

親子關係與青少年偏差行為間的雙向關係：青少年男女之比較

摘要

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傳統研究中所使用的單方向之解釋模型無法適當地描繪親子關係與青少年偏差行為間動態關係之本質。再者，雖然性別在塑造家庭生活上扮演一個重要的角色，但在研究上卻欠缺系統性之探討。因此，奠基於 Thornberry 互動理論之主張，本研究探討青少年男女之親子關係與其偏差行為間的雙向關係，以補文獻之不足。研究資料來自於一個仍在進行中的縱貫性調查研究，參與的受訪者來自全美各地具代表性之樣本。研究結果顯示，根據互動理論所建立之模型在青少年男生與女生間所獲得之結果相似；亦即，偏差行為與親子關係形成一個負向的雙向關係。當直接比較男生與女生的結果時，結果發現女生之偏差行為似乎對父母的監督與管教具有更負面之影響。大致而言，本研究結果顯示以雙向模型來解釋親子關係與青少年偏差行為間動態關係之重要性。並且，當考慮性別時，本研究之設計可比較上述關係在青少年男生與女生間之異同。

關鍵字：親子關係；青少年偏差行為；雙向關係；NLSY97

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The Reciprocal Relationships between Parenting and Delinquency: Boys vs. Girls

Abstract

Uni-directional models in family-delinquency research are not able to properly capture the dynamic nature of relationships between delinquency and parenting. Additionally, although gender plays an important role in shaping family dynamics, it is relatively lacking systematic investigation in the literature. Therefore, deriving hypotheses from interactional theory, this study examines the reciprocal relationships between parenting and delinquency in adolescent boys and girls to fill the gap in the empirical research. Using panel data derived from a longitudinal dataset with a nationally representative sample, the results show that the model works similarly in for both male and female adolescent groups. Delinquency is reciprocally related to parental attachment and supervision. When comparing the effects across the gender groups, the results indicate that the negative impact on parental supervision, however, appears to be larger for females. In general, the results in this study emphasize the importance of examining the reciprocal nature of parenting-delinquency relationships. Also, taking gender into account allows us to explore the similarity and differences in the parenting-delinquency relationships between boys and girls.

Keywords: parenting; delinquency; reciprocal relationship; NLSY97

Introduction

Juvenile delinquency is one of the most complex problems troubling society, especially in view of its seriousness and prevalence (Smith & Stern, 1997). Plenty of research attention has been focused on juvenile delinquency, and the findings from prior studies reveal its characteristics and complexity.

The purpose of this study is to examine the bi-directional nature of relationships between parenting and juvenile delinquency in adolescent boys and girls. There are several reasons for examining this issue. First, family is one of the principal socialization institutions in adolescent development (Smith & Stern, 1997). Because parents are primarily responsible for youth socialization in the family, investigating the relationships between parents and youth is crucial in understanding the complicated nature of delinquency.

Second, how parenting practices influence juvenile delinquency has been extensively examined in the literature (e.g., Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987; Jang & Smith, 1997; Lytton, 1990) and their findings provide evidence of parental effects on child behaviors. However, the relationships between parents and children are interactive per se and it is implausible to assume that child behaviors have no impacts on parents (Thornberry & Christenson 1984). Since the effects of children upon their parents lack systematic investigation in prior studies, it is worth examining this issue to fill the void.

Third, despite the increasing attention to the gender differences in delinquency in recent years, the traditional theories and empirical studies on explaining juvenile delinquency are still rarely taking gender into consideration (Liu & Kaplan, 1999). Given the findings that males engage in more delinquent acts than females do (e.g., Crosnoe, Erickson, & Dornbusch, 2002; Goldstein, Davis-Kean, & Eccles, 2005), as well as that parents have different expectations for their sons and daughters (Duncan & Kilpatrick, 1991; Hill & Sprague, 1999), it is reasonable to assume that the effects of parenting on delinquency and those of delinquency on parenting may differ for male and female adolescents.

In sum, this study explores the neglected issues of delinquency research -- the bi-directional nature of parenting-delinquency relationships and gender. The model is

developed mainly based on Thornberry's (1987) interactional theory. By analyzing data derived from an ongoing longitudinal study, this study estimates the model separately for adolescent boys and girls to examine whether the reciprocal hypothesis of parenting-delinquency relationships hold in both adolescent gender groups. And then, the model is tested for similarities and differences in the estimated coefficients across the gender groups to investigate the possible gender-specific effects.

Methodological Issues in Uni-Directional Causal Models of Delinquency

Exploring the role family plays in youths' delinquent involvement has had a long tradition in the literature (Smith & Stern, 1997). Generally, prior studies show that parenting practices are strongly associated with adolescents' development. One thing is common among these studies: they essentially adopt uni-directional causal models to explain how parenting practices influence youths' adjustment and delinquency (e.g., Ambert, 1997; Kerr & Stattin, 2003; Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986). In so doing, some methodological issues cause concern

First, one is unable to determine whether parental practices would be influenced by child's delinquent behaviors. For example, Rankin and Wells (1990) found that the levels of parental direct control and attachment exerted independent impacts upon youths' subsequent delinquent involvement. Nevertheless, whether and how parenting behaviors would be influenced by delinquency has not determined in such uni-directional explorations.

Second, families are enmeshed in a dynamic processes (Patterson, Bank, & Stoolmiller, 1990). The interactions between parents and children should be conceptualized as two-way streets with each having impact on one another (e.g., Barnes & Farrell, 1992; Maccoby, 1999; Shanahan & Sobolewski, 2003). Specifying parent-child interactions with uni-directional model fails to precisely catch the reciprocal nature of the relationships. Also, the uni-directional causal model is incomplete and may result in biased estimation of the relationships as well as produce misleading conclusions (Thornberry & Christenson 1984). Thus, regarding delinquency, both parent effects and child effects should be taken into account simultaneously.

Reciprocal Relationships between Parenting Practices and Delinquency

Although different terminologies have been used to refer to parenting behaviors in the literature (e.g., parenting practices or family processes), the importance of parenting in child development is widely acknowledged. Regarding parenting practices, attachment and supervision are two focal dimensions conceptualized to explore the role parents play in a child's socialization and social control. As Blackwell and Piquero (2005) indicated, "control occurred both through supervision as well as the development of emotional bonds between parents and children" (p.6). Accordingly, these two aspects of parenting are most extensively examined in empirical studies and have been related to delinquency (e.g., Barnes & Farrell, 1992; Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987). Therefore, the following discussion and analyses are focused on parental attachment and supervision as well.

Findings from empirical research provide evidence that direct parental controls and delinquency are reciprocally associated. For example, Vuchinich and colleagues (1992) analyzed two-wave data of preadolescent boys and found reciprocal relationships between parenting and delinquency. Specifically, youths' antisocial behaviors had a substantial negative impact on parents' disciplinary practices, and ineffective parenting supervision further contributed to the maintenance of the children's antisocial behavior over time.

However, the reciprocal relationships between parental supervision and delinquency are not found in other studies. Fite and colleagues (2006), in a sample of boys, found that children's externalizing behavior was independent of parenting behavior. But, parenting was found to function as a consequence of child's deviant behavior. Particularly, boys' externalizing behaviors tended to decrease parental monitoring and increase parents' inconsistent discipline.

Regarding parental attachment, a reciprocal relationship with delinquency has been found in prior studies. For instance, in a partial test of interactional theory, Thornberry and colleagues (1991) found a reciprocal relationship between attachment to parents and delinquency in early adolescence. Low levels of attachment to parents were associated with an increase in youths' delinquent

involvement; and high levels of delinquency, in turn, further attenuated youths' affection for parents. However, the reciprocal relationships between attachment and delinquency are not evident in other studies. Liska and Reed (1985) utilized the first two waves of the Youth in Transition Survey data to examine the reciprocal relationships between parental attachment and delinquency. The results showed that only the parent effect was found. Attachment to parents exerted a negative impact on youths' delinquency, whereas delinquency did not have a significant impact on parental attachment.

Other studies include both attachment and supervision in models to examine the bi-directional nature of the parenting-delinquency relationships. For example, Jang and Smith (1997) found a reciprocal relationship between parental supervision and delinquency. Poor parental supervision increased the likelihood of youths' delinquency, which, in turn, tended to undermine parents' efforts to monitor and control. A reciprocal relationship between attachment to parents and delinquency, however, was not found in this study. Jang and Smith (1997) indicated, at least by middle adolescence, youths' attachment to parents appeared to be a consequence, rather than a cause, of delinquency.

In sum, the few studies that adopt bi-directional perspective reveal that delinquency and parenting practices are reciprocally related. Poor parental supervision and weak attachment to parents predict youth delinquent involvement, which, in turn, tends to lessen the parents' effort to supervise and worsen the affective ties. However, the findings in prior studies are inconsistent.

Gender and Delinquency

Gender has been recognized as one of the strongest and most consistent correlates of crime and delinquency (Bartusch & Matsueda, 1996; Messerschmidt, 1993). Studies on crime and delinquency have shown quite consistent results regarding the differences in male and female youths' delinquent involvement. In general, males are more likely to engage in delinquent acts than females in either official statistics or self-report data (e.g., Booth, Farrell, & Varano, 2008; Huebner & Betts, 2002; Moffitt, Caspi, Rutter, & Silva, 2001; Snyder, 2008).

Studies have shown that male and female adolescents tend to engage in different types of delinquent behavior. Specifically, males are more likely than females to engage in physical violence and aggression (Moffitt et al., 2001). On the contrary, females are more likely to commit status offenses than do males, especially running away and curfew violation (Heimer & De Coster, 1999).

Additionally, studies have found that delinquent careers differ for males and for females. After reviewing prior studies, Chesney-Lind and Shelden (1998) concluded that, “boys’ delinquent careers (usually as measured by police contact or arrest) are longer than girls’ careers. Moreover, males are more likely to extend their delinquent careers into their adult lives and are more likely to begin their careers at an earlier age” (p.22).

Finally, although boys have traditionally shown higher levels of delinquency than girls, analyses illustrate that the number of girls involving in delinquency has increased at a faster rate than boys. With self-reported data, Scaremella et al. (1999) found that the growth rate of externalizing problems was significantly greater for females than for males across the adolescent years.

In a word, although males account for a larger proportion of delinquent involvement and have longer delinquent careers than do females, prior studies do send a clear message that delinquency is not a purely male phenomenon. Due to the disproportionate delinquent involvement of males, female delinquency has been relatively overlooked in the literature. Delinquency in both sexes is equally important in terms of the potential for academic research as well as the need for prevention and intervention.

Gender, Parenting, and Delinquency

Some researchers have indicated that gender is a crucial moderating variable in parent-child relationships (McHale & Crouter, 2003; Shanahan & Sobolewski, 2003; Steinberg, 1981). Although research on parent-child relationships by gender during adolescence is sparse (Steinberg, 1987), the available studies have shown that child’s gender plays an important role in different aspects of the relationships.

First, studies have illustrated that parents have different expectations and set

different standards of obedience for their male and female children (Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 1998; Costello & Mederer, 2003; Hill & Sprague, 1999). For example, Block (1984) found that parents emphasized competition, achievement, and independence more for their sons than for their daughters. Alternatively, parents expected “ladylike” behavior and discouraged aggression on the part of their daughters. Bacon and Ashmore (1985) found that parents showed more consistency in their behavioral standards for girls than for boys. Specifically, parents expected greater conformity from girls than from boys.

Second, gender differences are also found in parenting practices towards children. Generally, the findings in prior studies generally show that, compared to sons, parents monitor their daughters more closely (e.g., Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987; Hagan, Simpson, & Gillis, 1987), have stronger affective ties with them, and trust them more (Block, 1984; Crosnoe et al., 2002). Studies also show that parents apparently show a punishment orientation toward their sons, whereas they are more reluctant to punish their daughters (Block, 1984; Hay, 2003; Moffitt et al., 2001).

Third, empirical studies have found that the impact of parenting upon youths’ delinquency works differently for male and female adolescents (Hill & Atkinson, 1988; Huebner & Betts, 2002; Jacobson & Crockett, 2000). But, the findings about gender differences in the effects of parenting behaviors are inconsistent. Some researchers have found that positive relationships with parents, positive parenting behaviors and controls are more protective for girls (Morris, 1964), whereas others have reported that these family characteristics are more protective for boys (Canter, 1982; Krohn & Massey, 1980; Moffitt et al., 2001). However, gender differences in the influences of parenting on delinquency are not found in other studies (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986; Simpson & Elis, 1995).

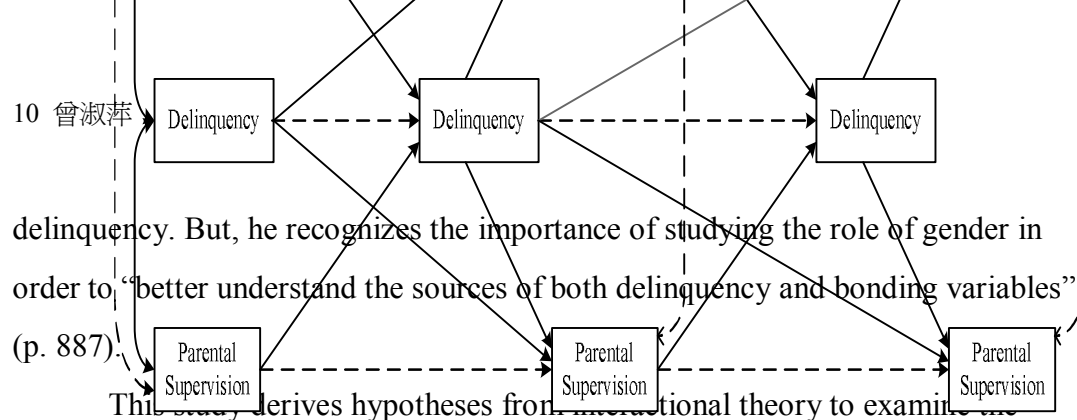
Finally, whether the impact of delinquency upon parenting functions similarly among male and female adolescents is rarely tapped in the literature. The available studies found that the impact of past delinquency on parental labeling as a “rule violator” differs by child’s gender. Females are more likely to be labeled as a “rule violator” for their delinquency than are males (Bartusch & Matsueda, 1996; Koita & Triplett, 1998).

In sum, prior studies have found that child's gender plays an important role in various aspects of parent-child interactions. Nevertheless, the aforementioned studies on parent-child relationships by child's gender predominantly focus on parental effects. How the impact of delinquency upon parenting varies by child's gender is lacking systematic investigation. Therefore, this study intends to fill the gap by examining the reciprocal relationships between parenting and delinquency for male and female adolescents.

Theoretical Framework and Hypotheses

This study is mainly informed by interactional theory. Interactional theory, proposed by Thornberry (1987), incorporates the propositions of Hirschi's (1969) social control theory and social learning perspectives. This theory argues that the primary causes of delinquency are viewed as resulting from the freedom afforded by the weakened bonds to conventional society and from the interactional settings in which delinquent behaviors are learned, performed, and reinforced. Among the different social bonds, parental influence is considered central to controlling behavior when adolescents are at early ages. If parents have strong affective ties with their child, communicate well with him or her, perform appropriate parenting skills, and have few conflicts with their child, he or she is more likely to lean towards conventional acts and beliefs, be committed to school, and move away from deviant peers. Otherwise, the child is at high risk of deviating from conventional acts and beliefs. However, the bond to parents is not a static and immutable trait. If the child fails in school, associates with delinquent peers, holds pro-deviance attitudes, and engages in delinquency, the relationship with parents will also be jeopardized. The affected parent-child relationship then influences child's behavior.

Furthermore, interactional theory posits that variations in the initial values of delinquency and its presumed causes and in their development over time are associated with a set of structural variables (Thornberry, 1987). Gender, as being defined as one of structural variables, is assumed to influence delinquency, parenting behaviors, and the parenting-delinquency relationships. Thornberry (1987) does not specify in detail how gender may influence the causal network of



bi-directional nature of parent-child relationships in both male and female

adolescent groups. Figure 1 delineates the causal model of key concepts and the relationships among them. Reciprocal relationships between youth attachment to

parents and delinquency as well as between parental supervision and delinquency are hypothesized for both gender groups in this study (Hypothesis 1).

Because how gender may influence the parenting-delinquency relationships is not clearly discussed in interactional theory, other theoretical perspectives and empirical studies are reviewed here to derive the hypotheses used in this study.

First, Hill and Lynch (1983) proposed a “gender intensification hypothesis,” which argues that pressures to behave in sex-appropriate ways intensify during adolescence, especially for girls (Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 1998; Heimer, 1996). Girls are encouraged to be expressive and compliant while boys are often socialized to be independent and assertive. Also, girls place a greater importance on their affective relationships with parents than do boys (Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hanmer, 1990). Accordingly, this study expects that the levels of attachment to parents are higher among female adolescents than among males (Hypothesis 2).

Second, power-control theory argues that parents reproduce the gender inequality in labor markets within their families by differentially socializing their sons and daughters, with daughters mainly being the objects of control (Hagan et al., 1987). Daughters are subjected to stricter familial control and close supervision, while sons are encouraged to value risk taking (Hagan, McCarthy, & Foster, 2002). Hence, this study expects that the levels of youths’ perceived supervision by parents are higher among female adolescents than among males (Hypothesis 3).

Third, the weakened bonds to conventional society give youths freedom to deviate (Thornberry, 1987). Female adolescents have stronger bonds to parents

(stronger affective bonds and more direct control) than do males. As a result, the freedom males enjoy and the opportunities for committing delinquent acts they have are greater than females. Accordingly, this study anticipates that the initial levels of delinquent involvement are higher among adolescent boys than girls (Hypothesis 4).

Fourth, based on differential control theory (Heimer, 1996) and multilevel control theory (Costello & Mederer, 2003), feminine gender roles are incompatible with delinquent behavior and female adolescents are more concerned with the opinions and feelings of others than males. Consequently, anticipating that parents would disapprove of delinquent acts may be more consequential for females' than for males' delinquency. Therefore, this study expects that having a closer relationship with parents would have a stronger deterrent effect on delinquency among females than males (Hypothesis 5).

Fifth, boys and girls may attach different meanings to parental supervision and differentially interpret the control practices (Huston, 1983). Since boys are subjected to less strict supervision and enjoy more freedom than do girls, boys may consider the direct parental control during adolescence to be intrusive and interfering. In contrast, girls may become accustomed to parental supervision and are less likely to consider such supervision during teenage years as unnecessarily intrusive than boys (Linver & Silverberg, 1997). Accordingly, this study expects that the inhibitory effects of parental supervision on delinquency are larger for girls than for boys (Hypothesis 6).

Next, delinquency is likely to elicit negative reactions from parents (Thornberry, 1987), and the detrimental impact of delinquency may work differently across gender groups. Based on the gender-intensification perspective, youths are encouraged to behave in sex-appropriate ways (Hill & Lynch, 1983). Delinquent acts are regarded as sex-inappropriate behavior for females. Thus, delinquent behaviors of females are considered to be more problematic and more deviant than similar behaviors by males (Koita & Triplett, 1998). Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that female delinquency has a stronger impact on parents than male delinquency. This study expects that the negative effects of delinquency on parent-child affective bonds are larger for females than for males (Hypothesis 7).

Finally, delinquency may discourage parents' efforts to control and monitor the children (Thornberry, 1987), and the harmful impact of delinquency may not be equivalent across gender groups. Delinquency not only violates female gender-stereotypes, but it is also viewed as being more consequential for females than for males. Therefore, parents may still monitor daughters more than sons after their delinquent involvement. Even more, parents may increase their supervision over female adolescents in order to prevent them from the risks of pregnancy and other negative consequences due to delinquent involvement. Accordingly, this study expects that the negative impact of delinquency upon parental supervision is smaller for girls than for boys (Hypothesis 8).

Data and Sample

Data used in this study are derived from the first three waves of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY97), an ongoing multi-wave panel study sponsored by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), U.S. Department of Labor. The survey is designed to be representative of people living in the United States who were 12 to 16 years old in 1997 and to document the transition that today's youths make from school to the labor market and into adulthood. Due to the interests of other governmental agencies besides BLS, the content of the NLSY97 is relatively broader than its primary purpose (Center for Human Resource Research, 2003). For example, the Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), sponsors a set of self-administered questions on youths' crime and criminal activities, which is one of the main foci of this research.

This study focuses on early adolescence. According to interactional theory and prior empirical studies, when youths move from early to middle adolescence, the impacts of parenting practices diminish gradually while friends' influence gets stronger (Agnew, 1985; Jang & Smith, 1997; Paternoster, 1988; Thornberry, 1987). Therefore, this study includes the early-adolescence adolescents who were 12 to 13 years old at the date of the first interview. Also, in order to avoid the confounding effects of family structure on the examination of parenting-delinquency relationships, the following analysis is limited to adolescents living with two biological parents

through the three waves.¹ In total, 1,000 adolescents met these requirements. Among them, youths who were thirteen years old at the time of first interview accounted for 58.3% of the sample. This youth sample was 53.7% male, 80.6% white, and 67.0% living in urban areas. Further, 10.1% of the youth sample's families received government aid during the five years before the first interview.

Measures

Variables used in this study can be divided into three categories: delinquency, parenting practices, and control variables. With the exception of one control variable (welfare status of the household), all variables are derived from youths' reports. Also, in order to maintain consistency in measurement, the same items for delinquency and parenting practices are used for all three waves. A detailed description of the measures is listed in Appendix A.

Measures of delinquency and parenting practices come from Waves 1, 2, and 3; control variables come from Wave 1. Parenting variables measure youths' current relationships with parents at the time of interview, while delinquency variables measure youths' delinquent involvement prior to the interview. Therefore, delinquency is located on the left of parenting at each wave in Figure 1.

Delinquency. The delinquency index is comprised of 9 different delinquent behaviors to measure the extent of youths' delinquent involvement, such as running away, carrying a gun, stealing (value less than or more than 50 dollars), attacking someone, and selling or helping to sell illegal drugs (see Appendix A for detail). Youths' responses are coded into two categories – “have never committed this behavior” (0) and “have ever committed this behavior” (1), and summed into a variety score to represent the total number of different kinds of illegal acts

¹ Studies have found that children in step-families (married or cohabiting) experience lower levels of well-being (e.g., school performance, school behavioral problems, and economic well-being) than do children in intact families (Willett & Maroules, 2004). Coleman and colleagues (2000) argue that deleterious effects on children of residing in step-families may be due to more stresses, less parental involvement, weaker emotional attachment in the step-families than in intact families. Also, Videon (2005) indicated that, “the most methodologically sound analyses of the relative impact of mothers and fathers for children's well-being utilize continuously intact families” (p.60). Therefore, in order to avoid the confounding effects of family structures on the relationships between youth and each parent, this study focuses on youths living with two biological parents during the three waves.

committed during the time frame². The scores could range from 0 to 9, and higher scores represent more different kinds of delinquent behaviors the youths have ever committed.

About 41.7% of the youth sample reported that they had ever committed at least one kind of delinquent act at Wave 1. About 30.6% of youths reported some delinquent involvement at Wave 2, while 27.6% reported some kind of delinquent acts at Wave 3. Being consistent with most self-reported data, the scores on the Delinquency index are skewed and concentrated on the lower end. Scores are transformed into natural logarithmic values to correct for skewness³. The transformed values are used as the latent constructs in the following analysis.

Parenting Practices. Multiple indicators are used to measure two central dimensions of parenting practices -- attachment to parents and parental supervision. Additionally, youth respondents reported each item separately for father and mother to present each parent's parenting.

Attachment to Parent. Eight items are used to assess youths' perceived attachment to parent (see Appendix A for detail). The first three items reflect the degree of closeness youth feels towards the parent, and the next five items assess the youth's perception of how supportive the parent is. Negative items are reversely coded so that the higher scale scores reflect higher levels of perceived closeness to parent and parental supportiveness.

In order to examine whether these sixteen items measure a common underlying construct (i.e., attachment to parents), reliability analysis and common factor analysis are applied to the scale. The Cronbach's alpha coefficients range from .84 to .88 for the three waves. And, these items have high factor loadings on one factor; particularly, factor loadings range from .34 to .71 at the three waves. The extracted factors are saved as Attachment to Parents Waves 1-3 and used in the model. Generally, the results from the reliability analysis and factor analysis show

² In terms of the time frame of the current study, at Wave 2, the youths were asked to report whether they had committed those delinquent behaviors during the past 18 months, while they reported their delinquent involvement in the previous year at Wave 3.

³ A constant 1 is added to the scores before they are transformed into natural logarithmic values. In so doing, those youths who reported zero delinquent involvement during the time frame still had zero delinquent involvement after the transformation rather than became missing cases during the transformation procedure.

that the items chosen for measuring the adolescents' perceived levels of attachment to parents at the three waves are acceptable.

Parental Supervision. Three items are adopted to measure how adolescents perceived their parents' knowledge of their companions, friends' parents, and physical whereabouts outside the home at each wave of interview (see Appendix A for detail). Adolescents reported to the same items for father and mother separately. Higher scores indicate higher levels of parental monitoring and parents' knowledge of the daily activities in their children's lives.

In order to examine whether these six items measure a common underlying construct (i.e., each parent's supervision), reliability analysis and common factor analysis are applied to the scale. The Cronbach's alpha coefficients range from .84 to .88 for the three waves. And, these items have high factor loadings on one factor; particularly, factor loadings range from .65 to .88 at the three waves. The extracted factors are saved as Parental Supervision Waves 1-3 and used in the following analysis. Generally, the results indicate that the items chosen for measuring youths' perceived levels of supervision by each parent are acceptable at the each wave.

Control Variables. The theoretical model also includes three major socio-demographic background characteristics that previous researchers identify as most relevant to the study of delinquency (Jang, 2002; Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Thornberry, 1987). These structural variables are controlled when the reciprocal effects of parenting and delinquency upon one another are estimated, including race (measured by two dummy variables representing African-American and Others, using White as the reference category), residential area (urban area = 1, rural area = 0), and a dummy variable used to measure the socio-economic status of the family—"whether the respondent's household has ever been on welfare in the previous five years (= 1) or not (= 0)."⁴

Estimation of Model

The substantive model depicted in Figure 1 is estimated with structure equation modeling by using the full-information maximum-likelihood estimation

⁴ The first two structural variables are measured based on the adolescents' data, and the last variable is measured on the basis of the parents' data collected during the first wave of NLSY97 interviews.

procedures in AMOS program version 6.0 (Arbuckle, 2005). The extracted common factors mentioned above are used as the latent constructs in the model. After the estimates are obtained, several fit indices are adopted to evaluate whether the substantive models are consistent with the data, including the model chi-square (χ^2), Comparative Fit Index (CFI), and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). A model is considered a good model fit when the χ^2 test fails to reject the null hypothesis of perfect fit in the population at the .05 level⁵ (Bollen & Long, 1993; Kline, 2005). The CFI coefficient value ranges from zero to 1.00, with values greater than .90 indicating reasonably good fit of the hypothesized model (Byrne, 2001; Hu & Bentler, 1999). RMSEA of about .05 or less indicates a close approximate fit of the model; values between .05 and .08 suggest a reasonable error of approximation; values ranging from .08 and .10 indicate mediocre fit; and those greater than .10 signify poor fit (Browne & Cudeck, 1993; MacCallum, Browne, & Sugawara, 1996).

The model depicted in the Figure 1 is estimated separately for male and female adolescents to examine whether the reciprocal relationships hold for each gender group. Furthermore, in order to determine whether the reciprocal relationships between parenting and delinquency differ for male and female adolescents, a useful option called “multiple-group analysis” in AMOS is employed. Such analysis can simultaneously estimate the model across groups. The model is initially estimated with paths free to vary across groups. Then, through the imposition of equality constraints across gender groups, gender differences on any individual coefficient or a set of coefficients can be tested (Kline, 2005). Nested model chi-square tests are used to evaluate the equality constraints. That is, the χ^2 values produced by the models with and without constraints are then compared. If the model without constraints has significantly reduced chi-square values compared to the model with equality constraints, it is concluded that gender differences are

⁵ Researchers have suggested few problems with relying on χ^2 as the sole basis for determining model fit (Bollen & Long, 1993; Jang & Krohn, 1995; Kline, 2005). First, the null hypothesis tested by χ^2 is overly rigid in most cases. That is, it assumes a model to have a perfect population fit. Second, because of the model χ^2 is a linear function of sample size, it is very sensitive to minor discrepancies between model and data especially when the given sample size is large as this study has. Therefore, along with the model fit χ^2 statistic, this study reports two other types of fit measures, CFI and RMSEA, to properly assess the overall model fit.

observed.

Results

The results presented here are based on 1,000 adolescents who were either 12 or 13 years old at the time of first interview and lived with both biological parents at all three waves. Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations for the key variables used in the analysis for each gender group

Table 1 Means of Key Variables

Variable	<u>Male (N=537)</u>		<u>Female (N=463)</u>	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Attachment to Parents T1	26.27	(3.81)	25.95	(4.24)
Attachment to Parents T2	25.32	(4.17)	25.02	(4.34)
Attachment to Parents T3	25.18	(4.27)	24.27	(4.89)*
Parental Supervision T1	7.48	(2.54)	7.31	(2.53)
Parental Supervision T2	6.83	(2.40)	6.86	(2.37)
Parental Supervision T3	6.57	(2.50)	6.62	(2.50)
Delinquency T1 (natural log)	0.53	(0.59)	0.28	(0.47)*
Delinquency T2 (natural log)	0.36	(0.52)	0.22	(0.44)*
Delinquency T3 (natural log)	0.31	(0.50)	0.22	(0.42)*

Note: The differences between the mean levels are estimated by independent-sample t test. * $p < .05$

First, the results from independent-sample t test do not support Hypotheses 2 and 3 that female adolescents have higher levels of perceived attachment to parents and parental supervision than males. Instead, the results show that male adolescents reported slightly higher levels of attachment to parents at Wave 3 than females and

the differences reach the statistically significant level of .05. Although female adolescents reported having slightly higher levels of parental supervision at Waves 2 and 3 than males, the differences are not significant⁶. Furthermore, as expected in Hypothesis 4, males reported higher levels of delinquent involvement than females⁷, and the differences reach a statistically significant level at all three waves.

Regarding the types of delinquency committed by male and female adolescents, results of chi-square analysis show that, at Wave 1, males were more likely than females to drink ($\chi^2 = 13.82$), carry gun ($\chi^2 = 51.68$), participate in gangs ($\chi^2 = 4.49$), destroy property ($\chi^2 = 28.54$), steal something valued over than 50 dollars ($\chi^2 = 4.21$), commit other property offenses, ($\chi^2 = 24.35$), and attack others ($\chi^2 = 24.99$). At Wave 2, males were more likely to carry gun ($\chi^2 = 32.39$), destroy property ($\chi^2 = 28.61$), commit other property offenses, ($\chi^2 = 6.59$), and attack others ($\chi^2 = 4.71$) than females. However, females were more likely to run away from home, participate in gang, and sell drugs than males, but the differences were not significant. Similarly, at Wave 3, males were more likely than females to carry gun ($\chi^2 = 19.73$), destroy property ($\chi^2 = 6.85$), commit other property offenses, ($\chi^2 = 10.27$), and attack others ($\chi^2 = 4.54$). Also, females were more likely to run away from home than males, but the difference was not significant. The results are similar with those in prior studies (Moffitt et al., 2001; Heimer & De Coster, 1999).

In order to examine the parenting-delinquency relationships across gender groups, this study estimates the causal model simultaneously for adolescent boys and girls by using the multiple-group option in AMOS. Figures 2 and 3 show the estimated causal model for adolescent males and females respectively without equality constraints imposed. The model χ^2 statistic is 158.956 ($df = 28, p < .001$). The value of RMSEA is .068 and the value of CFI is .963. Generally, the measures of the overall model fit suggest a reasonably good model fit.

⁶ These insignificant results may be due to the way the variables are measured. Mothers' and fathers' scores are averaged to represent youths' perceived relationships with parents in this study; therefore, the minor differences between male and female adolescents may cancel each other out.

⁷ Particularly, about 50.1% of adolescent boys reported committing at least one kind of delinquent acts at Wave 1, 37% at Wave2, and 30.9% at Wave 3. For female adolescents, 32% of them reported engaging in at least one kind of delinquent behaviors at Wave 1, 23.1% at Wave 2, and 23.8% at Wave 3.

Note: N = 537. $\chi^2 = 158.956$ (df = 28 and $p < .001$); RMSEA = .068; CFI = .963. Since this is a multiple-group analysis, one set of model fit index values are calculated when the models for males and for females are estimated together. Coefficients in the parentheses are standardized path coefficients. * $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

Figure 2: Estimated Model of Reciprocal Relationships between Parenting and Delinquency (Male Youths)

Delinquency and Parenting for Boys. Figure 2 presents the estimated causal model of parenting-delinquency relationships for adolescent boys. The hypothesis of reciprocal link between delinquency and attachment to parents is supported.

Particularly, male adolescents' perceived attachment to parents exerts significant negative effects on delinquency at Waves 2 and 3 ($-.11$ and $-.09$). Youths' delinquency at Wave 1 shows a significant cross-lagged negative effect on their perceived attachment to parents at Wave 2 ($-.07$). Furthermore, when controlling delinquency at Wave 2, youths' delinquency at Wave 1 shows a significant cross-lagged negative effect on their perceived attachment to parents at Wave 2 ($-.07$). However, the hypothesis of bi-directional process is not supported in the relationship between delinquency and parental supervision in male adolescents. Instead, inhibitory effects of delinquent involvement on youths' perceived parental supervision are found. Delinquent involvement exerts significant negative effects on youths' perceived parental supervision at Waves 2 and 3 ($-.09$ and $-.17$). Although the negative effects of delinquency on supervision seem to be enhanced over time, the difference does not reach the significant level ($\Delta\chi^2(1) = 1.98, P > .05$).

Figure 3: Estimated Model of Reciprocal Relationships between Parenting and Delinquency (Female Youths)

Delinquency and Parenting for Girls. Figure 3 presents the estimated model for adolescent girls. Generally, the results are similar to those for boys.

First, the hypothesis of bi-directional relationships between delinquency and attachment to parents is supported. Specifically, girls' perceived attachment to parents has a significant negative impact upon their delinquent involvement at Waves 2 and 3 ($-.15$ and $-.16$). Similarly, delinquency also exerts significant negative effects on their perceived attachment to parents at Waves 2 and 3 ($-.18$ and

-.07). Girls' delinquency also has significant negative cross-lagged effects on their perceived attachment at Waves 2 and 3 (both -.08). Furthermore, with imposing equality constraints, no significant results show that the effects of perceived attachment on delinquency and those of delinquency on perceived attachment vary over the period examined.

As was the case for their male counterparts, the reciprocal relationships are not found between delinquency and perceived parental supervision for adolescent girls. Only the negative impact of delinquency upon girls' perceived parental control is found. Adolescent girls' delinquent involvement has significant negative effects on changes in their perceived parental supervision between Waves 1 and 2 (-.22) and between Waves 2 and 3 (-.11). The differences in effects of delinquency on perceived supervision at Wave 2 and Wave 3 do not reach statistical significance ($\Delta\chi^2(1) = 2.72, P > .05$). That is, the inhibitory effects of delinquency on girls' perceived parental supervision do not vary over the time period examined.

Boys vs. Girls. The differences for male and female adolescents in terms of the individual parameters in the estimated model are assessed by imposing equality constraints (Table 2). This study expects that the effects of delinquency and parenting practices on one another are different for boys and girls (Hypotheses 5-8). However, the results do not provide support to these hypotheses. Generally, the parameter estimations are very similar for adolescent boys and girls. Only one significant difference is found. Delinquency at Wave 2 had a negative impact upon youths' perceived parental supervision at Wave 2, and the effect is larger for female adolescents ($\Delta\chi^2(1) = 6.90, P < .05$). However, this finding is contrary to Hypothesis 8, which expects that the negative effect of delinquency on supervision is larger for males than for females. This significant result, however, could be found by chance given the number of significance tests conducted.

Table 2 Reciprocal Influences of Parenting and Delinquency by Gender

Independent → Dependent	Male	Female	Differences
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	(N = 537)	(N = 463)	$\Delta\chi^2(1)$	p
Attachment W1 → Delinquency W2	-.065*	-.069*	.013	n.s.
Supervision W1 → Delinquency W2	.003	-.035	1.155	n.s.
Delinquency W2 → Attachment W2	-.192*	-.380*	3.005	n.s.
Delinquency W2 → Supervision W2	-.165*	-.458*	6.896	<.05
Delinquency W1 → Attachment W2	-.102*	-.162*	.320	n.s.
Delinquency W1 → Supervision W2	-.083	-.130	.196	n.s.
Attachment W2 → Delinquency W3	-.047*	-.073*	.588	n.s.
Supervision W2 → Delinquency W3	-.030	-.028	.007	n.s.
Delinquency W3 → Attachment W3	-.169*	-.162*	.005	n.s.
Delinquency W3 → Supervision W3	-.311*	-.236*	.442	n.s.
Delinquency W2 → Attachment W3	-.027	-.166*	2.005	n.s.
Delinquency W2 → Supervision W3	.006	-.126	1.476	n.s.

Note: The unstandardized coefficients are presented in this table for cross-group comparison; the model χ^2 for the multi-group comparison without equality constraints is 158.956 with degrees of freedom = 28.

* $p < .05$ (one-tailed test) n.s. = not statistically significant

Discussion and Conclusion

Deriving hypotheses from interactional theory, this study examined the reciprocal relationships between parenting and delinquency by adolescents' gender. Unlike the hypotheses expected, this study found that the levels of attachment to parents and parental supervision were considerably similar for male and female adolescents. This finding may reflect two possibilities. First, in this dataset, youth respondents were asked to report their perceived relationships with each parent. In a later study, it is found that male and female adolescents did report different levels of

attachment to and supervision of fathers and mothers (Tzeng, 2006). When averaging the scores of perceived relationships with each parent to represent youths' perceived relationships with parents, however, it is possible that the minor differences in perceived relationships with parents between male and female adolescents cancel each other out. Second, it may be due to some special characteristics of this dataset and sample that male and female adolescents have similar levels of perceived attachment and supervision. And this minor difference was found by chance, especially given the large number of significance tests conducted.

When estimating the model separately for male and female adolescents, the results of parenting-delinquency relationships were generally comparable across the gender groups. Specially, the hypothesis of reciprocal relationships between delinquency and attachment to parents was supported in both groups; delinquency and youths' perceived attachment to parents negatively influenced each other over time. When imposing equality constraints across groups, the constraining effects of attachment to parents on delinquency were found to be similar for male and female adolescents. This finding did not support Hypothesis 5. Also, this study found that delinquency tended to reduce youths' perceived attachment to parents, and the effects were similar for male and female adolescents; this finding was not consistent with Hypothesis 7. Therefore, at least for the early adolescents living with two biological parents examined in this study, no gender-specific effects were found in the reciprocal influences of delinquency and perceived attachment to parents on each other.

Furthermore, the hypothesis of reciprocal links between delinquency and parental supervision was not supported in either gender group. Instead, only the negative impact of delinquency upon perceived parental control was found. Also, when comparing the effects across groups, the finding showed that the negative impact of delinquency upon youths' perceived parental supervision was larger for females than for males, which contradicts to Hypothesis 8. This result might imply three possible explanations. One is that the parents might withdraw control over adolescents due to the disappointment with their delinquent behaviors. Because

delinquency is more inappropriate for females' gender role, parental response may therefore be stronger toward female adolescents' delinquency. Furthermore, since this study measured parental supervision by adolescents' self-reported data, the negative effects of delinquency on supervision may reflect that youths tended to be less likely to disclose their life to parents after committing delinquent behaviors. Consequently, they perceived that their parents had less monitoring and supervision over them. Prior research has found that female adolescents feel more shame in the face of parents than do males when they know that they have committed a crime (Svensson, 2004). Therefore, the second possible explanation is that, being more sensitive to the opinions of others and aware of that delinquency violates their gender stereotype and the stigma comes with it, females would be even less likely to let parents know their daily life and experiences than males after committing delinquent behaviors. The third possibility is that youths may minimize the dissonance between their undesirable delinquency and relationships with parents by reporting low levels of parental supervision. In so doing, they can justify their delinquency or blame their parents rather than themselves for delinquent involvement (Krohn, Stern, Thornberry, & Jang, 1992; Stice & Barrera, 1995). If this rationalization is applicable, to some extent, this finding reflects that females may have a stronger tendency to do so due to the larger blameworthiness of female delinquency.

In conclusion, findings in this study illustrate the importance of examining the reciprocal nature of relationships between delinquency and parenting. Also, this study recognizes the inadequate attention on gender in delinquency research and provides a pilot investigation to this neglected issue. Although the hypotheses of gender-specific effects are generally not supported, some minor gender differences are still found. The analyses make it clear that traditional research that does not consider adolescents' gender in examining parenting-delinquency relationships may mask the specific internal dynamics of the relationships.

Limitations of the Present Study

Although this study addressed and investigated the neglected issues of delinquency, it is important to consider the limitations of this study. First, due to the

restriction of dataset used here, this study solely relies on adolescents' self-reported data as measures of attachment to parents, parental supervision, and delinquent involvement. Since the same person provides data on all measures, this may lead to the problem of shared method variance, which might have exaggerated the associations between parenting and delinquency (Linver & Silverberg, 1997). Nevertheless, according to the symbolic interactionist perspective, parenting behavior is meaningful and therefore consequential depending upon how adolescents perceive it (Zhang & Zhang, 2004). Therefore, using adolescents' self reports on parenting practices, to some extent, offers a valuable way to explore the parenting-delinquency relationships. For future research, when both parent and adolescent data are available, it is worth further investigating these issues to provide a more complete picture of the relationships between parents and children regarding delinquency.

Second, because youths living with two biological parents are the focus of this study, this sample represents a selected group of household and it limits the generalizability of findings to youths living in other family structures in two aspects. One is that intact family is less common among African American and other racial groups than among whites. Few participants from minority ethnic groups are available for analyses. The other concern is that parents in intact family are likely to interact more with children and be more committed to family life and/or childrearing than parents in step-family or cohabitating families (Coleman et al., 2000). Parent-child relationships in intact families probably differ from those in other family structures. Therefore, in order to get a comprehensive view and understanding of delinquency, more future research attention is needed to replicate this study with other data sets and youths from different family structures and backgrounds.

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Appendix A

List of items used in measuring attachment to parent, parental supervision, and delinquency

Attachment to Parent

The three items measure the closeness the youth feels toward the parent, and the responses are coded on a 5-point scale (0: strongly disagree, 1: disagree, 2: neutral, 3: agree, and 4: strongly agree).

1. I think highly of him/her.
2. He/she is a person I want to be like.
3. I really enjoy spending time with him/her.

The next five items measure youth's perceived supportiveness of parent, and the responses are coded on a 5-point scale (0: never, 1: rarely, 2: sometimes, 3: usually, and 4: always).

1. How often does he/she praise you for doing well?
2. How often does he/she criticize you or your ideas? (reverse code)
3. How often does he/she help you do things that are important to you?
4. How often does he/she blame you for his/her problems? (reverse code)
5. How often does he/she make plans with you and cancel for no good reason? (reverse code)

Parental Supervision

This measure includes three items; the responses were coded on a 5-point scale (0: knows nothing, 1: knows just a little, 2: knows some things, 3: knows most things, and 4: knows everything).

1. How much does he/she know about your close friends, that is, who they are?

2. How much does he/she know about your close friends' parents, that is, who they are?
3. How much does he/she know about who you are with when you are not at home?

Delinquency

This index is constituted by 9 dummy variables (0 = No, and 1 = Yes).

1. Have you ever run away, that is, left home and stayed away at least overnight without your parent's prior knowledge of permission?
2. Have you ever carried a hand gun? When we say hand gun, we mean any firearm other than a rifle or shotgun.
3. Have you ever belonged to a gang?
4. Have you ever purposely damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to you since the date of last interview?
5. Have you ever stolen something from a store or something that did not belong to you worth less than 50 dollars?
6. Have you ever stolen something from a store, person or house, or something that did not belong to you worth 50 dollars or more including stealing a car?
7. Have you ever committed other property crimes such as fencing, receiving, possessing or selling stolen property, or cheated someone by selling them something that was worthless or worth much less than what you said it was?
8. Have you ever attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them or have a situation end up in a serious fight or assault of some kind?
9. Have you ever sold or helped sell marijuana (pot, grass), hashish (hash) or other hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine or LSD?

Factors in Self Reflection Models of Juvenile Detainee— A Hong Kong Case Study

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Abstract

During the last several decades, theft crime has been one of the most troublesome problems amongst juvenile crime in Hong Kong. Previous studies have only found out the causal relationship and dealt with it by civic education, situational crime prevention and strict law enforcement. Nevertheless, only a little literature discussed the field of self reflection models of juvenile detainees. This study combines observation and questionnaire designed based on survey methodology. Subjects were 32 juvenile detainees (aged 10-15) who have committed theft crime and are waiting for probation reports at juvenile homes in Hong Kong. Multiple regressions reveal that counselors attempt to establish the relation with clients, intervention of religious beliefs, client's positive interaction with probation officers and concern about personal future were significantly ($<.05$) associated with self reflection. This study has taken a step in the direction of defining the relationship between positive interaction with probation officers, personal interviews and self reflection in one particular model.

Keywords: Juvenile detainee, Self reflection, Theft crime

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Introduction

Recently, juvenile crime-rate recorded a fall from 5,909 in 2001 to 3,649 in 2006 (HKPF, 2007). Despite juvenile crime is not highly significant in the report of crime statistics, crime statistics may not reflect a more accurate picture of the society. Common sense seems the quantity of juvenile crime, which indicates that is not very important in Hong Kong. While the specific of juvenile crime which has not been given the attention it needs. In fact, the theft rate is the highest of juvenile crime-rate in Hong Kong and has kept rising gradually since the 2002s (Commission on youth, 2003; Commission on youth, 2006). In addition, early juvenile delinquency may result in high risks of becoming adult chronic offenders (Hawkins, Catalano & Miller, 1992; Huizinga, Loeber, & Thornberry, 1994). Juvenile crimes causes huge amount of cost on property damage, pain & suffering and criminal justice systems (von Hofer & Tham, 1991:3).

In response to these concerns, one of the best ways to reduce crime rate is to put more emphasis on crime prevention and treatment. Previous studies of theft crime have paid considerable attentions not only to the reasons and process of theft crime, (Hong Kong Junior Chamber, 1998; Hong Kong Playground Association, 2000; Wong, 2002) but also from situation crime prevention of theft crime (Li, 1998; Li, 2005). Nevertheless, crime treatment is unavoidably part of the judicial process, which can serve therapeutic function for various crimes. Although a number of studies have explored the quality of Police Superintendents' Discretion Scheme (HKFYG, 1993), community treatment of young offenders (HKFYG, 1998) and rehabilitation programs for young offenders (Lo et al., 1997), few studies have focused on the field of self reflection who have committed theft crime and are waiting for probation reports in juvenile homes in Hong Kong. Hong Kong under the healthy education & rehabilitation system, the juvenile crime-rate seems to be stable. However, the theft rate is the highest among the juvenile crime-rate.

One advantage of conducting theft crime study is that our participants are relatively homogenous. Among our clients, two-thirds population committed theft crime. In fact, there has been a variety of juvenile crimes in Hong Kong. Nonetheless, as United Nations (2006) has noted that stealing properties is one of

the highest crimes of the overall victim rate in Hong Kong. UNICVS offered a sounder focus point as HKPF has shown consideration for theft in juvenile crime. Furthermore, theft of recidivist has increasingly been the intake case of our clients in recent years. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the nature of juvenile offenders, and how positive interaction with significant others or personal interview under custody to enrich self reflection and recidivism prevention.

Present studies of juvenile crime has focused on juvenile offenders. Review of the literature has indicated the effectiveness of intervention programs for offenders in prison. Several studies have mentioned that general education, religious class, vocational education, meaningful employment and positive institutional programs or group work could reduce discipline problems in prison, recidivism and fulfill a successful post-release outcome (Canestrini, 1993; Connor, Ryan & Parikh, 1977; Cullen & Applegate, 1997; Derosia, 1998; Dickman, 1987; Dennis, McCroskey & Dennis, 2000; Saylor & Gaes, 1991). However, these positive outcomes not reveal the full picture. Shearer & Ogan (2002) has mentioned that offenders who have encountered counseling resistance may be the result of a series of unsuccessful techniques of counselors.

In fact, most studies are devoted toward the analysis of the effectiveness of the programs after the punishment and one's past experience in jail. There have been few efforts in the areas of personal interview and self reflection of juvenile detainees. Surprisingly, empirical studies for juvenile detainees in Hong Kong have not received much attention until recently. This might be due to the fact that some juvenile offenders have already been sent to juvenile homes, while some others have left after being fined or follow probation order in community. All these cause barriers in interacting with juvenile detainees.

However, self reflection is being aware of and understanding your values, attitudes and behaviors as they relate to your own leadership style and its impact on others (Turning Point, 2007). Our serving patterns of intervention as the process of counseling approximately grade into five steps as below: 1. Built-up relationship with client. 2. Review the current scenario. 3. Assess the problem & ability of client. 4. Getting there and getting things done. 5. Follow & evaluation. Our mission is to

help juvenile offenders to re-view the problems of crime, enhance the motivation of repeat and start renew, with the result that to acknowledge one's errors and become a good person. Adjustment to the kinds of these interventions may also influence the effectiveness of self reflection of clients. After-all, what factors might influence the self reflection of clients? Even though this study is not an experimental study, it is hoped that this extended study will encourage frontline workers to learn more about the origins of self reflection before one's release or being put in jail. So our main goal is to understand the factors associate with positive interaction with significant others or personal interview to better initiate the process and self reflection.

Methods

Participants

The participants of this study were $N=32$ juvenile detainees (aged 10-15) who have committed theft crime and were waiting for probation reports at juvenile homes in Hong Kong. The data used in this paper were part of the interview record conducted within the nine-month period during Sep, 2006 to Mar, 2007.

The demographic characteristics of the participants were as below (see table 1). There were thirty-two participants involved in this study. Among them, twenty-four participants were 13-15 years old, eight were 10-12 years old. Twenty-two of the participants were ex-offense and ten were first-offense. The vast majority of the participants which accounts for twenty-five of them study in middle school and seven study in primary school. Eleven of them maintained good relationship with family, while fifteen regarded it as normal and five as bad. A large percentage (96.9%) of the participants has not been a gang member. Only one participant has been a gang member. Thirty of the participants had not been imprisoned, only two participants had prior imprisonment before. According to the interview record, twenty participants committed a crime with friends, twelve participants by themselves among joint offenders. As for the motivation of crime, twenty-four participants aimed for money. Eight participants were non-money oriented (for example: Epicureanism, Manifestation, Retaliation...etc.)

Table 1: Sample demographic characteristics (N: 32).

Characteristics		Total		First offense		Ex offense	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Age	10-12	8	25	3	30	5	22.7
	13-15	24	75.1	7	70	17	52.4
Education	Primary School	7	21.9	2	20	5	22.7
	Middle School	25	78.1	8	80	17	77.3
Family Status	Complete	17	53.1	7	70	10	45.5
	Single	15	46.9	3	30	12	54.5
Family	Good	11	35.5	3	33.3	8	36.4
Relationship	Normal	15	48.4	5	55.6	10	45.5
	Bad	5	16.4	1	11.1	4	18.2
Gangland	Yes	1	3.1			2	4.5
	No	31	96.9	10	100	21	95.5
Prior imprisonment	Yes	2	6.3			2	9.1
	No	30	93.8	10	100	20	90.9
Criminal Motivation	Money oriented	24	75	6	60	18	81.8
	Non-money oriented	8	25	4	40	4	18.2
Joint offender in this charge	Yes	20	62.5	8	80	12	54.5
	No	12	37.5	2	20	10	45.5
Value of property	HK. 500 below	14	73.7	5	83.3	9	69.2
	HK. 500 above	5	26.3	1	16.7	4	30.8

All percentages do sum to 100%.

Measurement

To test and demonstrate the presented concepts, the study employed a questionnaire test consisted of four main parts. First, data were collected primarily by means of interview of case record that the clients responded. The data collection sessions each lasted about forty-five minutes and were conducted for roughly two to three times. Second, researchers and counselors filled out a questionnaire which elicited information concerning the clients' attitude and motivation to ensure the reliability from the point of view of the counselors.

The questionnaire consists of 31 items and is divided into demographic, positive interaction, personal interview and self reflection. In this empirical test, the questionnaire scale measured using 4-point Likert-Scale response options ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). Except for a part of demographic, each section is shown as below (see table 2). Statistical analysis shows that the questionnaire has high levels of reliability and validity. After eliminating the items of C5: positive interaction with NGO (N/A for participants), the internal consistency (alpha) of the total questionnaire was from .9147 to .9170. Moreover, the internal consistency (alpha) across each section was a low of .50 (positive interaction), to a median of .76 (personal interview), and a high of .91 (self reflection). In a word, the discriminate analysis procedures and reliability show that questionnaire has high level of internal consistency reliability and discriminate validity.

Table 2: Items of each section.

C: Positive interaction	D: Personal interview	E: Self reflection
C1: Positive interaction with inmates	D1: More than one times of interview	E1: Progressed in second interview
C2: Positive interaction with family	D2: Willingness to establish relations with counselors	E2: Acceptance of suggestion
C3: Positive interaction with school	D3: Concern about relationship with family	E3: Felt great shame in crime
C4: Positive interaction with church	D4: Review the process of growth	E4: Admitting his guilt
C6: Positive interaction with probation officer	D5: Intervention of religious belief	E5: Willingness to repentance
C7: Positive interaction with staff of institution	D6: Fear to face a sentence	E6: Detained action plan
	D7: Concern about personal future	E7: Solve problems by religious belief
(alpha): .50	(alpha): .76	(alpha): .91

The internal consistency (alpha) of the total questionnaire was .9170.

Research Findings

Clearly, the finding appears that the positive interaction and personal interview has a positive effect on self reflection of juvenile detainees. To summarize the salient feature of the analysis, several findings are of interest.

In order to clarify the relative contribution of these variables, a multiple regression analysis was done. A multiple regression analysis was conducted to examine the relative importance of factors (six items of positive interaction, seven items of personal interview) as predictors of total score in self reflection. First, separate multiple regression analysis were conducted from all juvenile detainees ($N=32$) to detect significant differences among varieties on predicting self reflection. The dependent variable was the items of positive interaction and the items of personal interview. Then, stepwise multiple regression analysis was done to determine whether the six items of positive interaction and the seven items of personal interview were independent predictors of total score of self reflection. Table 3 shows the multiple regression models for stepwise entry of the six items scores of positive interaction and the seven items scores of personal interview for predicting the scores of total score in self reflection.

The multiple correlations of variables in items C6: positive interaction with probation officers and D2: willingness to established relations with counselors, D5: intervention by religious belief, D7: concern about personal future in personal interview with self reflection was .896 ($R^2=.803, p < .001$), the result revealed that Model 1 was significant. Successful in positive interaction with probation officers, willingness to establish relations with counselors, intervention of religious belief and concern about personal future in personal interview were strongly predicted significantly with self reflection. But other items were shown not to be significantly related.

Furthermore, separate multiple regression analysis was also conducted for first-offense and ex-offense. The dependent and independent variables were same as those of Model 1 (all juvenile detainees) presented. But Model 2 (first-offense) and Model 3 (ex-offense) indicate the result was not similar to Model 1 (all juvenile detainees). Comparatively speaking, Model 2 (first-offense) is exactly the same as

Model 1 (all juvenile detainees) instead of Model 3 (ex-offense) shown. For first-offense, significant predictors of self reflection (.931, $R^2 = .867$, $p < .001$) were also the same as Model 1 (all juvenile detainees), except that the items of D2: willingness to establish relations with counselors was not significantly related. However, Model 3 (ex-offense) was significant at (.888, $R^2 = .788$, $p < .05$), but the items of C6: positive interaction with probation officers was not a statistically significant effect. We can draw a conclusion that positive interaction with probation officers, willingness to establish relations with counselors, intervention by religious belief and concern about personal future have a positive effect on self reflection of juvenile detainees. Finally, the conclusion drawn above should be interpreted in relation to the specific context and offender population.

Discussions

In this paper, we have presented the effect of positive interaction, personal interview and the results of self reflection of juvenile detainees. This study provides new evidence to integrate the positive interaction of probation officers, maintain a good relationship between counselors and clients and intervene by religious belief have proofed a positive effect on self reflection of juvenile detainees. These results are entirely consistent with those reported for treatment programs on juvenile offenders in previous researches (Canestrini, 1993; Dennis, McCroskey & Dennis, 2000; Saylor & Gaes, 1991). Below is a discussion of the findings on the factors associated with self reflection of juvenile detainees in Hong Kong.

Positive interaction with probation officers

This item measures the positive relationship between a juvenile detainee and probationer officer. A probation officer provides a social enquiry report to the court and make recommendation to the court on the suitability of an offender to put on institutional treatment or community treatment. In case of juvenile detainee know that the probation officer to assist them in making a positive change in attitude and behavior. They would present their honest opinions they learned in the period at juvenile homes, in order to propose an early release to their probation officers. Unfortunately, some detainees were released prior to the court judgment. Of course,

it is not within the scope of this paper to provide an extended discussion of the ongoing debates.

Willingness to established relations with counselors

This item assesses the detainees' desire to maintain the relationship with counselors. The counselors must tell the clients about their status and their visit is. They will show their concern about the detainee's recent situation and social lives with other inmates or jailers in the juvenile home. "I missed my parents very much when my mother visited me in the prison last time!" a detainee cried. The counselors allow their worries and discuss how to face their judgment in a secure place. Nevertheless, some refuse to discuss with the counselors as they are busy watching TV programs, playing cards games etc.

Intervention by religious belief

This item evaluates a detainee's acceptance and feeling about the Christian faith. Basically, the intervention services do not only help reflect his reasons of committing the crime or motivate him to start a new page in his life, but also introduce him about gospel. Low scores suggest that the client's value tend to reject the gospel. High scores indicate that counselor has successfully to helped the client understand the gospel and cultivate an interest toward Christianity. Despite the client would reject the gospel or not interested toward Christianity, counselors will continue to encourage ask him pray.

Concern personal future

This item defines a detainee's concern about the influence of criminal conviction on his record that could impact his future study and employment. "Living in the juvenile home, I feel lonely and terribly dejected." he said. The counselor will discuss with him about how he feel about the problems he will face his release. This provides a way out and hope of success for him. Nevertheless, some might feel that they must be released soon. For those case, counselors will discuss with them and find out that what the risk factors of recidivism are.

In addition, the most important finding from these data suggests that willingness to establish relations with counselors does not significantly improve the self-reflection process of first-offense for juvenile detainees. This finding under

estimates the importance of the co-operation with probation officers from juvenile detainee over interaction with counselors since they fear the power of giving them sentences from probation officers. As for the ex-offense willingness to establish relations with the counselor play a crucial role in their self reflection. One explanation for this is that ex-offenders had promises of improvement with probation officers about the previous offences. As these offenders are bounded by these promises, they tend to reflect more in-depth with counselor about the offences they committed. Based on the alternative ways or opinions provided, the ex-offenders usually show improvement when they meet the probation officers again.

However, this conclusion needs to be treated with caution. Although the present study has yielded significant findings, its design is not without flaws. We readily acknowledged that this study is exploratory and there are some limitations with the statistical mode. The significant limitations of this study are as follows: 1. The methods are without pre or post-tests to test the change in attitude. 2. The measurement does not include a control variable which is the clients' psychological state. 3. The design lacks a follow-up process about whether they will commit recidivism or not. Therefore, this study needs to be treated circumspectly, results cannot be generalized for all juvenile detainees. Future studies should be alerted to the limitation of this study and the dialogues between probation officers and juvenile detainees.

Conclusions

This study has taken a step in the direction to examine the factors associated with self reflection of juvenile detainee in juvenile homes. This is an interesting and neglected area in HK, indeed as elsewhere. Understanding offender/treatment "processes" is important. Recently in America and British research, a greater emphasis has been placed on the narratives or scripts of offenders and the role they play in self-understanding (Maruna, 2001; Rumgay, 2004; Vaughan, 2007). This kind of research has arguably provided a useful insight into the way in which ex-offenders seek to reconstruct past events to formulate a cohesive, legitimate, and more positive identity. Yet the relevance to criminal justice policy can only really be

assessed by reference to 'outcomes' (ie reoffending rate). These findings may lead to a better understanding of the source of positive interaction and skills or issues of personal interview may become more effective in self reflection of juvenile detainees. But the function of probation officers to ex-offenders has not been given the attention it needs. Therefore, successful crime prevention and treatment for juvenile crime require the cooperation between government and non-profit organizations. This can be seems as a good trend in the future.

Table 3: Significant predictors of self reflection based on multiple regression.

Model	Dependent variable	R	R ²	F	Significant independent variables	Beta	t
Model 1	Self Reflection Section	.896	.803	27.585***	Willingness to establish relations with counselors	.443	3.715***
<i>N</i> = 32					Intervention by religious belief	.319	3.283**
All juvenile detainees					Positive interaction with probation officer	.290	2.852**
					Concern about personal future	.268	2.455*
Model 2	Self Reflection Section	.931	.867	27.605***	Positive interaction with probation officer	.372	3.207**
<i>N</i> = 22					Intervention by religious belief	.288	2.653*
First-offense					Concern about personal future	.326	2.295*
					Willingness to establish relations with counselors	.303	1.829
Model 3	Self Reflection Section	.888	.788	7.422*	Intervention by religious belief	.685	2.945*
<i>N</i> = 10					Concern about personal future	.678	2.920*
Ex-offense					Willingness to establish relations with counselors	.590	3.127*

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

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台灣地區非法藥物濫用高危險群青少年對現行毒品防治政策成效及戒毒成功因素評估之實證研究

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本研究為行政院衛生署食品藥物管理局九十九年度委託科技研究計畫全國高危險族群非法藥物使用盛行率調查研究 研究計畫編號：DOH99-FDA-61205

摘要

近年來，台灣地區青少年非法藥物濫用、毒品侵入校園等現象日益氾濫，形成毒品防治之重要挑戰。先行研究指出：青少年對於反毒政策的效能評估及支持度，皆會對藥物濫用政策實施的成效產生影響。因之，本研究之主要目的為釐清高危險群青少年的藥物濫用情形、對非法藥物成癮危險性認知等變項對於現行藥物濫用戒除實務作法中的偏好以及評價的影響。另外，本研究亦分析青少年在非法藥物濫用戒除過程中所需要的各種協助以及支持力量評估之認知，以提出未來針對高危險群青少年非法藥物濫用戒治政策制訂的參考。

研究結果發現：青少年藥物濫用的原因以「出於好奇心」、「無聊、好玩」以及「朋友引誘」為前三高，表示出青少年「由內而外」的藥物接近傾向。青少年對於政府所推行的九項毒品防治策略之效能評估多採中立看法，其中「觀察勸戒處遇」的評價較高，成效較受到青少年認同。在戒除毒癮成功的關鍵因素部分，「得到家人的支持」、「遠離吸毒的朋友」以及「自己的意志力堅定」等三項獲得受試青少年較高評價，表示青少年傾向於認為如果要戒除毒癮，最重要的為自己要先堅定意志力，加上家人的支持以及協助。此外，遠離吸毒友伴以及非法藥物濫用環境亦為成功戒除毒癮的重要手段。

關鍵字：藥物濫用高危險青少年、反毒政策評價、戒毒成功因素認知

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The practical research of evaluation toward anti-drug policies and perceptual factors of successfully withdraw from drug of high risk juveniles of drug abuse

Abstract

Since problem of juvenile's drug abuse is getting worse recently in Taiwan, it becomes an important challenge toward the anti-drug policy. Previous studies have suggested that the evaluation and support toward anti-drug policy of juveniles will influence the practical results of the policy. The main purpose of present study was to find out the characteristics of drug abuse of high risk juveniles in Taiwan and to examine the effects of factors such as the risk perception toward the drug abuse, which influence the evaluation and preference of the practical anti-drug policies. Besides, we also examined factors which influence the perception of needs and support in order to refrain from drug. Finally, we submitted some advices for future amendments of juveniles anti-drug policies.

The main results of the present study found that the most 3 popular factors of juveniles' drug abuse were "curiosity", "boring, just for fun", and "temptation from friends". These factors show that juveniles have the tendency of drug abuse from "inside" (personal factors) to "outside" (environmental factors). Juveniles had neutral attitudes toward nine practical anti-drug policies, but they had high evaluation and support toward the policy of clinical treatment of drug abuse. Juveniles show that the most important factors to refrain drug were "support from family", "alienation from drug abuse relationship", and "tough mind". These results show that juveniles tend to admit that the most important things to refrain drug abuse is the tough mind of themselves and the support from their family. It is also important to make a drug-free environment to prevent juveniles started drug abuse.

Key words: high risk juveniles of drug abuse, evaluation toward anti-drug policies, perceptual factors of successfully withdraw from drug

壹、緒論

一、研究背景與動機

根據行政院研究發展考核委員會於2009年11月25日所發表的「民眾對日常生活迭常抱怨事項的看法」民意調查（行政院研究發展考核委員會全國民意調查，<http://www.rdec.gov.tw/redirect.asp?xItem=4173731&ctNode=12142&mp=100>）結果顯示，「毒品充斥」為一般民眾認為的民怨排行第七名，在1092位20歲以上的成年受訪者中，有68.8%的受訪者認為毒品充斥問題是嚴重的，加上對社會造成震撼的藥物濫用所引發的犯罪事件影響，顯示出非法藥物濫用已經成為近年來造成台灣民眾生活不安並且威脅治安狀況的嚴重社會問題。

如前所述，由於近年來非法藥物濫用問題日益嚴重，國內相關專業領域學者針對台灣地區非法藥物濫用情形進行研究後發現，非法藥物濫用的年輕化、多樣化以及輕罪化認知是近年來重要的變化（周碧瑟, 1999; 柯慧貞, 2003, 2006; 李思賢等, 2007; 林瑞欽, 2004; 陳為堅, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005），這其中又以青少年的非法藥物濫用最引人憂心。加上近年來深受青少年喜愛的演藝界、體育界，不時傳出重量級人士因為藥物濫用被警方查緝或是必須接受強制勒戒等新聞，這些都讓青少年在面對非法藥物時更難以做出正確的拒絕以及抵擋藥物的誘惑。

為了能夠更進一步瞭解青少年的非法藥物濫用成因以及趨勢，首先最重要的工作便是瞭解：「哪些青少年特別容易接近非法藥物？」（Rush, Urbanoski, Bassani, Castel, Wild, Strike, Kimberley & Somers, 2008）。然而目前台灣針對青少年非法藥物濫用盛行率所進行之調查主要乃針對在學青少年樣本，所呈現的結果皆發現：在學青少年的非法藥物濫用盛行率大約在1%上下，屬於極低度流行率，對社會並不具有立即的危害。但是，近五年來因為非法藥物濫用而接受感化教育以及矯正教育青少年人數卻呈現激增的趨勢，加上針對非法藥物濫用之青少年高危險族群（非行少年）所進行之盛行率調查偏少，因此，如何掌握高危險族群青少年的藥物濫用原因便成為當務之急。

二、研究問題與目的

如前所述，為了正確瞭解並掌握台灣地區青少年非法藥物濫用的現狀及趨勢，並且瞭解青少年非法藥物濫用之心理成因、青少年對目前戒治作法之評估以及自身對藥物濫用戒除的成效評估等議題，本研究針對在矯正機構中收容之少年受刑人為研究對象，以自編量化問卷為工具，分析高危險群青少年非法藥物濫用

之相關特徵以及青少年對於藥癮戒除之評估等，藉此反應出更為貼近青少年非法藥物濫用的現狀並且藉以瞭解高危險群青少年對於藥物濫用的認知看法。

貳、文獻探討

一、台灣地區青少年非法藥物濫用相關研究成果整理

有鑑於青少年非法藥物濫用問題日漸惡化，國內相關專家學者針對這個議題進行了多次的調查研究，以下僅就近 20 年來，台灣地區學者針對青少年族群藥物濫用之流行病學調查研究結果以表 1（引自行政院衛生署食品藥物管理局，http://www.fda.gov.tw/files/gov_home/台灣地區歷年學者所做之年輕族群藥物濫用流行病學調查研究結果.doc）方式整理呈現。

表 1 台灣地區歷年學者所做之年輕族群藥物濫用流行病學調查研究結果

編號	研究期間	學者	研究名稱	結果 (非法藥物使用盛行率)
01	1992, 1994-1997, 1999	周碧瑟	青少年用藥盛行率與危險因子之探討	1.0%~1.4%
02	1994-1997	鄭泰安	青少年藥物濫用之流行病學研究	國一：0.9%，國二：1.5%， 國三：11%
03	1998, 1999	鄭泰安	青少年藥物濫用之追蹤研究	國一：0.93%，國二：1.53%， 國三：3.56%
04	2002	陳為堅	街頭青少年的藥物濫用調查	11%：台北市上課時間於街頭遊蕩之青少年 22%：社工開案輔導之青少年
05	2003	陳為堅	台北地區青少年藥物濫用調查－全國性青少年調查之先導研究	國、高中生：1.5%
06	2004	陳為堅	全國青少年非法藥物使用調查	國中：0.75%，高中：1.28%， 高職：3.04% 上課時間於街頭遊蕩之青少年：男性 2.5%、女性 1.3%
07	2004	郭憲文	台灣地區在學國中、高中生藥物濫用之調查	國、高中生：1.6%

08	2004	柯慧貞	全國大專校院學生藥物使用盛行率與其相關心理社會因素之追蹤研究	大學生：2.1%
09	2005	陳為堅	全國青少年非法藥物使用調查	國中：0.77%，高中：0.74%， 高職：2.3% 上課時間於街頭遊蕩之青少年：男性 11.65%、女性 8.85%
10	2005	柯慧貞	全國大專校院學生藥物使用盛行率與其相關心理社會因素之追蹤研究	大學生：1.7%
11	2006	陳為堅	全國青少年非法藥物使用調查	國中：男性 0.65%，女性 0.60% 高中：男性 0.82%，女性 0.31% 高職：男性 1.36%，女性 1.15% 上課時間於街頭遊蕩之青少年：男性 10.44%、女性 4.31%
12	2006	柯慧貞	全國大專校院學生藥物使用盛行率與其相關心理社會因素之追蹤研究	大學生：2.1%
13	2006	鄧秀珍	特殊青少年毒品濫用及相關因素探討	觀護所收容少年：29.83%
14	2007	柯慧貞	全國大專校院學生藥物使用盛行率與其相關心理社會因素之追蹤研究	至少使用 1 種毒品：1.7% 毒品種類：搖頭丸 1.1%、大麻 0.9%
15	2007	李思賢	青少年毒品戒治者之認知、態度、行為與因應方式之質性研究	1. 普遍缺乏俱樂部藥物會成癮的認知； 2. 心情不好或同儕相聚時，易被藥頭所引誘；對於俱樂部藥物具好奇心、將藥物做為解悶的工具等因應方式； 3. 另研究發現青少年使用「笑氣」有逐漸成長之趨勢。

16	2007	楊浩然	保護管束青少年非法藥物使用之追蹤研究：用藥型態、疾病率、共病率及心理社會因子之探討	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 保護管束青少年的非法物質使用類別，以笑氣(1.3%)最為盛行，其次為搖頭丸(1.2%)及安非他命(1.0%)； 2. 曾經使用非法藥物之青少年，精神疾患之共病率較未曾使用者高。
17	2008	陳為堅	年輕族群非法藥物使用之三年長期追蹤研究：採「回應者引介抽樣法」(一)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 非法藥物使用者相較於未使用者有較高之比例於遭逢重大事件如被解僱、退學、面臨破產等； 2. 非法藥物之使用動機以「好奇、趕流行」為主，「同儕認同」次之。
18	2009	陳為堅	年輕族群非法藥物使用之三年長期追蹤研究：採「回應者引介抽樣法」(二)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 社區高危險年輕族群之特殊族群中有 22.2%的人有非法藥物使用經驗，以俱樂部藥物（搖頭丸、K 他命及大麻）為使用之大宗，初次使用年齡為 20 歲左右； 2. 追蹤個案當中，於第 1 年原本沒有使用過任何一種非法藥物者，在第二年的追蹤調查後發現，非法藥物的發生率達 7.5%。

從表1的整理結果我們可以看到，在近廿年來具代表性的青少年非法藥物濫用相關研究中，依據研究對象的不同，大約可以區分為兩類：針對藥物濫用高危險群（社工開案輔導之青少年、保護管束青少年、街頭遊蕩青少年、社區高危險年輕族群）所進行的研究以編號第4（陳為堅, 2002）, 13（鄧秀珍, 2006）, 16（楊浩然, 2007）, 18（陳為堅, 2009）等研究為主，其他研究則較為針對全國性普查、

一般國、高中在學學生等樣本為主。透過將這兩類型的研究成果進行簡單的比較我們可以發現：針對一般國、高中生在學青少年所進行的調查研究結果顯示，青少年的非法藥物濫用盛行率大約落在1%到3%之間，最高者為鄭泰安教授於1994年至1997年進行青少年藥物濫用之流行病學研究中，國三學生樣本的非法藥物濫用盛行率11%。由此類研究結果顯示：台灣地區青少年的非法藥物濫用盛行率並非十分嚴重。然而在針對高危險群青少年所進行的類似盛行率調查結果中我們卻發現有22%到29%的高危險群青少年濫用非法藥物。針對不同群體間進行的類似調查卻發現了將近有10到20倍的盛行率差異。由此我們可以做出以下的結論：非法藥物濫用現象並非廣泛的存在於所有的青少年群體中，而是集中的存在於藥物濫用高危險群青少年，這些青少年與非行少年或是日常行為違常少年有高度重疊。因此，為了有效並且清晰的釐清青少年非法藥物濫用情形，最重要的就是要掌握高危險群青少年的非法藥物濫用狀況，如此才可以確實的呈現出藥物對青少年的戕害。

二、高危險群青少年對藥物濫用及戒治之認知及態度

從上段的研究整理中我們可以知道：瞭解高危險群體青少年的非法藥物濫用盛行率較能夠貼切的反應出非法藥物對這些青少年所造成的危害及影響。為了遏止青少年非法藥物濫用的流行，響應「向毒品宣戰」政策，並且協助已經用藥的青少年早日成功戒除藥癮，近年來，政府提出了許多的政策以及實務作法，其中較為廣為人知的有「加強查緝毒品」、「加強毒品以及反毒相關教育」、「提供非法藥物濫用之觀察勒戒措施」、「要求非法藥物濫用者接受強制戒治」、「針對特殊藥癮患者提供替代性毒品（美沙酮）」、「設立戒毒成功專線服務」、「藥物濫用者自動勒戒之不起訴處分」、「於各縣市設立毒品危害防治中心」、「將K他命、FM2等其他較長被濫用的三級毒品立法改為二級毒品（毒品政策的嚴懲嚴管化）」等等。在如此多樣化且面面俱到的毒品防治、查緝以及管理政策下，非法藥物濫用問題應該可以獲得解決，但是實際上的情況卻不然。

在早期的研究中 Harding, Safer and Kanvanagh (1998) 針對美國地區 719 位六至九年級的在學青少年為樣本進行了一項「酒精及藥物濫用校園防治政策成效評估」的追蹤式研究。本研究將受追蹤樣本區分為未接觸酒精及非法藥物群、非頻繁接觸群、頻繁接觸群等三群，研究結果顯示：不同群體組別的研究樣本對不同的酒精及藥物濫用防治計畫有不一樣的成效評估，未接觸酒精及非法藥物組之樣本比頻繁接觸組樣本更為支持由警方介入，以懲戒為處理目的之 Project DARE

計畫；但是頻繁接觸酒精及非法藥物組織樣本則對於以軟性校園處置以及強調學生參與為方針的 Captain Clean 計畫有較高的支持率以及較好的評價。

一項更長期的縱貫式研究，由 Degi (2009) 於羅馬尼亞進行為期十年的追蹤調查。羅馬尼亞自西元 1989 年推翻共產黨統治，建立社會民主主義型態國家以來，非法藥物便開始藉由日漸開放的社會型態滲透進入羅馬尼亞。到了 1995 年到 1999 年的五年間，非法藥物濫用問題在羅馬尼亞形成爆炸式的惡化趨勢，尤其是青少年間的藥物濫用問題更成為當時羅馬尼亞社會動盪不安的重要因素。為了因應非法藥物濫用惡化的現象，羅馬尼亞政府於 1999 年首次在內政體系正式成立了國家級的藥物濫用對抗會議。到了 2000 年則將藥物濫用的運輸以及使用規定作了嚴懲化的修正。在 2002 年則正式成立了中央政府等級的反毒部會，加強對於非法藥物濫用的查緝。但是非法藥物的濫用並沒有就此下降。到了 2003 年羅馬尼亞反毒部則開始實施以校園藥物濫用預防為主要方向的軟性藥物預防政策，到了 2004 年更推出所謂的「我的反毒訊息版」，鼓勵有非法藥物濫用經驗的學生上網寫下個人的藥物濫用預防思維以及經驗。2005 年推出更為全面性的「大羅馬尼亞反毒同盟」活動，用更為生活化、軟性的教育理念帶動青少年理解藥物、提供非法藥物濫用青少年免費的心理、社會、醫學戒斷服務，並且將青少年藥物濫用對策依照不同年齡層青少年區分，設計出更為符合該當年齡層青少年的活動，以增加青少年對於非法藥物濫用問題的認識。Degi (2009) 發現當早期嚴懲化毒品政策被視為主流的時候，對於嚇阻尚未濫用藥物的青少年接近藥物成效頗佳，但是對於已經成癮的青少年而言，卻形成「政策與青少年對立」的感受，讓藥物濫用青少年對於相關政策出現了極低的評價。但是當軟性藥物預防政策出現後，青少年開始勇於討論自己的非法藥物濫用經驗，透過這些經驗分享，建立了青少年間對於戒除非法藥物濫用成癮的共識，也提高了預防非法藥物濫用政策的成效。具體的成效可以由羅馬尼亞青少年非法藥物濫用盛行率的演變中看出，自 1999 年羅馬尼亞 14-19 歲青少年藥物濫用盛行率達到 11.9% 的高峰以來，隨著預防政策的推出出現了緩慢的下降，但是在以校園為主導的軟性預防作法實施後，青少年藥物濫用盛行率則以每年接近一個百分點的速度下降，成效十分卓著。Degi (2009) 做了以下的結論：對於青少年非法藥物濫用問題的對策應該不是著重在「理想目標」的層面，而應該是著重在「現實可行性」層面，如何提供已經藥物成癮的高危險群青少年一個不會留下紀錄並且積極溫暖關懷的

戒除管道，同時還要符合青少年的需求，以青少年的評估做為政策修訂的主導，這樣才能夠有效的貫徹政策，並且達到降低高危險群青少年的藥物濫用目標。

從上述來自於歐美國家青少年對非法藥物濫用防治政策之評估影響政策成效的研究可以發現：青少年對於政府政策的評估以及投入程度，影響了藥物濫用政策實施的成效以及推展。我國目前對於藥物濫用問題在法律、教育、戒除、反毒等各方面都提出了許多的實務作法，在中央政府層級，每一年都會固定舉辦全國反毒會議，邀請國內外專家學者進行反毒政策以及作法成效研討；此外，法務部、衛生署以及相關業管單位也都會定期召開會議檢討。然而，青少年對於政府非法藥物濫用政策的作法有多少的瞭解？又抱持著如何的評價？特別是非法藥物濫用高危險群青少年，他們心中對於毒品政策以及目前相關戒治作法的評價又是如何？本研究將針對以上問題進行實證研究分析，主要目的為釐清非法藥物濫用高危險群青少年的個人特質以及對成癮危險性的認知等變項對於政府政策評價的影響，此外也將進一步探討青少年對於藥物濫用戒除實務作法中的偏好以及評價。另外，本研究亦將針對青少年在非法藥物濫用戒除過程中所需要的各種協助以及支持力量評估加以分析，以做為未來針對高危險群青少年非法藥物濫用戒治政策制訂的參考。

參、研究方法

一、研究工具

（一）量化問卷編製前之焦點團體訪談

本研究為了編製更能貼近非法藥物濫用高危險群青少年的回答習慣，首先以質性訪談方式作為量化問卷編製之探索性資料取得，以求得補充研究文獻及官方資料上的不足。在焦點團體訪談部分，本研究於2010年4月19日下午13:30-16:30由研究者協同助理於彰化少年輔育院二樓教室，針對8位曾經使用非法藥物之少年收容人，進行焦點團體訪談，以了解少年收容人在入監前藥物濫用之種類、特性及濫用成因等，然後根據訪談結果作為後續設計問卷及進行量化分析的基礎。8位少年受刑人的相關基本資料如下表2所示。

表2 彰化少輔院個案背景資料一覽表

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
出生地	高雄市	嘉義縣	屏東縣	嘉義市	南投縣	屏東縣	高雄市	台東縣

家庭 狀況	父母 分居	父母 離婚	父母 離婚	父母 離婚	父母 健在	父親 病歿	父母 離婚	父母 離婚
學籍	國中	國中	國中	國中	高中	高中	高中	高中

（二）量化問卷編製

以前述質性方法的研究結果為基礎，並參照現有文獻及相關研究結果，本研究自行編製「青少年使用藥物之盛行率調查」問卷。內容包含三部分：1、基本人口變項；2、使用非法藥物之現況：是否曾經使用非法藥物等；3、對於毒品防治政策的建議：政府毒品政策防治效能評估、戒除毒品之關鍵因素評估。

（三）量化問卷預試

為了瞭解少年受刑人樣本對於問卷的理解程度，量化問卷初版編製完成後，由研究團隊親至嘉義少年觀護所進行預試，共預計抽取收容少年樣本 20 名，但由於收容人出獄、出公差或獄方考量等因素，因此本次預試共施測了 15 名青少年樣本，且全部填答成功。青少年樣本對於問卷作答方式表示都可理解，問卷題目也沒有出現讓其拒答或不欲填答的情況出現。

二、量化問卷施測樣本

在量化問卷施測部分，本研究以少年輔育院（桃園輔育院及彰化輔育院）最近一年新入院的少年收容為主要研究對象，抽取 10% 的新入院少年收容人為研究樣本，進行問卷施測。依據此原則，本研究共選取桃園少年輔育院收容少年 130 位，以及彰化少年輔育院收容少年 222 位（其中女性 89 位）為量化問卷施測樣本。本研究在回答者的基本資料部分共詢問性別、教育程度、入監前是否與家人同住等項。其中在性別部分，男性 264 位（74.8%）、女性 89 位（25.2%）；教育程度則有國小畢（肄）業以下 4 位（1.10%）、國中畢（肄）業以下 263 位（74.50%）以及高中職畢（肄）業以下 86 位（24.40%）。

由上述對於回答者的基本資料描述性統計結果可以看出，本研究所抽樣的收容青少年樣本以男性佔多數，教育程度部分則以國中畢肄業為多數，整體教育水準偏低。

肆、研究結果

一、回答者毒品使用經驗以及使用毒品原因分析

為了瞭解收容青少年的非法藥物濫用經驗，本研究詢問受試者「我曾施用過毒品」乙題。其中 255 位（72.20%）表示有過施用毒品的經驗，98（27.80%）

位受試者表示沒有使用毒品的經驗。由本題分析結果可以看出，本研究之收容青少年中，接近四分之三的樣本已經有使用過非法藥物的經驗。

接下來為了瞭解青少年接觸並開始使用非法藥物之原因，本研究以「請問第一次施用毒品的原因為何」之複選題進行詢問。受試者必須從「出於好奇心」、「無聊、好玩」、「朋友引誘，不好意思拒絕」、「為了課業或工作，開夜車提神用」、「為減輕心理、精神上的壓力」、「因為醫療的目的使用卻因此上癮」、「喜歡使用後的感覺」、「被強迫的」、「為了減肥」、「其他原因」等十個選項中進行複選。受試者回答結果如下表 3 所示。從表 2 的整理中我們可以發現：青少年藥物濫用的原因中，回答比例最高者分別為「出於好奇心 88%」、「無聊、好玩 56%」、「朋友引誘、不好意思拒絕 40%」。

由上述三項青少年藥物濫用最常發生的原因中可以看出，青少年藥物濫用呈現出「由內而外」的藥物親和傾向。青少年處於生涯發展的快速變動期，身體以及心理狀態都經歷極大的轉變，為了未來能夠更順利銜接成人社會，青少年會多方探索並且對於多樣化的事物保持高度的好奇心（林美珍、黃世琿、柯華歲，2007）。在本研究中所看到的「出於好奇心」而初次使用毒品便可以反應出這樣的發展特徵。此外，台灣地區青少年在升學主義以及父母期待的影響下，普遍需要將生活中的絕大部分時間花費在課業、學習甚至是補充教育，對於正處於探索期的青少年來說，這些課業活動難免顯得無趣，因此在「無聊好玩」的苦悶中，若是再加上「朋友引誘」這樣的外在環境誘因，對講求群性以及對團體認同有高度需求的青少年來說，藥物濫用就變成難以拒絕、甚至是可以彰顯個人團體地位的一種偏差行為模式。

表 3 收容青少年初次接觸非法藥物原因百分比分析表

初次藥物濫用原因	是	否
出於好奇心	88%	12%
無聊、好玩	56%	44%
朋友引誘、不好意思拒絕	40%	60%
為了課業或工作，開夜車提神用	4%	96%
為減輕心理、精神上之壓力	17%	83%
因為醫療目的使用卻因此上癮	0%	100%
喜好使用後的感覺	31%	69%
被強迫的	1%	99%

為了減肥	5%	95%
其他原因	2%	98%

二、影響收容青少年對「毒品防治建議」態度之分析

在瞭解了收容青少年初次接觸非法藥物的原因後，本研究為了進一步釐清影響收容青少年對於「毒品防治建議」的態度，將目前政府防制毒品策略中九個工作選項以及戒除毒癮關鍵因素之六個選項為依變項，青少年對於藥物濫用嚴重性認知、戒除毒品難易度認知、戒除藥物濫用之經驗等為獨變項，各自進行t考驗。

首先，在毒品防治建議部分，本研究將目前政府針對防制毒品所訂定的重要作法「加強查緝毒品」、「加強毒品教育」、「觀察勒戒措施」、「強制戒治措施」、「提供替代毒品（美沙酮等）」、「設立戒毒成功專線」、「自動勒戒不起訴處分」、「各縣市設立毒品危害防治中心」、「將他命、FM2 等其他常濫用之三級毒品改為二級毒品」等，要求受試者針對上述九項作法以 1 分（沒效能）到 10 分（有效能）進行效能評估。

在獨立變項部分則分為兩大類。第一類為非法藥物濫用嚴重性評估。本研究以單一題項：「請問你個人覺得目前台灣毒品施用狀況嚴不嚴重？」詢問受試者，並要求受試者以 1 分（非常不嚴重）到 4 分（非常嚴重）進行評估。但為了進行後續 t 考驗分析，本研究再將 1 分（非常不嚴重）以及 2 分（不嚴重）重新編碼為低嚴重認知組（編碼為 1）；3 分（嚴重）4 分（非常嚴重）重新編碼為高嚴重認知組（編碼為 2），爾後將以兩組進行 t 考驗分析。第二類獨立變項則為青少年的非法藥物濫用戒除經驗。本部分主要詢問受試者是否接受過「觀察勒戒處遇」、「強制戒治處遇」、「民間戒毒機構戒治」、「醫療機構戒治」、「自己私下戒毒」等 5 項，受試者必須回答「有」、「沒有」如上之戒毒經驗。

（一）、非法藥物濫用嚴重性評估對毒品防治策略效能評估以及毒癮戒治關鍵性因素認知之影響

為了瞭解青少年對非法藥物濫用嚴重性之評估對毒品防治建議之影響，本研究以非法藥物濫用嚴重性評估為獨變項，毒品防治作法 9 題項為依變項進行 t 考驗，所得結果如下表 4（僅列出差異達統計顯著水準之比較組）所示：

表 4 非法藥物濫用嚴重性評估對毒品防治建議之 t 考驗

反毒政策題項	df	t	非法藥物濫用嚴重性評估平均	
			低嚴重認知	高嚴重認知

加強毒品教育	345	-1.52**	4.59	5.46
觀察勒戒措施	347	-1.99**	4.55	5.63
提供替代毒品（美沙酮等）	346	1.34*	6.15	4.50
設立戒毒成功專線	346	-1.11*	5.18	5.83

由表 3 可知，認為非法藥物濫用嚴重度高的受試者較認為「加強反毒教育」、「觀察勒戒措施」、「設立戒毒成功專線」等三項政策具有效能；然認為非法藥物濫用嚴重度高的受試者卻認為「提供替代毒品」的政策效能評估較低嚴重認知組的受試者為低。

以同樣的方式，以非法藥物濫用嚴重性評估 2 題項為獨變項，戒除毒癮關鍵因素認知 6 題項為依變項進行 t 考驗，所得結果如下表 4（僅列出差異達統計顯著水準之比較組）所示。由表 5 得結果我們可以看出：認為非法藥物濫用嚴重性較高的受試者對於「得到家人支持」、「遠離吸毒朋友」、「自己的意志力堅定」等三項戒除毒癮關鍵性因素的贊同度較嚴重性評估低組為高。

表 5 非法藥物濫用嚴重性評估對戒除毒癮關鍵性因素認知之 t 考驗

戒除毒癮關鍵性因素	df	t	戒除毒癮關鍵性因素認知平均	
			低嚴重認知	高嚴重認知
得到家人支持	348	-2.56**	7.24	8.45
遠離吸毒朋友	348	-3.64**	6.85	8.56
自己的意志力堅定	348	-2.53**	7.70	8.77

（二）、非法藥物戒治經驗之有無對毒品防治策略效能評估以及毒癮戒治關鍵性因素認知之影響

接下來本研究將針對青少年個人在非法藥物戒治上之經驗有無是否會造成受試者對現行毒品防治策略效能之評估以及毒癮戒治關鍵性因素認知改變。本部分之分析以回答曾經使用過一次非法藥物經驗之青少年是否曾經有過「觀察勒戒處遇」、「強制戒治處遇」、「民間戒毒機構戒治」、「醫療機構戒治」、「自己私下戒毒」等 5 種戒治毒癮的經驗，並將其區分為「有」、「無」兩組，進行 t 考驗。下表 5 為受試者之毒癮戒除經驗表，由表 6 可以發現：曾經參加「強制戒治處遇」、「民間戒毒機構戒治」以及「醫療機構戒治」之受試者人數皆十分稀少（少於 10 人），具有樣本代表性之問題，因之本研究將這三組再予以刪除，只進行「觀察勒戒處遇」以及「自己私下戒毒」經驗有無者對於現行毒品防治策略效能評估以及毒癮戒治關鍵性因素認知之 t 考驗比較。

表 6 受試者毒癮戒治經驗表

毒癮戒治方式	曾經參加過之人數	未曾參加過之人數
強制戒治治療	6	248
觀察勒戒處遇	48	207
民間戒毒機構戒治	8	246
醫療機構戒治	9	246
自己私下戒毒	127	138

表 7 所顯示為觀察勒戒處遇經驗者對於現行毒品防治建議之 t 考驗表(僅列出差異達統計顯著水準之比較組)。由表 6 可以發現：曾經有過觀察勒戒處遇經驗的受試者對於「加強查緝毒品」、「加強毒品教育」、「觀察勒戒措施」、「將 K 他命、FM2 等其他常濫用之三級毒品改為二級毒品」等四項毒品防治措施之評價較無觀察勒戒處遇經驗者高，達統計顯著水準。

表 7 「觀察勒戒處遇」經驗對於現行毒品防治建議之 t 考驗表

反毒政策題項	df	t	觀察勒戒處遇經驗	
			無	有
加強查緝毒品	253	1.24*	5.42	5.81
加強毒品教育	251	1.56*	5.08	5.85
觀察勒戒措施	253	2.11**	5.11	6.10
將 K 他命、FM2 等其他常濫用之三級毒品改為二級毒品	248	1.53*	3.75	4.55

表 8 則是觀察勒戒經驗者對於戒毒成功關鍵因素認知之 t 考驗表(僅列出差異達統計顯著水準之比較組)。由表 7 可以發現：曾經有過觀察勒戒處遇經驗的受試者較沒有相同經驗者認為「得到家人支持」、「遠離吸毒朋友」、「自己的意志力堅定」等三項是戒除毒癮成功關鍵因素。

表 8 「觀察勒戒處遇」經驗對戒除毒癮成功關鍵因素認知之 t 考驗表

戒除毒癮成功關鍵因素	df	t	觀察勒戒處遇經驗	
			無	有
得到家人支持	253	3.44**	8.18	9.52

遠離吸毒朋友	252	1.89**	8.20	8.98
自己的意志力堅定	252	3.18**	8.70	9.72

下表 9 所顯示的是自己私下戒毒經驗之有無對於現行毒品防治建議評估之 t 考驗表（僅列出差異達統計顯著水準之比較組）。由表 8 的結果可以發現：曾經有自己私下戒毒的經驗者認為「觀察勒戒措施」以及「各縣市成立毒品危害防治中心」等兩項，較無私下自己戒毒經驗者之評價要高。

表 9 「自己私下戒毒」經驗對於現行毒品防治建議之 t 考驗表

反毒政策題項	df	t	自己私下戒毒經驗	
			無	有
觀察勒戒措施	252	1.98*	5.11	5.77
各縣市成立毒品危害防治中心	253	1.78*	4.93	5.96

最後，表 10 所顯示的是自己私下戒毒經驗之有無對於戒毒成功關鍵因素認知之 t 考驗表（僅列出差異達統計顯著水準之比較組）。由表 9 的結果可以發現：曾經有自己私下戒毒的經驗者認為「得到家人的支持」以及「自己的意志力堅定」等兩項，較無私下自己戒毒經驗者認為是戒除毒癮成功的關鍵因素。

表 10 「自己私下戒毒」經驗對戒除毒癮成功關鍵因素認知之 t 考驗表

戒除毒癮成功關鍵因素	df	t	自己私下戒毒經驗	
			無	有
得到家人支持	251	1.44**	8.18	8.60
自己的意志力堅定	253	1.03**	8.57	8.84

（三）、小結

綜上而論，本研究之受試青少年對於現行政府所推行的九項毒品防治策略之效能評估大約多採中立之看法，其中「觀察勒戒處遇」的評價較高，可以看到這方面的戒治毒癮效果較為受到青少年認同。此外，在戒除毒癮成功的關鍵因素部分，「得到家人的支持」、「遠離吸毒的朋友」以及「自己的意志力堅定」等三項獲得受試青少年高評價，呈現出青少年在戒除毒癮方面，仍然需要家人的大力支持以及社會環境的非毒化，當然也需要自己的人格成熟，勇敢的向毒品說不！

伍、研究結論與建議

一、研究結論

在行政院所做的十大民怨調查中，毒品問題高居第五，加上非法藥物濫用、毒品侵入校園等社會案件時有所聞，非法藥物濫用已經對台灣地區治安帶來極為嚴重的威脅及挑戰，如何保護青少年免於受到毒品的危害實為當務之急。從歐美針對青少年對非法藥物濫用防治政策之評估影響政策成效的先行研究結果中可以發現：青少年對於政府反毒政策的效能評估以及支持度，都會影響藥物濫用政策實施的成效以及推展。因此，有效掌握非法藥物濫用高危險群青少年心中對於毒品政策以及目前相關戒治作法的評價，為非法藥物濫用防治政策成敗的重要關鍵！本研究針對上述各項問題進行實證研究分析，主要目的為釐清非法藥物濫用高危險群青少年的藥物濫用實況以及對非法藥物成癮危險性的認知等變項對於政府政策評價的影響，此外也將進一步探討青少年對於藥物濫用戒除實務作法中的偏好以及評價。另外，本研究亦將針對青少年在非法藥物濫用戒除過程中所需要的各種協助以及支持力量評估加以分析，以做為未來針對高危險群青少年非法藥物濫用戒治政策制訂的參考。

研究結果發現：在青少年藥物濫用的原因中，回答比例最高者分別為「出於好奇心」、「無聊、好玩」以及「朋友引誘、不好意思拒絕」，這樣的現象表示青少年「由內而外」的藥物接近傾向。青少年處於生涯發展的快速變動及探索期，在這個發展期程中，青少年會喜歡探索各色各樣的新奇事物，就在這樣的探索好奇心驅使下而初次使用毒品。若再加上周遭好友的引誘，以及青少年易受到強烈團體依附需求所造成的不便開口拒絕，便使得青少年在非法藥物濫用的道路上越陷越深。

接下來，本研究針對青少年對國家現行九種非法藥物濫用防治策略以及毒品成功戒除關鍵因素的評價進行差異比較，其發現：青少年對於政府所推行的九項毒品防治策略之效能評估大約多採中立之看法，其中唯有「觀察勒戒處遇」的評價較高，其成效較為受到青少年認同。此外，在戒除毒癮成功的關鍵因素部分，「得到家人的支持」、「遠離吸毒的朋友」以及「自己的意志力堅定」等三項也獲得受試青少年較高評價，表示青少年認為如果要戒除毒癮，最重要的還是自己要先堅定意志力，再加上家人的支持以及協助。此外，有計畫的遠離吸毒朋友，斷絕毒源供應，遠離非法藥物濫用環境也是成功戒除毒癮的重要手段。

二、研究建議

（一）正視青少年非法藥物濫用問題的擴散及強化反毒教育

本研究受試者在「我曾施用過毒品」乙題中有 72.20% 表示有過施用毒品的經驗，接近四分之三的抽樣樣本已經有使用過非法藥物的經驗。這是一個十分嚴重的問題。在早期針對青少年非法藥物濫用盛行率所進行的調查中，大多以在學生為樣本進行抽樣，所得到的盛行率指標大多在 1% 到 2%，易造成青少年藥物濫用現象並不嚴重的誤解；然而，由本研究中針對高危險群青少年所進行的研究可以發現，收容青少年藥物濫用的比例偏高。本研究從以下的角度進行思考：藥物濫用已經成為高危險群青少年群體中一種極為普遍的現象，這代表在到目前為止，藥物濫用狀況有效的被封鎖在高危險群青少年團體中。也代表在某種程度上，學校內部的反毒教育宣導是具有成效的。然而離開校園以後，青少年在藥物氾濫的社會環境中，極容易因為好奇、朋友引誘等因素影響而開始嘗試接觸非法藥物，進而走上濫用一途。因此加強整體社會的反毒意識，並且藉由反毒教育以及毒品成癮後之生活變化警示，給青少年一個非毒化的生活環境是協助青少年遠離毒品的重要方法。

（二）提供多種類且容易受到青少年支持及注意的藥物濫用戒治方法

本研究針對目前政府主要實施的九項非法藥物濫用對策中詢問受試少年對於這些政策成效的評價，結果發現，青少年傾向於認同較為軟性的、強調教育預防、醫療戒癮層面的處遇。如同在歐美地區的先行研究成果，我們可以推想，目前在台灣地區的青少年一樣也希望能夠用比較寬容、醫療戒治、教育宣導的方式來設計適用於他們的毒品戒治政策。其中像是設立戒毒成功專線、各縣市設立戒毒中心等，讓有戒癮需求的青少年能夠在保密、匿名、以及離家不遠、地理方便的情境下，依據其自由意志，且在不留下任何紀錄的情況下戒除毒癮，這樣的戒毒作法設計較能夠獲得青少年認同並且達到最大的戒毒效果。

（三）強化藥物濫用者之家庭以及大際關係輔導

在藥物濫用戒治成功關鍵因素調查中，高危險群青少年樣本普遍認為「家人的支持」、「遠離吸毒的朋友」以及「堅定自己的意志」是最重要的三項成功因素。青少年對藥物濫用的三大原因（好奇、無聊、朋友引誘）可以發現：影響青少年用藥的契機以及持續用藥的關鍵因素，主要來自於青少年自我意志的控制力強弱以及來自外在環境的不良引誘、正確監督功能弱化。因此，本研究提出以下的概念架構圖提出說明：

圖 1 青少年藥物濫用及戒治評估概念圖

由上圖 1 我們可以看到，青少年正處於對萬事都好奇探索的青春期，這時候來自於家庭的適當督導以及教育為避免青少年對藥物過度好奇而接觸的重要控制力量。這時更要避免外在環境或是吸毒朋友的引誘，如此方可針對青少年之非法藥物濫用問題作有效處理。

本研究為行政院衛生署食品藥物管理局九十九年度委託科技研究計畫「全國高危險族群非法藥物使用盛行率調查研究報告」中節錄，本研究計畫案在其他層面亦針對成年人進行研究，在本論文中僅節錄青少年樣本部分，其發揮拋磚引玉之用，提引讀者對相關議題之興趣，為非法藥物濫用問題做出更有效能、更具有前瞻性的規劃及策訂！

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台灣地區收容少年入院前非法藥物使用盛行率調查研究*

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摘要

根據民國100年反毒報告書所載教育部統計資料（行政院衛生署、法務部、教育部、外交部，2011），國中生施用各級毒品通報件數自97年至99年增加約113%，而高中生通報件數增加約88%，顯示青少年藥物濫用情形日益嚴重。研究及實務經驗也顯示，有些少年犯罪人雖然不是因施用毒品而進入矯正機構，但本身有施用毒品的經驗；或是有部分的少年累犯，其初犯或再犯的罪刑與毒品犯罪有關（許春金等，2007）。顯示少年收容人可能是毒品濫用之高危險群，要有效控制少年藥物濫用之問題，需要針對此高危險族群有深入之瞭解。然而，目前國內針對少年收容人毒品盛行率的各種數量化以及質化資料在目前台灣的各項調查中卻付之闕如。因之，為了正確勾勒出台灣地區非法藥物使用高危險族群（收容少年）的毒品濫用情形，本研究針對矯正機構中之收容少年作為研究對象，一共發放354份問卷，其中有效問卷為352份，回收率為99.4%，其後以施測結果進行量化分析，詳細描繪有關此群體之非法藥物使用盛行率。

本研究結果發現，台灣少年非法藥物使用高危險群以男性為居多（74.7%）；在年齡方面，第一次嘗試毒品之年齡分布為11歲至18歲，其中以14歲者最多（30.2%），顯示初次使用毒品之用藥低齡化現象。於高危險群之教育程度方面，以國中畢（肄）業以下者為最多數，佔74.4%。本研究也發現台灣青少年非法藥物使用高危險群第一次施用毒品之最大原因為「出於好奇心」，佔87.4%；第一次提供毒品者大多為「朋友、同事」，佔全體85.7%之比例、第一次取得毒品的地方最高比例者也為「朋友家」（61.4%）。在各項戒毒毒癮經驗中，曾接受過

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觀察勒戒者佔 18.5%、曾接受過強制戒治者佔 2.4%，顯示我國觀察勒戒與強制戒治之成效仍有待考驗。

本研究建議應持續重視少年藥物濫用問題及提供有效監測、相關反毒教育需針對少年藥物濫用低齡化現象及同儕影響的部分予以強化、重視女性收容少年施用毒品問題之重視等，以作為政府相關單位研擬針對少年毒品濫用高危險群之監控體系及政策之建議。

關鍵字：高危險族群、收容少年、非法藥物使用、盛行率

壹、研究動機與目的

一、研究動機

為了徹底的掃除非法藥物對治安以及國民健康所帶來的嚴重威脅，並且達成「向毒品宣戰」、「向毒品說不」的重要任務，首先最重要的工作便是將非法藥物在台灣地區人口中的盛行率以及流行狀況做出瞭解。其中最重要也是首先要去完成的便是瞭解：「哪些人特別容易接近非法藥物？」、「哪些人特別容易在非法藥物濫用的影響下，進一步出現犯罪行為？」(Rush, Urbanoski, Bassani, , Castel, Wild, Strike, Kimberley, Somers,2008)。為了瞭解上述問題，首先，我們必須要瞭解非法藥物使用高危險族群的人口變項特質，這些特質例如：非法藥物濫用人口的年齡分佈、性別、濫用非法藥物的種類、習慣、時間、地點、濫用人口的社會經濟階層地位、藥物濫用族群的變化趨勢以及毒品入手方式等能夠清楚勾勒出台灣地區非法藥物濫用情形的各項盛行率資料。因為對非法藥物盛行率的確實掌握最重要的貢獻就是能夠正確的反應出非法藥物在台灣流行狀況，進而引導出正確的反毒政策擬定，並且提供優質的數量化、質化證據以用以衡量反毒政策之推行成效。但是截至目前為止，台灣對於各項非法藥物濫用盛行率之調查資料顯得較為零散且無法針對重點群體（非法藥物濫用高危險族群）進行研究，因之造成對於毒品政策之指引與成效評估幫助有限。民國92 年監察院對行政院提出之毒品糾正案中即指出：「當前台灣吸毒人口盛行率調查資料片斷而零散，欠缺全面性之資料，難以一窺全貌」。

因此，如何針對非法藥物使用之高危險群進行正確且具有時效性的非法藥物濫用盛行率調查，並據以統整描繪非法藥物使用高危險群的藥物濫用情形以及特點，便成為台灣毒品政策與毒品防制工作之當務之急。目前針對非法藥物濫用盛行率之調查多為全國性之普查，其結果顯示在台灣地區一般民眾中之毒品盛行率約在1%上下，實屬極為少數。但在矯正體系中之受刑人部分，卻有極高比例是因為使用毒品而入監服刑或在入監前有使用毒品之經驗。惟受刑人之非法藥物盛行率的各種數量化以及質化資料在目前的各項調查中卻付之闕如。因之，為了正確勾勒出台灣地區非法藥物濫用使用高危險族群（少年受刑人）的濫用情形，本研究特別針對在矯正機構中收容之少年犯作為非法藥物濫用高危險群為研究對象群體，以問卷量化詳細描繪有關此高危險群體之非法藥物使用盛行率，並希望藉此研究正確反應出非法藥物濫用高危險群的流行病學特徵以及盛行率特徵

等，以用於推估其藥物濫用之情形。期以作為政府及相關單位在研擬針對非法藥物濫用之少年高危險群之監控體系，提供相關之建議。

二、研究目的

- (一) 本研究針對台灣少年輔育院最近一年新入院之收容少年進行調查，以推估此藥物濫用高危險族群之藥物濫用的人數、盛行率，及瞭解其用藥行為之特性。
- (二) 本研究擬進行不同性別及年齡之收容少年藥物濫用情形之比較分析，瞭解其用藥行為模式，並進一步建立符合我國藥物濫用防治策略，以降低少年高危險族群之濫用藥物情形。

貳、文獻探討

一、台灣地區藥物濫用流行病學掌握情形

目前國內對毒品濫用之流行病學相關研究，大致上可以區分為官方統計資料與由學術界主導之流行病學調查研究等兩種呈現方式。其中，官方統計資料中較為具有代表性的有由衛生署認可之濫用藥物尿液檢驗機構、行政院衛生署管制藥品管理局、各縣市（政府）衛生局、法務部調查局、警政署刑事警察局、憲兵司令部等機關所主導的「台灣地區濫用藥物尿液檢體檢驗統計」、「台灣地區非尿液檢體檢驗統計」、「台灣地區精神醫療院所物質濫用通報」、「台灣地區緝獲毒品統計」等各項統計資料。至於在學術界部分，毒品濫用問題一直以來深受學術界關心，長久以來已經累積了不少的重要研究成果。以下僅略舉近年來較具體與規模之調查研究，包括行政院衛生署管制藥品管理局「台灣地區高危險群藥物濫用調查（2002年迄今）」與「國民健康訪問暨藥物濫用調查」、陳為堅教授所主持之「全國青少年非法藥物使用調查（2004年～2006年）」、柯慧貞教授所主持之「全國大專校院學生藥物使用盛行率與其相關心理社會因素之追蹤研究

（2004年～2006年）」、李偉華及許來發（2006）所進行之法醫死因鑑定與藥物濫用趨勢之相關研究等。雖然國內已有上述機構或是學者針對國內毒品濫用的盛行率做出調查研究及分析，但是針對其研究及調查結果進行後設分析後，卻呈現出某些調查方法及研究對象上的不足或是遺憾之處。例如：在台灣地區濫用藥物

尿液檢體檢驗統計中所收集之檢體資料來源受到每一檢體之檢驗品項，是依委驗機構需要而定，並非完全相同，導致調查上的誤差。另外由於我國現行法令之規定，單純施用三、四級毒品並無刑責，亦無須接受強制戒治等處遇，因此檢體之委託檢驗機構大多僅針對一、二級毒品項目進行檢驗，因此對於藥物濫用流行趨勢之瞭解恐怕極度受限。另外針對非尿液檢體檢驗統計部分，資料來源較為廣泛，主要來自於政府機關單位：行政院衛生署、法務部調查局、警政署刑事警察局、憲兵司令部、臺北市政府警察局刑事鑑識中心、高雄市立凱旋醫院、以及多家民間檢驗單位：臺灣檢驗科技股份有限公司濫用藥物、台北實驗室、詮昕科技股份有限公司、高雄醫學大學附設中和紀念醫院、慈濟大學濫用藥物檢驗中心等藥物檢驗機關，依據送檢檢體中所包含之毒品藥物成分種類進行之統計分析。雖然在如此大規模的廣泛調查中，依據檢體中所包含之成分，可以瞭解毒品市場中之流行趨勢；但是由於調查機構的屬性各不相同，其所呈現的流行病學資料有極大差異，也因此造成引用以及政策制訂上的困難。此外，在醫療目的部分：亦有資料採用精神醫療院所物質濫用通報。該通報之資料來源為精神醫療院所通報之物質濫用個案，由於個案經醫院診斷評估，所以可獲得之資訊內容較為充分，可以瞭解藥物濫用與就診型態之關連，亦可瞭解主動尋求藥癮戒治病患之藥癮狀況、併發症、藥物濫用趨勢等。但該系統為獎勵通報，醫療院所通報之意願對於調查正確性之影響甚鉅，另外也無法完全涵蓋到未出面接受治療之所謂「黑數毒癮患者」的呈現，也因此透過精神醫療院所資料所呈現的流行病學結果亦有所偏誤（Winstock, Lea, Sheridan, 2008）。

針對緝毒成效則有台灣地區緝獲毒品統計等藉由統計緝毒相關機關，如：法務部統計處、法務部調查局、內政部警政署、國防部憲兵司令部、財政部關稅總局、行政院海岸巡防署等機關之毒品緝獲量統計，以呈現藥物濫用市場供應情形及瞭解藥物濫用之趨勢。這部分對於毒品市場的趨勢變化可以有效掌握，但是由於此部分的調查分析為毒品提供之上游端，因之對於毒品危害人體以及個人使用流行率等無法反應。另外，衛生署管制藥品管理局則針對毒品濫用高危險群進行長期追蹤研究，利用警察移送檢驗機構之毒品嫌疑犯檢體進行抽樣，將取得之樣本進行毒品藥物廣篩檢驗，並與受檢人基本資料進行資料分析，藉以瞭解受檢人人口變項、初／累／再犯、查獲處所與查獲方式等與毒品使用之關係，可反應出我國藥物濫用之種類、趨勢變化、多重藥物濫用情形等資訊。最後在藥物濫用盛行率調查方面則以學術單位調查為主，但是卻受限於以一般大眾或青少年學生為

研究母群之盛行率調查，由於藥物濫用人口比例不高，樣本中藥物濫用者樣本數相對較少，所獲得之資訊難免受限。

綜上所述，整體而言，我國藥物濫用之流行病學研究尚足以提供藥物濫用流行趨勢概況，但對藥物濫用的相關問題、成癮性及毒品濫用高風險族群之流行病學資訊，顯得較為不足。其中又以針對毒品濫用高危險群之藥物濫用流行病學問題研究資訊最為欠缺，極有待填補。

二、台灣地區非法藥物使用人口基本特徵探討

（一）首次用藥的原因

當個體的週遭充斥著非法藥物使用之不利環境因素，個體很有可能因為環境之刺激、影響而開始使用藥物，朱日僑、盧胤雯（2002）發現青少年第一次使用毒品的原因是出於好奇的占大多數，吸食毒品則是以大麻及安非他命占較大比例。周碧瑟（1999）之研究也指出，在校青少年第一次使用藥物的原因，以好奇為首，次為朋友引誘、第三為不好意思拒絕。與前列研究一致地，郭憲文（2004）於中學生藥物濫用之調查中亦發現學生第一次使用藥物的原因，以好奇心居首，其次是為了減輕心理、精神壓力。

（二）年齡方面

一般來說，藥物濫用之盛行率之年齡分佈也有集中趨勢之現象。國內許多針對國高中生所進行的調查中發現，目前我國的少年用藥年齡會隨著學生年紀及年級的增加，其用藥盛行率有增加的趨勢，尤其高中生在非法藥物之使用上比國中生明顯高，（朱日僑、盧胤雯，2002；周碧瑟，1999，郭憲文，2004；陳為堅，2003）。而林瑞欽（2004）在犯罪少年用藥盛行率之研究中則發現，具用藥經驗之少年者，首次用藥大多在國中階段。

尤其，隨著網路科技發展，各種合法或非法資訊均容易自網路下載獲取，加上求新、求變、求刺激等流行文化，以及種類愈來愈多的新興毒品，致使許多青少年在好奇心及虛擬幻想世界的誘惑下，墜入藥物濫用的深淵。根據民國100年「反毒報告書」所載教育部統計資料（行政院衛生署、法務部、教育部、外交部，2011），學生施用各級毒品通報件數由自97年815件逐年增加至99年1,559件，其中國中生通報件數於三年間增加約113%，高中生通報件數增加約88%，顯示青

少年藥物濫用情形不僅日益嚴重，且受影響的年齡有向下蔓延的趨勢，其危害風險甚值重視。

整體來說，非法藥物濫用者，其首次吸食之年齡有低齡化之傾向，因為從研究可發現，無論是針對少年或成年之非法藥物盛行率的研究，其結果均指出非法藥物濫用者首度用藥的年齡往往相當年輕，甚至是在少年階段便有用藥之經驗。

（三）教育與學習狀況方面

我國近年來有許多學者針對藥物濫用族群之教育學習情形進行研究，吳齊殷（2001）發現課業壓力過大，以及低落的學習成就，將促使青少年以使用非法藥物來逃避現實。而林瑞欽（2004）之研究均發現，具非法藥物使用經驗之犯罪少年大多有求學中輟，或學業中斷之情形。陳為堅（2006）之研究也發現，無論男女，使用非法藥物之青少年大多都有翹課行為。因此，從上述許多研究中可以得知，非法藥物使用之高危險族群，通常學習成就較一般人低，而在求學過程中也常有蹺課、中輟等情形。

（四）個人特質方面

非法藥物使用者具有相似的特性，透過這些相似的個人特性，可以描繪出藥物濫用者之危險因子。李思賢、林國甯、楊浩然、傅麗安、劉筱雯、李商琪等人（2007）之研究發現，青少年毒品戒治者，在面對情緒問題時，會因為心情低落、挫折感而開始使用藥物，以使用非法藥物之逃避式來解決。而余育斌、許華孚（2005）針對明陽中學之藥物濫用青少年之研究則發現，當遇到困難而感到不开心，藥物濫用青少年會有使用藥物之行為出現。由上述這些研究可發現，雖然情緒與非法藥物濫用具部份關聯性，但非法藥物濫用者在面對情緒困擾時，並不一定會以使用非法藥物此方法來解決。非法藥物濫用者對於使用藥物抱持正向期待，期望以使用非法藥物來達到情緒抒解、解除壓力、尋求刺激等（林瑞欽，2004；柯慧貞，2006；李思賢，2007）。

（五）家庭方面

家庭是個體社會化的重要場域，諸如父母不良之管教方式與婚姻品質、家庭中有藥物濫用之情形等負面的家庭特質，均可能是導致個體使用非法藥物之重要原因。吳齊殷（2001）之研究發現，管教方式不一致、忽視、父母經常起衝突、父母離異、或家人亦有用藥情形等這些狀況，均可能導致青少年出現藥物濫用之

情形。林瑞欽等人（2004）之研究發現，有超過半數具非法藥物濫用傾向之青少年，經常會與家人起衝突。

再者由余育斌、許華孚（2005）、朱日僑等（2002）與李思賢等人（2007）的研究可以發現，部分藥物濫用之少年，其對藥物的認識是來自於兄弟姐妹，且當青少年之父母或兄弟姐妹有非法藥物濫用之情形時，在此家庭環境下，確實會影響少年對於毒品的認知與態度，甚至會進一步引導少年嘗試使用毒品，導致產生毒品濫用行為。

（六）同儕關係方面

藥物濫用者之使用動機與種類會受環境影響，在其生涯發展階段會有其特定的影響對象，每個發展階段受影響之來源不同，如濫用者早期可能較容易受到父母及家人生活型態之影響，當個體成年後則較傾向受到同儕及夥伴的影響。當個體的週遭同儕有使用非法藥物之傾向時，個體很有可能因為同儕之影響與鼓舞，而亦開始使用非法藥物。林瑞欽等人（2004）則指出犯罪少年之非法藥物來源通常來自朋友。吳齊殷（2001）之研究發現，犯罪少年會為獲得具非法藥物濫用傾向之同儕的認同，而使用非法藥物。余育斌、許華孚（2005）亦指出藥物濫用少年是藉由同儕來認識藥物，及取得藥物。甚至從李思賢等人（2007）的研究發現，部份青少年毒品戒治者是因為認識販賣毒品之同儕後，受到影響而開始使用毒品。

（七）社會環境方面

經常出入KTV、舞廳、夜店等場所，常常是導致個體使用非法藥物之危險因子。非法藥物使用之高危險族群具有相似之生活特性，此種類似之生活特性可以作為危險因子預測高危險族群之藥物使用行為。陳為堅（2003）指出，負向衍生性事件與菸、酒、檳榔及非法藥物等物質濫用呈現顯著相關，非法藥物使用也與蹺家、性行為、違紀呈現顯著相關，甚至非法藥物之盛行率會受到蹺家經驗、性行為與違紀行為之影響。周碧瑟（1999）也曾發現一些休閒活動，如常常進出KTV/MTV、飆車、舞廳、蹺課、加入幫派等生活型態與青少年用藥有顯著的相關。李思賢等人（2007）之研究發現，初次使用非法藥物之狀況，常是發生在KTV、舞廳等地點。

從上述許多研究可得知我國非法藥物使用人口基本特徵為：初次使用之毒品大多是大麻以及安非他命，原因以好奇、減輕壓力居多，主要年齡層仍集中在

20~39歲。但非法藥物濫用者，其首次吸食之年齡有低齡化之傾向，在教育程度偏低，家庭方面則以單親家庭或是父母有不良管教者居多，甚至有些家庭成員有施用毒品的經驗，而在不同階段有不同之朋友圈，青少年階段為了獲得同儕認同而接觸毒品。大多非法藥物使用之高危險族群之生活特性不良，常暴露於充斥藥物濫用之環境中，具有較大的機會與危險接觸毒品，進而增加其使用藥物之風險，成為循環（生活）模式。唯台灣實際非法藥物使用狀況如何，有賴本研究予以釐清補充。

三、國外受刑人中非法藥物使用人口基本特徵相關研究

Singleton、Farrell及Meltzer（2003）回顧了1997年一項針對英格蘭與威爾士之受刑人物質濫用之調查，其發現由於多重物質之合併濫用，因此監所內之受刑人往往同時具有吸煙、危險飲酒與藥物依賴等物質濫用行為。而Fazel、Bains及Doll（2006）針對受刑人之物質濫用與依賴進行系統性的檢視，其結果發現男性受刑人之藥物濫用之盛行率為10%至48%，而女性受刑人藥物濫用之盛行率為30%至60%。此研究指出在監獄內之藥物濫用盛行率遠遠高於一般社會之比率，尤其是在女性受刑人之表現上，這也說明了監獄內針對毒品濫用醫療的重要性。

但在國內則缺少類似之研究，尤其是針對藥物濫用高危險族群之收容少年所進行之研究更是付之闕如。因此，本研究以毒品濫用高危險群之收容少年為流行病學之調查對象，期望更進一步來釐清毒品與犯罪之關連，並清楚釐清針對毒品濫用高危險群毒品使用之特徵，以期做好藥物濫用防治及矯正之政策功效。

參、研究方法

一、研究架構

矯正機構中之收容人為藥物濫用之高危險群，有關此群體之非法藥物使用盛行率仍未進行系統性及廣泛的調查研究，因此本研究以在院之收容少年非法藥物使用盛行率為研究標的。本研究將以量化之研究方法瞭解國內在院之收容少年藥物使用現況，包括入監前濫用藥物之種類、特性及濫用成因等，並推估此藥物濫用高危險族群之藥物濫用人數及盛行率。並蒐集過去與現有之藥物濫用資料做為參考及比較準則，以研判及探討藥物濫用之消長情形及演變，作為我國建立藥物濫用防制策略之參考。

二、研究樣本

本研究至桃園輔育院及彰化輔育院，以最近一年新入院的收容少年為主要研究對象，抽取10%的新入院收容少年為研究樣本，進行非法藥物使用盛行率之調查，以瞭解在院之收容少年在入院前之濫用藥物之種類、特性及濫用成因等，以推估此高危險族群藥物濫用之人數及盛行率。並且，藉由比較不同性別及年齡之收容少年之藥物濫用情形，以助於瞭解其用藥行為模式，並進一步建立符合我國藥物濫用防治策略，以降低高危險族群之濫用藥物情形。

本研究於少年輔育院共發放了354份問卷，其中有效問卷為352份，無效問卷2份，其回收率為99.4%，其各監所機關詳細分配如表3-1所示：

表3-1 施測監所一覽表

少年輔育院名稱	發放份數	有效問卷	無效問卷
桃園少年輔育院	130	129	2
彰化少年輔育院(女)	90	90	0
彰化少年輔育院(男)	134	134	0
總計	354	353(97.4%)	2(0.6%)

三、研究工具

本研究針對在院之收容少年設計出「使用藥物之盛行率調查」問卷，以瞭解在院之收容少年在入院前使用非法藥物之種類、使用非法藥物之頻率及特性、用藥之動機、取得藥物的來源等面向，以瞭解在院收容少年在入院前使用非法藥物之情況，並進一步推估在院收容少年藥物濫用之人數及盛行率。此外，藉由比較不同性別及年齡的在院收容少年之藥物濫用情形，以瞭解少年高危險族群藥物濫用之行為模式。

四、分析方法

資料分析本研究所得的資料使用 SPSS15.0 進行量化分析，所使用的統計方法如下：

(一) 描述統計：包括次數分配、百分比等統計方法，對研究對象的資本資料、

使用非法藥物的現況等變項進行描述性統計，以瞭解受訪之在院收容少年在各面向之大概樣態，並進一步推估在院收容少年使用非法藥物之人數及盛行率。

(二) 卡方考驗 (χ^2 test)：用以分析類別資料間的差異，比方說針對在院收容少年入院前使用非法藥物與否進行性別差異分析。

(三) 獨立樣本t 檢定 (independent-sample t test)：以檢驗兩組不同特性的樣本在各變項上平均數差異情形。

肆、研究結果

以下將結果分為個人特質、毒品使用經驗、戒毒經驗、衍生犯罪經驗、差異比較等五大類，以下分述之。

一、個人特質

(一) 性別

我國在院收容少年以男性居多(表 3-2)，故本次受訪者中以男性佔大多數，為 74.7%，女性佔 25.3%。

表 3-2 性別分佈

選項	樣本數	比例(%)
男性	263	74.7
女性	89	25.3
合計	352	100.0

(二) 年齡分佈

本次受訪者中，以未滿 20 歲之受訪者為最多，佔 97.8%，其次則為 21-30 歲之受訪者，佔 2.8% (表 3-3)。

表 3-3 年齡分佈

選項	樣本數	比例(%)
----	-----	-------

未滿 20 歲	341	97.2
21-30 歲	10	2.8
合計	351	100.0

（三）教育程度

本次受訪者的教育程度，以國中畢（肄）業者為最多數，佔 74.4%，其次則為高中職畢（肄）業以下者，佔 24.4%，最少為國小畢（肄）業者，佔 1.1%（表 3-4）。

表 3-4 教育程度分佈

選項	樣本數	比例（%）
國小畢（肄）業以下	4	1.1
國中畢（肄）業以下	262	74.4
高中職畢（肄）業	86	24.4
合計	352	100.0

（四）婚姻狀況

本次受訪者中，未婚者比例為最多，佔 97.4%，其次則為「同居」者佔 1.5%，「已婚」者則佔 0.9%，而「分居」者佔 0.3%（表 3-5）。

表 3-5 婚姻狀況分佈

選項	樣本數	比例（%）
未婚	331	97.4
已婚	3	0.9
同居	5	1.5
分居	1	0.3
合計	340	100.0

（五）工作情形

本次受訪者中，在入院沒有正常工作者，佔 64.5%，而有正常工作收入者則佔 35.5%（表 3-6）。

表 3-6 工作情形分佈

選項	樣本數	比例（%）
有	122	35.5
沒有	222	64.5
合計	352	100.0

（六）家人同住與否

本次受訪者中，在入院前有與家人同住者佔 66.7%，未與家人同住者比例則為 33.3%（表 3-7）。

表 3-7 與家人同住情形分佈

選項	樣本數	比例（%）
有	224	66.7
沒有	112	33.3
合計	336	100.0

（七）宗教信仰情形

本次受訪者中，有宗教信仰者比例較高，佔了 61.7%（表 3-8），其中「佛教」信仰者比例最高，佔 22.5%，其次則為「道教」，佔 21.3%，而「基督教」則居第三，佔 16.5%。

表 3-8 宗教信仰情形分佈

選項	樣本數	比例（%）
佛教	75	22.5
道教	71	21.3

天主教	5	1.5
基督教	55	16.5
無宗教信仰	128	38.3
合計	334	100.0

二、使用毒品經驗

(一) 曾嘗試毒品與否

本次受訪者中，有 72.2%受訪者表示曾嘗試使用毒品，而另外有 27.8%受訪者表示未曾嘗試過（表 3-9）。

表 3-9 曾嘗試毒品情形分佈

選項	樣本數	比例（%）
有	254	72.2
沒有	98	27.8
合計	352	100.0

(二) 第一次嘗試毒品的年齡

本次受訪者中，表示第一次嘗試毒品之年齡分布為 11 歲至 18 歲（表 3-10），其中以 14 歲者最多，佔 30.2%；其次則為 15 歲者，佔 24.6%；13 歲者則佔 15.1%；最少則為 11 歲與 18 歲，分別佔 0.8%。

表 3-10 第一次嘗試毒品年齡情況分佈

選項	樣本數	比例（%）
11 歲	2	0.8
12 歲	18	7.1
13 歲	38	15.1
14 歲	76	30.2

15 歲	62	24.6
16 歲	40	11.4
17 歲	14	5.6
18 歲	2	0.8
合計	252	100.0

（三）第一次施用毒品的原因

由於此題可複選，調查後發現，表示第一次施用毒品的原因比例最高者為「出於好奇心」，佔 87.4%，其次則為「無聊、好玩」，為 56.3%，再次之為表示「朋友引誘，不好意思拒絕」為 39.8%，結果顯示施用毒品與本身的因素有密切關係佔了最大的因素（表 3-11）。

表 3-11 第一次施用毒品原因（可複選）

選項	樣本數	比例（%）
出於好奇心	222	87.4
無聊、好玩	143	56.3
朋友引誘，不好意思拒絕	101	39.8
為了課業或工作，開夜車提神用	9	3.5
為減輕心理、精神上之壓力	44	17.3
因醫療的目的使用，卻因而上癮	0	0
喜好使用後的感覺	79	31.1
被強迫的	3	1.2
為了減肥	14	5.5
其他原因	20	1.3

（四）初次提供毒品來源

本次受訪者中，表示第一次提供毒品者為「朋友、同事」者比例最高，佔 85.7%，其次則為「同學」，為 9.5%，而同時「不認識的人」亦佔有 3.2%（表 3-12）。

表 3-12 第一次提供毒品者之關係

選項	樣本數	比例（%）
同學	24	9.5
朋友、同事	216	85.7
父母、親戚	0	0
不認識	8	3.2
其他	4	1.6
合計	252	100.0

（五）初次取得毒品的方式

本次受訪者中，初次取得毒品的方式為「朋友免費提供」者比例最高，佔 87.7%，其次則為「自行購買」，為 11.5%（表 3-13）。

表 3-13 第一次取得毒品的方式表

選項	樣本數	比例（%）
自行購買	29	11.5
朋友免費提供	221	87.7
撿到的	0	0
其他	2	0.8
合計	252	100.0

（六）第一次取得毒品的地方

調查發現，第一次取得毒品的地方最高比例者為「朋友家」，佔 61.4%，其次則為「遊樂場所」，佔 23.7%，「學校」的比例亦有 4.8%位居第三（表 3-14）。

表 3-14 第一次取得毒品處所分佈

選項	樣本數	比例（%）
----	-----	-------

家裡	10	4.0
學校	12	4.8
遊樂場所	59	23.7
商店、藥局	1	0.4
朋友家	153	61.4
上班地點	4	1.6
其他	10	4.0
合計	249	100.0

(七) 曾經吸食毒品之種類

此題可複選，發現「K 他命」為吸食者最多選擇，佔 97.2%，其次則為「搖頭丸」佔 72.4%，而「安非他命」則為第三順位，佔 66.1%，「大麻」亦佔有 31.9%，「FM2」佔有 17.7%（表 3-15）。

表 3-15 曾經吸食毒品種類分佈情形

選項	樣本數	比例（%）
海洛因	37	14.6
嗎啡	2	0.8
鴉片	0	0
古柯鹼	7	2.8
安非他命	168	66.1
大麻	81	31.9
搖頭丸	184	72.4
K 他命	247	97.2
FM2	45	17.7
其他	21	8.3

(八) 常吸食毒品之種類

此題可複選，發現「K 他命」為吸食者最常吸食之毒品，佔 81.5%，「安非他命」次之，佔 52.4%，其次則為「搖頭丸」，佔 47.2%，而「海洛因」則為 6.7%。
(表 3-16)

表 3-16 常吸食毒品種類分佈情形

選項	樣本數	比例 (%)
海洛因	17	6.7
嗎啡	1	0.4
鴉片	1	0.4
古柯鹼	4	1.6
安非他命	133	52.4
大麻	21	8.3
搖頭丸	120	47.2
K 他命	207	81.5
FM2	12	4.7
其他	12	4.7

(九) 是否曾在娛樂場所與朋友共同吸食毒品

本次受訪者中，表示曾在娛樂場所與朋友共同吸食毒品者佔 88.9%，沒有的佔了 11.1% (表 3-17)。

表 3-17 曾與朋友在娛樂場所共同吸食毒品經驗

選項	樣本數	比例 (%)
有	225	88.9
沒有	28	11.1
合計	253	100.0

(十) 是否曾經在施用毒品後，發生危險性行為的經驗

本次受訪者中，表示在施用毒品後，未曾發生過危險性行為者超過半數，佔 72.4%，但表示在使用毒品後發生過危險性行為者佔 27.6%（表 3-18）。

表 3-18 曾在施用毒品後發生危險性行為經驗

選項	樣本數	比例(%)
有	69	27.6
沒有	151	72.4
合計	250	100.0

（十一）平均一個月花費在毒品上的費用？

本次受訪者中，表示每個月花費在毒品一萬元以下者佔 64.4%，其次則為 1-3 萬者，佔 24.9%，而每個月花費 9 萬以上者，佔 1.7%，排名最末（表 3-19）。

表 3-19 每個月平均花費在毒品上的費用

選項	樣本數	比例(%)
1 萬元以下	150	64.4
1-3 萬元	58	24.9
3-6 萬元	16	6.9
6-9 萬元	5	2.1
9 萬以上	5	1.7
合計	253	100.0

三、戒毒經驗

（一）是否接受過觀察勒戒處遇經驗？

本次受訪者中，表示未曾接受觀察勒戒者佔 81.5%，有接受過觀察勒戒者則是 18.5%（表 3-20）。

表 3-20 曾接受過觀察勒戒處遇

選項	樣本數	比例(%)
有	47	18.5
沒有	207	81.5
合計	254	100.0

(二)是否接受過強制戒治經驗？

本次受訪者中，表示曾接受過強制戒治者佔 2.4%，沒有的則是佔了 97.6%（表 3-21）。

表 3-21 曾接受過強治戒治經驗

選項	樣本數	比例(%)
有	6	2.4
沒有	247	97.6
合計	253	100.0

(三)是否接受過民間戒毒機構戒治經驗

本次受訪者中，表示曾接受過民間戒毒機構戒治者佔 3.2%，未曾接受過的佔了 96.8%（表 3-22）。

表 3-22 曾接受過民間戒毒機構戒治經驗

選項	樣本數	比例(%)
有	8	3.2
沒有	245	96.8
合計	253	100.0

(四)是否接受過醫療機構戒治經驗

本次受訪者中，表示曾接受過醫療機構戒治者佔 3.5%，沒有的則是佔了 96.5%（表 3-23）。

表 3-23 曾接受過醫療機構戒治經驗

選項	樣本數	比例 (%)
有	9	3.5
沒有	245	96.5
合計	254	100.0

(五) 曾自己私下戒毒經驗？

本次受訪者中，表示不曾私下戒毒者佔 52.9%，而曾有私下戒毒經驗者佔了 47.1%，進一步瞭解其私下戒毒次數，最多比例者為 1 次，佔 15.8%，其次則為 2 次者，佔 15%（表 3-24）。

表 3-24 曾自己私下戒毒經驗次數

選項	樣本數	比例 (%)
0	127	52.9
1	38	15.8
2	36	15
3	22	9.2
4	5	2.1
5	8	3.3
6	1	0.4
7	1	0.4
10	2	0.8
合計	1344	100.0

四、衍生犯罪經驗

(一) 吸食毒品後是否曾有販賣或轉讓的行為發生

在開始吸食毒品後，有 58.9% 的受訪少年表示曾者有販賣或轉讓的行為發生（表 3-25）。

表 3-25 是否有販賣或轉讓的行為

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選項	樣本數	比例（%）
有	149	58.9
沒有	104	41.1
合計	253	100.0

（二）吸食毒品後是否曾有竊盜、搶奪或詐欺等犯罪行為發生？

在開始吸食毒品後，有 27.6% 的受訪少年表示曾有竊盜、搶奪或詐欺等的行為發生（表 3-26）。

表 3-26 是否有竊盜、搶奪或詐欺等的犯罪行為

選項	樣本數	比例（%）
有	70	27.6
沒有	184	72.4
合計	1806	100.0

（三）個人是先曾有施用毒品經驗，還是先有其他犯罪經驗

本次受訪者中自陳認為其是「先有使用毒品經驗」者，佔 42.5%，而「先有其他犯罪經驗」者則佔 57.5%（表 3-27）。

表 3-27 先施用毒品經驗或犯罪經驗分析表

選項	樣本數	比例（%）
先有使用毒品經驗	107	42.5
先有其他犯罪經驗	145	57.5
合計	252	100.0

五、平均數差異考驗

（一）不同性別差異考驗

如表 3-28 所示，不同性別於第一次使用毒品的年齡達顯著差異，表示男女在第一次使用毒品的年齡有所不同。從樣本平均數可以看出，男性少年第一次使用毒品的平均年齡（14.61 歲）較女性為高（14.03 歲）。兩組於毒品花費和私下戒毒經驗則無顯著差異，從樣本平均數可以看出男性平均約花費 1.54 萬於購買毒品上；女性略低於男性，平均約花費 1.47 萬於購買毒品上。

表 3-28 第一次使用毒品的年齡、毒品花費、私下戒毒經驗、年齡與性別之平均數差異考驗

選項		N	Mean	SD	t
第一次使用毒品的年齡	男	179	14.61	1.333	3.186*
	女	73	14.03	1.312	
毒品花費（萬）	男	165	1.5394	0.859	.560
	女	68	1.4706	0.839	
私下戒毒經驗	男	168	1.13	1.534	.146
	女	72	1.10	1.878	

**p<.01, *p<.05

（二）入院前正常工作與否差異考驗

如表 3-29 所示，入院前正常工作與否於毒品花費、初次使用毒品的年齡與私下戒毒經驗無顯著差異。入院前有正常工作者初次使用毒品的平均年齡（14.7 歲）較入院前無正常工作者（14.3 歲）為高。入院前無正常工作者的平均私下戒毒次數（1.22 次）較入院前有正常工作者為高（0.97 次）。入院前是否有正常工作與少年在毒品的花費亦無顯著差異；入院前有正常工作者每月平均約花費 1.53 萬於購買毒品上，入院前無正常工作者平均每月約花費 1.5 萬於購買毒品上。

表 3-29 第一次使用毒品的年齡、毒品花費、私下戒毒經驗、年齡與入監前正常工作之平均數差異考驗

選項		N	Mean	SD	t
第一次使用毒品的	有	91	14.65	1.328	1.936

年齡	沒有	157	14.31	1.352	
毒品花費	有	87	1.5287	0.8605	.287
	沒有	143	1.4965	0.8098	
私下戒毒經驗	有	90	0.97	1.328	-1.135
	沒有	148	1.22	1.809	

**p<.01, *p<.05

(三) 入監前與家人同住與否差異考驗

如表 3-30 所示，入院前與家人同住與否於毒品花費達顯著差異。入院前未與家人同住者的每月平均毒品花費（1.76 萬）較入監前與家人同住者為高（1.41 萬）。

然而，入院前與家人同住與否於初次使用毒品的年齡、私下戒毒經驗則無顯著差異。入院前與家人同住者平均約有 1.2 次的私下戒毒經驗，入院前無與家人同居者平均約有 1.1 次的私下戒毒經驗。

表 3-30 第一次使用毒品的年齡、毒品花費、私下戒毒經驗、年齡與入監前與家人同居與否之平均數差異考驗

選項	N	Mean	SD	t
第一次使用毒品的年齡				
有	164	14.47	1.345	0.173
沒有	80	14.44	1.377	
毒品花費				
有	152	1.4079	0.7401	-2.909*
沒有	74	1.7568	1.0312	
私下戒毒經驗				
有	162	1.15	1.732	0.420
沒有	72	1.06	1.481	

**p<.01, *p<.05

六、卡方檢定

性別與入院前非法藥物使用與否之關連性，經卡方檢定之結果顯示（表 3-31），在入院前非法藥物使用與否，男女少年有達到顯著差異（ $\chi^2_{(1)}=7.157$ ， $p=.007<0.05$ ）。尤其，受訪之女性收容少年在入院前使用非法藥物之比率超過受訪男性少年。受訪男性少年中曾嘗試使用非法藥物者佔 68.4%，而女性則有 83.1%。

表 3-31 男女與入院前非法藥物使用與否之卡方檢定

選項			男	女	總和
我曾嘗試施用過毒品	有	個數	180	74	254
		百分比	68.4%	83.1%	
	沒有	個數	83	15	98
		百分比	31.6%	16.9%	
總和	個數		263	89	352
		百分比	100.0%	100.0%	
Pearson 卡方	數值	7.157	漸進顯著性		.007*

** $p<.01$, * $p<.05$

伍、結論與討論

本研究以全國少年輔育院最近一年新收之少年收容人為少年藥物濫用高危險族群樣本，並進行盛行率調查，研究結果可以作為非法藥物流行病學實證研究，以提供藥物濫用流行趨勢最新概況。本研究發現：

（一） 少年藥物濫用高危險族群以男性居多，但女性收容少年在入院前之藥物濫用狀況不容忽視

我國在院收容少年以男性為居多，故本次樣本中以男性佔大多數，比例為 74.7%，女性則為 25.3%。入院前曾使用非法藥物者，男性有 180 人，而女性有 74 人，以人數上來看，在入院前使用非蹠藥物之男性少年收容人比女性多。但以百分比來看，情況則不同。卡方檢定之結果顯示，在入院前非法藥物使用與否，男女少年有達到顯著差異（ $\chi^2_{(1)}=7.157$ ， $p=.007<0.5$ ）。尤其，受訪之女性收容少年在入院前使用非蹠藥物之比率超過受訪男性少年。受訪男性少年中曾嘗試使用非法藥物者佔 68.4%，而女性則有 83.1%。顯示我國少年高危險族群非法藥物使用仍你男性少年收容人為多，但女性少年收容人在入院前之非法藥物使用情形相當嚴重，也不容忽視。。

二、少年藥物濫用高危險族群首次使用非法藥物之年齡呈現低齡化之現象

本研究結果發現表示第一次嘗試毒品之年齡分布為 11 歲至 18 歲，其中以 14 歲者最多，佔 30.2%；其次則為 15 歲者，佔 24.6%；13 歲者則佔 15.1%，顯示初次使用毒品之用藥低齡化現象應受重視。

三、少年藥物濫用高危險族群之學歷以國中為主

本次受訪者的教育程度，以國中畢（肄）業者為最多數，佔 74.4%，其次則為高中職畢（肄）業者，佔 24.4%，與 Singleton、Farrell 及 Meltzer（2003）與柳家瑞（2008）之研究發現類似。由此可知，非法藥物使用族群擁有低教育程度之個人特徵。因此，在設計矯正處遇方案與策略時，應將少年之教育程度、學習狀況及領悟特性等納入考量。

四、首次用藥的原因以好奇、好玩及受同儕引誘為主

本研究發現第一次施用毒品之兩大原因為「出於好奇心」，佔 87.4%，其次則為「無聊、好玩」，為 56.3%，再次之為表示「朋友引誘，不好意思拒絕」為

39.8%。與過往研究結果相符合，表示個體容易受到不良環境影響、負面同儕誘惑而開始使用藥物（林瑞欽，2004；余育斌、許華孚，2005；李思賢，2007；吳齊殷，2001）。

五、少年藥物濫用高危險族群之用藥與同儕有密切關係

本研究發現，第一次提供毒品者為「朋友、同事」者比例最高，佔 85.7%，其次則為「同學」，為 9.5%，將其兩者加總為 95.2%。而第一次取得毒品的地方最高比例者為「朋友家」，佔 61.4%。由此可見，由同儕提供非法藥物來源之比例高達九成以上，而選擇於朋友家使用非法藥物也佔全體近六成之多，表示非法藥物使用之傳染效應十分嚴重。本研究相較於前揭研究之結果具有同樣之發現，顯示一般藥物濫用者之非法藥物來源通常來自朋友，也因個體認識使用或販售毒品之同儕後，容易受到影響而開始使用毒品（林瑞欽，2004；余育斌、許華孚，2005；李思賢，2007；吳齊殷，2001），表示不良同儕不但為非法藥物與藥物使用地點的供應來源，也在用藥的動機上佔有相當大的鼓舞與促使份量。

六、少年藥物濫用高危險族群具負向生活特性

經常出入 KTV、舞廳、夜店等場所，常常是導致個體使用非法藥物之危險因子（周碧瑟，1999；李思賢，2007）。於本次受訪者中，本研究結果顯示曾在娛樂場所與朋友共同吸食毒品者佔 63.9%，表示非法藥物使用之高危險族群具有相似之生活特性，較容易進出不良場所，也擁有較高比例之藥物濫用同儕、毒品之取得管道方便。

此外，本研究發現，在使用非法藥物之後曾發生危險性行為者佔全體受訪收容少年之 27.6%，與陳為堅（2003）指出之非法藥物使用與危險性行為呈現顯著相關之研究結果相符。也許經由近幾年來衛生教育之推行與宣導，危險性行為之趨勢已有所緩解。但兩成多之比例代表此族群仍為佔一定之比例，雖危險性行為之定義因人而異，但此點不可輕易忽視，仍須進一步研究。

七、小結

綜上所述，由本研究結果顯示，我國少年收容人非法藥物使用之人口基本特徵為：男性居多，初次使用毒品有低齡化之傾向，教育程度低，並容易受同儕誘惑或影響取得並使用非法藥物，進而養成進出娛樂場所之不良生活特性。最後在

藥物成癮影響之下，為了獲取金錢滿足藥癮而從事其他犯罪行為，進而構成惡性循環之成癮模式，無法自拔。

在研究限制部分，由於本研究之研究期限僅為期一年，因此現階段仍採用橫斷性研究方法，在盛行率描述、藥物成癮與犯罪行為之因果推論仍有所欠缺，有待於其後相關連續研究以縱貫研究方式驗證之。本研究也期望日後可建置各年度之少年非法藥物使用盛行率調查，並以縱貫型研究追蹤少年高危險族群用藥特徵與流行趨勢，配合國際藥物濫用相關防治策略，建置妥當之藥物濫用預警模式，以利我國藥物濫用預防政策制定參考。

六、建議

（一）持續重視少年藥物濫用問題，並予以有效監測

由本研究發現，有將近七成之受訪收容少年自陳在入院前曾嘗試使用毒品，顯示少年收容人毒品濫用問題之嚴重。此外，此一高毒品施用盛行率也顯示我國少年收容人的確為毒品施用之高危險族群。為有效減輕少年藥物濫用的問題，其中一個有效的方向即是針對這些藥物濫用的高危險族群著手。透過類似本研究之調查與探究，以瞭解藥物濫用在此高危險族群之盛行率、使用毒品之類型與樣態、使用毒品之原因及取得管道等，進而發展相關策略予以有效監測，以供預防、控制及後續處遇之參考。

（二）少年藥物濫用呈現低齡化現象，受同儕影響甚深，相關反毒教育需強化與向下扎根

隨著網路科技發展，青少年獲取各種資訊的管道越多也更加容易，也因此許多青少年在好奇心及虛擬幻想世界的誘惑下，墜入藥物濫用的深淵。根據民國100年反毒報告書所載教育部統計資料（行政院衛生署、法務部、教育部、外交部，2011），國中生施用各級毒品通報件數自97年至99年增加約113%，而高中生通報件數增加約88%，顯示青少年藥物濫用情形不僅日益嚴重，且受影響的年齡有朝低齡化發展之趨勢，與本研究之結果相符，藥物濫用對青少年之危害風險甚值重視。

由於毒品具有成癮性、累進性，吸毒者因毒品耗盡家財、陷入財務困境後，往往轉而竊盜、搶奪、強盜，甚或擄人勒贖、殺人，衍生許多其他犯罪，嚴重影

響社會治安。我國目前反毒工作主要分為防毒、拒毒、緝毒、戒毒四大區塊，就預防觀點而言，落實強化防毒、拒毒功能，方為降低藥物濫用危害的根本之道。此外，本研究之結果顯示，青少年初次用藥原因、吸毒場所及藥品取得來源，均與同儕有很密切關係，顯見青少年藥物濫用受到同儕之影響甚深。由此可知，反毒教育若僅針對少數特定對象，成效恐有侷限；應全面性推動貫徹以創造同儕間正面的影響力，方能有效導正青少年對毒品危害之認知、培養抗拒毒品誘惑的能力。因此，如何強化校園反毒教育宣導及培訓相關人才，讓藥物濫用的預防性工作向下紮根，亟需相關主管機關及學術界研擬有效的因應策略。

（三）女性收容少年施用毒品比率高，亟待積極防治

由本研究進行中，得知女性收容少年有超過八成在入院前有使用非法藥物之經驗，顯見女性收容少年施用毒品問題之嚴重性。不僅女性少年，成年女性之藥物濫用問題也值得相當重視。由法務部所提供的統計數據中，進一步分析民國93年至98年10月止之起訴與新入監數據可知，近年來犯罪人數之性別比重，女性有逐年緩步增加現象，女性起訴人數則以毒品罪居首，其次為詐欺罪、公共危險罪、傷害罪及竊盜罪，由此可以明顯的之女性在毒品犯罪中的特殊性。

另外，研究團隊在李思賢（2002、2006）回顧文獻發現我國女性藥癮者所面臨的問題，相較於男性更加複雜與多重，在毒品施用這特殊的社會網絡中，毒品的施用和性行為常誘發女性極其親密伴侶作為關係的一種連結方式，因此本研究建議政府相關機關在未來毒品的防制規劃中，應針對女性藥物使用者予以積極防治。

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