stage, additional services of complementary and alternative care natures may be possible.

10. Developmental Model

This model was put forth by Litwak and Longino (1987). It is believed that care receivers have three structural events that facilitate the motivation for new social care arrangements: 1. due to retirement and the expectation for a graceful and rich lifestyle; 2. The care receivers suffer physical and mental disabilities and are in search of better care, so they move to a location near their children or live with them; 3. They enter institutions. When care receivers suffer severe physical and mental disabilities, care receivers move from free or independent living environments into formal care institutional systems, so it is hard for them to seek the assistance of informal car takers. Therefore, based on this model, social care arrangements remain important options for care receivers prior to the onset of their severe physical disabilities, so complementary services can be provided. Once they become severely disabled, they have no choice but to seek the assistance of the formal social care alternative system.

11. Resource Change Model

In this model, it is believed that care receivers' choices of social care arrangements depend on that whether there is any enough resource or not. In particular, economics, health, and the level of intimacy with relatives are the most obvious resources that need to be taken into consideration when it comes to social care arrangement choices. Targeting long-term data discussions (Mutchler & Burr, 1991; Hu, 1997; Chen, 1999), some studies found that the economic resources are important factors that determine the transfer of different social care arrangements, while the health status is the main reason for explaining institutionalization. In this model, the formal social care service mainly provides social care for individuals with middle to low income and low income. The care is without a certain nature, which means supportive, complementary and alternative are all possible.

12. Migration Model

This model explores the correlation between care receivers' complex network factors and living and migration in their late years, including the care receivers' household member formation and migration in their late years that are likely related to the care receivers' care conditions. They claim that care receivers' life events in the later life or environmental changes may trigger the possibility of care receivers' social care being rearranged or

關；他們主張受照顧者晚年生活的生命事件或環境的改變會觸發受照顧者對社會照顧安排有重新安排與評估的可能(Hays, 2002; Chen, 1999)。這些都是來自受照顧者內在與外在的環境事物的改變所造成。正式社會照顧服務可能依事件與環境情形，提供支持性、補充性與替代性照顧服務。

綜合來說，十二種社會照顧模型可以從以下的整理(表2.2)，呈現出其不足以解釋全面性的社會照顧安排的關鍵因素。

reassessed (Hays, 2002; Chen, 1999), which are caused by care receivers' intrinsic and extrinsic environmental changes. Formal social care service may, based on event and environmental conditions, provide supportive, complementary, and alternative care services.

In summary, the 12 social care models can present the insufficiencies that explain the key factors contributing to the overall social care arrangements, as compiled below (Table 2.2).

Overall, from the perspective of social care, the 12 models can explain some of the reasons why care receiv-

表2.2 Table 2.2

十二種社會照顧模型之政府角色、主要照顧者及獨居考量因素

Government role, main caregivers, and living alone consideration factors of the 12 social care models

社會照顧模型類別 Social care model type	正式部門角色 Role of the formal sectors	主要照顧者 Main caregivers	獨居考量因素 Living alone consideration factors
1.附加模型 1. Additive model	補充性角色 Complementary role	無一定部門 Without a certain sector	同一水平隨機的方式 At random on the same level
2.不對稱模型 2. Assymetrical model	替代性角色 Alternatives role	非正式部門 Informal sector	是否有照顧團體 Whether or not there is a care group
3.層級補償模型 3. Hierarchical- compensatory model	補充性角色 Complementary role	家庭成員 Family members	親情互惠 Family love and mutual benefits
4.特定職能模型 4. Task-specific model	技術工作補充性角色 Technical work complementary role	日常生活的照顧 Daily living care	技術性知識等 Technical knowledge, etc.
5.隱私模型 5. Privacy model	支持性角色 Supportive role	老人本身 Elders themselves	情感負擔 Emotional burden
6.協助模型 6. Assistance model	支持性角色 Supportive role	家庭成員 Family members	生理障礙情形 Physical disability condition
7.特質模型 7. Characteristics model	無一定角色 Without a certain role	依老人基本特質決定 Determined by the basic characteristics of elderly	收入、種族、婚姻、年齡、子女、教育、性別及地點 Income, race, marital status, age, number of children, education, gender, and location.
8.緩衝轉換模型 8. Buffering model	補充性或替代性角色 Complementary or alternative role	依老人經濟健康狀況 Based on the economic and health conditions of elderly	社會、經濟及健康 Social, economy, and health
9.家庭生命週期模型 9. Family or life-cycle model	由支持性至補充性而至替代性角色 From supportive to complementary and to alternative role	由家庭成員以至正式部門 From family members to formal sectors	生命週期不同階段 Different stages of the life cycle
10.發展模型 10. Developmental model	替代性角色 Alternative role	由家庭成員以至正式部門 From family members to formal sectors	身心發展 Physical and mental development
11.資源改變模型 11. Resource change model	無一定角色 Without a certain role	無一定部門 Without a certain sector	經濟、健康狀況 Economic and health condition
12.遷移模型 12. Migration model	無一定角色 Without a certain role	無一定部門 Without a certain sector	居住區域 Living area

資料來源：作者自行整理。
Source: Compilation of the author

整體而言，從社會照顧觀點來看，十二種模型都可以解釋受照顧者為何無人照顧或社會照顧的安排的部分原因，但也極難完全涵蓋。特別是針對原鄉的社會照顧型態，這些照顧模型之考量因素，並不能充分解釋原鄉老人獨居所形成的特殊樣貌。從經濟的觀點，原鄉老人獨居或隔代教養可能是因為中少年外出工作就業所造成的結果，而非因經濟的充裕而選擇獨居；從健康的觀點來看，原鄉老人可能因疾病而入住醫院，但其後無論生理狀況如何，似乎並不影響其獨居的情形(內政部，2009)。因此，原鄉的社會照顧安排模型，可能無法採用以上十二種模型做較為完整的詮釋。針對不同於漢人之原鄉受照顧者，是否有社會文化脈絡的考量因素，是值得探討的重點。

四、原鄉獨居老人社會照顧與社會文化脈絡模型

針對前節所討論原鄉獨居老人的社會照顧考量，其社會文化脈絡應是重點。近年來的社會研究人員為了解不同的種族和民族之間對於社會照顧服務使用或獨居的差異，尤其是對於少數群體之社會照顧服務使用，社會文化脈絡模型逐漸佔有主導的地位(Bernstein & Van Rooyen, 1994; Angel & Angel, 1997; Luong, 2000; Abdel-Fattah & Huber, 2003)。此一模式認為少數群體對於社會照顧服務之使用或獨居，不強調受服務之個人、互動與他們的支援網絡，而是以環境、社會結構、教育文化與信仰對他們使用的影響為重點，包括對他們求助行為的影響在內。

如在環境及社會結構部分，對少數族群老人而言，其所以會有獨居之安排或較低的社會照顧使用率的原因，是因在少數族群的中社區缺乏以社區為基礎的社會照顧或長期護理設施(如養護中心及老人日托)，相較於主流社會老人居住在城市社區，少數族群老人住在類似的社區較少(Coward, Peek, Henretta, Duncan, Dougherty, & Gilbert, 1997; Ho, 2004)。長期照護或社會照顧設施的所在位置會減少了許多少數族群老人使用正式的社會照顧服務的

ers have no care or social care arrangements, but they are still not mentioned utterly. In particular, when it comes to aboriginal social care patterns, the consideration factors of the care models cannot fully explain the special characteristics formed by aboriginal elderly living alone. From the perspective of economics, aboriginal elderly living alone or grandparent rearing may be the result of employment outside during middle age or teenage, rather than choosing to live alone because of economic sufficiency. From the perspective of health, aboriginal elderly may be hospitalized due to illness, but regardless of their physiological status, the living alone condition does not seem to be affected (Ministry of the Interior, 2009). Hence, the social care arrangement model for aboriginals may not be able to adopt the abovementioned 12 models for more complete interpretations. Targeting aboriginal care receivers that differ from Han Chinese, whether or not the consideration factor of socio-cultural context is present is a focus worthy of exploration.

4. Social Care for Aboriginal Elderly and the Socio-cultural Model

when it comes to the considerations for social care for aboriginal elderly, the socio-cultural context should be the focus. In recent years, people that engage in social studies are striving to understand the differences in social care service use by different races and ethnic groups, particularly the social care service use of minority groups. Other than that, the socio-cultural context model has gradually taken dominance (Bernstein & Van Rooyen, 1994; Angel & Angel, 1997; Luong, 2000; Abdel-Fattah & Huber, 2003). This model believes that the social care service use or living alone of minority groups does not emphasize individuals receiving service, their interactions, and their supportive network. Instead, the focus lines in the impact of environment, social structure, educational culture, and faith on their use, including the impact of their help-seeking behaviors.

In terms of the environmental and social structures, as far as minority elders are concerned, the reason for living alone arrangements or lower social care usage is that the minority groups' communities lack community-based social care or long-term nursing facilities (such as nursing centers and daycare centers for elderly) (Coward, Peek, Henretta, Duncan, Dougherty, & Gilbert, 1997; Ho, 2004). The locations of long-term care or social care facilities reduce minority elders' opportunities for having access to formal social care services. As the community lacks the facilities, elders are forced to seek the care of

機會。因為社區中缺乏此類設施，因此，迫使自己只好尋求親屬家人朋友的照顧或獨居。此外，資源愈貧乏的少數族群社區愈有許多少數族群的長者居住，此亦可能迫使他們成為依賴非正式網絡成員、朋友、鄰居或教會的成員，而非依賴正式的服務機構。原鄉老人所處之山區環境，資源貧乏，更缺乏以社區社會照顧或長期護理設施，其使用自然受到極大的限制。事實上，在原鄉地區中，所有原鄉地區設置社會照顧或長期護理設施，大多難以符合相關的土地分區規定與水土保持相關規範，即使有可能，亦需投注極大的資源，方能符合設置規定，在收費有限但支出龐大的情境下，不敷成本，完全難以設置。

社會文化脈絡模型亦以人口特質如教育來做解釋，在以社區為基礎的正式和非正式的長期照護之使用，少數族群之所以有不同，也可能是因早年教育之差異，一般來說，教育程度與實際使用正式社會照顧服務有正向相關，教育可以增強溝通的能力，有效地主張自己的權益(Herselman, 2007)，也自然增加對正式照顧之使用，反之則獨居或使非正式照顧會增加。此亦可說明少數族群與主流社會老人對正式和非正式的長期照護之使用差異之主因。

另一個方面，社會文化脈絡模型認為一個人的文化如何影響和決定人是否會使用社會照顧服務或獨居。生活經驗使少數族群對他們求助的行為及其對專業人士或組織之信任感有強大的影響力。例如美國少數族群的長者寧可依靠「民俗療法」，而非依賴西藥治療自己的病情(Taylor, Boyd & Shimp, 1998; Al-Hassan & Omran, 2005)。在原鄉地區，亦有其特定之信仰或文化，眾所皆知，在原鄉地區基督教或天主教的信仰是主要的宗教，依其不同的信仰而有不同的安排是使用社會照顧服務或獨居極為關鍵性的議題。

整體來說，原鄉地區獨居老人的社會照顧安

relatives, families, and friends, or live alone. In addition, more elders are found to be living in minority group communities deprived of resources. This will also force them to depend on informal network members, friends, neighbors, or church members, rather than depending on formal service institutions. Mountainous environments are deprived of resources and lack community social care or long-term nursing facilities, thus the greatly hampered access to nature. In fact, in aboriginal areas, social care or long-term nursing facilities mostly are unable to conform to the zoning regulations and water and soil conservation norms. Even if they were possible, a great amount of resources would be needed to meet the setup requirements. Considering the limited income but high expenditure, the setup is completely impossible due to the high costs.

The socio-cultural context model was also interpreted using the demographic characteristics such as education. With the community as the basis and the formal and informal long-term care use, the minority groups showed differences likely because of the differences in early education. Generally speaking, education level and the actual use of formal social care service are positively related. Education can enhance the ability to community and effectively advocate one's own interests (Herselman, 2007); it can also naturally increase the use of formal care. Conversely, living alone or informal care increases. This also explains the main differences in mainstream society elders' use of formal and informal long-term care.

On the other hand, the socio-cultural context model believes that a person's culture decides people's decisions of whether social care service or living alone is adopted. Life experiences have a strong influence on minority groups' help-seeking behaviors and their sense of trust for professionals or organizations. For instance, minority elders in the United States rather rely on "folk remedies" than western medicine to treat their illnesses (Taylor, Boyd & Shimp, 1998; Al-Hassan & Omran, 2005). In aboriginal areas, there are also specific faiths or cultures. As we know, Christianity and Catholicism are the main religions in aboriginal areas. Depending on the religious faith, the arrangement made is the crucial issue that determines whether social care use or living alone is adopted.

Overall, the social care arrangements of elderly living alone in aboriginal areas involve diverse and complex factors, but they are mostly closely related to socio-

排是多元複雜的因素，但其中極多都與社會文化的相關因素有密切的關係，我們無法單獨從正式或非正式社會支持的觀點來看其社會照顧安排，也難從經濟的觀點看其社會照顧或獨居的安排，本研究嘗試從社會、文化、環境、信仰與社會結構來看原鄉老人的工作，則對其原鄉社會照顧政策與服務策略應有較多的啟示與應用亦未可知。

參、研究方法

一、研究架構

本研究之研究架構在x1變項為受照顧者特質，x2變項為受照顧者宗教社會文化脈絡特質，y變項為獨居與否。

二、研究樣本

本研究係採用內政部2009年全國之老人生活狀況調查結果之次級資料，針對2009年之受照顧者特質及受照顧者宗教社會文化脈絡特質與獨居與否，做蒐集統計，分析其相關情形。

本調查對象為臺灣省各縣市、臺北市、高雄市及金馬地區之普通住戶及共同事業戶內年滿55歲以上本國籍人口，採分層隨機抽樣法，在99%調查信心水準下，最大抽樣誤差約為正負1.73%，有效完成訪問5,520人。調查方法為普通住戶採電腦輔助電話訪問法(CATI)訪問調查，共同事業戶則採實地訪問法(派員面訪方式)進行，訪問工作自民國98年7月1日至98年8月1日間辦理。其調查對象為以居住於臺閩

cultural related factors. We cannot solely view social care arrangements from the perspective of formal or informal social support, neither can we view social care of living alone arrangements from the economic perspective. In this study, we attempted to examine aboriginal elderly's jobs from the social, cultural, environmental, religious, and social structures, so as to derive at more inspiration and application regarding aboriginal social care policies and service strategies.

III. Research Method

1. Research Framework

The framework of this study consists of: x1 variable of the care receivers' characteristics, x2 variable of the care receivers' religious socio-cultural context characteristics, and the y variable of living alone or not.

2. Research Samples

In this study, secondary data of the 2009 national elders' living conditions survey results of the Ministry of the Interior were adopted. Targeting the care receivers' characteristics and the care receivers' religious and socio-cultural context characteristic and whether they are living alone or not, collection and tally were conducted in 2009 to analyze the related conditions.

The survey subjects were Taiwanese nationals aged above 55 from common households and common business households in the counties and cities in Taiwan, such as Taipei City, Kaohsiung City, Kinmen, and Matsu. The stratified random sampling method was adopted. Under the confidence level of 99% and the maximum sampling error of approximately $\pm 1.73\%$, a total of 5,520 people effectively completely the interview. The survey method adopted for the common households was the computer-aided telephone interview (CATI) survey, while the site interview method (personnel are assigned to conduct interviews) was adopted for the common business households. The interview work was conducted from

表3.1 Table 3.1

98年老人狀況調查推估55歲以上中高齡各族群比例與推估人數

Elderly status survey for estimating the ratios of the middle age and elderly age groups aged above 55 and the number of people

變項 Variable	推估人數 Estimated number of people	百分比 Percentage
一般民眾 General public	4144807	87.2
榮民、榮眷 Veterans and veterans dependents	571046	12.0
原住民 Aboriginal people	34541	7.0

地區之普通住戶及共同事業戶內年滿55歲以上之本國籍人口為對象。母體來源部分，在普通住戶：各縣市最近住宅電話簿，母體單位數為4,715,445人(98年3月底)，計抽樣5000名，共同事業戶為已立案老人福利機構收容所，計抽樣500人，實際抽樣人數為5520人。由於調查單位進行概推至母群體，且原住民以55歲為老人之始，因此，原住民受訪之推估數為34,541人，佔比例為0.7%，其相關之推估應具有意義(表3.1)。本研究即依據此一推估數，經刪除非原住民老人後，選取各該變項進行迴歸統計分析，探討原鄉老人及榮民、榮眷獨居之社會文化脈絡因素相關分析。

肆、結果與分析

本章首先針對一般閩客民眾與原住民基本特質做比例分析，其次就原住民老人獨居社會照顧迴歸模型做探討，以了解原住民老人獨居社會照顧模型之特殊性。

一、98年老人生活狀況調查中原住民基本特質

經過分析三種人口群比較結果，發現受訪者榮民榮眷高齡者比例最高，而閩客高齡者其次，比例最少者為原住民，顯示原住民高齡者比例(尤其是80歲以上老人)最低；其次在教育程度部分，原住民中高齡老人高中職程度以上人數比例最低，而榮民榮眷專科以上比例最多；在婚姻狀況來看，原住民中高齡老人喪偶者比例最高，閩客族最低；在身心功能狀況來看，原住民中高齡者表示很好者比例最低，不太好或很不好者比例最高；在主要經濟來源來看，依靠目前自己工作者，原住民中高齡比例最多，依賴政府救助或津貼者，亦以原住民中高齡比例最多。似乎顯示原住民中高齡者有較低的平均餘命、較低的教育水準、較多的喪偶情形、較差的身心功能狀況，較高比例(18.5%)的依賴正式部門的救助與津貼。至於榮民榮眷中高齡者，則有較高的平均餘命、

July 1st, 2009 to August 1st, 2009. The survey subjects were Taiwanese nationals aged above 55 from common households and common business households in Taiwan. As for the sources of the population, the common households were obtained from the most recent yellow pages from the counties and cities, and the population units were 4,715,445 people (the end of March, 2009), a total of 5,000 sampled. The common business units were the registered elderly welfare institutions and shelters, a total of 500 people. The actual sampling size was 5,520 people. As the survey units engaged in the generalization of the population and that the aboriginal data started from the age of 55, the estimated number of aboriginals interviewed was 34,541, accounting for 0.7%. Thus, the related estimations should possess significance (Table 3.1). Based on the estimation in this study, after eliminating the non-aboriginal elderly, the respective variables were selected for regression statistical analysis to explore the analysis pertaining to the social-cultural context of the aboriginal elderly, veterans, and veteran dependents.

IV. Results and Analysis

In this section, the basic characteristics of the Hokloand aboriginal general public were targeted for proportional analysis. Secondly, the aboriginal elderly's living alone social care regression model was explored to gain an insight into the uniqueness of the aboriginal elderly living alone social care model.

1. The Basic Characteristics of Aborigines in the 2009 Elderly Living Condition Survey

Based on the analysis and comparison result of the three populations, it was found that the elderly veterans and veteran dependents comprised the highest ratio, followed by the elderly Hokloand Hakka groups, and the aboriginals comprised the least. The results indicate that the ratio of aboriginal elderly (especially the elderly aged above 80) had the lowest ratio; in terms of education level, the aboriginal middle age and elderly age people under the above senior high school/vocational high school category comprised the lowest, while the veterans and veteran dependents under the above college category comprised the majority; in terms of physical and mental function, the aboriginal middle age and elderly age people who said they had sound physical and mental function comprised the least, while those who said their physical and mental function were poor or very poor comprised the majority. As for individuals that relied on government

較高的學歷水準，其主要的經濟來源則以自己的退休金、撫卹金及保險給付，而且有相當高之比例(13.7%)依賴政府的救助與津貼，而其工作和營業收入者最少。因此，從此一基本特質來看，受訪之榮民榮眷中高齡者，有較高的生活水準(表4.1)。

另外，在子女家庭部分，原住民及閩客中高齡者，有子女之比例較高，相對於榮民榮眷中高齡者無子女之比例較少；家庭組成部分，獨居或與配偶同住者，榮民榮眷者占30.5%，

assistance or subsidies, the aboriginal middle age and elderly age people comprised the majority, thus indicating the aboriginal middle age and elderly age people seem to have lower average life expectancy, lower education level, more widowed situations, poorer physical and mental function, and a higher ratio (18.5%) of dependence on assistance and subsidies from the formal sector. As for the middle age and elder age veteran dependents, they have higher average life expectancy and higher educational level, and their main sources of income come from their pensions, compensation, and insurance benefits. A considerable number (13.7%) of these individuals also depend on government assistance and subsidies, and their income from work and business was the lowest. There-

表4.1 Table 4.1

不同族群受訪老人之基本特質

Basic characteristics of different elderly groups interviewed

變項 Variable		受訪榮民榮眷中高齡者百分比 The percentage of middle age and elderly age veterans and veteran dependents interviewed	受訪閩客中高齡者百分比 The percentage of Hoklo and Hakka middle age and elderly age people interviewed	受訪原住民中高齡者百分比 The percentage of aboriginal middle age and elderly age people interviewed
年齡 細分 Age subdivision	55-59歲 55-59 years old	20.8	31.8	47.9
	60-64歲 60-64 years old	14.9	18.9	14.8
	65-69歲 65-69 years old	15.1	10.4	16.3
	70-74歲 70-74 years old	11.6	13.7	13.2
	75-79歲 75-79 years old	14.9	9.9	9.7
	80歲以上 Above 80 years old	22.7	3.3	10.0
教育程度 Education level	不識字 Illiterate	11.3	6.2	13.6
	自修、私塾或小學識字者 Self-study, private school, or elementary school literates	27.1	58.2	36.2
	國(初中) Junior high school	12.9	18.7	11.2
	高中(職) Senior high school (vocational high school)	19.7	5.0	19.9
	專科 College	15.5	5.9	6.9
	大學及以上 University and higher	12.9	1.8	11.7
	代答者不知道 The representative respondent does not know	7.0	4.1	5.0
婚姻狀況 Marital status	有配偶或同居 With spouse or live-in partner	65.3	59.4	69.5
	喪偶 Widowed	28.6	35.3	23.4
	離婚或分居 Divorced or separated	3.9	2.4	4.8
	未婚 Single	2.3	2.9	2.2
身心功 能狀況 Physical and mental func- tion	很好 Very good	22.2	17.5	12.2
	還算好 Good	40.2	41.2	52.8
	普通 Average	12.8	17.9	11.0
	不太好 Poor	18.8	17.8	21.0

變項 Variable		受訪榮民榮眷中高齡者百分比 The percentage of middle age and elderly age veterans and veteran dependents interviewed	受訪閩客中高齡者百分比 The percentage of Hokloand Hakka middle age and elderly age people interviewed	受訪原住民中高齡者百分比 The percentage of aboriginal middle age and elderly age people interviewed
身心功能狀況 Physical and mental function	很不好 Very poor	4.0	4.1	2.4
	很難說 Hard to say	2.0	1.3	0.5
主要經濟來源 Main source of income	自己的工作或營業收入 One's own work or business income	12.6	32.0	21.5
	配偶提供 Provided by the spouse	11.0	7.4	9.5
	自己的儲蓄、利息、租金或投資所得 One's own savings, interest, rents, or investment income	6.1	2.4	12.9
	自己的退休金、撫卹金或保險給付 One's own pension, compensation, or insurance benefits	36.9	4.2	11.8
	子女奉養(含媳婦、女婿) Supported by children (including daughter in-law and son in-law)	18.9	35.6	34.2
	政府救助或津貼 Government assistance or subsidies	13.7	18.5	0.2
	社會或親友救助 Assistance from society or relatives and friends	0	0	8.9
	其他_____(請說明) Other (Please specify)	5.0	0	0.7
	不知道/拒答 Don't know/refuse to answer	3.0	0.1	0.1

原住民者占26.1%，而閩客占24.5%，顯示榮民榮眷家庭組成數量最少，而原住民者三代家庭比例最高，幾乎一半(49.7%)左右；至於經濟狀況，充裕及大致夠用者，榮民榮眷者最高(51.8%)，其次是閩客族群，最低比例者為原住民族群(24%)；願意入住安養護機構者，最高者為榮民榮眷者，其次是閩客族群，最低者是原住民族群。此一結果顯示(表4.2)，閩客族群入住機構是介乎榮民榮眷與原住民族群之間，但是從家庭組成來看，原住民獨居或僅與配偶同住者卻較閩客族高，似乎顯示原住民中高齡者家庭文化特質對社會照顧居住之安排有相當的影響。

fore, as far as this basic characteristic is concerned, the middle age and elder age veterans and veteran dependents interviewed had a higher standard of living (Table 4.1).

In addition, for the children's family part, the aboriginal, Minnan, and Hakka middle age and elderly age people that have children comprise a higher ratio, while the middle age and elderly age veterans and veteran dependents that have no children comprised a lower ratio; in terms of family makeup, veterans and veteran dependents living alone and living with their spouses comprised 30.5%, the aboriginals comprised 26.1%, and the Hokloand Hakka comprised 24.5%, indicating the veterans and veteran dependents' families comprised the least quantity in the family makeup, while the aboriginal extended families comprised the highest ratio, nearly half (49.7%). As for the economic condition, the veterans and veteran dependents under the "sufficient" and "generally sufficient" categories comprised the majority, accounting for 51.8%, followed by the Hokloand Hakka groups, and the aboriginal groups had

表4.2 Table 4.2

不同族群受訪老人家庭特質

Family characteristics of the different groups of elders interviewed

變項 Variables		受訪榮民榮譽中高齡者百分比 The percentage of middle age and elderly age veterans and veteran dependents interviewed	受訪閩客中高齡者百分比 The percentage of Hoklo and Hakka middle age and elderly age people interviewed	受訪原住民中高齡者百分比 The percentage of aboriginal middle age and middle age and elderly age people interviewed
有無子女 Have children or not	有子女 Have children	95.2	97.1	97.0
	無子女 Have no children	4.8	2.9	2.9
家庭組成 Family makeup	獨居 Live alone	9.3	7.5	6.8
	僅與配偶(同居人)同住 Live with spouse (live-in partner) only	21.2	18.6	17.7
	兩代家庭 Nuclear family	38.7	16.9	41.8
	三代家庭 Extended family	25.1	49.7	30.6
	四代家庭 Family of four generations	1.1	2.8	1.0
	與其他親戚或朋友同住 Live with other relatives or friends	0.6	2.8	1.0
	住在共同事業戶 Live in common business households	3.9	1.8	1.2
經濟狀況 Economic condition	相當充裕，且有餘 Quite sufficient with extras	11.2	6.1	0.8
	大致夠用 Generally sufficient	40.6	31.4	23.2
	有點不夠用 Somewhat insufficient	8.8	7.7	7.1
	非常不夠用 Quite insufficient	2.8	3.4	2.7
	不知道/拒答 Don't know/refuse to answer	1.0	0.6	3.5
	遺漏值 Missing value	35.7	50.8	62.7
願不願意住進老人安養機構、老人公寓、老人住宅或安養 Willing to enter eldercare facilities, apartments for elderly, elderly residential houses, or nursing homes	願意 Willing	11.0	5.5	7.2
	不願意 Unwilling	81.4	91.0	87.2
	不知道/拒答 Don't know/refuse to answer	7.5	3.5	6.6
願不願意住進老人長期照顧機構或護理之家 Willing to enter eldercare facilities or nursing homes on long-term stay	願意 Willing	26.3	11.6	16.8
	不願意 Unwilling	61.3	79.3	73.1
	不知道/拒答 Don't know/refuse to answer	13.4	9.1	10.1

二、老人獨居社會照顧迴歸模型

本節針對老人獨居(含僅與配偶同住者)社會照顧迴歸模型分析，特別是對原住民老人族群獨居迴歸模型做分析。

經本研究針對原住民老人進一步分析，在SPSS套裝軟體統計分析中，採進入法中選入可能影響的變數計有15個變項(刪除前節之分析模型中之族群變項：閩客族群、榮民眷及原住民)，包括性別(男性=1，女性=0)、年齡、教育程度(國小以下=1，其他=0)、兒女數、是否入住機構(願入住=1，其他=0)、經濟足夠程度、社會參與程度、主要照顧者(配偶=1，其他=0)、主要照顧者(兒子=1，其他=0)、主要照顧者(女兒=1，其他=0)、主要照顧者(媳婦=1，其他=0)、主要照顧者(正式照顧者=1，其他=0)、疾病數量、信仰(天主基督教=1，其他=0)與IADL+ADL障礙數等變項。

結果發現，有7個變項達顯著性之水準。其中包括：性別(男性=1，女性=0)達顯著正相關、年齡達顯著負相關、教育程度(國小以下=1，其他=0)達顯著負相關、社會參與程度達顯著正相關，而疾病數量變項達顯著正相關，與IADL+ADL障礙數達顯著負相關恰為相反，至於信仰(天主基督教=1，其他=0)則達顯著負相關。至於兒女數、是否入住機構(願入住=1，其他=0)、經濟足夠程度、主要照顧者(配偶=1，其他=0)、主要照顧者(兒子=1，其他=0)、主要照顧者(女兒=1，其他=0)、要照顧者(媳婦=1，其他=0)、主要照顧者(正式照顧者=1，其他=0)等8變項則未能達到顯著性水準(如表4.4)。

整體來說，此一結果顯示，除了男性相較於女性有較高的獨居社會照顧型態的可能性，年紀愈大、教育程度較高亦有較低的獨居社會照顧型態的可能性；最能說明社會文化因素者是社會參

the lowest ratio of 24%. The veterans and veteran dependents are willing to live in eldercare/nursing facilities comprised the majority, followed by the Hokloand Hakka groups, and the aboriginal groups had the lowest. The results (Table 4.2) indicate that the institutionalized Hokloand Hakka groups fell between the veterans and veteran dependents and the aboriginal groups, but from the viewpoint of family makeup, the aboriginals living alone or living with their spouses were higher than the Hokloand Hakka groups, thus indicating the considerable impact of aboriginal middle age and elder age people's family and cultural characteristics on social care living arrangements.

2. Social Care Regression Model of Elderly Living Alone

In this section, the social care regression model of elderly living alone (including those living with their spouses) was analyzed, especially the analysis of the regression model for aboriginal elderly groups living alone.

Through this study, targeting the aboriginal elderly, analysis was further conducted. In the analysis conducted through the SPSS package software, the approach method was adopted to select variables that likely had an impact, a total of 15 variables (the group variables of the analysis model in the previous section were deleted: the Hokloand Hakka groups, the veteran dependents, and the aboriginals), which include gender (male=1, female=0), age, education level (below elementary school=1, other=0), number of children, if institutionalized (willing to be institutionalized=1, other=0), level of economic sufficiency, level of social participation, main caregivers (spouse=1, other=0), main caregivers (son=1, other=0), main caregivers (daughter=1, other=0), main caregivers (daughter in-law=1, other=0), main caregivers (formal caregivers=1, other=0), quantity of illnesses, religion (Catholicism/Christianity=1, other=0), number of IADL+ADL disabilities, etc.

The results show that seven variables reached significant standards, including: gender (male=1, female=0) that reached a positive correlation, age that reached a negative correlation, education level (below elementary school=1, other=0) that reached a negative correlation, level of social participation that reached a positive correlation, and quantity of illnesses that reached a positive correlation. Conversely, the number of IADL+ADL disabilities reached a negative correlation. Moreover, religion (Catholicism and Christianity=1, other=0) reached a negative correlation. As for the eight variables of: number of children and if institutionalized (willing to be institutionalized=1, other=0), level of economic sufficiency, main caregivers (spouse=1, other=0), main caregivers (son=1, other=0), main caregivers (daughter=1, other=0), main caregivers (daughter in-law=1, other=0), main caregivers (formal caregivers=1, other=0), significant standard was not reached (as shown in Table 4.4).

表4.4 Table 4.4

原住民老人社會照顧模型

Aboriginal elders social care model

原住民老人 Aboriginal elders	B	S.E.	Wald	自由度 Degree of freedom	顯著性 Significance	Exp(B)	Cox & Snell R 平方 R square root
性別(男性=1, 女性=0) Gender (male=1, female=0)	1.633	0.051	1010.029	1	0.000	5.120	0.392
年齡 Age	-2.868	0.058	2472.660	1	0.000	0.057	
教育程度(國小以下=1, 其他=0) Education level(Under elementary school=1, other=0)	-2.145	0.070	952.372	1	0.000	0.117	
兒女數 Number of children	-19.649	1060.357	0.000	1	0.985	0.000	
是否入住機構(願入住=1, 其他=0) If institutionalized (willing to be institutionalized=1, other=0)	-19.959	1846.058	0.000	1	0.991	0.000	
經濟足夠程度 Degree of economic sufficiency	-0.005	0.035	0.020	1	0.889	0.995	
社會參與程度 Degree of social participation	0.187	0.012	231.191	1	0.000	1.206	
主要照顧者(配偶=1, 其他=0) Main caregivers(Spouse=1, other=0)	30.059	1501.235	0.000	1	0.984	0.000	
主要照顧者(兒子=1, 其他=0) Main caregivers(son=1, other=0)	-20.897	1324.675	0.000	1	0.987	0.000	
主要照顧者(女兒=1, 其他=0) Main caregivers(daughter=1, other=0)	-20.080	2488.904	0.000	1	0.994	0.000	
主要照顧者(媳婦=1, 其他=0) Main caregivers(daughter in-law=1, other=0)	-17.283	1337.234	0.000	1	0.990	0.000	
主要照顧者(正式照顧者=1, 其他=0) Main caregivers(formal caregiver=1, other=0)	0.036	2466.881	0.000	1	1.000	1.037	
疾病數量 Quantity of illnesses	0.262	0.017	234.706	1	0.000	1.300	
信仰(天主教=1, 其他=0) Religion (Catholicism/Christianity=1, other=0)	-1.208	0.047	674.855	1	0.000	0.299	
IADL+ADL障礙數 Number of IADL+ADL disabilities	-0.432	0.019	526.730	1	0.000	0.649	
常數 Constant	-3.902	0.208	350.597	1	0.000	0.020	

註：在強制進入法中選入所有可能的變數，包括性別(男性=1, 女性=0)、年齡、教育程度(國小以下=1, 其他=0)、兒女數、是否入住機構(願入住=1, 其他=0)、經濟足夠程度、社會參與程度、主要照顧者(配偶=1, 其他=0)、主要照顧者(兒子=1, 其他=0)、主要照顧者(女兒=1, 其他=0)、主要照顧者(媳婦=1, 其他=0)、主要照顧者(正式照顧者=1, 其他=0)、疾病數量、信仰(天主教=1, 其他=0)與IADL+ADL障礙數等15變項。

Note: Possible factors were selected from the forced approach method, including 15 variables: gender (male=1, female=0), age, education level (below elementary school=1, other=0), number of children, if institutionalized (willing to be institutionalized=1, other=0), level of economic sufficiency, level of social participation, main caregivers (spouse=1, other=0), main caregivers (son=1, other=0), main caregivers (daughter=1, other=0), main caregivers (daughter in-law=1, other=0), main caregivers (formal caregivers=1, other=0), quantity of illnesses, religion (Catholicism/Christianity=1, other=0), and number of IADL+ADL disabilities.

與程度達顯著正相關，而信仰天主基督教者相對於其他信仰者則有較低的獨居社會照顧型態。最為特殊的是疾病數量變項達顯著正相關，而與IADL+ADL障礙數達顯著負相關相反，顯示生理障礙固與原住民老人社會照顧模式有關，但社會因素與宗教因素更充分呈現其效果。此可見社會文化脈絡對於原鄉老人獨居所造成的影響力量。

伍、結論與建議

一、結論

本研究根據以上分析，可以做成以下之結論，說明如下：

(一)三種人口群比較結果，原住民老人仍是最為弱勢

如果依內政部2009年之調查結果，以受調查之三種人口群比較，發現受訪者原住民高齡者比例(尤其是80歲以上老人)最低；其次在教育程度部分，原住民中高齡老人高中職程度以上人數比例最低；在婚姻狀況來看，原住民中高齡老人喪偶者比例最高；在身心功能狀況來看，原住民中高齡者表示很好者比例最低；在主要經濟來源來看，依靠目前自己工作者，原住民中高齡比例最多，依賴政府救助或津貼者，亦以原住民中高齡比例最多。似乎顯示原住民中高齡者有較低的平均餘命、較低的教育水準、較多的喪偶情形、較差的身心功能狀況，較高比例的依賴正式部門的救助與津貼。另外，在子女家庭部分，原住民及閩客中高齡者，有子女之比例較高；家庭組成部分，原住民者三代家庭比例最高；至於經濟狀況，最低比例者亦為原住民族群；願意入住安養護機構者，仍以原住民族群是最低者。從家庭組成來看，原住民獨居或僅與配偶同住者卻較閩客族高，似乎顯示原住民中高齡者家庭文化特質對社會照顧居住之安排有相當的影響。

(二)社會文化脈絡對於原鄉獨居老人所造成的影響

台灣獨居老人的特質雖然在閩客族群中，從主

Overall, the results show that in addition to males that had higher possibilities of opting for the living alone social care pattern than the females, higher age and higher education level will result in lower possibilities of opting for the living alone social care pattern, which best explain that the socio-cultural factor and the level of social participation are positively correlated. The people whose religion is Catholicism/Christianity, compared to other religions, have lower living alone social care patterns. Worth noting is that the quantity of illnesses reached a positive correlation, which is opposite to the number of IADL+ADL disabilities that reached a negative correlation. This indicates that although physiological disabilities are related to aboriginal elderly's social care model, the social and religious factors more fully present the effectiveness. The influence of the socio-cultural context on aboriginal elderly living alone is obvious.

V. Conclusion and Recommendations

1. Conclusion

According to the above analysis, the following conclusions are drawn, as described below:

(1) Based on the comparison of results of the three populations, the aboriginal elderly remain the most disadvantaged.

Based on the survey results of the Ministry of the Interior in 2009, the three populations surveyed were compared. It was found that the ratio of the aboriginal elderly interviewed (especially elderly aged above 80) was the lowest. Secondly, in the education level part, the ratio of the aboriginal middle age and elder age people under the senior high school/vocational high school or higher category was the lowest; in terms of marital status, the aboriginal middle age and elder age widowed people comprised the highest ratio; in terms of physical and mental function, the aboriginal middle age and elder age people that said they had good physical and mental function comprised the lowest ratio; in terms of the main sources of income, the aboriginal middle age and elder age people comprised the majority in the "currently have a job" category, and they also comprised the majority in the "depend on government assistance or subsidies." This finding seems to indicate that the aboriginal middle age and elder age people have lower average life expectancy, lower education level, more incidences of widowhood, poorer physical and mental conditions, and higher ratios of dependence on assistance and subsidies from the government sector. In addition, in the children's family part, higher ratios of aboriginal, Minnan, and Hakka middle age and elder age people have children; in terms of family makeup, the aboriginal extended families comprised the highest ratio; as for the economic condition, the aboriginal groups also had the lowest ratio. The aboriginal groups still comprised the lowest part of the people willing to be institutionalized in nursing facilities. From the viewpoint of family makeup, the "aboriginals living alone" or "living with their spouses only" were higher than the Hokloand Hakka. This

要照顧者的順序及兒女數來看，會有較多影響，但以原住民老人來看獨居模型，則因原鄉地區的獨居老人在資源不足、正式社會支持缺乏及青壯人口外移的情境下，整體社會文化的環境已成為原鄉獨居老人所面臨的最大的資源與限制。除了原鄉傳統文化祖孫三代同住演變成隔代教養或同住，所形成的族長頭目部落傳統相互照顧的型態外，宗教信仰的力量也使得原鄉獨居老人有心靈互賴的寄託，從而發展出信徒相互照顧的互動模式。這都可以看到社會文化脈絡對於原鄉獨居老人所造成的影響力量。

二、建議

本文依所做研究結果建議如下：

(一)社區照顧的服務固然重要，增加原鄉地區醫療照護資源的投入更不少

依內政部2009年之調查結果所做之三種人口群比較，原住民老人仍是最為弱勢的人口群，政府在此一部分仍有極大的努力空間，如何增加原鄉地區醫療資源的投入為極重要的課題。

(二)維護傳統文化三代同住概念，提供信仰信徒相互照顧的模式亦不可少

依內政部2009年之調查結果，原鄉仍有高度傳統文化祖孫三代同住情形，亦有成為隔代教養或同住之情形，其族長部落傳統相互照顧的型態仍有餘存功能外，宗教信仰的力量也使得原鄉獨居老人有心靈互賴的寄託，從而發展出信徒相互照顧的互動模式，提供信仰信徒相互照顧的模式亦有推展必要性。

finding seems to indicate that the aboriginal middle age and elder age people's family and cultural characteristics have a considerable impact on social care living arrangements.

(2) Impact of the Socio-cultural Context on Aboriginal Elderly

Although the characteristics of elderly living alone in Taiwan have a greater impact on the Hoklo and Hakka groups based on the sequence of the caregivers and the number of children, when the living alone model is viewed from the perspective of aboriginal elders, the lack of resources for elderly living alone in aboriginal areas, inadequate formal social support, and the situation of youth and middle-age population migration under the overall socio-cultural environment have become the greatest resources and limitations faced by aboriginal elderly. In addition to the aboriginal traditional culture of three generations living under one roof that has evolved into grandparent rearing or living together and the formation of the patriarch leader tribal tradition pattern of taking care of one another, the power of religion has also provided spiritual sustenance for the aboriginal elderly living alone, thus the development of the believers' interactive care model. All these aspects show the impact of the socio-cultural context on the aboriginal elderly.

2. Recommendation

Based on the research results in this paper, the recommendations are as follows:

(1) Despite the importance of community care service, the addition of medical care resources inputted in aboriginal areas is necessary

According to the survey results of the Ministry of the Interior in 2009 that compared the three populations, the aboriginal elderly remained the most disadvantaged population, thus the great room for improvement for the government. How to enhance medical resource inputs in aboriginal areas remains an extremely important issue.

(2) Maintain the concept of the traditional three generations living under one roof, and the provision of the believers' mutual care model is necessary

According to the survey results of the Ministry of the Interior in 2009, the situation of three generations living under one roof is frequently seen in aboriginal areas, and some cases of grandparent rearing or living together are found. The patriarch leader tribal tradition pattern of taking care of one another, to some degree, still serves its function, while the power of religion offers aboriginal elderly the spiritual support they need, thus the development of believers' mutual care interactive model. Therefore, the promotion of the believers' mutual care interactive model proves to be necessary.

參考文獻 References

- 內政部統計處(2009)。內政部統計年報。台北：內政部。
- 內政部(2009)。老人生活狀況調查報告。台北：內政部。
- 行政院主計處(2006)。老人居住安排概況。台北：行政院主計處。
- 胡慧幼(1997)。三代同堂：迷思與陷阱。台北：巨流。
- 黃松林(2011)。長期照顧老人憂鬱傾向與照顧者相關之研究。2011年9月16日，台灣高齡服務管理學會2011年長期照顧服務與銀髮產業研討會手冊。台中：弘光科技大學。
- 呂寶靜(2001)。老人照顧：老人、家庭、正式服務。台北：五南。
- Al-Hassan, M.A. & Omran, S.M. (2005). The effects of health beliefs on health care-seeking behaviour decisions of Jordanian patients with myocardial infarction symptoms. *International Journal of Nursing Practice*, 11:13-20.
- Abdel-Fattah, E.D. & Huber, G.L. (2003). Individualism vs collectivism in different cultures: a cross-cultural study. *Intercultural Education*, 14(1): 47-55.
- Aquilino, W. (1990). The likelihood of parent-child coresidence: Effects of family structure and parental characteristics. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 52, 405-419.
- Angel, R. J. & Angel, J. L. (1997). Who Will Care for Us? Aging and Long-Term Care in Multicultural America. New York: New York University.
- Bernstein, A.J. & Van Rooyen, C.A.J. (1994). Socio-cultural factors and their importance in working with people with AIDS in South Africa. *Social Work*, 30(4): 375-381.
- Bishop, Christine E.(1986). 'Living Arrangement of Elderly Singles: Effects of Income and Disability', *Health Care Financing Review*, 7(3): 65-73.
- Bishop, M., Kay, J. and Mayer, C. (1995). *Privatisation and Economic Performance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Braye, S. & Preston-Shoot, M.(2003). *Empowering Practice in Social Care*. London: OpenUniversity Press.
- Cantor, M. H., Brennan, M. & Sainz, A. (1994). The importance of ethnicity in the social support of older New Yorkers: A longitudinal perspective (1970 to 1990). *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, 22(2/3): 95-128.
- Chen Chao-Nan. (1999). "Change of Living Arrangements and Its Consequences among the Elderly in Taiwan." *Proceedings of the National Science Council, Republic of China Part C; Humanities and Social Sciences* 9(2): 364-375.
- Coward, R. T., Peek, C. W., Henretta, J. C., Duncan, P. R., Dougherty, M. C., and Gilbert, G. H. (1997). Race differences in the health of elders who lives along. *Journal of Aging and Health*, 9: 147-70.
- Crimmins, E. M. and Dominique, G. I. (1990). 'Interaction and living arrangement of older parents and their children: past trend, present determinants, future implication', *Research on Aging*, 12: 3-35.
- Herselman, S. (2007). Health Care through a cultural lens: Insights from Medical Anthropology. *Current Allergy & Clinical Immunology*, 20 (2): 62-65.
- Ho, M. (2004). Socio-cultural aspects of tuberculosis: a literature review and a case study of immigrant tuberculosis. *Social Science & Medicine*, 59: 753-762.
- Hays, J.C. (2002). Living arrangements and health status in later life: a review of recent literature. *Public Health Nursing*, Mar-Apr; 19(2): 136-51.
- Huang, S. L.(2003). A different mixed economy of care in Taiwan? – public domiciliary care for elderly people living alone. Phd. Thesis of The Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Huang, S.L., Hong-Ju Lai & Black, M. (2010). Social exclusion among minority groups, Proceeding of Year 2010 Social Policy Conference, Nov. 4, National Taiwan University.
- Kendall, J. (2000). The third sector and social care for older people in England: Towards an explanation of its contrasting contributions in residential care, domiciliary care and day care. Civil Society Working Paper 8.
- Lincoln & Guba (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. NewYork: Sage Publications.
- Litwak, E. (1985). *Helping the Elderly: the Complementary Roles of Informal Networks and Formal Systems*. New York: Guildford Press.
- Litwak, E., & Longino, S. F. (1987). Migration patterns among the elderly: A developmental perspective. *The Gerontologist*, 27, 266- 272.
- Litwak, E. & Szelenyi, I. (1996). Primary group and their structures and their functions: Kin, neighbors, and friends. *American Sociological Review*, 34: 465-81.
- Luong, V. H. (2000). Theoretical Explanations of Differences in Community- Based Long-Term Care Use between Black and White Elders. *Perspectives*, 2000, pp.82-92.
- McLaughlin, K. (2006). Regulation and Risk in Social Work: The General Social Care Council and the Social Care Register in Context. *British Journal of Social Work* 2007, 37(7):1263-1277.
- Mutchler, J., & Burr, J. (1991). A longitudinal analysis of household and non- household living arrangements in later life. *Demography*, 28(3), 375-390.
- Myers, G. C.(1992).原著，張月霞譯(1996)。老人的人口統計及家庭對老年人的支持，老年人的家庭支持，42-85，台北：五南出版社。
- Peter Messeri, Merril Silverstein and Eugene Litwak (1993).

- Choosing Optimal Support Groups: A Review and Reformulation, *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Jun., 1993), pp. 122-137
- Silverstein, Merrill (1995). 'Stability and change in temporal distance between the elderly and their children', *Demography* (32): 29-45.
- Soldo, Beth J., Douglas A. Wolf and Emily M. Agree (1990). 'Family, household and care arrangement of frail older women: a structural analysis', *Journal of Gerontology*, 45: S289-49.
- Sun C.L (2007). *Elderly People Living Aalone in Japan*. Taichung: Chao-Yang University.
- Taylor, S. D., Boyd, E. L., & Shimp, L. A. (1998). A review of home remedy use among African Americans. *African American Research Perspectives*, Spring 1998, 126-134.
- Thomas, K. and Wister, A.V. (1984). 'Living arrangements of older women: the ethnic dimension', *Journal of Marriage and Family* 46:301-311.
- Wei Sun, Misuzu Watanabe, Yoshimi Tanimoto, Takahiro Shibutani, Rei Kono, Masahisa Saito, Kan Usuda, and Koichi Kono (2007). Factors associated with good self-rated health of non-disabled elderly living alone in Japan: a cross-sectional study. *BMC Public Health*. 7: 297.
- Wolf, Douglas A. (1984). 'kin availability and the living arrangements of older women', *Social Science Research* 13: 72-89.
- Wolf, Douglas A. (1990). 'Household patterns of older women: some international comparisons', *Research on Aging* 12: 463-486.
- Wolf, Douglas A. and Beth J. Soldo.(1988). 'Household composition choices of older unmarried women', *Demography* 25: 387-403.
- Worobey, Jacqueline Lowe and Ronald J. Angle(1990). 'Functional capacity and living arrangement of unmarried elderly persons', *Journal of Gerontology* 45: S95-101

我國兒童少年發展之未竟事業與社會課題*

The Unfinished Business of Welfare and Rights for Children and Youth in Taiwan: Social Development Perspective

闕漢中** Hann-Jong Chue

摘要

2011年《兒童及少年福利與權益保障法》的修訂，顯示國內社會想以發展性的觀點保障兒童少年的福利與權益，但卻有瓶頸與矛盾，使相關服務有立場不明而失據的問題。我們仍應尋求更大的基礎，來建立對兒少福利的共識。本文以關照兒少至青年發展的角度，探討如何以青少年為主體，來發展「以社區為基礎」的服務體制。真正以青少年為本位的服務體系，要使青少年在鄰里社區之間就可有充分發展的機會，其發展課題及資源投入，也應超越單一服務體系的考量。我們必須跳脫過去偏重特定體制的角度，重新看待青少年在社區生活的環境、現況、及動向，思考如何擴大青少年發展目標與途徑的課題。要扭轉舊工作體制，須以青少年本體性、自主性和社會參與三個環環相扣的概念，來凸顯青少年發展議題、權益和需求，並使之成為一種公眾理念，促成青少年的社群建構乃至社會建構，相信這才是對我們能否成為一真正講求兒少福利與權益之社會的最終考驗。

關鍵字：兒少福利、兒童少年發展、權益保障、服務體系、社區

Abstract

The amendment of The Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act in 2011 indicates that this society is ready to take a progressive stance in promoting the welfare and rights of our young. However, further clarification of our fundamental beliefs is still needed in order for us to take solid actions. Most important is how we envision a community-based service system that will help children and youth to fully develop themselves on their choices of opportunities and resources. For that purpose we need broader perspectives on understanding the current status and environment of our young in their related pursuit, in which to truly realize their rights and needs. In particular this paper presents a social development perspective that emphasizes the potentials and identities of youth in developing with our society. It argues that a public ideal in that respect has to be promoted before real changes can be made to current service systems. Only then can this society said to be a true progressive society..

Keywords: child welfare, youth development, children's rights, service system, community

* 本文曾發表於「社會工作與青少年服務」研討會。台北：實踐大學社會工作學系，2012/3/16。

This paper was presented at the Seminar 「Social Work and Youth Service」, Taipei: Department of Social Work, Shih Chien University, 2012/3/16.

** 闕漢中，東吳大學社會工作學系副教授。E-mail: c06hchue@scu.edu.tw

Hann-Jong Chueh, Associate Professor, Department of Social Work, Soochow University

要青少年達到有意義的社會參與，不全然是權利的議題，它還需要整個社會的文化、態度、組織、或生活結構等方面的條件去促成。(頁:18)

Issues about rights are not necessarily what attract the meaningful social participation of youth. This also needs the support of culture, attitudes, organization, and lifestyle of the entire society. (p.27)

壹、前言：兒少福利大小事？

在2011年11月間，國內的兒童青少年福利有兩個重大事件的發展。其一是首屆「全國兒童少年國是會議」的召開，其二是「兒童及少年福利法」經修訂為「兒童及少年福利與權益保障法」。兩者發生時間相當接近，又是在大選期間，似有其互通而欲凸顯的社會意涵。但實際上所引起社會關注的程度，卻可能不及隨後於次月發生的另一個小事件，有關一對十來歲小兄妹不告而離家出遊五天被尋獲的故事。不過畢竟所有的事件都不久就落幕並歸於沉寂，使有心人不禁要想，我們社會在真切關心的兒童青少年福利究竟是什麼？

「全國兒童少年國是會議」

先來看「全國兒童少年國是會議」，這會議是經過三個階段的運作完成的，期間自2011年7月至11月。第一階段為了強化基層參與機制，由地方政府與民間團體舉開北中南東四個分區會議(含兒少分組座談)，廣納各區域、族群之建言，討論「兒童、少年家庭與福利權益」、「兒童、少年與司法」、「兒童、少年與健康」、「兒童、少年與媒體」、「兒童、少年與教育及就業」五大核心議題，並共同提出在地行動策略。第二階段為「兒少高峰論壇」，邀集50位曾參與分區會議的兒少代表，針對先前各場分區會議結論，進行更深入的討論以凝聚共識，最後彙整出兒少版的國是建言。兒少代表有內政部、教育部、移民署及各縣市政府教育局處推薦的，也有民間兒少福利團體推薦的。其中49%屬一般兒少，51%來自弱勢家庭；從10歲到18歲不等，分別於國小至大學就讀。最後的第三階段國是會議則於11月19、20兩日召開正式大會，結合專家學者、民間團體及各級政府代表，交流討論各座談會所提出的觀點和行動方針，找出共識並提出兒童與少年相關施政建議。

1.Introduction: Welfare for Children and Youth?

In November 2011, there were two major events concerning the development of child and youth welfare in Taiwan. First, the first National Children and Juvenile Conference was held; and second, the Children and Youth Welfare Rights Act was amended into The Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act. As both events happened so closely together and near a presidential election, it seems that there is a certain connection between them, and the connection may have been manipulated for social attention. As a matter of fact, these events were seemingly less socially attractive than another minor event occurred in the following month. It was the recovery of a pair of teenaged brother and sister who ran away from home and travelled alone for five days. However socially attractive these events may be, no event can get social attention forever. In this regard, one may wonder what child welfare does this society really concern itself with?

National Children and Juvenile Conference

First, let us take a look at the National Children and Juvenile Conference. This conference consists of three sessions held from July to November 2011. In the first session aiming to encourage local participation, four regional conferences (including youth group seminars) were held respectively in northern, central, southern, and eastern Taiwan by local governments and civilian groups to listen to the opinions of people and groups in different parts of Taiwan and to discuss the following five core topics: "Welfare Rights of Family with Children and Youth", "Children, Youth and Health", "Child and Youth Judiciary", "Children, Youth and the Media", and "Education and Employment of Children and Youth"; and local action plans were proposed at these conferences. The second session was the Child and Youth Summit Forum, where 50 child and youth representatives who participated in the regional conferences were invited to discuss the conclusions drawn in these conferences, so as to reach a consensus and thereby to make suggestions for the public policies on child and youth affairs. These child and youth representatives were recommended by the Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Education, National Immigration Agency, local education authorities, as well as child and youth welfare groups. Among these child and youth representatives aged from 10 to 18 and studying at primary schools to universities, 49% came from ordinary families and 51% from under-represented families. The third session was the National Children and Juvenile Conference held on November 19-20. At the conference, experts, scholars, civilian groups, and local government representatives expressed their opinions and presented their action policies through

經過三階段由下而上的意見凝聚，可看出與會者對以兒少為本的發展性服務的訴求。特別是「家庭福利與權益」、「教育與就業」兩方面議題的結論，表現在幾方面：其一是對基本發展需求(如經濟、休閒)的制度性保障，要求相關服務能普及於各地(跨越城鄉差異)並顧及各樣(弱勢與特殊)的兒少；其二是對整合性支持服務的講求，要求注重以社區為基礎的資源網絡運用，以達服務的妥適性或適用性；其三則是在這些訴求背後，又隱含著對社會基本制度如家庭與教育失功能的憂慮；家庭方面主要是憂慮其育兒功能的弱化及問題多元化，教育方面則憂慮其能否讓青少年適性銜接就業市場多元、變動的環境。

這些訴求與憂慮看來並不陌生，似乎不脫一般學理性或政策性討論的範圍。但考慮此次意見形成的立基與時空背景，其對兒少福利服務的期許和挑戰，不僅是政策制定者必要嚴肅回應的，也值得實務工作者用心思考。有些挑戰甚至是要社會整體--包含兒少本身一起來因應，如果我們對這樣的會議與結論是認真的。

那麼，讓我們來看政府如何回應這些結論。根據主辦單位內政部對國是會議分區會議結論的彙整，細看其分「短期可行」和「長期規劃」兩方面的回應內容以前者多於後者，則可發現政府願意承擔的責任其實是有限的。反倒在不少部分是以「期待」或「結合」民間團體辦理的方式回應，特別是有關兒少「權益」及「發展」方面，更看不出政府會有積極的擔當。如，對縮短資源分配的城鄉差異並尊重在地多元性，還有培力兒少社會關懷與參與公益服務的能力，及增加兒少社區生活參與空間和設施等方面的期許，主要就都在宣示「補助(或輔導)地方政府結合民間團體辦理」的現有短期做法，相對地都無長期規劃的對策。算得上較積極的回應，只限於對弱勢兒少保護的個案性服務或家庭輔助性措施、及專業服務人力的規劃上。而這情形在回應會議最終的「國是建言」上，也是如出一轍。

exchange, discussions, and seminars, so as to find a consensus and make suggestions for children and youth administration.

These three sessions cohering opinions from the public have revealed the participants' appeals to the development of child and youth services. Particularly, the conclusions on "family welfare and rights" and "education and employment" disclosed the following aspects. First is the institutional protection for the basic development needs (e.g., financial and recreational needs), and the need for the provision of related services across Taiwan (overcome the urban-rural difference) and the equal treatment of all children and youth (including those who are underrepresented and who need special care). Second is the need for integrated supportive services that emphasize utilization of resources upon the community-based network, so as to ensure the appropriateness or applicability of services. Third are the worries about the basic social system behind these appeals, such as the functional failure of family and education. In terms of family function, people are worried about the weakening of the child raising function and the diversification of related problems. In terms of education, people are worried if youth can adaptively adjust to the diversification and change of the job market.

None of these appeals and worries looks unfamiliar, as they all fall in the scope of academic or policy discussions. Taking into account the motivation and background of these opinions, however, policy-makers should seriously respond to and social workers should think hard the expectations and challenges of child and youth welfare services. If we are serious about such a conference and the conclusions made, even the entire society, including children and youth, should respond to some of these challenges.

In this case, let us take a look at the government's response to these conclusions. From the summary of the conclusions made at the regional conferences organized by the Ministry of the Interior, we discovered that there are more "short-term feasible solutions" than "long-term plans", suggesting that the government shows limited intention to assume responsibility. Furthermore, the government is "expecting" solutions from civilian groups or finding solutions "in collaboration with" civilian groups in many issues. Particularly, in the "rights" and "social development" of children and youth, no aggressive action is seen from the government. For example, in reducing the urban-rural difference in resource allocation and showing respect for local diversity; the empowerment of social care for children and youth and the participation in charity services; and the increase of the space and facilities for child and youth participation in community life, "subsidization (or consultation) for local governments to implement such in collaboration with civilian groups" seems to be the model answer and instant solution, and long-term planning is not considered. The only seemingly aggressive response is the case-based protection service for underrepresented children and youth

如此看來，即使經過許多兒少一番由下而上程序所形成的意見，恐怕也很難期待政府能以現有的體制與作為、由上而下地去落實，尤其對兒少普遍的、長遠的權益發展議題而言。這也正凸顯了約在同一時間修訂通過之「兒童及少年福利與權益保障法」的重要性。或許根本之計，是我們應多寄望於這新法之落實。

「兒童及少年福利與權益保障法」

有關兒少法的修訂過程，其實比「國是會議」經歷了更長時間的蘊釀和議事。據王順民(2011)分析，那是對長期以來在「兒童及少年福利法」下『重兒輕少』以及『重一般兒少輕弱勢兒少』等政策導向的反彈，或說是在比例原則上對各類兒童與少年權益保障作積極性差別待遇及分配性正義的操作。論其確切的內涵，新法「兒童及少年福利與權益保障法」除罰則和附則之外，共分成五章：「總則」、「身分權益」、「福利措施」、「保護措施」、及「福利機構」等計85個條文，比舊法「兒童及少年福利法」多32條。其中新增條文最多的屬「福利措施」這章，增加了13條，其次是「保護措施」增加9條，由此不難看出此次修法的重點。

此外，根據台灣少年權益與福利促進聯盟的整理，新法對增進兒少權益保障的事項有九方面：「表意權益」、「身分權益」、「教育福利與權益」、「文化休閒」、「兒少安全」、「勞動就業」、「社會參與」、「閱聽權益」、及「福利保護」。對照上述新增條文的重點，可見其實除了「福利保護」外，其它方面則僅靠少數的條文表現。但除了看條文的增訂，更值得注意的應是修法的精神，這方面王順民(2011)就指出，主要是從兒少特殊、個別到共通的需求，「強調國家有作為兒少最終父母的照顧之責」，故對相關制度環境各層面做各種施政的思考，而使原本局限於社政範疇的福利措施擴充至更多部會的分工治理。

綜合上述，並審視「兒童及少年福利與權益保障法」的條文內容，可以下列幾點來總結這次修法的特性：

or family support measures and the human resource planning for professional service. These situations recurred in the “suggestions for national affairs” in the final session.

In this respect, no matter how many opinions have been collected from the public in regional conferences, it is still difficult to for the public to expect any change or action from the government in the present system, particularly in the general and long-term development of the rights for children and youth. This also highlights the importance of The Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act amended and enacted at the same time. Perhaps we should expect more on the enforcement of this new act.

Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act

Compared with the National Children and Juvenile Conference, The Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act have undergone longer gestation and discussion during the amendment. According to Wang (2011), it is a policy-oriented rebound of the Children and Youth Welfare Rights Act which “emphasizes children and neglects youth” and “concerns more about ordinary children than underrepresented children.” Or, in terms of the principle of proportionality, it is an aggressive manipulation of the differential treatment and distributive justice of all kinds of rights and protection for children and youth. Looking into the contents, apart from the Penalty and Supplementary, the new Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act contains 85 articles divided into five chapters: “General Principles”, “Identity Interest”, “Welfare Measures”, “Protective Measures”, and “Welfare Institutes”; which is 32 articles more than the previous version, Children and Youth Welfare Rights Act. Among others, most articles were added to the Welfare Measures, totaling 13; and second most articles were added to Protective Measures, totaling 9 articles. From these, it is not difficult to discover the focus of the recent amendment.

Also, according to the summarization made by the Taiwan Alliance for Advancement of Youth Rights and Welfare, the new act improves the protection of the rights of children and youth in nine aspects: “right to speak”, “identity right”, “right to education”, “culture and recreation”, “child and youth safety”, “labor and employment”, “social participation”, “right to information”, and “welfare of protection”. Referring to the focus of the new articles as shown above, most aspects are rarely represented, except for “welfare of protection”. Therefore, the spirit of amendment may be worth more mention. In this respect, Wang (2011) pointed out that “The country is expected to provide the ultimate care for children and youth” in meeting the special, individual to general care needs of children and youth. Hence, changes have been made to different aspects of the related systems by extending social welfare measures in limited domain to the governance of more ministries and commissions through division of labor.

保護觀點的多元延伸

本來在「兒童及少年福利法」中就已偏重對於兒童的保護觀點，不僅在新法中有以延續，並且延伸至更多元的對象、包含各類處境和處遇下的少年。甚至，保護的觸角已不只在於兒少的一般生活環境，而是更深入、貼近保護兒少的特定環境。如，對於相關服務從業人員的資格與經歷，在本法中就有篩選的規定。對於應盡保護通報之責的人員，也擴大涵括村里幹事、村里長、公寓大廈管理服務人員等。

以服務為前提的權益

在新法中增列的兒少權益，其實大多以兒少接受服務為前提，即以現有服務所可顧及對象為主，是為避免其原應有之權益因接受服務而受侵犯或疏忽。如：對接受司法矯治的少年，主張其有銜接正規教育的受教權，或應提供職訓、就業服務以助其回歸家庭及社區；對於受安置服務後無法返家的少年，也應提出長期輔導計畫乃至幫助其能自立生活。但此等主張對多數青少年而言，可能就沒有多大的實質意義。

主體模糊的保障宣示

新法對於兒少各項權益的保障，基本上是以兒少個體為考量。但又因處處以家庭為中心、以國家權責為依歸的思維，就模糊了兒少的主體性，更談不上有兒少的集體概念。如新法中有兒少應參與攸關其權益之事務的規定，卻未述明兒少集體主張要如何形成、代表或權衡運作。等於讓事務主管單位可權宜執行相關規定，就難保能實現以兒少為本的理念。而對於更廣的社會、公共事務參與，也僅宣示了應對兒少鼓勵、提供機會。

簡言之，新法就兒少福利保障或許是更積極的，但不等於保障了兒少的權益。權益的保障須有明確的主體，其也須有主動性的條件，但在新法中兩者都欠缺的情況下，充其然對兒少權益的保障是消極的，或只開啟對相關行動的想像空

Concluding from the above and reviewing the content of The Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act, the characteristics of the recent amendment may be summarized as follow:

Diversification and extension of child protection

Child protection has already been the focus of the Children and Youth Welfare Rights Act. Continuing this perspective, the new act extends protection to more recipients, including children and youth in different situations and interventions. Furthermore, the reach of protection has exceeded the general living environment of children and youth to specific environments, so as to provide deeper and more appropriate protection for children and youth. For example, the eligibility and experience of related service workers have been specified in the new act. Also, the people who are responsible for reporting children and youth in need of protection have been expanded to village and borough chiefs and staffs, even to the janitorial staff of apartment buildings.

Service-based rights

The rights of children and youth that have been added to the new act, in fact, are based on the welfare services received by children and youth. That is to prevent contradiction with or negligence of proper rights for children and youth due to the provision of present welfare services. For example, youth receiving judicial corrections should be given the right to receive formal education after completing their corrections. Or, vocational training and employment service should be arranged to help them return to the family and community. The new act also proposes long-term guidance for youth who are unable to return home after intervention, in order to help them until they can live independently. To most youth, however, these measures are more suggestive than substantial.

Protection without due focus

In the new act, the protection of the rights of children and youth basically focuses more on the individuality of each child and youth. Conditioned by the family-centered and authority-based thinking, however, the focus on the subjectivity of children and youth is lost, not to mention the collective concept of children and youth. For example, although children and youth are supposed to participate in affairs relating to their rights, the formation, representation, and proper operations of the collective wisdom of children and youth are unspecified in the new act. This understates that the competent authority of related affairs can decide on the execution of these affairs. In this case, the children-and-youth-focus concept is hard to realize. According to the new act, children and youth are only encouraged to participate in social and public affairs should opportunities of participation be provided.

Simply put, the new act may seem to provide more aggressive protection for child and youth welfare, this does not mean to protect the rights of children and youth. Protection of rights needs to define the subjectivity and subjective conditions. As none of these are

間。其實在立法過程中不乏有較積極的具體主張，如主張少年的結社權、設置兒少專屬的社區型休閒、旅遊或交誼設施場館等，但最終都未被採納。

事實上，我們講求兒少福利的社會意向，是有階段脈絡可循的。如舊兒少法偏重對兒少及相關成人行為的禁止或輔導，在新法雖相對不明顯，但兒少仍主要被視為需保護的對象。或許當前我們社會與政策的思維，還未準備接納兒少主動參與社會的生活、遑論讓其參與社會的發展。那麼新法對兒少自主、參與的訴求，如同兒少國是會議所表達的，只能當是我們對社會趨向的一種期待。

即令如此，新法反倒可作為我們社會所看重兒少發展面向的指標。如，由其對兒少遊戲及休閒權利的主張(第41條)、責成主管機關主動規劃所需活動空間(第24條)、尊重兒少多元文化差異(第7條)、並關注不同背景條件少年就業需求(第36條)等方面來看，可見其欲保障兒少身心發展、適性發展、生涯發展、乃至社會認同發展之機會或空間，相當程度呼應兒少國是會議所傳達的發展觀點。更重要的是，此等思維既已形諸法律，就顯示我們社會寄望政府去落實的意向。

所以，這一個明講權益實則更重發展的兒少新法，能落實兒少國是會議代表們的意見嗎？更重要的是，能滿足更多兒少的需求嗎？即不僅指需被保護的兒少。對此，本文擬以那對小兄妹出走的事件為例來做檢視。

貳、兒少可投入的行動？

小兄妹出走的事件發生於2011年12月初，因其父母上媒體訴求各界協尋而引起全國關注。整個事件在五天内隨著小兄妹被尋獲而落幕，媒體則持續報導約一週。以下是有關這事件的一則新聞報導：

mentioned, the new act provides merely passive protection for the rights of children and youth or the imagination for related actions. Although more aggressive and solid claims have been made during the legislation, such as the freedom of association for youth, and the establishment of recreational, tourism or socialization facilities for children and youth in communities, none were accepted in the end.

As a matter of fact, there is a trace of the social intent of child and youth welfare in this country. For example, the old Children and Youth Welfare Rights Act emphasized the prohibition or correction of behaviors of children, youth and related adults. Although the prohibition or correction of such behaviors is comparatively insignificant in the new act, children and youth mainly are still thought to be needing protection. Perhaps the thoughts of present society and policies are not yet ready to accept child and youth participation in social life, and not to mention about their participation in social development. In this respect, the appeals to the self-determination and participation of children and youth, such as what expressed at the National Children and Juvenile Conference, can only be considered as a kind of expectation on social trends.

Even so, the new act can be considered as an indicator of the social concern for child and youth development. For example, from the appeal to the right of play and recreation of children and youth (Article 41), the duty of competent authorities to voluntarily plan the space required for the cultural, educational and sports activities of children and youth (Article 24), the respect for the cultural diversity and cultural differences of children and youth (Article 7), and the concern for the need of employment of children and youth of different backgrounds and conditions (Article 36), we can see that the intention of the new act to protect the opportunities or space for child and youth development corresponds to the development perspectives expressed in the national conference. This includes the physical and mental development, adaptive development, career development, and social identification development of children and youth. Most importantly, the legislation suggests that this society is expecting the government to make these a reality.

Hence, can this new act that seemingly speaks of the rights of children and youth but actually emphasizes the development of children and youth realize the opinions expressed at the national conference? More importantly, can it fulfill more needs of children and youth? That is, it should be more than merely the protection of children and youth. As such, this paper plans to examine the new act with the incident that pair of brother and sister who ran away from home.

2. Actions for Children and Youth?

The incident occurred at the beginning of December 2011. It attracted national attention after the parents of a runaway brother and sister appealed to the media to assist in the search. Although the

尋獲小兄妹 父母七鞠躬感謝社會 環島圓兒時夢 兄妹
「聲」道歉
吃泡麵睡街頭 小二妹：不好玩 謝媽祖幫忙 週末帶兄
妹赴義大

這對小兄妹，讓全國上上下下都在找他們！幸好是找到了！僅十四歲和八歲的鄒姓小兄妹，不告而別離家五天，流浪大半個台灣，昨天晚上在墾丁被找到了！他的父母今天出面七度鞠躬，感謝所有幫忙協尋的善心人士！他們也公布小兄妹錄音帶，他們說沒想到闖這麼大的禍，妹妹還說流浪一點也不好玩，下次再也不敢了！

焦心如焚的鄒家父母，見到孩子流浪93個小時後平安歸來，終於露出笑容，但對大規模動員全台灣各地員警和善心人士協尋的辛勞，他們七度鞠躬再鞠躬，既感謝又抱歉鄒媽媽說，他們和孩子一整夜懇談，原本要哥哥親自出面跟大家說對不起，但看了新聞，哥哥才知道自己闖下大禍，很害怕，改以錄音的方式，說他只是想帶著妹妹重溫兒時記憶，所以策畫這趟旅程這幾天身上僅有他演講冠軍得到的四千元，為了省錢連電話也不打，只吃泡麵，餐風露宿，難道真有那麼好玩嗎？

鄒媽媽下午帶著鮮花素果到虎尾這間他曾來祈求的媽祖廟還願同時夫妻倆也計畫這個星期就帶著小兄妹去她們嚮往已久的義大世界遊玩，幫他們圓夢，希望天真的小兄妹明白，勇敢追夢可以，但下次可別牽累這麼多人跟著擔心受怕！

台視新聞 2011/12/14

所以，我們要以什麼角度或心情看待這事件呢？某種程度它令人莞爾，因為孩子終究沒事，只是太天真浪漫？某種程度也令人納悶，孩子為何要那麼做？又在想什麼？有人或許要擔心，為什麼沒有人更早發現孩子的異樣？或想到要向誰通報？也許終歸整件事只因累積了一些人的錯誤估計或想像，或真有哪一個環節出了錯？但畢竟沒有人需要負責，就算是一場意外驚擾社會的湯姆歷險式惡作劇？可是試想，這事件若有下列情形，我們的反應會不會不一樣呢？

假如不是這一家

試想若小兄妹來自另一種家庭，父母不會因子女離家行蹤不明，而去訴求媒體公眾的協尋，不論其原因為何，那我們社會還會如此注意而快速找到孩子嗎？那麼，對於未被如此注意的孩子，社會一般的反應又會是如何？其實在這故事中就有些值得玩味的插曲，據報導，較先注意到孩子並給協助的

incident ended as the brother and sister were found five days later, the media continued to report the story for about one week. There following is the TV news report of that incident.

Lost brother and sister found! Parents express gratitude to society with 7 bows.

Five days with instant noodles and sleeping on the streets to fulfill their childhood dream of travelling around Taiwan, the brother apologized, the sister said it wasn't fun at all! Thanks to the help of Matsu. The parents took them to E-Da World on the weekend.

The whole country was searching for the brother and sister. Fortunately, they were finally found! The Zhou brother and sister, aged 14 and 8 respectively, ran away from home for five days and travelled more than a half of Taiwan were finally found last night in Kenting. Their parents bowed seven times in front of the camera to express gratitude to those who have helped them find the pair. At the same time, they also played the tape recorded by the brother: "We didn't know that have brought so much trouble to society," said the big brother. "Hanging around wasn't fun at all, and we will never try this again!" exclaimed the little sister.

Smiles were finally seen on the anxious couple as the children were found safe and unharmed after running away for 93 hours. To express gratitude for the effort of the local police and kind-hearted people who have helped to find the brother and sister, Mr. and Mrs. Zhou bowed seven times in front of the camera. According to the thankful and sorry mother, they talked with the brother and sister for the whole night and planned to ask the brother to say sorry to everybody in front of the camera. Learning from the news that he had made such a big mistake, the big brother was so afraid that he decided to apologize to the public on tape. According to him, he and his little sister just wanted to rekindle their childhood dream, so they planned this trip. Over the past five days, they had only the NTS\$4,000 he won from the speech contest. In order to save money, they did not even make a call, ate only had instant noodles and slept on the streets. Wasn't that fun?

Mrs. Zhou brought some fresh flowers and fruit to the Matsu Temple in Huwei where she prayed for help to repay the deity. The couple also planned to take the brother and sister to E-Da World this week to fulfill their dream. We also hope that the brave brother and sister will continue to pursue their dreams, just make sure that they won't let so many people involved have anxiety and fear!

TTV News, December 14, 2011

Therefore, how should we see and treat this incident? To one extent, it was a happy ending as the children were found safe and unharmed. Were they simply naïve and romantic? To another extent, the incident puzzled us. Why did they do something like that? What were on their mind? Someone may worry why no one has discovered something unusual in children or to report their unusual behavior to someone? Perhaps the whole incident simply accumulated the incorrect estimates or imaginations of some people, or there is something wrong. After all, no one needs to take any responsibility, and it is a practical joke that surprised or disturbed society like *The Adventure of Thomas Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn*. However, if any of the following happened, will this society react in the same way?

If it is not this family

Suppose the brother and sister came from a different kind of family where the parents will not ask help from the media when their children are missing. Whatever they do, in this case, will this society take it serious and help the parents find their children so

人，是分別在不同地的一位遊民(指引孩子露宿)和一位清潔工(買車票勸孩子回家)。所以我們是該慶幸小兄妹沒被人利用或侵害？抑是該思考如何讓更多看見乃至關心孩子的人，將來也可以做什麼？

假如不走那麼遠

小兄妹一路搭車從雲林經台北、花蓮就到了屏東，甚至還搭便車到墾丁，循著先前全家出遊的路線走，目標是環島。想當今應該還有更多孩子都曾跟著家人這樣走過，甚至繞過地球大半圈。或許在他們心目中這並不難，所以何妨自己走一趟？或許不多的成人會在為孩子開眼界的同時，也想預備他們做這樣的事，但，為什麼不？還有，要讓孩子開眼界就必須走很遠嗎？我們能否讓孩子在他們自行到得了的範圍去開眼界？

假如他們也想飛

其實，近年來社會已有一種鼓勵青少年探索、冒險的氛圍，有愈來愈多的青少年在以各種方式環島旅行。如果有受安置的少年都可以「飛行」了，更多孩子是否也會想飛？那他們又要怎樣才能飛？其所需要的工具、訓練、陪伴、接待等條件，社會願意且能隨時隨處提供嗎？還是只能為接受特定服務的孩子提供？會不會對多數孩子來說，想飛反而相對變得不容易？或無形中我們要鼓勵孩子各自發揮創意去完成？

假如是個練習曲

「有些事現在不做，以後一輩子也不會做了」這句從電影「練習曲」傳出的名言，或許也可描繪這位帶著妹妹遊歷的少年心境。因若不是他獲英語演講冠軍的四千元獎金，還不知何時可以湊足他需要的旅費。但他豈知四千元也是不夠的，所以最後落得在他鄉進退維谷。類似的少年窘境也不時見諸報章，有因少年想騎腳踏車到遠地尋親但體力不繼，或因少年迷失在異地而求助無門，讓人心疼並慨嘆青少年對於生活現實資訊的不足，徒負其一片赤忱的意志與勇氣。因此，我們要如何鼓勵青少年不失去追求夢想的熱情，同時又能讓他們有不斷去練習逐夢踏實的機會？

quickly? Next, how will society react to less attended children? In fact, it is worthwhile to consider some episodes in this incident. Information shows that people who gave early assistance to the brother and sister included one homeless person (showed them where to sleep) and a janitor (bought them tickets and asked them to go home) from different places. Therefore, should we be glad that the brother and sister were not used or hurt by bad people? Or, should we consider how to let those who have seen and even cared about the children to do something in the future?

If it is not that far

The little brother and sisters took bus from Yuenlin to Pingtung via Taipei and Hualien and even took a lift to Kenting. They started from the route of the previous family tour and wanted to travel around Taiwan. Today, many children must have travelled with their family, and some even have travelled nearly around the world. This may not be that difficult to them, so they would try it themselves. Perhaps some adults wishing to broaden the vision of their children may not expect them to do the same thing, but why not? Also, is it necessary to go that far to broaden the vision of children? Can we let children broaden their vision in places where they can reach?

If they always want to fly

In fact, an atmosphere encouraging youth to explore and to adventure has formed in this society, and more and more youth travel around Taiwan in different ways. If youth receiving placement can also “fly”, will there be more children want to fly? How can they fly? Will this society willing to provide other required tools, training, accompaniment, and receiving conditions at any time? Or, will this society provide such only for children receiving specific services? Will ‘want to fly’ turn out to be more difficult to majority children? Or, do we need to intangibly encourage children to achieve this by exerting their creativity?

If it is an island etude

“We will regret for the rest of our life if we don’t do it now!” This famous quote from the movie *Island Etude* can perhaps depict what was on the mind of this small big brother who took her little sister to this trip. If he did not won the NT\$4,000 from the English speech contest, he would not know where to find enough money for the trip. Yet, how did he know that the sum was not enough for the trip? Finally, they did not have enough money to go home. Similar events are common news. Some youth run out of strength when they try to find their parents by bicycle, or some lost their way in an alien place and could not get help. It is a pity why youth did not have adequate information about real life and their determination and courage were finally in vain. Therefore, how should we encourage youth to hold their passion to pursue dreams and keep practicing to make their dreams come true?

從這些情形來透析那新聞事件，我們就看見了一個孩子可能有的很多需求。其中有孩子想見識並探索世界的需求，有想成長、突破的需求，想獨立、嘗試的需求，自然也有其隱私、安全的需求，接著不難想更多。再者，也可見這些需求不僅是有關兒少夢想的實踐，還有關他們要怎麼面對生活。然而我們社會在面對這些情形最初會想到的，恐怕除了其安全之外就不多了吧！？可能頂多還會想到其親子或家庭的關係、乃至相關單位的責任等，因畢竟我們總是把兒少看作需被保護的對象。可是對事件中的孩子來說，最重要的應不是成人在想什麼，而是他們需要什麼。即使他們覺得需要受保護，可能也不是我們現行的這套措施吧！？

從上述角度思考，可想見這類事件若不是在最近發生，也很有可能在不久的未來發生，且可能一再發生，只是每件事涉入的兒少人數、年齡、行蹤、與情節會有變化而已。因為就是需求的表達，就如許多兒少為何參與國是會議一樣，在修訂兒少法時也曾被關注討論過的。所以，就讓我們來看國是會議及兒少新法的內容，究竟對這類事件與需求有何關聯或回應。

國是會議針對兒少權益曾論及：兒童及少年福利政策的規劃，應注重預防性與發展性方案，政策執行應結合民間團體力量，整合直接服務與間接服務。再就兒少發展議題有關休閒娛樂方面提及：結合在地資源，規劃並創造更多元的社區活動空間與休閒設施，增加兒少社區生活參與。而有關家庭福利與權益的結論則提到：建置全國兒少福利資訊系統，將兒少福利權益資訊以「福利好好玩」形式，建立友善福利使用者的資訊系統。這些是經筆者推敲稱得上可與前述事件作聯想的宣示，但在兒少新法中就幾乎找不出任何相關意涵的規定了。故不論國是會議或兒少新法，嚴格來說都未真正涵蓋上述兒少需求的面向，這是為什麼？難道說我們的兒少就僅能繼續像上述事件採取兀自的行動，才能滿足其需求嗎？

By interpreting the news of the little brother and sister in such terms, we can see that a child may have many different needs. Some want to see and explore the world; some want to grow and break out; and some want to be independent and to bold, but also need privacy and safety. There should be many more on the list. Next, apart from realizing their dreams, these needs have reflected how they face life. When facing these situations, safety will surely be the first thing, and perhaps the only thing, that draws social attention! Others may also associate the incident with parent-child or family relations or the responsibility of related government departments. After all, we habitually consider that children and youth should be protected. In this incident, however, instead of what is on the mind of adults, what did the little brother and sister want should be the focus. Even they may need protection, but not the protection from the present system!

From the above points of view, we can imagine if incidents like that did not happen recently, they will happen sooner or later. Also, they may happen all the time, except the number of children involved, their age, their routes, and the content of their journeys may vary. This is because similar events are merely an expression of demand. For example, when amending the Children and Youth Welfare Rights Act, we have discussed the need for children and youth to participate in the national conference. Therefore, let us find out what the connections with or responses to similar events and demands are in the national conference and the new act.

At the national conference, the discussion regarding the rights of children and youth included the need for preventive and progressive plans in planning child and youth welfare, and teaming up with civilian groups for integrating direct and indirect services in implementing related policies. The discussion regarding recreations for children and youth development included the need for creating comprehensive community-based activity space and facilities, and the need for integrating local resources to encourage child and youth participation in community life. The conclusion on family welfare and rights included the need for constructing a national child and youth welfare information system with user-friendly interfaces to disseminate information concerning child and youth rights and welfare in terms of “fun with welfare”. Although these are what associate with the incident, none of them were either expressed or implied in any part of the new act. Hence, neither the national conference nor the new act has included these real needs of children and youth. Why then? Isn't true that our children need to make the same incident happen over and over again to fulfill their demands?

參、兒少為本的福利想像

由前述的分析可知，我們社會在兒少福利發展上是有瓶頸與矛盾的。一方面，象徵社會理想的兒少國是會議高舉出「以兒少為本、家庭為核心、社區為基礎」的理念；另一方面在現實上我們卻無「法」落實那理念。究竟是理念不足以作為立法的參照概念，或既有制度功能不足以作為奠定理念的基礎，我們有必要釐清以找出路。現在似乎較清楚的，是社會理想與立法現實之間在兒少「發展性」的福利觀點上找到了交集。但單從一個兒少離家出走的事件，就讓人看出這交集的不足，主要是不能滿足兒少一些較積極主動的發展需求，特別是跳脫以保護為先的制度措施以外的需求。

或許有人會說，兒少在一般情況下的需求，本來就是要由家庭或教育體系來回應的，我們真要檢討的，應是家庭或教育制度吧！？其實這應是反映我們社會的主流觀點，因為不論從新舊兒少法都不難看出，家庭和教育體系所受的倚重。固然依殘補式的觀點，許多福利措施只為補強社會缺失的功能，那兒少國是會議既已透露出對家庭與教育制度失功能的憂慮，我們是否更應設法去補強？或更應尋求替補的制度措施？又會是什麼？

Benson & Pittman(2001)曾指出美國社會常基於模糊的假定、薄弱的證據、不明的意向、和不強的手段，就想做很多青少年福利工作，最終卻不確定會如何落實在青少年的日常生活中。但我們社會恐怕連那樣積極的意向都沒有，更不用說有相對的工作條件配合。或許我們需要的是更積極的想像，透過除了開會與立法之外的方法，去激發、擴大社會的共識。以貼近青少年生活的家庭與教育制度為基礎，在社區內就把宣示而未實現的理想，如兒少自主、參與、權益的概念，及適性、多元、整合的服務等，克服目前體制的限制來嘗試推行。如此才能讓兒少切實感受社會以其為本的用心、也使受鼓勵投入本份的行動。

3. Imagining Children-and-Youth-Focused Welfare

From the above analysis, it is clear that there are obstacles and conflicts in child and youth welfare development in this society. Although “children-and-youth-focused, family-centered, and community-based” concepts have been advertized in the National Children and Juvenile Conference, none of them are “realized” in the act. Whether it is a conceptual problem or an institutional issue, we need to find out the root cause and take action about that. At this point, it seems that societal ideal and legislation reality overlap at the “developmental” perspective of children and youth welfare. However, how can a single child runaway incident reveal the inadequacy of this perspective? This is mainly because of the inability to fulfill the demands of proactive and self-motivated growth of children and youth, particularly the demands that are not premeditated in the protection-first system.

Some may say that regarding the needs of children and youth, it is the family or the education system that have major responsibility to respond. Therefore, we should review the family or education system instead! This reflects the mainstream opinion in this society, because the family and education system are the focus in both the old and new act. In the residual model point of view, many social welfare measures are implemented to compensate or fix the deficiency or defect of social functions. In this respect, as the worry about the functional failure of family and education system is revealed at the national conference, should we take further action to compensate or fix it? Or, should be find a better alternative? What will it be then?

Benson and Pittman (2001) pointed out that due to vague assumptions, weak evidence, unclear intentions, and not strong enough measure, although the US society wants to do a lot about the welfare of its youth, yet can hardly realize them in the daily life of youth. In this society, we are afraid that even the intention to do so is never found, and not to mention about the related support. Perhaps, we need more self-motivation to stimulate and expand a social understanding other than holding a national conference or legislation. This way, we can overcome the present institutional restrictions and attempt to promote the announced but unrealized ideal inside communities through families and the education system which are closer to the life of youth. The ideal may include the self-determination, social participation, and rights of children and youth, as well as the adaptive, comprehensive and integrated services for them.

Now, based on the incident of the runaway little brother and sister, let us imagine where they can be received by, or how they can find facilities and venues for children and youth wherever they

現在，就不妨讓我們來想像一下，以那出走的少年為例，如果他到了各地，都可以藉著透明而便利的資訊，找到專屬兒少、或能接待兒少的設施場館。更好是也有引導、陪伴少年的人，在年齡、性別、文化等背景讓少年能認同而貼近，依其需要協助少年認識、探索當地各樣環境、運用各樣設施，那麼他或許就不至於流落異地了。再試想，若少年因而能認識更多當地的孩子、乃至受其家人接待，那麼就能使彼此家人安心，少年也不會與家庭失聯了。有這類設施，以後少年就盡可離家出訪或遊歷，而不必離家出走了。即使如此並不代表就不需要兒少保護機制。但在這些兒少、家庭、設施的聯結中，甚至會有更好的保護機制，更是以兒少為本位、以家庭為核心的---基於更大的家庭概念，應用在更廣的兒少身上。

以上想像，只要我們認真發掘既有資源與相關經驗，並非不可能實現。其實在我們的法令體制上，就有可發揮的空間。如，兒少新法第十三條規定：「主管機關應每四年對兒童及少年身心發展、社會參與、生活及需求現況進行調查、統計及分析，並公布結果」。在實際作法上，就可涵蓋調查如上述兒少所需的在地環境和設施。Benson & Pittman(2001)就建議，有效的資料庫應從四方面著手：青少年本身、周遭的成人、機構與組織、還有社區。且應跳脫偏負面指標的資訊，多指出青少年正向發展的結果。此外，各地一些服務設施如少年中心，也可就近協助相關工作。基於其對各類兒少動態深入的瞭解，就可使調查內容更貼近兒少需求，也可在各地建立起上述的資訊應用管道，乃至影響相關服務資源的改善。

這樣說來，如何意識並確認我們想促進兒少福利乃至權益的主體，可能才是當前我們最需突破的障礙，也是本文想接著討論的重點。在以下討論中，本文將聚焦在青少年相關的議題思維上，以廣義的青少年涵蓋部分的兒童(滿10歲)和青年(至24歲)，而從發展性觀點來看這些對象所面臨的課題和需求，才是我們現階段最應去思考的。

were, with transparent and accessible information. It would be better if there were guides with whom they can identify and affiliate with in age, gender and cultural background terms and who can assist them in understanding and exploring the local environment for using various facilities. This way, they wouldn't have been lost in an alien place. Moreover, if the little brother and sister could make friends with some local children and even be received by their families, the little brother and sister wouldn't have lost contact with their parents, and families on both sides would not have to worry. With such facilities, youth can travel away from home without running away from home. Even so, this does not mean we do not need the mechanism for protecting children and youth. By linking up children and youth, families, and such facilities, we can build a better mechanism for protecting children and youth, because they are truly children-and-youth-focused and family-centered. Upon an extended family concept, such a mechanism could be applied for more children and youth.

We believe that we can turn the imagination to reality if we will seriously dig deep in the existing resources and related experiences. Institutionally, there is much space for development. For example, according to Article 13 of the new act, "The authorized agency, for every four years, should conduct surveys to analyze the overall development, social participation, living conditions and needs of children and youth, of which the data should be made available to the public" In practice, such surveys can include the aforementioned local environment and facilities needed by children and youth. Benson and Pittman (2001) suggest that an effective database should convene four aspects of youth life: youth themselves, adults in their environment, institutions and organizations, and their communities. They also suggest that information on negative indicators should be avoided while outcomes of positive youth development should be emphasized. In that respect, we should not overlook some local service facilities we already have, such as youth centers that can provide proximate assistance in conducting the surveys. With their better understanding of the local children and youth, the surveys may reflect more closely the true needs of children and youth, and may help with the information dissemination at local levels, so as to improve the resources affecting related services.

Taking all aspects into account, it seems that what most needed at the moment for us to break through in improving the welfare and rights of children and youth is how to perceive and recognize children and youth in their subjective status. In fact, this is also the subject matter of this paper. In the discussion below, we will focus on the opinions on related issues and discuss the issues in a progressive perspective of youth in the broad sense (including children aged 10 and older and youth aged up to 24), because this is what we should do at the moment.

肆、誰來發展社區青少年服務

每一個社會都有其看重的體制，被期待去滿足其所設想的兒少需求。在我國這些體制向來是以教育、福利、衛生、司法為主，而在兒少新法中我們開始也對其他體制有所期待，如勞政、傳播、乃至文化等方面。再從未來行政院組織調整的架構來看，顯然教育體制仍是最被看重、甚至是獨大的。但是這樣的體制對於促進我們青少年發展以至社會適應是真的有益、或有必要嗎？

既然促進青少年發展是我們社會現有的共識，我們應先釐清，什麼才是我們青少年真正需要的發展機會。如，我們應不會只想追求提供青少年平等、優質的教育機會而已，這是聯合國早於約三十年前就列為青少年工作的主要任務目標。再說，教育年限的延長也不代表青少年就會對其生活乃至生涯有更充分的準備，反有可能使青少年面臨一個延長而不確定的發展歷程(李易駿、古允文，2007；Jones & Wallace, 1992)。完備的青少年發展觀點，依Benson & Pittman(2001)的闡述，是要兼顧基本發展領域(basic developmental domains，如職能)和可欲的結果(desired outcomes，如成就)，尤其後者除應有個人面向的特質、競爭力、和自信心等之考量外，也要注意社會連結(connections)及社會貢獻(contributions)的面向，或所謂「學會生產」、「學會連結」、「學會掌舵」三種發展狀況。其所要強調的，簡言之，就是青少年發展與社會發展的互賴性。那麼，我們社會在這方面究竟能提供青少年什麼機會與支持，才是我們真正要去看重的。如，美國社會就看重青少年需有發言、主動、原創、與做決定的發展過程，那我們青少年可有的發展過程會如何？至少在發展空間的想像上又是如何？

回顧我們社會對於教育體制的偏重，若從青少年福利服務的發展角度來看，其實是缺乏上述那樣廣面視野或基礎的。從早期為了「把中輟生找回來」或基於關心難妓的立場，而開始設置各類的安置機構、中途學校、中輟學園、以至學校社工等，其實都只關照

4. Who Shall Develop Community-Based Youth Services

In each society there are systems established to fulfill the needs of children and youth. In Taiwan, these include the education, welfare, health, and judicial systems. In the new act, however, expectations have been made also on other systems, such as labor administration, mass communication, and cultural affair systems. Nevertheless, looking at the framework for the upcoming reorganization of the Executive Yuan, it is clear that the education system is still the focus and even the only system in charge of related issues. Is this necessary? Or, can this system really benefit youth development and even youth social adjustment?

Now, we should first clarify what development opportunities youth really needs, given enhancement of youth development as a consensus of this society. Take equal and quality opportunities of education for example, should this be what we are really pursuing? For it has already been UN's prime target of youth work for almost three decades. Even a longer period of compulsory education does not guarantee youth of a better preparation for life and career. By contrast, a longer period of compulsory education may put youth in an extended uncertainty of development (Li & Gu, 2007; Jones & Wallace, 1992). According to Benson and Pittman (2001), a comprehensive youth development perspective should include the basic developmental domains (e.g., vocational ability) and desired outcomes (e.g., achievement) for the youth; especially the latter which in addition to the traits of personality, competitiveness, and self-confidence, should include social connections and social contributions of the youth, or the so-called three "learning to" (to be productive, to be connected, and to steer) for the youth. Simply put, it is the interdependency between youth development and societal development that we should emphasize. In this respect, what opportunities and support this society can offer are what we should consider. For example, US society values the right of speech, the right of action, originality, and the right of making decisions for youth development. What do we have for our children in their development? At least, what can we offer to inspire their imagination in development?

Looking back at this society that over-emphasizes education, it lacks such kind of broad vision or foundation from the perspective of youth welfare and service development. For example, the various placement facilities, alternative schools and programs, and even school social work were all established for specific targets, as the society was only concerned with "bringing back the dropouts to right track"

到有限的對象。而所有工作的目標主要也都在讓這些對象可以回歸教育體制、或安置於其中介、替代的服務設施中。現在，我們為了多數青少年的發展，若只繼續以過去這些工作的範圍或經驗作基礎，恐怕是不夠的。以目前教育體制擴張的情形來看，事實上也並不能看出可以多給青少年什麼發展支持、機會與空間。因除了將一些舊體制(包括青年輔導)的部分作挪移、合併外，並沒有增加什麼新的服務基礎。且這新體制在繼續以強化家庭功能為核心的福利政策架構下，則其在推行青少年服務的定位是更不清楚。

簡言之，我們面臨的是一個如何讓這體制擴大青少年發展目標與途徑的課題。且所謂「途徑」是要達到Benson & Pittman(2001)所強調，讓青少年有清楚而廣泛(clear and wide)選擇(options for youth)的實質意義，或如兒少國是會議講求的以兒少為本之精神。又，所謂「以社區為基礎」的青少年福利服務要如何落實？也仍是模糊的，或其實我們只講求以家庭為本、以國家為基礎的體制？在我們社會可能就是缺乏「以社區為基礎」的青少年服務體制，而這是Benson & Pittman(2001)在對美國的相關體制作分析時所指出，對青少年最基本、第一線的服務體系。在英美社會，這體系是由具宗教背景的民間組織推動形成的，而在長期的發展中逐漸世俗化、社區化 (Robbs, 2007)。國內雖也不乏這類背景的組織，但畢竟在規模、數量上都不能與英美社會相比，且可能因缺乏下列條件(雖是站在第一線)而尚未能展現其基本的地位與功能：

- 議題的推動：對於服務議題有推動能力，主要是靠掌握觀點與資料；
- 公眾的參與：能激發公眾參與和支持，乃至讓青少年有參與的角色地位；
- 團結的社區：能營造社區能量和希望，使其提供組織經費、技術等支援；
- 努力的焦點：能聚焦於青少年在家庭、鄰里的處境，充實社區化支持服務；
- 研究的促進：能結合各方面意見以至學術研究，開創有利改革的環境。

or with child prostitution problems in earlier times. In that sense, the aim of these establishments was to bring these targets back to the normal education system or to place them in alternative service facilities. Now, for the development of majority youth, if we continue such work or repeated the experience accumulated, it may not be enough. Although the present education system has been expanded, no additional support, opportunities and space for youth development are seen. This is because no new service is seen, except the switch and merge of some services in the old systems (e.g., youth guidance). Also, it is not clear how this new system with continued focus on family-functioning as the guiding principle of welfare can serve for the purpose of enhancing youth developmental services.

Simply speaking, we are facing an issue of how to expand the goals and pathways for youth development in current system. According to Benson and Pittman (2001), the “pathways” should provide clear and wide options for youth, or focus on youth as the national conference proposed. Also, how to realize the “community-based” youth welfare service is also unclear. Perhaps, we may only realize a family-centered and government-based system. There may not be a “community-based” youth service system in this society, but it is the most fundamental and front service system for youth in the United States, according to Benson and Pittman (2001). As in UK and in USA, this system is formed through the promotion of civilian groups with religious backgrounds that gradually secularized and communized (Robbs, 2007). Although there are some civilian groups of such kind in this society, they are still beyond comparison with that of the UK and USA in scale and quantity terms. Also, in the absence of the following conditions, their importance and functions may still be underestimated (be they on the front of our service system):

- *Connect to Popular Issues: They can link with hot issues, understand and accommodate public opinions, and make use of relevant data.*
- *Secure Public Support: They nurture public participation and support, so as to define roles for youth participation.*
- *Build Sustainable Community: They develop energy and hopes in community for providing monetary and technical support.*
- *Prioritizing Community Agenda: They focus on the family and neighborhood situations of youth to enrich community-based support service.*
- *Strengthen the Evidence Base: They engage the established research disciplines to create an environment favorable for reforms.*

上列條件其實也是美國的社區青少年服務組織所以能蓬勃發展的原因，但在Benson & Pittman(2001)眼裡，有些組織還缺乏一個重要條件，就是有永續的基礎。Benson & Pittman(2001)認為，青少年服務組織要厚實、強化有效行動的基礎，需與其工作任務相關的各種單位，講求一種如金字塔般由下而上累積實力的動員策略。其中應有協力夥伴、倡議組織、乃至有民意調查、公益慈善、公共政策、研究評估等單位作基礎，再在其上去結合公民營的服務單位和各種專業、志工人力。當然更需要結合青少年本身及其家庭，也包含能對他們(及各單位)增權展能的組織。要在如此層層相扣的布局上，去建構永續的基礎，才能達到在地化的永續。

美國社會講求在地化、永續性的社區青少年服務組織，並不意味就忽視其他的服務系統，事實上這些組織是與學校〔義務教育體系〕和所謂問題取向的服務〔保護矯治體系〕共同結合成一完整的青少年服務體系。這體系發展的背後固然有各級政府的一些政策影響，但主要仍是靠各地主動的努力。那麼，這種在地化、永續性、系統性、和主動性的社區青少年服務，在國內是否也有可能發展？恐怕我們立即面臨的，就是要如何與上述國內教育體制結合的問題。

伍、國內青少年服務的未竟事業

從前述可知，美國青少年服務體系的發展，與民間社會結合的淵源是很深的。這固然與其旺盛的民間社會力量有關，其民主制度自也有貢獻。在國內，青少年服務組織的發展則在不同年代受到國際、宗教、政府等方面的影響，但卻不太有民間社會的影子。早年成立的服務組織，不論是注重偏差青少年的犯罪防治、或一般青少年的諮商輔導，都有政府政策的主導背景。而近年新興的服務組織，則又多反映社會主流或宗教信仰的價值。後者在英美雖然也曾影響其最早的青少年服務，但已隨其社會政治經濟的發展經過轉化。在國內則沒有相當的時機和條件，即使有十多年前開始形成的民間倡導力量，開創了一些新的服務。卻在公辦民營化的趨勢

These are also the factors contributing to the thriving of community youth service organizations in United States. In the eyes of Benson and Pittman (2001), however, some organizations may still lack one important condition: a basis for sustainable development. According to them, youth service organizations will have enriched and strengthened foundation for effective action only when they develop a bottom-up resourcing strategy by teaming up with all units related to their work in a pyramid building-up fashion. These units may include partnerships/collaboratives, advocacy organizations, movers and monitors of public opinion, philanthropic organizations, public policy makers, researchers and evaluators. Next, these groups should combine with private and public service units and all kinds of professional and volunteer human resources. Of course, they should also team up with youth and their families, as well as organizations that can expand their power and the power of all units. The only way to secure local sustainability is to develop a sustainable foundation at each level of this pyramid.

Although US society emphasizes localized and sustainable community youth service groups, this does not mean that it overlooks other service systems. In fact, these groups form a complete youth service system along with schools (compulsory education system) and the so-called issue-oriented services (protection and correctional systems). Although there is the influence of government policies, the voluntary effort of local groups is the major force of development of such an entire system. In this respect, will such kind of localized, sustainable, systemic, and voluntary community youth service be developed in this society? Perhaps the first issue we have to handle is how to align with the aforementioned education systems.

5.Unfinished Business of Youth Services in Taiwan

As mentioned above, the development of the US youth service system has a deep connection with local civilian groups. Apart from the thriving of US civilian groups, democracy plays an important role. In Taiwan, although religions, the government, and the world have played parts in the development of youth service groups over time, there is little involvement of civilian groups. Government influence is seen everywhere in civilian youth service groups established in earlier times, such as civilian groups for preventing juvenile crime or youth counseling service. In recent years, however, the majority of emerging service groups reflects mainstream social values or religious values. While religions have indeed played a part in the early youth service in UK and in USA, their influence has transformed along with

下，未繼續累聚動能去影響更多乃至更早的服務，反有停滯在服務少數邊緣弱勢族群的狀態。

國內青少年福利服務的議題歷年來已幾經轉變，從防治犯罪、中輟、性交易，到保護、安置、外展等服務的倡議，乃至開創另類就學、就業的機會等，看似在不斷進展，但事實上各項議題所指涉的青少年，其重疊性甚高。只不過隨著這些青少年在社會邊緣的游離，社會也在改變角度、觀點看待他們。在作法上，我們也總是依照主流的價值，希望將他們納入社會生活架構中。長期以來，一些專業人員及社會人士，就投注了無數的時間和精力在陪伴這些青少年，希望他們成長、改變，但似乎都是事倍功半。因為實際上社會對於這些青少年所需資源的瞭解並不多，而終究能符合社會期待改變的青少年也畢竟是少數，使這樣的工作能獲得社會的支持總是有限，也面臨服務方法捉襟見肘的窘境。所以最終這些青少年和工作者，就仍繼續在社會的角落裡，相濡以沫乃至漸被遺忘，使人有青少年福利衰落的唏噓。

瞭解前述情況，就不難理解何以教育體制仍會是國內青少年服務的主要依附對象。事實上若以服務對象而言，我們的青少年服務體系與教育體制幾乎是分流的：前者服務少數，而後者關照多數，且目標也不一樣。如今不論為使前者有更厚實的服務基礎，或使後者能關照青少年更廣的發展需求，我們必須設法使兩者有所交流，最終自是希望能建立如上述的完整體系。只是在前者缺乏主動性、而後者仍具有主導性(對青少年發展議題)的前提下，兩者的交流可能還是有賴於教育體制先作某種程度的開放。這在幾年前配合所謂三級輔導體制的運作，開始注重連結社會上的輔導資源，而曾啟動了一些機會，但其開放幅度卻在不明確的政策下未進一步發展(闕漢中，2003)。而且在這開放中也存在主客體界線分明的問題：學校是主體、被連結的資源是客體，彼此在考量青少年需求上的立場就不對等，常需妥協也常不易跳脫方案性思考(相對於發展性思考)。可想而知，最終最不被考量的即青少年本身的立場，以青少年為本位考量的服務就難實現。

political and economic changes. In Taiwan, it lacked equivalent timing and conditions. Although a civilian force began to form more than a decade ago and has created some new services, such a force was unable to continuously influence more and earlier service with the rise of BOT practice. As a result, it stops at providing service for only the underrepresented groups.

In Taiwan, the issue of youth welfare service has changed from time to time over the years. From juvenile crime prevention, assistance and placement for school dropouts and child prostitution; to the outreach and employment services, it seems youth services never stop developing. As a matter of fact, many services involved in these issues overlapped with one another. The society simply changes its ways of treating the overlapped recipients of underrepresented in this society. In practice, we always hope to bring them back to our social life according to the mainstream value. Over time, some professionals and successful people in society have invested time and effort to accompany these young people and help them grow and change. However, their effort was usually in vain. In reality, society knows very little about what resources they really need, and only few can return to the right track of society. As a result, such work can only earn very limited support from society, and these groups are running out of effort. For these reasons, these young people and social workers are still walking along the fringes of society helping each other when both are in humble circumstance and gradually become forgotten. This explains why youth welfare in Taiwan is always declining.

Based on the above descriptions, it is not hard to understand why youth service in Taiwan always gets along with the education system. In terms of service target, however, the youth service system and education system in Taiwan are diverse. The former is designed for the minority group; while the latter is planned for the majority group. Also, the targets of both systems differ. Now, whether it is to enrich the service foundation of the former or to ensure the latter fulfills more youth demands, we need to ensure the communication between them, hoping to establish a complete youth service system as mentioned above. However, as the former seems to be passive and the latter still has the power of initiative (in youth development term), the communication between them is only possible if the education system is “liberated” to a certain extent. Out of the need to cooperate with the “three-level counseling system” in recent years, the importance of connecting with the social counseling resources has gradually emerged and triggered some opportunities; however, it was left undeveloped due to policy uncertainties

現在，要改善上述情況，首須考量如何確保青少年的主體性。Benson & Pittman(2001)從分析美國青少年工作的轉變與挑戰之後指出，要做到以青少年為本位的(社區)工作設定(prioritizing community agendas for and with youth)必須注意下列原則：

- 不僅止於預防(Beyond Prevention)
- 不僅短期解決(Beyond Quick Fixes)
- 不僅基本服務(Beyond Basic Services)
- 不限於學校內(Beyond the School Building)
- 不限於在校時(Beyond the School Day)
- 不限專業人員(Beyond Professionals)
- 不僅接受服務(Beyond Recipients)
- 不受標籤束縛(Beyond Labeling)
- 不僅止於實驗(Beyond Pilots)

這些強調跨越(beyond)的原則，可以看出是要避免任何體系片面的主導，背後的主要精神就是所謂對於青少年的「全面投資與投入」(Full Investment and Full Involvement)。其中「全面」是指如前述結合各單位的行動(Full Participation)，而「投資」的觀念則在強調要促成青少年的充分發展；如主張一個社會必須提供更多制度化資源(如適度的財務資源)以協助青少年發展自我和競爭力，去面對當代複雜環境變遷下的生存挑戰(林芳玫、蔡佩珍，2003)，乃至說青少年不應被當作經濟發展工具而投資，應以青少年發展作為經濟發展的目標(黃昌榮、邵家臻，1998)。Benson & Pittman(2001)則具體地指出，這樣的投資是要讓：

青少年與家庭(Youth and Families)
 在鄰里社區(in Communities and Neighborhoods)
 有充足有效的服務、支持、與機會(saturated with effective and sustainable services, supports, and opportunities)
 使其有清楚而寬廣的途徑(that form clear and wide pathways)
 得以獲致成就、發展(for success)

綜合上述看法，可見真正以青少年為本位的服務

(Chueh, 2003). Also, the clearly defined subject and object relationship was in the way: schools are the subjects and the resources to be linked are objects. As each has different grounds when considering youth needs, they need frequent compromises and are difficult to jump out of the box (when compared with the progressive perspective). Hence it is not hard to figure out why the needs of youth were usually overlooked in the end, while it is still hard to realize youth-focused services.

If we need to change these situations, how to secure the subjectivity of youth is by far the first issue to handle. After analyzing the changes and challenges of youth work in United States, Benson and Pitman (2001) pointed out that we should follow the principles below when prioritizing community agendas for and with youth:

- *Beyond Prevention*
- *Beyond Quick Fixes*
- *Beyond Basic Services*
- *Beyond the School Building*
- *Beyond the School Day*
- *Beyond Professionals*
- *Beyond Recipients*
- *Beyond Labeling*
- *Beyond Pilots*

From these beyond-focus principles, we can see an attempt to get rid of the one-sided direction of any system, and the spirit beyond is the full investment and full involvement in youth. The “full” here refers to the full participation of all units mentioned above. The concept of “investment” aims to emphasize the promotion of full youth development. For example, a society must provide more institutionalized resources (e.g., appropriate financial resources) to help young people to develop themselves and develop competitiveness for facing the challenges of survival in the complex environmental changes in modern time (Lin & Cai, 2003). Instead of investing in youth as a tool for economic development, we should put youth development as the target of economic development (Huang & Xiao, 1998). Benson and Pittman (2001) further pointed out that the aim of such an investment is to make

“youth and families in communities and neighborhoods saturated with effective and sustainable services, supports, and opportunities that form clear and wide pathways for success.”

Concluding from the above opinions, it is clear that the aim of a true youth-focus service system is to provide youth with the opportunities for full development in the neighbor-

體系，是要使青少年在鄰里社區之間就有達到充分發展的機會。其發展的課題及所需投入的資源，也應超越單一體制或任何服務體系的考量。這是很重要的概念，因為它代表我們必須以不同於以往偏重特定體制的角度，重新去看待青少年在社區生活的環境、現況、及動向，檢視各方面的資源、機會是否夠多元、開放，而我們的青少年是否也都有充分的瞭解和選擇去運用。當然，也要看成人的態度、眼光能否認真面對、支持青少年在各方面的探索和嘗試。對青少年工作單位來說，更要認清其任務並不在配合任何體制，使青少年回歸或轉向，而在配合青少年的發展選擇與任務，包括要不要、或如何來促成他們在體制外的發展途徑。

如上這看似合理而明白的工作，卻如Benson & Pittman(2001)所言，即使在美國也仍是一項「未竟事業」(unfinished business)，因為它不僅是一項工作，也要使它成為一種公眾理念(public idea)，才能扭轉許多舊的工作體制，就誠如Woodson (2007)所言，青少年在特定文化中的角色、主體性、以致整個童年，都是一種社會理念的演示。在國內若能實現這理念，應有助於化解前述國內青少年服務因立場不明而失據的問題，實現所謂青少年發展取向的「社區行動模式」。其實，國內已有單位在嘗試相關的概念，但要在我們社會成為一種公眾理念，可能也須釐清一些行動上的概念。

陸、青少年發展：社會課題

認真說來，要落實上述的工作概念，我們社會最需要做的是，可能是重新看待或「發現」我們的青少年(廣義的)，包括他們正受到社會如何對待。至少我們應避免以有限的眼光來看待有限的青少年，只有真正瞭解他們的本質和全貌，才可能去設想以他們為本位的服務。

青少年主體性

先來看，我們社會是否已能接受青少年為社會一明顯而重要的群體？這其實是在西方社會工業化的過程中演變而形成的，但最初青少年會受注意卻

hood and community. The issues and required resources for youth development should go beyond the consideration of any single system or service system. This is a very important concept as it represents the need for re-considering the living environment, present status and movement of youth in the community; reviewing if the resources and opportunities in different aspects are adequate and open enough; and examining if youth in Taiwan has full understanding of such resources and opportunities and the right to use them in a way different from the past which over-emphasized on any specific system. Of course, we will also need to consider if adults are ready in both attitude and vision terms to face and support youth to explore and try different ways. Also, youth work organizations should make sure that, instead of putting or turning youth back to the right tract in collaboration with any system, their mission is to cooperate with youth for their developmental choices, including the intention to or how to promote youth development pathways outside the system.

Such seemingly reasonable and clearly understood work is still unfinished business, even in United States, according to Benson and Pittman (2001), for it is “a” work. It needs to become a public idea in order to change many old work systems. According to Woodson (2007), the roles, subjectivity, and even the entire childhood of youth in a specific culture demonstrate a kind of social belief. If this belief is realized in Taiwan, this will help to solve the aimless youth service problems as a result of undefined ground, and thereby realize the so-called youth-development-oriented “community action model” of services. Although some units in Taiwan are trying related concepts, it may need to clarify some action concepts before we can form a public idea in society.

6. Youth Development: A Social Issue

If we want to enforce the above concepts seriously, the first thing to do is re-consider or “re-discover” our youth (broadly speaking), including the way how society is treating them. At least, we should avoid treating youth with limited vision. We cannot think about youth-focused service until we really understand the nature and the whole of youth.

Subjectivity of Youth

First, we should consider if this society has accepted youth as a significant and important group of the society. This concept was formed in Western society during industrialization. However, youth caught social attention at the beginning as the underrepresented in society. Although they are no longer underrepresented in industrialized societies, this

是因他們在社會邊緣的狀態。雖然先進的社會已不再這樣看待他們，但我們社會似乎仍在接受這樣的概念。即使近年來屢屢有引人注意的青少年優異表現，可能仍未使我們與多數的青少年作聯想。反之，少數青少年非正規的表現，卻可能強化我們對之作邊緣化的投射。如此，也難怪我們很難對青少年形成一整體的概念，而只有片斷、零散的印象，或只看見其在各種體制下附屬乃至隱性的地位。

有人可能就以上述的態度，來合理化對青少年分群、分流的概念和作法。但這與認清青少年非單一團體是兩回事，差別就在於由誰來分。青少年基於其各自不同的生長背景、認同、處境、和發展目標等眾多因素，而形成不同的群體，是社會應該接受並尊重的事實。甚至，我們應該就如保障成人各種群體的利益一樣保障他們。有人更強調，這些青少年群體的存在，不應該被視為只是過渡到成人的一個階段，因而無視或否定其自給自足的完整意義(黃昌榮、邵家臻，1998)。Jones & Wallace(1992)甚至指出，這種自給自足的意義可能就表現在「投射」青少年所欲發展的社會。從這角度來看，青少年本身就有發展社會的動能，我們應予以正視。就如林芳玫、蔡佩珍所主張(2003)，青年人不應只被認定是未來的領袖，而更是當下的行動者。

對於現代青少年可能發展不同的族群以「投射」其所欲發展的社會，Jones & Wallace(1992)認為，現代社會中青少年的發展途徑，是在各種獨立和依賴狀態中摸索進行，而過程也不斷延長。因此，青少年需藉助於投入特定的生活歷程〔life-course〕，並不斷組合其生活與發展經驗來作對照，以為自己的發展軌跡找意義。青少年投入特定的生活，就可能形成特定的族群，尤其若此歷程是延長的。甚且，可能因延長的階段讓青少年有機會累積更多的「文化資本」〔cultural capital〕，用以追求其理想的社會、生活，就更有機會發展出不同的社群認同。傳統上所謂「成為社會有用的一份子」，現在就還要問：對哪一個社會？因個別青少年所認同的社會可能已不再是絕對的，今日青少年至少多了一些社群認同的選擇。而這些在過去被以次文化界定的社群，現在卻可

concept is still functioning in this society. Although increasing underrepresented youths have made excellent performance in recent years, they are not associated with average youth in this society. By contrast, we may easily project the substandard performance of a small number of average youth to the underrepresented group. This explains why it is difficult for us to form a public idea on youth, except fragmented and dispersed impressions. Or, we only see their affiliated or even implicit status in various systems.

Some may rationalize the concept and practice of categorizing or classifying youth based on the above attitude. However, to recognize that youth do not form a unitary group is a totally different thing. The point is who is going to do this. Due to different upbringings, identifications, situations, development goals, and so on, youth forms into different groups. Society should accept and respect them. In fact, we should protect them the same way we protect different adult groups. Some further emphasized that we should not treat these youth groups as a transition to adulthood and thus neglect or deny the full meaning of their self-sufficiency (Huang & Xiao, 1998). Jones and Wallace (1992) further pointed out that the meaning of such kind of self-sufficiency may manifest in the “projection” of society that youth wish to develop. In this respect, youth has the momentum to develop society, and we should face it. According to Lin and Cai (2003), besides future leaders, youth should be considered as present day agents.

According to Jones and Wallace (1992), modern youth developing into different groups and “projecting” society they wish to develop represents the independent and yet interdependent exploration of youth development pathways in modern society. Also, the exploration extends continuously. Therefore, youth needs to find the meaning of their development pathway by involving in a specific life course and continuously combine their life and development experience as a cross reference. By involving in a specific lifestyle, youth may form specific groups; particularly in an extended development course. In the extended development course, youth may have the opportunity to accumulate more cultural capital to pursue their ideal society and life. In this case, they will have more opportunities to develop identification with diversified social groups. Traditionally, we were taught “to be useful in society”. Now, we need to add, “In which society?” This is because the society with which youth identifies today may not be definite any more. At least, there are more social groups for youth to identify with. With full conditions for development, these social groups which were defined as sub-cultural groups may become the mainstream of social

能藉由更充分的發展條件，而成為主流社會發展、乃至發展新社會的一股動力。

所以，成人應去排除可能使青少年社群完整發展的障礙，更無須將之分群或分流。如果青少年發展的議題、權益和需求，不能藉一青少年整體的概念而凸顯，也應讓社群建構的主權回歸青少年本身。在發展「以社區為基礎」的青少年服務時，也要從此角度來確認其主體性。而以青少年延長的發展過程來看，這工作也應包含去認清青少年對於青年乃至成人社會生活的理想。

青少年自主性

由上述的概念延伸，我們可能也要有青少年自主性的概念，來看待青少年在社區的生活、或是他們如何在社區生活中「求」發展。

所謂青少年「求」發展的概念，其實在我們社會中不乏有一些跡象，但可能常在不經意中就被忽略了。如本文前述少年出走的事例，即可從這角度來看待，也可知其中隱含著青少年在生活、成長中作探索的傾向、需求、乃至權益。而從媒體報導其他青少年探索的事例中，也常透露出青少年對生活有積極進取的態度，對自身乃至其生活環境(如：社區)的發展有相當的主見，而會自動自發去找到參與相關事務的途徑。尤其，若還有正向的團體行動運作經驗，那麼其團體甚至也可促進社區的發展(闕漢中，2009)。

對於青少年的這種自主性，有研究深入探討後分別指向青少年的不同效能。如Tolman & Pittman(2001)指出，青少年之所以能在社區(或廣泛的社會環境)中發展出積極、自主的生活態度乃至行動力，要其能從社區內各種活動或方案中找到其所需的機會與空間，且有連結經驗、資源與人脈等某種程度的「政治效能」(a sense of political efficacy)。另有對青少年消化社會資訊的研究發現，青少年在接收社會資訊時所作的反應乃至「會採取行動」，與其能否積極尋求不同訊息管道、公民教育機會、及在「認知」、「關懷」與「感受」等方面的

development or even the momentum for developing a new society.

Hence, adults should endeavor to eliminate all obstacles obstructing the full development of youth social groups and will not need to categorize or classify youth into different groups. If we cannot mark out the importance of the issues, rights and needs of youth development with a unitary concept, we should give youth back the right to form their own social groups. As the development course of youth is extended, this should be included in the clarification of the youth's ideal on the young and adult social life.

Self-Determination of Youth

Based on the above concepts, we may also need to treat the community life of youth or the way they “seek” development in community life through the concept of youth self-determination.

Regarding the concept of “seeking” development in youth, there are many traces in this society. However, they may be overlooked as they have become part of the daily life. This can be illustrated by the above incident of the runaway brother and sister. From the incident, we can see the tendency, the need, and even the right of exploration in the daily life and growth of youth. Other media reports on youth exploration also reveal the aggressive attitude toward life. For self-development and for the development of the living environment (e.g., community), youth will voluntarily develop the pathways to participate in related affairs. Particularly, in the presence of positive experience in certain group activities, such groups can even promote community development (Chueh, 2009).

After in-depth investigations of such kind of self-determination in youth, different researchers correlate it with different youth efficacies. For example, Tolman and Pittman (2001) pointed out that it is necessary for youth to find opportunities and space in different activities or plans in the community and link up experience, resources and connections with a sense of political efficacy before they can develop an aggressive and self-determining life attitude, and even action power, in a community (or a general social environment). Other research on the youth comprehension of social information shows that the youth response and even “reaction” to social information are correlated with their ability to aggressively seek different information channels and opportunities for civics education, and to integrate “cognition”, “concern”, and “feeling” (Cheuh, 2003). Like the conclusion of Tolman and

統整是有關的(闕漢中, 2003)。但最終也許如Tolman & Pittman所歸結, 最重要的是青少年有沒有願景或遠見, 才是這些效能的關鍵。若藉Jones & Wallace所稱在生活中累積「文化資本」〔cultural capital〕的概念來理解, 或許也可視之為一種文化效能。

青少年在社區生活中的自主性或效能, 顯然是我們欲以青少年為本位去實現「以社區為基礎」的服務時, 不可忽視乃至應予促進的。那麼, 在我們的社會有什麼促進的機制呢? 對此我們就可能要參考「青少年參與」的概念。

青少年社會參與

有人認為, 「青少年參與」常是大家〔政策或實務工作者〕口惠而無實至的概念, 說「青少年應涉入與他們有關係事務的決定」幾乎是沒有意義的論述。因為範圍太大, 而最終仍是別人在為青少年決定甚麼是與他們有關的(Robbs, 2007)。反之, 有人把青少年參與看作是一種絕對的公共價值〔如聯合國所提的宣言〕, 是實踐公民社會的手段, 而因此要爭取青少年可等同成人的各項權利, 包括政治、社會、經濟、民生等。這在理念上或許能被認同, 但在作法上卻不易獲得響應, 不論指來自青少年或成人。為什麼? 因為有下列事實:

- 成人也有權利、還有對青少年的責任, 而與青少年的權利就常有衝突。現實世界裡, 衝突的處理途徑〔制度、資源〕卻大多仍由成人主導或掌控。
- 不論甚麼權利, 惟有能落實在生活中, 才對青少年有意義。但青少年未必能理解, 其所關心的生活事務與其權利的有無或運作之間有何關連。
- 成人很難予青少年周延的權利保障, 即使有善意或職責的成人都難免有出於無意的疏忽、盲點或矛盾, 何況對一些特定青少年有意的排斥或排除。

由上述可知, 要青少年達到有意義的參與, 不全然是權利的議題, 它還需要整個社會的文化、態度、組織、或生活結構等方面的條件去促成(Robbs, 2007)。青少年要如何能意識到這些條件並去掌握, 才是重要的議題。這需要青少年與成人之間作更多接

Pittman, the vision or view of youth is the key of these efficacies. When interpreting this with the concept of accumulating “cultural capital” in line of Jones and Wallace, this can be considered as a kind of cultural efficacy.

The self-determination or self-efficacy of youth in community life should not be overlooked but should be encouraged when we wish to realize the “community-based” service in youth-focus term. In this case, what are the mechanisms for promoting this in this society? Then, we should move on to the “youth participation” concept.

Social Participation of Youth

Some people believe that “youth participation” is more a slogan of “policy or practice workers” than a solid concept, and “youth should involve in the decision of affairs relating to them” is almost a meaningless statement. As the scope is too big, that what are related to youth is ultimately decided by others (Robbs, 2007). By contrast, some consider youth participation as a kind of absolute public value (e.g., the UN Declaration) and an approach to realize civil society. Therefore, they fight for the rights of youth that can be equivalent to those of adults. These rights include political, social, economic and civil rights. Some may identify with this concept but will less likely support it, whether they are youths or adults. Why so? The answers are as follows:

- Adults also have rights, as well as the responsibility for youth. However, such rights usually conflict with the rights of youth. In the real world, the ways of settling conflicts (systems, resources) are mostly led or controlled by adults.
- Whatever rights they are, they are meaningful to youth as long as they can be exercised in real life. However, youth may not understand the connections between the life affairs they care about and the existence and operation of such rights.
- It is difficult for adults to provide full protection of youth rights. Even descent or responsible adults may have accidental negligence, blind spots or conflicts, and not to mention the deliberate rejection or elimination of specific youths.

From these we can see that issues about rights are not necessarily what attract meaningful social participation of youth. This also needs the support of the culture, attitudes, organization, and lifestyle of the entire society (Robbs, 2007). The main issue is how youth recognizes and grasps these conditions. The intention and effort to improve these conditions

觸、瞭解、溝通，才可能有改善這些條件的共同意願和努力。所以，參與應是一種過程，而非目的。更具體來說，就是要使青少年能持續參與一個社會的過程。要讓青少年實質受益於這過程，就要讓他們感到有貢獻、且能帶來〔社會〕改變，就是要達到增權。

如此我們或可以說，原來青少年工作的核心，是在讓青少年有實質的參與--參與社會。但社會準備好了嗎？工作者準備好了嗎？否則，我們一直又在做甚麼工作？或許充其量只是在代表或代替社會，來接觸青少年，事實上卻想控制他們。我們為何要控制青少年？特別是對所謂邊緣青少年？可能就隱含著，我們既無法讓他們參與社會，又怕他們失控。但事實上青少年既不好控制，也不一定會失控。因為，在無法參與社會的情況下，他們何嘗不能建構其自己的社會？其實我們本應知道，有所謂主流社會與邊緣社會並存的道理，只是我們很少應用這樣的概念在工作上。

所以，應用青少年社會參與的概念，最終我們要面對的課題，借用黃昌榮&邵家臻(1998)的說法，就是如何促進青少年工作的質變與提昇，要做到(社會)結構取向(structural-oriented)的工作，而在意義上提昇為青年對社會的建構。

柒、結論

現在看來，青少年社會參與、自主性、和本體性是環環相扣的三個概念，而其能否成為我們社會的公眾理念，不僅關係著我們能否落實以兒少為本位、以社區為基礎的青少年體系，也是對我們能否成為一真正講求兒少福利與權益之社會的最終考驗。從本文對相關時事與體制的剖析，可見此等概念要在我們社會制度下紮根，不能只靠對青少年應用民主的理念與作法，或保障其特定的發展需求。其根本的價值文化議題，是在體認青少年發展與社會發展的互賴性，並從中發覺真正對青少年重要的發展機會與支持。

may be possible only through more contacts, understanding and communication between youths and adults. Therefore, instead of an end, the need for participation is a process. To be more specific, the aim is to allow youth to continuously participate in a social process. If we need to benefit youth through this process, we need to let them feel a sense of contribution and make them understand that they can change the society. In this case, we must give them such rights.

We can also say that the aim of youth social work is to provide youth with substantial participation—social participation. The point is, is this society ready? Are social workers ready? If not, what have we been doing? Perhaps, we only represent or replace society to contact with youth, while in fact we are trying to control them. Why should we control them; particularly the so-called underrepresented youth? This implies that they cannot participate in society and we are afraid they will go out of control. In reality, youth is not easy to control, nor will they go out of control. The point is, if they cannot participate in society, why cannot they build their own society? We all know that the mainstream society and marginal society co-exist, and we just seldom think it this way in our work.

Therefore, based on the concept of social participation, the final issue we need to face, according to Huang and Xiao (1998), is how to promote the amelioration and improvement of youth social work toward (social) structural-oriented work to increase the social contribution of youth.

7. Conclusion

According to the above discussions, the social participation, self-determination and subjectivity of youth are three interrelated concepts. Apart from realizing a youth-focus and community-based youth service system, the success of developing a public idea with these three concepts will be the final test of our success in building a society emphasizing youth welfare and rights. The news analysis in this paper shows that the application of the concepts and practice of democracy on youth or protecting the specific development needs of youth alone will be unable to enroot these concepts in this society. The basic issue in value and culture is to recognize the interdependency between youth development and social development, and to discover the true and important opportunities and support for youth development.

參考文獻 References

- 王順民(2011)，關於「兒童及少年福利與權益保障法」修正草案的評析，國家政策研究基金會，社會(評) 100-076 號，取自網址: <http://www.npf.org.tw/post/1/9981>
- 李易駿、古允文(2007)，機會開放或結構限制？台灣青年從學校到職場轉銜過程中的Yo-Yo現象。台灣社會研究季刊，第67期，頁105-152。
- 林芳玫、蔡佩珍(2003)，發展取向的青/少年政策：以全生涯規劃為中心。社區發展季刊，103期，頁16-32。
- 黃昌榮、邵家臻(1998)結構與個人整合？香港青年工作的再檢視與再發展。青年研究學報，1(2)，頁198-207。
- 闕漢中(2003)，青少年關心時事的認知、關懷、感受、與回應，台北：敦安社會福利基金會專題研究報告。
- 闕漢中(2003)，介入校園或走入社區？初探青少年輔導方案的動向，發表於「多元教改對現今社會之影響」研討會，台北：東吳大學文學院第20屆系際學術研討會。
- 闕漢中(2009)，喚起一個村子帶孩子——一個民間社團的行動：效益研究。台北：士林扶輪社。
- 闕漢中(2010)，在社區增權：青少年發展之路？發表於「全球化下的地方社會」研討會，台北：東吳大學人文社會學院第27屆系際學術研討會。
- Benson, P. & Pittman, K.(eds.)(2001)*Trends in Youth Development: Visions, Realities and Challenges*, Norwell, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Jones, G. & Wallace, C.(1992)*Youth, Family, and Citizenship*, Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Robbs, M.(ed.)(2007)*Youth In Context: Frameworks, Settings, and Encounters*, Sage Publication.
- Tolman, J. & Pittman, K.(2001)*Youth Acts, Community Impacts: Stories of Youth Engagement with Real Results*, The Community & Youth Development Series, Vol. 7, Baltimore, Maryland: International Youth Foundation.
- Woodson, S.(2007)Performing Youth: Youth Agency and the Production of Knowledge in Community-Based Theater, in A. L. Best (ed) *Representing Youth: Methodological Issues in Critical Youth Studies* (pp. -), New York, New York, University Press.

就業與家庭政策整合途徑的探討：以人口政策 白皮書的政策目標檢視為例

The Research Approach Exploring of Integrating Employment and Family policy: the Review of Policy Objective for the Population Policy White Paper in Taiwan

黃志隆* Chih-lung Huang

摘要

台灣人口政策白皮書的少子女化社會對策，將重點置於家庭政策的強化，試圖協助婦女解決工作與家庭生活兼顧之需要，以提振日益低落的人口生育率。然而工作與家庭之平衡，不僅與少子女化問題有關，更涉及了傳統男性家計承擔者模式中的文化與福利制度的扭曲等結構性問題。本文試圖從社會結構變遷對福利國家性別分工模式的衝擊出發，說明工作與家庭平衡的政策為何必須考量性別平等的理由。藉由承認與重分配之並重之性別平等觀點，以及對時間、收入分配和托育制度整合的討論，我們擬提出平衡就業和家庭政策的分析框架。該架構不僅有助於我們在既有工作和家庭平衡策略中作出更多元的思考，更有助於在未來的制度改革過程中，協助家計承擔者在就業勞動和家庭照顧的工作間，落實自由選擇和民主協商的可能。

關鍵字：兒少福利、兒童少年發展、權益保障、服務體系、社區

Abstract

One of the main purposes for the Population Policy White Paper in Taiwan is to seek solutions against the babybust trend. Through strengthening the family policy, the Population Policy White Paper in Taiwan tries to satisfy the need for a balance between work and family for women. However, the need is not only concerned with the babybust problem, but also about the institutional and structural problems on culture and welfare systems under the conventional male breadwinner model. This article will explain the reason why the issue of work and family life balance should consider gender equality. Through the dual perspective of recognition and redistribution as well as the integration of time, income distribution, and child care, we try to provide an analytical framework for the balance of employment work and family life. The framework can help us think multi-dimensionally and, in the future process of institutional reform, enable us to assist breadwinners make a free choice between employment and family care work and participate actively in the democratic society.

Keywords: employment, family, work and family balance, sexual equality

* 黃志隆，義守大學公共政策與管理學系助理教授。E-mail: huangch@isu.edu.tw

Chung-Cheng, University, Assistant Professor, Dep. of Public Policy and Management, I-Shou University.

壹、前言

台灣近年來的出生人口不斷下滑，已引發學界和輿論的高度關注。根據統計，台灣生育率不僅於1984年即達到一比一的替代水準，更在1990年代末期快速下滑。截至2010年止，台灣婦女的總生育率只剩0.9，成為超低生育率國家之一。少子女化現象對社會與經濟問題產生的衝擊，直接反映在家庭問題和就業問題上(李美玲等，2007)：就家庭問題而言，它包括了人口結構老化、家庭型態轉變，以及婦女婚育年齡延後所造成的相關問題；而以就業問題而言，則反映在教育人力失衡與勞動力不足，進而產生的經濟成長停滯性威脅。

面對少子女化的浪潮，行政院於2005年著手人口政策的重新修訂；除了考量人口學的學理依據外，並將行政院婦女權益促進委員會與婦女權益發展基金會的意見納入，希望能在兼顧生育和國家生產力、經濟力的同時，亦反映負擔生育天職之女性人口基本需要。2008年3月完成的「人口政策白皮書」(行政院，2008)，雖將問題焦點置於少子女化、高齡化，以及國際移民所帶來的相關問題與需要上，但主要目標仍是置於少子女化的對策(張世雄等，2009: 208)，其提出了近年來在國際學界中常被提到的「工作與家庭的平衡」政策，作為我國人口政策的短程(2008~2009)與中程(2010~2015)目標。

人口政策白皮書中的少子女化社會之對策，係以家庭政策為作為主軸。「其基本思維在於提高婦女的勞動力參與率，並...平衡家庭與工作(行政院，2008: 57)。」然而，該白皮書的所提出的理念與家庭政策原則，能否使家庭幼兒照顧工作能獲得接近就業勞動般的價值，進而落實性別平等的目標？以「工作與家庭的平衡」策略作為少子女化的社會對策，事實上是在處理性別平等的「承認政治」(the politics of recognition)問題(Taylor, 1992)。在家庭之幼兒照顧工作缺乏社會制度的肯定下，生養子女不僅加重了家戶經濟的重擔，更因家庭幼兒照顧工作價值的低落，而進一步造成少子女化現象的日益惡化。

事實上，同樣的問題，亦長期困擾著困擾西方

One. Introduction

The continuing trend of slipping birthrates has brought experts and the public to express serious concern. According to statistics, the birthrate in Taiwan reached a level of one couple to one child in 1984 and experienced a period of sharp drop in the 1990s. By 2010, the overall birthrate reached 0.9, which puts Taiwan among the countries with an extremely low birthrate. This phenomenon has brought along certain socioeconomic issues, which are directly reflected on the changes in the structure of family and employment(Li Mei-Ling et. al., 2007). Specifically, the aging population, changing family structure, and delayed marriage and pregnancy has been causing some social issues. The combined effect of imbalanced distribution of population in terms of the level of education and the shortage in working manpower is bringing the nation's economy to a stagnant state.

In an effort to counter the problem of low birthrate, the Executive Yuan set off to review the nation's population policies in 2005. In the process, the Executive Yuan took reference of the theories of demographic studies and brought in the opinions of the Executive Yuan Committee of Women's Rights Promotion and The Foundation of Women's Rights Promotion and Development, in aim to address the issues of birthrate, national productivity, economic power, and the basic needs of the child bearers-women. In March 2008, the Executive Yuan completed the Population Policy White Paper (Executive Yuan, 2008). Although the Population White Paper places focus on the issues of low birthrate, aging population, and migration, the target is still set to find a solution for the low birthrate (Chang Shrsyung et al., 2009: 208). The White Paper proposed the short (2008-2009) to mid (2010 to 2015) term goals for the balance of population policies based on the widely discussed concept of work and family balance.

The strategies proposed in the Population Policy White Paper intended to counter the problem of low birthrate is aligned to the axis of family policies. "The basic principle is to increase the rate of women's participation in the workforce, and... balance family and work (Executive Yuan, 2008:57)." But will the concept and principles proposed in the White Paper close the gap between the value of the stay-home childcare work and the jobs in the labor market, and will it achieve the goal of gender equality? The strategy of work and family balance is in fact the politics of recognition employed to handle that issues of gender equality (Taylor, 1992). When the job of stay-home childcare is not respected by society, having children not only brings extra financial burdens, it is also seen as an underappreciated work, and the coupled effect of these two factors are taking the society into a worsening situation of low birthrate.

In fact, the same problem has also been puzzling the admin-

先進國家。長期女性就業的增加，使得既有的家庭結構與功能面臨重大轉變(Ellingsæter, 1999; Esping-Andersen, 2002; Hildebrandt and Littig, 2006)。當婦女不再對照顧等再生產工作單獨負責的同時，婚育年齡和離婚率亦不斷的提高，並直接反映在出生率的下滑，與人口結構老化等現象。而當人口成長快速趨緩，甚至在未來呈現負成長之際，將難以避免產生市場需求收縮、消費下滑、投資停滯，以及失業率上升的經濟惡果(Mantel, 2001; Rosenzweig and Stark, 1997; 工商時報社論, 2008; 鍾俊文, 2004)。這種凱因斯主義有效需求維持的理論，成了對當前少子女化現象憂心忡忡的主要依據。他們主張國家應在政策上創造誘因，以解決日益惡化的少子女化問題。

少子女化問題不僅與家庭結構的變遷有關，更與就業問題息息相關。就前者而言，它涉及家庭中的性別平等分工問題。而該問題的解決，往往又與就業機會的平等相連結。故如何在解決就業問題的同時，亦克服家庭結構變遷所引發的性別平等問題，從而使人口老化問題一併迎刃而解，是本文關切的焦點。本文試圖從社會結構變遷對福利國家性別分工模式的衝擊出發，說明工作與家庭平衡的政策，為何必須在必須在處理重分配議題的同時考量承認的議題。

本文的章節安排如下：首先在第貳部分，我們將從Gøsta Esping-Andersen在福利資本體制改革策略的討論出發，同時透過Jane Lewis對英國工黨之工作與家庭(生活)平衡政策的檢討，說明兒童照顧在承認政治上的重要性。而藉由Nancy Fraser觀點二元論的引入，我們試圖說明當前改革方案的缺陷，以及承認作為改革理念在體制與政策改革反思上參考軸線必要性。在第參部分，我們則透過對相關文獻的檢視和台灣人口政策白皮書的分析，理解台灣對工作與家庭平衡政策的主要論述、改革主張，以及政策目標的侷限性。更進一步，我們將在第肆部分，透過觀點二元論的理念，重構人口政策白皮書之中的就業與家庭政策整合途徑，並提出可能的替代性理念與政策原則。最後則是結論，藉由總結上述的分析，我們指出性別、

istrators of the Western industrialized nations. The increasing rate of women holding long-term employment has brought the structure and functions of family to a major transitional point (Ellingsæter, 1999; Esping-Andersen, 2002; Hildebrandt and Littig, 2006). When women no longer face the duty of reproduction alone when women are no longer exclusively responsible for reproduction work, such as daycare, the age of marriage and childbirth, as well as the rate of divorce, continues to rise, and this is reflected on the slipping birthrate and aging population. When population growth begins to dive into the virtually stagnant rate or even negative growth in the near future, reverse effects to the economy, such as contraction of market demand, slipping consumption, stagnant investment, and rising unemployment rate, will become inevitable (Mantel, 2001; Rosenzweig and Stark, 1997; commentary of Commercial Times, 2008; Chung Chun-Wen, 2004). Under such circumstance, the Keynesian theory of effective demand becomes the major basis for the worries towards the current trend of decreasing birthrate. Therefore, they proposed that the country should create the incentives through policymaking to solve the worsening problem of low birthrate.

The problem of low birthrate isn't just related to the changing family structure; it is even more closely linked to the problem of employment. The former involves equal job-division between genders in a family, but the solution to this problem is often linked to equal opportunity in employment. This thesis focuses on how to solve the employment issue and overcomes the problem of gender equality brought about by changing family structure as the solution to the problem of population aging. This discussion starts from the impact of the changing social structure to the job-division model between genders in the welfare states to illustrate the "work and family balance" policy and explore the question of why "political recognition" must be taken into consideration when discussing the issues of redistribution.

This thesis will cover several topics in the following sections. First of all, in Section Two, we will start from Gøsta Esping-Andersen's discussion on the reform strategies for the welfare capitalism, and illustrate the significance of political recognition for childcare through the balancing work and family (life) policy of the British Labor Party. We will also make an attempt to discuss the issues in the current reform program through Nancy Fraser's perspective dualism and explore the requisiteness of the "recognition" in the retrospection of the reforms in the institutions and policies. In the third section, we will discuss the limitations in the main theory, claims, and goals of the work and family balance policy reform in Taiwan through a review on the relevant literature and analysis of the Population Policy White Paper of Taiwan. In the fourth section, we take a further step to reconstruct the path

就業與照顧間的三角難題，以及該議題往往侷限於重分配，而忽略了承認思考的重要性。

貳、福利資本主義體制的改革策略與英國的工作／家庭平衡政策：承認政治的反思

自二十世紀末以來，經濟全球化與後工業轉型造成的失業問題，一直持續地困擾西方先進國家。然而近年來伴隨著長期失業問題現象的持續，家庭結構轉變、婚姻關係的解組與人口老化的現象，亦成了西方國家亟待解決的問題。以下我們將透過理念、制度與政策所構成的政策學習與動態多層次架構(黃志隆與張世雄，2005；黃志隆，2008)進行分析。透過Gøsta Esping-Andersen以福利資本主義體制為主的改革策略討論(制度)，以及Jane Lewis對於英國工黨之工作與家庭(生活)平衡政策的檢討(政策)，我們將說明以重分配為主的改革方案可能引發的爭議。另一方面，我們亦藉由Nancy Fraser的觀點二元論，說明承認作為相關政策改革參考軸線的必要性(理念)。

一、福利體制對男性家計承擔模式的改革：女性就業與性別平等

事實上，隨著經濟全球化與後工業結構轉型，二次世界大戰後那種將就業與福利連結，並透過社會福利政策的安排而將男性視為家計承擔者，女性視為照顧者的傳統家計承擔模式，已無法因應日趨變動的社會結構。學者Esping-Andersen在《後工業經濟體的社會基礎》(1999)一書與〈新性別契約〉(2002)一文中，即針對學界批評他未將性別平等的議題納入其早期著作《福利資本主義的三個世界》(1991)一事作出回應。Esping-Andersen將家戶經濟、性別議題，以及戰後福利國家體制的延續相連結，指出了當前後工業結構轉型下福利國家的可能改革途徑。

Esping-Andersen(1999)從家戶經濟與就業成長的維繫兩方面，論述當代福利國家的危機與可能的改革方案。前者指的是「去家庭化」(de-familization)，以將女性從家庭照顧工作中解放；而後者指的則是家庭

of employment and family policy integration and propose possible replacement theories and policy principles through the concept of perspective dualism. Finally, we will conclude the discussion through a consolidated analysis on the above discussions and address the trilemma of gender, employment, and childcare, as well as how discussion of this issue is often restricted to redistribution without addressing the significance of political recognition.

Two. Reform Strategies of the Welfare Capitalism and the British Work/Family Balance Policy: Retrospection on the Politics of Recognition

Since the end of the 20th Century, economic globalization and post-industrial transformation have brought along the problem of unemployment, which has turned into a long-standing issue in the western industrialized nations. Several issues, including changing family structure, dissolution of marital relationship, and population aging, began to emerge under the overshadowing problem of unemployment and amass into a system of problems that are in urgent need for a solution. In the section below, we will analyze these issues through the concept of policy learning and dynamic multi-tier architecture constructed by the theory, institution, and policy (Huang Chih-lung & Chang Syrsyung, 2005; Huang Chih-lung, 2008). We will also discuss the possible disputes arising from the redistribution-based reform through the welfare capitalism-based reform strategies proposed by Gøsta Esping-Andersen (system) and Jane Lewis's review on the British policies of work/family (life) balance (policy). Furthermore, we will also illustrate the requisiteness of taking political recognition into reference for the relevant policy reforms through Nancy Fraser's perspective dualism (theory).

I. Welfare Capitalism to the reform of the male-breadwinner model: employment for women and gender equality

In fact, along with economic globalization and postindustrial transformation, the postwar traditional breadwinner model established through linking employment with welfare, where men were seen as the breadwinners and Lehman family caretakers in the social welfare policies, is no longer adequate to respond to changing social structure. Esping-Andersen responded to the criticisms on his omission of the gender equality issue in his earlier work, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1991) through his book, *The Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies* (1999), and his article, *New Gender Contract* (2002). Esping-Andersen linked the issues of household economy, gender issues, and the continuance of postwar welfare state system and proposed the currently possible reforms for the welfare states under postindustrial structural transformation.

照顧工作的公共化與市場化，以解決當前服務業經濟體就業機會不足的問題。在社會結構變遷的影響，女性參與勞動市場的比率日益提高。然而在傳統模式的影響下，承擔家庭照顧工作的女性往往難以發展個人職涯。另一方面，婚姻關係的日趨不穩定，也對女性原本依賴男性所獲得的社會保障，造成更大的風險。因此，面對這種去家庭化的發展，應透過社會政策賦予女性去商品化的法定權利。而這除了透過社會政策在社會保險資格條件的放寬來加以達成外，更應透過家戶在福利服務的購買，或是國家對福利服務的提供，以換取更多的女性就業時間。

然而家庭照顧工作的高成本問題，往往使得這樣的交換關係受到限制，這也使得Esping-Andersen必須訴諸家庭照顧工作的公共化或市場化，以解決家戶經濟無法負擔的問題。他一方面藉由透過家務照顧工作的公共化或市場化，提供勞動市場日益短缺的就業機會；另一方面則透過家戶經濟的共同維繫，使得家務照顧工作被外包的同時，換取更多女性發展自我職業生涯的時間與可能。Esping-Andersen(2002)進一步論述到：男女性別平等目標並非在於家務照顧工作的平等分配，而是女性能否發展其職業生涯。然而這種職業生涯的發展，除了應著重於協助女性在時間配置上有更多的選擇外，還應考量到男女在勞動市場終身收入上的性別差異，以及男女職業結構上存在的分歧對於時間上可能產生的影響。

Esping-Andersen上述的主張，進一步反映在2009年《未完成的革命》一書(Esping-Andersen, 2009)。氏認為，女性雖已在參與勞動市場的過程中，獲得社會經濟地位的提高，然而許多中低教育程度的婦女在參與非典型勞動的同時，尚需兼顧家庭照顧者的工作。而因生養子女所可能引發的就業中斷風險，除了造成人口出生率的下降外，更因家戶對子女教育投資不足，進而引發未來家戶收入不平等，福利國家未來就業人口不足，子女就業能力水準的下降，甚至是老年收入安全的風險。故Esping-Andersen提出的三個解決方案－「男性生命歷程的女性化」、「增加兒童投

Esping-Andersen (1999) discussed the crisis in contemporary welfare states and the possible reform options from two aspects-household economy and maintaining the growth in employment. The former refers to de-familization, which liberates women from the work of family care, and the latter refers to releasing the work of family care into the public domain and job market to solve the problem of insufficient job opportunities in the service based economies. Under the changing social structure, the rate of women participating in the labor market is increasing. However, under the traditional family model, women are seen as the main family caretaker, and often have problems when they try to develop their personal careers. In a different aspect, the increasingly unstable marital relationship has brought even greater risk to the social security of women, which they once gained relying on men. Therefore, as we are facing the fast development of de-familization, the government should declare the statutory rights that de-commoditize women through social policies, and this should be achieved through expanding eligibility for social insurance, as well as legislating purchase of welfare services under a household-based system, or the country should supply welfare services to give women more time for employment.

However, the high cost of the family care work often brings limitations to such exchange relationship, and that is why Esping-Anderson must advocate handing over the family care work to the public sector or the market, in order to solve the problem of affordability. On one hand, he advocates supplying job opportunities through handing over the family care work to the public sector and the market, and, on the other hand, giving the time and possibility to women for career development through shared responsibility on household economy, while the work of family care is out-contracted. Esping-Andersen (2002) further argued that the goal of gender equality lies not on equal sharing of family care work but whether the woman in the family can develop her career. However, such career development should be focused on not only helping women to gain more flexible schedules, but also the differences in income, and the divergences in the occupational structure that has the potential to affect the time arrangement.

Esping-Andersen's theories discussed above has been further reflected in his 2009 book, entitled "The Incomplete Revolution"(Esping-Andersen, 2009). He thinks that although some women have gained higher socioeconomic status in society through the process of participation in the labor market, some women with mid to low level of education are still the principal family caretakers when they participate in the non-typical employment. The risk of possible interruption of employment brought by childbirth is likely to drive the birthrate in the downward direction, and insufficient investment in children's education will instigate

資」，以及「世代契約的重構」中，前兩者的重心即著重於對女性在家庭照顧工作上的解放。

就福利資本主義國家而言，近年來亦針對傳統家計承擔者模式進行改革。首先，社會民主主義的代表瑞典不僅自二次戰後即致力於轉型為雙家計承擔者模式，更透過對家庭政策的改革，強化男性對兒童照顧工作的參與(Bogenscheider, 2000; Borchorst and Siim; 2008; Lundquist, 2011; Melby et al., 2008)；而保守主義的代表德國，亦在兩德統一後，為解決少子女化的壓力而致力於轉型為雙家計承擔者模式(Honekamp, 2008; Mätzke, 2010; Ostrner, 2010; Rosenfeld et al., 2004)；即使在美國，雖長期以來主張「分離領域」(separate sphere)的政策途徑，強調了女性在社會與經濟角色的傳統概念，但亦在1990年代後面臨家庭政策改革與傳統家計承擔者模式變遷的壓力(Berggren, 2008; Kamerman and Kahn, 2001; Levy and Michel, 2002; Wisenale, 1997)。

簡言之，Esping-Andersen將家戶中男女的性別平等問題，和當代福利資本主義的政治經濟結構變化相連結。隨著後工業結構轉型、就業型態的轉變，以及家戶經濟維繫的考量，女性就業已成了當代福利資本主義體系必須解決的重要議題。女性就業障礙的拆解，不僅有助於家戶經濟穩定目標的達成，同時透過家庭照顧工作的公共化或市場化，一舉解決就業機會不足和性別平等問題。更重要的是，其社會民主主義福利資本主義體制的理想得以在全球化與後工業轉型過程中得到維繫。故這種福利資本主義體制的分析框架與理論意涵，是將女性就業看作是解決傳統男性家計承擔者模式引發之性別不平等的重要手段。

問題的關鍵，在於性別平等是否只是女性就業的促進即可獲得解決？更進一步來說，照顧工作與勞動市場就業之間的衝突，能否透過前者的商品化換取女性更多的職業生涯發展所需的時間？還是在照顧工作商品化之際，造成勞動市場性別階層化下的另一種性別不平等現象？同樣的，當我們試著藉由工作與家庭平衡的相關政策來解決因為社會

uneven distribution of household income, insufficient workforce in the welfare states, decreasing employability in the children, and even risks in the elderly income in the foreseeable future. Therefore, Esping-Andersen proposed three solutions: female perspective in men's life course, investment in children, and reconstruction of the generational contract. The first two points placed the focus on liberating women from the work of family care.

The traditional breadwinner model has also undergone a reform in the welfare states. As the representative of the social democratic welfare regime, Sweden has moved forward to transform the traditional system to the dual breadwinner model after World War II and reinforced men's participation in the work of child care through a reform in family policies (Bogenscheider, 2000; Borchorst and Siim; 2008; Lundquist, 2011; Melby et al., 2008). As the representative of conservative welfare regime, Germany has also set its policies to transform the nation into the dual breadwinner system after reunification, in aim to relieve the pressure from decreasing birthrate (Honekamp, 2008; Mätzke, 2010; Ostrner, 2010; Rosenfeld et al., 2004). The US did not escape from this trend, either. Although the United States has long upheld the separate sphere policy, emphasizing the traditional social and economic role of women, they also faced the pressure to reform the family policies under the shifting trend away from the traditional breadwinner model (Berggren, 2008; Kamerman and Kahn, 2001; Levy and Michel, 2002; Wisenale, 1997).

Simply put, Esping-Andersen linked the gender equality issue in a household to the changes in the political-economic structure of contemporary welfare capitalism. Along with the postindustrial transformation, the forms of employment are also changing. Taking the factor of household economy into consideration, women in employment has become a significant issue which must be addressed in the contemporary welfare capitalism system. Removal of the obstacles on the way to women's employment will not only help a family to achieve a stable goal in family economy; at the same time, releasing the work of family care into the public sector or the market solves both problems of insufficient job opportunities and gender equality in one goal. More importantly, the ideology of the welfare capitalism can be maintained after globalization and during the process of postindustrial transformation. Therefore, the framework of analysis and connotation of the theories of the welfare capitalism sees employment for women as a significant tactic capable of solving the problem of gender equality incurred from the traditional male-breadwinner model.

The key to the question is that whether the issues of gender equality can be solved by promoting employment for women alone? Between the work of family care and employment in the labor mar-

結構變遷而引發的各種社會問題(特別是台灣當前面臨的少子女化現象)之際，其在性別平等目標的達成上究竟意味著什麼，值得我們作更進一步的分析。

二、就業勞動與照顧工作價值不對等問題：英國工黨政策改革的困境

以促進女性就業為主的去家庭化改革策略，會對性別平等目標產生什麼樣的影響？以下我們將透過英國工黨近年來在工作與家庭(生活)平衡的改革方案，說明性別平等議題如何在此一改革過程中不僅被忽視，且被中性化，從而延續了既有的性別不平等現象。

英國工黨於1997年時著手引進「工作與家庭平衡」(Work and Family Balance)的政策改革方案。當時的英國首相Blair首次針對該議題發表談話時，即表達：「我們必須作得更多，以使工作和家庭生活得以兼容」(Lewis and Campbell, 2008: 527)。在政策規劃概念上，其強調勞動市場的彈性化，以及家中父母必須在國家協助下，作出工作與家庭平衡的個體選擇。該政策關注的焦點，主要在於「彈性與公平」(flexibility and fairness)。2000年後，該政策轉變為「工作與生活平衡」(Work and Life Balance)，政策焦點亦轉變為「彈性與選擇」(flexibility and choice)。它強調具有家庭責任外的其他個體，亦有工作與生活平衡選擇的權利(Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 9)。英國從「工作與家庭平衡」到「工作與生活平衡」的政策名稱轉變，也意味著家庭結構的變化，以及個體在工作之外的生活選擇日益多樣化。但該政策的主要重心，仍致力於工作和家庭平衡的相關措施。

工作與家庭(生活)平衡政策規劃的首要問題，是既有的男性家計承擔者模式與女性角色的重新定位。資料顯示，英國男女在每週平均工作時數上，呈現極大的差異：男性平均每週工作時間為48小時，而女性則不到16小時(Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 10)。換言之，英國有著極強烈之男性家計承擔者模式(male breadwinner model)的傾向。當時的英國工黨，意識到女性在家戶經濟維繫上所扮演的角色日

ket, is it possible to bring women more time for career development through commoditizing the former, or is it another form of gender inequality when the labor market forms gender-based classes in the process of commoditizing the work of family care? Similarly, when we make an attempt to solve social issues instigated by the changing social structure through the work and family balance policies, especially for the phenomenon of low birthrate currently occurring in Taiwan, what does it mean by achieving the goal of gender equality? This is a question worth further discussion.

II. Inequality in between the values of employment in the labor market and the family care work: The dilemma of the British Labor Party's policy reform

Does the de-familialization policy, which is targeted to promote employment for women, have any effect on the achievement of gender equality? In the section below, we will illustrate how the subject of gender equality is overlooked and seen through a gender-neutral stance, whereas inequality is continued in the process of policy reform through the British Labor Party's work/family (life) balance policy.

The British Labor Party began to introduce the Work and Family Balance policy reform program into its political system in 1997. British prime minister, Tony Blair, once addressed the issue and expressed that much more should be done to reach the work and life balance. (Lewis and Campbell, 2008: 527). The policy emphasizes flexibility in the labor market and the concept of parents making their individual choices to balance work and family under the help of the administration. The focus of this policy is placed on flexibility and fairness. After 2000, this policy was reorganized into Work and Life Balance, and the focus was shifted to flexibility and choice. It emphasizes that individuals who have responsibilities outside of the family also have the right to choose a balance between work and life (Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 9). The British policy reform changed the name from "work and family balance" to "work and life balance", which also implies there are changes in the family structure and the individuals' choices outside of work is becoming more diversified. Nonetheless, the focus of the policy still lies in measures related to a between balance work and family.

The first problems encountered in the planning of the Work and Family (Life) Balance Policy are the existing male-breadwinner model and repositioning of the women's role. Statistics show that there are great divergences in the number of average weekly work hours between men and women. Men work an average of 48 hours per week, but women work less than 16 hours (Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 10). In other words, the male-breadwinner model is predominant in England. The British

益重要，以及女性仍擔負家庭照顧的責任，故擬透過相關政策，企圖在提升女性勞動參與率的同時，亦減少其家庭照顧責任。

英國工黨的工作與家庭(生活)平衡政策，可從政策理念的構思(conceptualisation)和具體的政策實踐兩方面來加以討論(Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 9-12)。在政策理念的構思上，2000年之前，它強調了「彈性與公平」(flexibility and fairness)，而在2000年之後，它則著重於「彈性與選擇」(flexibility and choice)。藉由勞動市場的「彈性化」，勞動參與所獲得的薪資被認為是最好的福利，且有助於增加就業和促進經濟成長。而「公平」與「選擇」理念，則要求「所有的人」(包括了企業、社會、兒童，以及父母)皆應能夠在彈性化的過程中受惠(對公平的強調)；同時要求父母在國家的協助下，就工作與家庭的平衡作出個體「選擇」。

上述的理念在2000年後陸續被轉換為具體政策，它主要包括了托育服務(children care service)，親職假(leave scheme)，以及工時(working hour)政策(Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 12-21)。就托育服務而言，它陸續增加了3到4歲兒童的托育場所，同時在2010年時把幼兒教育的免費時數提高到每年38週，每週20小時。2008年時，政府針對12,000名弱勢地區之2歲兒童提供免費之兼職照顧場所。2010年時，政府針對3歲到14歲的兒童，提供從早上8點到下午6點之付費式的家庭輔導服務。就親職假部分，政府則針對婦女的親職假，由1999年的18週逐步提高至2010年的1年。未支薪親職假部分則可申請延長，同時可調整返回原工作崗位之勞動契約。另外，2000年起，無固定雇主(未連續工作1年)之低薪婦女，可依其就業記錄和每週30英磅的基本薪資，提供非繳費式的產假津貼。至於男性的部分，2003年起，凡在固定雇主下工作一年，且家中有6歲以下的幼童者，可享有6週，每年最多4週的不支薪育嬰假。另外，每年亦享有2週之陪產假或收養假。2006年時，離職假申請的條件放寬至任職6個月即可，但只限於母親；若母親提早返回工作崗位，則父親可自幼兒21週大後接續母親的休假，此被稱之為額外的陪產

Labor Party was aware that women are playing an increasingly important role in the maintenance of the household economy but still shoulder the responsibilities of family care. This policy is an attempt of the Labor Party, aiming to increase the rate of women's participation in the labor force and reduce their load on the responsibilities of family care.

The Labor Party's Work and Family (Life) Balance policy can be discussed from two aspects: conceptualization and policy implementation (Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 9-12). Before 2000, the policy emphasized flexibility and fairness, but after 2000, this focus was shifted to flexibility and choice. Through the "flexibility" in the labor market, remuneration gained from participation in the labor force is deemed the best benefit of all and this model helps to create growth in the job market, as well as the economy. Under the concepts of "fairness" and "choice", everyone (including the businesses, society, children, and parents) is benefited from the flexibility (emphasis on "fairness"); at the same time, the parents are asked to make individual "choices" for the balance between work and family under the help of the state.

The concepts described above have been translated into actual policies in 2000, which include childcare service, leave scheme, and working hour policy (Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 12-21). For childcare service, there was a continuous increase in the number of childcare facilities for children between age three and four. In 2010, the government increased the free pre-education hours to 20 hours per week 38 weeks per year. In 2008, the government launched a free part-time care program targeting on 12,000 children age of two in the disadvantaged areas. In 2010, the government began to offer fee-paying family counseling services from 8:00am to 6:00pm, targeting on children age 3 to 14. In the area of parental leave scheme, the government increased the period from 18 weeks in 1999 to one year in 2010. Those on parental leave without pay may apply for extensions and are eligible for renegotiation of labor contract upon return. Starting from 2000, low-paid women without a stable job (non-consecutively work for one year) are supplied with non-fee paying maternity leave subsidies according to the mandate lowest wage, 30 pounds per week, and the employment history records. For men, starting from 2003, those who have a stable employment for over one year and children under six are eligible for six weeks (not exceeding four weeks per year) of non-paid parental leave, as well as two weeks of maternity or adoption leave. In 2006, the eligibility for the parental leave scheme was further opened to people with six months of stable employment, but this extended benefit is only available to the mothers. If the mother returns to work before the full term of parental leave, the father may take over the mother's unused leave after the child is 21 weeks old. This is called extended maternity leave. As for the

假。至於工時的部分，則在2006年時，通過了家中有成年依賴者得以申請彈性工時權利的規定。

然而英國的工作與家庭(生活)平衡政策，卻有著強烈的就業導向與經濟成長目標，忽略了性別平等在此議題的重要性。首先，就政策目標而言，經濟成長與國際競爭目標的追求，使得父職在家中的照顧角色被淡化和忽略了，工作與家庭的平衡成了專屬母親的責任和選擇問題。其次，透過增加就業以作為社會整合和解決貧窮的相關照顧政策，則常常難以和企業的需求相互調合，從而形成了家庭照顧和勞動市場就業活動在時間上的衝突(Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 12)。而從具體政策內容而言，托育服務機構雖自1999年至2003年間大幅增加了626,000個，但同一時間亦關閉了301,000個。特別是在貧窮地區，在缺少國家財政的長期支持下，托育服務機構的維繫顯得更為困難。而就親職假部分(Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 14-17)，以擁有全職工作之女性，作為主要實施對象的帶薪母職產假雖然逐漸延長，但男性的育兒假卻仍是以短期且不支薪的方式在實行。而帶薪的陪產假與收養假，亦與母職帶薪假有相當的差距。此外，以父職為主的不支薪育兒假，以及附屬於母職產假下的額外陪產假，實難以成為鼓勵父職積極投入照顧工作的誘因。至於工時的刪減(Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 17-21)，則更在廠商的反對下，未能賦予撫養幼童者申請彈性工時的權利。

統計資料進一步顯示了英國的工作與家庭(生活)平衡政策的性別問題(Bell and Bryson, 2005: 36-44)¹。比較1994年和2004年的英國社會意向調查資料，可發現使用彈性工作型態的意願與實際使用的比例均有大幅度的增加。然而進一步將性別和親職角色納入分析，卻發現彈性工作型態的主觀可利用率(指的是有意願從彈性工作的比率)，女性的比例遠高於

¹ 部分讀者認為，該部分引述之資料並未控制單親與夫妻在就業或其他方面的資源，很難直接認為是性別的影響所造成的結果。但Bell和Bryson的分析，雖未就上述變項作控制，但不論主觀或客觀的接受度，均呈現相當顯著的差別，易言之，性別的影響仍難以被排除。

working hours, the government implemented the policy of flexible work hours for families with adult dependants in 2006.

However, the British Work and Family (Life) Balance Policy is strongly oriented on employment and economic growth without addressing the issue of gender equality. From the aspect of policy goals, the goals of economic growth and international competition in many ways overlooked and ignored the father's role in family care. Thus, work and family balance became the responsibility and choice of the mother. Secondly, increasing employment as a policy to restructure the society and solve the problem of poverty often misaligns with the needs of the enterprises; this in turn creates conflict of time in between the activities of family care and employment in the labor market (Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 12). From the content of the policies, although there was a large-scale increase in the number of childcare facilities from 1999 to 2003 (a total of 626,000), a large number of the facilities was closing down at the same time (a total of 301,000). Especially in poverty-stricken areas, it was even more difficult to maintain such services without long-term financial support from the government. From the aspect of the parental leave schemes (Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 14-17), even though the paid maternity leave targeting full-time female workers was gradually extended, the childcare leave for the father was still implemented under the short-term and non-paid mode, and their paid maternity and adoption leave is still at a distance from the paid leaves for the mother. The father oriented non-paid childcare leave, plus the extended maternity leave appended from the mother's, is hardly an incentive to encourage enthusiastic participation from the father. As for the flexible work hours (Lewis and Campbell, 2007: 17-21), the policy has never given the childcare applicants the rights to apply for flexible hours under strong objection from the businesses.

The statistics further revealed the gender problems in the British work and family (life) policy (Bell and Bryson, 2005: 36-44)¹. From a comparison of the England social tendency survey in 1994 and 2004, we found that there were substantial increase in both the percentage of the inclination and actual utilization of the flexible work hour scheme. But, when the variables of gender and parental role were factored into the analysis, we found that a

¹ Some readers argue that the information abstracted for the discussion in this section is not controlled in terms of employment or other resources for single parent or couples and therefore it is rather difficult to claim that the results have been influenced by the factor of gender. Although the Bell and Bryson analysis does not specify the control over the above variables, the result appears to have certain degree of significant differences from both the subjective and objective aspects of acceptance. In other words, it is hard to eliminate the influence of gender.

男性。以部分工時為例，母職的比例在1994年時為80%，2004年為81%；若以非母職女性來看，1994年時為63%；而2004年時則為75%。反觀男性的部分，除了2004年時的父職部分有高於五成的比例外，其餘皆不到五成。而就客觀的使用率(指的是實際使用彈性工作的比率)來看，母職使用部分工時的比例在1994年時為54%，2004年時則上升至61%，非母職女性的部分則從29%上升至36%。反觀父職使用部分，則僅從6%微升到9%，非父職男性的部分亦僅從29%上升到36%。而其餘的彈性工時使用率，亦呈現出同樣的性別和親職差異。從勞動參與者對彈性工作的需求來看，我們亦發現母職和女性對彈性工作的需求遠高於父職和男性。這也意味著英國在工作與家庭(生活)平衡的政策執行結果上，仍呈現明顯的性別差異。

簡單的說，英國在工作與家庭(生活)平衡政策的推動，未能正視福利制度所複製的傳統性別關係，從而選擇以一種性別中性的方式來加以面對(Lewis and Campbell, 2008: 534-536)。在政策實踐上，它容易淪為工具性的手段——一方面追求女性勞動力的解放與勞動參與率的提高；另一方面則在於工作型態多樣性的追求，以使男性得以被積極整合，從而達成福利國家在工作與福利的新平衡關係。然而若未能正視在支薪就業與不支薪照顧工作上的性別不平等問題，則這些政策的推動，都將只是重製福利國家的性別不平等，形成另一種對性別關係的扭曲。

英國工作與家庭(生活)平衡政策，尚反映出長久以來處理性別差異與平等議題的兩難。對於工業社會結構下的傳統女性而言，家庭照顧工作一方面被既有的文化形塑成女性的天職，另一方面亦受工業化大量生產體制下勞動市場結構的影響，使得女性在實際勞動參與過程，被以差異的方式來加以對待(男主外、女主內)。然而這種功能論的說法，隨著全球化與後工業轉型之社會結構變動，實難以回應女性被平等對待的訴求。故英國工黨在就業與福利改革的脈絡中所持的性別中性的立場，反映了女性

far higher percentage of women perceived subjective availability to the flexible work mode (the percentage of tendency to utilize flexible work hours) than men. Take the concept of partial work hour for an example; 80% of mothers surveyed engaged in partial hour works in 1994 and 81% in 2004, and 63% of non-mothers surveyed engaged in partial work hours in 1994 and 75% in 2004. Men, on the other hand, have less than 50% of participation in partial hour works in all year, except for 2004, which is only slightly higher than 50%. From the aspect of objective utilization (referring to the percentage of actual use of the flexible work mode), 54% percent of the mothers surveyed in 1994 have used the flexible work mode, which rises to 61% in 2004, and the percentage of non-mothers rises from 29% to 36%. The percentage of fathers, on the other hand, rose slightly from 6 to 9%, and non-fathers from 29 to 36%. The utilization rate of flexible work mode in other categories also presents the same gaps between the different genders. From the demand for flexible work mode, we found that mothers and other women have far higher demand for flexible work hours than fathers and other men. This implies that gender gap still exists in the implementation of the Work and Family (Life) Balance Policy in England.

Simply put, the work and family (life) policy implemented in England is still unable to see the problem in the traditional gender relationship replicated from the welfare system, so it treats the gender issue from a neutral stance (Lewis and Campbell, 2008: 534-536). In policy practice, it becomes a tool, which, on one hand, pursues liberation of the female labor force and higher labor participation rate, and, on the other hand, diversity in the work modes. This in a way actively integrated the men into a new balanced relationship of work and welfare in a welfare state. However, if the problem of gender inequality between the paying jobs and the non-paid family care work is still not addressed, implementation of these policies will only replicate the gender inequality in the welfare states and form another twisted gender relationship.

The British Work and Family (Life) Balance Policy also reflects the problem in handling the issues of gender differences and equality. To the traditional women under the industrial social structure, the work of family care is, on one hand, molded into a vocation of women in the culture, and, on the other hand, creates differential treatment to women in the process of participation in the labor market under the industrialized mass-production system (men work outside and women take care of the family). However, in the changing social structure brought about by globalization and postindustrial transformation, such theory of function is no longer sufficient to respond to the demand for equal treatment. Therefore, the neutral stance taken in the employment and welfare system reform launched by the British Labor Party

被要求平等對待的目標。然而當男女差異與不同需要仍存在之際，這種一視同仁的對待訴求不僅掩蓋了性別平等問題，更有可能造成既有的差異結構不斷的在制度中被重製。

三、承認與重分配並重的觀點二元論(perspective dualism)

在討論女性進入勞動市場後的就業與家庭問題時，常與女性經濟獨立和國家經濟成長的維持相連結。就前者而言，它指的是女性在從事家庭照顧工作的無給化與社會經濟地位的低落；就後者而言，它則是指國家透過提高婦女勞動參與率，以推升經濟成長與競爭性，同時增加稅收來源(Esping-Andersen, et al. 2002; Lewis and Campbell, 2008: 526)。故大多數的文獻在探討，多將問題的重點擺放在如何透過制度支持，使得女性得以在進入就業勞動時，擺脫家庭照顧工作的重擔。

然而這種進入市場、兼顧家庭的策略性思考，含著對照顧工作價值否定的問題。即使透過照顧工作的公共化或是市場化，但職業區隔的現象仍然存在，從而造成照顧類別勞動的女性化與階層化(陳建志，2002；曾敏傑與蕭淑滿，2008)。事實上，隨著資本主義體制的發展，家務照顧工作因不具備如勞動市場就業勞動般的交換價值而成了無酬勞動。透過家庭與工作場所的分離，以及資本主義對勞動力商品化的過程，工廠成了賺取生活費用的場所，而家庭則被私領域化和無酬化。這種就業勞動的肯定與照顧工作的否定，不僅體現在文化價值中，更進一步蘊涵於福利制度的規範中。

當女性逐漸在教育程度的提高、勞動參與的提升，以及經濟獨立自主性獲得之際，照顧工作的重擔並未能立即從女性身上卸下。即使透過公共福利服務或是市場的移轉，照顧工作仍多數被認為是女性專屬或善長之職務。就勞動參與型態而言，女性因應勞動市場彈性化而參與之大量非典型勞動就業型態，在什麼樣的程度上是自由選擇，亦或是強迫

reflected the goal to answer women's demand for equality. However, as long as the gender differences and the different needs between genders exist, such "equal" appeal only covers up the problem of gender equality and allows the existing differential structure to be replicated over and over again in the system.

III. Perspective dualism in recognition and redistribution

When discussing the issues of employment and family relating to women in the labor market, the subjects are often linked to the concepts of women's financial independence and the economic growth of the nation. The former refers to the non-paid job of family care and low social status of the stay-home women. The latter refers how the nation promotes growth in the nation's economy and competitiveness, as well as increasing tax revenue, through women's participation in the labor market (Esping-Andersen, et al., 2002; Lewis and Campbell, 2008: 526). Therefore, most of the literature places the focus on how to liberate women from the burdens of family care when entering the labor market through the support of the system.

However, such strategic thinking of accomplishing both entering the labor market and care for the family pins a negative value to the care work. Even when the care work is released into the public sector or the market, the phenomenon of occupational segregation still exists and the labor force involved in care work will continue to be dominated by women and labeled with the image of certain social class (Chen Chian-Chi, 2002; Tseng Min-Chie & Hsiao Shu-Man, 2008). In fact, along the development of the capitalism, the work of family care became unrewarded labor because it does not have the same exchange value as the other jobs in the labor market. Separation of home and workplace and labor commoditization turns the factories into the places where people earn a living and family, on the other hand, becomes a private domain where services are free. Such practice, labeling employed labor force with a positive image and the care work negative image, is not only instilled in the culture and values; it is further implied in the welfare system.

When women have more education, higher participation rate in the labor market, and higher level of financial autonomy, the burdens of the family care work are not removed from the shoulders of women immediately. Even through the public welfare services or shifting of the market, the care work is still seen as the "women's work" or women's specialty. From the patterns of participation in the labor market, a large population of women participates in non-typical employment as in response to the flexible labor market, but to what degree did they chose such mode of employment out of their own freewill or is it in fact compulsory altruism? Most of the women in the low-paying

性利他(compulsory altruism)？大多數女性主要從事之低薪部分工時工作，是在兼顧家庭照顧工作的立場下作成的「理性」選擇(Orloff, 1993)。而就職業類別而言，大多數女性參與的職業，多半亦被視為「女性化的工作」，以及家務與照顧工作角色的延伸(Hartmann, 1976)。

換言之，不論是照顧工作的女性化，亦或是公共化或市場化，都未能真正的承認照顧工作的價值。幼兒照顧工作的女性化，常以無酬勞動的形式否定了女性在照顧工作的價值；而幼兒照顧工作的公共化或市場化，雖透過勞動力商品化試圖賦予該類型勞動的對價關係，但在欠缺對照顧工作價值承認的情形下，照顧工作不僅無可避免的仍會由女性來承擔，且亦難逃被市場階層化或邊緣化的命運。

對Fraser而言，當代性別平等的討論，可區分為重分配與承認問題(Fraser, 2004: 227)。前者指的是男女在資源取得的性別階層化現象(Fraser, 2004: 233-234)；而後者指的是男女如何對待彼此的差異性。Fraser認為，我們在處理這兩個議題時，往往是將其相互獨立看待而互不相關(Fraser, 2004: 228)。男女資源分配不均的現象(男性為支薪之養家者，女性則為無償的照顧者)，常被視為是性別階層化與權力不對等問題。而因性別差異而產生的工作類別歸屬(男性適合在勞動市場就業，而女性適合從事家庭照顧工作)，則被視為性別認同問題。

過去的工業化福利國家制度只處理了性別不平等的重分配問題，忽略了承認問題的重要性(Fraser, 2004: 228-231)。以男性為中心的文化價值觀，透過制度化的形式，將男性與女性區隔開來的同時，亦貶低了女性的價值。以照顧工作的責任而言，性別區隔的價值觀透過了日常生活對該類工作的輕視，透過媒體的宣導而使之看似客觀與平常，以及透過了法律權利和平等保障的否定，使得照顧工作被認為是女性的責任和其專屬的工作範疇。傳統性別差異的分工，雖可能藉由社會民主主義的改革方案(如Esping-

partial work hour jobs made the “sensible” choice under the premise that they can take care of the family at the same time (Orloff, 1993). From the aspect of occupational categories, most women participate in the works that are seen as typical “women jobs” and jobs extended from the role as the family caretaker (Hartmann, 1976).

In other words, the care work done by women, in the form of services offered through the public sector and the market, has never been given a recognition in its value. Care work done by women is often denied of any value when it's a non-paid job, and care work offered in the form of services through the public sector or the market is still lacking a recognition for its value even though the process of labor force commoditization makes an attempt to give such work a price-service relation. Lacking a recognition for its value, the care work is inevitably picked up by women again and never escape the vicious cycle of being classified or marginalized as a job of certain social class.

To Fraser, discussion of the gender equality issue in the modern society is a discussion of two issues: redistribution and recognition (Fraser, 2004: 227). The former refers to the phenomenon of gender-based social class stratification in terms of resource acquisition (Fraser, 2004: 233-234), and the latter refers to how men and women see the differences between them. Fraser thinks that when we see these two issues, we often see them as independent subjects without any connection in between (Fraser, 2004: 228). The phenomenon of uneven resource distribution between men and women (men as the salaried family provider and women as the non-paid caretaker) is often seen as the root of the problems of gender-based social class stratification and unequal power sharing. Gender-based job streaming (men are more suitable to enter the labor market and women take care of the family), on the other hand, is categorized as an issue of gender identification.

The past industrialized welfare states only addressed the issue of redistribution in the subject of gender inequality and overlooked the significance of recognition (Fraser, 2004: 228-231). The male-centered cultural values segregated and devalued women through the system. Take the family care work for an example; the value of gender segregation becomes recognized as objective and normal through the daily practice of devaluing the care work and public propaganda. The care work is widely recognized as women's responsibilities and specialty through denial of the legal rights and equal rights protection. The traditional gender-differentiated job-division may seem like an equal treatment in the socialist reform programs (e.g., Esping-Andersen's (1999, 2002) family care work in the public sector and commercial market); the possibility of achieving men-women sharing of

Andersen(1999, 2002)的家務照顧工作公共化或市場化主張)而獲得看似平等的待遇，但男女共同分擔照顧工作的可能，卻在勞動力商品化的過程中消失，取而代之的是勞動市場性別階層化結構的擴大與延續。

上述的困境，Fraser主張透過承認與重分配議題的交互審視，形成完整的社會規範理論架構(Fraser, 2004: 241-249)。首先，就承認觀點中的再分配經濟政策而言，性別地位的不對等，代表了男女彼此之間交互主觀的認知而形成的附屬秩序。女性社會參與常侷限於家務照顧工作的範疇；而男性亦被侷限於勞動市場而被排除在家庭照顧相關工作之外。這種社會參與的限制不只體現在和文化相關的制度規範，並透過經濟資源的不當重分配而被突顯出來。而性別的階級不對等，則是代表了男女彼此之間客觀的附屬秩序。透過勞動市場有酬且專業勞動的參與，男性獲得了承擔家計所需之必要且較高的薪資待遇，而女性則因參與無償之家務勞動或是低薪的照顧工作，而在重分配資源上呈現不公平的現象。而這種資源分配的不公平，往往與文化的制度化又脫離不了關係。

除了性別間經濟分配不公與社會地位的差異外，觀點二元論更主張突顯共同參與的重要性(Fraser, 2004: 235-241)。從重分配的觀點而言，既有的性別分工經濟結構阻礙了男女在勞動市場與家庭中的共同參與，且資源分配的不當亦阻礙了人們參與的意願。從承認的觀點而言，文化價值的制度階層化，不僅減低了男性參與家庭照顧工作的意願，亦構成了女性參與勞動市場的障礙。

男女在家戶中權力關係上的不對等現象，看似源自於女性參與就業機會的被剝奪。賦予女性獲得和男性相同之參與就業的機會，對於收入重分配確實能產生一定的助益。然而在照顧工作的價值未能被公平對待之際，女性在就業勞動的參與，不僅無助於照顧工作在家戶中男女的相互協調與分工，反而可能在文化價值的形塑下加重女性的工作負擔。而即使可藉由家務照顧工作的市場化來減低婦女的負擔，仍必須面臨

the family care work diminishes in the process of labor commoditization, and what replaces it is an expansion and extension of the gender-based social class stratification in the labor market.

To escape the above dilemma, Fraser proposes forming of a complete theoretical structure of social norms through cross examination of the issues of recognition and redistribution (Fraser, 2004: 241-249). First of all, from the redistribution economic policy covered in the concept of recognition, gender inequality represents the subjective perception between men and women, which in turn forms the order of affiliation. Women are often confined in the domain of family care in terms of social participation and men in the labor market, displaced from the domain of household work. Such restricted social participation is not only reflected in the cultural norms, but also highlighted through unequal distribution of economic resources. Inequality in social class, on the other hand, represents the order of affiliation formed from the subjective perception on each other. Through paid and professional participation in the labor market, men gain the needed increased remuneration to provide for the family, and women are subjected to unfair resource redistribution due to their participation in the non-paid family care work or the low-paying general care work. Such unfairness in resource distribution is once again likely to have been linked to the cultural system.

Other than the unfairness in economic distribution and differentiated social class between the genders, the theory of perspective dualism highlights the significance of shared participation (Fraser, 2004: 235-241). From the perspective of redistribution, the existing gender-based job-division in the economic structure obstructs shared participation in the labor market and the family, and unfair resource distribution discourages people from willing participation. From the perspective of recognition, the value of social class stratification not only discourages men from participating in family care work, but also creates a barrier blocking women from participating in the labor market.

Inequality in the household power relationship seems to have originated from deprivation of women's opportunities to participate in the labor market. Therefore, giving women the same opportunities as men have will indeed achieve certain level of income redistribution. However, before the value of the care work is treated fairly, women's participation in the labor market not only brings no benefit to the sharing of household work between men and women; women may be added with the extra burden of work under the shaping of such cultural value. Even when the family care work can be released into the commercial market to relieve women from the burdens, they still need to face several issues: gender-based occupational differentiation in the labor market, interruption of career due to the unavoidable maternity

勞動市場中的職業性別區隔，婦女本身因懷孕而無法迴避之生產和育嬰假等職業生涯中斷風險，以及照顧服務市場化的同時，對高薪之雙薪家庭有利，而不利中低收入之職業婦女等問題。

觀點二元論的檢視，突顯了雙職涯發展只重視就業活動，而未重視家庭照顧工作被市場化與邊緣化的問題。更重要的是，該模式可能造成家庭照顧工作持續的女性化(不論是女性繼續在家內承擔，亦或是市場化後仍由女性擔任)，而未能提高男性參與家務照顧工作的意願。就普涵性家計承擔者模式的制度設計來看，該模式將家庭政策視為協助勞動市場就業參與的工具，而未考量到男女共同參與家務的選擇與可能。這種以家庭政策為中心的工作與家庭平衡策略，只著重於女性在重分配的手段取得，忽略了制度中的文化層面(承認)對於男性參與家庭照顧工作的區隔與消極否定。

因此，觀點二元論更重要的目的，是在藉由就業勞動與照顧工作同等價值的賦予和承認，使得兩者得以在家戶的男女互動中被放在同一天平上作出自由選擇，同時透過相關制度的改革，使得兩者在重分配的過程中能有著愈趨接近的價值。對共同維繫家庭的主要成員而言，承認與重分配的確保，有助個體的自由選擇和民主協商。當就業勞動和照顧工作不再存在有給／無給，核心／邊緣的差異時，個體可以在選擇的過程中不受到任何外在的壓力，從而與家庭成員彼此相互協調。更重要的是，藉由自由選擇的確保，家庭中的權力關係得以獲得平衡，進而促成民主協商理想的實踐。

參、人口政策白皮書中的工作與家庭平衡政策檢視

Esping-Andersen的去家庭化策略，以及Lewis對英國工黨相關政策的檢討，使我們得以理解以就業作為重分配主要對象時，往往忽視在工作與家庭平衡議題中的性別差異。而Fraser的觀點二元論，則試

and childbirth leaves, and the situation which favors the families with higher or dual salaries and disfavors the women with mid to low level of income in the process of commercialization of the care service market.

A review of perspective dualism highlights the fact that dual-career development focuses only on the employment activities and overlooked the problem of family care work being commercialized and marginalized. What's more important is that such model may cause the family care work to remain as women's work (be it women stay home to care for the family or women working in the commercial market for the same work), instead of increasing men's willingness to participate in the family care work. From the design of the general breadwinner model, this model sees the family policies as a tool which assists participation in the labor market, instead of providing the choices and possibilities in men-women shared family care. Such family policy-centered work and family balance strategy only focuses on women's acquisition of means for redistribution and ignores the cultural aspect (recognition) in the system that segregates and passively denies men from sharing the family care work.

Thus, the more important objective of perspective dualism is to place all options on the same scale for free choice during the interaction between the man and woman in the same household through imparting and recognizing the equal value of the jobs in the labor market and in the family, and, at the same time, bring the actual value of the two categories of jobs closer in the process of redistribution through reform of the relevant systems. To the members who share the duty to maintain a family, recognition and redistribution helps an individual to choose freely and negotiate democratically. When differentiation of paying/non-paid, core/periphery no longer exist between the jobs in the labor market and in the family, individuals can choose without being pressured by external forces, and family members coordinate with each other with shared responsibilities. More importantly, freedom of choice ensures that the power relationship in the family is balanced and promotes the ideal of democratic negotiation in the family.

Three. Review of the Work and Family Balance Policy in the Population Policy White Paper

Esping-Andersen's de-familization strategy and Lewis's review on the Labor Party's policy enlightens us that when employment is the main subject to the discussion of redistribution, the subject of gender differences in the discussion of work and family balance is often missing. Fraser's perspective dualism, on the other hand, attempts to bring back the significance of rec-

圖將承認的重要性帶回，以解決性別差異的問題。以下我們將檢視臺灣對工作與家庭平等政策的相關討論，同時聚焦於人口政策白皮書的政策原則，以反思其在性別平等目標的達成上可能引發的問題。

一、臺灣工作與家庭平衡政策的討論到人口政策白皮書的制定

早在行政院提出人口政策白皮書提出前，學界即針對臺灣在就業、家庭與性別平等相關議題進行討論。這些討論大至上可分成三大類：第一類是有關男女在家庭幼兒照顧工作分擔狀況的實證研究，第二類則是女性的就業參與，至於第三類則是臺灣在家庭與相關社會政策發展上的探討。就第一類的研究而言，台灣男女在家庭幼兒照顧工作的態度上，多數父親仍較傾向以帶領者和教育者的方式來照顧子女，而母親則仍負責實質的生活照顧工作(莫藜黎，1997: 30)。而在實際的照顧子女行為方面，亦僅有24.4%表示為夫婦兩人共同參與(賴爾柔與黃馨慧，1996: 13)。女性在職業生涯上的發展，仍受「男女有別」的限制，家庭照顧工作仍被認為是女性工作的主要核心(莫藜黎與王行，1996)。而這種男女有別的家事分工態度，和原生家庭的形塑有關(唐先梅，1998)，它往往是複製原生家庭中所習得之性別分工模式。從長期的觀點來分析(張晉芬與李奕慧，2007)，可以發現資源擁有與時間彈性是女性被認為從事若干類家務工作的主因。換言之，女性和男性在家庭照顧工作分配的平等與否，除了文化的原因外，還有資源與時間的重分配因素在影響。

男女性別分工的現象，不僅反映在家庭照顧工作的不平等分擔，更體現在台灣女性特殊之就業參與形式。1995年的國科會計畫調查資料顯示，已婚婦女受到婚育影響，不僅以退出勞動市場的方式平衡工作與家庭角色之衝突，更選擇從正式部門轉往非正式部門，以使其得以在不中斷就業的情形下，兼顧家庭照顧工作(簡文吟與伊慶春，2001)。而就長期資料分析，1980年、1990年與2000年的「婦女婚育與就業」調查資料，則更顯示這三個時期之40-49

ognition, in order to solve the problem in gender differences. In the section below, we will review the work and family balance policy related discussions in Taiwan with focus on the policy principles stated in the Population Policy White Paper to explore the possible issues in the process of achieving gender equality.

I. From the discussions on the work and family balance policy in Taiwan to the Population Policy White Paper

Before the Executive Yuan published the Population Policy White Paper, the academic society had started discussions on the subjects of employment, family, and gender equality. These discussions can be classified into three categories: the first category includes empirical studies on the status of sharing the childcare work in the family, the second category is women's participation in the labor market, and the third category includes explorations in the development of family and social policies. Summarizing the first category studies, between men and women in Taiwan regarding the attitude towards caring for young children in the family, most fathers still incline to take the role of the leader and education, and the mother the actual caretaker in family life ((Mo Li-Li, 1997: 30). In the aspect of doing the actual caretaking work, only 24.4% of the couples expressed that they share the chores ((Lai Er-Rou & Huang Hsin-Hui, 1996: 13). Women's career development is still limited by "gender differences", and the work of family care is still seen as the main responsibilities of women (Mo Li-Li & Wang Hsing, 1996). Forming of such gender differentiated house chore sharing attitude is closely related to the values received from the family of origin (Tang Hsian-Mei, 1998). It is often a replication of the gender-based job-division learned in the family of origin. From the perspective of long-term development (Chang Ching-Fen & Li Yi-Hui, 2007), we can see that access to resource and flexible time are seen as the main reasons women engage in several categories of household work. In other words, equality between women and men in the distribution of family care work is influenced by the factor of culture, as well as redistribution of resources and time.

The phenomenon of gender-based job-division not only reflects the inequality in sharing of the family care work, but also reflects the special employment participation mode adapted by the women in Taiwan. Results of the 1995 survey conducted by the National Science Council shows that married women not only choose to exit the labor market in order to balance the conflicting roles between work and family after children arrive, but also transfer themselves from the typical to the non-typical workforce in order to take care both work and family without interrupting employment (Chian Wen-Yin & Yi Ching-Chun, 2001). From an analysis on the long-term statistics of the 1980, 1990, and 2000 Women Childcare and Employment

歲台灣婦女，仍分別有51.9%、48.2%，和52.3%在傳統型(指的是因婚育離職至今，或是自婚前至今一直未曾工作)與中斷型(指的是因婚育或其他原因曾離職，現在有工作)的勞動參與型態(李大正與楊靜利，2004: 122)。這些研究，都指出了台灣婦女在勞動參與上深受家庭生活歷程的影響。而近年來，婚育婦女逐漸選擇延後至「生育階段離職，並提早重返」勞動市場(簡文吟，2004)。但究其原因，主要仍與維持家庭經濟的穩定有關。總的來說，目前已婚婦女之所以會選擇提早重返勞動市場，和其維持家庭經濟的穩定有關；但職涯發展的選擇空間，常受到家庭幼兒照顧工作的限制，從而使其在就業和家庭照顧上，陷於兩難的窘境(游美惠與柯伯昇，2008；馬財專與葉郁菁，2007)。此外，實證研究亦顯示(曾敏傑與蕭淑滿，2008)，婦女的就業參與在基層主要職業、邊陲產業，以及公部門等特定勞動市場有漸增的趨勢，進而呈現出職業區隔之現象。

因此，從性別平等的觀點出發，女性職業生涯發展和職業類別參與的被限制，甚至是女性貧窮化問題，都和就業與福利的不當制度規範難以擺脫關係。從國家對家庭政策的態度來看，長久以來係立基於傳統的家庭意識形態，而無意在政策上影響家庭運作。對於人口老化與家庭結構的快速變遷，政府未有政策方案加以因應。而在對家庭相關的社會政策保障不足，且欠缺對婦女就業參與的鼓勵下，婦女往往難以在工作與家庭中兼顧(許雅惠，2000)。這種在經濟上依賴婚姻，依賴子女，與依賴國家殘補式福利保障的婦女困境，或許應透過對婦女在就業力上的強化來加以克服(王麗容，1999；許雅惠，2002；呂朝賢與鄭清霞，2004)。

以上的就業訴求，近年來逐步反映在兩性工作平等法(後更名為性別工作平等法)(劉梅君，2008)、相關的托育政策(王淑英與孫嫚薇，2003；涂妙如，2003；馬祖琳，2005；馮燕，1998)，以及本文在一開始所提到的人口政策白皮書的制定。就性別工作平等法而言，它反映出晚近婦女運動追求的不只

survey, the results indicate that 51.9%, 48.2%, and 52.3% of women in the age group from 40 to 49 fall into the category of traditional (left the labor market since marriage or childbirth or has never worked before and after marriage) and interrupted (left the labor market due to marriage, childbirth, or other reasons and is now working) labor participation mode (Li Ta-Cheng & Yang Ching-Li, 2004: 122). These researches pointed out that women's participation in the labor market of Taiwan is affected by the family life journey. In recent years, married women are inclining to choose "delaying employment interruption until the childbearing stage and early return to the labor market" (Chian Wen-Yin, 2004), but the reason is still connected to the need of maintaining the stability of family economy. In summary, the phenomenon of women choosing early return to the labor market is related to the stability of family economy, but the option of choosing career development is often limited by the demand of family and child care, and such demand often puts them in the dilemma of having to choose one from the other (You Mei-Hui & Ke Po-Sheng, 2008; Ma Tsai-Chuan & Ye Yu-Ching, 2007). Furthermore, results of empirical studies (Tseng Min-Chie & Hsiao Shu-Man, 2008) also indicated an increasing trend of women's participation in the base-level jobs, marginalized industries, and certain public sectors, and this trend is revealing the formation of occupational segregation.

From the perspective of gender equality, women encounter limitations in career development and choices of occupation and even face the issue of impoverishment. These phenomena are closely related to the inadequate employment and welfare systems. For a long time, the government family policies is planned based on the traditional family stereotypes and no attempts in the policies have been made to influence the operation of family. The government has not had a plan to tackle the fast development of population aging, and in the system lacking family related social protection and encouragement for women's participation in the job market, it often becomes very difficult for women to juggle between work and family (Shu Yu-Hui, 2000). Such dilemma of having to depend on marriage, children, and the fragmented public welfare system may be improved to a certain degree through reinforcing women's employability (Wang Li-Jong, 1999; Hsu Ya-Hui, 2002; Lu Chao-Hsian & Cheng Ching-Hsia, 2004).

The above appeals for the opportunities to employment have been successively reflected in the Gender Equality in Employment Act (Liu Mei-Chun, 2008), relevant daycare policies (Wang Shu-Ying & Sun Man-Wei, 2003; Tu Miao-Ru, 2003; Ma Chu-Lin, 2005; Feng Yan, 1998), and the Population Policy White Paper mentioned since the beginning of this thesis. The Gender Equality in Employment Act reflected that the pursuit of feminist movement no longer stops at gender equality in the legal sense

是性別上的法律平等的目標而已，還包括了性別正義的追求，特別是男女都應在家計承擔者和照顧者的責任上有所承擔(洪惠芬，2003)。除此之外，國家亦可藉由托育政策的提供，使婦女獲得自家務照顧工作中解放的機會，從而達成促進性別平等的可能。

然而我國在托育服務上，一直有著的供給和需求存在明顯落差、托育相關政策法令的不完善，以及托育人員、功能定位與責任分擔等管理的不明確等問題(馮燕，1998)。多數婦女在未能對公共托育產生信賴，且托育服務資訊不足的情形下，只能依賴以親人為主的非正式管道尋求托育服務的協助(涂妙如，2003)。而國家近年來的政策，亦採排富方式予以有限度的補助。而這種殘補式的托育政策(王麗容，1999；王淑英與孫嫚薇，2003)，一方面造成托育機構的營利走向，使得托育服務的品質在惡性競爭中難以被提升，另一方面亦造成婦女在進入就業勞動的努力上遭遇阻礙。是故，在人口政策白皮書期望藉由相關家庭政策的改革，一方面促進女性參與勞動市場，另一方面亦維持女性生育意願，滿足照顧需要，以免對勞動、經濟、教育和社會福利體系可能產生的負面影響。

近年來在人口政策白皮書和相關政策的實施下，台灣陸續推動相關的家庭政策改革方案，它們分別包括了有給親職假、托育機構的設置，以及托育費用的補助等各項方案。就親職假而言，2009年就業保險法的修正，提供投保滿一年，且家中有未滿三歲幼兒之父母，得依性別工作平等法之規定，分別請領各6個月平均月投保薪資之育嬰留職停薪津貼。而自2009年開辦以來，男性申請育嬰留職停薪給付的人數，雖自2009年的4808人，上升至2010年的6500人，但在性別比例上仍維持在18%到19%左右。女性申請人數在2009年時為21664人，2010年時則為27718人，就性別比例而言仍維持在81%(資料來源：勞工保險局)。

but also gender justice, especially on the issue of sharing the duties of the breadwinner and caretaker (Hung Huei-Feng, 2003). In addition, the daycare policy further liberates women from the burdens of family care and increases the possibilities of achieving gender equality.

However, in the daycare service system, there have been several long-standing issues, including the apparent gap between supply and demand, uncoordinated policies and regulations, and unclear management in the daycare personnel, functional positioning, and responsibility sharing (Feng Yan, 1998). Most women do not trust the public daycare system, and under the situation of insufficient information on the daycare resources, they can only rely on the family-based non-official resources to search for childcare services (Tu Miao-Ru, 2003). The nation's policies in the recent years have also been increasingly implemented under limited schemes, including ruling out people of certain financial capabilities, and such "residual" childcare policies (Wang Li-Jong, 1999; Wang Shu-Ying & Sun Man-Wei, 2003), on one hand, pushed the daycare institutions to compete in the commercial market and, on the other hand, created hurdles on the women's way into the labor market. Therefore, the government set out to compile the Population Policy White Paper, aiming to promote women's participation in the labor market while giving them sufficient incentive to bear children, such as taking care of their needs and preventing negative influences from entering the labor, economic, education, and social welfare system through a reform in the relevant family policies.

After implementation of the Population Policy White Paper and relevant policies, a series of family policy reform programs have been successively launched, including paid parental leave, setting up of daycare facilities, and subsidies for daycare. For the parental leave scheme, the 2009 amendment of the Employment Insurance Act offers each of the parents, who have been insured for over one year and with children under age three, six months of subsidies for parental leave calculated based on the applicant's average insured monthly salary based on the Gender Equality in Employment Act. Since the program was launched in 2009, there has been an increase in the number of male applicants from 4,808 in 2009 to 6,500 in 2010, but the ratio remains at the range from 18 to 19%. The number of women applicants has also been increasing from 21,664 in 2009 to 27,718 in 2010 and the ratio remains around 81% (source: Council of Labor Affairs).

From the aspect of daycare facilities, official statistics indicate that the growth in the number of daycare facilities in Taiwan has been quite limited. In 1995, there were a total of 3,288 registered daycare facilities, and 3,343 in year 2000. In year 2005, the number grew to 4,307, but it dropped back down to 3,825

而就托育機構的設立來看，官方統計資料則顯示台灣托兒所的數量變化並不大。1995年時的托兒所總數為3288所，2000年為3343所，2005年時一度成長為4307所，但到2010年時又下滑至3825所，數量成長有限。而在收托人數部分，1995年時收托人數為22萬3353人，2000年成長至30萬9639人，但到了2010年時，則又滑落至23萬3688人。而在托兒所中，私立托兒所又居較高的比例，以2010年為例，在總數3825家的托兒所中，公立托兒所僅佔了275家，社區托兒所則更少，僅有12家(其中，社區托兒所在1995年時尚高達1931家)(資料來源：內政部兒童局)。

為解決因托育機構之不足與托育費用的高昂而可能引發的少子女化問題，台灣於2000年起開辦了數個和育兒經費補助的相關方案，包括了2008年「保母托管理與托育費用補助計畫」和「扶持五歲幼兒教育計畫」(該方案整併了2000年時的「發放幼兒教育券實施方案」、2003年的「中低收入家庭幼童托教補助實施計畫」，以及2005年「原住民幼兒就托公立托兒所托育費用補助計畫」)，以及2011年起擴大施行之「五歲幼兒免學費教育計畫」等等。而於2011年6月通過的幼兒教育及照顧法，則是著重於幼稚園與托兒所的整合與師資規範。上述的方案，幾乎涵括了6歲以下的兒童，但亦設有排富條款的限制。論者以為(傅立葉與王兆慶，2011；劉毓秀，2011)，即使缺乏社會民主的共識，臺灣仍成功的將公共化的保母托育理念，透過行政部門體制內的民間婦運代表倡議與協力規劃，不僅落實為國家政策，同時更進一步透過提高女性勞動參與和充分就業目標的達成，落實性別平等的目標。

從上述的文獻回顧與實際的政策實踐中，我們可以發現不論是學術探討，亦或是相關政策的擬定，都將就業視為是解決性別不平等的重要手段。然而這種策略，似乎是認為經濟獨立能力的取得，不僅有助於家戶中的權力互動與平衡，更可促使男女在參與勞動市場就業的同時，增加共同分擔照顧工作的可能。然而上述的文獻回顧中亦反映出另一種現象(王麗容，1999；許雅惠，2002；呂朝賢與鄭清霞，2004)：即

in 2010. The total number of children placed in the daycare facilities was 223,353 in 1995. The number grew to 309,639 in 2000 but dropped back to 233,688 in 2010. Among the daycare centers, private establishments take up a higher percentage. For example, in 2010, there were only 275 public daycare centers among the total of 3,825. There were even fewer community daycare centers, only 12 in 2010 (there were still 1,931 community daycare centers in 1995; source: Child Welfare Bureau, Ministry of the Interior).

To solve the problem of low birthrate caused by insufficient childcare resources and the associated high costs, the Taiwan government began to launch a series of childcare subsidy related programs, including the 2008 Nanny Management and Daycare Subsidy Program, Education Program for Children Under Age Five (this program consolidated the 2000 children education voucher program, 2003 children daycare subsidy program for families of mid to low income, and the 2005 daycare subsidy program for the aboriginal children), and the 2011 expanded enforcement of the Free Education Program for Children at Age Five. In June 2011, legislation of the Children Education and Care Act was completed, which focuses more on the consolidation of kindergarten and daycare facilities and the management of the teaching faculties. The above program covers almost all children under the age of six, with restrictions to rule out families above certain income levels. The researchers (Fu Li-Ye & Wang Chao-Ching, 2011; Liu Yu-Hsiou, 2011) think even without a social consensus, Taiwan still successfully instilled the concept of public childcare into the national policies through advocacy of the women's groups and their collaboration within the administrative system and achieve gender equality through raising the rate of women's participation in the labor market, as well as creating sufficient employment opportunities.

From the above literature review and policy implementation, we found that both academic discussion and policy planning see employment as an important tactic for solving the problem of gender inequality. Such strategies are based on the idea that financial independence promote power interaction and balance in the family and increase the possibilities of sharing the care work in the family when both men and women are participating in the labor market. The literature review also reflected another phenomenon (Wang Li-Jong 1999; Hsu Ya-Hui, 2002; Lu Chao-Hsian & Cheng Ching-Hsia, 2004): even when women become a significant source of income in the family through employment, sharing of household work by men is still rather limited, and the work is apparently gender differentiated. From the implemented policies, we can see that paid parental leave, childcare facilities, and childcare subsidies may take over some of the responsibili-

使女性透過就業成為家中經濟的重要來源，男性在家務工作的分擔仍是有限的，且有著明顯的性別區隔現象。而就已施行的政策來看，有給親職假，托育機構之設置和托育經費的補助，雖局部的減輕了長期以來婦女承擔無給職照顧工作的責任，然而以婦女為主的照顧工作仍然是主要趨勢。

換言之，女性就業對於性別平等目標的達成，充其量只是充分條件，而非必要條件。社會政策的投入亦不僅僅是藉由女性就業的促進與權利的賦予，即可達成男女性別平等的目標。社會結構變遷對男女家戶分工型態的衝擊，從而引發的勞動市場參與和家務照顧工作的分擔問題，如何與性別平等議題相連結，不僅對於變遷中的西方福利國家，亦對於當前正處於社會改革十字路口當中的台灣，有著同樣重要的政策意涵。

二、人口政策白皮書的少子女化社會對策目標與性別平等問題

從我國人口政策白皮書的內容來看，以少子女化為主要目標社會對策，主要是將重點置於生育率的提高。故該對策共提出了七個主要的因應方案，分別是：健全家庭兒童照顧體系、提供育兒家庭之經濟支持、營造友善家庭之職場環境、改善產假及育嬰留職停薪措施、健全生育保健體系、健全兒童保護體系，以及改善婚姻機會與提倡兒童公共財價值觀(行政院，2008)。仔細審視其具體內容，可發現其中前四項皆與家庭支持之相關方案有密切關連。

事實上，在人口政策白皮書的擬定階段—人口政策白皮書之前置研究計畫「因應我國少子女化社會對策之研究」(李美玲等，2007)，即將家庭政策視為是未來主要的施政著力點。該研究認為，少子女化問題的產生，和女性逐漸從傳統的家庭關係中解放的同時，卻仍必須擔負大多数的家戶勞動成本有關。另一方面，台灣女性勞動參與亦常受婚育因素影響而被迫中斷退出勞動市場，從而使得女性勞動參與率呈現停滯性發展。故為了促進女性就業，同時鼓勵生育，應藉

ties traditionally shouldered by women; it is still a dominating trend that women are the main caretakers in the family.

In other words, women in employment is, at most, a sufficient condition for the achievement of gender equality, not a requirement. Social policies cannot depend only on promoting employment and empowerment for women to accomplish the goal of gender equality. The impact brought by the changing social structure brought the issues of sharing responsibilities in both the labor market and family care. Therefore, how to link the policies to the issues of gender equality has the same significance for both the changing western welfare states, and the nations at the cross-road of social reform, like Taiwan.

II. Goals of the responding strategies for countering the problem of low birthrate and gender equality in the Population Policy White Paper

From the content of the Population Policy White Paper, we can see that the policies are focused in the strategies for the problem of low birthrate. Seven responding schemes were proposed in this document, including creating a comprehensive family childcare system, providing economic support to families with children, creating family friendly workplaces, improving the non-paid maternity and childcare leave policies, creating a healthy childbirth and medical care system, creating a comprehensive childcare system, and creating more marriage opportunities, as well as advocating the public value of children (Executive Yuan, 2008). The detailed content indicates that the first four items are closely related to the policies of family support.

In fact, at the preparation stage of the Population Policy White Paper, the pilot study on the strategies in response to low birthrate in Taiwan (Li Mei-Ling et. al., 2007) showed that the problem of low birthrate is closely related to the phenomenon of women becoming liberated from the traditional family relations, yet are still seen as the bearer for major share of the costs of household labor. On the other hand, women participating in the labor market are often forced to leave their jobs due to marriage and childbirth. This has caused women's participation in the labor force to enter a stage of stagnant development. Therefore, in order to promote employment for women and, at the same time, encourage childbirth, family policies should be set to assist women to transfer the family care work into the mode of public sharing. The concept of encouraging women to enter the job market contains the intent to increase birthrate, as well as the possibility to fill in the insufficiency in labor force caused by population aging. From the intent to change the breadwinner model, the Population Policy White Paper makes

由家庭政策協助職業婦女，將家務照顧勞動轉由社會集體分擔。這種對女性就業的促進，除了生育率的考量外，尚顧及人口老化趨勢下之勞動力短缺疑慮。從對家計承擔者模式的變遷意圖來觀察，我國人口政策白皮書的目的，是試圖形塑所謂的雙家計承擔者模式（或稱為普涵性家計承擔者模式）。

就少子女化之社會對策理念而言，提高婦女勞動參與率的目的，是為了因應日漸老化的人口結構，以及隨之而來的勞動人口短缺問題（行政院，2008：15-16）。雖然在制定白皮書的過程中，相關研究團隊將性別主流化納入考量，期望在解決少子化問題時，避免產生性別不平等現象。但該政策理念主要考量重點，是在減低婦女家務照顧的工作負擔（行政院，2008：57）。

在上述的理念下，人口政策白皮書將少子化的重點集中於以下的四個對策：「健全家庭兒童照顧體系、提供育兒家庭之經濟支持、營造友善家庭之職場環境、改善產假及育嬰留職停薪措施」。上述的四個主要對策尚可進一步區分為托育服務、親職假，以及彈性工時等具體政策。就托育服務而言，其主張增加社區保母系統之服務能量與可得性，建立居家托育管理與托育費用部分負擔制度（行政院，2008：59-61）。而藉由兒童津貼的發放，亦可降低家庭養育子女的成本（行政院，2008：62-63）。在親職假的部分，則以鼓勵男女在子女未滿3歲前申請育嬰留職停薪假，以及提供產假津貼和育嬰留職津貼作為主要方案（行政院，2008：66-67）。最後，在工時部分，則強調彈性工時制度的落實，方便兩性落實照顧子女（行政院，2008：64-65）。

而以彈性工時、親職假，以及托育服務所共同構成的少子化問題解決方案，在設計上仍難脫離以持續就業為主的核心理念。就時間而言，彈性工時的具體落實方案並不清楚，且和離職有關的時間安排亦是以婦女的8週產假作為主要的核心。雖然家中育有3歲以下的幼兒者，父親母親皆可申請長達2年的育嬰假，但缺少國家相關積極政策（如：育嬰津貼的發放期間，鼓勵父職假

an attempt to shape the dual-earner model (universal breadwinner model) in Taiwan.

From the social strategies employed to counter the problem of low birthrate, the goal of increasing women's participation in the labor market aims to solve the shortage in the labor force brought about by the aging population (Executive Yuan, 2008: 15-16). Although the research team took the factor of gender mainstreaming into consideration during the process of compiling the white paper with the aim to prevent gender inequality in the process of solving the problem of low birthrate, the main focus of this strategy still aims to reduce the burdens of family care work on women (Executive Yuan, 2008: 57).

Based on the above strategy, the Population Policy White Paper focuses the problem of low birthrate on the following four strategies: creating a comprehensive family childcare system, providing economic support to families with children, creating family friendly workplaces, and improving the non-paid maternity and childcare leave policies. The above four strategies can be further divided into several concrete policies, such as daycare service, parental leave, and flexible work hours. In the area of daycare service, the white paper advocates increasing the services and accessibility of the community nanny system and establishing a home daycare management system and partially subsidized services (2008:59-61). Subsidies for children also helps to reduce the costs of raising children (Executive Yuan, 2008:62-63). In the area of parental leave, the policies encourages parents to apply for unpaid parental leaves before the children reach the age of three and offer subsidies for maternity and childcare leaves (Executive Yuan, 2008:66-67). Finally, in the area of work hours, the policies emphasizes the flexible work hour system, which encourages both men and women to share the responsibilities of childcare (Executive Yuan, 2008:64-65).

However, the solution to the problem of low birthrate consolidated from the policies of flexible work hour, parental leave, and daycare services still cannot escape the core idea of continuous employment. In the aspect of time, the actual implementation details of the flexible hour scheme are still not clear, and the arrangement for leaves still centers around the eight-week maternity leave for women. Although both parents with children under age three are eligible to apply for a period of childcare leave up to two years, the lack of active policy intervention (e.g., encouraging fathers to apply for parental leaves during the subsidy period), coupled by the gender-based occupational differentiation, makes it very difficult for the fathers to apply for the leaves. And along

申請等)的介入，且職場性別階層化情形仍存在的情況下，父職申請的可能性將難以提升。此外，隨著非典型就業參與者的日益增加，上述以全職就業型態為主的彈性工時申請和親職假將愈來愈難以被落實。

就收入而言，育嬰留職津貼僅提供給有正式就業記錄(參與職業別社會保險)的勞動者。對於無固定僱主，或是為了兼顧就業與家庭而從事非正式部門就業的婦女而言，將因此而喪失該領取該給付的權利。而現行就業保險法雖已規定男女皆可申請6個月，時間不得相互重疊的育嬰留職津貼(投保薪資的六成薪)。但在缺少具體的鼓勵措施，且津貼額度有限的情形下，男性申請者將難以大幅提升。是故，從時間和收入面向來看，以受雇者為主的親職假設計，在未能同時賦予家庭照顧工作者相關給付權利的前題下，將使親職假成為強迫男性或女性就業的政策，從可能產生將手段錯置為目的的效果。

而就托育服務而言，社區保母系統能量的提高、育兒經費的部分補助，甚至是兒童津貼的發放，雖然有助於減輕家庭的照顧責任，然而在前述時間和收入等政策未能考量多樣化就業型態的可能下，這種托育服務的提供，將只有利於從事穩定就業型態之雙薪家庭，無益於日趨多樣性的非典型就業參與者。且在托育服務的提供多數仍為女性的情形下，照顧工作只是以商品化的形式被外包至市場，無助於男女共同參與和分擔照顧工作。

肆、承認與重分配：觀點二元論對就業與家庭政策的整合

人口政策白皮書在制定時，主張從家庭政策著手，平衡女性在工作與家庭之間的衝突。然而這種近似於普涵性家計承擔者模式的轉型，仍難以提供女性從事家庭幼兒照顧工作的自由選擇環境，以及強化男性在該類型工作的參與意願。該模式雖然解決了男女在就業機會平等上的問題，卻忽略了性別差異的多面向思考。為了解決上述的難題，以下我們將透過Nancy Fraser(2004)觀點二元論，說明如何透過承認與重分配概念的交互使用，

with the increasing number of non-typical employment, it is getting harder and harder to enforce the above full-time employment based flexible hour scheme and parental leave.

From the perspective of income, the childcare subsidy is only offered to workers with official records of employment (insured by occupation-based social insurance). To those without a stable employer or women working in non-typical employment to take care both career and family become ineligible for the subsidies. Furthermore, the current Employment Insurance Act grants six months of subsidies to each parent in the family without overlapping the time (60% of the insured salary range), but this policy comes without substantial incentives and the subsidies are rather limited. Under such setup, it will difficult to see any substantial growth in the number of male applicants. Therefore, from the perspectives of time and income, the design of parental leave based on employees, under the premise of being unable to give the family caretakers the right of compensation, will become a policy that forces men and women to obtain employment, which will bring the effect of misplacing the means with the ends.

In the area of daycare service, expanded system of community nannies and subsidies for childcare and children may help to relieve financial burdens, but without taking the factor of non-typical employment into the considerations of time and income, such daycare service only benefits the dual-income families with stable employment, leaving out the increasing population in the non-typical employment market. Furthermore, the majority of the daycare service jobs are still taken by women. Under such system, the care work is only repackaged into commercial products and will not benefit either men or women in terms of the job sharing in both the labor market and family.

Four. Recognition and Redistribution: Consolidation of Employment and Family Policies Through Perceptive Dualism

The Population Policy White Paper advocates balancing the conflict between work and family for women from planning adequate family policies. However, transformation to such a universal breadwinner model still poses certain difficulties in terms of providing women with the freedom of choice to engage in family care work and increase men's willingness to participate in the work of this category. Although this model ensures equal opportunity in employment, it fails to address the multi-dimensions of gender differences. To solve the above problem, we will illustrate, through Nancy Fraser's (2004) perspective dualism, how both the issues of gender differences and equality can be simultaneously addressed through interplaying the concepts of recog-

使得性別差異和平等得以被同時考量。此外，我們亦將藉此進一步說明勞動市場政策與家庭政策整合，為何在工作與家庭(或生活)的平衡中是必要的理由。

一、自由選擇與民主協商－工作與家庭平衡的觀點二元論實踐途徑

如何使既有的工作與家庭平衡政策取得承認與重分配意義上的平等，並使參與的概念得以被涵括其中，是本文關切的焦點。Ellingsæter(1999: 41)、Gornick與Meyers(2004)，以及D'Addio和Whiteford(2007)認為，工作與家庭之平衡，基本上都是由三個主要的政策要素所構成：包括了(1)足夠之時間，(2)充份的收入，以及(3)照顧服務的提供。而不同之就業時間選擇與不同程度之福利給付彼此之間的相互結合，對於男女是否能結合就業和其他社會活動參與的承諾，有著決定性的影響(Anxo et al. 2007)。

Anxo等人的研究，指出了影響工作與家庭生活平衡的主要制度性因素。特別是國家在工作時間上的管制型態，以及家庭政策對於工作時間上的彈性調整，對於婦女能否在兼顧照顧工作的同時持續就業有著決定性影響。而福利給付資格之取得與保障程度，對於婦女是否能持續參與勞動市場有著重要的形塑作用。然而從觀點二元論的角度來看，現有的重分配資格賦予，無形中將男女參與的範圍限制在就業活動之中，而無法承認家庭照顧工作的價值，從而使得工作與家庭平衡政策在性別平等目標的達成上，難以擺脫性別中性的問題。

涉及就業和家庭政策的時間、收入，與托育制度設計，如何使性別平等目標得到確保，是我們緊接著會面臨到的挑戰。解決問題的關鍵，在於國家如何透過鉅觀引導(macro channeling)的制度和政策設計，使得性別平等得以落實在就業和家庭領域等日常生活。是故，透過時間，收入和托育制度的制度調整，使得夫婦雙方得以在就業勞動和家庭照顧活動中，自由選擇與協商這些相關資源的分配，是制度設計所應考量的核心。

and redistribution. Furthermore, we will also take a further step to illustrate why consolidating the labor market and family policies is necessary in the process to achieving balance between work and family (or life).

I. Freedom of choice and democratic negotiation-Perspective dualism in the balance of work and family

This thesis focuses on how to achieve equality in the meaning of recognition and redistribution and impart the concept of participation in the work and family balance policy. Ellingsæter (1999:41), Gornick & Meyers (2004), and D'Addio & Whiteford (2007) indicated that, in principle, work and family balance is constituted by three major policy elements: (1) sufficient time, (2) sufficient income, and (3) supply of care services. Integration of the different choices of work hours and the different levels of welfare subsidies has a determining effect to whether the men and women can integrate the commitments of work and other social participation (Anxo et al., 2007).

The research of Anxo et al., pointed out the main system factors that influence the balance between work and family life. Especially, the control of work hours in the national system and the flexibility of work hours in the family policy has detrimental influence to whether women can continue their employment while taking care of their families. The eligibility to welfare subsidies and the level of protection also plays a significant role in determining whether women can continuously participate in the labor market. However, if we see it from the perspective of dualism, the current eligibility for redistribution, in a way, confines men and women's participation within the scope of commercial activities. Thus, the value of family care work cannot be recognized, and the work and family balance policy can never escape from the problem of whether the policies remain gender neutral in the process aimed to achieve gender equality.

The challenge we will be facing is how to ensure gender equality through the designs of time, income, and daycare systems involving in the employment and family policies, and the key to solving the problem lies in how the nation instills the value of gender equality in the daily activities of employment and family through the macro channeling system and policy design. Therefore, through adjusting the time, income, and daycare system, a couple is given freedom to choose and negotiate the distribution of the relevant resources in the activities of employment and family care. This is the core concept to be taken into consideration when designing the system.

同樣的，我們可以在Fraser對觀點二元論的延伸中，找到制度改革更進一步的線索。Fraser (2005b)認為，承認和重分配問題的產生，與既有的不當代議(misrepresentation)是緊密連結在一起的。它體現在兩個層面(Fraser, 2005b: 76-77)，第一個層面稱之為日常政治的代表性不足(ordinary-political misrepresentation)；第二個層面則被稱之為不當的問題建構(misframing)。前者指的是既有政治參與權利無法根本的解決承認與重分配問題，而後者則泛指政策制定的結果將無政治參與權利者予以排除在外。對Fraser(2005b: 76-79)而言，它實際上是導因既有的代議制民主，錯誤的將問題單方的理解為女性就業或是女性家務有給化。除此之外，既有的就業和家庭政策，亦片面的將男性或是女性，從就業政策或是家庭政策的範疇中給排除，從而犧牲了他(她)們在就業或是家務照顧勞動的自由選擇權利。尤有甚者，這種排除還以跨國界的形式(外籍移工、新移民等)，以「以鄰為壑」的手段轉嫁到其他第三世界的公民身上。

Fraser(2005b: 81-86)認為，當前全球化環境下，舊有的凱因斯－西伐利亞架構必須予以更新。如同Fraser所言，對於找出當前可以解決承認與重分配問題的新框架，我們仍然走在摸索的道路中。但在「所有被影響人之原則」(all-affected principle)的考量下(Fraser, 2005b: 82)(指的是在相關政策或制度中，「誰」(who)會受到影響)(Fraser, 2005b: 87)，我們得以將所有受到社會結構或制度影響的任何個體納入，重新思考承認與重分配的相關議題。而該原則的運用，不僅應致力於解決日常的政治代表性不足與不當的問題建構，更應擴及到「如何」(how)(Fraser, 2005b: 87)(指的是制度與政策的內容，應如何使利害相關的個體得以參與決策)的面向上。

Fraser的觀點二元論之所以重要，理由在於它得以避免過去以重分配或是性別中性為主的政策所無法解決的性別平等問題。該論點所強調的承認與重分配，使得我們得以聚焦於與就業相關的福利制度(重分配)，以及這些制度對家庭照顧工作承認的缺乏(承認)，甚至是男女在就業和家庭照顧上的共同參與(參與)，進而得以重塑相關的政策目標與政策原則。然而

Similarly, we can find further clues of system reform in the extension of Fraser's perspective dualism. Fraser (2005b) thinks the problem of recognition and redistribution is closely related to the concept of misrepresentation, which is reflected at two different levels (Fraser, 2005b:76-77). The first level is called the ordinary-political misrepresentation, and the second level is called misframing. The former identifies the problem that the existing rights to political participation cannot solve the problem of recognition and redistribution, and the latter signifies that the results of policymaking exclude those without the rights to political participation. To Fraser (2005b: 76-79), it is the result of the democracy by representatives, who unilaterally misinterpret the issue of gender equality as women's fight for employment or salaries for household works. Furthermore, existing employment and family policies also unilaterally exclude men or women from the scope of employment or family policies and sacrifice their rights to free choice of employment or family care work. Even more so, this exclusion is transferred to the citizens of the Third World countries in the forms of migrant workers and new migrants.

Fraser (2005b:81-86) thinks that, under the trend of globalization, the old Keynes-Westphalia framework must be updated. As Fraser said, we are still on the road fumbling to find a new framework that can solve the problems of recognition and redistribution, but under the all-affected principle (Fraser, 2005b: 82) (referring to the "who" that will be affected by the relevant policies and system) (Fisher, 2005b:87), we will be able to include all individuals affected by the social structure and system and rethink the issues of recognition and redistribution. This principle should be used to not only solve the problem in the structure of insufficient or inadequate political representation, but also expand the influence to the dimension of "how" (referring to the content of the system and policy and how the individual stakeholders should be brought into the process of decision-making) (Fraser, 2005b: 87).

The reason why Fraser's perspective dualism is so important that it avoids the issue of gender equality that could not be solved by the policies emphasizing redistribution or gender neutrality. The concept of recognition and redistribution emphasized in the theory brings us to focus on the employment related welfare system (redistribution), these systems' lack of recognition to the work of family care (recognition) and even the issue of men-women joined participation in employment and family care (participation), by which, the relevant policy goals and principles can be re-model. However, undeniably, this framework is still under development. Fraser did not propose concrete and operable policy tools. This thesis makes an attempt to propose possible amendment to the Population Policy White Paper through discussions on the protection of basic income based on the perspectives of Fraser.

不可否認的是，此一架構尚在發展階段，Fraser本人並未提出具體可操作的政策工具。而本文則試圖在以下的論證中，透過基本收入保障的討論，結合Fraser的論點，提出人口政策白皮書可能的修正方向。

就本文而言，時間、收入和托育制度，不僅應就承認和重分配問題進行檢視，更重要的是反思夫妻雙方在決定家庭相關資源配置時的民主協商決策空間。就時間而言，不同的家計承擔者模式反映的是對男女在家戶經濟分工上的時間配置，它不應藉由國家透過制度來形塑既定的時間配置型態，而是由男女自行協商在就業或家庭的時間分配。而這種時間分配之民主協商空間的保存，則有賴於收入保障制度的肯定。它必須透過社會公民地位無條件的賦予，保障每個人在生命歷程的各個階段，不至於因就業或是家務照顧的選擇，喪失收入保障的資格。而托育服務的設計，除了肯定人們從事照顧工作的價值外，亦有助於強化個人在工作與家庭之間自由選擇的可能性。

二、以承認為核心的就業與家庭政策整合：人口政策白皮書的再思考

如何針對就業和家庭政策進行整合，以促使家戶中的男女得以在勞動市場就業和家庭照顧工作中共同參與；同時藉由相關福利制度的形塑，使得這兩類工作的價值得以拉近，進而強化家戶中男女自由選擇的意願，是本文欲達成的目標。準此，本文提出三條軸線（請參閱圖1）：它涵括了就業政策、家庭政策，以及承認與重分配並重的理念的整合。以下我們先討論就業勞動與家庭照顧工作的平衡如何與觀點二元論相互結合；同時運用該整合性的框架，反思人口政策白皮書中的少子女化社會政策理念和政策原則⁴。

⁴ 在Fraser的觀點二元論中，承認所涉及的問題常和性別分工文化脫離不了關係。而就本文而言，指的是傳統男主外女主內的分工價值觀如何被鑲嵌於既有的福利制度之中。而本文對人口政策白皮書在政策目標和政策原則的檢視，則試圖打破單一模式的文化鑲嵌問題，以真正落實多樣化的性別平等。

For the purpose of this thesis, the time, income, and daycare systems should be reviewed based on the principles of recognition and redistribution, and more importantly subject is whether a couple has the room for democratic negotiation when deciding how family resources are to be distributed. On the issue of time, the different breadwinner models reflect the different time allocation for sharing of the responsibilities in household economy. There should not be a unified time allocation model set by the nation's systems; instead, it should be negotiated by men and women based on the distribution of time in employment or family; preserving room for democratic negotiation, including the distribution of time, relies on the recognition by an income protection system. It must be given unconditionally through social citizenship to protect every person throughout every stage of the life course, so that people will not lose the eligibility of income protection whether they choose to stay in the labor market or stay home to take care of the family. The design of the daycare service must recognize the value of the people engaging in the care works, and such recognition will reinforce the open possibilities for an individual to choose freely between employment and family.

II. Recognition based consolidation of employment and family policies: rethinking the Population Policy White Paper

The goal of this thesis is to explore how to consolidate employment and family policies into a system that promotes joined participation in the labor market and family care works, and, at the same time, pulling the values of these two categories of works closer through forming of relevant welfare systems, in expectation to reinforce the willingness of the man and woman in one household to give each other the freedom of choice (please see Figure 1). Figure 1 illustrates the consolidation of employment policies, family policies, and the concepts of recognition and redistribution. In the section below, we will first discuss how the concept of balance between employment and family care works can be combined with the theory of perspective dualism. At the same time, we will use this consolidated framework to review the theories and principles of the social policy designed to solve the problem of low birthrate in the Population Policy White Paper⁴.

⁴ Fraser's perspective dualism acknowledged that the issues involved are often closely related to the culture of gender-based job division, which refers to how the traditional value of gender-based job division (men work outside and women work in the family) is fixed into the existing welfare system. The review of the goals and principles of the policies in the population policy white paper discussed in his thesis is indeed an attempt to break this stereotype cultural model and advocate enforcement of the diversified forms of gender equality.

不同於福利資本主義以勞動力去商品化和勞動者消費能力保障的經濟循環思考，我們試圖透過制度的形塑，公平地對待勞動市場就業與照顧工作的價值。另一方面，考量到照顧工作與就業勞動之間的交替日益頻仍，如何使個人能在這兩種工作中順利轉銜(過渡)(transition)，是制度改革的重心。而在當前經濟全球化與後工業轉型所帶來的新興風險中，如何重組既有的社會福利政策和制度，則與就業勞動和照顧工作的轉銜議題有著密切關聯。

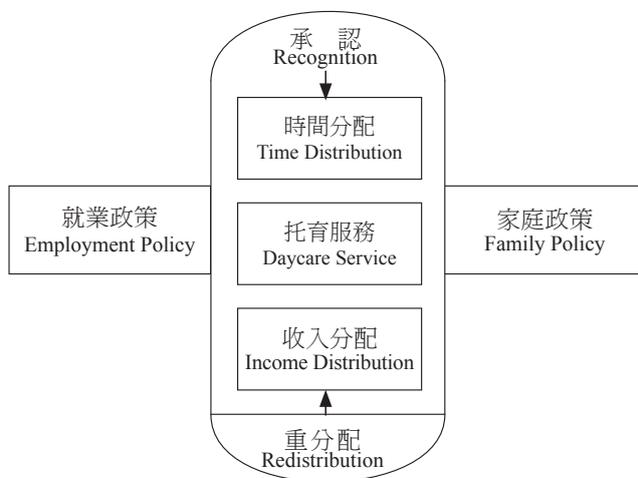


圖 1 就業與家庭政策整合架構

Figure 1 Consolidated framework of employment and family policies

在傳統的凱因斯－貝佛里奇福利國家體制中，男主外－女主內的性別分工，以及勞動力去商品化的理念，主導著社會政策的制度設計，並對個人在生命歷程的進展上產生規範的效果：透過社會保險與社會救助的制度規範，以及有效需求為主的充分就業目標管理，成年男性得以獲得足夠的養家者薪資，並在短期失業期間獲得社會安全制度的保障。而男性就業活動的參與，亦在社會安全制度的規範影響下被鼓勵，女性則被期待成為家庭照顧者，藉由依附於男性而取得社會福利的被保障資格。

但經濟全球化與後工業結構的轉型，使得上述的生命歷程正在解組當中。勞動市場的彈性化，不僅使得男性在就業經歷上承擔更多的風險，亦促使女性得以在履行照顧工作之餘積極從事彈性就業活動。Hakim(2000)即透過個人偏好理論，建構出已開發國家

Different from welfare capitalism, based on the concept of economic cycle, in which the labor force is de-commercialized and protected of the basic spending power, we make an attempt to treat the values of the works both in the labor market and the family fairly through reshaping the systems. On the other hand, taking the increasingly frequent switches between the care works and employment in the labor markets, the core of system reform lies in how to help individuals to successfully transit on one category of jobs to another. In the emerging risks brought by economic globalization and postindustrial transformation, successful reform of the social welfare policies and systems is closely connected to the issues of transition between employment in the labor market and care works.

In the traditional Keynes-Beveridge system of welfare states, the gender-based job division (men work outside and women work in the family) and the concept of labor force de-commercialization are leading the designs of social policies, which manifest the effect of regulation that influences the progress of a person's life course. That is, through the system norms of social insurances and aid, as well as effectively managed goal of need-based sufficient employment, adult male becomes capable of providing for his family with sufficient remuneration and protected by the social security system during short term unemployment. Men's participation in employment activities has been encouraged under the influence of the norms of the social security system. Women, on the other hand, are expected to become the caretakers for the families and gain accessibility to social welfare through dependence on the men.

However, after economic globalization and postindustrial transformation, the above-described life journey is now disintegrating. Flexibility in the labor market not only prompts men to take on more risks in the journey of career development, but also enables women to actively participate in flexible employment outside of their duties in the family. Hakim (2000) constructed the ideal types of work-lifestyle choices in the 21st century based on the personal preference theory to describe the female population in developed nations. The three ideal types include the home-centered women, adaptive women, work-centered women. This research not only reflected the possible influences of the different designs in the social policies of different countries, but also highlighted the possible choices for the individuals in a household under the preferences of the national policies.

In Taiwan, a study targeted to predict the possibility of the house husband trend conducted a survey on a group of college students

女性在二十一世紀的三種不同工作—生活形態選擇偏好理想型(the idea type of work-lifestyle choices in the 21st century)，分別是家庭生涯取向的婦女(Home-centered women)、彈性生涯取向的婦女(Adaptive women)，以及工作生涯取向的婦女(Work-centered women)。該研究不僅反映了不同國家在社會政策上的不同設計可能產生的影響，亦突顯了家戶中的個體在國家政策偏好下可能有的不同選擇。

而在台灣，一項針對大學生對家庭主夫的看法，以推測家庭主夫興起可能性的研究顯示(劉雯馨與楊靜利，2007)，男性對家庭與事業的認知，主要仍停留在傳統的性別角色，女性則致力於追求經濟獨立。而即將近入社會的大學生對於全職就業生涯追求的比例已高達6成以上，逐漸成為社會的主流；但在此同時，仍有2成男性，近女性2成8的女性傾向家庭生涯取向；以及1成4的男性，近0.6成的女性傾向彈性生涯取向。這顯示在社會結構的變遷下，台灣男女在全職工作生涯的取向外，亦有著其他的偏好與選擇。

這種社會結構變遷下的個人行動，一方面改變了傳統福利國家體制對個人在生命歷程中的形塑作用，另一方面亦使得既有的社會政策必須調整，以因應個人日趨多樣化的生命歷程。惟面對男女傳統性別關係的解組，我們如何重新構思新的性別關係，使之得以超越過去福利資本主義體制下的勞動力商品化與性別階層化問題？對本文而言，以承認與重分配並重之性別平等理念，不僅有助於當前個人多樣性生命歷程的再制度化，同時可以解決長期以來福利國家所形塑之不平等性別分工問題。

解決傳統文化長期以來所形塑的性別不平等問題，是近年來性別主流化政策的主要訴求重心。然而相關政策的推動，無可避免的會導致國家公權力介入私領域的事務，特別像是本文討論之就業勞動與家庭幼兒照顧工作的性別分工與選擇問題。就本文的分析而言，國家公權力思考的重心，並非直接對傳統性別分工文化進行直接干預，而是就既有的

(Liu Wen Hsin & Yang Chung Li, 2007)。Results of this study show that men's perception on family and career still stays at the image of the traditional gender roles. Women, on the other hand, have been highly devoted in the pursuit of financial independence. Over 60% of college students who are about to enter the job market expressed their intent to pursue full-time careers. As the career oriented value is becoming the mainstream in the society, there are still 20% of males and nearly 28% of females inclined to pursue a career in the family, and 14% of males and 6% of females expressed the interest in flexible careers. This shows that under the changing social structure, men and women in Taiwan have other preferences and choice beyond the traditional full-time career.

Such personal actions under the changing social structure, on one hand, altered the molding effect of the national systems in the traditional welfare states to the individuals' life course, and, on the other hand, forced the society to adjust its social policies in order to respond to the increasingly diversified formats of life course. One question arises. When we are confronted with the deconstruction of the traditional gender relationships, how are we going to reconstruct gender relationship that will rise above the issues of labor force commercialization and gender-based social class stratification formed under the past welfare capitalism system? To the purpose of this thesis, the concept of gender equality based on recognition and redistributions will not only help the individuals to re-systemize the diversified forms of life course and, at the same time, solve the long-term problem of inequality in gender-based job division formed in the welfare states.

Solving the problem of gender inequality formed under the traditional culture has become one of the focuses in the gender mainstreaming policies. However, implementation of such policies unavoidably brings the public authority into the private domain, especially in the issues of gender-based job division in the labor market and family care work and the concept of freedom to choose discussed in this thesis. In the analysis of this thesis, the public authority focuses not on direct intervention to the traditional culture of gender-based labor division, but on the possibilities of providing support through responding policies and resources to promote achievement of gender equality based on the various options and possible combinations (e.g., Hakim's three ideal types of women). A nation's intervention through policies and public authority is not set to achieve the goal of gender equality through molding a dual-breadwinner model, but to ensure the freedom of choice in the household free from the manipulation of the traditional gender roles.

Solving the problem of gender inequality formed under the traditional culture has become one of the focuses in the gender mainstreaming policies. However, implementation of such policies unavoidably brings the public authority into the private domain, es-

各種選擇與可能組合(如Hakim提出的三種類型)提供相對應政策與資源的支持，以促進性別平等目標實踐的可能。國家在政策與公權力的干預，並非是以形塑雙家計承擔者模式作為性別平等的目標，而是確保個人在家戶分工中的自由選擇，免受傳統性別分工文化對角色扮演的形塑。

傳統家庭照顧工作的無給化，無法只透過家務勞動市場化的重分配政策，從而自傳統不對等的勞動價格中解放出來。以2008年「保母托育管理與托育費用補助實施計畫」為例，兒童照顧工作的公共化，固然有助於婦女勞動市場的參與。然而伴隨著以殘補式社會安全體系的制度發展路徑，以及因照顧公共化隨之而來的低薪問題，將無可避免使多數中低階層女性再度面臨不被承認，以及隨之而來的重分配不均等問題(黃志隆，2012)。而上述問題，必須透過國家政策的積極介入，承認就業勞動和照顧工作的價值，才有機會增加男女對就業勞動和照顧工作共同分擔的可能。另一方面，傳統將收入重分配與就業連結在一起的結果，除了否定家務照顧工作的價值外，亦剝奪了在傳統性別分工文化下，大多數男性參與該類工作的時間。易言之，過去的收入重分配尚蘊含了對時間重分配的效果。故我們在處理收入重分配的同時，尚應允許家戶中的個人對時間重分配進行考量。

本文以為，在當前經濟全球化與後工業轉型的社會結構中，基本收入制度有助於時間與收入的重分配，同時強化家戶男女對就業和家庭照顧工作的共同參與。所謂的基本收入保障(basic income)，指的是在以個人為主的基礎上，無條件的保障其收入，而沒有任何資產調查或是工作要求。它除了是以個人而非家戶為支付對象外，不僅與個人財富或是其他收入來源無關，且亦不要求任何工作上的表現，或是國家在提供就業機會下工作與否的意願(Van der Veen and Groot, 2000)。純粹的基本收入制度目前仍僅止於學術討論，Van der Veen 和 Groot(2000)認為，若從勞動市場政策與社會安全

pecially in the issues of gender-based job division in the labor market and family care work and the concept of freedom to choose discussed in this thesis. In the analysis of this thesis, the public authority focuses not on direct intervention to the traditional culture of gender-based labor division, but on the possibilities of providing support through responding policies and resources to promote achievement of gender equality based on the various options and possible combinations (e.g., Hakim's three ideal types of women). A nation's intervention through policies and public authority is not set to achieve the goal of gender equality through molding a dual-breadwinner model, but to ensure the freedom of choice in the household free from the manipulation of the traditional gender roles.

The traditional non-paid family care work cannot be liberated from the unequal value of the traditional labor force through care work commercialization and redistribution policies. The case of "2008 Nanny Daycare Management and Daycare Subsidy Program Implementation Guidelines" releases the work of childcare into the public sector. This may provide certain help to women in the sense that it facilitates women's participation in the labor market. Nevertheless, the residual social security system and the low-remuneration problem that comes with such policies will inevitably bring the majority of the women in the mid to low income family into the situation of not being recognized for the value of their labor and the issue of unequal distribution (Huang Chih-lung, 2012). The above problem of women not being recognized for the value of their work must be addressed through active intervention of national policies before there will be a chance to develop the possibilities of joint responsibility sharing in employment and family life. On the other hand, the traditional model of linking income redistribution with employment not only denies the value of family care works, but also deprives the time for men to participate in family care activities under the traditional gender-based job division culture. In other words, the past policies of income redistribution still touched on the effect of time redistribution. Therefore, when handling the issues of income redistribution, the individuals in a household should also be allowed to consider time redistribution.

The author of this thesis thinks that, in the social structure after economic globalization and postindustrial transformation, the basic income system helps the enforcement of time and income redistribution and, at the same time, reinforces the commitment to joint responsibility sharing in employment and family care works. The so-called basic income refers to unconditional protection for a certain amount of income given without any prior asset investigation or demand for work. The subject of such income protection is the individuals not the household. It is not only unrelated to personal wealth or other sources of income but also given without demand for work performance or any inquiry on the willingness to accept job opportunities offered by the government (Van der Veen and Groot,

制度的連結來看，現實制度中和基本收入較為接近的概念，應是參與收入(participation income)。透過對個人在就業以外的其他社會活動參與的肯定和保障，個人得以在支薪和非支薪活動之間順利的轉銜。故在實際的政策上，其包括了像是親職假、有薪休假、提早退休津貼等，皆可被視為是參與收入。

然而既有的參與收入制度，並無法在收入重分配的同時，提供足夠的時間重分配選擇空間，以強化家戶男女共同參與的可能。以現有育嬰留職停薪津貼而言，它將津貼的領取和就業的資格過度的連結在一起，無形中貶低了家庭照顧工作的價值，且無助於時間重分配選擇空間的擴大；而以規劃中的兒童照顧津貼而言，它則可能因婦女在階層化勞動市場中的弱勢地位，使婦女被迫選擇擔任幼兒照顧工作，喪失從事勞動市場就業活動之時間分配權利，甚或是扭曲了家戶對生育子女的選擇，亦或是誇大了兒童對社會所帶來的集體利益(Wax, 2009: 13-15)。

而去條件化之基本收入公民權利賦予，不僅對於時間和收入的重分配有所助益，且有助於確保家戶個人選擇的空間。就時間而言，無條件的基本收入，有助個人得以在生命歷程中減少就業的時間，從而增加家庭照顧選擇的可能；就收入而言，該制度亦間接的肯定個人參與就業以外其他活動，從而得以獲得重分配的權利。而對家戶而言，在時間和收入重分配被確保的前題下，家戶男女得以在自由選擇和民主協商的個人權利基礎上，為從事就業和家庭照顧的參與，作出自由的選擇。而就社會結構而言，面對非典型就業的常態化與就業機會成長的趨緩，該制度亦有助於解決未來可能面臨的工作貧窮和失業問題。

故從上述的政策理念出發，既有的彈性工時、親職假，以及托育服務等政策方案，可以朝向下列的方向進行調整：就彈性工時而言，它不應只限於

2000)。The pure form of basic income system is still in the stage of academic discussion. Van der Veen and Groot (2000) think that, from the link between labor market policies and social security system, the concept of basic income is closer to the concept of participation income enforced in some countries. Participation income is a protection for individuals who participate in social activities outside of their jobs. This protection allows the individuals to smoothly transit from a paying job to a non-paid job and vice versa. Therefore, in actual policy practice, subsidies for parental leave, paid leave, and early retirement can be considered as participation income.

However, the current participation income system is incapable of providing the room for time redistribution at the same time of income redistribution to increase the possibility of joint responsibility sharing. Take the example of the current parental leave subsidy; it links the eligibility for the subsidy to the criteria of being employed in strict terms. This in a way degraded the value of the family care works and provided no help for expansion of the options for time redistribution. The childcare subsidy currently under planning may force women to choose the option of staying home for childcare because of their disadvantaged position in the stratified labor market and in turn deprived them of the option for time distribution since they have exited the labor market. This policy may even twist the value of the choice to have children or even exaggerate the collective benefit that comes with having children (Wax, 2009: 13-15).

Conferral of civil rights through the unconditional basic income system will not only promote redistribution of time and income but also ensure that each individual in the household has the freedom to choose. From the aspect of time redistribution, unconditional basic income provides the individuals the option to cut down the time spent in employment and put in more for family care. From the aspect income redistribution, this system also indirectly encourages the individuals to participate in activities outside of the employment and help them gain the right to redistribution. To the household, when time and income distribution are ensured, men and women are given the freedom to choose and negotiate democratically from the options of participating in employment or family care work. From the aspect of social structure, under the trend of rising non-typical employment and slowdown in the growth of job opportunities, the basic income system helps to solve the potential problems of the working poor and unemployment.

Therefore, starting from the above policy theories, the existing flexible work hours, parental leave, and daycare services may be readjusted in the following directions: Flexible work hours should not be restricted to the concept of flexible adjustment for the work hours of full time employment. Along with the increasing scale of non-typical employment, more and more workers in

對全職工作者在工時上的彈性調整而已。隨著非典型就業的日益增加，在台灣亦有愈來愈多的就業者（特別是初入職場的青少年）被迫在次級勞動市場從事非全職的就業活動（李易駿與古允文，2007；謝文元與李易駿，2007）。如何使更多的彈性就業型態得以納入，進而滿足勞動市場參與者對家務照顧工作參與的選擇可能，是政策方案應考量的重心。就親職假而言，以照顧為主的親職假，則應透過國家政策的制度性力量鼓勵父職參與，同時肯定照顧工作參與者的社會安全制度相關年資，以保障其福利給付資格。

彈性工作者在社會安全資格的賦予，使得有幼兒照顧工作需要的人，能在選擇彈性工作的同時，不因就業類型的選擇或是勞動市場的結構性轉變而喪失被保障資格，進而達成對各類型就業型態的保障。就父職假的強化而言，親職假應增加父職參與的誘因，以有助於改變長期以來由母職擔任家庭照顧者角色的性別分工。因此，在強調對彈性工作者的保障與父職假誘因的強化下，照顧工作的價值將得以和就業勞動相趨近，同時藉由鼓勵父職的參與，家戶中的男女在選擇就業勞動或照顧工作時，不因勞動市場的性別階層化而產生結果的扭曲，進而落實自由選擇與民主協商的可能。

而在收入方面，親職假中的育嬰津貼，不應僅限於擁有固定工作之受雇者作為保障對象。如何透過既有制度的安排與設計，放寬給付資格條件，使得不論是從事固定工作、彈性工作，甚至是全職家務照顧工作者，都能被納入育嬰津貼的保障範疇，是此處思考的重心。人口政策白皮書中的普涵性家計承擔者模式，強調了以就業為條件之育嬰津貼給付發放資格。然而從北歐國家的相關實踐經驗中，我們發現男性並未因此而強化了從事照顧工作的意願（申請親職假的人數長期以來仍低於女性），且照顧工作的重分配反而是發生在國家和女性、富有女性和貧窮女性，甚至是白人女性和非白人女性之間（Zelleke, 2008: 4）。因此，本文主張透過基本收入

Taiwan (especially the young adults entering the labor market for the first time) are forced to engage in non-full-time employment activities in the secondary labor market (Li Yi-Jun & Ku Yun-Wen, 2007; Hsie Wen-Yuan & Li Yi-Jun, 2007). Therefore, the focus of policies should be placed on how to include more flexible employment modes into the system and how to meet the needs of the participants for the flexibility that will allow them to participate in the family care works. For parental leave, fathers should be encouraged to participate in the care-centered parental leave through the power of the system manifested through policies, and the role of the caretakers should be recognized by the relevant social security system through protecting the participants' eligibility to welfare protection.

Imparting the eligibility for social security to flexible workers will protect the parents who choose to engage in childcare work from losing the relevant protection simply because they choose a different mode of employment or there is a structural change in the labor market. This protection gives participants in all modes of employment the necessary protection. For parental leave, the relevant programs should reinforce the incentives to encourage participation of the fathers. This will help to change the long-term practice of assigning the mothers into the role of family caretakers. Therefore, when the issues of protection for the flexible workers and the incentives for the fathers' participation are addressed, the value of the care works will come to a level closer to the jobs in the labor market. At the same time, encouraging fathers to participate in family care work will give the man and woman in a household the freedom to choose from engaging in employment or staying home to take care of the family and the twisted result of gender-based social class stratification in the labor market will be prevented.

In the aspect of income, parental leave subsidy should not be restricted to the employees with stable jobs. The focus here is how to expand the eligibility through the policies and design in the system to include workers under both the fixed and flexible employment and even those who work as home as full-time family caretakers. The universal breadwinner model discussed in the Population Policy White Paper emphasizes the eligibility of employment-based childcare subsidies. However, from the practice implemented in Northern Europe, we found that such system did not reinforce men's willingness to stay home for the care works (the number of male applicants is lower than the female on a long-term basis), and redistribution of the responsibilities occurred between the state and the women, between the wealthy women and poor women, and even between the white women and other non-white women (Zelleke, 2008:4). Therefore, this thesis advocates the concept of basic income guarantee, which will protect all individuals participating in all employment activities and even the basic values of the care works.

(basic income guarantee)的賦予，保障個人從事就業勞動，乃至於照顧工作的基本價值。

基本收入的保障和社會給付資格的肯定與擴大，強調的是對勞動市場就業以外活動參與之價值肯定，以及重分配權利的賦予。在該權利的保障下，勞動市場以外的活動參與得以被肯定，從而使參與其他活動者能在被承認與重分配權利獲得的同時，強化其家戶分工的協商權力。以Hakim (2000: 158)所提出的三種工作與生活形態選擇為例，一定程度的無條件基本收入制度保障，除有助於工作生涯外的其他選擇得以被確保外；對於日益增加的非典型就業，亦具有收入補充的可能，從而緩和貧富差距擴大的問題。

至於在托育服務的部分，該服務的提供，不僅應考量就業者的托育需要，同時應兼顧留在家庭內從事照顧工作的可能。就前者而言，以社區保母為主的系統建置，係以協助女性持續就業，同時創造就業機會作為主要邏輯。然而在照顧工作被市場化或公共化的同時，相較於其他支薪就業工作，其仍難以擺脫性別階層化的問題。就後者而言，兒童照顧津貼的發放，或許提供了照顧工作商品化的另外一種替代性方案，然而在給付未能和支薪就業收入相當的情況下，可以預期仍是在勞動市場較低薪或是較弱勢的女性，會選擇領取兒童照顧津貼。此外，兒童照顧津貼的給予，亦等同於傳統福利國家體制去商品化的制度設計，無形中將照顧工作的責任予以個體化，而否定了其需要共同參與的普遍性責任(Zelleke, 2008: 5)。因此，本文以為，除了強化托育服務的建置，以提供男女選擇參與就業活動的可能外，尚需透過彈性工作時間的自由安排，以及無條件基本收入保障的賦予，強化男女對照顧工作的選擇誘因。

托育服務的公共化或市場化，只是將照顧責任由家庭移往社區或市場，無助於照顧工作的公平分擔。國家除了應廣設平價托育服務外，更重要的是提供托育服務外的其他選擇可能，特別是家戶中的男女在參與照顧工作上的誘因。因此，在政策原則

The protection of basic income and the reassurance and expansion of the eligibility for social security emphasizes reassurance of the values of participation outside of the labor market and impartment of the rights to redistribution. Under the protection, the value of participating in activities outside of the labor market is reassured, and, when the participants are recognized of the value for their contribution and imparted with the right to redistribution, the power to negotiate in the scenario of household job-division is reinforced. Take Hakim's (2000:158) three ideal-type work-lifestyle choices for an example. A certain level of unconditional basic income protects individuals when they choose to engage in other forms of employment activities outside of the typical career path. Therefore, participants in the increasingly popular modes of non-typical employment will have a chance to receive supplementary income and the problem of polarizing wealth distribution will be moderated to a certain degree.

As for the daycare services, the service system should take the needs of both full-time workers and stay-home caretakers into consideration. The former should be based on the community nanny system and aim to ensure non-interruption employment for the women, while creating job opportunities. However, while the care works are commercialized or taken over by the public sector, the value of such work is still not comparable to other salaried jobs in the labor market; that is, the system still cannot escape the issues of gender-based social class stratification. The latter may have provided a replacement for the commercialized care services, but when such works are not paid in comparable terms to salaried employment, we can expect that the majority of the people choose to apply for the childcare subsidy will still be the women since women usually receive lower pay and are placed in more disadvantaged position. This is similar to the de-commercialized system design in the traditional welfare states. This system in a way individualized the responsibilities for the care works and denied the general responsibility to participate (Zelleke, 2008:5). Therefore, the author of this thesis advocates that, beyond reinforcing the daycare services and providing the choices for participation in employment activities, flexible work hours and unconditional protection of basic income guarantee will reinforce the incentives to both men and women for choosing the care works.

Releasing daycare services to the commercial market or public sector transfers the responsibilities of family care from the family to the community or the commercial market, which does not address the issue of sharing responsibilities. Besides setting up affordable daycare services, the most important task is to provide other choices, especially giving the incentives to participation in the care works. Therefore, in policy principles, we think lowering the level of conflict between employment and

上，我們認為減低就業勞動和照顧工作之間的對立，建立起兩者之間轉銜的順暢管道，以及照顧工作參與誘因的強化，使男女樂於承擔照顧工作，方有助於家庭男女在就業與照顧工作上的民主參與和協商(請參閱表1的比較)。

family care works, establishing a smooth transit between these two modes, and reinforcing the incentives for participation in family care works will make both men and women the willing parties to share the responsibilities, and such consensus will make democratic participation and negotiation in the households possible (please see Table 1 for policy comparison). -

表 1. Table 1
人口政策白皮書的問題及調整策略

Problems in the Population Policy White Paper and adjustment strategies

政策架構 Policy structure		政策比較 Comparison	人口政策白皮書的少子女化社會對策 Strategies to counter low birthrate proposed in the Population Policy White Paper	本文的建議與調整策略 Adjustments recommended by this research
政策理念 Policy theory			雙家計承擔者模式下的勞動市場參與 Participation in the labor market under the dual-breadwinner model	承認與重分配並重的自由選擇與民主協商 Free choice and democratic negotiation emphasizing recognition and redistribution
政策原則 Policy principles	彈性工時與親職假 Flexible work hours and parental leaves		以全職工作為主的彈性工時制度，以及育嬰假申請 Full-time employment based flexible work hour and parental leave systems	彈性工作型態者的社會安全資格賦予，父職假的鼓勵與強化 Imparting eligibility for social security to workers under the flexible work mode and encourage fathers to take parental leave
	親職假中的收入補償 Subsidies during parental leave		以就業保險為主的育嬰津貼 Employment insurance based parental subsidies	基本收入的保障，以及社會給付資格的肯定與擴大 Protection from the basic income scheme and recognition/expansion of the eligibility for social security
	托育服務 Daycare services		就業導向的照顧工作公共化或市場化 Employment based care services provided by the commercial market or the public sector	就業勞動與照顧工作相對立的緩和，照顧工作參與誘因的強化 Moderating the conflict between employment and care works and reinforcing the incentives for participation in the care works

資料來源：作者自製

Source : compiled by the author.

伍、結論

本文以人口政策白皮書中的少子女化社會對策作為引子，指出了該對策所宣稱的目標－平衡工作與家庭來提高婦女生育率，實際上在其背後有著更深層的三角結構難題(trilemma)(請參閱圖2)。對女性而言，就業固然有助於擺脫傳統的依賴者角色，同時解決因人口結構老化而帶來的勞動力短缺危機，然而卻可能因就業活動的參與，而引發少子女化問題，連帶的造成未來勞動供給和消費的短缺(兼顧就業和性別，而忽視了照顧問題)。而鼓勵生育的措施，雖肯定了女性傳統照顧角色和生育責任，但卻可能因就業和照顧活動價值的不對等，引發部分女性退出生育和照顧活動，甚至是不同階層女性彼此之間的階層不平等問題(兼顧照顧和性別，而忽視了就業和照顧勞動在市場價格的不

Five. Conclusion

This thesis started from a discussion on the strategies designed to counter the problem of low birthrate in society in the Population Policy White Paper. We pointed out the deeper layer trilemma behind the claims of the policy goals-balancing work and family to increase the birthrate (refer to figure 2). To women, employment indeed helps them to escape from the stereotype role of being a dependant on the men and, at the same time, solves the problem of labor shortage that comes along the phenomenon of population aging. However, participation in employment activities causes low birthrate and in consequence shortage in the supply of labor force and lowered spending power (the policies addressed the issues of employment and gender but fails to see the problem in family care). The measures implemented to encourage childbirth have recognized women's role in the traditional sense of caretakers and child bearer, but the unequal value between employment and family care activi-

平等)。然而若在處理就業勞動與照顧工作時，持續的以性別中性的觀點對待，則傳統以男主外，女主內為主的男性家計承擔者模式，勢必難以因應後工業社會結構的快速變遷。

在這種三角難題的背後，根本的問題實來自於承認和重分配的價值衝突。簡言之，性別平等目標之所以難以落實在就業和照顧領域，和當代資本主義市場制度肯定就業勞動，忽視照顧工作脫離不了關係。以男性為主的就業勞動一方面獨佔了市場重分配的多數價值(缺少承認的重分配)，另一方面亦透過社會福利制度對就業勞動的保障與肯定，重製了就業勞動和照顧工作之間的不對等關係(缺少重分配的承認)。而對長期以來由女性擔任的照顧工作而言，無償家務工作使其在不僅難以和有償就業勞動相比擬(缺少承認的重分配)，更因為缺乏對照顧工作應有的重分配政策，而使得男性參與照顧工作的意願難以提升(缺少重分配的承認)。英國實踐工作與家庭(生活)平衡的例子，即說明了以性別中性態度面對就業和照顧平衡政策問題時，無可避免的重製了原有的男性家計承擔者模式。

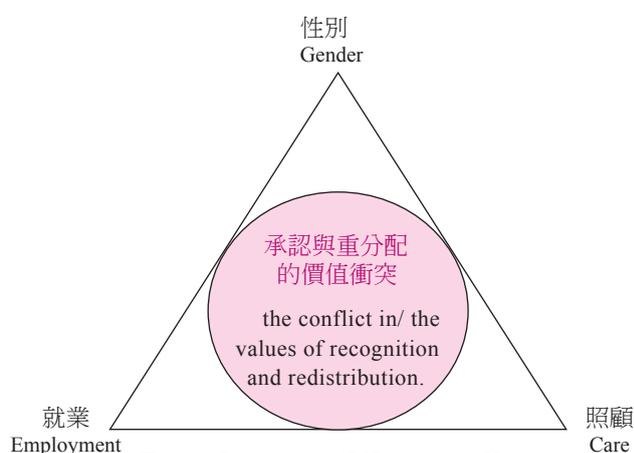


圖2 性別、就業、照顧的三角難題
Figure 2 The three-way dilemma among gender, employment, and care work

台灣的人口政策白皮書在政策理念和具體的政策措施上，亦有著和英國工作和家庭(生活)平衡類似的困境。本文基於承認和重分配並重的觀點二元論，提出了以基本收入保障為主的制度改革方案。該方案分別就人口政策白皮書中的三個主要構成部分：彈性工時與親職假(時間)、親職假的收入

ties are likely to drive some women away from childbirth and childcare activities; this has become an issue even within the female population at different strata of society (the policies addressed the issues of family care and gender, but fails to address the inequality in the values for employment and family care works). However, if we continue to see the issue through the gender-neutral perspective when handling the differences between employment and family care works, the traditional male-breadwinner model (men work outside and women in the family) will soon become insufficient to respond to the fast changes under the postindustrial social structure.

Behind the trilemma, the root problem comes from Simply put, the difficulties in achieving gender equality in the labor market and family are closely related to the contemporary capitalism market, which reassures the value of employment and ignores the value of family care works. Male-based labor market, on one hand, monopolized the majority value of market redistribution (redistribution lacking recognition), and, on the other hand, replicated the inequality in between employment activities and family care works through the protection and recognition in the social welfare systems (redistribution lacking recognition). To the family care works, which, for a long time, have been seen as the responsibilities of women, the non-paid household works not only become incomparable to the salaried employment activities (redistribution lacking recognition); absence of redistribution policies targeting on the family care works makes it difficult to increase men's willingness to participate in family care activities (recognition lacking redistribution). The case of Work and Family (Life) Balance Policy implemented in England illustrates the fact that the gender-neutral policy inevitably induces replication of the traditional male-breadwinner model.

The Population Policy White Paper proposed in Taiwan encounters the same problems experienced by the British Work and Family (life) Balance Policy in the theories and actual policies. This thesis proposed a system reform model based on the perspective dualism of recognition and redistribution, focusing on the protection provided by basic income guarantee. This model reviewed the three main components emphasized in the Population Policy White Paper: flexible work hours and parental leaves (time), compensations for parental leaves (income), and daycare services and made recommendation for policy adjustments. This model covers the eligibility of the flexible workers for social security and the incentives for parental leaves taken by the fathers (ensuring flexible work hours and reinforcing the incentives for fathers' participation in the family care works), protection

補償(收入)，以及托育服務等政策原則進行檢視，並提出可能的建議與調整策略。這些方案包括了彈性工作型態者的社會安全資格賦予和父親假的鼓勵與強化(工作時間彈性的確保，以及父職參與照顧工作時間的誘因)，基本收入制度的保障(對公民參與各式活動(特別是本文強調之就業與照顧活動)的肯定和收入的支持)，以及托育服務目的的重新釐訂(確保公民從事就業活動的選擇空間)。

然而，上述以基本收入為核心的解決方案並非解決該三角難題的萬靈丹。無條件基本收入的賦予，常常予人「免費午餐」的疑慮，以及國家在財政上財源籌措的困難。尤有甚者，在以公民資格為主的權利賦予下，是否即能確保公民具有主動參與和積極協商的可能，亦尚存在可能的疑慮。若欠缺公民積極參與的精神，則該制度反而可能造成女性被迫留在家中，從而喪失從家庭照顧工作中解放出來的選擇。易言之，以基本收入保證為主的制度設計，固然為解決三角難題開啟了可能的方案，但如何使承認和重分配被兼顧的同時，確保積極參與公民的養成，尚值得未來學界作更一步的關注與努力。

through a basic income guarantee scheme (reassuring and supporting citizen's participation in various activities, especially the employment and family care activities discussed in this thesis through the support of income), and reviewing the goals of daycare services (ensuring that the citizen have the freedom of choice for whether to participate in certain employment activities).

However, the above-discussed basic income guarantee is not an omnipotent antidote to the trilemma. A scheme of unconditional income supplement is often taken as "free lunch" and the issue of national financial balance is a high hurdle to jump, especially, when there is still the question of whether citizenship-based empowerment can induce the citizens into voluntary participation and active negotiation. A policy lacking the spirit of active citizen participation will reversely deprive women of the choice to become liberated from family care works and force them to stay home. In other words, the design of the basic income guarantee based system opens the possibilities to solve the trilemma, but how to induce the development of active citizen participation while ensuring that recognition and redistribution are imparted in the system will be a question worth further discussion.

參考書目 Reference

- 王麗容(1999)。婦女二度就業之檢視與政策建議，*社會政策與社會工作學刊*，第3期第2卷，頁181-226。
- 王淑英與孫嫚薇(2003)。托育照顧政策中的國家角色，*國家政策季刊*，第2期第4卷，頁147-174。
- 王淑英與張盈堃(1999)。托育工作女性化及相關政策的檢視，*婦女與兩性學刊*，第10期，頁167-194。
- 伊慶春與簡文吟(2001)。已婚婦女的持續就業：家庭制度與勞動市場的妥協，*台灣社會學*，第1期，頁149-182。
- 行政院(2008)。人口政策白皮書。內政部戶政司全球資訊網網頁(http://www.ris.gov.tw/version_96/pe_004.html)。
- 李大正與楊靜利(2004)。台灣婦女勞動參與類型與歷程之變遷，*人口學刊*，28: 109-134。
- 李美玲、楊亞潔與伊慶春(2000)。家務分工：就業現實還是平等理念？，*台灣社會學刊*，第24期，頁59-88。
- 李美玲等(2007)。因應我國少子女化對策之研究期末報告。內政部委託研究報告。
- 李易駿與古允文(2007)。機會開放或結構限制？台灣青年從學校到職場轉銜過程中的Yo-Yo現象，*台灣社會研究季刊*，第67期，頁105-152。
- 呂朝賢與鄭清霞(2004)。單親家庭與貧窮，*臺灣銀行季刊*，第55期第2卷，頁120-132。
- 林萬億(2008)。台灣的人口變遷與因應對策，發表於台灣社會福利學會2008年會暨「新世紀社會保障制度的建構與創新：跨時變遷與跨國比較」國際學術研討會，嘉義：國立中正大學。
- 施朝祥(2008)。育嬰津貼，究竟保障誰？，*中國時報*，9月15日。
- 洪惠芬(2003)。「照顧者正義」：性別正義不只是法律平等，*台灣社會研究季刊*，第51期：頁95-140。
- 唐先梅(1998)。從家庭發展觀點探討雙薪家庭兩性工作、家事及休閒時間的分配，*中大社會文化學報*，第6期，頁75-112。
- 涂妙如(2003)。影響家庭嬰幼兒照顧方式決策之相關因素研究，*家政教育學報*，第5期，頁95-120。
- 馬祖琳(2005)。家長視域之家庭托育經驗實相探討，*幼兒保育研究集刊*，第1期第1卷，頁1-10。
- 馬財專(2007)。回首來時路：育嬰留職津貼的初步思考，*社區發展季刊*，第119期，頁428-446。
- 莫藜藜(1997)。已婚男性家庭事務分工態度之研究，*東吳社會工作學報*，第3期，頁117-156。
- 莫藜藜與王行(1996)。已婚男性的家庭價值觀及其對家庭的需求之研究，*東吳社會工作學報*，第2期，頁57-114。
- 葉郁菁與馬財專(2007)。工作與家庭的兩力拉扯～護理人員的托兒照顧，*兒童及少年福利期刊*，第12期，頁125-140。
- 許雅惠(2000)。家庭政策之兩難—從傳統意識型態出發，*社會政策與社會工作學刊*，第4期第1卷，頁237-289。
- 許雅惠(2002)。性別、依賴、就業力—臺灣婦女的經濟弱勢與保障，*臺大社會工作學刊*，第6期，頁123-173。
- 陳建志(2002)。人力資本差異或性別歧視？就業市場性別階層化之探討，*人文及社會科學集刊*，第14卷第3期，頁363-407。
- 曾敏傑與蕭淑滿(2008)。兩性職業區隔的程度與變遷：勞動市場區隔的觀點，*台灣社會福利學刊*，第7期第1卷，頁123-178。
- 傅立葉與王兆慶(2011)。照顧公共化的改革與挑戰：以保母托育體系的改革為例，*女學學誌*，第29期，頁79-120。
- 黃志隆(2008)。荷蘭與丹麥彈性安全策略的探討—制度主義的生命歷程政策研究途徑，*社會政策與社會工作學刊*，第12卷第1期，頁91-144。
- 黃志隆(2012)。臺灣家庭政策的形成：家計承擔與兒童照顧的整合，*人文及社會科學集刊*，第24卷第3期(即刊)。
- 黃志隆與張世雄(2005)。就業成長的達成與社會安全的維繫—荷蘭社會改革的理論爭議和政策意涵，*歐美研究*，第35期第2卷，頁405-458。
- 張晉芬與李奕慧(2007)。「女人的家事」、「男人的家事」：家事分工性別化的持續與解釋，*人文及社會科學集刊*，第19期第2卷，頁203-229。
- 張世雄、王篤強、呂朝賢、鄭清霞與黃志隆(2009)。*社會福利概論*。台北：國立空中大學。
- 馮燕(1998)。托育政策與托育服務網絡的建立，*社會政策與社會工作學刊*，第2期第1卷，頁87-125。
- 游美惠與柯伯昇(2008)。國小校長職位晉遷的事件史分析：性別和家庭照顧責任的探討，*臺灣社會*

- 學刊，第40期，頁45-88。
- 楊少強(2007)。產假催「生」比津貼更有效，商業周刊，第1011期，頁148。
- 劉毓秀(2011)。北歐普及照顧與充分就業政策及其決策機制的台灣轉化，女學學誌，第29期，頁1-77。
- 劉梅君與焦興鎧(2004)。各國育嬰留職停薪制度之研究。行政院勞工委員會委託研究計畫。
- 劉雯馨與楊靜利(2007)。兩性生涯發展趨同的可能性－從大學生對『家庭主夫』的接受度談起，發表於台灣社會福利學會2007年會暨「建立台灣永續發展的家庭、人口、健康、社區與勞動保障體系：公民權利契約觀點」國際學術研討會，台北：國立台北大學社會工作學系。
- 賴爾柔與黃馨慧(1996)。已婚男性參與家務分工之研究，婦女與兩性研究通訊，第41期，頁10-18。
- 鍾俊文(2004)。少子化、人口老化及人口減少的成因、衝擊與對策，台灣經濟論衡，第2卷第6期，頁1-47。
- 簡文吟(2004)。台灣已婚婦女勞動再參與行為的變遷，人口學刊，第28期，頁1-47。
- 簡文吟與伊慶春(2001)。台灣家庭的動態發展：結構分裂與重組，人口學刊，第23期，頁1-47。
- 謝文元與李易駿(2007)。缺乏保障的就業：青年非典型工作經驗之探討，政大勞動學報，第21期，頁1-53。
- Anxo, D., C. Fagan, I. Cebrian and G. Moreno (2007). "Patterns of labour market integration in Europe—a life course perspective on time policies", *Socio-Economic Review*, 5: 233-260.
- Bell, A. and C. Bryson (2005). "Work-life Balance—still a women's issue?", in A. Park et al. (eds), *British Social Attitudes: the 22nd Report* (pp. 33-57). London: Sage.
- Berggren, H. (2008). "US Family-leave Policy: the Legacy of 'Separate Spheres'", *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 17: 321-323.
- Bogensneider, K. (2000). "Has Family Policy Come of Age? A Decade Review of the State of U.S. Family Policy in the 1990s". *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 62, No. 4: 1136-1159.
- Borchorst, A. and B. Siim (2008). "Woman-friendly Policies and State Feminism", *Feminist Theory*, Vol.9, No.2: 207-224.
- D'Addio, A. C. and P. Whiteford (2007). "From Separated Life Phases to Interrelated Life Risks: A life-course approach to social policy", in OECD (ed.), *Modernising Social Policy for the New Life Course* (pp.13-22). Paris: OECD.
- Ellingsæter, A. L. (1999). "Dual breadwinners between state and market", in R. Crompton (ed.), *Restructuring Gender Relations and Employment: the Decline of the Male Breadwinner* (pp.40-59). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (1999). *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (2002). "A new gender contract", in G. Esping-Andersen, D. Gallie, A. Hemerijck and J. Myles (eds.), *Why We Need a New Welfare State* (pp.68-95). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta(2009). *The Incomplete Revolution: Adapting to Women's New Roles*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Esping-Andersen, D. Gallie, A. Hemerijck and J. Myles (eds.) (2002). *Why We Need a New Welfare State*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Fraser, N. (1992). "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", in C. Calhoun (eds.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (pp.109-142). Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Fraser, N. (1994). "After the family wage: gender equity and the welfare state", *Political theory*, Vol. 22, No. 4: 591-618.
- Fraser, N. (2004). "Social justice in the age of identity politics: redistribution, recognition, and participation", in R. Friedland & J. Mohr (eds.), *Matters of Culture: Cultural Sociology in Practice*(pp.227-254). NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Fraser, N. (2005a). "Mapping the Feminist Imagination: From Redistribution to Recognition to Representation", *Constellation*, Vol. 12, No. 3: 298-307.
- Fraser, N. (2005b). "Reframing justice in a globalizing world", *New Left Review*, Vol. 36: 69-88.
- Gornick, J. and M. K. Meyers (2004). "Welfare Regimes in Relation to Paid Work and Care", *Advances in Life Course Research*, Vol. 8: 45-67.
- Hakim, C. (2000). *Work-Lifestyle Choices in the 21st Century: Preference Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hildebrandt, E and B. Littig, (2006). "Concepts, approaches and problems of work-life balance", *European societies*, Vol. 8, No. 2: 215-222.
- Honekamp, I. (2008). "Family Policy in Germany: Appraisal and Assessment", *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 33, No. 4: 452-464.
- Kammerman S. and A. Kahn (2001). "Child and Family Policies in the United States at the Opening of the Twenty-First Century", *Social Policy & Administration*, Vol. 35, No.1: 69-84.
- Levy, D. and S. Michel (2002). "More Can Be Less: Child Care and Welfare Reform in the United States". In S. Michel and R. Mahon (eds.) *Child Care Policy at the Crossroad: Gender and Welfare State Restructuring* (pp. 239-263). New York: Routledge.
- Lundqvist, Å. (2011). *Family Policy Paradoxes: Gender Equality and Labour Market Regulation in Sweden, 1930-2010*, Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Lewis, J. and M. Campbell (2007). "UK Work/Family Balance Policies and Gender Equality, 1997-2005", *Social Politics*, Vo. 14, No. 1: 1-27.

- Lewis, J. and M. Campbell (2008). "What's in a name? 'Work and Family' or 'Work and Life': balance policies in the UK since 1997 and the implications for the pursuit of gender equality", *Social Policy & Administration*, Vol. 42, No. 5: 524-541.
- MacInnes, J. (2006). "Work-life balance in Europe: a response to the baby bust or reward for the baby boomers?", *European Societies*, Vol. 8, No. 2: 223-249.
- Mahon, R. (2002). "Gender and Welfare State Restructuring: Through the Lens of Child Care", in S. Michel and R. Mahon (eds.), *Child Care Policy at the Crossroads: Gender and Welfare State Restructuring*(pp. 1-27). NY : Routledge.
- Mätzke, M. and I. Ostner (2010). "The Role of Old Ideas in the New German Family Policy Agenda", *German Policy Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 3:119-162.
- Melby, K. , A. Ravn and C. Wetterberg (2008). *Gender Equality and Welfare Politics in Scandinavia: The Limits of Political Ambition?* Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Mental, J. (2001). "The Impact of Ageing Populations on the Economy, a European Perspective: From Baby Boom to Baby Bust?", *Issues and Practice*, Vol. 26: 529-546
- Orloff, A. (1993). "Gender and the Social Right of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 58: 303-328.
- Ostner, I. (2010). "Farewell to the Family as We Know it: Family Policy Change in Germany", *German Policy Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1: 211-244.
- Rosenfeld, R. H. Trappe, and J. Gornick (2004). "Gender and Working in Germany: Before and After Reunification", *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 30: 103-124.
- Rosenzweig, M. and O. Stark (eds.) (1997). *Handbook of Population and Family Economics*. New York: Elsevier.
- Schmid, G. (2006). "Social risk management through transitional labour markets", *Socio-Economic Review*, Vol. 4: 1-33.
- Taylor, C. (1992). *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition: An Essay by Charles Taylor*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Van der Veen, R. and L. Groot (2000). "How Attractive is a Basic Income for European Welfare States?", in R. Van der Veen and L. Groot (eds.), *Basic income on the Agenda* (pp. 13-38). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Van Oorschot, W. (2004). "Balancing Work and Welfare: Activation and Flexicurity Policies in the Netherlands, 1980-2000", *International Journal of Social Welfare*, Vol. 13: 15-27.
- Wax, A. (2009). "Basic Income or Caretaker Benefits?", *Basic Income Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1: 1-21.
- Wisniale, S. (1997). "The White House and Congress on Child Care and Family Leave Policy: From Carter to Clinton", *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 25, No.1: 75-86.
- Zelleke, A. (2008). "Institutionalizing the Universal Caretaker Through a Basic Income?", *Basic Income Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3: 1-9.

推展少年自立宿舍之經驗探討

Exploring the Experience of Independent Housing

徐錦鋒* Jiin-Feng Hsu

摘要

對於機構寄養的少年來說，往往因受到照顧年齡的上限而必須離院。當他們離開安置機構後，勢必面臨自立生活的情況，其首先要面對的難題是住處與工作的問題。當中又以住處最為棘手，也影響其生活的穩定性，至深且鉅。

有鑒於此，臺北市政府社會局於2008年開始委託中華育幼機構兒童關懷協會設置「台北市培立家園」，是為我國自立宿舍的肇始。由於自立宿舍在我國尚屬初創階段，因而針對少年自立宿舍之相關研究寥寥無幾；反觀其他國家已有不少學術與實證研究，可供我國參考。

因此，本文擬採文獻分析法，探討少年自立宿舍的主要類型、範例、工作人員及對我國的經驗啟示等，冀期有助於國內未來推展少年自立宿舍之參考，進而使少年獲臻更完善的支持與照顧。

關鍵字：少年自立生活、自立宿舍、離院照料

Abstract

Children growing up in foster care are often forced to leave because they have come to the statutory age to be released from foster care institution. Once they leave the juvenile welfare system, they would have to face the challenge of housing and working while they struggle for independent living. Among the numerous difficulties these youth are to face, housing is the most challenging of all, as it also influences the youths' life stability.

In view of this, Taipei City Bureau of Social Welfare was the first to have addressed the issue of independent living by launching the Taipei City Juvenile Independent Living Program. In 2008, Taipei City Bureau of Social Welfare commissioned the Chinese Children Home and Shelter Association to set up the Taipei Path Lead Home. Since independent living is still in its infant stage in Taiwan, there are very few related researches, whereas there are a large number of literature and empirical researches in other countries that we could learn from.

The researcher utilized literature analysis method to discuss the main categories of independent housings, best practices, staffing, as well as its implications. Hopefully, this research would serve as a foundation for future independent housing development, and allow youths with the access to more support and care.

Keywords: independent living, independent housing, leaving care

* 徐錦鋒，中國文化大學社會福利學系助理教授級專業技術人員。E-mail: P66888@faculty.pccu.edu.tw
Jiin-Feng Hsu, Specialist equal to Assistant Professor, Department of Social Welfare Chinese Culture University

壹、前言

一個人不太可能一輩子都跟父母同住，總有一天他(她)會想要有個自己的小窩，這是成長必經的過程，也是邁向負責任之成年人的培養過程。大多數的年輕人都是在自己家中做好迎接成年期的準備，直到自己覺得經濟已經獨立才會離開家裏。但對於機構受寄養少年來說，往往因受到照顧年齡的上限而必須離院。換言之，他們將因無法再受到少年福利系統的照顧及保護，而必須提早或加快獨立的過程。但問題的癥結在於有些少年是因家庭因素(例如：貧窮)，必須中斷學業而提早就業；而有些則是因亂倫、父母死亡或父母去向不明而無法重返原生家庭。

針對上述的窘境，國內外社會福利機構乃針對即將離開或剛離開安置機構的少年，推展少年自立生活方案(Independent Living Program, ILP)，以訓練他們自立生活能力，俾能成功地過渡為社區中自立自主的一份子。以美國為例，該國於1986年《社會安全法》第四章第五節中增列「寄養服務的自立生活」(the Title IV-E Foster Care Independent-Living Initiative)(Public Law 99-272)。此一修正案不僅將自立生活方案完成正式立法，抑且正式全面實施於全美各州(Cook, 1988)。接著，美國政府於1999年公佈《寄養照顧自立法案》(The John Chafee Foster Care Independence Act)(Public Law 106-169, 1999)，2008年又公佈《促進成功寄養與提升領養法案》(Fostering Connections to Success and Increasing Adoption Act of 2008)，在在均顯示美國政府對於離開寄養照顧少年需求的重視程度，有增無減。

反觀我國自立生活方案的推展，最早首推台北市政府社會局於1994年開始實施《臺北市少年獨立生活方案實施計畫》(桃園縣政府社會處，2009)。但上述方案也僅止於試辦性質，且因缺乏法律可循，經費短絀，規模有限。其後我國政府陸續強調少年自立生活的重要性，分別在舊有的《兒童及少年福利法》第41條第3項(一般安置)、第45條第1項(安置輔導)，以及

I. Introduction

Not often we see a person living with his/her parents for their entire life. We all leave one day to build our own families. This is a rite of passage everyone goes through eventually on their way to becoming responsible adults. Most of us are prepared to enter adulthood in the comfort of our homes until we are economically independent, but to children growing up in foster care, they are often forced to leave because they have come to the statutory age to be released from public care. In other words, they will no longer be eligible for the care and protection offered by the juvenile welfare system. In a way, they are in an expedited process to become independent adults. Nonetheless, there are serious problems in this setup. Some children dropped out of the school to enter the job market because of family factors (e.g., poverty), and others entered foster care because they have fallen victim of incest or their parents are deceased, missing, or unknown. All the above factors make it very difficult for them to return to their birth families.

To find a solution for the above issue, the social welfare institutions in Taiwan launched the Independent Living Program (ILP), targeting adolescents who are about to leave or have just left the foster care system. The ILP aims to train these young adults the abilities to live independently and help them make the transition into becoming independent individuals living in the communities. Many countries have also implemented similar programs. For example, the US Government added the Title IV-E Foster Care Independent-Living Initiative in 1986 (Public Law, page 99 to 272). This amendment not only officially legislated the program, but also pushed the program forward into the stage of nationwide implementation (Cook, 1988). In 1999, the US government promulgated the John Chafee Foster Care Independence Act (Public Law page 106-169, 1999), and, in 2008, the Fostering Connections to Success and Increasing Adoption Act. This shows that the US government has seen an increasing need to take care of the young adults leaving the foster care system.

In Taiwan, the Taipei City Bureau of Social Welfare was the first to have addressed the issue of independent living. In 1994, the City of Taipei launched the Taipei City Juvenile Independent Living Program (Taoyuan County Department of Social Welfare, 2009). However, this program was only a pilot project without the backing of proper legislation, and funding was hardly sufficient to take it further. After which, the central government also saw the need to address the issues of juvenile independent living and made a series of amendment to the legal system, including Paragraph 3, Article 41 (Sheltering) and Paragraph 1, Article 45 (Counseling) of the Children and Juvenile Welfare Act and Article 32 (Special Education) of the Enforcement Rules for

現行的《兒童及少年性交易防制條例施行細則》第32條(特殊教育)有所規定。基上規定，主管機關應協助少年及其家庭預為必要之返家準備，並提供追蹤輔導(或規定續予輔導及協助)。但我國中央主管機關真正明確規定少年自立生活事項，則僅在《兒童及少年福利機構設置標準》第18條第1項中有所涉獵，該條規定：「安置及教養機構，應以滿足安置對象發展需求及增強其家庭功能為原則，並提供下列服務：… 八、親職教育及返家準備。九、獨立生活技巧養成及分離準備。十、追蹤輔導。十一、其他必要之服務。」可見，我國政府對於培養少年自立生活能力仍缺乏具體而微的法規可為依循；相對地，欲發揮其整體成效，不無有待斟酌之必要。

當前各國人民，面對房價高漲，每個人的購屋財務負擔日趨嚴重，尤其有許多少年雖然努力工作，但仍無力負擔房租，加以房東會選擇他們的房客，少年於是可能被迫居住在難以負擔的低品質住宅，不僅住得不舒適，抑且深深影響到其身心健全的發展。根據Delgado、Fellmeth、Packard、Prosek與Weichel(2007)的研究發現，離開寄養機構的加州少年中，有65%無家可歸、51%失業、且只有不到3%能上大學。另，Becker與Barth(2000)的研究則發現，受訪者中60%在離開機構後的四年內至少生下一名子女，遠高於一般青少年的24%。顯而易見地，提供過渡性住所(transitional housing)，將可以使少年維持穩定的住所，並且達到自給自足的目標，至少少年不會於離開機構後，又再度面臨無家可歸的窘境。

臺北市政府社會局有鑒於此，2008年開始委託中華育幼機構兒童關懷協會設置「台北市培立家園」，另其他縣(市)也陸續跟進分別成立自立宿舍、自立少年服務中心、安置處所等(洪錦芳，2010)。自立宿舍是否與一般安置機構有所不同？它要如何經營？它的機構目標與機構任務為何？它的社工策略為何？在在均發人深省。

the Children and Juvenile Sexual Trade Prevention Act. Basically, the objective of the authority is to help the adolescent and the family to prepare for returning home and provide follow-up counseling (mandatory counseling and assistance). Other than the above, the only legislation at the central level that has clearly addressed the issue of juvenile independent living is in Paragraph 1, Article 18 of the Standards for Establishing Children and Juvenile Welfare Institutions. This article states, "sheltering and educational establishments shall be set up under the principle of fulfilling the subject's needs in development and reinforcing the functions of the family, while providing the following services:... 8 parent education and preparation for returning home; 9 development of skills for independent living and preparation for separation; 10 tracking and providing counseling; and 11 other necessary services. From this, we can see that the central authority still does not have a clear legal basis to follow in terms of developing independent living skills for the adolescents under foster care, and therefore the effectiveness of the current system is yet to be reevaluated.

The rising property prices around the world make it impossible for younger adults to own homes. Many can't even afford to rent in spite of their effort to work hard and make life better. And some property owners have reservations to lease their properties to such young people. Under such condition, adolescents who have just left foster care may be forced to live in low-quality accommodation that they may not even be able to afford. This has gone beyond the issue of "comfort"; this is in many ways depriving their opportunities to have healthy personal development. The research of Delgado, Fellmeth, Packard, Prosek, and Weichel (2007) found that among all the adolescents who have left the California foster care institutions, 65% are homeless, 51% are unemployed, and less than 3% have made it to colleges. The research of Becker and Barth (2000) also found that 60% of the persons who responded in the survey have given birth to at least one child within four years after they left the foster care institutions, which is far higher than the average 24% of the general juvenile population. Apparently, Transitional housing may be a feasible plan since it provides a stable accommodation where they can build up their skills for independent living, or at least they will not fall into the dilemma of having nowhere to go back to after they have left the institutions.

In view of the problems, the Taipei City Bureau of Social Welfare commissioned the Chinese Children home and Shelter Association to set up the Taipei Path Lead Home. Other areas in Taiwan have also followed suit to set up supported housing, service centers, and shelters (Hong Jin-Fang, 2010). However, there are still several issues to think about. Is the supported housing different from other sheltering institutions? How should it be run? What's the objective and mission of the supported housing? And what are the social work strategies?

本文所指「自立宿舍」(Supported housing)，係針對日常生活需要幫助者而設計的住居所。自立宿舍所提供的支持程度不一，有些提供高度支持與24小時的工作人員，有些支持程度則較低且非長期性的。但絕大多數的自立宿舍都在上述的兩個極端中間(Stoke-on-Trent City Council: Supported housing options, n.d.)。

本文擬抱持拋磚引玉的心情，針對國內外推展自立宿舍的經驗與啟示，加以探討，冀期有助於我國未來推展少年自立宿舍之參考，進而使少年獲臻更完善的支持與照顧。

貳、自立宿舍之類型

自立宿舍的類型，依少年自立程度的不同，由低到高呈現一種連續性的系統(如圖1所示)。Krau 與 Woodward(2007)將自立宿舍分為下列四種類型：1.緊急住所(emergency accommodation)；2.過渡性住宅(transitional housing)；3.支持性住宅(supportive housing)；4.穩定自立的可負擔住宅(stable independent affordable housing)。

少年自立生活的準備程度，可經由評估後的評估結果，據以作為安排的依據。因而少年不需先經由緊急住所才能更換到穩定自立的可負擔住宅。若少年的需求有所改變，最好的調整方式乃在改變其協助程度，而非宿舍種類的不同(Kraus & Woodward, 2007)。

茲將自立宿舍的類型進一步說明如下 (Kraus & Woodward, 2007)：

(一)緊急住所

此類型的住所係以安全之家(safe house)及緊急庇護所的方式提供給特定年齡的少年，少年也可能在天候濕冷時，進入寒濕氣候收容所(cold wet weather shelter)。

所稱緊急住所本意是充當無處可去之少年的「最後淨土(housing of last resort)」，並滿足少年的基本需求(如食物、避難所，以及安全)，以及提供特殊方案與處遇。其安置期間通常為7日至30日。

The supportive housing mentioned in this article refers to an accommodation facility intended for people who need help for the day-to-day living. Different supported housing schemes provide different levels of support. Some offer high-level support and are staffed with 24-hour personnel, and others offer lower-level support on a short-term basis. However, the majority of the supportive housing schemes fall in between the two extremes (Stoke-on Trent City Council: Supported housing opinions, n.d.).

We expect this thesis to serve as an initiative for active study of the experiences and inspirations from the pioneers in the domestic and overseas research institutes and provide applicable references for the development of a comprehensive system of support and care.

II. Types of Supportive Housing

The various types of supportive housing, based on the residents' ability of being independent, forms a linear system from low level of independence to high (figure 1). Krau and Woodward (2007) classified supportive housing into the following four categories: 1. Emergency accommodation; 2. Transitional housing; 3. Supportive housing; and 4. Stable independent affordable housing.

Assessment on the readiness of applicants for independent living can be used as a reference for arrangement of a proper housing scheme. That is, the applicants do not need to go through the full series of housing schemes, i.e., from emergency accommodation to stable independent affordable housing, and when there are changes in the needs, the best way is to make adjustments in the level of assistance provided, not the type of housing scheme (Kraus & Woodward, 2007).

The following section provides more information on the different supportive housing schemes (Kraus & Woodward, 2007):

(I) Emergency Accommodation

This type of accommodation provides “safe houses” and emergency shelters to adolescents of certain age group. They may also enter the “cold wet weather shelter” during days of bad weathers.

The so-called “emergency accommodation” was originally provided as “housing of last resort”, which satisfies the basic needs (e.g., food, shelter, and safety) and provides special help and treatment to the adolescents. The period of stay ranges from 7 to 30 days.

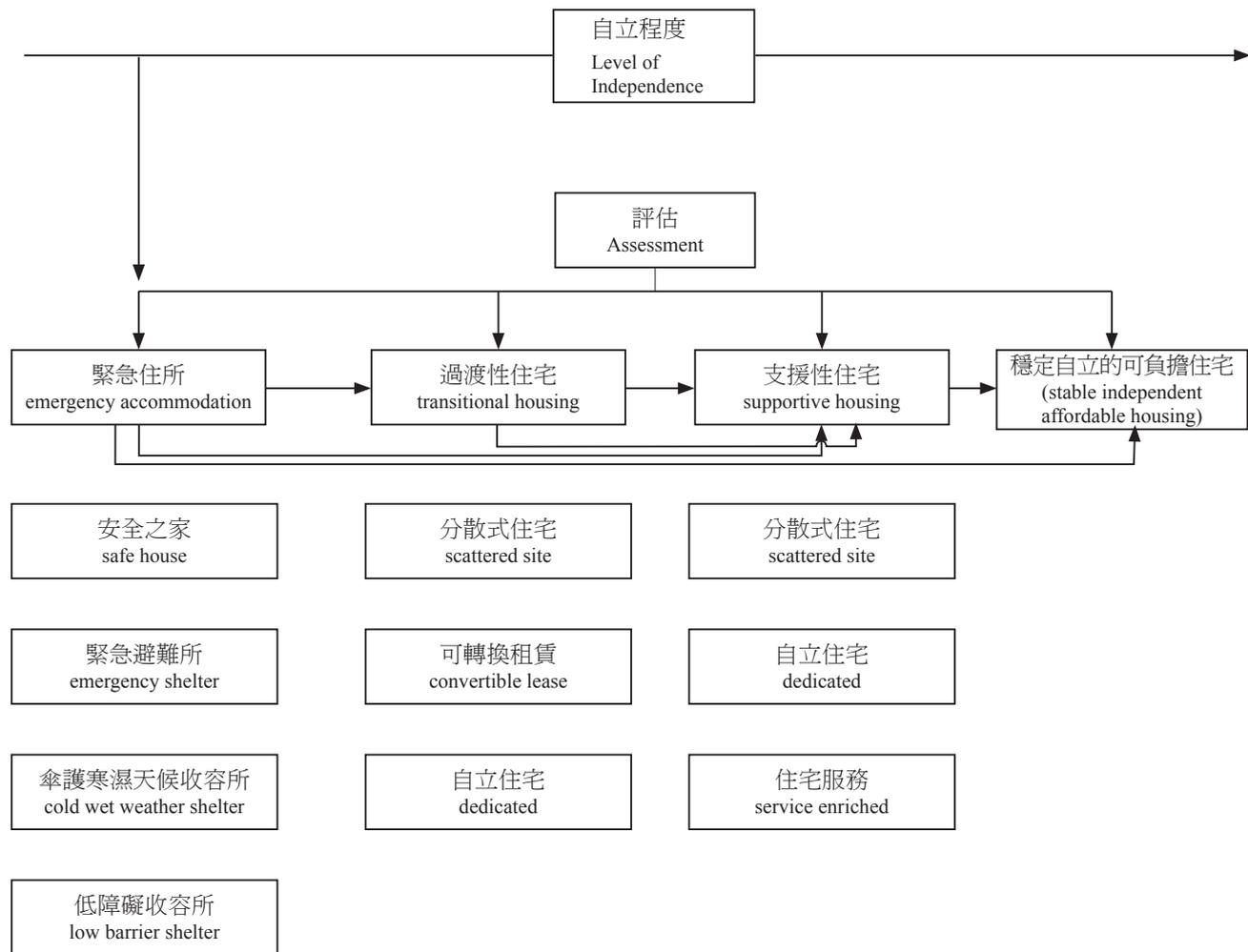


圖 1 少年自立宿舍的連續性系統

Figure 1 Serial System of Juvenile Supported Housing

資料來源：Kraus, D., & Woodward, J. (2007). Vancouver youth housing options study. Retrieved February 8th, 2011, from vancouver.ca/commsvcs/housing/pdf/YouthHousingOptions.pdf.

Reference: Kraus, D., & Woodward, J. (2007). Vancouver youth housing options study. Retrieved February 8th, 2011, from vancouver.ca/commsvcs/housing/pdf/YouthHousingOptions.pdf.

Robertson與Toro(1998)的研究指出，對於無家可歸的少年待在緊急住所通常是邁向居所穩定的第一步。另根據美國住屋與城市發展部(Housing and Urban Development)的報告指出，當前無家可歸的少年的確需要緊急與過渡服務，並認為較年輕的少年以及剛離家不久的少年，若能早期介入處遇時，比較有可能與他們的家庭重歸舊好。

Dekel、Peled與Spiro(2003)調查曾經待過緊急住所的少年發現，大多數的少年結案後會返回原生家庭，或家外安置。然而，他們的居住穩定度並不高，並與他們過去待在緊急住所的時間長短以及與家人的聯繫情形有關。

Robertson and Toro (1998) pointed out in their research that staying in emergency accommodation is often the first step to stable residence for the homeless adolescents. A report of the US authority for Housing and Urban Development also indicates that there is indeed an urgent need of emergency and transitional services for the homeless adolescents at the current stage and early intervention may help the younger adolescents or adolescents who have just left home to reconcile with their families.

Dekel, Peled, and Spiro (2003) conducted a survey on adolescents who have stayed in the emergency accommodations before. They found that most adolescents return home or enter home placement programs after their cases are closed. However, the stability is still not high, which is also related to the length of time they have stayed in emergency accommodation and whether they are in contact with their families.

(二)過渡性住宅

此類型的住宅係指少年可以待2至3年之處所，它以有特殊需求的少年為對象，提供過渡至自立宿舍所需的協助。例如：協助少年求職、學習生活技能，並獲得各種社區服務。

過渡性住宅係介於高度與低度服務需求之間，顧名思義，它是提供給尚未準備好或未能取得永久住宅的人，使其能成功地過渡至永久性住宅。由於少年的年齡與發展階段的因素，故少年便成為過渡性住宅的主要目標族群。因此，過渡性住宅的少年大多是來自機構結案之個案、需要教育與工作技能者、暴力事件的被害人、無家可歸者、心理問題或成癮者(Novac, Brown, & Bourbonnais, 2004)。

過渡性住宅的種類繁多，且硬體設計與輔助構造也都大異其趣。其中，在硬體方面，過渡性住宅可分為：1.獨棟建築(standalone)/專用大樓(dedicated buildings)；2. 叢聚式(clustered)/分散式(scattered site)住宅等兩種主要類型，這兩種類型因各有其優缺點，故良好的少年住宅最好是兩者兼俱，較能滿足少年之不同需求(Durham, 2003)。

1. 獨棟建築/專用大樓：將工作人員和同儕集中猶如在社區，有利於服務提供。少年可能擁有自己的床，並和其他人共用一間臥室與廚房設施。針對較沒有自立能力、缺乏社交能力的少年，此類型住宅可以提供較多的支持。
2. 叢聚式/分散式住宅：分散式住宅是將少年與成人或其他人住在一個普通的社區，並給予低度的支持服務，較適合長期租賃。

至於在軟體方面，則依過渡性住宅之服務提供或取得多寡(如隱私、自立程度)，而有不同的住宅類型的分類。歸納其主要類型，計有(Collaborative Community Health Research Centre, 2002)：

1. 監督式公寓：採全天候的監督。
2. 半監督公寓：日常監督。
3. 分租房間：幾個少年住在一間並採取低度監督。

(II)Transitional Housing

This type of housing provides accommodations for two to three years, targeting adolescents with special needs. The main objective is to provide assistances for transition to supportive housing, e.g., help them find jobs, learn independent living skills, and source for community services.

Transitional housing comes in between accommodations that offer the two extremes of high and low level of services. As the name suggests, it is targeted on those who are not yet ready or not yet capable of getting permanent residence, and the goal is to help them successfully transit from temporary to permanent residence. The factors of age and developmental stage make the adolescents the primary target for transitional housing. The majority of the adolescents in transitional housing are closed case-subjects from the institutions, persons who need education and employment training, victims of violence, adolescents who have become homeless, and adolescents who have mental or addiction problems (Novac, Brown, & Bourbonnais, 2004).

There are several types of transitional housing with very different hardware designs and auxiliary structures. Nonetheless, the hardware facilities can be roughly categorized as: 1. Standalone/dedicated buildings; 2. Clustered/scattered sites. Both have pros and cons and a good transitional housing scheme should include both formats, so it can offer more flexible options to meet the different needs (Durham, 2003).

1. Standalone/dedicated buildings: The staff and peers congregate in one place like a community for convenient service. An adolescent may have his/her own bed but share a bedroom and kitchen facility with the others. This type of housing provides more support and therefore is targeted for adolescents who have less independent living and social skills.
2. Clustered/scattered sites: The setup of scattered sites puts the adolescents in a regular community, living with the general population of adults and others and supply minimum support services. This is more suitable for long-term lease.

Transitional housing can also be categorized based on the setup of the accommodations, like how many services and controls are provided and enforced (e.g., level of privacy and independence). The following is a summary of the different setup (Collaborative Community Health Research Center, 2002):

1. Supervised apartment: Full-day supervision is implemented in such setup.
2. Semi-supervised apartment: Regular supervision is implemented in such setup.
3. Sublease room: Several adolescents are placed in one apartment and minimum supervision is implemented.

4. 和成人或同儕一起居住。
5. 接待家庭(host home)：租給他們想租的少年。
6. 寄宿家庭(boarding home)：提供房間給少年自立生活，並採取相當少的監督。

另外有個創新的過渡性住宅形式稱作「休息廳」(Foyer)，係指在社區中為少年晚期及剛過20歲的年輕人提供服務，協助連結嚴格的職業訓練與安置、教育、生活技能發展資源等 (Corporation for Supportive Housing, 2003)。

(三)支持性住宅

此類型的住宅係提供永久或穩定住處的自願性服務，並無時間限制，且依照服務的密集程度來分級。另由駐守機構工作人員提供服務，或連結當地居民與能提供協助之機構。

支持性住宅主要提供給16歲至25歲的少年，他們可能因為超過機構服務年齡或未達受案門檻，透過此住宅方案提供上述少年使之能獲得安全、負擔得起的住所。這些方案與傳統自立生活方案不同之處在於它們多是有租約的，透過租約來確保少年之權利與義務。因此，少年或年輕成人被視為住戶，並能較主動地參與訂定自己的服務目標。

支持性住宅通常能提供更自立的選擇，並且沒有時間限制。它與過渡性住宅同樣都著重結合住屋與服務。此外，支持性住宅在未將少年的安全網絡完全去除的情況下，讓少年體驗自立生活的經驗，並且由少年決定他(她)要何種服務和參與程度(Durham, 2003)。

雖然在其他國家已有許多關於成年支持性住宅的評估研究結果，證實支持性住宅能成功地使無家可歸或危機個案可擁有穩定生活，並且減少公共花費(Culhane, Metraux, & Hadley, 2001)。但因此類型住宅係屬較嶄新的住宅模式，因而僅有少數研究能直接證實它對少年是有成效的。大致來說，支持性住宅在提升個案的自信、發展社會和組織技巧、增加社會網絡、生活技能皆有不錯的成效(Novac, Brown, & Bourbonnais, 2004)。

4. Mixed residence: Adolescents are placed in a residence with mixed adults and peers.
5. Host home: House owners lease their rooms to adolescents.
6. Boarding home: House owners offer accommodation to the adolescents and allow them to live independently with minimum supervision.

There is also a new concept of transitional housing called the "Foyer". This type of venues offers services to the persons at the late juvenile stage or early 20's in the community and links them to the resources for rigorous employment training and placement, education, and development of living skills (Corporation for Supportive Housing, 2003).

(III)Supportive Housing

This type of housing targets to provide permanent or stable residence without time limit. Categorization of this type of housing is based on the intensity of the services. The staff stationed in the institutions provides the services and links the services to local residents and institutions offering relevant services.

Supportive housing targets specifically on adolescents from 16 to 25 who may have passed the age or are not eligible for institutional services. It is different from the other independent living schemes because the residents are bound by leases, which establish the rights and obligations. Therefore, the adolescents or young adults living in supportive housing are seen as residents and encouraged to actively participate in the process of setting the goals for their own services.

Supportive housing often provides more options for independent living without a time limit. It is similar to the concept of transitional housing in the sense that both of them focus on integrating services into accommodation and bring the adolescents into the process of decision-making for the type of services and level of involvement they are willing to commit (Durham, 2003).

Research in many countries has supported the theory that supportive housing can successfully bring homeless people or people of high risk into more stable living, which in turn cuts down public spending (Culhane, Metaux, & Hadley, 2001). However, this is still a rather new concept for the adolescents and only a few researches have direct evidence to support its effectiveness. Nonetheless, the researches in general have identified its effectiveness in improving the individuals' self-confidence, developing social and organizational skills, expanding social network, and enhancing living skills (Novac, Brown, & Bourbonnais, 2004).

(四)穩定自立的可負擔住宅

此類型的住宅是無限期提供給能自立生活之年輕人的住所，亦即只要少年願意並負擔房租，可提供無限期租賃服務。

在其他國家僅有少數的文獻指出，自立的可負擔住宅對高需求少年的適切性；相反地，在面對無家可歸的成人個案部份，則強調可負擔住宅是一個很主要的要素。穩定住宅通常是可使人們處理其他生活問題的第一步，亦即當人們擁有穩定住宅時，就可以面對其他需求和尋求協助(Kraus, Serge, & Goldberg, 2005)。然而，隨著房價高漲和空屋率低，少年找到合適和可負擔的永久住宅並非容易的事。

(五)小結

依據上述自立宿舍的不同類型，可以歸納並予以比較，如表1所示：

參、自立宿舍的範例

為便於更具體地瞭解上述不同類型之自立宿舍的實際狀況，以下特別列舉幾個頗具特色的自立宿舍範例，以供參考：

(一)加拿大Pape青少年資源中心(Pape Adolescent Resource Centre, PARC)(Kraus & Woodward, 2007)

加拿大安大略省多倫多地區的Pape青少年資源中心係針對準備自立生活並需要支持性住宅的青少年所設置的機構。該機構係由現有的服務提供者與宿舍提供者結合而成，其中宿舍提供者，包括：多倫多兒童援助協會(Children's Aid Society)、天主教兒童援助協會(Catholic Children's Aid Society)，以及猶太家庭與兒童服務(Jewish Family and Child Service)等。目前該機構所服務的對象是以15至24歲的青少年為限，這些青少年多半係已經離開或正要離開寄養家庭的人。因此，機構的目標在於協助青少年個人及其情緒方面之成長，俾使青少年有能力過渡至自立生活，進而達到自立自足的生活，並能融入社區。

(IV)Stable independent affordable housing

This type of housing service provides accommodation to adolescents for independent living without time limit. The lease is permanent, so long as the young adults are willing to pay rent.

Very few research literatures have supported the appropriateness of independent affordable housing for the adolescents with high demand for services; nonetheless, it has been recognized as a major link in the services for homeless adults. Stable housing is often the first step to regaining the ability to handle the issues in life; that is, when a person has a stable place to live, he or she will be more equipped to face the demands from other things and seek for help (Kraus, Serge, & Goldberg, 2005). However, the rising property prices and dropping rate of available units has made it a rather difficult task for the adolescents to find suitable and affordable permanent housing.

(V)Summary

The following Table 1 summarizes the different types of supported housing:

III. Practice of Supportive Housing

To discuss the different types of supportive housing in greater details, the following section provides an introduction to several supportive housing projects in the world that are deemed quite successful:

(I)The Pape Adolescent Resource Centre (PARC) Canada (Kraus & Woodward, 2007)

The Pape Adolescent Resource Center (PARC), located in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, is an institution targeting adolescents who are getting ready for independent living and need a certain level of support. This institution is a union of service and accommodation providers, including the Children's Aid Society, Catholic Children's Aid Society, and Jewish Family and Child Service. At present, the center is limited to adolescents from ages 15 to 24, and the majority of residents have left or are about to leave their foster families. Therefore, the goal of this institution is to help the adolescents to grow individually and mentally, so that they have the ability to transit over to the next stage, achieve independent living, and integrate into the communities.

Integrated service provided by this institution covers the issues of employment, drug abuse, self-identity, living skills,

表 1 Table 1

自立宿舍之類型(作者自繪)

Types of supported housing (by the author of this thesis)

	緊急性住所 Emergency Accommodation	過渡性住宅 Transitional Housing	支持性住宅 Supportive Housing	穩定自立的可負擔住宅 Stable Independent Affordable Housing
重要性 Significance	滿足少年的基本需求(如食物、避難所,以及安全),以及提供特殊方案與處遇。 Satisfies the basic needs (e.g., food, shelter, and safety) and provides special help and treatment to the adolescents.	它協助少年成功過渡至永久性住宅提供過渡至自立宿舍所需的幫助。 Helps them successfully transit from temporary to permanent residence	提供給 16 歲至 25 歲的少年,因為超過機構服務年齡或未達受案門檻,使之能獲得安全、負擔得起的住所。 Provides safe and affordable housing to adolescents from 16 to 25 of age who may have passed the age or are not eligible for institutional services.	提供給能自立生活之年輕人的住所,亦即只要少年願意並負擔房租,可提供無限期的租賃服務。 Provides accommodation to adolescents for independent living without time limit, so long as the young adults are willing to pay rent.
服務對象 Targets	無處可去的少年 Adolescents without a place to go back to.	給尚未準備好或未能取得永久住宅的人 Adolescents who are not yet ready for or have not yet acquired permanent housing.	具有心理疾病、成癮、精神疾病與藥物成癮之雙重病患、愛滋病患,及其他需要持續性支持需求者。 Persons who have mental or addiction problems, or combination of the two, AIDS, and other issues that require continuous support.	較年長並能自力生活的少年 Adolescents who are older and have the abilities to live independently.
提供方式 Implementation	初步的醫療介入,並提供安全之家 (safe house) 及緊急庇護所。 Provide initial medical intervention, safe house, and emergency shelter.	例如:協助少年求職、學習生活技能,並獲得各種社區服務。 Help the adolescents to seek jobs, learn living skills, and source for community services.	結合住屋與服務,透過租約來確保少年之權利與義務。另外,少年也可決定他要何種服務和參與程度。 Integration of services into accommodation- the residents are bound by leases, which establish their rights and obligations and the adolescents into the process of decision-making for the type of services and level of involvement they are willing to commit.	提供無限期租賃服務,並提供合適和可負擔的永久住宅。 Provide permanent lease and appropriate/affordable housing.
期間 Period	通常為 7 日至 30 日 Usually 7 to 30 days.	通常是 2 至 3 年 Usually 2 to 3 years	無時間限制 No time limit	無時間限制 No time limit

該機構所提供的整合性服務內容,包含就業、健康議題、藥物濫用、自我認同、生活技能、與社區的聯結,以及住所的單一窗口服務(One-Stop Housing Program)等。此外,該機構並與非營利組織的住所提供者共同合作,提供分散式住宅(scattered sites)。而住宅租金的收取,則是根據少年的收入變動而隨時予以調整(Rent-geared-to-income)。

(二)加拿大Eva庇護所(Eva's Satellite)(Kraus & Woodward, 2007)

EVA庇護所係加拿大安大略省多倫多地區提供給少年的緊急庇護場所,該機構是一個能滿足少年基本需求的庇護處所。該機構的特色除了特別重視少年的基

and connection to the community through a one-stop housing program. Furthermore, this institution works with non-profit accommodation providers to offer housing at scattered sites, and the rate of the rent is determined through the rent-geared-to-income method.

(II)Eva's Satellite Canada (Kraus & Woodward, 2007)

Eva's Satellite, located in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, is an emergency shelter targeted for adolescents. This institution places its focus on satisfying the basic needs of the adolescents, in particular food and shelter. It does not discriminate against the factors that other shelters may use to turn them down (e.g., substance abuse and whether they have identification cards). Therefore, we can say that EVA is a "low-threshold shelter".

本需求(例如：食物及棲身場所)而外，它並不在乎其他庇護所可能將少年拒之千里之外的因素(例如：物質濫用及身分證件有無)。因而，EVA庇護所是屬於「低障礙收容所」性質的機構。

所以說，該機構的服務目標在於：

1. 提供無法獲得主流、宗教團體服務的無家可歸及風險少年。
2. 提供食物及棲身場所等基本需求。
3. 提供低門檻方案及有效的在宅服務。
4. 協助少年降低藥物及酒精濫用所造成的傷害，並改變與藥物及酒精濫用相關的生活型態。
5. 提高社區方案及服務的可及性。

該機構在實務運作上雖然並未訂定太多規則，但仍會要求少年遵守家規(如宵禁、禁止說髒話或損毀財物等)。該機構每星期有五天會提供各種臨時性的方案，包括：工作坊、活動以及討論會等，少年可以自由選擇參與各種方案及活動。此外，機構的工作人員也會鼓勵少年多加運用資源，如：圖書館、社區中心、當地的YMCA，以及職業訓練中心。

如果少年嚴重違反方案規定、不遵守庇護所的規範，少年將會被迫離開庇護所一週。如果少年不想離開方案，少年也可以選擇接受諮商或督導、繳交報告、寫悔過書，或參與特定方案，予以抵過。

(三)澳洲自立生活支持方案(Supported Independent Living, SIL)(NSW, 2007)

該方案是澳大利亞新南威爾斯州社會服務部門與非政府機構一同發展的服務模式，其所服務對象是針對將照料責任延續到16-18歲的少年，這些少年往往需要協助，以成功的轉變為自立並長大成人(NSW, 2007)。

該方案之長程目標是希望少年可以完全自力更生，而短、中程的目標則是希望少年能在離開方案時，達到具備有以下的能力(NSW, 2007)：

1. 達到自我照料的需求(例如：洗衣、燙衣服、煮飯、打掃)。

The goals of this institution aims to:

1. Provide for homeless adolescents and adolescents at high risk who are unfavorable by the mainstream service programs or religious groups.
2. Provide for the basic needs, such as food and shelter.
3. Provide low-threshold program and effective in-house services.
4. Help adolescents lower the damages caused by drug and alcohol abuse and change drug and alcohol related life-styles.
5. Increase the accessibility of the community programs and services.

Although the center has not laid down many rules, it still asks adolescents to obey the house rules (e.g., curfew, no cursing, or no vandalism). The center offers various non-regular programs, including workshops, activities, and discussions five days week, and the residents are free to choose what they wish to participate. The staff at the center also encourages the adolescents to utilize the resources, such as the libraries, community center, local YMCA, and occupational training center.

When a tenant violates the rules of the program or the codes of the shelter to a degree deemed serious, this person will be forced to leave the shelter for one week. If the person does not wish to leave the program, he/she can also choose to receive counseling or supervision, write a report or a letter of repentance, or participate in a certain program instead.

(III)Supportive Independent Living (SIL) Australia (NSW, 2007)

This program is a service model jointly developed by the social service department of the State of New South Wales and non-governmental organizations to extend the responsibility of care to the adolescents between 16 and 18. These adolescents often need help to successfully gain independence and grow into adults (NSW, 2007).

The long-term goal of this program is to help adolescents become fully independent and self-sufficient, and the short to mid-term goal is to help them acquire the following abilities before they leave (NSW, 2007):

1. Learn to take care of themselves (e.g., do laundry, iron, cook, and clean).
2. Learn to comply with the lease agreement (e.g., stay in peace with the neighbors and respect property).
3. Learn to commit with work, training, education, and volunteer work.

2. 達到租屋協議的要求(例如：與鄰居和平共處、尊重財產)。
3. 達到工作、訓練、教育和自願活動的要求。
4. 管理自己的預算。
5. 使用公共交通運輸。
6. 使用當地健康和社區服務。

所以，方案的主要內容乃在提供自立生活技能訓練、教育協助、訓練協助、職涯協助、社會網絡及同儕支持、健康與諮商服務，以及安置服務。

此外，該方案將租屋模式依少年的不同支持性需求、機構所提供的不同監督程度與服務密度，而分為：1. 支持性分租型(supported shared housing)；2. 楷模志工同住型(lead tenant)；3. 同儕志工同住型(supported tenancies)等三種。上述不同租屋模式的比較，可以歸納如表2所示。

(四)蘇格蘭少年支持性住宅方案 (Drumchapel supported youth housing)(Drumchapel supported youth housing, n. d.)

蘇格蘭Drumchapel地區的Quarriers少年支持性住宅方案(Quarriers Drumchapel Supported Youth Housing Project)，其服務目標乃在於協助年輕的單身者，或有無家可歸風險的青少年，覓得住所並自立生活。大部份的青少年都是因為家庭破碎或家庭衝突而決定離家；此方案可提供這些青少年解決住屋問題以及求職障礙，最終目標是讓青少年能自立生活。此方案的服務對象，主要是Drumchapel地區之16~25歲的無家可歸或可能無家可歸之青少年，同時亦接受其他機構轉介而來的個案以及該地區的青少年也可自行參與此方案。

此住宅方案的主要服務內容為：1. 協助覓得住所；2. 協助瞭解權利；3. 協助發展新嗜好與興趣；4. 協助規畫未來；5. 24小時待命的系統。此外，此住宅方案並配套有自立生活方案，通常青少年在經過重要工作(keywork)後，會獲得自立生活方面的協助、評估與

4. Learn to manage their finances.
5. Learn to use the public transportation system.
6. Learn to use the local health and community services.

The main content of this program targets on providing training of the skills for independent living, assistance in education, training, and career, social network, peer support, health and counseling services, and placement service.

In addition, the center has also built three tenant models for this program based on the different levels of needs for support, the different levels of supervision enforced, and the intensity of service: 1. supportive shared housing; 2. Lead tenant; 3. supportive tenancies. The above three models are summarized in Table 2 below:

(IV) Drumchapel Supported Youth Housing Scotland (Drumchapel supported housing, n. d.)

The objective of the Quarriers Drumchapel Supported Youth Housing Project is to help the young singles, or youth with a high risk to become homeless, to find accommodation and live independently. Most of the youth have left home because of broken families or conflict with family members. This program helps the youth to solve the problem of accommodation and employment issues, and the ultimate goal is to help them achieve independent living. The targets are homeless or potential homeless between age 16 and 25. The center accepts referrals from other institutions and voluntary participants.

The content of this program includes: 1. helping them find accommodations, 2. helping them understand their rights, 3. helping them develop new hobbies or interest, 4. helping them plan for the future, and 5. providing 24-hour on-call support services. In addition, this housing program is also coordinated with an independent living program. Generally, a youth goes through the keyworker before they move into the independent living program, and after which they receive evaluation and recommendation, as well as the information of where to find furniture for their accommodation. The main content of the independent living program includes 1. helping them develop independent living skills, such as budgeting, cooking, shopping, renting a place, and securing personal safety; 2. helping them find the furniture they need; 3. providing after-hour on-call service; and 4. contacting the local house providers to help them find suitable housing. From the above, we can see that an independent living program includes personalized housing assistance.

表 2 Table 2

澳洲自立生活支持方案之不同租屋模式的比較

Tenant models of the Australian supported independent living program

支持性分租型 supportive shared housing	楷模志工同住型 Lead tenant	同儕志工同住型 supportive tenancies
最少監督 Minimum supervision	較多監督 Med-level supervision	最多監督 Highest supervision
1. 適合3-4位少年，他們擁有自立生活的能力，不需要密集監督。 2. 員工不需與他們同住。 3. 社工人員每週訪視一次，提供支持性服務。 4. 無時間限制，少年離開方案後仍可繼續租屋。 5. 當租屋有缺額待補，少年不可接管。 1. This model is suitable for a cluster of 3 to 4 adolescent tenants; they have the ability to live independently and do not require intensive supervision. 2. The staff does not need to live with them. 3. The social workers visit once a week to provide supportive services. 4. There is no time limit. The adolescents can still lease the places, even after they have left the program. 5. When there are vacancies in the unit, the tenants may not take over.	1. 適合2-4位少年，需要每日的監督。若少年對於生活自理有較困難者，僅收2位少年。 2. 同住的志工可以提供正向模範、非正式支持。 3. 社工人員每週訪視一次，提供支持性服務。 4. 在少年可以負擔的情況下，會讓他們承擔租約協議。 1. This model is suitable for a cluster of 2 to 4 adolescent tenants who need daily supervision. For those with difficulties managing their day-to-day living, two tenants in a unit is recommended. 2. The volunteer living with provides as a positive model, instead of official support. 3. The social workers visit once a week to provide supportive services. 4. The tenants may be asked to share the rent when they are capable.	1. 適合1-2位少年，他們對於自理生活有困難，需要社工人員每日的協助。 2. 員工不需與他們同住。 3. 社工人員每日訪視一次，提供支持性服務。當少年能力增加時，支持服務便會減少。 4. 在少年可以負擔的情況下，會讓他們承擔租約協議。 1. The model is suitable for a cluster of 1 to 2 adolescent tenants in one unit. They have difficulties managing their day-to-day living and need help from the social workers on a daily basis. 2. The staff does not need to live with them. 3. The social workers visit once a day to provide supportive service, and after the tenants developed certain skills, the frequency of supportive service will be reduced. 4. The adolescent tenants may be asked to share the rent when they are capable.

資料來源：NSW. (2007). Out of Home Care Service Model Supported Independent Living. NSW Department of Community Services.

Source: NSW. (2007). Out of Home Care Service Model Supported Independent Living. NSW Department of Community Services.

建議以及取得住居所傢具的管道。故自立生活方案的主要目標在於培養少年的新技巧、提供新資訊以及租屋建議。其主要內容為：1. 協助培養青少年的各種自立生活技能，包括：訂定預算、烹調、購物、租賃房屋及個人安全；2. 取得傢具；3. 下班時間的隨叫隨到 (on call) 服務；4. 與當地的住屋提供者 (house providers) 連繫，以協助青少年覓得合適的住居所。由上可見，自立生活方案也提供個人化的住屋協助。

(五) 臺灣展翅協會的少女展翅自立生活方案 (臺灣展翅協會，2011、2012)

臺灣展翅協會係專門安置因遭受性剝削而接受安置保護少女的機構 (臺灣展翅協會，2012)。該協會所提供的展翅自立生活方案，包括設立了「展翅家園」以及「展翅工坊」。「展翅家園」係提供少女住宿，學習生活所必須能力；而「展翅工坊」則係協助少女培養工作習慣並養成良好態度，發展正向社會關係。

(V) The Wing Project, ECPAT Taiwan (ECPAT Taiwan, 2011 and 2012)

ECPAT Taiwan is an organization targeted to shelter sexually exploited young girls (ECPAT, Taiwan, 2012). The Wing Project is a two-part project, including the accommodation program at the Taoyuan Youth Center and the independent living program. The Taoyuan Youth Center provides accommodation to young girls and training in basic living skills, and the independent living program helps young girls to develop positive attitude towards working, as well as a positive social network.

The Taoyuan Youth Center targets sexually exploited young girls between age 15 and 18 on a voluntary basis. Currently the first dormitory of the center has room for six girls. The center provides accommodation free of charge for at least one year, not including meals, except some light refreshments. In the first week, the staff teaches girls how to use the appliances and help them get familiar with the environment. During their stay, the center provides the sanitary and personal hygiene supplies, such as shower gel, shampoo, toilet paper, and garbage bags, free of charge. The staff consists of three members, including one supervisor, one social worker,

展翅家園的入住對象為15-18歲遭受性剝削而自願加入方案的少女，目前展翅家園第一宿舍可容納六名少女免費住宿至少一年，宿舍備乾糧但不提供膳食。入住第一週，園方會教導少女學習使用家電及認識周遭環境(食衣住行)；住宿期間，園方也會免費供應少女清潔與日常用品，如沐浴乳、洗髮精、衛生紙、垃圾袋等。展翅家園的工作員共計3人，包括督導1名、社工員1名、生活輔導員1名。此家園著重低度管理以及培養少女生活自理的能力。故白天少女因亟需尋求自立故多投入各項就業環境中，包含機構提供之庇護工作。晚上則由生活輔導員住宿陪伴並提供相關協助。展翅家園每天晚上十一時為門禁時間，少女如需外宿時，必須事先請假、留下聯絡方式，並以一週兩次為限。展翅家園每月都會召開宿舍會議一次，少女可針對相關規定提出討論，並輪流擔任主席或記錄。少女在家園的表現，由工作人員和少女一起針對生活能力、自我管理、金錢管理、就業能力等四個指標加以評估，評估的時間，每季評估一次。

對於參與該協會自立生活方案完成三階或四階自立計畫(生涯探索與發展規劃)的少女，如有意接受第二宿舍計畫者，該協會會安排其入住第二宿舍。第二宿舍的管理採無生活輔導員的方式，日常生活事項悉由少女自行照料，少女並需依階段自行負擔房租，該協會也會依階段補助該處房租。接受第二宿舍計畫的少女需配合追蹤方案每月返回該協會與社工員會談一次，社工員亦得採低頻率不定時至宿舍探訪。目前該協會已有四位少女，參與第二宿舍計畫。

另該協會為建立少女的工作習慣與態度及自信的修補與重建家園，特別設置有「展翅工坊」，可提供六名少女工作機會至少一年。展翅工坊中聘有專業經理(社工員)一人，負責管理行銷及少女就職協助；專案助理一人，負責設計指導；以及外聘專業琉璃設計老師一人，隔週前來該工坊指導產品的設計與製作。此外，該協會亦著重少女正向社會關係的建立，故每週五下午會安排少女從事志願服務、參訪及休閒活動等，同時也會針對少女的身心狀況進行諮商、身心門診及與身體和解療癒團體。

and one life counselor. The center implements low-intensity management and focuses on developing the girls' living skills. Therefore, most of the girls choose to work during the day since they seek to become independent; this includes jobs at the ECPAT's shelter workshop. The life counselor lives with the girls to accompany them at night and provide relevant support. The center enforces a curfew at 11pm. Prior notification and contact information is required if they plan to stay out, and maximum two stay-outs per week is permitted. The center organizes a tenant meeting once a month. The girls are invited to propose issues for discussion and take turns to host the meeting or take minutes. The performance of each girl at the center is assessed through a discussion between the staff and the girl based on four indicators: living skills, self management, financial management, and job skills. This assessment is conducted on a quarterly basis.

The girls who have completed the third and fourth stage independent living program (career exploration and development planning) may enter the second dormitory program. Those who express the intent are arranged for places at the second dormitory. The second dormitory is not staffed with a life counselor, the girls are responsible for taking care of themselves, and they are required to pay rent at certain stages. The Association also subsidizes the rent at different stages. Currently, there are four girls in the second dormitory program.

To develop the habit and attitude towards working, rebuild their self-confidence, and repair their concept of home, the Association set up a shelter workshop. Currently, the workshop offers job opportunities to six girls for at least one year. The workshop is staffed with a project manager (social worker) who is in charge of management, marketing, and providing support to the girls; a project assistant, who is in charge of designing products and teaching the skills; and a visiting professional instructor for glass bead making, who comes to the workshop once in every two weeks to give instructions on the design and production skills. Furthermore, the Association also has a program to develop the girls' social skills; at the afternoon of every Friday, the girls are arranged to participate in volunteer services, visiting trips, and recreational activities. The Association also provides counseling and mental/physical clinic services to the girls, as well as activities of various physical relief therapy curriculums body-reconciling therapy groups.

(六)小結

綜觀上述五個自立宿舍的範例，各有其特色，且由於其兼具代表性，故頗值得我國未來推展自立宿舍的參考。茲歸納其可供參考的主要特色如後：

1. 加拿大安大略省多倫多地區的Pape青少年資源中心的最大特色之一，係結合現有的服務提供者與宿舍提供者，以提供少年更完善的服務，故除資源間能彼此充分合作，互補資源的不足外，兼可避免資源重複及浪費的流弊。另該機構所提供的分散式住宅，其租金的收取，端視少年的收入多寡，而予以機動性地調整。因而，不僅能避免少年因無力負擔租金費用而無法獲得協助，抑且也能避免政府或機構財政上過多的負擔。此外，若少年已步入自立生活且租屋紀錄良好，將可獲准長期續租。反觀我國目前自立宿舍的經營，似乎較偏向提供無處可去少年的一種緊急性住所服務，因而採取機動性地調整租金，兼可減低少年過渡依賴機構的流弊，殊值仿效。
2. EVA庇護所係加拿大安大略省多倫多地區提供給少年的緊急庇護場所，它是屬於一種「低障礙收容所」性質的機構。該機構的最大特色乃在於收案的門檻低，故無論少年是否有物質濫用或是否有無身分證件，都能入住。而且該機構能將少年基本需求的滿足，列為優先的工作目標。另該機構也會要求少年遵守家規(如宵禁、禁止說髒話或損毀財物等)，但其所訂的規則卻是非常簡單明瞭。通常若少年嚴重違反規定、不遵守機構的規範，少年就會被迫離開機構一週。若少年不想離開此方案，少年也可以選擇其他方式，加以抵過。反觀我國自立宿舍的新收個案，往往有固定的門檻規定，若少年有資格或條件不符合時，往往便喪失接受服務的資格。再者，若少年外出而違反機構的門禁規定，機構往往在半夜採不開門的方式加以因應，導致機構與少年間在遵守規則與否方面，常見彼此互相較勁，似欠允適。
3. 澳洲新南威爾斯州的自立生活支持方案，係由該州社會服務部門與非政府機構一同發展的服務模式。該方案之目標無論係短程、中程，或是長程，都規定得很明確且具體。另外，該方案將租屋模式分為：(1)

(VI)Summary

Each of the five examples of supportive housing described above is unique in its own way and representative of a unique model. They are valuable references for the development of supported housing in Taiwan. Therefore, we take a further step to summarize the programs in the section below:

1. The Pape Adolescent Resource Center (PARC) in Canada brings the existing service and housing providers together to provide a well-integrated service system. Under such setup, institutions with different resources work with each other on a resource sharing framework. This system effectively prevents repetition and wastage of resources. The scattered housing program offers shelter to the adolescents under a floating rental system. This, on one hand, prevents certain adolescents from falling out of the care system due to inability to pay for the rent, and on the other hand, solves the problem of financially overburdening the government or the institutions. Furthermore, adolescents who have learned the skills for independent living and have good records are offered long-term leases. The supported housing programs in Taiwan, on the other hand, are mostly in the nature of emergency accommodation. The floating rent system is a good model in terms of preventing adolescents from becoming overly dependant on the institutions.
2. Eva's Satellite in Toronto, Ontario, Canada is an emergency accommodation characterized by "low-threshold" sheltering. The center sets a fairly low threshold to adolescents in need, even to persons with issues of substance abuse or lack of a proper identification card and makes it a priority to satisfy the basic needs of the adolescents. The institution also requires the tenants to observe a certain set of rule (e.g., curfew, no cursing or vandalism), but the rules are simple and easy to follow. When the tenants violate the rules or fail to follow the guidelines, they are given the options to leave for one week or choose other ways of behavioral discipline. The supportive housing systems in Taiwan, on the other hand, sets a threshold for entering the system, which means some adolescents may be disqualified for the services if they fail to meet certain criteria. The dormitories often have a curfew rule and the institutions often respond to such violation by locking them out. This often instigates conflicts between the tenants and service providers.
3. The supportive Independent Living (SIL) program of New South Wales Australia is jointly developed by the state social service department and non-governmental organizations with clear short, mid, and long term goals. This program offers three types of accommodation leases: (1) supportive shared housing, (2) lead tenant, and (3) supportive tenancies, and each lease model involves a differ-

支持性分租型；(2)楷模志工同住型；(3)同儕志工同住型等三種。各租屋模式不同，監督的涉入程度，也因而不同。反觀我國現行自立宿舍幾乎都是「購買式服務」的經營形態，而且租屋模式幾乎都是採「最多監督」方式，尤其較少引進志工來協助專職人員，導致機構人手更形不足，以致影響方案的正常運作。因此，未來我國不妨參酌此方案的不同租屋模式，來設計出最適合少年需求的自立宿舍才對。

4. 蘇格蘭Drumchapel地區的Quarriers少年支持性住宅方案，此方案有幾個特色：(1)依照少年的需求，量身打造適合的預估(assessment)模式，並在預估少年住屋及支持需求的同時，也能預估少年支付租金的能力。(2)能提供關鍵工作者(key worker)、每天聯繫、隨時服務及團隊工作等方式，以達到整體性地照顧少年不同的租屋需求。(3)與當地的住屋提供者(house providers)連繫，不僅能提供少年負擔得起的住所，而且在少年及方案工作人員雙方均同意結束服務之前，只要少年還有需要，便能獲得協助。另當地的房東亦能盡可能地提供可供出租之處所，以協助方案之順利進行。該方案上述幾個特色，如需求預估模式、團隊工作以及房東的招募，頗具見地，殊堪我國實務工作界考量再三。

5. 臺灣展翅協會的展翅自立生活方案，包括設立了「展翅家園」以及「展翅工坊」。前者是機構提供少女自立宿舍，後者則是機構提供少女的工作機會。由於類似展翅自立生活方案的規劃，在國內是很少見的，故特別予以介紹。以下將該協會的作法特色，歸納說明如后(台灣展翅協會，2012)：

- (1)工作人員會與少女一同就其四個指標予以評估，而且方案工作人員不僅不會以專家身分自詡，也會尊重少女的主觀意見以及賦予少女自我評估的權力，均將有助少女充權。
- (2)安排少女從事志願服務工作，期盼少女在由受助者角色轉變為助人者角色的同時，發掘自己的力量、看見自己的能力。
- (3)安排心理師、精神科醫師在少女同意的情況下，提供心理方面的支持與重建，甚或為少女規劃創

ent level of supervision. The majority of the supportive housing programs in Taiwan, on the other hand, offer “purchased services”, and most of the accommodation leases come with “maximum supervision”. In particular, there are rare cases of bringing volunteers into the system and therefore the institutions often fall into the dilemma of having insufficient human resources for proper operation of the programs. The diversified modes of accommodation leasing implemented by the Australian SIL program are good references to the institutions in Taiwan for the design of supported housing.

4. The Quarries Drumchapel Supportive Youth Housing in Scotland has three distinctive characteristics: (1) customized assessment model for each potential tenant, which includes estimation of the adolescent’s ability to pay the rent based on the level of his/her needs in housing and support services; (2) daily contact, on-call service, and group works, targeting to achieve the overall care for the adolescents’ housing needs; (3) networking with the local housing providers to supply affordable accommodation to the adolescents; before the adolescents and the program administrators agree to close the cases, the adolescents always have access to the services as long as they both agree. The house owners in the local community are also highly involved, and they play a key role in the success of this program. The unique assessment model, groups work, and property owner involvement serve as a good model for the program planners in Taiwan.
5. The Wing Project run by EPCAT Taiwan includes the accommodation service at the Taoyuan Youth Center and the EPCAT Workshop. The former provides independent housing to girls in need and the latter offers job opportunities. There are still very few programs addressing the subject of independent living in Taiwan; therefore, we take the liberty to introduce this program in more detail in the section below (ECPAT, 2012).

- (1)The caseworkers assess the girls’ performance through discussions based on four indicators. The caseworkers do not present themselves as experts; instead, they respect the opinions of the girls and give them sufficient power to assess themselves. This is highly effective for empowerment.
- (2)The center arranges the girls for volunteer work. This in effect turns the girls from persons receiving help to persons helping other. It is an effective way, which encourages them to discover their power and see their abilities.
- (3)With agreement, the center engages psychologists and psychiatrists to provide the girls support and rebuilding therapies; some girls are even provided with post-trauma rehabilitation programs to help

傷復原計畫，協助少女恢復能力並展望未來。

- (4) 在免費提供住宿(原則為一年，但可視個案情況增減時程)的期間內，重新建構少女對「家」的概念，在少女學習建立正向社會連結的同時，也提供少女生活支持及榜樣，讓少女離開展翅家園後能擁有自立生活的能力。
- (5) 該協會會隨著少女完成不同階段的自立計畫，宿舍的管理從有生活輔導員監督到悉由少女自行照料，少女需依階段不同而逐漸負擔較多的房租，而機構也會依不同階段補助宿舍所需的不同房租。

肆、自立宿舍之工作人員

澳洲新南威爾斯州的自立生活支持方案(Supported Independent Living, SIL) 為了讓少年獲得所需要的幫助、早日從自立宿舍過渡至自己的住所，並具備處理問題的能力與謀生技能，特別在自立宿舍的經營管理方面，朝向制度化、專業化與分工化的經營管理，故頗值得引作範例參考。茲將該州自立宿舍主要工作者的分工情形，分別說明如次(NSW, 2007)：

(一)個案管理者(Case management)

個案管理者負責擔任與其他機構之間的協調者、個案工作人員的管理者，以及為少年訂定個案計畫與少年結案後繼續追蹤。因此，個案管理者在方案的整個過程中，除了須讓少年感受到尊重的同時，並獲得其所需的協助，或讓少年知道要至何處尋求所需的支持。具體而言，個案管理的主要內容包括：評估、服務計畫、服務協調及倡導(Durham, 2003)，而個案管理者之主要任務則包含(NSW Department of Community Services, 2008)：

1. 與其他機構、相關專業人士、少年、過去照顧者、家庭、合適的文化和社區代表合作，確定這些相關團體能參與離家照料方案和審查整個過程。
2. 協調離家照料計畫，使他們能提供立即服務，並確保和服務提供者保持有效的溝通。
3. 提供少年家中、學校、工作場所之個案諮詢和支持。

them regain their abilities and hopes for the future.

- (4)The center offers free accommodation (one year in principle, but tenancy may be reevaluated on a case-by-case basis). This accommodation targets to rebuild the concept of “home” for the girls and provide positive support and role model in the process of helping them establish the links to the society. The goal is to help the girls develop independent living skills for their lives beyond the youth center.
- (5)At the different stages in the independent living program, the center implements different levels of supervision. The girls start from full-supervision to independent self-care through the different stages. They are required to pay an increasing rate of rent through the different stages, and ECPAT also subsidizes the different rates through the different stages.

IV. Staff of the Independent Housing Programs

The Australia supportive Independent Living Program (SIL) targets to provide adolescents the help they need, help them transit from supportive housing to their own permanent housing, and help them develop the skills for problem-solving and employment. To effectively manage the program, the center established a systematic and professional management model with well-organized job-division. This is deemed a highly effective system and worth in-depth discussion. The section below further introduces the roles of the individual functional positions (NSW, 2007):

(1)Case management

The case manager is a coordinator in between the different resources, a manager of caseworkers, a planner of the individual programs, and the team leader in the tracking process for the closed cases. Therefore, the cases manager must let the help seekers feel that they are respected before they will be willing to enter the program and let them know where to seek for the help they need. Generally, the work of a case manager consists of assessment, service planning, service coordination, and service promotion (Durham, 2003). The section below discusses the specific missions of a case manager (NSW Department of Community Services, 2008):

1. The case manager coordinates with the other institutions, professionals, the adolescents, caretakers in the past, families, and representatives of suitable cultural and community organizations to involve them in the independent living programs, as well as evaluating the full process.
2. The case manager coordinates the independent living programs to ensure that services are readily available and effective communication among the service providers is maintained.

4. 在個案計畫中，鼓勵家人接觸與修補與少年之間的關係。
5. 定期監測、審視和紀錄進展情況，以達到個案計畫的目標。
6. 監督和支持楷模志工，以提供一致和優質的服務。
7. 安排或提供少年結案時即時和適當的過渡或安置服務。

(二)個案工作者(case worker)

個案工作者主要在協助少年為後續的自立生活充實技能與知識，並可使用心理測驗等方式協助少年認識自己已有的能力與潛在的能力，讓少年瞭解自己的性向及適合的職業。另個案工作者亦須為少年與潛在雇主媒合；預先為少年及雇主雙方做好心理準備，減少年求職或就業上的挫折，也降低雙方衝突的機會。所以說，個案工作者的角色在於建立少年知識和技能，以使其能成功的自立生活。並且幫他們與主要的支持資源連結、專業的服務與長期住宿服務。具體而言，個案工作者的工作內容，計有下列數者(Australia Red Cross, 2010)：

1. 個案管理包括：接案、評估和參與、個案規劃、個案工作、外展、支持性轉介、發展實用技巧、個案追蹤、建立案主能力。
2. 工作對象包括：危機少年及他們的家人、社區、長輩。而個案工作者可幫助他們與少年重建其家庭或職業關係。
3. 提供合適的資訊與資源給少年，使他們能接近這些資源。
4. 與其他服務提供者包含學校、訓練中心、雇主，彼此合作。
5. 確保服務在發展性與文化上，對案主是合適的。
6. 協助少年申請與接近過渡性住宿服務。
7. 使少年具備可以維持租屋的能力。

(三)重要工作者(co-keyworker)

少年在自立宿舍時，會有個別的主要工作者及協同重要工作者(co-keyworker)；而重要工作者須為少年規劃並討論其面對不同議題時的處理方式、與之一同訂定未來的行動計畫；必要時，與少年同住或與協同

3. The case manager provides case counseling and support at home, school, or workplace.
4. The case manager encourages the adolescents to get in contact with their families and mend the broken relationships.
5. The case manager regularly monitors, evaluates, and records the progress, facilitating successful achievement of the case goals.
6. The case manager supervises and supports the lead tenants and ensures the consistency of the quality of the services.
7. The case manager arranges or supplies timely and adequate transitional or placement services.

(II)Case worker

The caseworker helps adolescents to develop skills and knowledge for independent living in the future and help the adolescents to evaluate their abilities and potentials, including their aptitude and career tendencies through various assessment tools. The caseworker finds potential employers for the adolescents and prepares both the adolescents and employers for the placement psychologically to prevent the adolescents from falling into frustration and minimum the risk of conflicts. The caseworker plays the role as a facilitator for the adolescents' development of the skills and knowledge for successful independent living and their link to the support resources, professional services, and long-term accommodation. The section below discusses the specific missions of a caseworker (Australia Red Cross, 2010):

1. The tasks of a caseworker include case initiation, evaluation, and participation, case planning, casework and extension, supportive referral, case-developing skills, case tracking, and helping the cases to develop abilities.
2. The subjects of casework include adolescents at risk and their families, community, and other senior person in the adolescents' lives. The caseworker may provide assistance to help them rebuild their family or employment relationships.
3. The caseworker provides and facilitates access to suitable information and resources for the adolescents.
4. The caseworker coordinates and works with the schools, training centers, and employers.
5. The caseworker makes sure that the service provided is appropriate in terms of individual development and culture.
6. The caseworker helps adolescents apply and gain access to transitional housing services.
7. The caseworker helps adolescents to build up the abilities to maintain property leases.

(III) Keyworker and co-keyworker

The adolescents in the supported housing are accompanied by a keyworker or co-keyworker. The keyworker makes the different plans with the adolescents, discusses the different tech-

重要工作者合作協助少年。換句話說，重要工作者需以夥伴、平等的關係與少年共同工作、理解少年的想法後，以少年的最佳利益為考量給予幫助。

在一些方案中，少年可以藉著參與住戶會議，以及與他們的重要工作者進行會談，表達出自己的觀點，協助少年參與社區事務，培養自己的自立生活技巧，以利少年從支持性住宅過渡至他們自己的住所 (Drumchapel supported youth housing, n.d.)。

(四)同儕顧問(peer advisors)

同儕支持的角色是由少年的家庭、有血緣關係的網絡中，徵求願意扮演支持性同儕者，參與支持性同儕的方案。他們主要是在轉變為自立生活的過渡時期，提供社會支持的角色(NSW Department of Community Services, 2008)。同時，同儕顧問也有類似住宿生顧問的功能，他們多半受過衝突解決、情緒管理、危機介入、資訊提供與轉介的訓練，同樣也會導引出保密問題、酬勞、訓練、界線等議題 (Durham, 2003)。

(五)志工

為彌補方案專職工作人員數量的不足並提供更完善的服務，方案可運用受過訓練的志願工作者。在志願工作者與少年配對成功後，平日可負責與少年之間的聯繫、或與少年共同參與活動；必要時，則可協助少年與其家庭成員建立新的連結。而機構往往會提供志工例行的監督、訓練、補償費用，並且會要求志工必須做到以下事項(NSW Department of Community Services, 2008)：

1. 至少提供六個月的服務。
2. 參與訓練，包含如何與他人接觸，建立界線，確保隱私、降低依賴。訓練的主要重點是如何在少年轉變為自立生活的過渡時期，提供合適的支持與訓練。
3. 參與一連串同儕支持的評估和配對的過程。
4. 與少年保持聯繫。
5. 與少年有平時的互動，包含少年同意參與的戶外活動。
6. 幫忙少年與家人或親人建立聯繫。
7. 至少與個案工作者進行兩週一次的督導。

niques for handling different issues, and help them to draw up action plans for the future. They may live with the adolescents or work with the co-keyworker to help them. In other words, the keyworker must work with the adolescents in a partner or peer relation, make attempts to understand the adolescents, and provide help considered to be in the best interest of the adolescents.

In some programs, the adolescents are encouraged to express their views in tenant meetings and the discussions with the keyworker. The keyworker brings the adolescents to become involved in the community activities and develop independent living skills, acting as the facilitator to help them successfully transit from supported housing to permanent housing (Drumchapel supported youth housing, n.d.).

(IV)Peer advisors

The peer advisor is a willing person from the family or kinship network of the adolescent seeking for help. He/she plays the role as a peer who provides social support in the program to help the adolescent during the transitional period from supported housing to independent living (NSW Department of Community Services, 2008). The peer advisor is also similar to the role of a boarder's advisor, since the majority of them have been trained for conflict resolution, emotion management, crisis intervention, and information supply and referral. However, this design also brings out the issues of confidentiality, remuneration, training, and boundaries (Durham, 2003).

(V)Volunteers

To make up for the shortage in human resources and facilitate better services, the program administrators may recruit trained volunteers. After successful matching, a volunteer may be assigned for the job to contact the adolescents under their care or accompany them to the activities. When necessary, the volunteer may also help the adolescents reestablish contacts with their families. The institutions often provide regular supervision and training, and subsidies for the expenses, as well as requesting them to commit to the following activities (NSW Department of Community Services, 2008):

1. Commit to at least six months of services.
2. Participate in the training programs, including how to interact with the others, set boundaries, secure confidentiality, and reduce the level of dependant. The training programs focus on how to help adolescents to successfully transit into independent living and how to provide suitable support and training.
3. Participate in a series of peer support assessments and matching processes.
4. Keep in contact with the assigned adolescents.
5. Interact with adolescents on a regular basis, including participating in outdoor activities with the adolescents.
6. Help adolescents to reestablish contacts with their families or relatives.

(六) 楷模志工 (Volunteer lead tenants)

楷模志工係以受過訓練且年齡與少年相近的志願工作者，擔任少年租屋生活期間的正向楷模，讓他們擁有安全、穩定和支持性的生活環境。楷模志工平日仍有工作或學業，少年白天則是去學校或上班。楷模志工並不是一個職業或是社工員的角色，他們仍要培訓、督導並且24小時待命支援。楷模志工的工作內容，包括：夜間與少年同住於自立宿舍中、督促少年自理生活的能力或教導少年家事等技巧(包括打掃、團體生活、衛生習慣等)、定期與個案工作者討論少年的狀況並適時調整執行方式、協助少年處理夜間於自立宿舍中發生的緊急狀況，包括聯絡個案工作者等。具體而言，楷模志工具具有如下的特別責任 (NSW Department of Community Services, 2008)：

1. 每個晚上(包含假日)待在宿舍。
2. 扮演宿舍中少年的正向角色。
3. 監督每天的家務。
4. 協助並鼓勵少年發展家事技巧。
5. 協助並鼓勵少年發展與練習日常事務的自立生活技巧。
6. 參與訓練課程，租屋會議和討論。
7. 與個案工作者進行兩週一次的督導。
8. 當發生問題時，與機構的員工和個案工作者保持密切的聯絡。
9. 當發生緊急事件時，聯絡自立生活支持方案的個案工作者。
10. 對少年始終保持著高度的熱誠。
11. 保密性。
12. 確保與方案相關的機構政策和程序執行。

(七) 小結

綜觀上述，澳洲新南威爾斯州之自立生活方案的工作人員，包括：個案管理者、個案工作者、重要工作者、同儕顧問、志工、楷模志工等。其中個案管理者與個案工作者的角色與任務，與我國現況相當；志工可以說是協助個案工作者的工作夥伴，平日負責與少年之間的聯繫，並至少兩週一次接受個案工作者的

7. Work with the caseworkers for supervision at least once in two weeks.

(VI) Volunteer lead tenants

The volunteer lead tenant is a trained volunteer worker at a similar age of the assigned adolescent. He/she is a positive model, who helps the adolescents to build a safe, stable, and supportive living environment. The volunteer lead tenant has work or school during the day, while the adolescents go to school or work. He/she is not involved in the capacity of a professional or social worker, but he/she still needs to go through certain training and on-call 24-hours a day. The content of the work includes living with the adolescents in the supportive housing at night, monitoring the progress of the adolescents' development of living skills, teaching them the basic house chore techniques (e.g., cleaning, group living, and hygiene), discussing the progress with the case workers, and helping the adolescents to handle emergency situations at night, including contacting the case workers. Specifically, the volunteer lead tenant has the following duties (NSW Department of Community Services, 2008):

1. Stay in the supported housing every night (including holidays).
2. Play a positive role in the housing.
3. Monitor the house chores.
4. Help and encourage adolescents learn house management skills.
5. Help and encourage adolescents to develop and practice independent living skills.
6. Participate in training programs, tenant meetings, and discussions.
7. Take part in the bi-weekly supervision meeting with the caseworkers.
8. Keep close contact with the employee of the institution and caseworkers during emergency situation.
9. Contact the caseworkers of the independent living program during emergency situation.
10. Stay enthusiastic to the adolescents.
11. Keep the case in high confidentiality.
12. Make sure the program is implemented according to the policy and procedures of the institution.

(VII) Summary

The different roles involved in the operation of the New South Wales supportive Independent Living Program include the case manager, caseworker, keyworker, peer advisor, volunteer, and volunteer lead tenant. Among them, the role and function of the case manager and case worker is similar to the system in Taiwan. The volunteer

督導；重要工作者可以說是協助少年的工作夥伴，平時是與少年共同工作、理解少年的想法後，提供其協助；同儕顧問是由少年的家人擔任，以提供社會支持的角色；另楷模志工則由同儕擔任，提供正向楷模，24小時待命支援，並且每個晚上(包含假日)待在宿舍，協助少年處理夜間所發生的緊急狀況。

反觀我國，目前國內自立宿舍的人員編置，通常只有社工員(即個案工作者)與生活輔導員等，故與上述新南威爾斯州之自立宿舍的人員編置，不可同日而語。我國社工員通常扮演個案管理者與個案工作者等兩種角色；惟實際上，社工員通常也只扮演個案管理者的角色。故新南威爾斯州之個案工作者的角色與功能，似乎值得國內實務界予以深思。至於我國的生活輔導員，從表面上來看，似乎兼具新南威爾斯州的重要工作者與楷模志工等雙重角色；但實質上，我國的生活輔導員與新南威爾斯州的重要工作者、楷模志工，兩者間在本質上是截然不同。我國的生活輔導員，平時除須負責少年的生活照顧外，其角色與任務很像新南威爾斯州之重要工作者的工作角色與任務。另我國的生活輔導員雖然也是要提供正向的楷模、24小時待命支援、晚上待在宿舍，但其係全職工作者，而非志工，故其角色與任務自應與新南威爾斯州之楷模志工，有所區隔。至於，新南威爾斯州之同儕顧問，通常是由家人中找出一位支持性同儕者，以提供少年的社會支持角色。但同儕顧問的作法在國內迄未形成氣候，實有賴未來多加倡導並推廣之。此外，新南威爾斯州之志工的角色與任務，實與我國現況的作法毫無軒輊，於此不擬贅述。

伍、自立宿舍所帶來的經驗啟示

根據國外的自立宿舍經驗顯示，少年在租屋時，往往會遭遇到許多障礙和困難，而這些障礙和困難，事實上在國內實務上也是屢見不顯。

is the partner of caseworker, taking charge to stay in contact with the adolescents and receive supervision on a bi-weekly basis from the caseworker. The keyworker is the partner of the adolescents; he/she works with them, making the effort to understand them, and provide the most suitable assistance to them. The peer advisor is usually a family member who provides social supports, and the volunteer led tenant is a peer resident who plays the role as a positive model, offer 24-hour support, stays with the adolescents at night (including holidays), and helps them handle emergency situations.

The supportive housing system in Taiwan, on the other hand, is often staffed with one social worker (i.e., caseworker) and a life counselor. The scale is far smaller than the system of the Australia SIL program. The social worker in Taiwan often plays the roles of case manager and case worker, most of the time the case manager. The design of the role of caseworker serves as a good reference to the program planners in Taiwan. The life counselor in Taiwan may seem to play the dual role as the keyworker and volunteer lead tenant with reference to the Australia SIP program; the content of their works are completely different. The life counselor takes care of the girls' everyday living, which is similar to the function of the keyworker in the Australia SIL program. She also serves as a positive role model to the girls, provides 24-hour support, and stays in the dormitory at night, but she is a full-time staff, not a volunteer, which differentiates her role to the role of the volunteer lead tenant in the Australia SIL program. As for the peer advisor, he/she is usually a family member providing social support, but this model has not taken shape in Taiwan. Nonetheless, the role of peer advisor has its value for development in Taiwan. And finally, the role of the volunteer is completely different from the concept of volunteer in Taiwan, and therefore this role will not be further discussed in this research.

V. Experiences and Inspirations from the Various Supportive Living Programs

The experience of supportive housing revealed that the adolescents often encounter obstacles and problems when they try to lease a place. This situation is also quite common in Taiwan.

(I) Obstacles in the adolescents' experience of leasing an accommodation

Research at the Vancouver Youth Foundation found the following common problems associated with the adolescents in

(一)少年租屋時的障礙

根據加拿大溫哥華少年基金委員會的研究指出，經訪談少年後發現少年租屋時常會遇到下列幾個的問題(Kraus & Woodward, 2007)：

1. 租屋時

- (1)房東不願出租房屋，例如：少年飼養寵物、靠社會福利金過活、收入不穩定以及種族歧視等情況。
- (2)房租過高，例如：少年無法負擔房租、沒有工作或社會福利金過低。
- (3)缺乏可負擔的合適房屋，例如：空屋率低、缺乏負擔得起或社會福利性住宅。
- (4)缺乏知識或技能，例如：少年不知道該如何找房屋、欠缺讀寫技能而害怕獨自與房東訂定契約。
- (5)其他因素，例如：少年缺乏推薦人、物質濫用問題、精神疾病問題、本身的態度不佳、沒有身分證、沒有交通工具等。

2. 租屋後

- (1)租金與租約的問題，例如：無法遵守租約規定、很難準時繳交房租。
- (2)與房東間的問題，例如：房東想占少年的便宜、想讓少年多付些租金、不善於與少年相處、常對少年的生活型態有意見。
- (3)缺乏生活技能，例如：少年可能缺乏自立生活、用錢、購物、求職的技巧，以及自己有那些權利，或不知如何行使自己的權利。

(二)社工人員能提供的服務

Kraus與Woodward(2007)研究顯示，少年不太容易租到合適的房屋，也不太容易維持久住固定住所，因而需要社工人員提供其所需的住所服務。常見社工人員所提供的住宅服務項目，計有：

1. 協助，包括：方案工作人員協助訂定預算、教導生活技能、人際技巧、個人技能、憤怒管理、憂鬱、烹調等。少年需要一對一的工作人員、求職協助、每個月舉辦一次工作坊讓少年討論生活狀況、訪視

their experiences of leasing an accommodation (Kraus & Woodward, 2007):

1. When making enquiries,

- (1)The property owners reject the offer on several grounds: Adolescents often keep pets, they live on social welfare, they have unstable income, and some discriminate racially.
- (2)The rent is too high: E.g., the adolescents cannot afford the rent because they do not have jobs or the social welfare subsidies are too low.
- (3)They cannot find affordable and suitable accommodation: E.g., there are no vacancies or a general shortage of affordable or social welfare housing.
- (4)They are lacking knowledge or skills: E.g., they do not know how to find a rental accommodation, or they are afraid of signing the contract with the property owner alone because they do not read or write well.
- (5)Other factors: E.g., they cannot find any references, some of them have substance abuse or mental problems, some of them have bad attitudes, some of them have no identification cards, and some of them have no access to private or public transportation.

2. After leasing,

- (1)They may have problems meeting the rent or contract obligations: E.g., they are not able to abide to the general tenant rules or they do not have the money to pay the rent on time.
- (2)Some of them have issues with the property owner: E.g., the property owners try to take advantage of the adolescent, ask them to pay higher rent, not skilled in dealing with the adolescents, or have opinions against their lifestyles.
- (3)Some of them are generally lack of living skills: E.g., they do not have the skills for independent living, financial management, shopping, or seeking employment, and they may not know what rights they have or how to exercise their rights.

(II)Services Provided by the Social Workers

The research of Kraus and Woodard (2007) pointed out that adolescents have problems finding suitable accommodation, as well as securing stable housing; therefore, social worker intervention is necessary. The social workers may provide the following services in term of housing:

1. Counseling: The social workers may provide counseling to help the adolescents develop skills for budgeting, living, maintaining inter-personal relationships, personal skills, anger and depression management, and cooking. The adolescents need one-on-one counseling, job place-

- (例如：社工人員協助少年看懂租約，並進行至少一年三次的追蹤)、運用同儕青年導師(peer mentors)、運用瞭解且願意協助少年的人、讓少年有能力開始自立生活的啟動裝備(start-up kit)等。
2. 收入支援(income support)，包括：安排工作、每月發給的零用金、育兒津貼、緊急租屋生活費(emergency rent support)、未成年人福利(underage welfare)等，都有助於少年獲得足以支付房屋租金的收入。
 3. 藥物與酒精的戒治協助，包括：諮商與勒戒、少年再度吸食毒品時的「故態復萌(fall back)方案」。少年也希望在勒戒期間繼續保有已經租到的宿舍。
 4. 津貼(subsidized)或負擔得起的宿舍，包括：政府提供的宿舍，以及將空屋與廢棄建築物改建為讓少年不再流浪街頭的住所。少年認為房租在美國合理價位為一個月300美元全包。
 5. 其他服務，包括：
 - (1) 更瞭解房客權益。
 - (2) 有機會參與社交或社區活動。
 - (3) 免費或便宜的洗衣服務。
 - (4) 減免有子女之母親的房租。

(三)有效租屋協助模式

基上所述，社工人員要提供少年一個有效的租屋協助模式，不妨朝著下列幾個項目來規劃 (Corporation for Supportive Housing, 2007)：

1. 與至少一位有責任感、值得信賴的青年導師(mentor)建立關係，並持續獲得其情緒支持。
2. 讓少年學習並運用自立生活技能的機會，包括：穿著打扮、財務管理、購物、烹調、溝通技巧及衝突解決技巧。部分少年可能也需要藥物管理技巧訓練或親職技能訓練。
3. 獲得完整的職業服務，包括職業輔導、求職技能訓練、職業安置服務及工作保留服務等。
4. 獲得繼續教育，包括發展職業技能或上大學的機會。
5. 協助並倡導少年獲得公共利益的機會。
6. 提供醫療、牙醫服務，以及預防性健康服務。

ment, monthly workshop which allows them to discuss their lives, and regular visits (e.g., social workers help the adolescents to read the contracts and conduct follow-up tracking at least three times a year). The social workers may utilize peer mentors or persons who understand them and are willing to help to prepare them with the start-up kit for independent living.

2. Income support: This includes arranging employment, monthly allowances, childcare subsidies, emergency rent support, and underage welfare. The monetary support helps the adolescents to gain sufficient income for the rent.
3. Treatment for drug and alcohol addiction: This includes counseling and addiction treatment and fallback support programs. The adolescents often wish to keep their accommodations during the treatment period.
4. Subsidized or affordable accommodations: This includes government's initiative to supply housing or repairing abandoned structures into accommodations that will keep the adolescents out of the streets. The adolescents think that the reasonable rent for an accommodation unit is around US\$300 per month.
5. Other services may include:
 - (1) Getting to know the rights as a tenant.
 - (2) Getting the opportunities to participate in social or community activities.
 - (3) Having free or cheap laundry services.
 - (4) Cutting down the rent for persons with children.

(III) Effective models for housing support

Based on the above, the following points may be taken into reference when the social works make the attempt to plan effective housing support for the adolescents (Corporation for Supportive Housing, 2007):

1. Establish a relationship with at least one responsible and reliable mentor and receive continuous emotional support.
2. Help adolescents learn independent living skills and give them the opportunities to practice the skills, including dressing, financial management, shopping, cooking, communication, and resolving conflict. Some adolescents may need training for drug management skills or parenting skills.
3. Provide full job placement services, including consultation, training of interview skills, job placement services, and reserved employment services.
4. Provide opportunities for continuing education, including opportunities for occupational training or college education.
5. Help adolescents to gain access to public resources and advocate their right in public benefits.
6. Provide medical, dental, and preventive health services.

7. 獲得心理健康與藥物濫用戒除服務，包括輔導與心理治療。
8. 提供社交與休閒活動。
9. 提供半庇護性的工場，但個案表現不理想常會影響機構與少年繼續合作的可能性。

陸、結論

對於機構中的受安置少年來說，當他(她)離開安置機構後，勢必面臨自立生活的問題。而少年面對自立生活的挑戰，最先面對的難題就是住處與工作，尤其住處將使少年有安身之處，生活也才會跟著穩定下來。

根據Rice (1987)在加拿大的研究發現，平均而言，在過渡性住所待得越久的家庭，獲得的技能也越多。在被研究的25個家庭中，8個家庭的功能趨於強化、10個家庭功能趨於穩定。此外，問題較小的家庭，獲益較多。另Barrow與Soto Rodríguez (2000)在美國的研究則發現，研究者比較了參與過渡性住所方案的113位參與者與接受非住所服務(包括：財務管理、津貼、生理及心理健康照料、物質濫用、法律及家庭協助等)的對照組。方案結束後，62%的方案參與者找到長期住所並持續居住三個月以上；相較之下，對照組僅35%找到長期住所。可見，社會福利機構在提供少年過渡服務時，如何穩定少年的住處，是個頗有效的處遇模式。

因此，未來我國持續推展自立宿舍之際，對於少年租屋協助模式的整體規劃，不妨著重安排青年導師、提供少年自立生活技能的機會、安排完整的職業服務或繼續教育、協助並倡導少年獲得公共利益的機會、提供醫療及健康服務、提供心理健康與藥物濫用戒除服務、安排社交與休閒活動、提供半庇護性的工場等措施。另一方面，在直接服務方面，社工人員不妨著重少年的協助、收入支援、物質與酒精的戒治協助、津貼、其他服務等介入。此外，在服務輸送方面，若政府或機構能提供房屋資訊、下班時間仍有輪

7. Provide mental health and drug addiction treatment services, including counseling and psychotherapies.
8. Provide social and recreational activities.
9. Provide semi-shelter factories; however, when an adolescent fails to perform up to the expected standards, the institution may reconsider the cooperation relationship with the adolescent.

VI. Conclusion

The adolescents placed in the institutional system are likely to encounter problems in terms of independent living after they left the institution, and the biggest challenge often comes from the problem of finding a place to live and a job. Stable housing will help an adolescent to settle.

According to a study of Rice (1987) conducted in Canada, on average, families that have a longer period of staying in transitional housing develop more skills. Among the 25 families in the study, eight have reinforced family functions and ten of them have stabilized family functions. Smaller families benefit more from the transitional housing programs. In the research of Barrow & Soto Rodríguez (2000) conducted in the US, the researchers compared 113 participants in transitional housing program to a control group which received non-housing services (e.g., financial management, subsidies, mental and physical health care, help for substance abuse, and legal/family assistances). After the program ended, 62% of the participants in the transitional housing program found long-term housing and maintained the housing for at least three months. On the other hand, only 35% of the control group found long-term housing. This result indicates that transitional service is in fact an effective model to help the adolescents enter stable living.

Therefore, for continuous development of supportive housing, planning of the housing support programs may take the following factors into consideration: Arranging mentors, providing opportunities for development of independent living skills, arranging complete occupational services or continuing education, assisting them and advocate the adolescents' right to public benefits, providing medical and health services, providing mental health and drug abuse treatment services, arranging social and recreational activities, and providing job opportunities through semi-shelter factories. For direct services, intervention of counseling, income support, substance and drug abuse treatment, subsidies, and other services may be considered. As for the delivery of services, the government or institutions can provide housing information, arrange staff to stay for after-hour services, and assign special personnel to help the adolescents to find proper housing. In the transitional housing programs, the social

班的工作人員、特別設置以協助少年找到住處的工作人員；以及社工人員在提供少年過渡服務，不僅要為少年規畫或設計住屋選擇，同時也要經常拜訪少年，予以即時協助其解決問題，將使服務更具有接近性、方面性，都是很實際的作法(Office of Program Policy Analysis & Government Accountability, 2004)。

茲值國內剛開始推展自立宿舍之際，如何借助其他國家推展自立宿舍的寶貴經驗，來強化現行的作法，格外具有意義。持平而論，我國自立生活方案迄今仍缺乏具體的法律規定，可為依據，難免實施上會遭遇力有未逮之窘境。未來亟需有識之士，登高一呼，大力協助推展，力謀少年的最佳福祉，才是最根本之道。

workers may plan and design various accommodation options and visit the adolescents frequently to help them solve problems in time and make the services more diversified and accessible (Office of Program Policy Analysis & Government Accountability, 2004).

The system of supportive housing is in its beginning stage in Taiwan; therefore, the experiences of other countries are highly valuable for the development of Taiwan's independent living programs. Overall, it is still lacking proper legislation for the independent living programs in Taiwan and the implementers are encountering certain obstacles. Therefore, at the current stage, we are urgently in need of active advocacies for the welfare of the adolescents in the nation.

參考文獻 References

- 洪錦芳(2010)。少年自立生活適應協助方案服務成果報告－社團法人中華育幼機構兒童關懷協會，回顧與前瞻－99年兒童及少年福利服務方案成果發表及研討會。國立台灣大學法學院。
- 桃園縣政府社會處(2009)。桃園縣政府社會處工作報告。上網日期：2011年3月16日。www.tycg.gov.tw/files/026/17-1-7社會處.pdf
- 臺灣展翅協會(2011)。2011少女展翅自立生活方案計畫期中執行成果及檢討(簡報資料)。(未出版)
- 臺灣展翅協會(2012)。歷史源起。上網日期：2012年10月3日。http://www.ecpat.org.tw/dmisc/history.asp
- Australia Red Cross (2010). *Youth Housing and Reintegration Case Workers*. Retrieved June 14th, 2011, from http://www.redcross.org.au/QLD/7EBFAD25A1B84DAB971A0A4C0852EEB7.htm
- Barrow, S. M., & Soto Rodríguez, G. M. (2000). *Closer to home: Interim housing for long-term shelter residents: A study of the Kelly Hotel*. New York: Corporation for Supportive Housing.
- Becker, M., & Barth, R. (2000). Power through choices: The development of a sexuality education curriculum for youths in out-of-home care. *Child Welfare League of America, LXXIX*, 269-282.
- City of Stoke on Trent (n.d.). *Supported housing options*. Retrieved January 26th, 2011, from www.stoke.gov.uk/ccm/cms-service/download/asset/?asset_id=1381929
- Collaborative Community Health Research Centre. (2002). *Research review of best practices for provision of youth services*. A report to the BC Ministry of Children and Family Development. University of Victoria.
- Cook, R. (1988). Trends and needs in programming for independent living programs. *Child Welfare, 67*(6), 497-514.
- Corporation for Supportive Housing. (2007). *Supportive housing for youth: An overview of key considerations*. Retrieved March 3rd, 2011, from http://www.homebaseccc.org/PDFs/TAY/Factsheet.SupportiveHousingForYouth.pdf
- Corporation for Supportive Housing. (2003). *Supportive housing for youth: A background of the issues in the design and development of supportive housing for homeless youth*. Retrieved March 3rd, 2011, from http://documents.csh.org/documents/pd/youth/youthsh.pdf
- Covenant House.(n.d.).*Crisis Care*. Retrieved September 15, 2011, from http://www.covenanthouse.org/youth-homeless-programs/crisis-care-counseling
- Culhane, D.P., Metraux, S., Hadley, T. (2001). *The impact of supportive housing for homeless people with severe mental illness on the utilization of the public health, corrections and emergency shelter systems: The New York-New York Initiative*. Fannie Mae Foundation.
- Dekel, R., Peled, E., & Spiro, S. E. (2003). Shelters for houseless youth: a follow-up evaluation. *Journal of Adolescence, 26*(2), 201-212.
- Delgado, M., Fellmeth, R., Packard, T., Prosek, K., & Weichel, E. (2007). Expanding transitional services for emancipated foster youth: An investment in California's tomorrow. *Children's Advocacy Institute University of San Diego School of Law*, pp. 1-54.
- Drumchapel supported youth housing. (n.d.). *Providing residential housing support in a safe and secure environment for young people experiencing accommodation difficulties*. Quarriers: Caring and Support for Positive Living. Retrieved March 3rd, 2011, from http://www.quarriers.org.uk/OurWork/YoungAdults/~/_media/Publications/our Work/NASASaltcoats.ashx
- Durham, K. (2003). *Housing youth: Key issues in supportive housing*. Retrieved June 14th, 2011, from http://documents.csh.org/documents/pd/youth/HousingYouthKeyIssues.pdf
- Kraus, D., & Woodward, J. (2007). *Vancouver youth housing options study*. Retrieved February 8th, 2011, from vancouver.ca/commsvcs/housing/pdf/YouthHousingOptions.pdf
- Kraus, D., Serge, L., & Goldberg, M. (2005). *Homelessness, housing, and harm reduction: Stable housing for homeless people with substance use issues*. Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.
- Kroner, M. J. (2001). *Moving in: Ten successful independent and transitional living programs*. Eugene, OR: Northwest Media.
- Loman, L. A., & Siegel, G. L. (2000). *An evaluation of the independent living services in Ohio: Digest of findings and conclusions*. A report of the Institute of Applied Research, St. Louis, Missouri.
- Mech, E.V. (2003). *Uncertain futures: Foster youth in transition to adulthood*. Washington: Child Welfare League of America.
- Novac, S., Brown, J., & Bourbonnais, C. (2004). *Transitional housing: Objectives, indicators of success and outcomes*. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation: Ottawa, ON.
- NSW Department of Community Service (2007). *Out of the home care service model: Supported independent living*. Retrieved March 1st, 2011, from http://www.community.nsw.gov.au/docswr/_assets/main/documents/oohc_supported_independent_living.pdf
- NSW Department of Community Services. (2008). *Guidelines for the provision of assistance after leaving*

- out-of-home care*. Retrieved March 8th, 2011, from http://www.community.nsw.gov.au/docswr/_assets/main/documents/oohc_ministerial_guidelines.pdf
- Office of Program Policy Analysis & Government Accountability. (2004). *Independent living minimum standards recommended for children in foster care*. Retrieved March 8th, 2011, from <http://www.oppaga.state.fl.us/reports/pdf/0478rpt.pdf>
- Rice, J. (1987). *Barton Street Project: Measuring the impact of a housing/life skills project on the functioning of multi-problem families*. Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.
- Robertson, M., & Toro, P. A. (1998). Homeless youth: Research, intervention and policy. In L. B. Fosburg & D. L. Dennis. (Eds.), *Practical Lessons: The 1998 national symposium on homelessness research*. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.
- White, R., & Rog, D. (2004). Introduction: Special issue on housing and homelessness. *Child Welfare*, 83(5).
- Young offenders housing and resettlement protocol. (2007). A framework to reduce homelessness amongst young offenders returning from Young Offending Institutions, and to reduce admission to YOIs in the North East. Retrieved March 3rd, 2011, from <http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/housing/pdf/486465.pdf>

台灣社會工作倫理教育的現況與發展*

The Unfinished Business of Welfare and Rights for Children and Youth in Taiwan: Social Development Perspective

秦燕** Yen Chin、張允闕*** Yun-Hung Chang

摘要

社會工作專業的形成有三項因素，即專業知識、專業技能與專業倫理，三者缺一不可。隨著專業的成長、發展，各界期待社工有更高的服務品質和倫理操守。本文探討國內外社會工作倫理課程教學現況，並提出未來課程改進的建議。

研究方法是以文獻回顧法及對資深社工師的個別深度訪談法進行。依據教育部大學院校課程資訊網(2011)之資料，最早於89學年度開始有7所學校開設社會工作倫理的課程，以五年為一階段檢視，94學年度有12所學校開設；99學年度19所學校開設，在國內27個社工相關系所中，大學部開設社會工作倫理課程有35門，21門規劃為必修、14門為選修，碩班開設有7(1/2)門，其中1所設為必修，博班開設有1(1/2)門選修，授課教師共有32位。

各校在推展社會工作倫理教育已經越來越重視，不過在課程規劃上，課程名稱、教育目標、內容、教學方法都不一致，多元化的教學方式固然可以呈現各校特色，然而似應深入探討，凝聚具專業共識的社會工作倫理教學課程，以利社工專業人力的系統培育。作者整理學者及資深社工師的意見並提出對未來社工倫理課程的建議。

關鍵字：社會工作倫理、倫理教育、社工倫理教育

Abstract

The formation of the social work profession include three factors: , professional knowledge, professional skills and professional ethics, all three are indispensable. The purpose of this study is to archive and analysis the current status of curriculum in university and to make recommendations for future improvement.

With the literature review method and the electronic database system of Ministry Education in Taiwan, this study examines university curriculum information so as to summarize and analyze the social work ethics courses of current status. After depth interviews with 13 senior social workers in central Taiwan, this study understands their opinions toward the social work ethics teaching.

The first academic year began in 2000, there are 7 schools teach social work ethics courses; in 2005, 12 schools; in 2010, 19 schools; from 27 social work schools offered 35social work ethics courses in undergraduate program , 21 of them are required course , 14 of them are elective, offered 7(1/2)social work ethics courses in master program, 1 of them is required . 1(1/2) in PHD program and is elective. There are 32 instructors in total.

Social work ethics education has been more and more attention, but in course designing, course name, educational objectives, content, teaching methods are inconsistent, a wide range of teaching methods can certainly present school characteristics, but it seems to be in-depth explore, gather a consensus of professional ethics in social work education programs, to facilitate the social work profession's system of human training. The authors make some recommendations according to the research findings.

Keywords: Social Work Ethics, Ethics Course Teaching, Social Work Ethics Curriculum

* 本文初稿曾於國際社會福利協會中華民國總會、台灣社會工作教育學會、東吳大學主辦「2011年社會工作與社會發展:行動與展望 研討會」發表，感謝與會長官、學者、與會人員給予寶貴的修正意見。

** 秦燕，亞洲大學社會工作學系助理教授。E-mail: chin94@gmail.com

Yen Chin, Assistant Professor, Department of Social Work, Asia University.

*** 張允闕，亞洲大學社會工作學系碩士。E-mail: df901163@gmail.com

Yun-Hung, Graduate student, Department of Social Work, Asia University.

壹、前言

社會工作專業的形成有三項因素，即專業知識、專業技能與專業倫理，三者缺一不可(徐震、李明政，2001)。隨著專業的成長、發展，各界期待社工有更高的服務品質和倫理操守。

社會工作者在實際工作中會面臨價值衝突或言行有倫理上的爭議，甚至有行為違反專業倫理仍不自知的情形(廖秋芬，1997；胡慧嫻，2000；胡中宜，2003)。莫藜藜(2007)曾提出實務工作與學術理論有所衝突，社工在認知與操作上會發生不一致的現象。社會工作倫理養成教育面臨的挑戰在於培育的人才素質不穩定，王秀燕(2010)指出國內在近年大專院校廣設社工相關科系每年培植二千多名畢業生，大部分成為社工職場的新鮮人，然而學校養成教育卻未充分讓學生了解實務問題的複雜性與多元化，而且新興議題持續擴展，造成人力流動大。社會工作學生缺乏實務經驗教學，面對新興議題缺少解決問題的能力。

在社會工作專業人員養成的各階段中，不論是教學、考試、進用、訓練、專業組織自律、爭取社會大眾認可支持，在在都需要加強社工人員倫理認知與實踐的能力。本文在探討社會工作倫理課程教學實施狀況，探討其可改進之處，並提出相關發展之建議。

貳、文獻探討

社會工作倫理的演進可溯及1890年代末期，社會工作專業於西方國家初步開展，當時關切主軸在於案主思想是否合乎道德標準，1900年代關注轉向關心社會改革，例如健康與貧窮議題，1919年美國NASW起草專業倫理守則是國外首度嘗試制定專業倫理守則的開始(包承恩等，2009)。第二次世界大戰後1960年代社會工作關注焦點轉向社會正義、權利與改革，而美國社會工作人員協會(NASW)施行第一套倫理守則。1980年起，國外社會工作倫理

ONE. Introduction

The formation of the social work profession involves three indispensable criteria: professional knowledge, professional skills and professional ethics (Hsu Chen, Li Ming-Cheng, 2001). With the progress and development of the profession, society now has higher expectations towards the quality of the services provided by social workers and higher standards of ethical conduct.

In practice, social workers often encounter conflicts in values or fall into ethical dilemmas, and, in some instances, they violate the professional code of conduct without being aware of the consequences (Liao Chiu-Fen, 1997; Hu Huei-Ying, 2000; Hu Chung-Yi, 2003). Mo Li-Li (2007) pointed out the conflict between professional practices and academic theories; she argued that such conflict causes inconsistency between the knowledge learned and professional practice in the field of social work. The challenge in professional training of social work ethics lies in the unstable quality of in-service social workers. Wong Hsiuyen (2010) pointed out that in recent years, more and more colleges and universities are offering social work-related degree programs, producing some two thousand graduates each year. Most of them come into the job market as entry-level social workers. However, the training in social work programs does not provide the students with sufficient knowledge to comprehend the complexity and diversity of social work in practice. New issues continue to emerge, and insufficient field experiences result in an inability to deal with associated problems, which, in consequence, causes a high staff turnover rate.

In every stage of professional training, from teaching, licensing, employment, training, self-discipline of professional organizations, to developing public recognition and support, it is essential to reinforce the awareness and the ability of the practice of social work ethics. This study aims to discuss the current teaching practice of social work ethics and recommend feasible improvements for future development.

TWO. Literature Review

The evolution of social work ethics can be traced back to the late 1890s, when the development of the social work profession initially took place in the West. The major concern at that time was whether the thinking of the client met ethical standards. In the 1900s, the focus of the issues turned to social reform, such as health and poverty. In 1919, the US National Association of Social Workers (NASW) drafted a code of ethics, which was the first attempt in the world to set a standard for professional ethics (Bao Cheng-En et al, 2009). After World War II, particularly in the 1960s, the focus of social work turned to social justice, mainly the issues of human rights and social reform, and NASW published its first code of ethics. Since

文獻大量出現。台灣最早關注社工倫理教育的是輔仁大學，於1995年即辦理系列社會工作倫理研討會，並出版研討會實錄，學者及實務者均對社工倫理教育的現況和未來進行探討，呼籲應予重視(簡春安，1995；吳嫦娥，1995)。台灣在1997年「社會工作師法」通過，1998年公布「社會工作倫理守則」十八條，2008年社工師法階段性修法，社工考試資格修訂，新版社會工作倫理守則公布實施，在本土社會工作專業制度建構模型中具重要意義(秦燕，2009；秦燕，2012)。之後大學院校普遍開設社工倫理課程，專業團體頻繁舉辦社會工作倫理研討會，及個案研討會。

國外社會工作倫理教育可作為重要的參考，李宗派(2002)根據美國社會工作教育協會(The Council on Social Work Education, 簡稱CSWE)教育政策與認證標準EPAS指出，社會工作教育之基礎課程應當包括價值與倫理、多元化、弱勢人口與社會經濟正義、人類行為與社會環境、社會福利政策與服務、社會工作實務、研究、實習等八大類，其中關係到專業倫理的有價值與倫理及實踐兩大類課程：

1. **價值與倫理**：須遵守「全國社會工作師協會」公佈的倫理守則，持守社工價值與原則，教導學生反省個人價值觀念，並發展專業價值觀念。
2. **實習**：在適當環境，加強學生對專業目的、價值與倫理的認同，並整合實務能力與基礎專業知識，促進專業能力發展。經由系統化實習規劃，及專業教師監督、協調及評估引導。

美國社會工作教育協會(CSWE)於2011年修訂教育政策與認證標準(EPAS)，以因應傳統及新興課程設計的平衡，將社會工作教育之基礎課程分為四種方向，方案的任務和目標、直接服務課程、間接服務課程、評量等等綜合課程設計，而與研究相關且影響社會工作倫理養成教育重點說明如下：

1. **價值觀**：教育一位社會工作者，教育核心包括專

1980, a large body of literature concerning social work ethics has been published worldwide. In Taiwan, Fu Jen Catholic University was the first institution to initiate education in social work ethics. In 1995, Fu Jen Catholic University organized a conference discussing issues in social work ethics and published the conference records. In this conference, scholars and in-service social workers were brought together to discuss the present and the future of social work ethics education; in the conference, they called for public attention to relevant issues (Chien Chun-An, 1995; Wu Chang-Erh, 1995). In 1997, the Social Worker Act was passed in Taiwan, and, in 1998, the authorities promulgated the 18 articles of the Social Worker Code of Ethics. In 2008, preliminary amendment to the Social Worker Act and social worker certification programs, as well as announcement and promulgation of the revised Code of Ethics played significant roles in the development of professional social work systems in Taiwan (Chin Yan, 2009; Chin Yan, 2012). After the above events, an increasing number of social work ethics courses became available through universities, and professional associations began to organize regular social work ethics seminars and case study workshops.

Social work ethics education programs from other countries can be important references for us. Based on the Education Policy and Accreditation Standards (EPAS) laid out by the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE), Li Tsung-Pai (2002) pointed out that the foundation of social work education curriculum should include the subjects of values and ethics, diversity, disadvantaged population and socio-economic justice, human behavior and the social environment, social welfare policy and services, social work in practice, research, and field education. Among them, the subjects of “values and ethics” and “social work in practice” are related to professional ethics.

1. **Values and ethics**: a social worker should abide by the Code of Ethics set forth by the National Association of Social Work (NASW), and observe the professional values and conduct of social work, teach students to reflect on personal values, and develop the concept of professional values.
2. **Field education**: In an adequate education environment, a social work ethics education program should **reinforce** students' identification towards **professional goals, values, and ethics** and **integrate** the ability in practice with theoretical knowledge to facilitate professional development, as well as provide professional supervision, collaboration, assessment, and guidance through a systematically designed field education program.

The Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) amended the Education Policy and Accreditation Standards (EPAS) in 2011, in response to balancing the design of the traditional and emerging curriculum. The curriculum of social work education of EPAS is designed as an integrated course with four major subjects: mission and goals of the program, explicit curriculum, implicit curriculum, and assessment (Education Policy and Accreditation Standards,

業服務、社會正義、個人的尊嚴與價值、人群關係的重要性、誠信人格、稱職的能力、人權的提倡、科學方式解決問題，以承諾尊重所有人民得以追求社會和經濟正義。

2. **實踐應用社會工作專業倫理原則：**教育社會工作者為自身道德行為和倫理決策盡責，必須依照道德標準及相關法律從事專業行為，覺察和管理個人價值觀實踐專業價值，依全國社工協會訂定的倫理守則、國際社工倫理原則進行倫理難題抉擇與解決。

社會工作局協會(Association of Social Work Boards, 簡稱ASWB)制定一套社會工作倫理課程發展指南(Guide to Social Work Ethics Course Development)，目的在鼓勵幫助學生了解社會工作實務中的倫理議題與難題，並發展出處理之道，其中的課程目標，分為六項

1. 理解社會工作專業價值、道德、倫理的歷史演變
2. 在社工實務中，發展道德觀念及理論的技能
3. 掌握司法和倫理守則相關的專業知識，包括督導倫理及司法與倫理兩者的衝突
4. 增進自我省思，覺察個人價值和專業行為的相互作用。
5. 認識倫理議題，透過批判性思考，運用倫理決策架構與步驟於直接服務與間接服務中。
6. 廣泛接受多元文化不同角色，以社會正義去理解和解決其中的倫理困境。

社會工作局協會(2011)依目標設計的教育核心內容，依序如下：

1. 社會工作價值與倫理的發展
2. 倫理學理論
3. 社會工作實踐的專業標準(社會工作倫理守則)
4. 社會工作所受到的法律規範(包括註冊，認證或許可)
5. 專業價值及自省合乎倫理的專業行為
6. 倫理決策過程和困境的實例

課程內容應達到具體目的或學習成果，需是可

P.1, 2011). The following parts of the curriculum is related to this research and the education of social work ethics (Education Policy and Accreditation Standards, 2011):

1. **Values:** the core of social work education includes: Service, social justice, the dignity and worth of the person, the importance of human relationships, integrity, competence, human rights, and scientific inquiry. These are among the core values of social work: to respect for people and the quest for social and economic justice.
2. **Application and practice of social work ethical principles:** Educating the social workers to have "...an obligation to conduct themselves ethically and to engage in ethical decision making. Social workers are knowledgeable about the value base of the profession, its ethical standards and relevant law.", "... recognize and manage personal values in a way that allows professional values to guide practice."

The Association of Social Work Boards (ASWB) developed a set off Social Work Ethics Curriculum Development Guide. The purpose is to encourage the educators to help students understand the issues and dilemmas in the practice of social work. The goals of the program are as set in six criteria, including:

1. To enable participants to increase their appreciation and understanding of the history and evolution of values and ethics in the social work profession.
2. To enable participants to develop skills in applying relevant ethics concepts and theories of ethics to social work practice.
3. To provide opportunities for participants to acquire knowledge about professional, legal (state, jurisdictional and federal) and ethical standards of practice, their role in competent, ethical social work, and times at which legal and professional standards may conflict.
4. To provide opportunities for participants to increase self-awareness and develop an awareness of the interplay of personal values and professional behavior.
5. To enable participants to increase their ability to recognize ethical issues and to apply ethical decision-making frameworks and protocols through enhanced use of critical thinking skills.
6. To enable participants to increasingly recognize and embrace the role of diversity and social justice in understanding and addressing ethical dilemmas.

The **core contents** of the Guide to Social Work Ethics Course Development are (Education Policy and Accreditation Standards, 2011):

1. History and evolution of values and ethics in social work
2. Ethics theories
3. Professional standards of social work practice (the Ethical Codes of NASW)
4. Legal requirements and other considerations (registration, certification or licensing)
5. Professional values and self-awareness about ethical professional behavior

測量的，可以分成三個層次：

1. 初級：

- (1) 認識倫理決策過程。
- (2) 解釋倫理決策，例如在小組討論之中能夠「舉實例」進行簡單的探討。
- (3) 應用倫理決策在簡單的實務工作情境。

2. 中級：

- (1) 分析稍微複雜的實務難題，確定面臨狀況的關鍵問題。
- (2) 應用倫理決策於稍微複雜的社工實務難題中，模擬推演，以戲劇化的型式進行。

3. 高級：

- (1) 制定可能的方案解決複雜的社會工作實務難題。
- (2) 考慮各種選擇對案主、社工及他人的潛在衝擊。
- (3) 審慎選擇發展解決複雜實務難題的行動，依現實社會資源選擇可行方案，「組織」跨專業團隊的行動方針，以解決問題。

社會工作局協會也介紹一些倫理教學方法，包括案例研究、小型講座、小組討論、角色扮演、辯論、上台報告、專業音頻/視頻、音樂/電影、前後測試、網路授課、網路小組討論形式、指定閱讀等；另外針對教師資格，強調需要具備社會工作學位、社工師證照、社會工作價值與倫理知識、倫理理論知識、高風險領域實務經驗及教授課程的能力。

國外的社工教育認證標準及倫理課程發展指南，都可以作為檢視我國社會工作倫理教育的參考架構。

參、方法

1. 以文獻回顧法及2011年教育部電子資料庫的資訊進行文獻歸納彙整，針對台灣大學院校社工相關系所社工倫理的授課情形、授課形式、參考書目進行分析。
2. 2011年9月至10月對中部地區13位資深社工師做深

6. Ethical decision making processes and dilemma examples

Course contents should meet the objectives and outcomes and be measurable. The sample course developed by the ASWB is designed in three skill levels:

1. Basic Level:

- (1) Identify an ethical decision making process.
- (2) Explain an ethical decision making process.
- (3) Apply an ethical decision making process to an uncomplicated social work practice situation.

2. Intermediate Level: Ethical Decision Making Course

- (1) Analyze a moderately complex social work practice dilemma and identify the key issues confronting the practitioner.
- (2) Apply an ethical decision making process to a moderately complex social work practice dilemma.

3. Advanced Level Ethical Decision Making Course

- (1) Develop possible options for resolving a complex social work practice dilemma.
- (2) Consider and weigh the potential impact of each option on the client, social worker and others in the resolution of a complex social work practice dilemma.
- (3) Select and support a course of action for resolving a complex social work practice dilemma.

The Association of Social Work Boards (ASWB) also introduced a number of ethical **teaching methods**, including case studies, mini-lectures, group discussions, role-play, debates, presentations, professional audio/video, music/film, pre and post test, web enhanced instruction, web group discussion, and assigned readings. In addition, the ASWB stressed the **qualifications of the instructors**, and the minimum requirements are as follows: degree in social work, certified, registered or licensed as a social worker, knowledge of social work values and ethics, knowledge of ethical theory, knowledge of high risk areas of practice, and practice competence in course content.

Accreditation of social work education standards and social ethics curricula from other countries are valuable references for the development of the framework of social work ethics education in Taiwan.

THREE. Methodology

1. This study aims to analyze the overall teaching status, teaching methods, and reference publications applied to social work ethics courses in the social work-related programs offered in tertiary education institutions in Taiwan. This will be done through literature review and analysis of statistics collected from the electronic database of the Ministry of Education (2011).

度訪談。了解其對社工倫理教學之意見，這些社工師分屬專科社工師五個代表領域即醫務、心理衛生、兒少家庭、老人、身心障礙，在該領域服務至少5年，平均工作年資14年。

肆、發現與討論

一、台灣社工倫理課程教授狀況

台灣早期社會工作倫理教育狀況，曾華源(2002)認為教師人力不足與結構不均衡。經過十餘年師資培訓，大專院校社工相關系所致力改善已有長足進步，查考教育部大學院校課程資訊網(2011)統計，整理27個社工相關系所社會工作倫理授課情況，發現歷年記載資料最早於89學年度開始，以五年為一階段加以檢視94學年及99學年的概況可見表一。89學年度只有7間學校開設社工倫理課程，大學部6門及碩士班4門(詳見表二)，發展至94學年度有12間學校教授社會工作倫理課程，大學部20門及碩士班5門，且以必修為主的學校從5門增加到14門(詳見表三)。整體而言，五年授課學校增加5間，課程名稱則增加3種，授課老師增加13位。

2008年，社工師法、社工倫理守則等進行修訂，社會工作倫理的推展進入高峰時期，社工27所學校課程規劃進行大幅度修訂，教育部大學院校課程資訊網(2011)調查，97學年度已突破達到19間學校開課。

99學年度各校開設社會工作倫理課程情形，發現僅有政治、中正、陽明、國防、高雄醫學大學等五所大學未曾開設，或許是因為系所發展並非以社會工作為唯一主要取向有關。99學年度博班開設1(1/2)門、碩班開設7(1/2)門、大學部35門。大學部21門課程規劃為必修，其中有14門仍設為選修，教師增加至32位，詳細如表四。

2. Thirteen senior social workers were interviewed in this study from September to October 2011. The in-depth interview aims to acquire their views on the teaching of social work ethics. These social workers represent five specializations in medical service, mental hygiene, children, juvenile and families, the elderly and the disabled. All of the participants have served in their respective specialization for at least five years, with an average of 14 years of service.

FOUR. Findings and Discussion

I. Overview of social work ethics teaching in Taiwan

Tseng Hua-Yuan (2002) thought that the lack of instructors and imbalance in course structure represented the problems in social work ethics education in Taiwan at the initial stage of development. However, after decades of teacher training, colleges and universities offering social work related programs have made considerable progress in social work ethics education. Based on the information published on the Ministry of Education university/college course website in 2011, this research reviewed social work ethics courses offered in 27 social work related programs. Our records start from the year 2000; the analysis is designed to survey the progress in every five years, that is, data of 2000, 2005, and 2010 (Table 1). From this review, we found that only seven schools offered social work ethics courses in academic year 2000; among them, six courses were at the undergraduate level and four at the graduate level (Table 2). Until academic year 2005, the number of schools that offered social work ethics courses increased to 12, among which, 20 courses were offered at the undergraduate level and five at the graduate level, and the number of schools, which listed the course as a requirement, increased from five to fourteen (Table 3). Overall, in five years, there was an increase of five schools, three course titles, and 13 instructors in the list of schools offering social work ethics courses.

In 2008, amendments to the Social Worker Act and Social Worker Code of Ethics were passed. The development of social work ethics had reached its peak. Twenty-seven schools offering social work degree programs initiated dramatic revision to their curriculum. According to the survey (2011) published on the Ministry of Education Course Information website, the number of schools offering social work ethics courses increased to 19 in 2008.

In a survey of social work ethics courses of academic year 2010, we found that only five universities had not offered related courses, including National Chengchi University, National Chung Cheng University, National Yang-Ming University, National Defense University, and Kaohsiung Medical University. This was probably because social work was not a major area of development in these universities. In academic year 2010, social work ethics courses were

此外98學年開始有3所未被學者列入社工相關系所的學校開設社會工作倫理課程，授課教師皆有社會工作背景知識，顯示生死學系及老人福利系也相當重視社會工作倫理課程，詳細參考表五。

2011年調查99學年度國內社會工作相關系所大學部暨博碩士班，社會工作倫理課程使用的參考書目，可以發現博碩班及大學部普遍使用的材料有18種，包含國內外出版書籍、論文期刊及法規條文守則等等，博碩班參考書目有24種，而大學部有42種。各校教師在指定用書，主要以近年出版書籍為主，上課主要參考書以曾華源、胡慧嫻、李仰慈、郭世豐的《社會工作專業價值與倫理概論》運用最多，統計教師使用有29門課，其次是包承恩、王永慈翻譯Reamer《社會工作價值與倫理》，使用的有20門課，第三的以徐震、李明政主編的《社會工作倫理》，使用的有15門課，以及《社會工作思想與倫理》有12門課使用，王永慈、許臨高、張宏哲、羅四維主編的《社會工作倫理-應用與省思》有9門課使用，其他書目使用次數情形請參考表六。

由以上資料可發現各校對社會工作倫理課程開設已經越來越重視，不過各校課程名稱不一，教育目標、核心內容、教學方法都不一致，多元化的教學方式固然可以呈現各校特色，然而倫理課程核心內容的不一致是否影響社會工作的實施？台灣社會工作教育學會在推動社會工作核心知能建構的努力下，於2011年由王永慈教授擔任社會工作倫理課程規劃與設計的召集人，進行北中南三區社工倫理授課教師焦點團體討論，作者參與中區焦點團體，並分享本文之發現。

二、社工倫理教育非常重要，應予重視並妥善規劃

徐震、李明政(2004)指出，社會變遷之速，社會工作情境變異之龐雜繁複，專業守則往往不足因應，社會工作者必須加強具備倫理思考的能力，才

offered on an average of 1 1/2 courses in doctoral programs, 7 1/2 courses in graduate programs, and 35 courses in undergraduate programs. Among the 35 courses offered in the undergraduate schools, 21 of them were listed as requirements and 14 listed as electives, and the number of lecturers increased to 32 (Table 4).

In addition, in academic year 2009, three schools not listed as offering social work programs launched social work ethics courses, and all lecturers at the schools have social work experiences and backgrounds. This shows that the study of Life and Death, as well as Senior Citizen Welfare, is also concerned about social work ethics issues (Table 5).

In 2011, we surveyed the reference materials assigned for social work ethics courses in academic year 2010 and found that there were 24 reference materials assigned for graduate schools and 42 for undergraduate schools; among them, 18 were commonly used materials assigned for both graduate and undergraduate programs. These reference materials include books, essays, and journals, as well as laws and regulations, published in Taiwan and overseas. Textbooks assigned for use in the classes are mostly published in recent years; among them, the book *Introduction to the Values and Ethics of Social Work* by Tseng Hua-Yuan et al. (Tseng Hua-Yuan, Hu Hui-Ying, Li Yang-Hui, and Kuo Shi-Feng) was the most commonly used textbook (used in 29 courses). The second most popular textbook was *Social Work Values and Ethics* by Reamer (translated by Bao Cheng-En and Wang Yeong-Tsu), which was assigned for 20 courses. The third was *Social Work Ethics* edited by Hsu Chen and Li Ming-Cheng, which was assigned for 15 courses. Others are *The Thought and Ethics in Social Work* edited by Hsu Chen and Li Ming-Cheng (assigned in 12 courses) and *Social Work Ethics-Application and Reflection* edited by Wang Yeong-Tsu, Hsu Lin-Kao, Chang Hong-Che, and Luo, His-Wei. (assigned in 9 courses). Details regarding other references are shown in Table 6.

From the statistics above, we found that social work ethics courses have been increasingly emphasized; however, the course titles differ from school to school, as well as the objectives, core contents, and teaching methods. Though diversity gives the schools the opportunities to develop specialized programs, such divergence in the content has also raised concern about the issues of implementation. In 2011, the Taiwan Association of Social Work Education, an organization devoted to constructing the core content and competency for social work practice, recruited Dr. Wang Yeong-Tsu to lead a social work ethics curriculum planning and design project. This project organized focus group discussions for social work ethics lecturers throughout Taiwan. The author of this dissertation participated in the focus group discussion held in the central region and shared the findings of this study in the discussion.

II. Social work ethics education is very important and must be given proper planning

Hsu Chen and Li Ming-Cheng (2004) pointed out that society

能在各種情境中應付自如。曾華源、胡慧嫻、李仰慈、郭世豐(2011)提到社工專業知識蓬勃發展，社會價值(social value)也快速變遷，加上民眾權益高漲，專業制度的發展與實務工作面臨許多挑戰，重視專業價值與倫理的教育是建構專業制度的根基。社會工作專業領域越來越多，各領域之中，還須與其他專業共同執業，積極降低違反倫理的風險對社會工作者的養成甚為重要。社工人員若沒有足夠的倫理素養與警覺，很可能在直接服務與間接服務中會有違背倫理的不當行為，或面臨倫理難題不知如何因應，承受身心過大壓力而採取逃避的態度，造成怠職或離職。因此在社會工作教學、在職訓練、倫理風險管理機制建立、爭議審議的執行都不可忽略。

三、大學院校社會工作倫理課程的開授，十年來已有大幅成長

89學年度有7所學校開設社會工作倫理的課程，94學年度有12所學校開設，99學年度19所學校開設，大學部有21門規劃為必修，碩班有7(1/2)門開設，其中1門設為必修，博班有1(1/2)門開設選修，授課教師共有32位。

社工系所對倫理教育的重視反映在社會工作倫理課程開設的增加，由89學年度佔社工相關系所的29%，94學年度佔44%，99學年度已有70%。以大學部來說，十年間開課成長4.4倍，由10課程增為44門課；設為必修課程的由89學年度佔33%，94學年度佔50%，99學年度已有60%。(詳細參考表一)。

四、目前社工倫理課程教學的挑戰

社會工作倫理課程教學近十年已有大幅度成長，不過仍然面臨許多挑戰，曾華源、胡慧嫻、李仰慈、郭世豐(2011)指出許多社工人員認為提供專業性服務，首重於技巧和理論知識的學習與充實，忽略提升專業價值與倫理兩難抉擇的能力。近年台灣社會變遷的速度快速，新

is undergoing rapid change and the demand for social work has become quite massive and diverse. They stressed that social work professional guidelines have become insufficient to cope with the changes, and it has become necessary for social workers to reinforce ethical thinking in order to build the skills required to handle various situations. Tseng Hua-Yuan et al. (2011) mentioned that the rigorous development of professional knowledge, rapid change of social values, and soaring demand for civil rights have created serious challenges for the development of a professional system and practice of social work. Education which stresses professional values and ethics is the foundation for the development of a professional system. More and more specializations have been developed in the field of social work, and collaboration with professionals in other specializations has become inevitable. Thus, training targeted to actively mitigate the risk of violations to ethics codes has become very important for social workers. If social workers do not have sufficient professionalism and awareness in the sense of ethics, they are likely to violate ethics codes or be unable to respond to the dilemmas in both direct and indirect services. With such frustration, they may feel overstressed and evade their duties. Therefore, several key factors should not be overlooked, including social work education, on-the-job training, establishment of an ethics risk management mechanism, and implementation of a dispute mediation system.

III. There is significant growth in the number of universities offering social work ethics courses in the past decade

The number of schools offering social work ethics courses was seven in academic year 2000, 12 in 2005, and 19 in 2010. These schools offered an average of 21 courses as a requirement in undergraduate schools, 7 1/2 courses at the graduate level (one out of these 7 1/2 courses was offered as a requirement for degree programs), and 1 1/2 courses as electives at the doctoral level. The total number of lecturers is 32.

The increasing significance of social work ethics education is reflected in the increasing number of social work ethics courses offered in social work degree programs. The percentage of social work ethics courses offered in social work related programs was 29% in academic year 2000, 44% in 2005, and 70% in 2010. In a decade, the number of the courses offered increased 4.4 times (from 10 to 44 courses) in undergraduate schools. The percentage of schools offering social work ethics courses as a requirement was 33% in academic year 2000, 50% in 2005, and 60% in 2010 (For details, please see Table 1).

IV. Current challenges in social work ethics education

Though there has been a significant improvement in social work ethics education in the recent decade, there are still a number of challenges. Tseng Hua-Yuan et al. (2011) pointed out that many social workers believe that learning and improving their profes-

興議題叢生，各界如火如荼的探討許多實務工作所帶來的倫理議題，最嚴重問題仍然在於整體社會工作結構中人力素質的問題，曾華源、白倩如、李仰慈(2010)指出社會工作學生數量增加，但願意從事社會工作比例沒有增加，發現社會工作專業教育發展面臨的六項困境中特別強調社會工作專業認同及價值教育和人格養成教育有待加強。

社會工作倫理課程的發展仍在開展階段，主要受到的挑戰有：

1.教學目標核心內容各校不一：

以ASWB規劃的倫理養成教育指南來檢視國內社工倫理課程，整體加總已涵蓋應有的教育目標，核心內容在「掌握司法和倫理守則相關的專業知識，包括督導倫理及司法與倫理兩者的衝突」較缺乏。而各校各別的社會工作倫理課程的核心目標與課程內容不一，重點的面向也不同。多元化的教學方式固然可以呈現各校特色，然而倫理課程核心內容的不一致可能影響社會工作的實施。

2.學生多數缺乏倫理難題處遇經驗：

有教授社會工作倫理課程的教師說「對初學者而言很難理解，但不講又不行，對沒有實務經驗的人，很容易似懂非懂，所以最常使用實務界的案例，將某個價值觀傳達讓學生了解」(張允閔，2012)。若遇到教師實務經驗不足，無法提供深刻實例，對學習就會打大折扣，另一方，學生經驗太少在教學上難以達到共鳴，教學成效就會受到影響。

3.教學評量方式的標準待建立：

知識可以考試評量，但是價值與倫理很難評定，尤其倫理養成教育不只是知識上的傳承，更是社會工作價值與專業的精神傳承，其中包括專業品格、價值信念、人文素養的培養，因此社會工作倫理養成教育的評量，有待各校教師及資深實務工作者多花心思。

sional skills and knowledge is the most important aspect of their professional practice, but most of them neglect to develop the ability to deal with the conflicts between professional values and ethics. Taiwan has undergone rapid changes in society in recent years and new issues have begun to emerge. Heated discussions have swept through society addressing the ethic issues associated with social work practices, and many of these discussions have concluded that the most serious problem in the overall structure of social work still lies in the quality of social workers. Tseng Hua-Yuan et al. (2010) pointed out that an increase in the number of social work students does not lead to an increase in the number of field social workers. They stressed that the development of social work education has encountered six problem areas and two of the areas require special attention: personal identification with the profession and the values and development of personal qualities.

The development of social work ethics courses is still at its initial stage, and the main challenges are:

1. The core content of the social ethics curriculum differs from school to school:

Based on the ASWB Guide to Social Work Ethics Course Development published by the Association of Social Work Boards (ASWB), we found that the content of the social work ethics curriculum in Taiwan has covered the core education goals; however, there is still insufficiency in the subject of “providing opportunities for the participants to acquire knowledge about professional, legal, and ethical standards of practice, including monitoring the conflicts in ethics and legal standards”. Moreover, the goals and core content of the social ethics curricula, as well as the focus of the content, differ from school to school. Though such diversity provides the schools the opportunities to develop specialized curriculum, such divergence may affect the practice of social works.

2. Students mostly lack experience in dealing with ethical dilemmas:

Some professors of social work ethics course expressed, “It is difficult for beginners to comprehend, but you cannot omit it. For those who do not have relevant experience, they usually comprehend only vague ideas. Therefore, we often use case studies to deliver the ideas of certain values.” (Chang Yun-Hung, 2012). If lecturers do not have sufficient field experience to provide in-depth case studies, the effectiveness of learning will be compromised. On the other hand, if students have limited experience in field work, the effectiveness of teaching will also be affected.

3. The standard of assessment is to be established:

Knowledge can be assessed through exams, but there is a general difficulty in assessing values and ethics, especially since ethics education aims to pass on not only the knowledge but also the values and professionalism of social work. This includes professional conduct, values and beliefs, and general knowledge of the humanities.

4. 銜接實務倫理繼續教育規劃不足：

社會工作倫理在實務場域之中相當重要，學校社會工作倫理課程教學，如何整合志工服務、社工實習的實務，訓練學生的倫理覺察與區辨能力，重點在實際投入服務後，能銜接實務工作的倫理繼續教育，且各領域所面臨的倫理議題有所不同，需要更專精的職前及在職訓練。目前實務領域之中，在職繼續教育規劃，針對倫理議題進行探討仍然有限，各地公會所探討議題相當多樣，社工師參加倫理在職繼續教育的情形，依照個人興趣自由報名參加，大學教育銜接在職繼續教育訓練亦有障礙。

5. 社工倫理審議機制尚在建構：

社會工作師全國聯合會已初步設立二級制的倫理申訴審議機制。目前各社會福利相關機構或單位，基本上有民眾申訴管理或機構內部自我管理的機制，社工師提到公會受理的審議案件很少，或許是已在機構已處理好，不過是否合理處理就無從確認(張允闕，2011)。社工倫理審議機制一方面必須建立全國具公信力的機制，另一方面必須向民眾及各單位宣導，促進審議組織的功能，在社會工作倫理課程中，目前並未帶給學生清楚的審議機制的概念。

五、學界與實務界對社工倫理課程教學之意見

王永慈老師於2011年10月到12月間，辦理北中南三區焦點團體，統合17位授課教師及2位研究生的意見，規劃社工倫理課程，於101年社會工作核心知能建構研討會中發表。教學架構，以知識層面占30%，技巧層面占30~40%，倫理與承諾層面占30~40%。課程內容包含：

1. 社會工作專業之價值與倫理的演進與內涵
2. 倫理學原則與理論
3. 中西文化與價值觀(亦包括原住民族、新住民等的文化)
4. 反壓迫的社會工作倫理(包括階級、族群、性別等的議題)
5. 社會工作實務的專業標準，例如：專業倫理守則(可以包括不同專業的倫理守則：醫師、律師、護理師、心理師等)
6. 法律對於社會工作師/者的相關要求
7. 專業價值、對符合專業倫理行為的自覺、自我價

Therefore, there is still an urgent need for lecturers and practitioners to develop an assessment system for social work ethics.

4. Continuing education for ethics education is insufficient:

Social work ethics is very important in field-practice. Social work ethics education in the schools covers the issues of how to integrate volunteer services, social work internship, and students' ability to identify social work ethics issues, but the emphasis should be placed on how to link social work practice to continuing ethics education. Ethics issues present in the industry vary from specialization to specialization and therefore social workers are required to have more specialized pre-service and on-the-job training. At present, discussions on the subject of on-the-job continuing education relating to ethics issues are still rather limited. Associations in different fields of services have initiated a series of discussions on different issues, offering social workers a range of different options for continuous training. However, the link between college education and on-the-job continuing education is yet to be established.

5. A social worker ethics review mechanism is still under development:

The National Union of Professional Social Workers Association, Taiwan ROC, has taken the initiative to establish a two-level ethics dispute mediation mechanism. Basically, the currently enforced system entails public complaint management or self-management in social welfare institutions or organizations. Thus, very few complaint cases have been sent to the dispute mediation board. This may have been because most of the cases were handled within the institutions, but whether the cases were reasonably resolved remains in dispute (Chang Yun-Hung, 2011). A social work ethics dispute mediation mechanism is established as an organization credible nationwide and, at the same time, given the mission to expand its function by promoting the concept of dispute mediation to the public and social welfare organizations. Currently, the concept of dispute mediation has not been clearly delivered to the students in social work ethics courses.

V. Opinions from the academic sector and social work practitioners on the subject of social work ethics education

From October to December 2011, Dr. Wang Yeong-Tsu hosted focus group discussions in the northern, central, and southern regions of Taiwan. From the focus group discussions, Dr. Wang consolidated the opinions of 17 lecturers and two graduate school students and used the information to plan a social work ethics curriculum. This curriculum was presented at the Constructing Social Work Core Content and Competency Conference in 2012. The framework of this curriculum covers several dimensions: knowledge at 30%, skills at 30%-40%, and ethics and commitment at 30-40%. The course content includes the following aspects:

1. The evolution and ideology of professional values and ethics of social work.
2. Principles and theory in ethics.
3. Chinese and Western cultures and values (also including the indigenous peoples and new immigrants).
4. Anti-oppression social work ethics (including issues of social class, ethnicity, and gender).
5. Professional standards of social work practice, such as code of social work ethics (may include different professional codes of

值觀澄清

8. 倫理抉擇的過程、兩難的案例
9. 社會工作倫理的風險管理與實踐、業務過失與法律責任

2011年9月至10月，訪談中部地區5個領域13位資深社工師，他們提出對社工倫理課程的看法及建議。資深社工師提出在擔任學生實習督導的經驗中，曾有缺少熱忱打混摸魚、實習未盡個案保密隱私責任、學生思維太過簡單欠缺思辨能力、實習不清楚倫理鬧笑話的情形，在畢業後投入職場的社工會造成實務工作的影響，包括個案權益受損、情感反轉移將個人價值投射到案主身上、社工容易精神匱乏而流失(張允閔，2012)。因此在學校倫理養成教育和實務倫理繼續教育訓練都非常重要。針對學校社工倫理課程的建議如下：

1. 教育目標：應為社工倫理概念建構、強調助人價值的重要、以全人觀點尊重案主、以倫理自律個人行為、遇到矛盾衝突時的思辨能力及妥適的判斷抉擇等。

『基本態度，遇到衝突矛盾會慢慢思考…經過磨練思考當下情境狀況處理方法…在這個階段我相信它是一個辯論的過程』

『讓學生知道倫理存在的重要性，也知道現實裡面有很多的衝突…給學生心理準備，倫理要遵守，可是也不是到機構管其他人，而是運用溝通讓別人了解我們的想法』

2. 教學內容：以對案主的責任為主，強調同理接納能力，以及對同儕的責任、對機構的責任、保密義務、法律相關知識、判斷抉擇方法、服務的態度等。

『對於服務案主歷程的倫理要非常的清楚，我覺得大學課程教完守則的六個面向應該是夠，但是最核心的部分，還是著重在服務對象，因為我們的專業來自於對案主的責任。』

3. 教學方法：應有實務經驗者擔任教學、模擬情境演練及案例討論、訪談實務工作者、講座、研討會、學長姐經驗分享等。

『老師結合一些民間的單位實務工作者，然後共同教導學生，例如實務工作者到學校分享某些主題，我覺得讓孩子知道倫理守則規範的部份，在實務工作上會碰到什麼情況，以實務經驗印證相

ethics: medical doctors, lawyers, nurses, psychologists, etc.)

6. Legal regulations for the social worker.
7. Professional values, awareness of professional ethics and conducts, and clarification of self values.
8. The process of ethical decision-making and the dilemma arising from the cases.
9. Risk management in social work ethics practice, work negligence, and associated legal liability.

From September to October 2011, we interviewed 13 senior social workers from central Taiwan who were working in five different specializations. The participating social workers expressed their views and proposed recommendations on social work ethics curriculum. They expressed that, in their experiences as supervisors, they found that students in internship programs generally lacked enthusiasm. They goofed around and took the confidentiality of cases lightly. They generally lacked the ability to think critically and became the subject of ridicule because they were unclear about proper and professional conduct. Such behaviors are likely to cause problems after they graduate and enter the practice of social work, and these problems could result in damage to clients' rights, improper emotional transference in the sense that social workers project personal values onto clients, and high turnover as social workers become drained emotionally (Chang Yun-Hung, 2012). Therefore, social work ethics education is very important both in school and on the job in the form of continuing education. Targeting the development of social work ethics courses in schools, we propose the following recommendations:

1. Educational goals should be set with the concepts of ethics, with emphasis on the value of helping others, a holistic view of respect for clients, self-discipline, and the ability to think clearly and critically in cases of dispute.

"The basic attitude is to take the time to think... think what your experience tells you when encountering conflicts... At this stage, I believe it is a process of debate."

"Let the students understand the importance of ethics, and also let the students understand there are many conflicts in the real world. ... Prepare them with the attitude that they should abide by the principles of ethics, not telling others what they should do in the institution. Teach them how to make others understand through communication."

2. Curriculum content should stress the responsibility to clients and emphasize empathy and acceptance, responsibility to peers and the institution, obligations of confidentiality, relevant legal knowledge, decision-making, and service attitude.

"Be very clear about the history of the clients. I think it should be sufficient if the college courses cover the six dimensions of the Code of Ethics. However, the core concept is the client because our profession emphasizes the responsibility to clients. ..."

3. Teaching should be conducted by experienced social workers through case studies, interviews with practitioners, lectures, seminars, and experience sharing.

"The lecturers should bring institutional practitioners into classroom activities, for examples, having practitioners share their experience on certain subjects. I think teaching will be more effective if we let students know about the code of

關法規，那學生會比較有印象』

4. 列為必修、學分增加、小班教學。

『大學部太大班，我覺得要討論倫理太難了，比較小班的方式讓每個人都可以發表想法，學校老師才知道.....如果能限制20個人修課..學生才能認真去討論..』

5. 加強網路資訊管理能力。

ethics, what to expect in real-life practice, and the practice of relevant laws and regulations in relation to field work.”

4. It is also recommended to list the ethics courses as requirements in the degree programs, increase the required credits hours, and teach in small groups.

“I think the big classes in universities make it difficult to discuss issues of ethics. In smaller classes, everyone can express their thoughts, and the instructors will know what they are thinking... If the class size can be limited to 20 students, the students will take the discussions more seriously.”

5. It is also recommended to reinforce the ability to manage web information.

伍、結論與建議

在社工專業發展中倫理素養提升是非常重要的因素，而倫理養成教育包含學校教育與實務領域的職前在職繼續教育訓練。本文只是一個小小的開始，了解大學院校社工倫理課程開設的狀況。十年來社工倫理課程開設數量大幅成長，但是仍然面臨許多的挑戰，學界與實務界都對社工倫理課程教學越來越重視，本文也整理他們的看法與意見，然而深度探討教甚麼內容？是否能符合實務挑戰的需要？誰來教？怎樣教？如何評估學到了沒有？如何銜接職前及在職訓練？仍需繼續的進階研究。並提出以下建議：

一、社會工作教育學會推動社會工作倫理課程教學與評量。

以王永慈教授在101年社會工作核心知能建構研討會中發表社會工作倫理課程規劃與設計為基礎，邀集教師、實務工作者、學生代表討論修訂，達成符合實務需求的教學課程規劃，實施後再驗證。

二、社會工作師公會全國聯合會及社會工作專業人員協會等專業團體致力於實務工作中倫理繼續教育與訓練的需求調查與規劃實施。並落實專業人員倫理自律的機制運作。

三、主管機關社會司或未來的衛生福利部以社工師公會全聯會之倫理申訴機制為基礎，建構具公權力及公信力的倫理審議機制，納入倫理教學。

四、社工學界及實務界能更重視倫理養成及繼續教育，共同合作從事社會工作倫理的教學、實習與研究

FIVE. Conclusions and Recommendations

Developing a higher standard of ethical conduct is very important in the professional development of social workers. Ethics education includes school education, pre-service training, and on-the-job training (or continuing education). This study attempts to understand how social work ethics courses are offered in tertiary education. Though there has been substantial growth in the number of social work ethics courses offered over the past decade, challenges still exist. Both academic study and the practice of social work stress the importance of social ethics education; this study has also included their views and opinions. However, there is still a need to explore the subject further in terms of “What to teach”, “Does the curriculum meet the demand of practice”, “Who can teach”, “How to teach”, and “How to assess”. This research makes the following recommendations:

I. Engage the Taiwan Association of Social Work Education to promote the development of social work ethics teaching and assessment.

Use the social work ethics curriculum designed by Dr. Wang Yeong-Tsu and presented at the Constructing Social Work Core Content and Competency Conference in 2012 as the framework and invite instructors, practitioners, and student representatives to discuss the curricula for the development and verification of a practical and feasible curriculum.

II. Engage the National Union of Professional Social Workers Association, the Taiwan Association of Social Workers, and other professional institutions to conduct a survey and plan for continuing ethics education and monitor the operation of the self-discipline mechanism.

III. Use the ethics dispute mediation mechanism developed by the Department of Social Services (or the Ministry of Health and Social Service in the future) to develop a credible and trusted ethics dispute mediation mechanism and incorporate the mechanism into social works ethics education.

IV. Academics and social work practitioners should pay more attention to the development of social work ethics and the associated continuing education and become involved in social work ethics teaching, internships, and research.

參考書目 References

- 王秀燕(2010)。現實與使命的掙扎-台灣社工人力配置。《社區發展季刊》，129，頁114-127。
- 包承恩、王永慈(主譯)、郭豔、鍾曉慧(譯)(2009)。《社會工作價值與倫理》(原作者：Fredric G. Reamer)。台北：洪葉文化。
- 吳嫦娥(1995)社會工作倫理教育的實務探討。《社會工作倫理研討會實錄》。台北：輔仁大學。頁166-174。
- 李瑞全(2008)。《醫療倫理諮詢-理論與實務》。台北：五南。
- 李宗派(2002)。探討美國社會工作之教育政策與立案標準。《社區發展季刊》，99，頁126~141。
- 胡中宜(2003)。社會工作人員專業倫理決策過程之研究(博士論文)。台中：東海大學社會工作學系。
- 胡慧嫻(2000)。社會工作專業化之信託制度研究(博士論文)。台中：東海大學社會工作學系。
- 秦燕(2012)。台灣社會工作專業制度：本土模型的構思。《社會政策與社會工作學刊》，16(1)，頁237-267。
- 秦燕(2009)。《醫務社會工作-第二版》。台北：巨流圖書公司。
- 徐震、李明政(2001)。《社會工作倫理》。台北：五南圖書。
- 徐震、李明政(2004)。《社會工作思想與倫理》。台北：松慧出版社。
- 莫藜藜(2007)。台灣社會工作學科教育的發展與變革的需求。《社區發展季刊》，120，頁30~47。
- 教育部大學院校課程資訊網(2011年07月14日)。課稱查詢：社會工作倫理。未出版之統計數據。取自<http://ucourse.tvc.ntnu.edu.tw/webu/>。
- 詹火生(2007)。台灣社會工作專業發展的經驗與展望。《社會發展季刊》，120，頁21~29。
- 曾華源、胡慧嫻、李仰慈、郭世豐合著(2011)。《社會工作專業價值與倫理概論-第二版》。台北：洪葉文化。
- 曾華源、白倩如、李仰慈(2010)。社會工作人力質量需求與專業人力資源養成制度之省思。《社區發展季刊》，129，頁76-94。
- 張允閔(2012)。社會工作師倫理實踐經驗與對倫理教育的看法(碩士論文)。台中：亞洲大學社會工作學系。
- 張允閔(2011)。社工師對社工倫理的教育與實施專訪。亞洲大學碩士班實習總報告，未出版。
- 廖秋芬(1997)。社會工作人員對兒童保護案件處遇計畫的價值抉擇之研究(碩士論文)。台中：東海大學社會工作學系。
- 簡春安(1995)社會工作倫理教育的現況與未來。《社會工作倫理研討會實錄》。台北：輔仁大學。頁152-165。
- Educational Policy & Accreditation Standards (2010, March). Council on Social Work Education, CSWE. Retrieved from <http://www.cswe.org/File.aspx?id=13780> .
- Guide to Social Work Ethics Course Development (2011, July). Association of Social Work Boards, ASWB. Retrieved from <http://www.aswb.org/pdfs/ASWBEthicsCourseGuide.pdf> .

附錄 Appendix

表1 Table 1

89學年度~99學年度大學院校社會工作倫理授課狀況分析表

Social work ethics courses offered in the universities from academic year 2000 to 2010

學年度 Year	學校 No. of schools	開課學校 Name of school	開課門數 No. of courses		大學 Undergraduate	碩班 Graduate	博班 Doctoral	課程名稱 No. of different tiles	教師數 No. of lecturers
89 2000	24	7 (29.2%)	10	必3 Requirement 3	2	2	0	5	6
				必2 Requirement 2	0	1	0		
				選3 Elective 3	0	0	0		
				選2 Elective 2	4	1	0		
94 2005	27	12 (44.4%)	25	必3 Requirement 3	8	2	0	8	19
				必2 Requirement 2	2	2	0		
				選3 Elective 3	4	0	0		
				選2 Elective 2	6	1	0		
99 2010	27	19 (70.4%)	44	必3 Requirement 3	9	1	0	13	32
				必2 Requirement 2	12	0	0		
				選3 Elective 3	9	5(1/2)	(1/2)		
				選2 Elective 2	5	0	0		
				選? Elective ?	0	1	1		
				不明 N/A	0	0	0		

資料來源：作者彙整自大專院校課程資訊網，以五年為一階段整理陳現

Source: Compiled by the author from the information available on the Colleges and Universities Course Information Web. Analysis is based on the data of three stages (five years in a stage).

表2 Table 2

89學年度國內社工相關系所專業倫理授課情形彙整表

Social work ethics courses offered in social work degree programs in year 2000

年度 Year	學期 No. of semesters	授課年級 Level	必/選 Requirement/ Elective	學分 Credit hours	學校 School	課程名稱 Name of course	授課老師(開課門數) Name of lecturer (No. of course offered)
89 2000	2	大三 Undergraduate 3	必 Requirement	3	國立臺灣大學 National Taiwan University	弱勢群體與社工倫理 Disadvantaged Communities and Social Work Ethics	余漢儀(1) Yu Han-Yi (1)
89 2000	1	碩一 Graduate 1	必 Requirement	3	東海大學 Tung Hai Uni- versity	社會工作專業倫理 Social Work Professional Ethics	曾華源(1) Tseng Hua-Yuan (1)
89 2000	1	碩二 Graduate 2	必 Requirement	2	輔仁大學 Fu Jen Catholic University	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	包承恩(2) Bao Cheng-En (2)
		大四 Undergraduate 4	選 Elective	2		專業倫理-社會工作倫理 Professional Ethics-Social Work Ethics	
89 2000	2	碩一 Graduate 1	必 Requirement	3	東吳大學 Soochow Uni- versity	社會工作哲學與倫理 Philosophy and Ethics of Social Work	徐震(1) Hsu Cheng (1)
89 2000	2	大四 Undergraduate 4	選 Elective	2	實踐大學 Shih Chien Uni- versity	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	徐震(3) Hsu Cheng (3)
89 2000	1	碩二 Graduate 2	選 Elective	2	慈濟大學 Tzu Chi Univer- sity	社會工作哲學與倫理 Philosophy and Ethics of Social Work	萬育維(1) Wan Yu-Wei (1)
89 2000	1	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement	3	玄奘大學 Hsuan Chuang University	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	余紅柑(1) Yu Hong-Gan (1)
總計 Total		4大 Undergraduate 4 4碩 Graduate 4	5必 Requirement 5 3選 Elective 3	4三4 (3 hours) 4二4 (2 hours)	7間 7	5種 5	6位(10) 6(10)

資料來源：作者彙整大專院校課程資訊網

Source: Compiled by the author from the information available on the Colleges and Universities Course Information Web

表3 Table 3

94學年度國內社工相關系所專業倫理授課情形彙整表

Social work ethics courses offered in social work degree programs in year 2005

年度 Year	學期 No. of semesters	授課年級 Level	必/選 Requirement/Elective	學分 Credit hour	學校 Name of school	課程名稱 Name of course	授課老師(開課門數) Name of lecturer (No. of courses offered)
94 2005	1	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement	3	國立臺灣大學 National Taiwan University	弱勢群體與社工倫理 Disadvantaged Communi- ties and Social Work Ethics	余漢儀(2) Yu Han-Yi(2)
94 2002	1	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement	3	國立屏東科技大 學 National Pingtung University of Tech- nology	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	劉清虔(1) Liu Ching-Chian(1) 趙善如(1) Chao Shan-Ru(1)
	2						曾進勤(1) Tseng Chin-Ching(1)
94 2005	2	大四 Undergraduate 4	選 Elective	2	輔仁大學 Fu Jen Catholic University	專業倫理-社會工作倫理 Professional Ethics-Social Work Ethics	張振成(1) Chang Cheng-Cheng (1)
		碩二 Graduate 2	必 Requirement			社會工作倫理專題 Special Topics on Social Work Ethics	劉可屏(1) Liu Ke-Ping (1)
94 2005	1	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement	2	東吳大學 Soochow Univer- sity	社會工作思想與倫理 Philosophy and Ethics of Social Work	李明政(1) Li Ming-Cheng (1)
	2	碩一 Graduate 1	必 Requirement	3		社會工作哲學與倫理 Philosophy and Ethics of Social Work	徐震(1) Hsu Cheng(1)
94 2005	2	碩二 Graduate 2	必 Requirement	3	靜宜大學 Providence Univer- sity	社會工作專業價值與倫理 Social Work Values and Ethics	胡慧嫻(1) Hu Hui-Ying(1)
94 2005	1	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement	3	中國文化大學 Chinese Culture University	社會工作倫理與哲學 Philosophy and Ethics of Social Work	游美貴(1) You Mei-Kui (1)
94 2005	2	大三 Undergraduate 3	選 Elective	3	實踐大學 Shih Chien Uni- versity	社會工作思想與倫理 Philosophy and Ethics of Social Work	胡中宜(1) Hu Chung-Yi (1) 李明政(1) Li Ming-Cheng(1) 賈廷詩(1) Chia Ting-Shi (1)
		在職大三 Undergraduate 3 (extension program)	選 Elective	2		社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	胡中宜(1) Hu Chung-Yi(1)
94 2005	2	大三 Undergraduate 3	選 Elective	3	長榮大學 Chang Jung Chris- tian University	社會工作哲學與倫理 Philosophy and Ethics of Social Work	周勉(3) Chou Mian (3)
		在職大三 Undergraduate 3 (extension program)	選 Elective	2		社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	
		碩一 Graduate 1					
94 2005	2	大四 Undergraduate 4	選 Elective	2	慈濟大學 Tzu Chi University	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	王文娟(1) Wang Wen-Chuan(1)

年度 Year	學期 No. of semesters	授課年級 Level	必/選 Requirement/Elective	學分 Credit hour	學校 Name of school	課程名稱 Name of course	授課老師(開課門數) Name of lecturer (No. of courses offered)
94 2005	1	大三 Undergraduate 3	必 Requirement	3	玄奘大學 Hsuan Chuang University	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	胡中宜(1) Hu Chung-Yi (1)
		四技大三 Undergraduate 3	必 Requirement	2			王潔媛(1) Wang Chie-Yuan (1)
	2	大三 Undergraduate 3	必 Requirement	3			邱泯科(1) Chiu Min-Ke (1)
94 2005	1	碩一 Graduate 1	必 Requirement	2	亞洲大學 Asia University	社會工作哲學與倫理 Philosophy and Ethics of Social Work	曾竹寧(1) Tseng Chu-Ning (1)
94 2005	2	大四 Undergraduate 4	選 Elective	2	朝陽科技大學 Chaoyang Univer- sity of Technology	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	秦燕(1) Chin Yan (1) 白倩如(1) Bai Chiang-Ru (1)
93 2004	1	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement	2	國立臺灣師範大學 社會工作教育學系 Dept. Social Work Education, National Taiwan Normal University	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	王永慈(1) Wang Yeong-Tsu(1)
93 2004	2	大三 Undergraduate 3	必 Requirement	2	國立暨南國際大學 National Chi Nan University	社會工作哲學與倫理 Philosophy and Ethics of Social Work	沈淑芳(1) Shen Shu-Fen(1)
93 2004	2	碩一 Graduate 1	必 Requirement	3	東海大學 Tung Hai Univer- sity	社會工作專業價值與倫 理專題討論 Special Topics on Social Work Values and Ethics	曾華源(1) Tseng Hua-Yuan (1)
總計 Total		16大 Undergraduate 16 6碩 Graduate 6	14必 Requirement 14 7選 Elective 7	10三 10 (3 hours) 10二 10 (2 hours)	12+3=15間 12+3=15	8+1=9種 8+1=9	19+3=21位 (25+3=28)

註：94學年未開設知學校則追列前一年開設資料

Note: Data of the previous year is used when unavailable for 2005.

表4 Table 4

97~99學年度國內社工相關系所專業倫理授課情形彙整表

Social work ethics courses offered in social work degree programs from 2008 to 2010

年度 Year	學期 No. of semesters	授課年級 Level	必/選 Requirement/ Elective	學分 Credit hour	學校 Name of school	課程名稱 Name of course	授課老師(開課門數) Name of lecturer (No. of courses offered)
99 2010	1	大四	選 Elective	3	國立臺灣大學 National Taiwan University	弱勢群體與社工倫理 Disadvantaged Communities and Social Work Ethics	余漢儀(3) Yu Han-Yi (3)
99 2010	1	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement	3	國立臺北大學 National Taipei University	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	張菁芬(1) Chang Ching-Fen (1)
99 2010	1	博班 Doctoral	選 Elective	3	國立暨南國際大學 National Chi Nan University	家庭暴力處遇的專業價值及倫理專題 Special Topic on the Profession of Domestic Violence Treatment and Ethics	汪淑媛(1) Wang Shu-Yuan (1)
		大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement			社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	黃彥宜(1) Huang Yan-Yi (1)
		專一 Associate degree 1				張英陣(1) Chang Ying-Cheng (1)	
99 2010	2	碩 Graduate	必 Requirement	3	國立臺灣師範大學 National Taiwan Normal University	社會工作倫理專題 Philosophy and Ethics of Social Work	王永慈(1) Wang Yong-Tsu (1)
99 2010	1	大四 Undergraduate 4	選 Elective	2	國立屏東科技大學 National Pingtung University of Technology	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	陳南潔(2) Chen Nan-Chie(2) 林聖峰(1) Lin Sheng-Feng (1)
99 2010	1	碩博 Graduate, Doctoral	選 Elective	3	東海大學 Tung Hai University	法律與社會工作倫理 Laws and Society on Social Work	曾華源(1) Tseng Hua-Yuan (1)
	2	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement			社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	王篤強(1) Wang Du-Chiang (1) 胡慧嫻(1) Hu Hui-Ying (1)
97 2008	2	碩二 Graduate 2			輔仁大學 Fu Jen Catholic University	社會工作倫理專題 Philosophy and Ethics of Social Work	張振成(1) Chang Cheng-Cheng (1)
99 2010	2	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement	2		專業倫理-社會工作倫理 Professional Ethics-Social Work Ethics	韋薇(1) Wei Wei (1)
99 2010	1	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement	2	東吳大學 Soochow University	社會工作思想與倫理 Thoughts and Ethics on Social Work	李明政(1) Li Ming-Cheng (1)
	2	碩一 Graduate 1	選 Elective	3		社會工作哲學與倫理 Philosophy and Ethics of Social Work	徐震(1) Hsu Cheng (1)
99 2010	1	碩一 Graduate 1	選 Elective	3	靜宜大學 Providence University	社會工作價值與倫理專題 Special Topics on Social Work Values and Ethics	胡慧嫻(2) Hu Hui-Ying (2)
	2	大四 Undergraduate 4				社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	
99 2010	1	大四 Undergraduate 4	選 Elective	3	中國文化大學 Chinese Culture University	社會工作倫理與哲學 Philosophy and Ethics of Social Work	林盈君(1) Lin Yin-Chun (1)

年度 Year	學期 No. of semesters	授課年級 Level	必/選 Requirement/ Elective	學分 Credit hour	學校 Name of school	課程名稱 Name of course	授課老師(開課門數) Name of lecturer (No. of courses offered)
99 2010	1	碩二 Graduate 2	選 Elective	3	實踐大學 Shih Chien Univer- sity	社會工作倫理專題 Social Work Professional Ethics	曾華源(1) Tseng Hua-Yuan (1)
	2	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement	2		社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	李明政(1) Li Ming-Cheng (1) 劉弘毅(2) Liu Hong-Yi (2)
99 2010	1	碩二 Graduate 2	選 Elective	3	長榮大學\ Chang Jung Christian University	社會工作倫理專題 Special Topics on Social Work Ethics	卓春英(1) Chuo Chun-Ying (1)
	2	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement			社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	鄭佩芬(1) Cheng Pei-Fen (1)
99 2010	1	碩一 Graduate 1	選 Elective	3	慈濟大學 Tsu Chi University	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	趙曉芳(2) Chao Hsiao-Fang (2)
	2	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement	2			
99 2010	1	大四 Undergraduate 4	選 Elective	3	玄奘大學 Hsuan Chuang Uni- versity	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	張憶純(1) Chang Yi-Tsun (1)
	2	大三 Undergraduate 3					邱泯科(2) Chiu Min-Ke (2) 張憶純(1) Chang Yi-Tsun (1)
99 2010	2	碩一 Graduate 1	選 Elective	3	亞洲大學 Asia University	社會工作倫理專題 Special Topics on Social Work Ethics	秦燕(2) Chin Yan (2)
		大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement	2		社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	
99 2010	1	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement	3	中山醫學大學 Chung Shan Medical University	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	童伊迪(1) Tung Yi-Di (1)
99 2010	1	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement	2	朝陽科技大學 Chaoyang University of Technology	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	郭世豐(1) Kuo Shi-Feng (1) 許凱翔(1) Hsu Kai-Hsiang (1) 白倩如(1) Bai Chian-Ru (1)
99 2010	2	大 Undergraduate	選 Elective	2	嘉南藥理科技大學 Chia Nan University of Pharmacy and Sci- ence	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	鍾美智(1) Chung Mei-Chi (1) 陳振盛(1) Chen Cheng-Sheng (1)
99 2010	1	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement	2	美和科技大學 Meiho University	社會工作倫理2/2 Social Work Ethics 2/2	范幸玲(1) Fan Hsing-Ling (1) 芭姐嘎芙·瑪迪林(1) Badagafu Madilin (1)
	2	大三 Undergraduate 3	必 Requirement	3		社會工作倫理3/3 Social Work Ethics 3/3	王明鳳(1) Wang Ming-Feng (1) 范幸玲(1) Fan Hsing-Ling (1)
98 2009	2	大四 Undergraduate 4	必 Requirement	3	國立東華大學 National Dong Hwa University	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	莊曉霞(1) Chuang Hsiao-Hsia (1)

年度 Year	學期 No. of semesters	授課年級 Level	必/選 Requirement/ Elective	學分 Credit hour	學校 Name of school	課程名稱 Name of course	授課老師(開課門數) Name of lecturer (No. of courses offered)
96 2007	2	大 Undergraduate	必 Requirement	2	大仁科技大學 Tajen University	社會工作哲學與倫理 Philosophy and Ethics of Social Work	陳耀芳(1) Chen Yao-Fang (1)
			必 Requirement		台南神學院 Tainan Theological College	基督徒社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics of Christians	
					國立政治大學 National Chengchi University	未開設課程 N/A	
					國立中正大學 National Chung Cheng University	未開設課程 N/A	
					國立陽明大學 National Yang-Ming University	未開設課程 N/A	
					國立國防大學 National Defense University	未開設課程 N/A	
					高雄醫學大學 Kaohsiung Medical University	未開設課程 N/A	
總計 Total		1博 Doctoral 1 9碩 Graduate 9 22大 Undergraduate 22	17必 Requirement 17 13選 Elective 13	10二 10(2 hours) 16三 16(3 hours)	19+8=27間 19+8=27	13+1=14種 13+1=14	38位 (44+3=47)

資料來源：作者彙整大專院校課程資訊網

註：99學年未開設者追列之前最近開設資料

Source: Compiled by the author from the information available on the Colleges and Universities Course Information Web

Note: Data of the most recent year is used when unavailable for 2010

表5 Table 5

國內社工相關系所之外社工專業倫理授課情形彙整表

Social work ethics courses offered in departments other than social work

年度 Year	學期 No. of semesters	授課年級 Level	必/選 Requirement/ Elective	學分 Credit hour	學校 Name of school	課程名稱 Name of course	授課老師(開課門數) Name of lecturer (No. of courses offered)
99 2010	2	大三 Undergraduate 3	必 Requirement	2	稻江科技暨管理學院 老人福祉學系 Department of Aged So- cial Welfare and Social Work, Toko University	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	蕭玉芬(1) Hsiao Yu-Fen (1) 施振典(1) His Cheng-Tian (1) 姜義雯(1) Chiang Yi-Wen (1)
99 2010	1	大 Undergraduate	選 Elective	2	弘光科技大學 老人福利與事業系 Department of Senior Citizen Welfare and Business, Hung Kung University	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	陳伶珠(1) Chen Ling-Chu (1)
98 2009	2	大 Undergraduate	選 Elective	3	南華大學 生死學系 Department of Life and Death Studies, Nanhua University	社會工作倫理 Social Work Ethics	游育蕙(1) You Yu-Hui (1)
總計 Total		3大 Undergraduate 3 0碩 Graduate 0	1必 Requirement 1 2選 Elective 2	2二 2(2 hours) 1三 1(3 hours)	3間 3	1種 1	5位 5

資料來源：作者彙整大專院校課程資訊網

Source: Compiled by the author from the information available on the Colleges and Universities Course Information Web

表6 Table 6

99學年度社會工作倫理課程參考書目彙整

Reference reading assigned for social work ethics courses in 2010

大學部、碩班、博班皆有使用的共同書目： Common reading materials for undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral programs		授課使用數 No. of courses used
1	曾華源、胡慧嫻、李仰慈、郭世豐合著(2006)(2011)。《社會工作專業價值與倫理概論》。台北：洪葉 Hui-Ying, Li Yang-Tsu, and Kuo Shi-Feng (2006, 2011), <i>Social Work Professional Values and Ethics</i> , Tseng Hua-Yuan, Hu Taipei: Hung Yeh.	29
2	包承恩、王永慈主譯，Frederic G. Reamer著，(2000)(2006)(2009)。《社會工作價值與倫理》。台北；洪葉 Frederic G Reamer, Bao Cheng-En and Wang Yong-Tsu translators (2000, 2006, 2009), <i>Social Work Values and Ethics</i> , Taipei: Hung Yeh.	20
3	徐震、李明政(2002)(2008)。《社會工作倫理》。台北：五南 Hsu Cheng & Li Ming-Cheng (2002, 2008), <i>Social Work Ethics</i> , Taipei: Wu Nan.	15
4	徐震、李明政(2004)。《社會工作思想與倫理》。台北：松慧 Hsu Cheng & Li Ming-Cheng (2004), <i>Thoughts and Ethics of Social Work</i> , Taipei: Song Hui.	12
5	王永慈、許臨高、張宏哲、羅四維主編(2002)。《社會工作倫理－應用與省思》。台北：輔仁大學 Wang Yong-Tsu, Hsu Lin-Kao, Chang Hung-Che, & Luo Si-Wei ed. (2002), <i>Social Work Ethics- Practice and Retrospection</i> , Taipei: Fu Je Catholic University.	9
6	田秀蘭、彭孟堯譯，David Guttman著(2011)。《社會工作倫理》。台北：學富 David Guttman, Tian Hsiu Lan & Peng Meng-Yao translators (2011), <i>Social Work Ethics</i> , Taipei: ProEd.	4
7	中華民國社會工作倫理守則(包含1998年、2008年) Code of Social Work Ethics R.O.C. (1998 and 2008).	3
8	簡春安、趙善如(2008)。《社會工作哲學與理論》。台北：巨流 Chian Chun-An & Chao Shan-Ru (2008), <i>Philosophy and Theories of Social Work</i> , Taipei: Chu Liu Publisher.	3
9	江季璇、洪秀珍(2010)。《公眾倫理：在道德十字路口的抉擇》。台北：洪葉 Chiang Chi-Huan & Hung Hsiu-Chen (2010), <i>Public Ethics: Choices at Crossroad</i> , Taipei- Hung Yeh.	2
10	社區發展季刊第86期。《社會工作倫理》 Community Development Quarterly, Social Work Ethics, issue 86.	2
11	社會工作者國際聯盟所訂定的社會工作倫理原則與標準 (The Ethics of Social Work Principles and Standards, 1994 & 2004) The Ethics of Social Work Principles and Standards (1994 & 2004).	2
12	國際社會工作者協會倫理守則 (Code of Ethics of the National Association of Social Workers, 包含1999; 原美國社會工作協會) Code of Ethics of the National Association of Social Workers (including 1999), US National Association of Social Workers, NASW.	2
13	張隆順譯(1982)。《社會工作倫理》。台北：國立編譯館 Chang Long-Hsun translator (1982), <i>Social work Ethics</i> , Taipei: National Institute of Compilation and Translation.	2
14	蔡甫昌編譯(2004)。《臨床生命倫理學》。台北：醫策會 Tsai Pu-Chang ed. Translate (2004), <i>Clinic Life Ethics</i> , Taipei: Taiwan Joint Commission on Hospital Accreditation.	2
15	Banks, S. (2006). <i>Ethics and values in social work</i> . New York: Palgrave Macmillan.	2
16	Bulter, I. (2002). "A code of ethics for social work and social care research", <i>British Journal of Social work</i> , 32, pp.239-248.	2
17	Walker, R. and Staton, M.(2003). "Multiculturalism in social work ethics", <i>Journal of Social Work Education</i> , Vol. 36, No. 3, pp. 449-462.	2
18	胡慧嫻(2004)。〈社會工作專業倫理抉擇〉。《保護性社會工作專業倫理學術研討會》 Hu Hui-Ying (2004), <i>Ethical Choice of the Social Work Profession</i> , Ethics of the Protective Social Work Profession Conference.	1
19	Dolgoff, R. Loewenberg. F. M. & Harrington. (2005)(2009) "Ethical decisions for social work practice" (7 th ed.), Thomson Brooks/ Cole	2
20	林火旺(1999)(2004)。《倫理學》。台北：五南 Lin Huo-Wang (1999, 2004), <i>Ethics</i> , Taipei: Wu Nan	2

資料來源：作者彙整各大專院校課程大綱(參考書目只有1門使用者，因篇幅限制省略)

Source: Compiled by the author from the information available on the Colleges and Universities Course Information Web (Reference materials used in only one course is omitted due to the limitation in the length of this report).

