

國立臺灣體育運動大學休閒運動管理研究所
碩士學位論文

休閒無間道-

偏差休閒對非行少年的影響與休閒參與之探討

THE PARADOX OF LEISURE THE STUDY ON THE IMPACT OF
DEVIANT LEISURE ON
AT-RISK YOUTH AND THEIR LEISURE INVOLVEMENT



研究生：曹丹陵 撰
指導教授：陳渝苓 博士

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時間過得很快，兩年就這樣過去了。我的研究所生活也終於告一段落，這或許是我“最後”的學生生活了，心中有很多不捨，也有很多人需要感謝。

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謝謝愛我的每一個人，因為你們，才有今天的我。

曹小丹 下台一鞠躬

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論文名稱：休閒無間道-偏差休閒對非行少年的影響與休閒參與之探討

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研究生：曹丹陵

指導教授：陳渝苓

摘要

在青少年的生活中，休閒執行著極為顯著的功能。然而有關休閒對於非行青少年的負面討論卻是常被規避的，非行少年所從事的休閒活動也因此被貼上標籤，被歸納為負面或是偏差休閒活動。許多相關的議題都尚待被發現與解決。本研究將探討休閒對非行少年與他們對休閒的認知，與了解非行少年所從事的偏差休閒活動。並深入去分析參與偏差休閒活動之原因和參與偏差休閒活動後的影響。

本研究結果發現非行少年參與偏差休閒活動的主要原因為：家庭不完全與家庭教育，學校教育，結交從事相同偏差休閒活動的朋友與同儕，個人動機如：找尋刺激，與沒有錢。研究結果也顯示出，偏差休閒活動在非行少年生活上造成的影響與他們參與偏差休閒活動的原因非常相似。有一些影響，像是錢或是同儕的壓力，甚至會成為他們去參與不同偏差休閒活動的新動機與原因

關鍵詞：青少年犯罪，負面行為，青少年次文化

Tsao, Tan-Ling (2012). *The paradox of leisure- The study on the impact of deviant leisure on at-risk youths and their leisure involvement*. Unpublished Master Thesis. National Taiwan University of Physical Education and Sports.

Abstract

As more and more shocking news about our youth and their deviant behaviors are appearing every single day. Youth delinquency and juvenile offending were cause concerns in our society. Many researchers have pointed out the positive side of leisure and its effects on at-risk youths. However, the negative side of leisure and its effects on at-risk youths were hardly discussed. This research focused on what deviant leisure was for at-risk youths and their deviant leisure selection. Also how their deviant leisure involvement impact their life.

The result showed the reasons for at-risk youths to participate in deviant leisure activities were living with dysfunctional family and different family factors, school education, having friends and peers who participated in the same deviant activities, personal motivation such as excitement and having no money. The result also showed the reasons of their deviant leisure participation and the impacts they received from deviant activities were really similar. The impacts they received from deviant leisure activities could also possibly become the new reasons for other deviant leisure participation.

Keywords: juvenile delinquency, negative behavior, youth subculture.

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1.1 Research background and research motives

As we turn on the television or surf on the internet, more and more shocking news about the youth in Taiwan and their deviant behavior appears every single day.

青少年抽菸率逐年上升

國民健康局調查發現，國內青少年的抽菸率逐年上升，99年已到8%，其中又以男學生吸菸率上升趨勢較為明顯。研究顯示，與不抽菸的學生相較，吸菸高職生飲酒、嚼檳榔及使用成癮藥物的機率偏高。國健局調查，國中職學生吸菸率95年7.5%、97年為7.8%，到了99年，約有8%國中學生吸菸（男性學生11.2%，女性學生4.2%），其中約10%學生會在校園吸菸。

中時電子報 2011/6/20

If the news above is not shocking enough, please read the following news:

15歲男開淫窟 騙12少女為愛賣身

兩少年昨被移送板橋地方法院少年法庭訊問，裁定責付家長帶回；兩人與共犯何正雄（29歲）等8人前晚落網時，還請8名律師到場辯護，昨訊後全被依違反《兒童及少年性交易防制條例》等罪嫌送辦，何嫌等昨深夜陸續被交保。律師張建鳴指，兩少年誘騙12名少女賣淫，並以毒品控制，得處10年以上徒刑，依一罪一罰原則，最重恐面臨12個10年徒刑，但因2人僅15歲，依《刑法》得減輕其刑。

2011/05/18 蘋果日報

Surprisingly, this phenomenon is not only happening in Taiwan, but also happening around the globe.

全球 500 萬青少年染愛滋病

聯合國兒童基金會、聯合國愛滋病規劃署、世界衛生組織等，一日在約翰尼斯堡發布一份題為《危中尋機：阻止愛滋病從少年向青年蔓延》的報告指出，二〇〇九年全球約五百萬十五歲至二十四歲的青少年感染愛滋病，十歲至十九歲中，愛滋病帶原者二百萬人。聯合國兒童基金會東部和南部非洲地區總裁哈吉·阿馬杜·蓋伊·賽表示，性和毒品注射是青少年愛滋病傳染的主要途徑。

人間福報 2011/6/3

The news above is only a tip of the iceberg. There are plenty more similar kinds of news concerning the youth and their deviant behavior. The statistics and risks related to child delinquency and juvenile offending are quite a cause for concern. The statistics in Table 1 from the Judicial Yuan¹ show the number of youths committed crimes from the year 2006 to 2010. The table shows that there are more than 300 youths who commit crimes every year and more 90% of these youths are male. According to Calloway (1995), “At-risk youths have been defined as adolescents in potential trouble at school or home, involved with drugs or alcohol but who have not been involved with the juvenile justice system.” (p.77). With a high number of youth crime rate and more problems including school drop-outting, running away from home, stealing, peer bullying are associated with the youth every day.

¹ Judicial Yuan: 行政院司法院

Year	Number of the youth committing crimes		Total
2006	Male	315	336
	Female	21	
2007	Male	385	417
	Female	32	
2008	Male	290	313
	Female	23	
2009	Male	292	319
	Female	27	
2010	Male	277	302
	Female	25	

Table 1: The number of youths committed crimes from year 2005~2010
(Judicial Yuan, 2011)

A study is conducted by the youth counseling committee of Taipei County (2003): Compare the youth leisure involvement and leisure behavior of Taipei county between at-risk youths and normal adolescents. Within 1528 effective samples it shows:

1. Males who are from low social status families or single-parent families are more likely to develop deviant behavior.
2. Going to internet cafés, playing computer games, chatting on the internet chat rooms and hanging around in the night markets are the leisure activities which at-risk youths often participate in.
3. The youth with higher peer pressure are more likely to participate in leisure activities during night time showing lower leisure constraints but higher rate of deviant behavior.

However, this kind of study only gives the background and possible leisure activities which at-risk youths participate in. There is no in-depth information on how the youth feel or what they think in terms of the reasons for participation or their perceptions on deviant leisure.

Horna (1994) states that “Leisure provides the fundamental arena for adolescents’ development as well as the opportunities that are based on gender, age, social status, and culture.” (p.95). Widmer, Ellis and Trunnel (1996) also states that particular recreation and leisure choices made by adolescents may place them at increased risk and predispose them to a variety of delinquent behavior. Therefore, leisure is closely related to adolescents’ behavior.

Wilder, Ellis and Trunnel (1996) also indicates that “Leisure activity and the choices leading to such activity were seen to be important elements in predicting at-risk behavior among adolescents.” Many of the researchers believe that leisure can be used as a tool to reform or change the behavior of at-risk youths. Therefore, many leisure and sports programs such as wilderness adventure therapy or recreational therapy or youth sports programs have been developed to use leisure as a tool or a program to decrease or to prevent the deviant acts or behavior of at-risk youths. (Crompton & Witt, 1997; Davis-Berman & Berman, 1999; Weston & Tinsley, 1999; Robertson, 2000; Peniston & Howard, 2002; Smith, 2002; Fraser-Thomas, Cote & Deakin, 2005). Many researches focus on youths and deviant leisure behavior from an educational perspective. Some researchers such as Caldwell and Smith (2006) evaluate the youths’ leisure based on intervention and report that leisure-related variables can be served as risks. However, there are fewer researches done on the leisure perspective or on the perspective of the at-risk youths. To discover why and how at-risk youths develop their deviant leisure behavior, and the benefits of at-risk youths who have received from these deviant activities, it is important to understand the leisure behavior and involvement through the eyes of the at-risk youths. The main motive of this study is to find out the outcomes they receive from deviant leisure.

The author, who studies adventure/outdoor education during tertiary education and adventure education program, has been using this program as a tool to help youths at-risk to find their self-esteem, a sense of social belonging and to give them new

challenges and encourage them to express their feelings by sharing their experiences through the adventure education program. However, by running these adventure education programs, the author comes to realize how to provide them with positive and challenging leisure activities without knowing or understanding these youths' previous leisure involvement and how their deviant behavior has been formed. By conducting this study, the author should be able to understand why these youths participate in deviant leisure as well as what these deviant leisure activities mean and affect at-risk youths.

1.2 The purpose of study and research questions

The purpose of this study is to understand the reason why at-risk youths choose to participate in these particular deviant leisure activities and to see deviant leisure from the perspective of at-risk youths. As well as to find out the positive and negative outcomes at-risk youths received from deviant leisure activities, and why are these outcomes important for at-risk youths. The study will try to understand the present phenomenon from the perspective of the deviant participants, and the research questions of this study are developed.

Theme 1: Definitions

1. The definition of leisure activities for at-risk youths.
2. The definition of deviant leisure activities for at-risk youths.

Theme 2: Leisure participations and involvement.

3. The leisure selection for at-risk youths.
4. The motivation and involvement of deviant leisure for at-risk youths.

Theme 3: Contradictions

5. The impact of deviant leisure on the behavior of at-risk youths.
6. The relationship between the motivation of participation and the benefits and outcomes from participation.

1.3 The scope of the study

The definition of the youth in this study is based on Juveniles Delinquency Act, Article 2 “The so-called juvenile in the Law² refers to those who have reached the age of 12 and are less than the age of 18.” According to the education system in Taiwan, the person who is above the age of 12 should be educated for at least six years and should already have the moral value of right and wrong. However, the at-risk youth in this study are not juveniles whose behavior violates the criminal laws, but those who have one of the following behavior violating the criminal law due to their personality and environment:

- (1) Be frequently associated to those with criminal habits;
- (2) Frequent unsuitable places for juveniles;
- (3) Skip school or run away from home regularly;
- (4) Participate in gangs;
- (5) Carry knives or weapons without a valid reason on a regular basis;
- (6) Take or inject narcotics or other anesthetics;
- (7) Intend to or attempt to commit an offense but are not punishable by criminal law.

(Juveniles Delinquency Act, Article 3, 2005)

The juveniles who committed any crimes or juvenile behavior violating the criminal laws are not included in this study.

² Juveniles Delinquency Act, Article 2: 少年事件處理法第二條

This chapter will first discuss the general concept and the definition of leisure, based on the pyramid of Nash's model of leisure pyramid (1960), followed by discussing the concept of deviant leisure. Both positive and negative of deviant leisure will be examined. The third part of this chapter will be inspecting the relationship between the youth and deviant leisure. This chapter will end with the conceptual framework of this research.

2.1 General concept and definition of leisure

The word 'leisure' is largely used in our society and everyday life. According to Kelly (1996) "Leisure, never a very specific concept, has been defined in a number of way." (p.15).

Dumazedier (1974) defined leisure is activity that is apart from obligation of work, family and society-to which the individual turns at will, for either relaxation, diversion, or broadening his knowledge and his spontaneous social participation, the free exercise of his creative capacity. Godbey (1985) defined leisure is living in relative freedom from the external compulsive forces of one's culture and physical environment. Kelly (1996) has defined and categorized leisure in his book 'Leisure' as discretionary time, as activity, as a state of mind, as a quality of action and as dimension of life. He also stated that 'choice' and 'freely chosen,' those once sacrosanct, de rigeur elements in standard definitions of leisure as experience (Kelly, 1996: p.21). Therefore, we could conclude leisure is not only an activity that people choose to do, but a free will and a period of time that is apart from obligation and work. Also, it could be an experience, and a state of mind as well as a quality of action. It is also assumed that "leisure has the potential to contribute positively to the quality of individuals' lives" (Glover, 2003. p.307). As most of the researchers point out in their studies that leisure is not only the activities people choose to do in their free time but it also has the power to enrich the life of individuals. However, the following researchers not only agree that leisure is positive and good but

also has multi-functions.

As Kelly (1999) stated that social changes, personality, and different stages of human development will often influence people's participation in the leisure activities of their choice. Edginton, Hanson, Edginton and Hudson (1998) described the potential personal benefits of what people seek from leisure as follows: personal development, social bonding, physical development, stimulation, fantasy, nostalgia and reflection, independence and freedom, reduction of sensory overload, risk opportunities, sense of achievement, exploration, values clarification/ problem solving, spiritual, mental health and aesthetic. Therefore, leisure provided multi-function and with multi-purpose and level. Nash (1960) diagramed a pyramid of leisure activities, and rated leisure activities into six different levels (See Figure 1). Over such a long period of time, Nash's pyramid of leisure activities is still one of the important foundations. Caneday (2004) quoted: "His pyramid of recreation, ranging from those aspects of leisure deemed to be socially unacceptable to the apex as the 'creator of a model' for recreation, is still an important concept. Students, familiar with Maslow's hierarchy of needs, find Nash's pyramid further explains self-actualization. Nash's design remains one of the clearest and easiest to interpret."

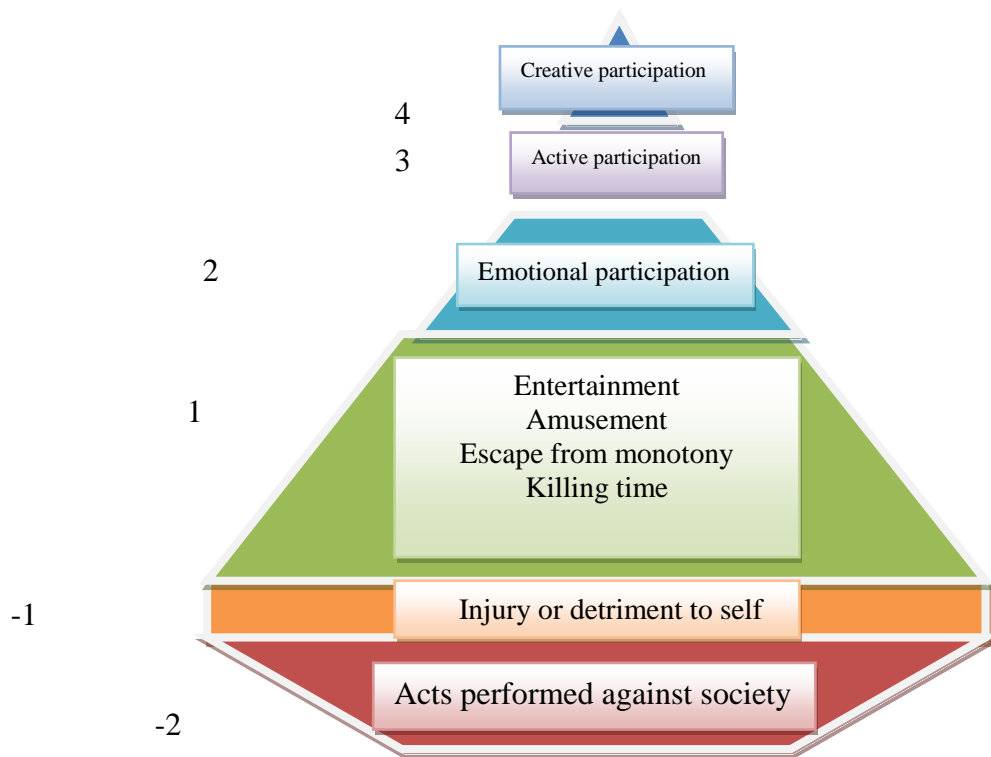


Figure 1: Nash's model of leisure pyramid (1960)

The top, as well as the fourth level of the pyramid is what we call creative participation. People in this category might be involved activities such as writing poems or composing a piece of music. Active participation lies on the third level of the pyramid and people in this category might be participating in leisure activities such as playing tennis rather than just watching a tennis game. On the second level of the pyramid is emotional participation. People in this category often involve their emotion into the leisure activity while participating. Leisure activity such as watching a play is categorized in this level of the pyramid. The ground level of the pyramid is where most people's leisure involvement are, which includes the leisure activities to entertain people, to kill time and to help people escape from monotony. Take watching television or a movie for example. While people increase in the activities higher on the pyramid would result in progress, development, and enrichment in an individual's life. The bottom two levels of Nash's pyramid are leisure activities that have been seen as deviant

or destructive by the society. The level-1 of the pyramid includes activities that might cause injury or detriment its participants' physical health or psychological wellbeing. Activities that might indicate as deviant such as drug or alcohol abuse, gambling. The bottom level of the pyramid includes activities that not only cause injury to the participants, as well as against the law and society, vandalism, for example. Nash's model illustrates the use of leisure with progression of leisure activities, similar to Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Nash attaches a value to each level. Those at the top of the pyramid are valued as worthy, and those at the bottom of the pyramid are negative in value and undesirable (Torkildsen, 1999). Nash (1960) challenged people to raise the level of their leisure activities. He felt strongly that too many activities low on the pyramid would result in a dulling of the intellect and senses. However, as the changes of the society and technology, more and more leisure activities end up in the bottom two levels of the pyramid and participants resulting in crimes or abnormal behavior. The focus of this study will be at the bottom two levels of Nash's pyramid, where the values of the activities are negative and undesirable.

2.2 Deviant leisure

According to Fulcher and Scott (2007) in the book 'Sociology', they defined deviant as "nonconformity to social norms or expectations, and "deviant" is seen as someone whose behavior departs from normal moral standards or who deviates from apolitical or religious orthodoxy." (p.235) In terms of deviant behavior, Stebbins (1996) stated that deviant behavior is defined in two ways: tolerable and intolerable deviance. In tolerable deviance is less threatening to society, with fewer participants and social order preserved. Society uses a passive viewpoint to see tolerable deviance. People often ignore the behavior unless the behavior increases. In the other hand, intolerable deviance refers to the behavior which is a threat to society, and society takes an active attitude to prevent the intolerable deviance behavior. Followed by Galloway (2006), who stated that "deviance is most often associated with immorality in that behavior identified as deviant may be viewed as bad or wrong." (p.222). Therefore, whether the

behavior is deviant or not, mostly, depends on how society thinks and views. However, some leisure researchers have pointed out that leisure might have a negative side as well. Curtis (1979) proposed the term "purple recreation" is to refer to recreational activities that challenge societal norms and expectations. Stebbins (1999) stated that deviant leisure roots in sensory simulation, and in particular, the creature pleasures it produces. Rojok (1989) noted that many of these leisure activities are illegal, and he followed to state in 1999 that deviant leisure and crime are generally viewed as being closely related. Russell (2002) also stated that purple leisure activities are those that participants enjoy but are harmful to society. For these activities challenge social norms, laws, customs or belief systems. Parry and Shiner (2005) also described the terms of 'marginal' or 'deviant' leisure are also used as descriptions for those activities on the fringe of social acceptability. Williams (2009) also stated that deviant leisure is typically viewed as behavior that violates criminal and noncriminal moral norms. From these statements showed that deviant is a behavior or activities which are not socially accepted by the community and have the potential to threaten the community as well as the participants, who have greater opportunity of committing criminals. That is, these activities or behavior might break the norms in society. It might have negative effects on participants themselves as well as others and result to abnormal behaviors.

Rojek (1997) suggested that deviant leisure has been largely ignored in leisure research. Due to the lack of available evidence, those interested in deviant leisure participation are required to go to other disciplines for published information. "By deviant leisure I mean the collection of free time practices organized around drug taking, graffiti, trespass, stealing and aggressive acts. In general, Leisure studies has turned a blind eye to this type of leisure activity" (p.394) Horna (1994) also stated there is a lack of consensus concerning the definition of deviant leisure. "What little attention is given to the deviant side of leisure-taking drugs, stealing, football hooliganism, pornographic activity." (p.68) Therefore, many of the issues this area of study has been ignored still remain undiscovered

2.2.1 The positive and the negative side of deviant leisure.

Horna (1994) , Kelly and Freysinge (2000) both believed that leisure has a range of social benefits such as personal development through challenging activities, freely chosen for satisfaction, self-expression, rest and relaxation, and opportunity to try something new, or just to feel good. Rojek (1997) stated the “the culture of leisure may be interpreted as providing a sense of balance for lives riveted around the twin demands to take the needs of others into consideration and obeying the normal standards of civilized behavior. It allows for the relaxation of our obligations and responsibilities to others.” (p.92). He followed to describe the historical and empirical evidences showed that the culture of leisure is the seat of antinomism and it is when human beings freed themselves from the controlling actors of mass culture. It is also when human beings developed practices to challenge the rules of normality and it commonly forms the prelude to deviant action. According to Horna (1994) people engaged in what society labels as deviant leisure are motivated by this basic need to play. Kelly (2000) noted that violence has the elements of play: challenging excitement, winning, losing and symbols of success. Katz (1988) also stated that some people are just simply attracted to deviant forms of leisure, such as drinking, smoking and partying. The primary justification for the pursuit of deviant leisure is that for pleasure; people enjoy deviant behavior. It is important to note that once behavior escalates to an unhealthy level, it can no longer be considered leisure, he argued. The following sections will discuss both positive and negative sides of deviant leisure.

The positive side of deviant leisure According to Parker and Paddick (1990), they described that ‘good leisure’ is where consideration is given not merely to the satisfaction of individual wants but also to the good of the wider society or humanity. (cite in Veal & Lynch,1996). Reible (2005) also described that many of the scholars such as Aristotle, de Grazia, Dumazedier, Huizinga, Pieper—praised ‘good’ leisure and the benefits of participants and humanity. As Robertson (1993) and Sato (1988) both found that people who participate in negatively sanctioned activities achieve the same

positive feelings and benefits, including self validation, typically associated with more acceptable recreation activities. Jacobson and Samdahl (1998) also reported that leisure researchers have looked for and found evidences that participation in leisure can produce positive benefits such as enhancing self esteem or a stronger sense of self. These benefits apparently occur whether people are engaged in socially approved activities or negatively sanctioned activities. In this notion, deviant leisure is possible to provide participants with positive feelings and benefits just like any other recreation activities.

Williams (2010) noted that leisure plays an important role in both the development of a crime and the personal motivation of offenders to change their lives and remain crime-free. Major deviant activities such as murder, the act of vampire or strip club to minor deviant leisure such as skateboarding or graffiti are all regarded as deviant or abnormal by society. According to Penny (2009), deviant leisure activities are united by a common set of values, forming the basis for a sub-cultural identity. Therefore, these leisure participants are also forming a sub-cultural identity within the leisure activities they choose to participate in. Researchers such as Leyton (1986), Caputi (1987) and Hickey (2002) examined numbers of serial murderers from a psychological perspective. They concluded that such acts as serial killing provided a sense of power and identity for these murderers. It also provided social activity bonding and establishing a sense of identity and self expression for male and female team serial killers. Similar to leisure activities, deviant leisure appears to provide the following: a sense of identity, sense of solidarity, self expression, social cohesion, sense of power, sense of freedom, symbolism, and enjoyment. Deviant leisure, therefore, provides positive benefits for its participants. (Cited in Gunn & Caissie, 2002) Gunn and Cassie (2006) also showed the similar results in their own research. They found the serial team killers had a number of benefits for those who had participated in the deviant leisure as “serial murder”, which are enjoyment, thrill, and excitement. Meanwhile, these participants were also building social cohesion. There was an element of risk and pushing limits to the point that it threatens others. Williams (2009) described in his researches on vampire as a deviant

leisure showed that within international vampire community, self-identified vampires seem to be well, rather normal people. As well as, the community of self-identified vampires encourages respect for human being and their beliefs, they do not condone violence or abuse. Bowen and Daniels (2006) also stated the similar argument from their research on strip clubs. They argued that in society people are willing to pay for spectator sports or events, where customers can have a vicarious experience through the pleasure of observation. Similarly the customers who pay and enjoy their leisure activity as visiting strip clubs, they were there in the strip club for the same reason as the sports spectators, who were in the sport or event venue. Williams (2004) also acknowledged the goodness of deviant that “many forms of deviance are “fundamentally artistic, embodying creative, expressive, emotive, symbolic, and communicative elements characteristic of art” (p.233) Therefore, people who participated in these activities that we called “deviant” were actually getting positive benefits, or similar leisure experiences from “normal” leisure activities.

Skateboarding is a minor form and example of deviant leisure. The film *Dogtown and Z-boys* (2001) described that skateboarding was a form of sport which was against the society in the 1970s in southern California. A group of surfers were looking for spaces to practice their skills, and tried out their new invention of wheels on skateboards. They broke into residents’ houses and used their empty swimming pools as their ramps to practice their tricks. Since then, vandalism has become part of skateboarding subculture. Although skateboarding does not seem to be deviant as before, and society comes to accept this sport. Even skate parks are built for the skateboarders, but you still see them skateboarding on the streets, and jumping on and off the benches and bars. Maybe within this subculture, that is where and how these leisure participants find their sense of achievement and self-identity.

Also many of these deviant leisure activities seem to fit the multiphase experience of leisure described by Clawson and Knetsch (1966): anticipation, traveling to the recreation sites, on-site (the activities itself), traveling back (return home) and recollection (memory of the activity or experience). Since they all seem to fit in the six

qualities of serious leisure, including the need to preserve, career, significant personal efforts, tend to identify strongly, durable benefits and unique etho-subculture (Stebbins, 1997). Take playing violent video games for a deviant leisure example. While playing, participants continuously learn new skills and build up their competencies. As they spent time playing, the need to preserve or gain skills, the sense of avocation, and the enduring benefits of being a 'gamer' developed within the subculture of the game community. All these qualities match the dimensions of serious leisure. (Delmaere & Shaw, 2006) From the researches above show that deviant leisure provides the similar benefits and satisfactions just as other 'normal' leisure activities. These participants find all that they are looking for--self-identity, a sense of belonging, inspiration, social acceptance, or a sense of accomplishment.

The negative side of deviant leisure. Galloway (2006) stated that deviance is most often associated with immorality in that behavior identified as deviant, which may be viewed as bad or wrong. Han (2007) described that leisure awareness was found to have a stronger impact than other variables on both psychological wellbeing and perceived health. Negative or unhealthy boredom or depression relief leisure behavior factors such as passive home, passive technology, deviant or relaxing leisure were found to have a stronger negative impact on both psychological wellbeing and perceived health than others. Stebbins (1997) acknowledged that activities such as gambling, drinking, and use of cannabis are often considered deviant leisure pursuit. Rojek (1999) pointed out beyond negative reaction, others more recently have suggested the idea of deviant leisure as a way of examining crime. Kelly and Freysinger (2000) also stated that whatever term one chooses to use, there clearly is a negative side to leisure that is associated with "costs" of participation, rather than "benefits". Reible (2005) added the literary discourse in leisure studies marginalizes the concept of deviant leisure by using descriptors that defame identified activities such as gambling, watching sex, alternative sexual lifestyles, or drug/alcohol use. Therefore, the negative of deviant leisure might have negative impact on participants' psychological wellbeing and perceived health, as

well as behavior socially viewed as bad or wrong.

The following examples show the negative effect of deviant leisure on its participants. Shaw (1999) reported the impact of pornography as a male leisure pursuit on women's lives. Shaw found the women in the study reacted negatively to pornography, and it negatively affected their relationship with men and was thought to reinforce sexist attitudes in males.

The same example and issue such as skateboarding and violence video games were mentioned before. The skateboarders might gain self-identity and a sense of achievement through the activities; however, braking into residents' houses as is described in the film *Dogtown and Z-boys* (2001) was simply recognized as a behavior which is against the law and vandalizes public property, which is also a socially unacceptable behavior. Another example is playing violent video games as a deviant leisure. As participants continuously learn new skills and build up their competencies, they spend time playing, preserving for new skills and enduring benefits for being a 'gamer' within the subculture of the game community. However, as these video games include a large quantity of blood and gore, intense violence that involve extreme and/or realistic blood, fire, weapons and depictions of human injury and death. The strong sexual contents might refer to depictions of sexual behavior with nudity included. Many of the researches reported that violent video games have raised concern about the potential for negative 'behavioral effects' such as increased aggression, desensitization and gender violence (Delmaere & Shaw, 2006). Lin and Lepper (1987) also examined the relationship between playing video games and school performance and found that time spent playing arcade videogames was negatively correlated with mathematics and general academic achievement.

Another youth deviant example is raving. Critcher (2000) described that rave culture has become central to any understanding of contemporary youth and its development has gone unnoticed by mainstream social science. Rave culture is mobilized by three elements: music, dance and drugs. The primary control problem with raves was that they were literally and metaphorically unlicensed. Improvised gatherings of large

numbers of young people, intent on enjoying themselves and making a great deal of noise, are always perceived as a threat to public order. Ecstasy also took its place in the recreational drugs problem because too many young people and too much of youth culture are involved for its effective action.

From major deviant leisure to minor, and from positive effect to negative effect of deviant. They all seem to have something in common. The core values of these subcultures are all against the mainstream value of the society. Russell (2002) stated that leisure is in the heart and mind of the individual and has nothing to do with outside factors, such as people and the environment, and it is matter of private feelings and not social responsibility. As well as Williams and Walker (2006) proposed, the internal definitions of deviant leisure are sure to vary depending on specific identities and social reference groups of individuals. In the following section will be discussed the relationship between youth and deviant leisure.

2.3 Youth and deviant leisure

The section will look into the reasons why the youth participate in deviant leisure and how these factors influence their choice and involvement in deviant leisure.

“It seems that, from time immemorial, wayward youth have made their presence felt in one disturbing way or another in communities where they have lived. Their propensity for going against the grain of conventional society has commonly been traced to conditions unique to adolescence and young adulthood, often the most unsettling transition in life during which the person is no longer a child and not yet fully an adult.” (Stabbins,1999).

Leisure activities are particularly important during adolescence because they provide adolescents with opportunities to explore and form their autonomy and identity, as well as the means to be often desired for social ends. Also , participating socially accepted leisure activities (for example: sports) have been espoused as deterrents to

antisocial activities by filling free time, alleviating boredom, helping adolescents feel good about themselves (Iso-Ahola & Crowley, 1991). According to Robertson (1999) Cultural background, relationships with family members, dynamics of the family units, and the nature of the social and economic environment in which the individual was raised are central to understanding adolescent behavior. As more leisure opportunities and facilities available, the more likely is the individual to experience leisure boredom and to report leisure dissatisfaction. This effect could plausibly increase with age, as those who have grown accustomed to the availability of a wide range of leisure opportunities (Caltabiano & Gordon, 1996). Further, Agnes (1990) and Roberson (1999) have documented that motivations of delinquency are spawned by the need for more fun, thrill, excitement, social connection or release of stress than offered by more acceptable kinds of leisure. (Cited in Drozda, 2006) Many of the youth participating in delinquency because of its immediate, intrinsically rewards, which gives short-lived pleasure, and require a little or no special training to enjoy it, or what Stebbins (1997) refers to as 'casual leisure'. Thorlindsson and Bernburg (2006) also stated that having fun is an important part of adolescent peer group activity. He followed and described the search for risk, excitement, and new challenges may result in participation in different leisure or peer group activities. A research done by Sullivan (2006) also showed that for college students, gambling was viewed as a fun, social activity, often done to alleviate boredom with the possibility of winning, and to make mundane activities more interesting. Therefore, adolescents often look for fun, thrill and excitement in their activities. However, many of the deviant leisure activities could provide these elements as well as avoid boredom.

Many researchers reported that the main reason for the youth involved in delinquency is boredom as well as friendship. Brissett and Snow (1993) and Conrad (1997) both explored that the context for the lifestyle of these juvenile delinquents is their search for a leisure activity that can alleviate their sense for boredom. Chapple and Nofziger (2000) described that young delinquents often cite alleviating boredom as the

reason they are engaged in delinquent activities. The quest for excitement and friendship has motivated numerous non-deviant and deviant leisure time activities. Some of these leisure time activities are harmless and others are not. Iso-Ahola and Crowley (1991) also found that leisure boredom is associated with drug abuse, although the causal relationship between these two variables still remains to be established. A research done by Dorzda (2006) on Juveniles performing auto theft. She reported that boredom is a major part of the context in which the juveniles' everyday lives unfold. However, another reason for the youth participating in deviant leisure is their friends/peers. Bernburg and Thorlindsson (2006) also noted that peer can enforce or challenge the norms and authority of adult society and having deviant friends is a major source of risk-taking and delinquent behavior. They also suggested that peer group interaction can have a differential effect on adolescent deviant behavior depending on the type of leisure pattern adolescents are engaged in. Mahoney and Stattin (2000) also described that if the social context of the activity features a high proportion of deviant peers, unstructured leisure pursuits may afford an ideal situation for initiating, maintaining, and accelerating antisocial behavior. Therefore, youth participants in deviant possibly learn from their closet peer, and having deviant peers could be the major source of risk-taking and deviant behaviors. Therefore, boredom and the influence of peers/friends are the main reasons for the youth to participate in deviant activities. The formation of gangs is another example. .

Many researchers such as Farrington, Ohlin, and Wilson (1986) and Pabon (1988) have identified that leisure is an important variable to consider when investigating specific aspects of family relationship for those who are engaged in delinquent behavior.(Cited in Robertson, 1999) According to McCord (1990) family structure indicated parental absence had a detrimental effect on delinquency. Hirschi (1969) stated that family problems may create an environment that is not positively grounded in traditional social institutions and that can lead to deviant behavior. (Cited in Robertson, 1999) Robertson (1999) examined why young male adolescents who

participated in socially unacceptable or delinquent activities considered their acts leisure. The results of her study indicated that male adolescents choose delinquent pursuits, in part, because they perceived a lack of parental interest in their activities, which resulted in few shared family leisure experiences. Therefore, family is an important factor in terms of youth delinquency, which may have major influences in helping prevent the youth from choosing delinquent activities, rather than socially acceptable leisure activities.

Some researchers also pointed out that school environment is also an factor that might influence deviant behavior. Caspi, Lahey and Moffitt (2003) stated that “the environment is all that is external to the person and that may influence his or her action, including offending behavior.” As Lotz and Lee (1999) examined the effects of active sociability and negative school experiences on the level of attraction students felt towards hedonistic activities. They found that some adolescents are attracted to hedonistic activities (ex: drinking and smoking marijuana) because of their active sociability (association and involvement with peers) and negative school experiences (poor academic standing). Dorzda (2006) examined on juveniles performing as auto theft. The result showed that all the juvenile delinquents she interviewed had distaste for their experience with school. One juvenile stated “I miss school, ‘cause it’s boring and I get into too much trouble.” As most of the juveniles delinquents in her researches had experienced failing a grade, being suspended or being expelled in school. Therefore, negative effect on the environment of school setting is also a factor that might indicate the youth in developing deviant behavior.

Other researchers showed other possible factors that might influence youth participating in deviant leisure. Robertson (2000) found that the youth who participate in deviant leisure are often lacking for the opportunity and personal skills to participate in socially acceptable leisure activities. Therefore, it is not engaging in delinquent behaviors for its own sake that is the attraction, but the lack of opportunities to engage

in socially accepted activities. Kelly, Wearing and Wearing (1994) also reported that adolescence girls who choose to adopt smoking as their leisure because lack of opportunity within their leisure experience.

This section sums up the major influences and reasons why the youth participate in deviant leisure. The literatures showed that boredom, peers/friends, family factors, school environment as well as lack of leisure opportunities are often the reasons that affect youth behavior or their choice of participating in deviant leisure. Figure 2 showed the main factors that influenced youth participating in deviant leisure.

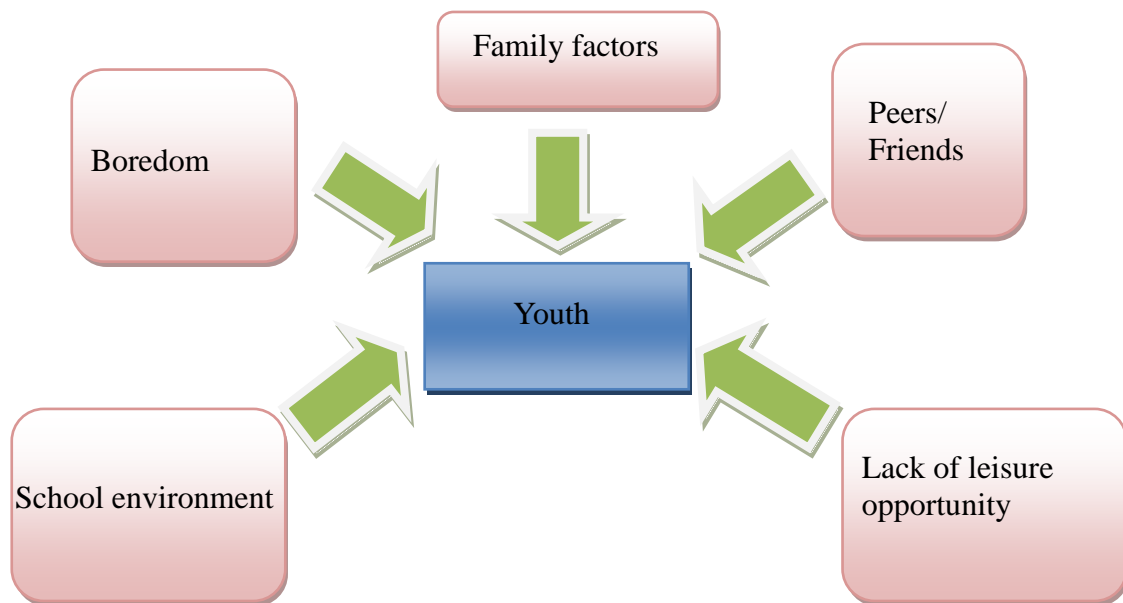


Figure 2: The main factors which influenced youth participating in deviant leisure

2.4 Conceptual framework

This research is based on at-risk youth and their participating in deviant leisure. The constructional framework below shows how deviant leisure is connected with the juveniles' motivation of participation. This research attempted to investigate how these three elements connect with each other. What were the positive and negative outcomes from deviant leisure, as well as how these outcomes influence and affect on the behavior of these youths and their leisure participation.

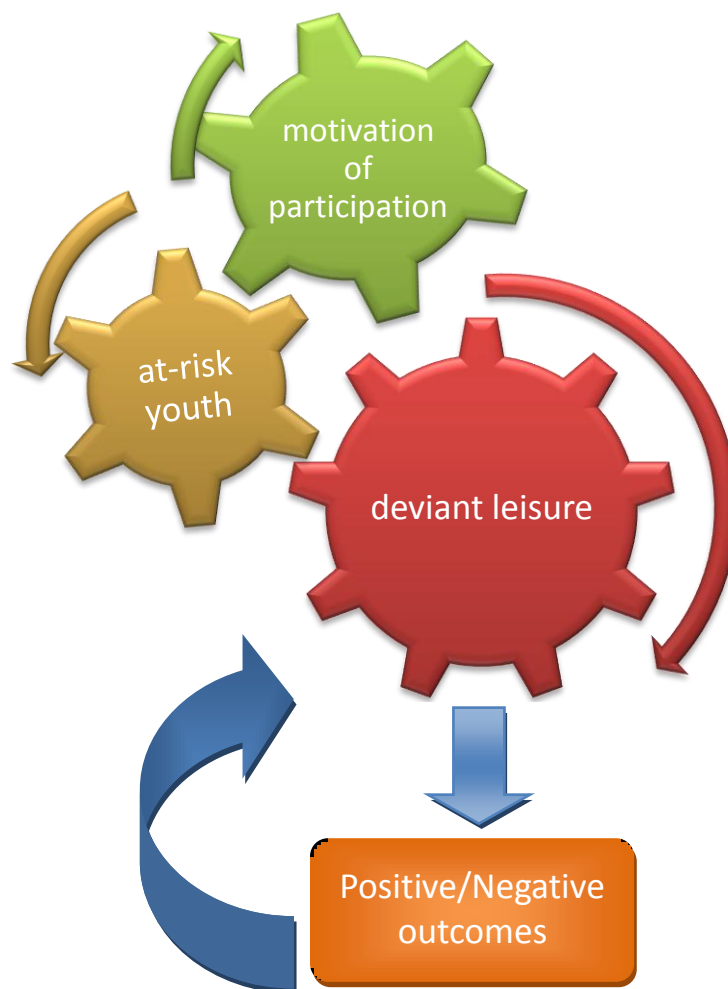


Figure 3. Conceptual framework of this research

There are 4 sections in this chapter, research perspective, participants of this study, data collection, and research ethics. These 4 sections will describe the research methods of this study.

3.1 Research perspective

Shank (2002) defines qualitative research as “a form of systematic empirical inquiry into meaning” (p.5). Most qualitative researches help describe or answer questions about particular events or contexts and the perspectives of a participant group toward events, beliefs, or practices (Gay & Airasian, 1996). Morrow and Smith (2000) also stated the purpose of qualitative research is to understand and explain participant meaning. Creswell (1998) also defined qualitative research as an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. Conger (1998) stated the advantages of doing qualitative research are:

1. flexibility to follow unexpected ideas during research and explore processes effectively
2. sensitivity to contextual factors;
3. ability to study symbolic dimensions and social meaning;
4. increased opportunities:
 - to develop empirically supported new ideas and theories;
 - for in-depth and longitudinal explorations of leadership phenomena;
 - for more relevance and interest for practitioners.

The author wanted to discover the at-risk youth and their perspective of deviant leisure and to receive more insight of how deviant leisure influences their thinking and behavior, and hopes to develop more ideas and able to explain the phenomenon of deviant leisure and its participants while conducting the study. Denzin and Lincoln

(2000) also claimed that qualitative research involves an interpretive and naturalistic approach: “It means qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (p.3). Therefore, the author wishes this study can look into and understand the perception and behaviors of these juveniles through a qualitative paradigm.

3.2 Participants

3.2.1 Cases and interviewees

The main purpose of this study was to find out how deviant leisure impact on at-risk youth in Taiwan. Therefore the participants in this study were juveniles in the age between 12 to 19 years old. The diversion center is located in the southern part of Taiwan, receiving at-risk youth from the area and sent by the department of social welfare as well as the court. The main reason for choosing this particular diversion center for this study was because the author was working as a volunteer in this diversion center leading a small group to participate in different adventure programs in the past. Therefore, the diversion center agreed to help and get involved in this study. Most of the juveniles stayed in the diversion center for the period between 12 to 18 months, evaluation will be conducted after one year of their stay. Having a dysfunctional family or commit delinquent acts or drop out of school are the main reasons for these participants end up in the diversion center. Thus these participants were judged by the courts and the department of social welfare as ‘at-risk youth’ with deviant behavior. Purposive sampling was conducted during sample selection. The total of 11 participants were chosen by the diversion center, according to their level of presentation and their willingness to participate in this study.

There were 11 juveniles, who agreed to participate in this study. The author also interviewed one social worker, who worked in this organization, to explain each single profile of juveniles to the author. The former director of this organization was also interviewed to explain the teaching they provided within the diversion center. She

described how this organization functions, how juveniles came to the organization. The profiles of the cases are analyzed in table 2.

Coding	Age	family status	Education status	Involving in drugs	reason of staying in diversion
A1	16	Parents divorced, mother passed away. Lost contact with siblings.	Still attending school before coming to diversion.	No	Offenses of Larceny
B1	16	No father.	Still attending school before coming to diversion.	No	Offenses of Causing Bodily Harm. (Beating his mother transit by social services.) ³
C1	16	Father passed away. Mother is very ill.	Drop out of school before coming to diversion.	Yes	Offenses of Larceny (transit by social service)
D1	15	Mother is not working in Taiwan.	Drop out of school before coming to diversion.	Yes	Dealing and selling drugs.
E1	19	Step parents left him with his grandparents and grandparents sent him to children's home.	Still attending school before coming to diversion.	No	Offenses Against Sexual Autonomy
F1	19	Family with very poor living condition and alcohol addiction.	Drop out of school before coming to diversion.	No	Offenses Against Sexual Autonomy/ Offenses of Larceny

³ Offenses of Causing Bodily Harm.(傷害罪)

G1	17	Mother left when he was young and stayed with his grandfather after his father passed away.	On and off school.	No	Offenses of Larceny
H1	17	Both parents passed away, he stay with his grandparents and his uncle and aunt.	Drop out of school before coming to diversion.	Yes	Offenses of Larceny
I1	17	Mother had three marriages. He is the child of the second husband. No contact with his father, but fine relationship with his step father.	Drop out of school before coming to diversion.	Yes	Dealing with drugs/ Offenses of Larceny
J1	13	Father passed away, living with his mother and sister.	Drop out of school before coming to diversion.	No	Offenses of Larceny
K1	17	Living with his aunts. Both his step parents were missing and lost contact.	Still attending school before coming to diversion.	No	Offenses of Larceny

Table 2. profile of the participants of this study

All of the 11 cases are male, aged between 13-19 years old. Seven of juveniles were from the southern part of Taiwan while two were from the eastern Taiwan and two were from the central part of Taiwan. The newest juvenile arrived in this organization two months ago. Five of them stayed within this organization just under one year, three of them were between one to two years and three of the juveniles have stayed in this organization three years already.

Seven out of ten juveniles were sent into the organization because of offenses of

larceny⁴. Two were there because of offenses against sexual autonomy⁵ while another two were sent because of using or selling drug. Nine of the juveniles were either drop out of school or did not participate in any school activities anymore before coming into the organization and four out of 11 youths admitted they were involved in either using or selling drug before coming to the organization. Among all eleven cases, the family status was very similar. Nearly all of them had dysfunctional family in common. Five of them were either raised by their grandparents or relatives and nine of them had one or both of their parents left/missing or passed away. The cases were gathered together and participated in a group activities session before individual interviews began. After the group session, individual interviews were followed. The interview questions were designed interns of their own understanding of leisure activities and how these activities influenced their lives as well as the motivations of participation.

3.2.2 Diversion system

House of Grace is a non-profit Christian diversion organization located in Pingtung, Taiwan. The organization has three divisions, two of which were the rehabilitation center for both males and females, who are addicts with drugs and alcohol. The third division is the diversion center for the youth at-risk. During the interviews were taken, there were total of 11 juveniles residents in this diversion center.

The juvenile at risk who stayed in House of Grace came from three different sources. The first source is from the local department of education, who introduced the juveniles that have learning impairment or dropped out of school to the organization. The second source is from the regional department of social welfare, who introduced the youth with dysfunctional family (or no family) and needed the help from social welfare. The last source is from the court. The youth who committed a crime will be sent to the juvenile detention house before their trial. After their trial the judge will decide where to place the youth. If the juvenile committed a crime for the first time or with minor deviant

⁴ offenses of larceny(竊盜罪).

⁵offenses against sexual autonomy(妨礙性自主罪)

behavior, he will be sent home but they will be under probation, and all of their acts and behavior will be supervised by a probation officer. The juvenile who committed a more serious crime or had major deviant behavior will often be sent by the judge to the diversion where they will stay in a diversion organization (like House of Grace) between 12-36 months depending on their behavior during their stay in diversion. The juvenile, who has been in diversion before and committed a major crime or had recidivism behavior will likely be sent to juvenile correction school. (also known as juvenile prison). According to the former director of House of Grace and the information provided by the organization itself, the procedure of how juveniles enter the diversion is shown in the diagram below.

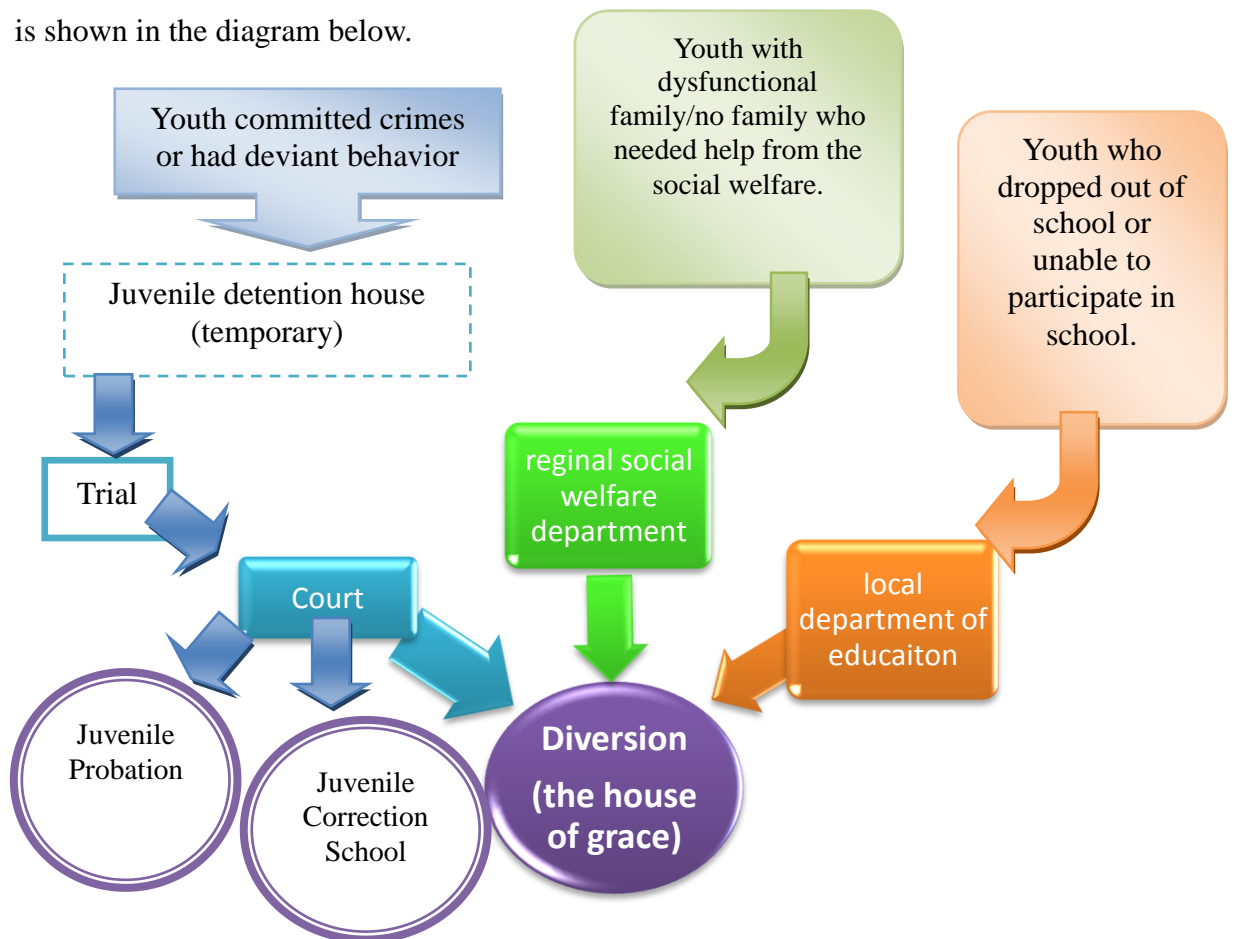


Figure 4 : The diversion system in Taiwan.

3.3 Data collection

During data collection, the author will first introduce the purpose of this study to the participants. The participants' profile will be collected during the first session. This includes their ages, time spending in the diversion center, family status, education level, reasons for being in the diversion center. Marx (1988) argued that the main transference issue for at-risk youth is lack of trust for adults in authority positions. Therefore to gain the trust from these at-risk youth participants are essential before any interview in depth begins. The first and second sessions were group activities led by the author. The purpose of the activities was for the author to get to know the participants better through a relaxing atmosphere, as well as to gain the trust from the participants. One- on- one interview will only take place after the author and the participants knew and trusted each other. All the participants were notified that voice recording device will be used throughout data collecting sessions. All the participants were informed before the session that all the data will be used for this study only and not for other purposes.

Game sessions and observation:

This research used the manuscripts from the interview also author's observation note during interview and the game sections to analyze the data. A game session was conducted before in-depth interview took place. Within the small group game session, the author was focus on letting the participants to express themselves and to share how they feel through the group activities. By sharing the same experiences, hopefully would gain trust within the group as well as to the author. A series of activities was conducted before the interview was taken. One of the activities was charade. The youth was separated into two teams. Each team was asked to write down ten different items for one person from the opponent team to act out, and the rest of the team has to guess what the item is. The person who was in charge of acting can only use body language and cannot use any voice to indicate the answer. The picture or the writing these youth drew during the game are also use as a useful data during analyze process. Observation was also used during activities as well as interview session. The author observed how

participants interacted with each other as well as how they reacted to the given instruction.

Teachers' point of view:

The author also interviewed one social worker and one former director who worked at the diversion center, to confirm the reliability on what the juveniles said during their interview.

In-depth interviews:

Interviews use the same principle as a focus group, but subjects will be interviewed individually. The participants received one-on-one interviews with the author. During interview the author asked questions according to the interview questionnaire (see appendix.1), and left all questions as open questions for the participants to described in details. Voice recording device was used throughout all interview sessions. A word by word manuscript will be type out for future data analyze after the interview. The method be used to examine the research of participants' leisure selections and their leisure involvement. As well as how they defined leisure and deviant leisure and their motivation of participation. Also to discover the benefits or conflict they faced within their leisure participation.

Triangulation:

Triangulation was typically a strategy (test) for improving the validity and reliability of research or evaluation of findings (Golafshani, 2003) According to Mathison (1988) :

“Triangulation has risen an important methodological issue in naturalistic and qualitative approaches to evaluation [in order to] control bias and establishing valid propositions because traditional scientific techniques are incompatible with this alternate epistemology.” (p. 13)

Therefore, game and observations, teachers' point of view plus in-depth interview were the three methods used in order to cross over and test the validity and reliability of this

study. Details of triangulation were showed in figure. 5.

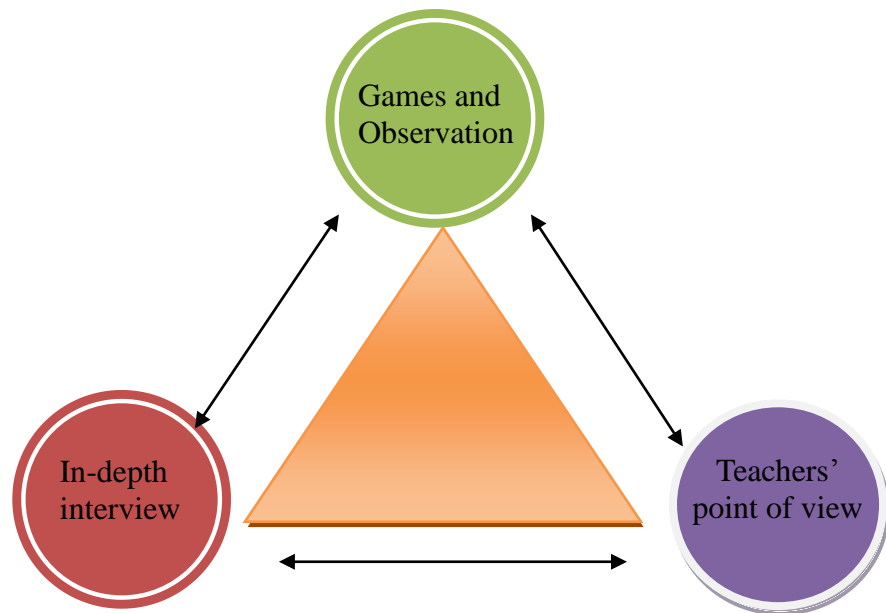


Figure 5: triangulation of this study

3.4 Ethics of the study:

The main subject of this study is 'human' as well as all participants are under legal age of eighteen years old and under the supervision of the rehabilitation center. Therefore, all participants' profile and personal information were confidential and the data collect from the participants were used for the purpose of this study only. All participants for this study were chosen by the diversion center according to their level of presentation and their willingness to participant in this study. Explanation of the study was given to all participants before any of the activity or interview took place. A consent form was given and signed to protect and respect the participants.

THE UNDERSTANDING OF LEISURE

This chapter analyzed the manuscripts from the interviews and tried to understand juveniles' understanding of leisure. This chapter will be separated into 2 different sections. The first section will try to explain juveniles' concept of leisure activities. The section will explain the leisure choices and deviant leisure activities for at-risk youths.

10 out of the 11 cases were been asked about their own understanding and general knowledge of what leisure means to them. A1 thinks that leisure is painting, riding bicycle and listening to music. B1 thinks leisure activities are doing something relaxing and make himself feel relaxed. C1 says leisure activities are playing computer, doing sports, swimming, but he also asked if smoking is thought of as a leisure activity. He continued and said if smoking is considered a leisure activity, besides smoking, chewing betel nuts, drinking alcohol, chatting with friends and singing in KTV are all considered leisure. He also said that he thinks driving is his leisure, too. D1 thinks playing basketball, reading, writing and hanging out with friends are what he thinks leisure is. E1 says what leisure means depends on different people, for him leisure is reading and singing or playing sports like baseball. He played most of the sports apart from upper class sports like golf. G1 thinks leisure is listening to music, watching television and playing musical instruments. H1 says leisure is something you are interested in. I1 says he does not know what it is, and later he says maybe going to the night market is what he thinks leisure is. J1 thinks leisure means not going to school. As for him, hanging out with friends, playing computer in internet café and smoking is leisure. K1 says leisure is sports, billiards, table tennis or listening to music.

我會覺得，畫畫。還有騎單車，聽音樂。...應該沒了吧。(A1)

休閒活動喔...就做比較輕鬆的事吧!(B1)

我覺得休閒活動是開車吧(C1)

看書，寫字阿...打籃球那些。就是，跟朋友出去玩這樣。(D1)

休閒活動我覺得，看人吧。看我喔。就是靜態的就是看書阿。我喜歡看書。我也愛唱歌阿。就是比較靜態的。或是打球阿，打棒球阿。打棒球比較少阿。其實什麼球類我幾乎都有碰過啦。除了比較高階的像什麼高爾夫之類的。(E1)

休閒活動.....彈吉他阿，唱歌阿。跑步。(F1)

運動類吧。球類，或是撞球，桌球。或是聽音樂。(K1)

看電視，然後聽音樂。玩樂器，就這樣嗎?(G1)

就興趣吧!(H1)

不知道，就逛夜市 (I1)

From the manual script above we can see that most of the youth did not consider the deviant activities they participated in as 'leisure'. Their concept of leisure is very similar to the general public. Sports and music are what most of them agree what leisure is. Therefore, even they do not participate in these activities, they still think that leisure is something positive and have good effects on individuals.

However, Out of the 11 youths, only two considered what they did in their daily life as leisure.

哈哈，那抽菸，吃檳榔，聊天，喝酒。然後唱歌阿。喝酒是還好，是去 KTV 才會喝酒。檳榔是冬天冷的時候才吃。菸是每天都在那邊抽。
然後還有就騎摩托車，開車阿，逛街阿。(C1)
就沒有去讀書吧。還有.....陪朋友。還有在網咖裡打電腦，抽香菸(J1)

Interestingly, three juveniles identified and thought that the activities they participated in were "wrong". A1 actually thinks that he stole other people's motorbike and it was wrong. However, he thinks that smoking drinking and chewing betel nuts are

not consider bad, it is just the law restricted them not to do so. As for D1, he first said leisure is reading, writing and playing basketball. He followed and said that he thought leisure was ‘doing things that break the law’ or what else.

就是覺得...偷摩托車就是變壞的。然後我是覺得吸菸不算是變壞，只是政府規定，幾歲幾歲不能吸菸。嗯...還有喝酒吧。(A1)

如果出去...就做違法的事阿。阿不然咧?(D1)

就學壞阿就偷東西阿。(H1)

In summarizing this section, whether the “leisure activity” is deviant or not, the concept of leisure still remains as activities that are positive and have the effect to enrich individual’s life. Even for juveniles, when they think of leisure they would think of something which has positive effects on them. Only a few cases would consider their leisure activities deviant or wrong.

4.2 The choices of leisure for at-risk youth

This section will discuss the choice of leisure for juveniles. The factors that influenced how these choices had been made will also be discussed in the latter part of the section. It was difficult for the juveniles to define what deviant leisure is to them. Therefore, this will be analyzed from the activities they participate in. There are several activities that the juveniles often choose to do during their free time or the time out of school (or not going to school at all). These activities are including going to internet café, gang fights, drug use, robbery, alcohol abuse, smoking, and going to or joining the temple fair and acting as Ba Chia Chiang⁶.

⁶ temple fair and Ba Chia Chiang⁶(廟會活動與八家將)

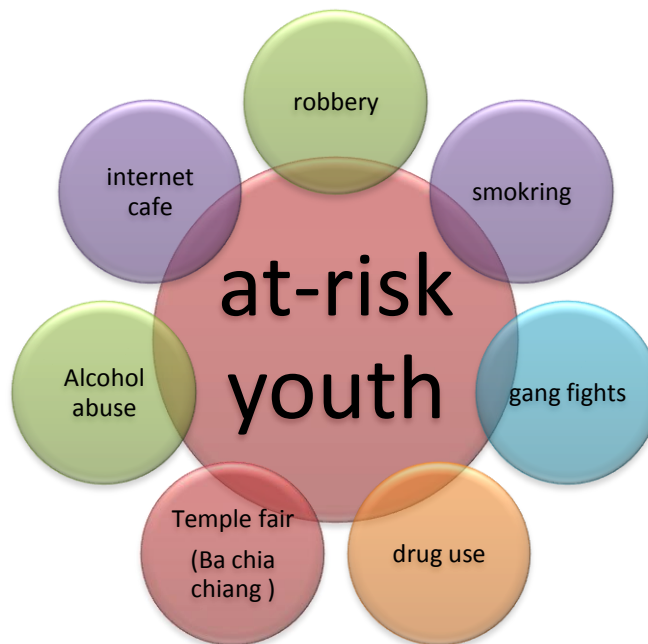


Figure 6: leisure choices among at-risk youth

4.2.1 Going to internet café

According to the statistics analyzed by the judicial yuan (2000) showed 33.36 % of juveniles liked to spend their time in arcade game shop and internet café. During the interviews, the author also found that the most popular leisure activity among these juveniles was going to internet café. Playing online games, chatting online and hanging out with friends in the internet café are what most of them did in the internet café.

A1 started to go to an internet café after his mother passed away and he spent a lot of time in internet playing online game and chatting with his friends on the internet.

就媽媽過世之後，我就會一直...上網咖，認識一些網友。就去外面，在外面過夜。這樣。(A1)

When the author asked what they normally do after school or in their free time before they came to the diversion. B1, G1 and H1 said that they spent most of their time in the internet café.

之前還沒有來的時候，沒有去上課或工作的時候喔，一定都是去打網咖阿。
(B1)

打網咖阿。幾乎每天都在打網咖阿。(G1)

最多時間就是去打網咖，只要沒事幾乎就都是去打網咖。(H1)

A1 also said because his legs and eyes had been injured. Therefore, he could not walk properly. Most of the youth did not want to be his friends and internet was his only way to make friends. He thinks it was easier to make friends on the internet and his friends from the internet are less judgmental,

他們都會笑我，說因為我的腳歪歪的，他們就取笑我說怪咖。不然就是我的眼睛，怪怪的，他們就笑我說，如果他們叫我，我看他的話，他就會說我幹嘛瞪他這樣。可是叫我去偷車的，那個是網友，我從國一升到現在我都沒有一個朋友。網友可能因為看不到吧，就比較不會批評我。也不是說很...不會說ㄟ。總之就，我比較喜歡網友。比較喜歡認識網友。因為網友可以認識很多不同地方，例如像跑最遠的有...墾丁吧!(A1)

Internet café itself may not be a deviant environment; however, from the manual script the author found out that these youths often use an internet café as a place to spend a social time with others as well as their meeting place.

For B1 he split his friends into two categories and he identified that his 'bad friends' are the ones that hung around in the internet café, because of their misbehavior.

我的朋友有分兩群啦，一群是好的，一群是壞的。好的就是有上學的那一群，壞的就是都泡網咖。因為他們都在那邊胡作非為。(B1)

G1 and H1 said that internet café was their meeting place when they escaped from school or a place to hang out with their friends.

有時候翹課，可是大約都是約到網咖。然後再看要去做什麼。(G1)

就是檳榔攤，然後有喝飲料的店，裡面有網咖，網咖裡面有那個算休息的地方吧。就一直在那邊。(I1)

The descriptions above may not define that going to internet café as a deviant activity. However, internet café also provided these youths with a secure environment to escape from their families or schools and also a place for them to be able to smoke.

Both C1 and J1 said that when they were in the internet café, playing computer was not their only activity. Often smoking was involved.

像如果在在網咖阿，都是抽菸。(C1)

最常做的就是網咖打電腦，抽香菸。(J1)

As for A1 and K1 internet café also provided them with a place for them to escape from their families. A1 said that internet café was a place for them to relax. As for K1, he did not like to stay with his relatives and going to internet café was one of the places that he would go when he ran away from home.

比起在家裡都常常被罵，然後就是笑。欺負我。我都一直忍一直忍。阿忍到時間到，我就告訴自己，又可以去放鬆了。(A1)

K1 said that he did not like to stay in his aunt's home and normally he would stay in internet café overnight.

我就不喜歡住在姑姑家阿，就都去網咖。我通常喔，通常都待到隔天。(K1)

Also, for some juveniles like H1 and K1, going to internet café might not only be a leisure but addiction. For they would use the money they stole just to go to internet café.

那時候偷來的錢都拿去打網咖比較多。不是打網咖的話，就是拿去吃東西，買菸，買酒。(H1)

偷東西喔，是為了錢阿。因為要去網咖。因為我整天都迷在網咖。後來我就上癮了。可是沒有錢，所以就去偷。就是有時候我會把哥哥給我的錢放在另外一邊。然後我就拿偷的錢去打網咖。有時候錢不夠我還會在用哥哥

的錢。雖然會被警察追，但是就會想說偷完錢之後，就可以去網咖了。這
樣子。(K1)

In conclusion, internet café became not only a venue for juveniles to hang out with, but also a place they escape to. It also gave them a space to participate deviant activities that they are not allow to do such as smoking. Most of them do not have good interpersonal relationship with others, which makes them harder to make friends in school or with their peers. The ‘unreal’ internet world becomes a safety blanket for them. Under this environment they will not be judged by others and even society. It creates a secure space for them to make friends without any judgment, and also internet might be the only place that they could be themselves and make friends with others.

Internet café also provides functions such as socialization or relaxation for just like other leisure activities. If juveniles only go to internet café to use the computer to play online games this would not consider a deviant activity. However, when going to internet café became addictive or when they need to steal money to go to internet café that would become a deviant leisure activity.

4.2.2 Gang fight

Gang fight was another activity that was popular among juveniles. Many of them had the experiences of joining gangs and went fighting with other gangs, or beating others up. Gangs were often formed by other youths who also dropped out of school or ran away from home. They shared some similar leisure experiences and see fighting and beating up others as a form of leisure.

負面的事喔，就是跟人家打架阿。就人家嗆，我們就打他。不然就是在電
動玩具店打架阿。然後被人家趕出來。(E1)

每天喔，就喝酒。哈! 唱歌。鬧事打架。逃學打架這樣子。(F1)

正當的就是打架阿，飆車阿。然後...就這樣而已阿。(G1)

就是說稱兄道弟阿。朋友阿。打架阿。看可以看誰ㄉ么、比較多人嘛。(K1)

Some of them had experiences of beating up strangers for their own excitement, and as they described sometimes there was no particular reason for them to beat up other people. It was just simply for their personal satisfaction and excitement.

就和人家吵架，看人不爽，就打起來了阿。有時候起衝突，打的人我也都不認識，反正就是看人家不爽，就會想要打 (D1)

沒有什麼原因阿，一定要有原因才能打人喔？打人就很爽阿。就這樣。很簡單。像有一次就拉路人起來打阿。也沒有什麼原因，就打爽的。打完就走掉了。可是有時候只是為了充場面。有時候人太多還會打錯，亂打一通還會打到自己人。(E1)

走路走到一半，然後被人家瞪。就這樣。被人家刁一刁啦。都先對嗆，對嗆完就去叫人。叫完人，就開始打。(G1)

就....惹事阿。還是怎樣。就看到自己朋友阿，被欺負的話，我們就停下來幫他。就是朋友跟別人惹事，我們就會去幫忙。如果飆車跟打架比起來的話，我覺得打架比較刺激。用拳頭打很刺激阿...超爽的。用刀更刺激。(J1)

J1 followed and shared his story of gang fights and beating up others.

就我們一群去打別人，阿別人也是一群。阿也給我們打，我們就打。打到一半，他們的人就打電話，叫人。他們後面就很多人開車阿。就車就過來，拿西瓜刀那些的。阿就追阿，那我們就跑。我們就騎摩托車跑。後來我們，我載著一個朋友我就帶他，我就一直邊騎邊打電話。我就叫，後來我們就把他們引到一個網咖裡面，我們的人就從他們後面走過來。就是我們的廟，會館。在練八家將那邊。那邊剛好是我們在練的那邊。再來，我們已經過來了，他們就出來，我們就後面又有人來。我們就把他們包住。阿拿那個棒球棍阿，安全帽打。阿我就在旁邊看。開打的時候我就看到旁邊有玻璃瓶。我就丟過去，阿有打到一個人的腳。打到之後，全部就都一直打。(J1)

Two of the juveniles said that they had experiences of beating up their teachers at school. The reason for them to do so was that they thought the teacher was stupid or said something to make them angry.

C1 said that the school he went to was a gangsters' school. Therefore, the culture of beating up people was common among the students. The reason that he beat up the teacher was because he was sleeping at class and the teacher woke him up and called him a coward and trash.

我們學校是流氓學校。我們學校在科工館附近。我們那間算是名校。是很多人進去的學校。但是進來之後都知道裡面流氓學校。裡面都是每天都在打架的學生，你如果不打人，不然就是被人打。... 老師嘛，新來的不知道。不過我超不爽的。為什麼要說我是驚三或是垃圾那種話？如果你是我，你一定會不爽打他阿，你也了解我的個性阿。我就把那我的椅子，那張椅子已經被我弄得快沒救了。都可以拆下來了。我就拆一根起來，我就從他背打下去。之後就衝去抓著他開始打。(C1)

H1 also said that giving teachers a hard time and trying to beat them up was something he found most enjoyable.

最爽的事情喔~應該是... 整老師吧。那個老師也常被打過。我就和朋友一起打那個老師的腿。打的時候就看到旁邊有滅火器阿，就拿起來打阿! 沒辦法，那個老師實在太白目了。(H1)

From the description above showed that most of juveniles joined gang fights or beat up others mostly for their own pleasure. Beating up others has become a way to show or prove that they 'win', or better than others. Their friends or the gang members influenced them the most on this deviant leisure activity.

4.2.3 Drug abuse

Drug was another deviant activity that some juveniles participated in. Four out of eleven juveniles were using drugs before diversion. Among these 4 juveniles, all 4 of them used ketamine⁷ and 2 of them had used amphetamine⁸ before. From the

⁷ ketamine (K 他命)

manuscripts we could tell for the drug abuse youth, ketamine was being used wildly and recreationally among juveniles.

以前有吸過毒阿。大概是國中二年級的時候吧。(C1)

我就是因為吸毒然後被抓啊。我最早是國小三年級吧。(D1)

和朋友喔，一起做的事情，應該就是一起吸毒吧。那時候就是都吸 K 阿。(H1)

那時候我剛從少觀所出來，然後就嘗試，也是沒有上癮。我那時候應該是從國一吃到國三吧。就一開始可能就 K 他命，後來就搖頭丸，還有安非他命。(I1)

It was very interesting to see that when juveniles described drug used, they said that they were not addicted to it.

然後我朋友在吸 K 的時候。我第一個碰的是 K，因為 K 是不會上癮的。但是 K 吸久了會變成白癡白癡的。阿我那時候第一次就是碰那一個。看到我朋友吸，我就也玩玩看。(C1)

那哪會上癮，就不要吃就不要吃了。安非他命就是會啦，可是我玩 K 他命是沒有上癮。可是我一碰就那個藥阿。就會有黑眼圈。(I1)

D1 was the only juvenile who was both using and selling drugs. He said that he was lucky that he only got caught while using drug. If he got caught selling drug, he will be end up in juvenile correction school and not in diversion.

那時候是抓到我吸毒而已，沒有抓到我賣。如果被抓到在賣的話，就要直接被抓去關了吧。就不會來這邊了，就去高雄明陽。因為因為販賣是三年以上，最少也是要三年。(D1)

He followed and said that selling drugs made good money and because he was personally using drugs. Therefore, he had to sell drugs in terms to earn enough money to buy drugs.

⁸ amphetamine (安非他命)

買毒的錢喔？ㄟ...那就是...我也不知道怎麼講ㄟ。就是，有在買，也有在賣。是我朋友介紹我賣的啦。有在賣的話就不用買，就自己就有了這樣子。阿賣的話，當然是賣給自己的ㄎㄚ阿，我們都知道誰有在吃，然後就會拿去賣給他們。(D1)

I1 also said that to be able to get free drugs or money, the best way was to stay with the person who sells it. By doing this, he would be able to get drugs to use for free.

要吃沒有錢怎麼辦喔？反正那時候就只要跟藥頭在一起，就都可以吃到免錢的阿。(I1)

The other two youths E1 and J1 did not use drugs but they were hanging out with friends who were using drugs or selling drugs.

E1 hung out with friends who used drug, but he knew that he should not use it.

我看我朋友有在吸毒阿，可是我不能接受。我自己知道那個一旦下去之後就罪不可赦。(E1)

And J1 also hung out with friends, who sells drugs and his friends became where J1 got his pocket money, although he did not personally get involve in selling or using drugs.

就...朋友賣毒。就是他賣，我就我缺錢，我就和他拿錢。(J1)

Although not every juvenile used drug, an interesting thing appeared during the game section to show that drug used is one very important factor within at-risk youth subculture. During the game section, when they need to act out these two things. (see figure 7 and figure 8) They used very unique body language to communicate with each other, that ‘outsider’ would took awhile to understand. When the youth acted out these two words, the first word in these two picture sounds similar to the word “吸” (shi). In Chinese the word ‘shi’ means to inhale. Therefore, when these youths tried to act out,

they tried to act out 'inhale' for others to guess the word. But the way they show 'inhale' was really special. For them the way to 'inhale' was not the way people breathe in or taking a straw to suck, but the way they use to inhale or suck in amphetamine. (pinch one nose and inhale with the other nose), and most of the youth who were guessing got the hint immediately. This showed that they have their own languages/body languages and way to communicate even without talking. However, these languages can only be identified from the people within this group of people, who shared the same common culture and understanding.

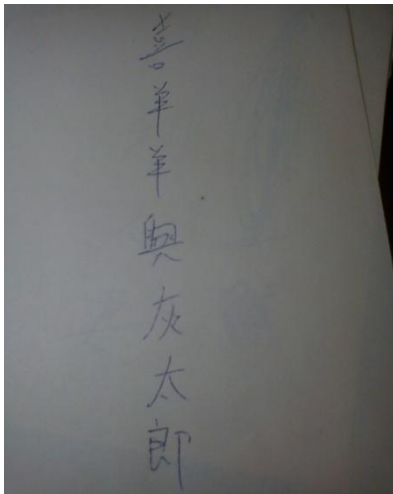


Figure 7. Picture written by juveniles



Figure 8. Picture written by juveniles

Amphetamine was one of the questions they wrote out for others to act (see figure 9). The performer only pinched his nose and inhale, and the rest of the group members were able to guess the collect answer.

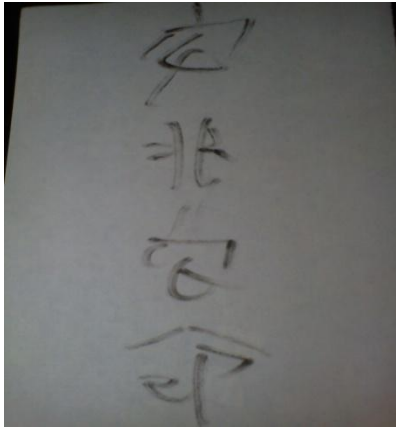


Figure 9. Picture written by juveniles

Although not every juveniles uses drugs; however, among this group of youths using drugs became a subculture. Most of them have friends who use or sell drugs. If they choose to participate in this deviant leisure, they will most likely to stay closely with friends who take or sell drugs to get drug when they need it. They would describe drug is not addictive to them, but they continue to use it.

4.2.4 Drinking (alcohol abuse)

9 out of the 11 youths had previous experiences of drinking alcohol. A1, C1, E1 and G1 said that they started drinking with their peers. Most of them drink at their friends' places or KTV. When drinking became as a leisure activity for juveniles, peers were an important factor for them to start drinking.

像是我生日，然後朋友就聚集。然後帶我去我們去慶生，買了五箱啤酒，幫我慶生。他們就叫我要喝五杯大杯的。我就說我不會喝。他們就說我沒有喝，就不過生日了。結果我五杯喝完，隔天一起來，就發現，ㄟ~我的房間怎麼不一樣。是在我女朋友的房間。就這樣。(A1)

媽媽是有說不要喝酒，但是在外面的話，只有去 KTV 才會喝酒啦。最早喝的時候是自己學，可是看到朋友再喝酒會想要喝。可是第一個就醉了，可是後來有練習，就穩定了。後來就越喝越大。(C1)

平常喔，都去朋友家喝一喝阿。酒店喝一喝。不然都是去朋友家啦。(E1)

我住在家裡的時候是，我都沒有出去。就等爸爸出去，等爸爸出去之後，就會找我去喝酒。我就會出去，我也沒有回去。有的時候像是卡拉OK阿。然後就是和人家喝酒之類的。(G1)

Also many of them started drinking at a very young age. C1 said that he started drinking when he was in grade 4. F1 was even earlier, he started when he was in the kindergarten and K1 said that he started smoking and drinking when he was in grade 1. They either watched this behavior of drinking from others or adults around them and learned by themselves.

我一年級就開始學壞。然後之前還有學會抽菸，喝酒。這樣。阿喝酒喔，怎麼開始的，有兩個啦。一個是大人，一個是小時後不懂，算是笑話吧。就一個小瓶威士忌。因為甜甜的阿。就拿了就喝。我就把那個小罐的全部喝光光。(K1)

酒跟檳榔都是四年級在KTV的時候。自己學的(C1)

我喔，幼稚園吧。我幼稚園就開始喝了。全家人都愛喝酒。爸爸也有，媽媽也有，還有我哥哥姐姐，喔~很會喝喔。對阿。(F1)

For some juveniles, drinking was a way to socialize with the elders. F1 and G1 both described that they were working before they came into diversion. Hanging out and drinking with the elders or their boss was their leisure after work. Both of them also said the elders or their boss will pay for the drinks and they could drink for free. That was also another reason they like to drink with the elders.

工作的時候都會喝保力達阿。可以提神阿。晚上就喝高粱阿。吼~那樣工作超爽的。晚上的時候，老板就要說去喝酒阿。他們都叫小姐ㄋㄟ。對阿。我就去跟他們去喝酒。跟那個小姐講說。他說我給你免費的。我就說我不要。他們都叫小姐脫光光。我都不敢看。每天ㄋㄟ。而且和他們去酒店，喝酒的錢就是老闆出阿，就可以喝不用錢的酒。嘿嘿...(F1)

喝酒嗎？有時候在朋友家喝，有時候在卡拉OK阿。我工作那個老板是大流氓阿，所以白天就去工作阿，晚上就去喝酒。可是如果去喝酒，錢都是老

關出的。(G1)

Both F1 and J1 described their story of drinking in the school during school hours, and how they tried to challenge the school administration authority.

就在學校買酒喝啊？不是在學校買啦，哈哈。就是出去買，買進來。嘿~然後就拿，就買一些，就叫一些菸阿，阿找一些外面的高中生。進來學校喝，就在我門國小的頂樓喝阿。之後被發現然後叫到訓導處，就叫我媽媽來。反正我媽之後也沒說什麼。(J1)

學校老師喔，他跟我講說，你在喝酒你就不要來上課阿。對阿。因為我以前上課的時候。我書包都是酒，都沒有裝書。我就都整罐打開帶去阿。有一次要喝的時候，就校長剛好經過。他就說怎麼帶酒進學校。我就說這是飲料啦。他就說明明就有聞到酒味啦。我他就叫我去辦公室，叫我把他喝完。就說你以後不要再帶酒進來。很多，米酒，保力達，喔~超多的。還有米酒配紅茶。(F1)

F1 was a unique case. He is a Taiwanese aborigine and drinking is actually a part of his aborigine's culture. All his family and friends drink every day. Therefore, he started and learned how to drink at a very young age. He also admitted that he was addictive to alcohol and wanted to drink it all time. Sometimes he could not even stand or walk properly. During the interview he mentioned many times that drinking alcohol is not only an activity but part of his daily life and nothing he cannot live without.

有，爸爸也有喝酒，媽媽也有。全家人都愛喝酒。我哥哥姐姐，喔~很會喝喔。對阿。我都跟我爸爸講阿。之後我爸過世，我就很高興阿。耶~沒有人管我喝酒了(F1)

恩，不知道ㄋㄟ。我們原住民的習俗就是這樣阿。就會一直喝酒阿。沒有酒受不了。對阿。我只要看到酒，吼~精神就來了ㄋㄟ。沒有喝的時候，每就跟蟲一樣。我只要看到酒，精神百倍。對阿。(F1)

生活一定要有酒。沒有酒是不行的。不要吃飯沒關係，可是一定要喝酒。真的。(F1)

喝酒喔，是自己喜歡阿。酒很好喝阿。就喝整天阿。早上喝，中午喝，晚上喝。(F1)

對阿。可能是酒精中毒。就會一直想要喝，手就會一直抖。我就想糟糕了。中毒。我那個時候，我起來的時候，吃飯的時候跌倒。站不穩。(F1)

Figure 10 was also one of the picture juveniles drew during the game session, it showed that alcohol was also part of their sub-culture and it was easy to guess by other juveniles.

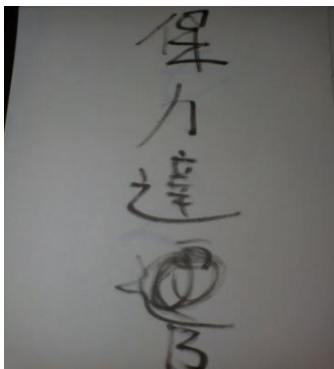


Figure 10. Picture written by juveniles

For many juveniles they started drinking at a very young age, mainly because curiosity and some of them were living with friends, family or the elders who took drinking as their hobby. For some juveniles drinking is not only a leisure activity but also a social activity and also part of their daily routine.

4.2.5 Robbery

According to the statistic analyzed by the judicial yuan (2000) showed that among all the crimes which committed by children and youth, robbery was ranked on the top. 54% of youths and children juvenile offenders committed robbery. 6 of the juveniles described that they committed robbery before diversion and many of them had the experiences of being caught by the police or others. While telling their stories, most of them sounded proud that they had committed robbery, especially when they did not get caught.

偷機車是因為一個朋友帶我去跳八家將，然後那個就半夜閒閒沒事做，無聊。那時候好像是他想要還是，就叫我去偷牽摩托車，然後出去逛一逛這樣。然後他跟我說，只要你不要留下指紋，拿一塊布然後沾濕濕的。然後把你的身體有碰觸到的都擦乾淨，就不會被發現。我就說，是真的嗎？他就說，你這要這樣做就不會了。然後他好像就是，他哥哥是警察，阿他哥哥就是這樣擦。就是那握把那邊，驗，就驗不到。阿第二次就，就是為了林邊女網友，我才又去偷牽車。才被抓到。(A1)

因為那時候經濟不足，就去偷錢，拿菸阿。拿吃的。因為我這個人，以前就有常看朋友偷東西。然後我就把訣竅都學起來了。其實我幾乎偷東西很少被抓到，我挖過很多車子。挖車子，你只要給我一個螺絲起子吧。那是很簡單的事阿。前面放一個大鎖在那邊，那個我也有辦法打開。所以以前你有沒有聽過一個新聞，一個少年偷一個汽車。大概三年多前，就是偷那件事，被抓到了。因為本來和我一起偷的那個，他要和我一起來這裡的，但是他在少觀所又打架，所以只有我來這邊。(C1)

Both A1 and C1 stole motorbikes and they actually learnt how to steal motorbikes from their friends. They watched and learnt the tips such as how to erase finger prints or break the locks. They also applied these skills they learnt into practice.

我阿。以前在唱歌的時候。卡拉 OK 的老板。我同學的那一間阿。我們就本來要偷拿他的酒。然後就被他發現了。就被抓到阿。(F1)

對阿，出來之後就跟我弟去工作阿。阿我就偷他同事的東西，阿就開始傳阿，就是我們那裏的人就開始傳要抓我阿。阿我就剛好在網咖，就被警察看到。阿警察就叫我來，我就開始跑。(H1)

F1 and H1 both stole stuffs from their close friends, and both of them got caught.

朋友在偷的時候，我在旁邊。所以被警察懷疑。我那時候想說，我一個人逃避我朋友，我朋友自己一個人進去關，我就一起承擔。我們去偷魚塢的那種水管。那個可以賣錢。就是我朋友我在偷東西，阿我不知道，騎在那邊，我就在那邊等他們，我在那邊抽菸。那他們出來的時候，我就覺得很奇怪，怎麼拿那麼多水管。就說是要賣的。是騎車的時候被警察抓的。(J1)

J1 said that he and his friends went and stole pipes from the fish farm and that he was only watching. However, he only got caught by the police as compliance.

K1 was a special case that he started ‘becoming bad’ as he described when he was in grade 1 and started to steal things. His family did not stop but encourage what he did by calling him a ‘cat burglar’.

我真的被寵壞了。就是說偷東西。一年級就開始學壞。大人是叫我，因為認識的嘛。阿人家都叫我神偷。(K1)

He stole mainly money, after stealing became his habit. The habit came along with him into diversion, and it still happened during his time in diversion.

說去偷東西，偷東西是為了錢比較多。(K1)

就是已經有那種偷的那種念頭了。然後就自己一個人去。有時候就從屋頂那邊看，看有沒有人。然後想辦法進去。這樣。所以到最後，偷東西已經算是一個習慣了。看到，如果想要就會想要去做這件事情。我進少觀所，又來這邊。來這邊是生輔一直告訴我，一直不斷告訴我。因為我在這邊也發生偷竊。(K1)

Unlike most of the people, these juveniles did not feel a sense of guilt while talking about stealing things. Robbery was more like a common habit or activity for juveniles. Most of them shared their experience and stole with their friends or peers and they stole mainly money and motorbikes.

4.2.6 Temple fair (Ba Chia Chiang)

Temple fair is a very common religious ritual for most temples in Taiwan. During temple fair, temple needs people to dress up and to perform the image of ‘gods’ or sometimes ‘ghosts’ (what we called ‘Ba Chia Chiang’ in Taiwanese). They often find youths who drop out of the school to learn and participate in the temple fair. Some Ba Chia Chiang troupes were making positive effects on these youths by teaching them new

skills, giving them a new way of living and keeping them away from gangs and fights. However, most of the Ba Chia Chiang troupes were just another form of gangs. 4 of the juveniles had joined Ba Chia Chiang and temple fair troupes before diversion.

比如說，就是有廟會的時候我們就會去，不然就是如果這個村莊要迎神民那種我們也要去。不管是大小都要去。如果是大的，我們從早上七點多弄到下午。(A1)

就有時候去，有熱鬧的話就去看熱鬧。那個...就廟會那些的。我們有幫忙，阿因為有錢可以拿。(D1)

像鬧街阿，然後進香阿。我就做像抬轎子之類的阿。有時候拉發電機阿，排鞭炮阿。很多人手阿。就是聚集到廟阿。(G1)

跳八家將阿。阿電音三太子。就比如說就一 三 五 六 這樣。就一三五六休息，二 四 六。就...叫那一些八家將的那一些，還有有廟會阿。就我們的八家將和轎子都會出去。就邊看邊學。阿有那邊的人會教。有時候一天可以拿一千吧。練習是練一練，如果別的廟有需要幫忙的，我們那邊的，算是那個會長，會去講說一天要多少這樣。如果講好，我們就會去幫。我們最多錢最多有拿到兩三萬。大家一起分。(J1)

As they described, they were mainly helping the Ba Chia Chiang troupe by carrying sedan chairs or setting up the fire crackers. D1 and J1 said that they would get pay if they helped the temple fair. J1 also said that the he learnt the Ba Chia Chiang moves and the dance from the troupe, and he had to spend a lot of time practicing.

Ba Chia Chiang troupe and temple fair often gives people more negative impression than positive in society. That is, only youths who drop out of school or has nowhere to go would join the Ba Chia Chiang troupe. It might not be a positive leisure activity for these youths. However, it does provide a place for these youths to stay or even learn some different skills as well as give them a sense of belonging.

4.2.7 Smoking

Smoking is a popular activity among this group of the youth. 7 out of 12 youths had experience of smoking, and some started at a very early age. Most of them learnt how to smoke from their peers of family.

A1 said that he learnt how to smoke from his cousin who was in the same class with him, and that was when he started become 'bad'.

最早是，國二吧快升國三就被..算表哥吧。就是跟我同班，就是學他然後變壞的。(A1)

B1 said that during 2nd year in junior high school is when he took smoking as a daily habit rather than just a leisure activity, and most of his family smoked.

國二吧! 之前就有偷抽過了。阿我全家人幾乎都會抽菸阿。(B1)

C1 and J1 both started smoking in elementary school. C1 started because he was curious and both of them learnt how to smoke from their friends. J1 said that his mom did not agree that he smoked at first, but gave him the approval to smoke after awhile.

抽菸是我國小三年級就會抽了。國小三年級是我看我朋友在那邊抽。我好奇，那時候就問說怎麼抽。他們說不能講。然後就有了一個人跑過來教我，我學一天就學會了。應該說還不到一個小時就學會了。我就在那邊開始學抽。然後一天比一天多，本來從國小到六年級的一包，到國中的時候一天兩包。(C1)

就認識一個朋友，他才一年級就學會了。嘿。然後我就一年級就抽一次，然後就到二年級。到二年級都沒抽，二年級升三年級又交到一些朋友，又跟他們學。就是學抽菸。媽媽剛開始都是在反對，後來就給我菸牌。(J1)

E1 described that smoking was one of the deviant thing that he did. However, he did not like to buy cigarettes because he thought that would be a waste of money.

比較偏差的事喔?就大家都抽菸阿。抽還稍微可以啦。抽菸還會。可是我從來不去買，我覺得很浪費錢。(E1)

H1 said that he spent most of the money he had stolen in the internet café on cigarettes and alcohol.

我們那個時候偷來的錢就都打網咖，吃東西，買菸，買酒。(H1)

K1 also stated that he learnt how to smoke and drink before diversion, he also admitted that what he did was 'bad'.

然後之前還有學會抽菸，喝酒。就學壞阿..比較不好的事就這樣。(K1)

For many of the juveniles in this group, smoking is not only an activity, but a daily habit. For B1, when the interviewer mentioned if there was an activity that they would like to do during their time in diversion and he replied 'smoking competition'. He followed and stated that smoking is something that he has to do every day and cannot quit or live without.

Interviewer: 那你覺得現在你在這邊嘛，你也不能出去，你也只能在裡面。那如果說好，亞當這邊可以安排你們做一些活動，不能出去喔，還是在裡面喔，你覺得你會希望增加什麼活動？讓你在裡面做？

B1: 抽菸大賽!

要把菸算進去嗎，那是每天的阿。呵呵。那沒辦法戒掉了。(B1)

As for C1, when the interviewer asked if there was any deviant activity that he would like to continue doing after he left diversion. He answered that he would not continue any of the deviant activity that he had done before apart from smoking.

Interviewer: 都沒有？或是你會想要繼續做的？

C1: 除了抽菸吧。其他都沒有。(C1)

In summary, although this group of juveniles often participated in what we call 'deviant leisure', most of them still have the idea of leisure equals positive activities and most of them would not relate leisure to the activities they participated in.

Going to internet café, gang fight, alcohol abuse, robbery, drug abuse, temple fair and Ba Chia Chiang troupe and smoking were what this group of juveniles identified as deviant activities and what they had participated before diversion. Apart from the activities mentioned above, there were other deviant activities that this group of juveniles had participated in such as bullying others, chewing betel nuts or riding motorbike racing without a license. These juveniles might come into diversion for a series of different reasons. However, within this group of juveniles, they shared very similar leisure behavior and experiences and the so called deviant leisure activities. But these activities were not only an important element as well as a form of identity among the at-risk youth subculture.

Chapter 5

REASONS OF PARTICIPATION

The main part of this chapter will be discussing the factors and reasons that influence juveniles on their participation in deviant leisure and also what caused juveniles to participate in these activities. Later in this chapter will be followed by how these deviant leisure activities affected and influenced those juveniles' lives.

According from chapter two, the main factors that influenced juveniles' participation in deviant activities were school environment, boredom, family factor, peers/friends and lack of leisure opportunity. There are several factors that influenced this group of juveniles in terms of their participation in their leisure involvement. The possible reasons of participation that the author found out were the family origins of the juveniles, school education, friends and peers, personal motivation and money. However, after the interviews and a series of analyses, the author found that family was still the main factor that influenced juveniles in their leisure participation. The manuscripts are based on both of the juveniles and the teacher. For some of the juveniles they did not feel comfortable or did not like to talk about family. Therefore, the description from the teachers was also used as a source during the analyzed process.

5.1 Family factors

5.1.1 Dysfunctional family

There have been recent changes in family structures including increasing rates of divorce, single-parenthood, and the establishment of blended families (Robertson, 1999). Researchers such as Doherty and Needle (1991) found that children from disrupted families generally do become involved in delinquent activity more often than those who come from stable family structures. According to the statistics from the judicial yuan (2011), 85% of the juveniles or youth offenders were from single parents families or parents either divorced, not living together, re-married. Among this group of juveniles, all of them were from different kinds of dysfunctional family. Most of them were from

single parent family. Their parents either divorced or passed away and some of them were staying with their relatives or grandparents. From the manuscripts it showed that the main care giver did not show enough care or pay too much attention on the juveniles and most of the care giver did not care what kind of activities they participated in. Robertson (1999) followed and stated that the nature of the relationship between a parent(s) and a child is the key factor in relieving stress and anxiety, and ensuring that adolescents lead a stable and acceptable lifestyle. Streit (1981) also found that adolescents' perceptions of lack of love, lack of parental control, and parental hostility were positive predictors of delinquency. However, these juveniles did not have an environment to provide them with an acceptable lifestyle or family to support or monitor their leisure choices, or to give them positive values and beliefs. Therefore, they turned to their peers and friends and started their participation in deviant leisure activities.

A1's parents were divorced when he was young and he also lost contact with both his sister and brother. He stayed with his uncle for awhile but he did not like it. Therefore, he ran away from his uncle's place and none of his relative or family knows that he is in diversion at the moment. The teacher also stated that A1 was kicked out from his uncle's place because he did not obey his uncle.

去年。所以是媽媽過世之後家裡已經沒有人了。平常我們是住在中正國中對面。我哥哥姐姐也都不在那邊，在旗山哥哥和我分開走路。就是分開。我聽說哥哥在小港那邊。阿姐姐在旗山。那在媽媽過世之前。我國中畢業了。就一直都在安泰醫院那裡，一直照顧媽媽，一直照顧媽媽。之後住舅舅家，但是我不喜歡。像現在，我沒有家人，也沒有人知道我在亞當。哥哥姐姐也不知道，就都已經沒有再聯絡了。我也不知道我爸爸在哪裡。爸爸就跟媽媽離婚，媽媽就帶著我們就離開旗山了。(A1)

A1 他是今天五月才剛來的，他爸媽在他小的時候就協議離婚了。他還有一個哥哥。哥哥現在也失聯。然後那時候，媽媽好像是在去年的時候過世。之後A1就，因為之前是和媽媽和哥哥一起生活。媽媽過世後，哥哥也開始離開家。那也是因為他和哥哥也都是不聽舅舅的話。舅舅很生氣，就把他

們趕出家門。舅舅就覺得媽媽都已經過世了，你們怎麼還那麼不會想都不乖作怪。後來就把他趕出去。(老師)

B1 was also from a single parent family. He did not have a father. His mother tried to stop him from smoking and he hit his mother, and his mother called the police. Therefore, B1 was very angry with his mother. The teacher described B1 was on medication to control his emotion and that was the reason he hit his mother. However, he regretted his action after it, even though he was still angry that his mother called the police.

我被關進來的原因就是因為一包香菸阿，我媽不讓我抽，打我媽媽阿。管理員看到就報警了。我也沒爸爸，可是只是抽菸幹麼要報警，我就很生氣。(B1)

其實在他家庭記錄裡面有寫說他在國二的時候有患強迫症。然後那個時候有吃藥治療。之後情緒控制不穩，所以才打媽媽。打媽媽的原因是因為，媽媽和他說，如果你在抽菸的話，我就要打電話報警叫警察來抓你。情緒一起來，就打媽媽。打到住醫院這樣子。媽媽只是不希望他抽菸，他只是很生氣媽媽說要報警。應該是說媽媽很寵他，所以當媽媽管他的時候，他就反擊。他後悔嗎？他後悔阿。可是他又會覺得說，那誰叫媽媽要報警。他沒有爸爸，只有媽媽。他被送到這裡應該是社會局安置。(老師)

C1 described that he witnessed his mother had an affair with a man while he passed by and he did not want to talk about his family after that. The teacher added that his mother has breast cancer and is now under treatment and he came into diversion via social service.

就是我爸還在的時候，我媽跟那個男生在一起，我爸就不爽。之後我爸就去世了阿。結果後面，我媽把他趕走了。(C1)

他是社會局安置的，當然他也有竊盜的這個部分。他爸爸在他國中的時候就因病過世了。媽媽本來有一個不錯的工作，後來罹患乳癌。所以後來精神上沒有那麼OK。媽媽現在是在安養中心療養中。C1 他對他爸爸的過世很不諒解他媽媽。爸爸是因為跌倒過世的。他那個時候都把這個罪怪在媽媽身上。是因為後來爸爸也過世一段時間了，然後他也知道他錯怪媽媽了。

他也覺得雖然爸爸過世了，可是他現在擁有媽媽就好了。(老師)

D1 did not want to talk or describe his family. He only mentioned his mother a few times during the interview. The teacher said that his mother was working in Japan and he used to live with his father.

他從小就跟他爸爸住，他媽媽在日本工作，前一陣子才到日本去。(老師)

F1 only mentioned his family when he talked about drinking. The teacher described that his mother was not working and also drinking every day. Although drinking was part of his aborigine culture. However, his family was one of the reasons why the judge requested F1's stay in diversion.

他媽媽每天都在喝酒，他的個性很火爆。爸爸之後去世，媽媽也沒有在工作。也是整天只喝酒。所以他都會問，要怎麼樣才能回家。他們(保護官)就和她說媽媽不喝酒，他就可以回去了。但是，這是他們的文化啦。(老師)

I1 was from a very complicated family as the teacher described. He did not have a very good relationship with his biological father. However, he got along with his step father, who also sees him as his own child. He also had a lot step brothers and sisters.

然後他進來，因為他的背景，他~~家庭還滿亂的。他的媽媽和他媽媽的第一任丈夫生了兩個姊姊，然後 I1 是媽媽和第二個丈夫生的。然後，他還有一個弟弟是媽媽跟第三個爸爸生的。然後他跟他自己的爸爸其實關係不好，因為他會覺得他爸爸很花，他會討厭他爸爸。可是他跟媽媽的這個第三個丈夫，他跟這個爸爸的感情就很好，他也把他當作他自己的爸爸，也都叫他爸爸。所以他媽媽是第二個離婚之後又和第三個在一起。然後這一些兄弟姊妹全部都是跟媽媽的。所以他的家庭背景其實還滿複雜的。(老師)

J1 described that he has a little sister, who is staying with his mother at the moment. However, his father passed away when he was young. The teacher added that his mother was also drinking every day. That is one of the reasons that J1 cannot go back to his family because his mother has no money. If he goes back now and he will go back to his

old friends. He did not like to study or go to school and there was not enough teaching in his family.

我妹妹喔，現在應該才大班吧。那媽媽就是在枋寮那邊。爸爸的話...(比死翹翹手示)。小時候就...(比死翹翹手勢)。(J1)

J1 他爸爸也是過世了。主要是和媽媽在一起生活。他有個妹妹，還滿可愛的。那因為媽媽每天都喝酒，吃檳榔。他是排灣族。其實他來到這裡也是竊盜的關係。我們這邊絕大部分都是竊盜。我覺得他文化刺激太少，而且說如果現在讓他回家的話，他是沒有辦法回學校就讀的。第一是因為媽媽沒有錢。第二是因為他又回去找以前的朋友，他也沒有想要讀書，就只是想要玩。他從小就是沒有教好，他就是用他看到別人的方式，我不要被人欺負，那我就是要那個"架式"。從小到大，他們家給他的教育吧。他們家就會覺得今天賺的錢，今天花光沒有關係，明天再賺就好了。就不會去想到後果就對了。J1 也是。(老師)

According to the manuscripts above, most of the juveniles were from a single parent family, or living with only one of their parents. There was not enough teaching or care giving among the juveniles. That might be the reasons why juveniles turned into deviant activities.

E1 also did not talk about his family much. He had been tossed around since a very young age. He was given away to another family by his mother and after that he was taken care by his grandparent. However, his grandfather sent him to a child care center after his grandmother passed away. He was raised and grew up there before diversion.

他的背景也滿可憐的。他媽媽在生下他之後，就把他送給別人養。養一養他的養父母可能太忙還是怎樣，就再把E1丟給他的爸爸媽媽，就是爺爺奶奶養。養養養到好像讀小學的時候吧。阿嬤過世，阿公也無力扶養他了，就只好通報社會局。社會局就把他送到育幼院。所以E1從小就都一直不斷的被拋棄。他沒有一個成長的地方。不過他也很聰明，在育幼院的時候，其實也學了一套，怎麼樣和別人建立關係的一套。他很會和人家打交道。(老師)

The teacher stated that H1's parents died when he was very young and he was raised up by his uncle and after he was transferred to his another uncle and grandparents. His uncle was violent and was not a good role model for H1 to look up to.

他很小的時候，大概三四歲的時候父母就身亡了。他就都是伯父這邊在扶養他。但是伯父會家暴。就轉到舅舅奶奶那邊扶養，但是舅舅那邊也沒有一個很好的榜樣。他其實很捨不得他阿嬤，有一個弟弟。他會希望他會有能可以照顧阿嬤，可以照顧弟弟。不用看別人的臉色過日子。(老師)

G1 described that his did not have a good family to take good care of him. Therefore, he was sent to diversion after he committed a crime. Before he came into diversion, he was staying with his grandfather. His family would not look for him, even though he went out at night. The teacher added that his father was not home most of the time and he also had drinking problem before he passed away.

因為犯一個案，然後家境不好。保護官感覺家裡照顧不了我。所以把我送來這邊。然後就覺得在家裡，家裡的人沒有辦法管教你，所以來這邊。因為就是最後國三的時候我爸已經去世了，我都一直住阿公家，阿公管很嚴，不准我晚上出去。所以我白天出去而已。那有一陣子，我白天出去，或是跟哥哥出去，然後晚上回來打哥哥的電腦。然後就過的差不多這樣就算了。阿有時候晚上會出去玩一下子，就這樣。家人也都不會找我。(G1)

嗯~他媽媽在他很小的時候，在他不懂事的時候就離開他了。然後來因為爸爸因為要工作，就把他交給阿公阿嬤管。管到大概四五年級吧，爸爸又把他接回去扶養這樣子。接回去之後，爸爸也常常不在家，爸爸的生活狀況也不是很好。可能之後他就有結識一些不好的朋友。後來就一起做壞，然後有犯罪的一個部分。後來，好像九十八年吧，他就離家一段時間，他就叛逆了阿。爸爸那時候就每天都要去找他，然後有酗酒。其實爸爸一直都有酗酒的習慣，爸爸有多次送醫院急救，都有救回來。可是就是那一次，可能就他好像離家一段時間了，回去之後，阿就過沒幾天吧，就突然喝酒暴斃死掉。(老師)

K1 was staying with his aunt before diversion. He lost contact with his father and his mother, who were also missing before he came into diversion. Therefore, his aunt and his cousin was his only family.

我很想回去阿，但是我回去只剩我一個人。就是我是跟我繼父的姐姐，就是我姑姑住。我繼父他去外面住，我不知道他在哪裡。我母親也是我來的一兩年前就失蹤了。每年如果中秋節或是過年，姑姑都叫我去找。但是都找不到。我還有一個妹妹可是那是繼父的女兒。她現在也在姑姑家。還有表哥，姑姑的兒子。因為是住在姑姑家。在姑姑家，姑姑都管很嚴。哥哥也管很嚴。(K1)

From the manuscripts above, it showed that most of the relatives did not act as good role models and care givers for the juveniles. There was nobody around to take good care of them during their childhood or adolescence. The juveniles did not like to stay with their 'family' because the place where they stayed with their relatives was only a temporary shelter rather than a place called 'home'.

5.1.2 Family and parents' participation in deviant leisure

According to the social learning theories proposed by Bandura (1986), he pointed out that children acquire their values and behaviors from observation and imitation of role models, social reinforcement, and positive expectations of future behaviors. Therefore, parents' participation and leisure selection will possibly influence their children. Parents committed to positive values and leisure involvement was less likely to promote values that encourage deviant behavior in their children (Garnier and Stein, 1998). Garnier and Stein (2002) followed their previous research and stated that the more important the role models, such as parents, the more likely children will be to imitate their behaviors and internalize values, attitudes, and beliefs. However, for this group of juveniles, some of their family members were also participating in deviant leisure themselves. It limited the leisure opportunities for the juveniles. Although their family knew juveniles were participating in deviant leisure or committing possible crimes, they did not stop their participation and some even support and approve their participation in activities such as drinking or smoking and driving cars or motorbikes without a license.

B1 said that most of his family members were smokers. However, his mother did

not want him to smoke. B1 said that he was angry that his mother tried to stop him from smoking, for she was also a smoker.

阿我全家人幾乎都會抽菸阿。但是我媽不想我抽。很奇怪ㄟ...他自己還不是有抽，憑什麼這樣管我，我還不是都學她的。他禁止我的時候，所以我就很生氣，就打她了。(B1)

C1 said that his sister-in-law was also selling drugs, although she did not encourage C1 to sell drugs, she also introduced him to use other drugs and took him to KTV and other places and allowed him to drink and smoke. He described that he life was surrounded by these people and friends and it was hard to leave them or the environment. If he chooses to leave, they he will have no money to spend and no friends to hang out with.

黑阿。我以前有一個朋友，他本身是毒犯，阿我姐夫也是。我姐對我很好，他們不會叫我去賣毒，很保護我，但是他們會去叫別人賣。但是如果他叫我朋友去賣的話，我就會保護我朋友。阿我那時候第一次就是碰那一個(毒品)。看到我朋友吸，我就也玩玩看。後來被我姐夫知道之後，你以後不要再玩這個了。不然要玩的話可以阿，就要玩大一點的(台語)。我就說好阿。阿有一次是那個，我跟姊夫拿零用錢，我說我沒有錢，他就拿了六千塊給我。之後他就帶我去KTV，就開始喝酒。在外面的話，只有去KTV才會喝酒啦，像在網咖阿，都是抽菸。假如是打電腦的話就是玩開心農場阿，FACEBOOK阿，無名阿，及時阿，版版阿。這些吧。阿我的生活中就都是這些人阿，要脫離也很難耶。不可能不和我姐夫，或是離開這個環境阿。離開我就沒錢，又沒朋友了。(C1)

D1 said that he needed money for gas because he needed to ride his motorbike. Although he did not have a driving license, his family knew he was riding motorbike underage and without a license. However, his family did not stop him but helped him get a motorbike via his friend.

就很需要錢阿，因為要加油。我也沒有駕照，反正我和家人講，就牽阿。(牽車)。他們也都讓我騎阿。就是家人知道阿，請我朋友幫我簽的。(D1)

F1 was drinking with his friends and most of the adults in his village as he mentioned. He said that all the adults in his village drink. Drinking was a leisure activity within this aborigine culture. All of his family love to drink, it included his brothers and sisters as well.

恩。喝酒嗎?跟朋友...有時候跟大人。大人就是我們那邊村子裡面的人。他們都這樣阿，我們那邊不會罵阿，對阿。恩，不知道ㄋㄟ。我們原住民的習俗就是這樣阿。就會一直喝酒阿。全家人都愛喝阿，我哥哥姐姐也很會喝阿。對阿。(F1)

K1 said that he started drinking when he was young. It was an accident for him to drink for the first time, but no one actually stopped him. He also described that many adults called him burglar by his nickname, because he was good at stealing things. Therefore, he grew up in an environment where the idea of deviant activities were reinforced and encouraged.

做這些事的原因嗎?喝酒的是那個，有兩個啦。一個是大人，一個是小時候不懂，算是笑話吧。就一個小瓶威士忌。因為甜甜的阿。就拿了就喝。我就把那個小罐的全部喝光光。大人是叫我，因為認識的嘛。阿人家都叫我神偷。他們自己取的。可能就覺得我很會偷東西阿，大人就都叫我神偷。然後又認識一大堆壞朋友。(K1)

5.1.3 Cannot receive enough care from family

Most of the juveniles said that their family knew about the activities they had participated in such as going to internet café, riding motorbike or hanging out with friends and not going to school. However, the juveniles chose not to tell their family about activities such as using drugs, robbery or going to Ba Chia Chiang troupe. Although their family knew about the activities they were doing or the friends they were hanging out with. Most of their family did not care too much about what they did and some even approved their action and behavior. This cause the juveniles felt free to participate in deviant leisure without any restriction.

A1 said that his family did not know that he was helping the Ba Chia Chiang troupe and that he stole motorbikes. His mother only knew that he often went to the internet café. He would lie to his mother about it. However, there was no one to care about him anymore after she passed away.

家人都不知道我去八家將幫忙廟會和偷車這些事情，網咖媽媽知道，其他的壞事就都不知道了。我就騙媽媽說朋友要聚餐，不然就是學校同學找。這樣。像媽媽過世了，現在家人也沒有人知道我在這裡，我爸和我媽早就離婚了，媽媽就帶著我們就離開旗山了。我也不知道我爸爸他現在在哪裡。我哥哥和姐姐現在也都沒有聯絡了。所以我媽媽去世之後就沒有人管我了。(A1)

Being different from A1, D1's family knew that he went to Ba Chia Chiang troupe, but they did not say anything about it. However, his family was very angry after they found out that D1 got caught while using drugs.

我去廟會，跳八家將，家人知道阿。他們也沒說什麼，也不會管。吸毒是後面才知道的。我被抓之後才知道的。他們知道我吸毒就一直罵...我爸媽喔，就有時候發瘋，有時候會打人，會突然打過來。我就跑阿...也沒有想要跑到哪裡，就是亂跑。(D1)

One of the reasons that F1 was sent to diversion was because he committed a crime against sexual autonomy. During the interview F1 said that that once his mother walked into the house and found him drunk and was having sexual intercourse with a girl at home. However, his mother did not stop him but only asked him to quiet down. F1 said his mother thought this behavior and action was totally normal.

就有一次嘛，不知不覺酒醉，他就到我家休息，到我房間休息，後來我要走的時候，他就把我拉住。對阿...我下面就翹起來了。我就控制不了，就脫光衣服和他做愛。阿就有聲音阿，阿我媽就回來了。我媽就說你在幹嘛，我媽就打開門來就看到我們。我媽就說你不會小聲一點喔，那麼大聲幹嘛，不怕別人聽到喔。他沒有罵我，我媽覺得這個很正常。(F1)

G1 said he did not like to go to school and his family did not care too much about where he went or what he was doing.

家人也都不太想管，那時候常常不去上課，哥哥也是睡覺。不然就去打工，不常在家。阿公也沒有什麼管我，因為我沒有住在家。爸爸去世之後，我才去阿公那邊。(G1)

With an abnormal life style and his family did not care about him. It was really hard for his family to locate where he was. His family, school and the police were all looking for him at once but could not find him. He just went his own way and did not care what his family think or say.

那時候的生活很亂阿，家人也都不理我阿。但是總是會找我啦。就找我然後，但是有時候會去台東阿，所以也找不到我。上學那邊也很麻煩阿，去刑事組說中輟生的資料，刑事組也在找我，學校也在找我，家裡也在找我，可是都找不到，哈哈。我也給我爸爸看過，可是我爸要念我的時候，我就不理會他，就走了。然後自己想去的方，就這樣。(G1)

He followed and said that one of the reasons that he chose friends instead of his family was because he did not feel he was cared about at home. He felt that none of his family cared about him at all, but his friends cared about him truly. As long as he felt that his family did not respect him and always saw him as a child, he decided to leave home and became deviant.

就是怎麼講，感覺家人都不會尊敬你，不尊重你，把我當做小孩看。就算我長大了，也不把我當做大人看，把我當小孩子。也不會想想自己以前的心情是怎樣，我就是這樣叛逆了。會覺得在家都等不到關心，但是我這些朋友都是很真心的在關心我。(G1)

Similar to D1, H1's family knew that he was smoking and using drug. However, they did not stop or taught him what was right. Instead, his relatives kicked him out of the house. Therefore, he was living with his friends.

我的家人知道我偷東西，抽菸和吸毒阿，他們就不讓我回家，把我趕出來。我就去住朋友家。我是和阿公阿嬤舅舅阿姨一起住，反正他們把我趕出來，我也覺得沒有關係。我就好阿，就出去阿。(H1)

J1's family knew what he was doing and tried to stop him and warned him orally. However, his family only asked him not to use drugs or kill anyone. Apart from that, they did not care too much of what J1 was doing.

家人知道阿，剛開始會擋，後來就說你不要常常這樣子亂鬧。他就只是叫我不要吸毒，不要殺人，就是比較嚴重的不要犯，其他就沒有在管我了。(J1)

K1 was living with his relatives and they did not know that he was committing robbery but only knew that he did not go to school. However, K1 just ignored whatever his aunt said and did whatever he wanted to do. Until now his relatives still have bad impression about K1, but there was no teaching or caring involved when K1 was living with his relatives.

因為是住姑姑家，姑姑管得很嚴。哥哥也管得很嚴。他們都不知道我做這一些事情阿，我回去的時候幾乎都是有先去我同學家洗過澡，隔天再回去。所以姑姑他們都不知道。他們知道我逃學，但是他們回來之後，又在那邊大罵。阿我那時候又在叛逆期，所以就不理他，就自己做自己的。他們管我，我就要大牌阿，不理他們。每次警察帶我回去，她們就開始頭痛了阿，姑姑就開始頭痛，然後腰痠背痛這樣。然後就很兇阿“你回來囉，神偷”。哥哥都知道我在外面叫神偷，我就不講話，回房間睡覺。就是姑姑她們對我的印象還是很不好，所以我在這邊的時間又被延長。(K1)

Juveniles who could not receive attention and love from their family turned to deviant leisure activities and their friends. They did not feel like 'home' when they were there. There was neither love or care nor respect. Their parents did not pay too much attention on juveniles' behavior (for example F1's mother). This might mislead and cause the juveniles to believe that their behaviors were acceptable.

5.1.4 The role of mother

The manuscripts above showed that mother was an important role for juveniles. During interviews, many juveniles mentioned their mothers and how they meant to them. However, not many juveniles mentioned about their fathers. Davies and McAlpine (1998) reported that single-parenthood is not a risk factor for children. Rather,

it is the associated economic conditions with single motherhood that disadvantages of these women cause their children to be at-risk. Parent behaviors and attitudes also have been found to have differential effects on children. It is frequently assumed that fathers have less of an influence on children's development because they spend less time with their children (Coltrane, 1995). Therefore, mothers carry a serious role not only to take good care of their children, but also to educate them. However, the mothers of the juveniles did not play the role of care takers or to correct and monitor their behavior. Therefore, the juveniles were led to deviant behavior. However, more care and love from their mothers might be able to help juveniles to avoid them from deviance.

媽媽是有說不要喝酒，抽菸他沒有說，因為他不知道我會抽。沒辦法。開車，她怕我被抓，騎摩托車她還算放心。我幾乎都是開車被抓到的。媽媽也不知道我吸毒的事情。(C1)

之後我爸過世，我就很高興阿，耶~沒有人管我喝酒了。只有我媽會管我。(F1)

進來的時候我會想到我家裡阿，就是知道我要被關的時候，媽媽哭的一把眼淚一把鼻涕的，會不捨。我很捨不得媽媽，還有阿嬤。阿嬤之前進醫院，她來看我，沒有啦。他就在旁邊而已。然後叫我去除紋，去雷射把手的刺青弄掉。(D1)

我和這一些朋友在一起，我媽媽也都知道阿，他也都覺得OK阿。我媽是有發現我跟他們在一起，阿是我的朋友圈本來就比較廣。只是那時候被媽媽發現吃藥，他很生氣。我在外面的時候就跟媽媽，朋友關係本來就很好了，我要去哪裡我就跟他說我要去找朋友。他就說好。媽媽知道以後也沒有怎樣，就叫我自己乖一點。他只說他不喜歡我那樣。(I1)

管我的喔，都是媽媽。但是像媽媽也不會管老師啦。老師講什麼，我媽媽，就是有些重要的他也會聽，阿他覺得不重要的他就不會聽。像抽菸阿，媽媽剛開始也是反對。後來就給我菸牌。只是叫我不會常常抽。阿媽媽說允許我抽菸，吃檳榔，喝酒。但是不允許我吸毒，所以我就沒有在吸。媽媽在我心目中的地位很重要，所以他講的話我都會聽。(J1)

All the manuscripts above showed that most of the juveniles mentioned only about their mothers. Many of them respected their mothers and also love their mothers very

much. However, there were juveniles lost their father when they were young or did not have a good relationship with their father. As a teenager growing up into a man, there was no 'father figure' in their lives to learn from or to look up to. This might cause confusion or frustration that could also increase the risk of deviant behavior or turn into deviant activities.

In conclusion, most of the parents and family of the juveniles knew they participated in deviant leisure activities. However, they did not stop or correct them. Most of the family members choose not to care about them or not to care about what they did. There was no role model for juveniles to follow and there was no teaching to tell them right or wrong. Also, some of their parents even participated in deviant leisure themselves such as drinking that juveniles might copy and learnt from their family. Also, there was not enough care and understanding. Elder (1980) stated that teens without a close parental relationship are more likely to associate with friends who have different values from their parents. Therefore, juveniles turned to their friends, who cared for them and participated in the activities their friends asked them to do.

5.2 School education

Almost all the juveniles dropped out of school or had experienced skipping classes or running away from school. The statistics collected by judicial yuan showed that during the year 2011 there were 330 male juvenile offenders. There were 146 juveniles who were studying in junior high school, 57% of juveniles dropped out of school and 43% of juveniles graduated from junior high school. There were 180 juveniles who studied in senior high school. There were only 3% of juveniles graduated from senior high school and the dropped out rate was at 97%. These numbers showed that juveniles' priority was definitely not in school. Most did not find school interesting but boring. However, their family or relatives did not care too much if the juveniles went to school or not. Their family did not insist juveniles on going to school but instead they were allowed to hang around with their friends. This might cause these juveniles not to have

the chance to receive good education or provide the juveniles with an environment for them to go back to school.

5.2.1 Running away from school/skipping classes

Most of the juveniles experienced skipping classes or running away from school. By doing this, it gave them more time to spend and hang out with their friends and participated in deviant leisure activities.

A1 said that he did not stop going to school until his mother passed away. He started to going to the internet café staying outside of his home. Hence, he stopped going to school

國中之前，我在上課的時候，我是有默默的想說，該不該翹課，翹課會發生什麼事情。就一直在想。之後，不要翹課好了。因為媽媽已經身體不好了，等下讓媽媽知道的話，他的病情又會變重。我就沒有翹課了。就媽媽過世之後，我就會一直...上網咖，認識一些網友。就去外面，在外面過夜。也就沒有去學校了這樣。(A1)

C1 described his school as a gangsters' school. Students beat up each other in school. He found school very boring and he did not like to study. He had many warning at school. If he was at school, he would be sleeping at class. However, after the second semester of the first year in junior high school, he stopped going home and also stopped going to school as well because he was using drugs.

說實在，我們學校是流氓學校。我們學校在科工館附近，我們那間算是名校。是很多人進去的學校。但是進來之後都知道裡面流氓學校。裡面都是每天都在打架的學生，不然打人，不然就是被人打。我在學校不喜歡讀書阿，那很無聊ㄟ。就一直鬧事。原本我在學校有四支大過，小過兩支，警告三支，曠課曠很多節。吼...算叛逆啦，國中一年級上，我沒有出事，我都乖乖去上課，但是會睡覺，國中一年級下，我就開始叛變了，我就沒有再去上學。沒有沒回家。就住在朋友家，去玩阿。因為以前有吸過毒。(C1)

上國中之後就比較少去上學了。我沒有去上學，家人他們知道阿。他們也沒

說什麼，就是要我去上而已。反正我不去，他們也不會怎樣。(D1)

我和同學兩個都不會上課阿，就逃學這樣。每天逃學不想上課，只要想到要上課就都起不來，對阿。家人喔，她們就說“你去哪裡阿，老師打電話過來。”表示你沒去上課。我就說生病阿，我就找藉口。他就聞到酒味。我就老實講我沒有去上課，他們就說從今以後你不要這樣，不要在沒有去有去上課了，就整天喝酒。這樣。但是他們就只說少喝一點。也沒有叫我就不要喝。(F1)

跟這一些朋友喔，就會一起翹課阿。那是國小的時候。(J1)

我國一下學期就沒讀了，然後我逃學逃家，偷東西，然後跟朋友出去很晚才回來。(K1)

The descriptions above showed that friends were a big reason in terms of running away from school or skipping classes. Family members knew juveniles did not go to school. Although for some of the parents they wanted juveniles to go to school. However, they did not insist on their going. The juveniles such as C1, F1 and K1 admitted that they participated in other deviant activities with their friends when they ran away from school or skipped classes.

5.2.2 Teachers' teaching

Most of the juveniles did not have enough grades to attend good school and they did not like their teachers, either. They thought the teachers interfered their life too much and found them annoying. Therefore, the schools that they went to were not good and the teachers did not care about if they were in school or not. Or most of the teachers just wanted them to stay out of troubles while they were at school. Teachers did not play their roles as to provide them with a learning environment or led them into the right track and giving them enough care. The juveniles such as B1 and C1 both had experiences of hitting their teachers. However, teachers did not establish themselves as a role model for juveniles to look up to and learn from or to teach them the basic respects for others and other teachers. This was the reason why the juveniles disliked school and their teachers even more.

B1, D1 and I1 said that their teachers were ignoring them and they did not like their teachers. Both B1 and C1 had the experiences of beating teachers up. B1 liked to give his teachers a hard time and make fun on his teachers. He once hit his teacher with a fire extinguisher, only because he was not pleased to see him. D1 said that he often just ignored the teachers and everything they said and did whatever he wanted. I1 said that he did not get along with his teachers and they disliked him because they did not want him to study in that school.

我討厭老師，他們很煩。我就很喜歡整老師阿。像有一個很白目的老師，我就和同學一起打他，就拿滅火器打他的腿。反正就看他不爽阿。(B1)

ㄟ~我其中有一支大過應該是打老師吧。我上課睡覺，他就和我說，像你這種驚三我看多了。我就把那我的椅子，那張椅子已經被我弄得快沒救了。都可以拆下來了。我就拆一根起來，我就跟老師說，老師你剛剛把你那句話收回去。我就從他背打下去。之後就衝去抓著他開始打。(C1)

我沒去上學老師就一直靠腰阿，一直吵一直煩。反正他們講他們的，我做我的。(D1)

學校老師喔，是比較不合。那時候我很討厭老師。那時候不讓我進去讀。(I1)

C1 followed and said that he did not like school. However, his teachers told him that he could do anything he wanted. He could smoke at school as long as the teachers did not see it. He could just sit in the classroom and do nothing as long as he came to school.

在學校的話，我就覺得上不下去，就很想要逃避，然後就會翹課。我們老師是之前和我說一句話，就是不想上課沒有關係。但是至少有乖乖來上學就好。你要抽菸，沒關係，不要被我看到就好。所以我才乖乖在班上。(C1)

F1 described that the teachers asked him not to go to school if he kept drinking. He said that when he was at school, he often brought alcohol in his school bag to school. His principle asked him to drink and finished all the alcohol while he was at school.

學校老師喔，他跟我講說，你再喝酒，你就不要來上課了。對阿，因為我以前上課的時候，我書包都是酒。有阿，我有帶酒去學校，就被校長看到，就被叫到他的辦公室。他說：把保力達喝完。我就喝完阿。我就說還有事嗎？他就說沒有事了。(F1)

Teachers were supposed to provide care for their students, but K1 he did not feel care from his teachers at all. He did not want to talk or tell his teachers where he was, even though his teachers tried to ask him. K1 said he could not receive any care from the teachers or his family but only reproach and beating up.

老師會問我去哪裡，我也沒有跟老師講什麼。我不想要理老師。那一陣子正在叛逆。從國一就開始叛逆了，一直到國三。可能因為在叛逆期，被老師打習慣了。然後被家人罵習慣了，就會有那種得不到關心的那種感覺。然後心裡想說，既然沒有人要關心我，那就算了。(K1)

Academically, B1 and E1 were doing not too bad at school. B1's grade was actually good enough to be in the top class of his school. However, he was only attending the second best class because the teacher disliked him as he described.

我之前就讓老師討厭我，不然本來之前成績可以去菁英班。但是老師之後覺得我太白目，就說你留在普通班就好了阿。像我每次寫考卷阿，菁英班和普通班是分開考阿。很好笑阿，每次在普通班都第一名。成績是在精英班的中間。(B1)

E1 was also in the top class of his school before diversion. E1 also said that although he was in the top class it did not mean all the students in his class were good students. They still hung out and drank after school.

阿這些朋友白天也是和我一樣的喔。我們都是A段班學生。晚上要宣洩一下壓力。其實很多很聰明，背後都是這樣。我們那一掛就兩個資優班的好不好。我們三個一起去考阿，他們兩個考上阿。打架什麼他們都還不是有去。拜託一下好不好，不是資優班的學生就都是乖乖牌。沒有這回事。(E1)

And he was also planning to go to university after diversion.

屏科大阿。有阿，我想要去念他們的農業企業管理系。因為我們班和屏科大有產學合作那種的，就是如果我在班上的成績是前二十名。我就有機會可以直升屏科大。還要考口試啦。(E1)

According to the manuscripts, it showed that some of the juveniles were actually smart and were willing to do well in school. However, the reason they disliked school was because most of them did not feel care or they could not find any sense of identity or belonging in the school. The school did not care too much about the students who did not attend classes, either provided proper help or consultation. Therefore, the students turned to deviant activities and their friends outside of school.

5.3 Friends/Peers

Similar to parents, peers may have both positive and negative effects on teens (Garnier and Stein, 2001) Friends are the most important factors that influenced these juveniles in terms of their participation in deviant leisure activities. They were also the most significant influential people among this group of juveniles. Some researches pointed out that teens spend more time with peers and less with their family during their transition into adulthood. In other words, peers have the most important influence on their day-to-day behaviors (Steinberg et al., 1992). Since these juveniles did not really have a family. Therefore, friends became the only people they could rely on. Conger and Reuter (1996) also stated that early delinquency and association with delinquent peers are the strongest antecedents of adolescent delinquent behavior. Besides, the peers who are engaged in delinquent behaviors may encourage similar behaviors in their friends. The estimated number from the judicial yuan (2011) also showed that during the year 2011, 65% of male juvenile offenders were caught with a companion(s). Many juveniles in this group stated that the reasons why they participated in deviant leisure were because their friends were also doing it or their friends asked them to do so. Most of their friends were from the similar social background. They also learned from each other and helped each other as they were in one family. According to Garnier and Stein

(2001) pointed out that the peer group affiliations at adolescence appear to be a complex mix of mutual influences and they pick peers somewhat like themselves and also are picked by other teens for attributes they bring from childhood from their family value, system, social status, and ethnic background (Garnier and Stein, 2001). The two reasons for their participation were friends' involvement or instigation and helping friends. Details which will be discuss in the following paragraphs.

Friend's involvement or instigation was the main reasons that juveniles got involved in deviant leisure activities. They often learnt these activities from their friends and participated in with their friends.

A1 learnt how to steal motorbikes from his friends and his friends also taught him how to wipe out finger prints and not to leave any prints. He said that his friends asked him to steal motorbikes and he did it because he was bored and got nothing to do.

我第一次偷車是人家叫我做的阿。偷機車是因為一個朋友帶我去跳八家將，然後那個就半夜閒閒沒事做，無聊。那時候好像是他想要還是，就叫我去偷牽摩托車，然後出去逛一逛這樣。然後他跟我說，只要你不要留下指紋，拿一塊布然後沾 濕濕的。然後把你的身體有碰觸到的都擦乾淨，就不會被發現。我就說，是真的嗎？他就說，你這要這樣做就不會了。然後他好像就是，他哥哥是警察，阿他哥哥就是這樣擦。就是那握把那邊，驗，就驗不到。(A1)

B1 and C1 both learnt how to smoke from their friends. B1 said that he would smoke with his classmates at school and with his friends outside of school. They often go to the internet café because it was a place they would smoke freely.

抽菸最早是跟同學學的，大概是國二的時候吧。可是之前就有偷抽過了。在學校的話就是和同學一起抽，在外面就是和朋友阿。和朋友在一起，都通常就是去打網咖。所以就會和他們一起去，在網咖裡面反正又沒有禁菸，就會抽阿。(B1)

C1 said he often hung out with his friends who were older than he. He would go to

KTV with his friends, classmates and girlfriends. He did spend most of his time doing things with his friends, because he said there was not much he could do if he was alone.

抽菸喔，通常就都是和朋友一起，不是同學...恩，算是我學長。也是和他們學的。去 KTV 的話就還有朋友和同學，還有女朋友也會一起。所以幾乎都是跟朋友，我都是去陪朋友喝酒，玩這樣。如果只有自己的話，很多事也沒有辦法做，像是開車阿。(C1)

C1 followed and said that he started using drugs because one of his friends asked him to and they committed almost every crime together. They once got caught stealing because his friend's girlfriend asked them to.

吸毒是我一個朋友叫我吸的。我怕我姐夫聽到的話會罵我。而且其實我來之前，我還有一個同行，和我一起犯案進去的。每條案子都是一起。認識他的時候他應該算是我最好的一個哥哥，有一次，是一次竊盜案進去的時候，是他女朋友叫我去偷的。我們本來說不要，他女朋友就叫我們去，我們廬了一個小時才去。(C1)

D1 said that he missed the happy time he spent with his friends. The time he hung out with his friends. However, many of his friends were now also in diversion or prison because of drug abuse. He also lost one of his friends in a car accident last month. D1

就是一起開心的日子阿，之前的那些生活，就是一起出去玩的日子。他們現在也有好幾個都被關了，好幾個都是因為吸毒。上個月回去還有一個朋友過世了。上個月車禍，第一次經歷這種生離死別很難過。因為都在一起那麼久了。(D1)

F1 said that he only drank when he friend asked him to. If he friend did not ask him, then he would not drink. He also hung out and fights with others.

沒有就是，我只有朋友找我的時候才會喝阿。如果朋友沒有找我，我就不喝阿。像以前打架鬧事，也是都跟朋友一起。(F1)

5.3.1 Helping and backing friends up

Another reason for juveniles to participate in deviant leisure activities was to help

their friends. They often helped each other. As they described, they saw their friends business as their own business and they believed that was what a true friends really about. It was also a way to show their loyalty to each other. They believed that when they helped their friends in need, their friend would also do the same and help them when they need help,

D1 said that he and his friends had known each other for a long time and they were sincere to each other. He admitted that they were doing ‘bad things’ together. However, they would back each other up no matter what happens.

那時候當然會，就是都是在一起久了嘛，就自然而然的想要在一起。在一起的原因喔...就真心吧! 就是雖然我們有在做壞事，但是至少被那個，都會相挺。而且每一個都是這樣。(D1)

H1 said that he often went stealing things and used drug with his friends and he also learnt smoking and how to use drugs from his friends. They were really close and always back each other up. “Without these friends he might not be doing these activities or stealing things,” said H1.

都是和朋友一起去阿，就一起偷東西...還有吸毒阿。像抽菸吸毒也是朋友教我的。如果沒有這些朋友，可能就不會去做這一些事情了，也不會去偷東西了。我跟他們很好，是那種互相挺的那種，就是我照你，你也罩我。(H1)

Joining Ba Chia Chiang troupe was for the money and friends for J1. He liked to go there because he could be with his friends. He said that if he was not in diversion, he would still be hanging out there with them. His friends were like brothers to him and always backed him up and they helped each other all the time when they were in need.

那時候去跳八家將是為了賺錢，還有朋友。就是可以跟朋友一起阿。如果我没有進來的話，應該還是會繼續在那邊吧。因為那些朋友就很像兄弟，都很挺我。他有事我就幫他，我有事他就幫我。就互相阿。(J1)

While most of the juveniles described that they participated in deviant leisure

activities for their friend voluntarily. However G1 mentioned that although he did it to support and to show this loyalty to his friend but peer pressure was also involved. He knew what they were doing was not right, but he will still do it because all his friends were doing it.

怎麼講，也是刺激說，我們都做了，為什麼你都不做，你到底是不是朋友。這樣。有時候會有一點壓力吧！會因為朋友的關係，即使知道是不對的，可是還是會去做阿。因為就相挺阿。(G1)

G1 also followed and stated that it was better to do things with his friends and this made him happier. However, he would only go to join the people if he knew them. He would not be going if he did not know them. He said that although his friends might participate in activities that he did not want to do but he would still do it anyway, only because he could be with his friends. If he did not have these friends then he would not be doing these activities anymore.

ㄉ... 一大群朋友聚在一起的時候，一起做事情這樣，就會比較開心。去做的話都是因為朋友吧。想要去玩阿，覺得在學校玩的不夠過癮，然後去外面玩一些比較過癮的。如果還有認識的我就會去，如果都不認識的話，我就不會去了。(G1)

如果今天大家都要去做，但是可能不是我想要的，我還是會去做，因為就是可以跟朋友在一起這樣。如果沒有這一些朋友，我也應該改正了吧。(G1)

A1 started to go to the Ba Chia Chiang troupe because of his friends from the internet. Since he had never had a 'real friend' apart from the Ba Chia Chiang troupe and they were nice to him, he would go to help them if he was asked. It gave him a sense of belonging.

那個是跳八家將，在一個會館那邊。那個是網友帶我去的，我從國一升到現在我都沒有一個朋友。在會館那邊就有一些朋友，他們對我很好。所以你會比較喜歡去會館那邊。那廟會有要幫忙就會叫我去。就像那個第一次叫我偷車的，也是會館那邊的朋友。(A1)

G1 said the reason he liked to hang out with his friends was because he liked the feeling of being respected by others and knowing that there was always someone there to back him up and to help him when he needed it.

我喜歡跟這一些朋友混，就是相挺的那種感覺很不錯，被注重，尊敬，就這樣。(G1)

I1 said he was also happier when he was with his friends and they were nice to him. He was happy when he participated in deviant activities because he was doing it with his friends.

跟朋友再一起會比較快樂，人比較多阿。因為他們都很好，和他們滿好的。做這些事情很快樂的原因是因為朋友吧!(I1)

J1 said the reasons that made him happy and kept participating in deviant leisure were that he could help his friends and be with his friends.

快樂的原因喔...就是可以幫助朋友，阿...陪朋友一起成長。這樣。(J1)

K1 also described that the reason that kept him participating in deviant leisure was because of his friends. He saw his friends as his brothers.

一直去做，因為朋友吧! 就是說稱兄道弟阿，朋友阿，打架阿，看誰可以ㄉㄤ、比較多人阿。(K1)

This section is concluded that friends were the most influential factor for juveniles to participate in deviant leisure. Juveniles had the idea of participating deviant leisure with friends, which was a way to prove their loyalty and to help their friends. In return, they earned respect and support from their friends and knew that their friends would be there to help them when they needed.

5.4 Personal motivation

There were several reasons of participation stated by the juveniles that was concluded to personal motivation such as boring, excitement, happiness as well as to

forget about their worries. From the literature reviews from chapter 2 , it also showed that motivation of delinquency are spawned by the need for more fun, thrill, excitement, social connection or release of stress (Agnew, 1990. Robertson, 1999). Therefore, juveniles choose deviant leisure activities not only for their friends but also for their own pleasure.

I1 said being bored was his motivation of participation. He felt bored by himself and at the time he was staying with his friends. Therefore, when his friends gave him drugs, he just took it.

應該就是出於無聊吧。就是很無聊阿，阿我朋友就拿來，我就吃了，阿那時候我覺得自己一個人很無聊阿，幾乎都在我那個朋友家。(I1)

Another motivation for juveniles to participate in deviant leisure was excitement. B1 felt excited about beating up others. However, he said the excitement only lasted for the moment. He felt good about beating up others and excited about it.

為什麼要整老師？或是在學校亂喔...沒有阿，就一個爽字。不過也是爽一時的啦，然後警告不知道被記了幾次。那打人的話就是心情不好才打的，但是打了全頭會痛。但是就很爽。不知道，我不會說...反正就有一種快感。對阿...就很刺激阿，就很怕老師突然走進來阿。(B1)

Both G1 and K1 said that the reasons for them to participate in these activities were that they looked for pleasure and felt excited and happy when he was chased after by the police.

做這一些事情，應該是說尋找自己的快感(G1)

很快樂的原因，就是說被警察追，很刺激阿。(K1)

E1, F1 and H1 all said that happiness was one of the reasons for them to participate in deviant activities. E1 and F1 both said that drinking made them happy and forget about worries or release stress. H1 said that he felt happy when he stolen something

successfully. He did not feel any sense of guilty but excitement.

很快樂，讓我第一次忘掉所有的事情。又時候課業壓力很大，就可以和朋友一起嗆別人，喝酒。(E1)

喝酒，就很快樂阿，可以紓解壓力。(F1)

也不算說有快樂啦，但是有偷到的時候就很快樂。也不覺得有成就感，就只是覺得很高興。(H1)

To relax and to release from pressure were also the motivation of participation. A1 said that going to internet café was a way for him to relax and release from all the stress. He liked to talk to his friends on the internet because they could not see him; therefore, they would not criticize him

比起在家裡都常常被罵，然後就是笑。欺負我。我都一直忍一直忍。阿忍到時間到，我就告訴自己，又可以去網咖放鬆了。我喜歡去網咖，因為我想去和網友聊天。可能是因為看不到我，所以他們比較不會批評我。(A1)

F1 said that drinking could let him forget about things like worries.

就忘記...忘記別的事情。像煩惱就可以忘記(F1)

I1 said he did not know how to see what was right or wrong. However, sometimes he felt that he could not breathe and wanted to let the stress out. Therefore he would use drug to release himself.

應該是說那時候不會去看事情的嚴重性，或是對錯。所以就覺得，喔! 好阿。但是有時候就是覺得喘不過氣來，想要發洩。(I1)

From the descriptions of juveniles, it showed that juveniles joined and participated in deviant leisure activities for reasons such as excitement, happiness, boredom, relaxation, and to release from pressure. Although the leisure activities they participated in were deviant or socially not acceptable. However, they did participate in these activities for the same reasons that most people joined in other general socially

acceptable leisure activities.

5.5 Money

The manuscripts showed that money was a very important factor that influenced juveniles in their leisure participation. Most of the juveniles were from families which were from the lower middle class, single parented family and did not have enough money to provide the youth for their leisure or even daily living expenses. Eiduson (1975) also pointed out that single parenthood and economic uncertainty are other risky factors for adolescents in non-conventional families. However, some juveniles participated in activities such as the Ba Chia Chiang troupe or stole money for their own living expenses or for other deviant activities, for example, going to internet café.

J1's mother was unemployed. Therefore, they did not have income for their family. J1 would go to the Ba Chia Chiang troupe and helped the temple fair to earn money and gave it to his mother for living.

因為媽媽沒有錢阿，阿有時候跳完，錢會拿給媽媽。(J1)

Most of the juveniles like A1 and G1 also participated in the Ba Chia Chiang troupe was because they would earn money from it. A1 said that if there was not money involved, then he would not likely to go.

其實我不喜歡。阿就是，我會進去不是因為跳八家將，如果有錢的話我也是會去。我去跳八家將，會去會館那邊，是因為有錢可以賺。沒有錢的話，其實就不會那麼想要去了。比起來我還是比較喜歡去網咖上網。(A1)

去廟會因為他們(朋友)有去，又有錢拿，所以就去了。(G1)

C1 and H1 were not living with their family before diversion. They ran away from home. They did not have any money for living. Therefore they would go and stole money for food. If they succeeded then they would have meals for the day and if not, then they would have nothing to eat as H1 described.

因為那時候經濟不足阿，就去偷錢，拿菸阿，拿吃的。去做去偷的原因阿就是那時候沒有錢阿。我朋友缺錢，大家都是。(C1)

會和朋友去偷東西是因為大家都是差不多命運的人阿，都住外面，都翹家，假如有偷到錢就有一餐，沒有偷到錢就什麼都沒有了。(H1)

K1 said that he was addicted to the internet café. Therefore, he would need to steal money to afford to go to internet café. He was not only addicted to the internet café, as well as stealing. He said that he only stole money, but he could not help it or stop himself from stealing. In fact, stealing gave him a sense of achievement.

偷東西是為了錢阿，因為要去網咖，因為我整天都迷網咖，後來就上癮了。所以我很需要錢，可是我沒有那麼多錢，所以只好去偷。就是偷完錢之後，就可以去網咖了 (K1)

我都偷的就只有錢吧，就手癢阿，忍不住。就會很想偷(K1)

This section is concluded that juveniles often needed money for other deviant leisure activities such as buying drug, smoking, drinking or going to the internet cafe. Also there were juveniles they needed money just for living. However, their family's financial difficulties did not allow them to spend as much money as they needed. Therefore, they would participate in other deviant activities such as robbery or selling drugs to have extra money to spend or to live their life.

To summarize this chapter and to conclude the analyzed data from the manuscripts, it showed the reasons for juveniles to participate in deviant leisure activities and it is presented in the figure 5., which showed they were influenced by their family, friends and peers, school education, personal motivation and money. More discussion of juveniles' participation and involvement will also be discussed in the following chapter.

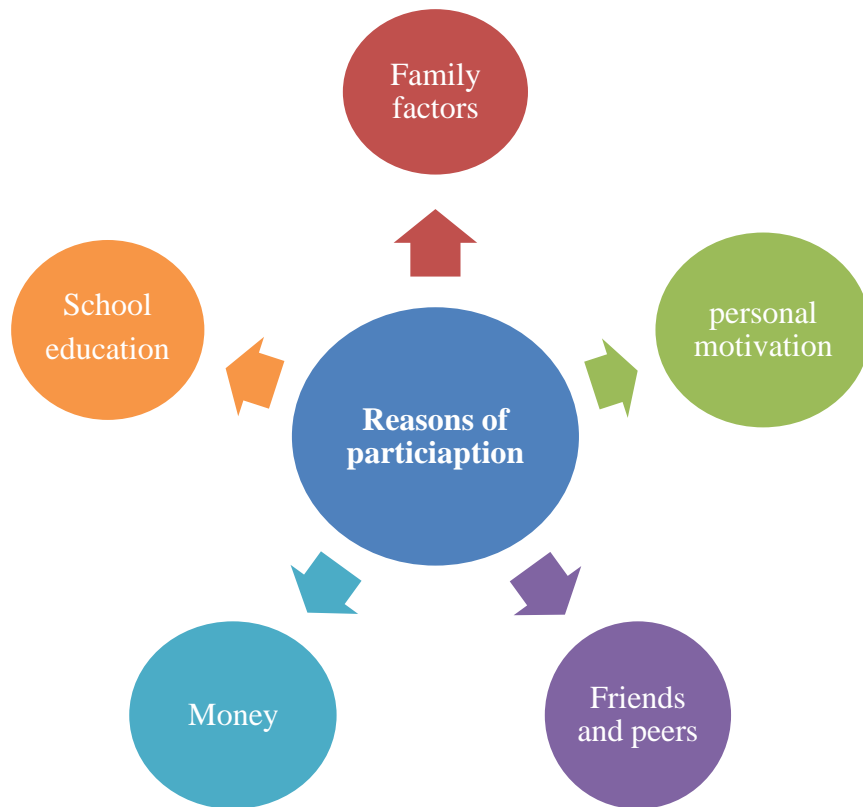


Figure 11. Reasons of juveniles' participation in deviant leisure activities

Leisure is believed to have beneficial consequences for psychological well-being and health (Caldwell & Smith, 1988) and many researchers have associated leisure with such benefits as the development of the body, mind, and spirit; learning, growth and expression; rest and restoration (Dumazedier, 1967; Nash, 1960). Caldwell and Smith (1988) followed and stated that leisure may help overcome loneliness and thus contribute to people's well-being. As we all know the benefit of leisure and how it does to its participants. This section will discuss the different effects and benefits this group of juveniles received from the deviant leisure activities they had participated in and how their lives were influenced.

6.1 Physical effect

Leisure activities often improve the physical strength of our body and prevent our body from diseases. However, the juveniles described how the deviant leisure activities such as taking drugs, drinking alcohols diminished their physical wellbeing and as they also mentioned how these activities influenced and affect their physical status.

C1 16- year- old came into diversion because he had committed several cases of robbery. He was a serious smoker, who took smoking as his daily habit. He drank and was also a drug user. He stated that stealing things was just a way of sedition; smoking was a daily habit and drinking was bad for his health and drunk driving was very dangerous.

影響喔...偷東西喔，恩...就是叛變吧，不想要聽話。那種感覺就是說，抽菸我就不知道要怎麼講。阿就是每天一定要抽就對了。喝酒就是傷身體。然後開車危險。(C1)

之前就有吃“藤阿”(糖果)就是提神藥。就是你很想睡覺，但是你只要吸了那個。你就會很HIGH，就不會想睡。那提神，那你每天起來之後就會很想吸。

不吸一整個精神就會很不好阿，就會很愛睏。(C1)

E1 was 18 years old, who has stayed in diversion for 3 years already. He committed offenses against sexual autonomy while he was in orphanage. However, sometimes he escaped from the children's home during the night time to hang out with his friends and drank. He would not return until morning. He mentioned some of his friends used drugs but he did not, because he knew once he took drug he would be unforgivable. If he escaped from the house at night, he often felt tired, sleepy and sometimes had a hangover.

算是啦。休閒活動啦! 哈哈。我以前就是有空就會偷爬出去，阿老師都不知道。就是和老師說要唸書阿。他們也不會管太多。有時候去喝，我覺得那時候比較好的是，我看人家吸毒，我不能接受。我自己知道那個一旦下去之後就罪不可赦。偷跑出去，早上會ㄉㄨㄨ、ㄍㄨ，就會很愛睡阿。阿有時候會宿醉。就身體比較勞累一點而已。(E1)

F1 was the oldest among all the youths in the diversion center. He was 19 years old and stayed in the diversion for nearly 4 years. Alcohol played an important role in F1's life. However, too much drinking caused addiction, and he suffered alcoholic poisoning. He described that he could not walk properly and he could not control his hands from shaking.

我以前剛來的時候，手都會發抖。一直發抖。對。可能是酒精中毒。就會一直想要喝，手就會一直抖。我就想糟糕了。中毒。我那個時候，我起來的時候，吃飯的時候跌倒。站不穩。就走路都走不好阿，會一直摔倒。然後全身都會發抖阿。就會很想要喝。(F1)

I1 was 17 years old. He had a serious drug abuse problem. He described that if he took drug then he would have a black eye and if he did not take drug his eyes would look different. He barely sleeps at night.

影響喔... 像我一碰就那個藥阿。就會有黑眼圈。如果你看到我一天沒有吃，我眼睛就怪怪的。加上晚上幾乎都沒有在睡覺阿。精神很不好啦，現在就

好很多。(II)

From the statements described from the juveniles, it showed that their physical condition deteriorated after they participated in activities such as using drugs and drinking too much. These activities often gave them an instant energy boost. However, the more they used, the more tired and weaker they were.

6.2 Daily living

For some of the juveniles the activities such as hanging out with their friends, going to the internet café, or stealing money did not only effect them physically but also hurt them on their daily bases. Most of them described themselves as despondent after participating deviant activities, which caused them sleepless in the irregular life pattern.

B1 was 16 years old. He came into diversion because his mother sued him for hitting her after she tried to stop him from smoking. He also liked to bully other students while he was at school as well as beat up other students and his teachers. He described that when he beat up others in the school, others may also beat him up.

有什麼影響喔？有一個影響就是很沒精神阿。因為就三更半夜才睡阿，阿常常都睡到下午。就喜歡在網咖熬夜阿。阿如果是打人的話...恩 就可能計畫很久了，計畫要什麼時候去給人家ㄉㄨㄥ、喉系，然後可能人家之後就會來打我們，然後之後我們又會打回去。就會一直打來打去。每天就一直過在打來打去的生活裡面吧。(B1)

As an aborigine, drinking was part of F1's culture. He was taught how to drink at a very young age by his family and that made alcohol as part of his daily life and could not be taken away.

我們原住民的習俗就是這樣阿。就會一直喝酒阿。沒有酒受不了。對阿。我只要看到酒，吼~精神就來了ㄌㄟ。沒有喝的時候，每天就跟蟲一樣。沒有精神，什麼都不想要做。就軟趴趴的。就只想要喝酒ㄚ。我只要看到酒，精神百倍。對阿。(F1)

G1 was 17 years old, who came into diversion because of robbery. He did not know his mother, and his father died when he was 14. He had to stay with his grandfather, which he did not like. Therefore, he ran away from home, and stayed with his friends. He described his life was a mess, and he barely slept at night and that his family did not care about him at all.

對生活有什麼影響? 就... 混亂。生活就很亂阿。家人也都不理我。嗯... 那種生活太那個... 太，太亂了啦。我黑眼圈很重，應該是幾乎都沒有在睡覺吧。都早上五六點才睡。阿都中午或下午的時候，就可能從今天晚上到下午五點起床，玩到隔天的下午五點，或是隔天的隔天。(G1)

H1 was a 17- year-old, who lived and stayed with his uncle. However, he did not like to stay with his relatives. Therefore he ran away from his uncle's home and stayed with his friends. He came into diversion because of robbery. He described how robbery influenced his life, if he stole money successfully then he would be able to have money to eat for the day. Most of his friends are the youth, who also ran away from home. However, if he did not stole any money then he would not have money for living.

有什麼影響... 還好吧! 其實好像也沒有。如果是偷東西的影響就是有一餐沒一餐的阿。阿朋友也是都一樣住外面阿，都一樣都翹家阿。才會都聚在一起。阿假如有偷到錢就有一餐，那沒有偷到錢就沒有了。(H1)

From the descriptions of juveniles, it showed that their daily life was closely related and connected to the deviant activities they participated in. These deviant activities such as stealing, drinking were less like leisure activities to them but more like part of their daily living.

6.3 Money

Another factor that influenced this group of the youth was money. Many of them did not live with their family or did not even have a family. Therefore, money was very important for them. They needed money to participate in the activities they wanted such as going to the internet café, buying drugs and so on. However, they did not know

where to get money from. Therefore, they would participate in other deviant activities such as stealing money, or selling drugs to 'earn money'. The money they 'earned' was not used only for leisure. For some of them who ran away from home, they needed money not only for leisure and pleasure but also for their living.

A1 was born in a single- parent family, his father passed away when he was young. He has some physically disabilities with his legs and eyes. Therefore, it was hard for him to make friends. Internet was his way out, and he liked to make friends from internet. However, after his mother passed away, he had to steal money for his living without any financial support.

國中之後畢業，沒多久我就經常打網咖，我媽媽就和我說，他懷疑說我去網咖。我也跟媽媽老實的說，媽媽只是說，只要你知道時間要回來就好。我就說好。那樣的生活，天天打網咖，對我的影響就是...錢吧。媽媽沒有錢可以給我，但是沒有錢，我就不能去網咖阿。媽媽去世之後，我也沒有錢，就會去偷東西，不然沒錢很痛苦，根本不能生活。(A1)

做這一些事有什麼好處嗎? 沒有阿。也不是因為朋友，我比較喜歡網友，不喜歡那邊的朋友。去跳八家將的益處喔...就因為有錢賺阿。(A1)

C1 descried that his mother was sick in the hospital with cancer. Therefore, he did not use his mother's money. However, he learnt how to steal from his friends. He stole money because he had no financial support and he had no money for living. He would steal cars, and sold the car later for money.

媽媽沒有錢，所以我不會花他的。就是工作，我之前有做美髮的。阿因為那時候經濟不足，就去偷錢，拿菸阿。拿吃的。因為我這個人，以前就有常看朋友都東西。然後我就把訣竅都學起來了。其實我幾乎偷東西很少被抓到，我挖過很多車子。挖車子，你只要給我一個螺絲起子吧。那是很簡單的事阿。偷東西，就是因為缺錢阿，大家都缺錢，所以去挖車。挖車之後寄拿去賣，把車牌拿掉，換別的。做這些事情，還不是都因為沒有錢。(C1)

D1 was drug abuse before diversion. He earned his money from selling drug to other drug users. He had to sell enough drug for him to be able to use drug. If there was no money, then he would have to find someone to sell ; otherwise, there would be no drug for him to use.

吸毒的影響就是很需要錢阿... 買那個都要很多錢。阿那個買毒的錢... 那個... 就是... 我也不知道怎麼講ㄟ... 就是有在買, 也有在賣。有賣, 這樣就不用買, 自己就有了。所以如果沒有錢, 就很難橋了阿... 就要去找自己的咖來買。不然我自己就也沒得吃了。有賣的話, 就是多錢而已阿。要吸毒, 還要加油(騎摩托車), 要花很多錢ㄟ... 因為那時候跟家裡每天只能拿一百塊而已, 怎麼生活。那時候的生活就都是以金錢為重吧(打呵欠)。(D1)

從這些事情中有什麼好處喔... 就錢而已阿。那時候賣毒可以賺很多ㄟ。(D1)

F1 was mentioned earlier in this section. He suffered alcohol abuse. Before diversion, drinking was a really important part of his life. He needed money to be able to participate in this leisure. His mother did not have a job. Therefore there was no extra money for him to spend on drinking. As F1 described that if his mother could not give him money, he would beat up his mother.

對, 喝酒對我來講是很重要的。沒有就不行了。我沒有錢的時候, 我罵我媽, 媽... 給我錢, 我要買酒。媽媽說: 我沒有錢啦。我就打我媽。因為買酒就要錢阿。要喝就一直買, 阿那時候就已經快沒有(錢)了。(F1)

H1 was a drug user, who also ran away from home and lived with his friends. He did not have any financial support. Therefore, he had to steal money for living. He described that the most beneficial thing he received from these activities was money.

最喜歡的事情, 我覺得偷東西阿, 或是吸毒, 或是和朋友在一起, 得到的益處就是... 最重要的應該就是錢吧。(H1)

J1 was the youngest among all the juveniles. He was living with his mother and sister before diversion. He described that the Ba Chia Chiang troupe was the center of his life before diversion. It was also a way to make money, because his family did not

have money. Let alone he was too young to get a job anywhere else.

在進來之前，會館，朋友，跟跳八家將應該算是生活的重心吧。去跳八家將有什麼影響喔...阿就...可以賺錢阿。算是賺錢的方法啦。因為家裡也沒有錢。不然我年紀那麼小，也沒有其他地方可以去賺錢阿。(J1)

From the statements of the juveniles, it showed that some of them needed money for being able to participate in other deviant activities such as going to the internet café, buying drugs or alcohol. However, they would use other deviant activities such as stealing, selling drugs or going to the Ba-Chia Chiang troupe to earn money to be able to participate their 'leisure activities'. For some of them were living in a very poor financial situation, money would be sometimes the crucial and most influential factor for their daily living.

6.4 Fear

Although the juvenile described that the one of the reasons that they had participated in deviant leisure activities was for the excitement, some of them were saying that fear was one of the reasons that influenced their life most. They all knew that the activities they did was 'wrong' or 'not right'. Therefore, they were afraid that they would get caught by the police.

With serious drug abuse, I1 was afraid that he would get caught by the police. If he got caught then he would have a drug test. Therefore, he and his friends would ride around on the motorbike without a license and a hamlet.

那時候也沒有做什麼阿。就整天跑給警察追阿，不然咧...阿因為未成年，沒有駕照，沒有戴安全帽，就很容易被抓阿。會怕阿，因為被抓到就有可能被抓去驗阿。被驗到就完蛋了阿。(J1)

K1 was 17 years old, who came into the diversion because of robbery. He committed so many cases of robbery that he called robbery as one of his habits. He was

also afraid that he would get caught by the police. Therefore, he would hide in the internet café. For K1, running away from the police was exciting at the first place. However, it became kind of fear after a while.

那時候偷東西已經是一種習慣了。所以最怕的就是整天怕被警察抓阿。所以就會躲在網咖裡面。但是網咖外面沒有路阿。阿你如果整天迷在網咖，你也要注意說你爸媽有沒有來，還有警察阿。還有少年隊。剛開始是很刺激啦。可是到最後就會覺得恐懼阿。因為未滿十八歲。在網咖十一點之前可以。可是十一點之後就不行了。會怕。後來就不會覺得刺激了。後來就怕會被抓阿。被抓到你死定了吧。(K1)

6.5 Friends

Friends were influential among the juveniles. Many of them participated in deviant leisure because of friends. However, they stated that friends were what influenced them and lulled them to the participation. Friends were also one of the benefits they received from their participation. They earned respect, support, and learnt how to back each other up through participating deviant leisure activities with their friends.

E1 said he earned his friendship from others and status among their friends from participating in deviant activities. When the friends knew that you were loyal enough and they would help you in the same way when you needed help.

影響就是會有朋友阿...我就是去。阿就是互相就對了。就是下次換你的時候，別人也才會挺你。人家就會覺得你夠義氣。在團體中才会有那的地位在。(E1)

F1 stated that the benefit he received from deviant activities was to learn how to work with other people. However, he said that his friends influenced him most when participating in the deviant activity such as drinking. If his friends did not drink or did not ask him to drink, then he would not drink as much.

做這一些事情...益處喔，就可以懂得怎麼和別人一起工作吧。像喝酒，就可以認識很多人阿。如果他們(朋友)不喝，我就不會那麼愛喝了吧。都是他們影響我的啦 (F1)

G1 also said that he had friendship and support from their friends by joining the Ba Chia Chiang troupe and his friend respected, supported him and backed him up. He often felt lonely and scared when he had no company. Therefore, he thought that friends were one of the great influences and benefits he received from participating deviant leisure.

做這一些事情喔，有什麼影響喔...就可以得到友情，還有支持。還有義...義氣的義。朋友就會支持阿，尊重，相挺。然後也可以賺錢。就這樣。我假如沒有人陪伴的話，就會覺得很可怕。(G1)

K1 mentioned that brotherhood was what influenced him to join gang fight.

影響最多，應該是朋友的關係吧。就是說稱兄道弟阿。朋友阿。打架阿。看可以看誰ㄉ么、比較多人嘛。(K1)

From the descriptions above, it showed that friendship and support of their friends were really important for juveniles. These friends mean friendship as a reward from their participation. They participated in deviant activities such as the Ba Chia Chiang troupe, drinking or gang fights to win respect, support and brotherhood from their friends. It became not only a reason for them to participate in deviant activities, but also to influence them to continue participating in the same activities again and again.

6.6 Personal affections

The juveniles pointed out that by joining deviant activities they were influenced on their emotions and affections. Some described there was happiness involved and they were able to receive excitement from activities.

C1 said that actually participating deviant leisure activities did not cause any difference and influence in his life. If there was any, it would be happiness. He felt happier while participating in these activities.

其實都沒有影響阿，如果有的話就開心吧。自己比較快樂。在學校的話，(C1)

It was just for pure happiness, as simple as that, “I enjoyed the quietness before the fighting started. It was exciting,” said E1.

其是就是爽阿。就這樣。很簡單。我爽!有時候只是為了充場面。有時候人太多還會打錯，亂打一通還會打到自己人。就只是很刺激。享受那種開戰前的平靜。(E1)

J1 also described fighting was exciting and it influenced him the most and K1 also said that deviant activities did not influence him that much. However, he found it exciting when he steals things.

對我最多影響應該是打架吧。很刺激。就打別人，就我們一群去打別人，阿別人也是一群。阿也給我們打，我們就打。打到一半，他們的人就打電話，叫人。他們後面就很多人開車阿。拿西瓜刀那些的。阿就追阿，那我們就跑。(J1)

其實沒有什麼影響，除了錢之外，我只是覺得偷東西很刺激而已。(K1)

To sum up, in this case, deviant leisure played a role as a stimulator that triggered their emotion and personal affection. From their descriptions they became happier and the excitement they felt that urged them to participate in the same activities again. This effect was very similar to what general leisure activities provided for the general public. The only difference was the leisure they were involved in was harmful to themselves or others around them and some activities such as robbery might even cause the disorder of society.

In conclusion of this chapter, the author found out that the benefits or outcomes of leisure activities influenced juveniles' physical fitness. Many of the juveniles' physical state deteriorated after getting involved in certain deviant leisure activities, such as drinking or drug using. The deviant leisure also influenced and affected juveniles' daily living. Some of the juveniles were living in an irregular living pattern. The third factor

was money. As juveniles described, money was the most important influential factor from their participation in deviant leisure activities. Friends were also a significant factor. Juveniles earned friendship and support from their friends by participating in deviant activities. The last feedback was personal affections. The juveniles received positive emotions and affections such as happiness and excitement from their friends by joining these activities. The author also found out that many of the feedbacks they received from their involvement in deviant leisure were similar to the reasons of the participation. This issue will be compared and discussed in the following chapter.



Figure 12: Outcomes from participation deviant leisure activities

Chapter 7

WHAT CAME FIRST , THE CHICKEN OR THE EGGS?

From the analysis in chapter 5 and 6, the author concluded the data are put into three possible patterns, which indicated the connection and relationship between juveniles' participation in deviant leisure activities and the outcomes they received from the activities. What does deviant leisure activities really mean to these juveniles? Did these juveniles have deviant behavior therefore they choose to participate in deviant activities? Or did the deviant behavior take shape after they participated in deviant activities? What actually came first? The chicken or the egg? This chapter will discuss and compare the relationship between the juveniles' reasons of participation and the outcomes they received from the leisure activities and to show the connection between different reasons of participation and the outcomes from the participation as well as how the outcomes influenced the participation and other leisure involvement. The author also found that most of the juveniles' participation in deviant leisure could be explained and fitted into one of these patterns.

7.1 The relationship and connection between reasons of participation and the outcomes from deviant leisure activities.

The first pattern, which figure 13 showed that the reasons for juveniles to participate in deviant activities, was very similar to the outcomes and benefits they received from the activities.

For example, many juveniles mentioned that money was one of the reasons they participated in deviant leisure activities. However, they also described that the outcomes and benefits they received from some of the deviant leisure activities was money. The details of this circumstance are compared and showed in the table 3, 4 and 5.

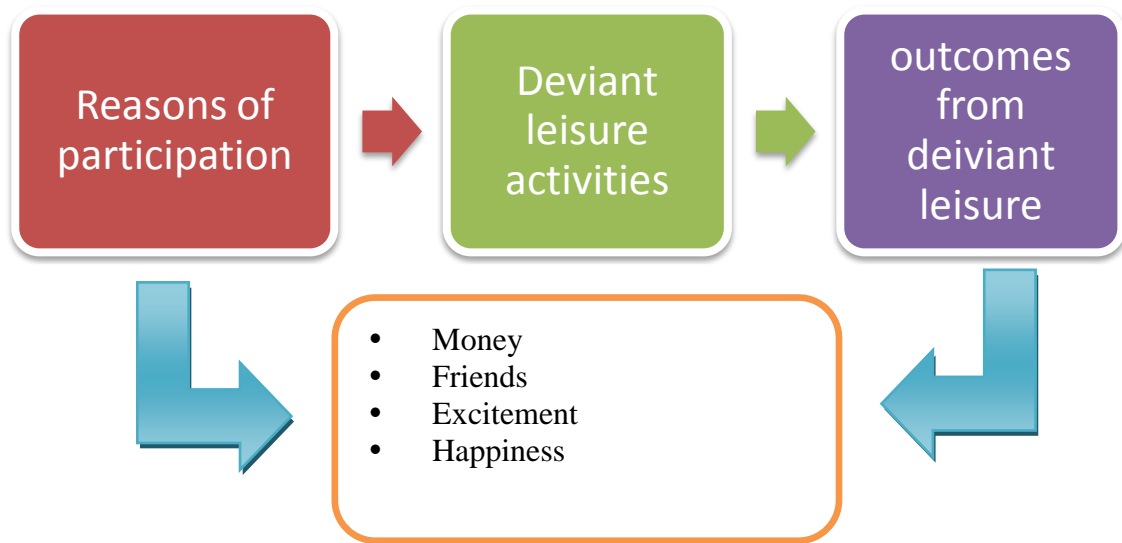


Figure 13. The relationship and connection between reasons of participation and the outcomes from deviant leisure activities (pattern 1)

Element	Reasons of participation	Outcomes from participation
Money	<p>我去跳八家將，會去會館那邊，是因為有錢可以賺。沒有錢的話，其實就不會那麼想要去了。比起來我還比較喜歡去網咖上網。A1</p> <p>因為那時候經濟不足阿，就去偷錢，拿菸阿，拿吃的。去做去偷的原因阿就是那時候沒有錢阿。我朋友缺錢，大家都是。C1</p> <p>去廟會因為他們(朋友)有去，又有錢拿，所以就去。G1</p> <p>會和朋友去偷東西是因為大家都是差不多命運的人阿，都住外面，都翹家，假如有偷到錢就有一餐，沒有偷到錢就什麼都沒有了。H1</p> <p>因為媽媽沒有錢阿，阿有時候跳完，錢會拿給媽媽。J1</p>	<p>有什麼好處嗎? 沒有阿。也不是因為朋友，我比較喜歡網友，不喜歡那邊的朋友。去跳八家將的益處喔...就因為有錢賺阿。(A1)</p> <p>媽媽沒有錢，所以我不會花他的。就是工作，我之前有做美髮的。阿因為那時候經濟不足，就去偷錢，拿菸阿。拿吃的。因為我這個人，以前就有常看朋友都東西。然後我就把訣竅都學起來了。其實我幾乎偷東西很少被抓到，我挖過很多車子。挖車子，你只要給我一個螺絲起子吧。那是很簡單的事阿。偷東西，就是因為缺錢阿，大家都缺錢，所以去挖車。挖車之後寄拿去賣，把車牌拿掉，換別的。做這些事情，還不是都因為沒有錢。(C1)</p> <p>從這些事情中有什麼好處喔...就錢而已阿。那時候賣毒可以賺很多ㄟ。(D1)</p> <p>對，喝酒對我來講是很重要的。沒有就不行了。我沒有錢的時候，我罵我媽，媽...給我</p>

偷東西是為了錢阿，因為要去網咖，因為我整天都迷網咖，後來就上癮了。所以我很需要錢，可是我沒有那麼多錢，所以只好去偷。就是偷完錢之後，就可以去網咖了，我都偷的就只有錢吧，就手癢阿，忍不住。偷東西，我之前是這樣想阿。會阿，會有很大的成就感。K1

錢，我要買酒。媽媽說:我沒有錢啦。我就打我媽。因為買酒就要錢阿。要喝就一直買，阿那時候就已經快沒有(錢)了。(F1)

我覺得偷東西阿，或是吸毒，或是和朋友在一起，得到的益處就是...最重要的應該就是錢吧。(H1)

在進來之前，會館，朋友，跟跳八家將應該算是生活的重心吧。去跳八家將有什麼影響喔...阿就...可以賺錢阿。算是賺錢的方法啦。因為家裡也沒有錢。不然我年紀那麼小，也沒有其他地方可以去賺錢阿。(J1)

Table 3. Manuscripts of the relationship between reasons of participation and outcomes from participation (element: money)

Table 3 showed that money was one of the reasons that juveniles participated in deviant leisure activities. On the other hand, it showed that money was also the benefits and outcome that they received from their participation. Juveniles such as J1 stated the reason they went to the Ba Chia Chiang troupe or go stealing was because they did not have money. However, they described later that that money was the benefits that they earned and it encouraged them to be involved in deviant activities.

Table 4 showed the friends were the reasons of juveniles' participation in deviant leisure activities. However, the manuscripts showed that friends were also the outcome of their participation. Juveniles such as G1 described that friends were why he participated in gang fights, and he followed to say that friendship and supports were what he received from deviant leisure activities.

element	Reasons of participation	Outcomes from participation
	那時候當然會，就是都是在一起久了嘛，就自然而然的想要在一起。在一起的原因喔...就真心吧!就是雖然我們有在做壞事，但是至少被那個，都會相挺。而且每一個都是這樣。(D1)	影響就是會有朋友阿...我就是去。阿就是互相就對了。就是下次換你的時候，別人也才會挺你。人家就會覺得你夠義氣。在

Friends	<p>怎麼講，也是刺激說，我們都做了，為什麼你都不做，你到底是不是朋友。這樣。有時候會有一點壓力吧! 會因為朋友的關係，即使知道是不對的，可是還是會去做阿。因為就相挺阿。(G1)</p> <p>都是和朋友一起去阿，就一起偷東西... 還有吸毒阿。像抽菸吸毒也是朋友教我的。如果沒有這些朋友，可能就不會去做這一些事情了，也不會去偷東西了。我跟他們很好，是那種互相挺的那種，就是我照你，你也罩我。(H1)</p> <p>跟朋友再一起會比較快樂，人比較多阿。因為他們都很好，和他們滿好的。做這些事情很快樂的原因是因為朋友吧!(I1)</p> <p>那時候去跳八家將是為了賺錢，還有朋友。就是可以跟朋友一起阿。如果我沒有進來的話，應該還是會繼續在那邊吧。因為那些朋友就很像兄弟，都很挺我。他有事我就幫他，我有事他就幫我。就互相阿。(J1)</p> <p>一直去做，因為朋友吧! 就是說稱兄道弟阿，朋友阿，打架阿，看誰可以為乜、比較多人阿。(K1)</p>	<p>團體中才會有那的地位在。(E1)</p> <p>做這一些事情... 益處喔，就可以懂得怎麼和別人一起工作吧。像喝酒，就可以認識很多人阿。如果他們(朋友)不喝，我就不會那麼愛喝了吧。都是他們影響我的啦 (F1)</p> <p>做這一些事情喔，有什麼影響喔... 就可以得到友情，還有支持。還有義... 義氣的義。朋友就會支持阿，尊重，相挺。然後也可以賺錢。就這樣。我假如沒有人陪伴的話，就會覺得很可怕。(G1)</p>
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Table 4. Manuscripts of the relationship between reasons of participation and outcomes from participation (element: friends)

The juveniles such as K1 said that the reason of his happiness and excitement was from being chased by the police. However, he also stated that he participated in robbery was because money and for its excitement.

Element	Reasons of participation	Outcomes from participation
	<p>為什麼要整老師? 或是在學校亂喔... 沒有阿，就一個爽字。不過也是爽一時的啦，然後警告不知道被記了幾次。那打人的話就是心情不好才打的，但是打了全頭會痛。但是就很爽。不知道，我不會說... 反正就有一種快感。對阿... 就很刺激阿，就很怕老師突然走進來阿。(B1)</p> <p>做這一些事情，應該是說尋找自己的快感 (G1)</p>	<p>其實沒有什麼影響，除了錢之外，我只是覺得偷東西很刺激而已。(K1)</p> <p>其實就是爽阿。就這樣。很簡單。我爽! 有時候只是為了充場面。有時候人太多還會打錯，亂打一通還會打到自己人。就</p>

Excitement and happiness	很快樂的原因，就是說被警察追，很刺激阿。(K1)	只是很刺激。享受那種開戰前的平靜。(E1)
	很快樂，讓我第一次忘掉所有的事情。又時候課業壓力很大，就可以和朋友一起嗆別人，喝酒。(E1)	益處就是，就打架吧。很刺激，就打別人，那種感覺很爽阿。就我們一群去打別人，阿別人也是一群。阿也給我們打，我們就打。(J1)
	喝酒，就很快樂阿，可以紓解壓力。(F1)	
	也不算說有快樂啦，但是有偷到的時候就很快樂。也不覺得有成就感，就只是覺得很高興。(H1)	沒有什麼影響阿。都沒有，就開心吧。做這一些事情，自己比較快樂。在學校的話，(C1)

Table 5. Manuscripts of the relationship between reasons of participation and outcomes from participation (element: excitement and happiness)

The result from pattern 1 showed that the reasons of participation and the outcomes or benefits that the juveniles received from the deviant activities were very similar. Elements such as money, friends, excitement and happiness were found in the motivations of participation and outcomes from participation.

The author found that most of the juveniles' motivations of participation were very similar to the outcomes or the benefits they received from the deviant activities.(pattern 1) However, the second pattern differs from the first pattern, which was that the outcomes and the benefits juveniles received actually later became their motivation of participation. These outcomes became possible influences that triggered the juveniles to participate in the same deviant leisure activities again. For example, F1 was a heavy drinker, who participated in drinking because of his family and his culture background. However, he said that friends were what influenced him to participate in drinking. Another example such as A1 and J1 participated in the Ba Chia Chiang troupe because of their friends.

那個是跳八家將，在一個會館那邊。那個是網友帶我去的，我從國一升到現在我都沒有一個朋友。在會館那邊就有一些朋友，他們對我很好。所以你會比較喜歡去會館那邊。那廟會有要幫忙就會叫我去。就像那個第一次叫我偷車的，也是會館那邊的朋友。(A1)

那時候去跳八家將是為了賺錢，還有朋友。就是可以跟朋友一起阿。如果我沒有進來的話，應該還是會繼續在那邊吧。因為那些朋友就很像兄弟，都很挺我。他有事我就幫他，我有事他就幫我。就互相阿。(J1)

However, they both described that money was the benefits they received from the activities, and it also mixed with the first motivation and became another reasons for them to participate in the Ba Chia Chiang troupe.

做這一些事有什麼好處嗎? 沒有阿。也不是因為朋友，我比較喜歡網友，不喜歡那邊的朋友。去跳八家將的益處喔...就因為有錢賺阿。(A1)

在進來之前，會館，朋友，跟跳八家將應該算是生活的重心吧。去跳八家將有什麼影響喔...阿就...可以賺錢阿。算是賺錢的方法啦。因為家裡也沒有錢。不然我年紀那麼小，也沒有其他地方可以去賺錢阿。(J1)

Other examples can be made. This finding coexisting with the assumption that the author made in the constructional framework in chapter 3 Figure 9 explained the second pattern of the relationship between the juveniles' reasons of participation. This showed that the outcomes and benefits from their participation could possibly become the new motivations for juveniles to participate in deviant leisure activities.

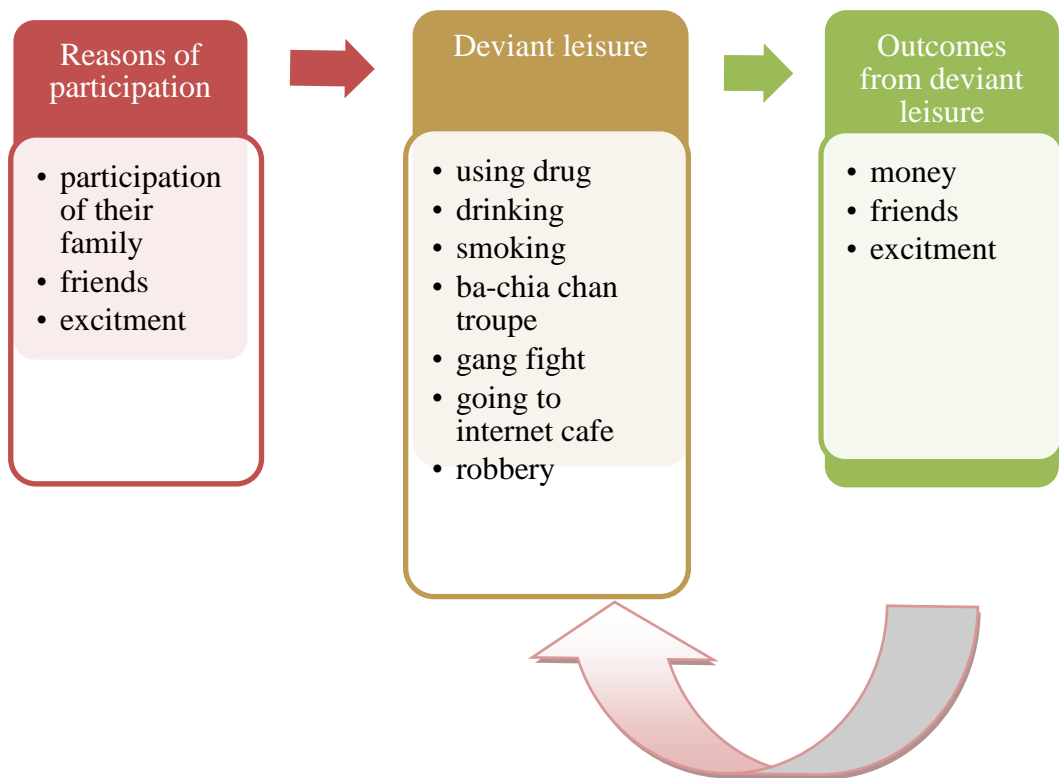


Figure 14. The relationship and connection between reasons of participation and the outcomes from deviant leisure activities (pattern 2)

The third pattern combined the first and the second pattern together and developed a chain reaction, which presented in figure 15, showed the connection and relationship between the reasons of participation and the outcomes from deviant leisure activities of pattern 3.

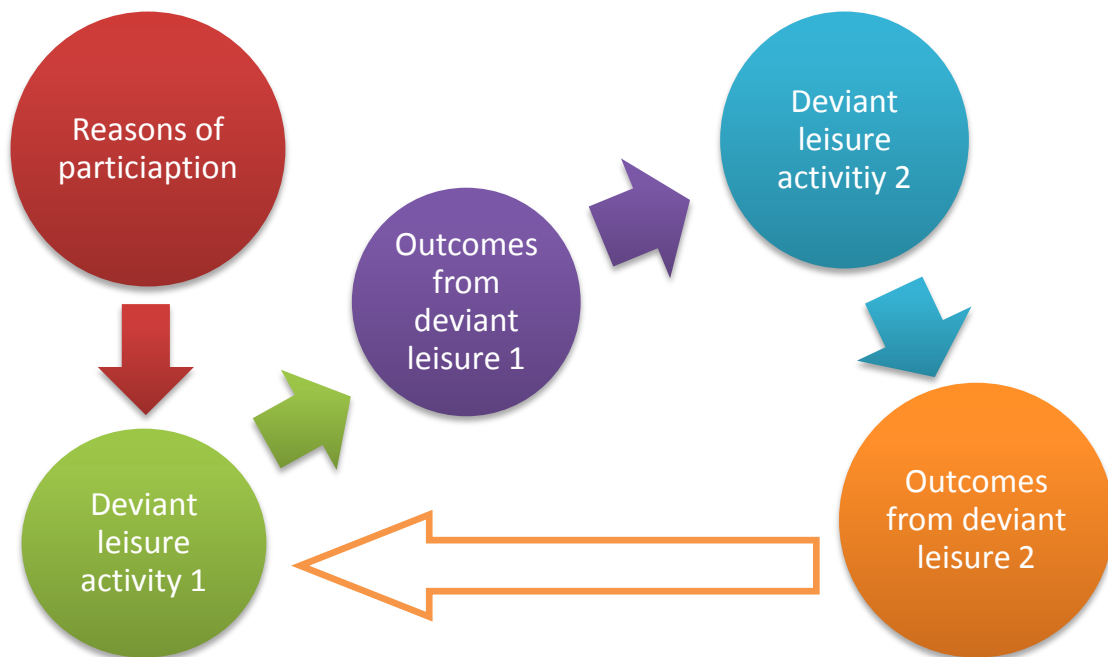


Figure 15. The relationship and connection between reasons of participation and the outcomes from deviant leisure activities. (pattern 3)

The first three steps in this pattern were the same as pattern 2. The outcomes or benefits that the juveniles received from deviant leisure 1, however, became the reason of participation in another deviant leisure activity. For example, as for C1, his friends were the reasons why he participated in using drug and robbery.

吸毒是我一個朋友叫我吸的。我怕我姐夫聽到的話會罵我。而且其實我來之前，我還有一個同行，和我一起犯案進去的。每條案子都是一起。認識他的時候他應該算是我最好的一個哥哥，有一次，是一次竊盜案進去的時候，是他女朋友叫我去偷的。我們本來說不要，他女朋友就叫我們去，我們盧了一個小時才去。(C1)

The outcome he received from it was money.

媽媽沒有錢，所以我不會花他的。就是工作，我之前有做美髮的。阿因為那時候經濟不足，就去偷錢，拿菸阿。拿吃的。因為我這個人，以前就有常看朋友都東西。然後我就把訣竅都學起來了。其實我幾乎偷東西很少被抓到，

我挖過很多車子。挖車子，你只要給我一個螺絲起子吧。那是很簡單的事阿。偷東西，就是因為缺錢阿，大家都缺錢，所以去挖車。挖車之後寄拿去賣，把車牌拿掉，換別的。做這些事情，還不是都因為沒有錢。(C1)

Therefore, he did stealing (deviant leisure 2) so he would have enough money (outcome 2) to participate in the first deviant activity again.

因為那時候經濟不足阿，就去偷錢，拿菸阿，拿吃的。去做去偷的原因阿就是那時候沒有錢阿。我朋友缺錢，大家都是。(C1)

H1 was another example. He said that money was the main reason that he participated in stealing, and he used the money he stole to buy drugs or cigarettes (deviant leisure 2).

會和朋友去偷東西是因為大家都是差不多命運的人阿，都住外面，都翹家，假如有偷到錢就有一餐，沒有偷到錢就什麼都沒有了。(H1)

The benefit he received from participated in deviant leisure 2 was he would need more money.

最喜歡的事情，我覺得偷東西阿，或是吸毒，或是和朋友在一起，得到的益處就是...最重要的應該就是錢吧。(H1)

Therefore, he would have to go back to deviant leisure to steal more money.

The last example would be K1. The reason for him to participate in activities such as going to the internet café was that he did not like this family and wanted to run away from his family.

因為是住姑姑家，姑姑管得很嚴。哥哥也管得很嚴。他們都不知道我做這一些事情阿，我回去的時候幾乎都是有先去我同學家洗過澡，隔天再回去。所以姑姑他們都不知道。他們知道我逃學，但是他們回來之後，又在那邊大罵。

阿我那時候又在叛逆期，所以就不理他，就自己做自己的。(K1)

However, the outcome from going to the internet café was that he would need more money to go there again. Therefore, he would go and steal more money (deviant leisure 2) to go back to the internet café again.

偷東西是為了錢阿，因為要去網咖，因為我整天都迷網咖，後來就上癮了。所以我很需要錢，可是我沒有那麼多錢，所以只好去偷。就是偷完錢之後，就可以去網咖了(K1)

The author found that with pattern 3, money often appeared in the first outcome and it triggered the juveniles to participate in other activities. It became a cycle of multi participation in several different activities and actually most of the juveniles among this group participated in more than one deviant leisure activities and all of these reasons and outcomes or influences were all very similar and closely linked together and affecting all of them.

To summarize this section, the author concluded that there were three different patterns to explain the relationship and connection between juveniles' reasons of participation in deviant leisure activities and the outcomes from these deviant activities. The results showed that many juveniles' reasons of participation and the outcomes from participation were very similar and some of the outcomes or benefits they received from deviant leisure were also the possible reasons for them to join other deviant leisure activities. Therefore, the question of what came first, the chicken or the egg? In this case, the chicken and the eggs both exist at the same time.

7.2 The effectiveness of diversion program

Chen (2006) stated that contemporary diversion program in Taiwan provided a shelter for the youth who faced unexpected family crisis, lost family, had sexual assaults, was engaged in sexual transaction, got pregnant before marriage, dropped out of school,

ran away from home, had deviant behavior or committed crime. These factors were often influenced by the family of origins of the youth. The diversion program intervenes to support and supply the welfare for these youths. In order to compensate the lost functions of the family and school, they give the youths teaching and care giving. According to Kou and Tsung (1999) there are five different needs for the youth during their physical and psychological development. 1. The need to be protected and ensure the living. The youth were able to receive basic physical care and needs for living. 2. The need of maintaining a healthy body. The youth were able to live in a healthy social environment and also to be able to establish self esteem. 3. The need of being taken care of by others. The youth often did not have enough experiences and ability to make mature judgments. Therefore, they should be given cares by care takers to help them grow into maturity. 4. The need of education and counseling. The youth should be able to receive the opportunities, knowledge for living and education provided by society. 5. The need of leisure and recreation. The youth should be able to expend their interests in different areas and develop their potentials and upgrade their psychological wellbeing and social adaption. These needs above are now provided by the diversion center since their family of origins of the juveniles did not have the function to provide these needs for them anymore. The diversion center also provided the juveniles with not only teaching but also doing social services, and any learning and working opportunities.

The former director of the diversion pointed out during the interview that what they tried to give and provide these juvenile was a more positive and better life. She described that 95% of the youth who came into the diversion were from a dysfunctional family or even had no family at all. Therefore, they did not know how to have a relationship with others, or their values were twisted. That was why they followed their friends to do whatever that they were doing.

在這邊的孩子，第一個他們最重要的就是，因為他們的家庭，幾乎啦，大概有 95%因為家庭沒有功能。或是根本沒有家庭。所以這些孩子在成長的過程當中。他們幾乎沒有所謂的，包括人際界線，他跟人之間彼此怎麼對待

啦。價值觀念，都沒有。所以他只要誰叫他去做什麼，朋友啦，廟會啦，吸毒啦，打架啦，他們就跟著去。那我們主要在教導就是要建立一個，至少是我在當主任的時候，我比較希望，是給他們一個比較正確，比較好的，有價值的人生觀。(主任)

When the juveniles like I1, J1 and K1 talked about their past, many of them said that they were short tempered and easily irritated.

之前喔，就吊兒啣嘴，缺點很多，說不完啦。我以前的個性比較暴躁，可能有人說個幾句，我就抓狂了。會打人阿。(I1)

However, J1 said that he is now calmer and tries to think what he is going to say before he says it.

因為以前很暴躁，以前就是很台阿。就是...怎麼講，聽一些舞曲，出去飆車阿。然後，脾氣像流氓。不爽的話就開打了。然後很衝動。很暴躁這樣。在這邊變得比較平靜。就...思考自己要講的話到底要講什麼。(J1)

恩，以前是只要有人挑性我我就會回阿。不然就是上去<一么ノ，後來現在，我改很多。(K1)

After the interviews and the manuscripts were analyzed, the author found that the diversion was not only a place to correct the behavior and attitudes of the juveniles or a place to detain them, but it is also a place providing new opportunities and teaching as well as a place they feel home. It gives juveniles a chance to see themselves in a different way and to find their potentials. According to the former director of this diversion, they did not teach them any particular thing but to accompany these juveniles during their time in diversion. Those who accompany them is what matters to them. They provide the juveniles with positive role models to look up to. The director thinks that because these juveniles grew up in an environment without any positive role model or anyone with a “father” figure to accompany them. Therefore, they did not know how to have a good relationship with others, or how to be a man. However, what they are trying to do in this diversion is to have their social workers, teachers act as positive role

models for the juveniles to follow and care takers to accompany them and in hope of these positive role models would influence or change the juveniles in one way or another. She suggested that this way of teaching work efficiently in this diversion center.

那我覺得啦，你說他們有沒有什麼改變？有啦。都有改變啦。那你說這改變是因為教育嗎？我覺得不是，我覺得不是我們"教"他們什麼？或是我們在我們的課程裡給他們什麼？我覺得是"人"。是跟陪伴他的人，做他的一個榜樣的時候。比如說，他們可能從小到大，都沒有一個很好的父子關係。所以他不知道怎麼樣當一個男孩子阿。一個正確的男孩子，或是一個正確的男人。或是他要怎麼去對待朋友，他們覺得朋友就是要怎樣，就是要有義氣阿。可是那不一定是正確的。那我覺得，我至少在那邊的時候，我當時其實一個很重要的功課，就是訓練我的同工。就是要把這些同工培養好。讓他們成為一個很正向的，很陪伴的。在我們當中，一年兩年當中，他有一個正向的人，可以讓他認同，可以讓他學習。我是覺得說我比較傾向生命是可以影響生命的。而不是說是用教育去改變。我覺得要用教育去改變，才~基本上他還是一個理想啦。阿如果是生命的，我有這個生命，那我陪伴你一段時間。你會不會改變？我是有看到。我是有看到這樣的東西。(主任)

From the manuscripts of the juveniles' interviews, it showed that after spending a period of time in the diversion, most of the juveniles had realized and understood what they had done was wrong. When they compared and talked about their life before and after the diversion. They could easily tell that they were not what they used to be. Most of the juveniles said that they did not like their life before the diversion, and now they got to know how to live their life in a better way. They found themselves 'better' in daily life and they have good personality as well as being more thoughtful. There are fewer fights or quarrels and all of them described that their life is much 'calmer' compared with their life before. The juvenile such as B1 had a chance to know that they could and should deserve to have a better life and he started to dislike what he had done and who he was before the diversion.

回去之後，應該也不會像之前那樣子了吧。我想要改變自我，以前那樣子不好，毀掉我的前途。就讓老師討厭我，不然我本來成績是可以去資優班

的。有機會回學校的話，就會想要好好讀書了。(B1)

C1 said that they he will not be going after his old friends after diversion. He also said that apart from smoking, he will not be using drug or fight with others anymore because he found those activities meaningless. He wanted a new life and go to school or work.

回去之後應該也不會找那些朋友了吧。找了又被牽扯進去，要找也要找一些有意義的朋友。出去之後喔，除了抽菸以外吧！但是毒品，打架那些其他都不會想要做了，覺得那個很沒有意義。我不想要回到以前得自己，我想重新過自己。嘿阿...我寧願乖乖去上課，乖乖工作，什麼都好。(C1)

He followed and said that he used to have emotional problem as well as he has the record of trying to kill himself many time. He has scars all over his arms as well as on this body. However, with the help of the teachers and social workers, he is now getting better and started to change himself.

我改變其實還滿多，脾氣改掉，髒話還好。說實在我有一個小小的事，就是我有情緒問題現在就比較好一點。個性上有一點粗暴，以前換過皮膚之前，我的皮膚上有一兩千個疤喔，就整隻手這樣畫。在這邊也有逃跑四次過，都被抓到。然後自殘好幾次。嘿阿。但是在這邊就有慢慢改變我自己，多虧這邊社工老師的幫忙 (C1)

D1 talked about what he had done before the diversion and confessed that he was not thoughtful enough. He knew those activities were illegal and decided not to take part in anymore. He also found himself more thoughtful and learned to think twice before he acts. In other words, he felt that he is better now in terms of personality. His mother also thought that he is better now, compared with what he was before the diversion.

我覺得以前的事情就是不懂事而已吧。出去之後應該就不會想要在做了，違法的事情誰想要做。就出去再看看吧。現在就比較會想了吧。會想比較多。那...事前三十秒事後沒煩惱。哈哈~就是做什麼事情要先想三十秒，考慮要不要去做。現在很重要嘛。就比較看重。然後個性方面阿，就有變比

較好。現在變得比較好阿，媽媽也說比較好。他說現在的我比較好，以前的我不好。(D1)

F1, who was the heavy drinker and also the lead vocalist of a band in the diversion, said that he likes his life now and wants to quit drinking. However, he is not sure if his friends will ask him to drink again. He likes the days without alcohol. He feels that his physical health is in a good condition. His voice is also getting better and sounds nicer without alcohol.

對阿，我覺得現在這個生活很好。出去之後喔，我不知道ㄟ。我現在覺得，如果我朋友找我，回來了，唱歌。唱歌的意思就是要喝酒。可是我想要戒ㄟ。好不容易已經可以不碰酒了。沒有碰，當然比較好阿。體力比較好，精神也比較好。力氣差很多，聲音也差很多。以前喝酒的時候。吼~對阿。不好聽。現在就不會阿，可以唱高音阿。以前都不能。對阿。(F1)

Both G1 and H1 said that their life is now more in a regular pattern. G1 said he is now gentler and comes to realize that all he has to do is to mind his own business.

現在變得比較平靜，變得比較斯文。對阿，就是在想，每個人都有自己的位置阿，阿就做好自己的位置就好了。阿不必去管其他的東西。其他的人也不想管。(G1)

Apart from having a more regular life, H1, who was using drug said that he does not want to use it anymore after the diversion. He realizes now that it is a waste of money.

有阿，現在生活比較規律。出去之後喔，也不會在吃了吧。如果真的要吃的話，平常去學校的時候就會想辦法了吧。他們就都會來問阿。阿戒都戒掉了阿。去碰那個ㄟㄟ瞭錢ㄟ。(H1)

I1 said that he can see things more clearly now and some of his friends said that he has changed a lot, especially his temper and his personality.

現在是有些事情看的比較透了啦，看的比較清。阿有一些朋友是說我脾氣，個性都是有變。(I1)

J1 also described his life is calmer now. He learnt how to calm himself down and no longer hurt himself from fighting now. He also felt that he has changed a lot, especially his personality. He learnt how to talk and communicate with others. He also comes to realize that fighting cannot solve the problems. He found it hard to be patient and not to use his fists to solve the problems. However, he is making progress and knows that he is here in the diversion for a makeover and will be better and that there is no need for fighting.

現在的生活比較平靜，ㄟ~可以讓我學習平靜一下，不要就是打打殺殺的生活，就不會像以前很多傷口。阿就是跟人家打架的傷口。我覺得我的個性改了很多。就是不會像以前那樣，跟人家講不合就要打。現在就跟人家學著好好講。就是不會隨便動拳頭。有時候很難ㄟ。阿有先比較簡單的就控制的了，就心裡想說，在這邊是要改變的。不需要打架，就跟他好好講。對阿... 保護官有叫我不要在這邊打架。(J1)

Similar to J1, K1 also said that his life is calmer now, especially after he has learnt about Christianity and he knows how to calm himself down. He finds himself better now, with his temper milder. Although he still goes to the internet café; however, he would always return home on time. Unlike the days before the diversion, he does not stay in the internet café whole day or run away from home and school. He feels safer and more secure now.

因為現在的生活讓我比較平靜阿，因為接觸到教會之後，我就開始平靜了下來。我覺得現在的自己比較好。雖然像我還是會去網咖，但是我會按時間回來。這樣子。沒有像之前那樣逃學逃家，或是整天就在網咖裡面。阿我發現我脾氣有變好。以前我常常會動怒阿。現在喔，就還滿安心的阿。就是說可以比較安全，我出去的話，可能就如果我現在不在這邊的話，我將來可能還是會在少觀所，或是成人監獄。我姑姑她們有說阿，就說你現在學不好，將來就在監獄裡面了。這樣。(K1)

Although many of the juveniles said that they would prefer a calmer and regular pattern life after the diversion. However, E1 and G1 both admitted that his life is calmer now. Both of them said that he would go back to his old life after the diversion. They

both liked his previous life better and G1 said there was more freedom.

現在的生活還還滿安靜的。但是我應該會過我原本的生活。我喜歡那樣的生活(E1)

現在是過著比較有規律的生活。以前都是過一些比較不規律的生活。但是我比較喜歡以前的生活，比較自由。(G1)

No matter what kind of life the juveniles like and prefer, they could all see and tell their significant changes and they know they are different from they were before. Many of them pointed out their attitudes, temper and ways of thinking have changed within their stay in diversion. There is less violence in their life and they know that fighting is not the only solution to solve problems. Also, most of them have recognized and admitted these changes might not be easy but it comes with a better life and it is for their own good.

The diversion is not just a place to detain juveniles. However, it has multi functions and meanings for these juveniles. It represented a place as home and function as school for the juveniles to correct themselves and learn. Besides offering different learning opportunities, it offers a chance for them to discover their potentials. The former director described the project they have in the diversion center is to help them to be able to find a job or to help them to learn new skills. The diversion provides them opportunities to work in the kitchen or find working opportunities for them in some places such as a bakery. There are successful cases that the juveniles continue to work in the same bakery after the diversion and do not return to their previous life.

我有做過一件事情。就是我幫他們申請了一個計畫，就是就業輔導。那個時候有一個滿成功的個案。其實他們有幾個人去學，我跟另外一個機構合作。他們去學做麵包。其實他們就是去那邊幫忙。那他們都很高興去學。ㄟ~至少這是一條出路嘛。之前有一個孩子，我們和他的保護官都有幫他找到一個麵包店，讓他去打工。那他離開大概半年之後我們去看他，他還有在工作。所以其實他並沒有回到他原來的生活。(主任)

The juveniles were also pleased to describe what they have changed and learnt in the diversion. C1 said that he learnt how to look after himself as well as he is now working in the bakery and also helping the kitchen. It was good to learn something here and he will not have to worry if he cannot find a job after the diversion, C1 said.

在這邊可以學到東西，這邊也可以學到說怎麼照顧自己，然後可以改變自己。還有學到很多東西。我也有在麵包店工作阿，還有會去廚房幫忙。有學一些東西，之後出去就比較不會沒頭路啦。嘿阿。(C1)

H1 was also working in the bakery and helping in the kitchen. They mentioned that his work attitude and behavior have changed after he started working in the bakery. He said that if he was tired he would just quitted working. Now he would go to work although he might not want to because he works for he knows it is his responsibility now.

在這邊就可以學到一技之長吧，就覺得不錯，在這邊還可以學到一技之長。來這邊之後學了很多東西阿。像廚房的事情，阿...像工作態度啦。我現在也是在麵包店打工阿。如果是之前的話，就如果我今天很累，就不想要去。現在雖然還是會啦(笑)，但是沒有以前那麼糟。會覺得有責任在吧! 就是起碼就是，可能會遲到，但是不至於不去。(H1)

K1 was an athlete who got suspended from his old school. He started to study in a new school majoring restaurant management. The teachers and social workers encouraged him to help the kitchen in the diversion center. He found his confidence in the kitchen and started to like his work and was willing to learn more in the kitchen. He is determined to study for a certification on cooking. He also said that it will be something he would like to do after he leaves the diversion.

我是轉行阿。我本來是體育班阿，轉來念餐飲。就是說被退學，就是說到底要學什麼？後來看我們這邊的廚師做，看起來好像滿輕鬆的。三點進去，四點就出來了。我就想說，我也來學看看好了。後來這邊的老師就鼓勵我說去學看看。我和他們討論很久。就叫我進去廚房學。對阿。我從小到大，

我其實都很討厭餐飲。後來不知道哪一根筋不對。做了之後就覺得還滿喜歡的。我想要去考那個丙級證照阿。想要考中西餐。我覺得都考比較好。還有調酒都考。因為我是現在在這邊廚房幫忙。我要學餐飲嘛，我就必須要先進去廚房學阿。我覺得至少這是在我離開這邊之後還會繼續做的事情吧。(K1)

Self identity will be created in relationships with others. The large number of work-based friendships and daily work interactions, which make work a central domain for the construction of the self (Dutton, Roberts, & Bednar, 2010). The former director also agreed that a proper job could bring a sense of value and worth to one as well as positive self identities. That was the reason why they bring the self-supporting system to 'teach' the juveniles to fish, rather than just giving them a fish.

“他有一個工作，他在做，他去學。但是他因為有一個工作，所以ㄟ~人在他有一個固定的工作，他可以找到他的價值感和自己的定位的時候，事實上我是覺得可以改變的。”(主任)

Although there were changes been made on the juveniles and some changes were good and outstanding. However, will these changes enough for juveniles to stay out of their old life after diversion? The former director states that she cannot promise that these juveniles will move on and have a new life or live happily after ever. They will still have to face temptation and also themselves. However, during these two years in the diversion there was one important thing that they taught these juveniles and that was to differentiate what is right and what is wrong. The juveniles might not have good judgment to tell what was good and bad. However, hopefully they would start to think 'is this okay to do it?' or hesitate before participating in any deviant and that will be a great success and comfort for the teachers in the diversion center.

是有這種可能啦，我不能說沒有啦。但是你也要想，他們在這個當中，我常跟他們講說，你可能以前去偷人家東西的時候，你不會覺得有什麼不好。你也不會覺得怎樣。可是等這兩年我教育過你之後，你可能出去，你可能還是會去偷人家東西。可是當偷人家的東西的時候，你手稍微遲疑了一下。

或是你會想說，"這樣好不好"的時候，也就是說，他原來沒有那個判斷，沒有那個價值能力。可是他因為在我們這邊曾經待過一段時間之後，他開始有一點點那種爭戰的時候。那我就成功了。(主任)

To summarize this section, based on the family reasons or living environment, also their participation in deviant leisure activities. By staying in diversion center, might be the first time for juveniles to experience a calm and stable life. They were too young to choose what kind of life they want to live before the diversion. After two years in the diversion hopefully they will be stronger in body and mind and will not turn back to their old life as well as having a better judgment to know what is right and wrong. Quoted from the former director that "we open some different windows for them to see there are many different ways that they would live and they do not necessarily have to go back to their old life or follow others for they have the skills and ability to survive."

那就是他在我們的安置機構裡面，他有可能他的生命中有，我們可能有幫他開了一些不一樣的窗讓他去看見說，阿，其實你也可以那樣過，你也可以那樣過。你不一定只是以前那樣而已。那他們沒有來之前，他們也就是覺得，日子就是這樣過嘛，就是這樣嘛。他們也沒有別的想法，人家叫他們做什麼，他們就做什麼。就跟著人家去，就這樣子。或甚至他比較有一些能力，他可以去從事別的工作，他可以養活自己。他不一定要走這回以前那個路的時候。(主任)

After analyzing the manuscripts of these juveniles, the author found that somehow all have a 'missing piece' in their heart. For some might be not have a family or for some it might be not having friends or teachers to care and look after them. Therefore, they might not have a good learning and even living environment as well a strong adult model for them to look up to and to learn from and to accompany them during their childhood and the stage of adolescent. No one was there to tell or teach them what was right and wrong, and what was good and bad. Therefore, they could only listen to their friends, because their friends were the only people who were experiencing and sharing the similar life with them. During their time in diversion, there were other people in their life such as social workers, their teachers, or counselors, who spend every single

day with them. They also established a good role model for juveniles to learn from and showed them there were many more opportunities waiting for them. They might experience encouragement from the teachers for the first time or learning something that they had never thought they would be doing, such as cooking. Through these different events and activities, juveniles started to realize and see their own potentials or take others as their role models.

因為我們班和屏科大有產學合作那種的，就是如果我在班上的成績是前二十名。我就有機會可以直升屏科大。如果可以的話，我想要轉去社工系。再回來這邊。(E1)

The juvenile such as E1 hopes that his grade is good enough to go to a university and he wants to study social work and hopes one day he could come back here and help the younger juveniles.

According to the literatures and analyzed results from this research, this study was to understand the impact of deviant leisure on at-risk youths and the relationship between the impact of participation and leisure involvement. This chapter will conclude this research also provides suggestions for future studies on this area. This chapter will be separated into 4 different sections. 1. Conclusion. 2. Suggestion. 3. The limitation of this study and the suggestions for future studies and 4. The contribution of the study.

8.1 Conclusion

1. The concepts of leisure for at-risk youth

For most of the juveniles who participated in deviant leisure activities still held the concept and have the idea of leisure is 'good' and gave positive examples. They believe that leisure activities are something which could bring good health and life to people. Activities such as reading, playing music or playing sports were what they thought leisure was. Only a few juveniles thought that the activities they participated in such as smoking was also leisure. However, this showed that most juveniles still think that leisure is positive and good. Although they did not participate in these activities, they still think that these activities were leisure and good for human beings.

2. Deviant leisure and at-risk youth

During the interviews, it was difficult to explain to the juveniles what deviant leisure is. However, their leisure participation and behavior could show what deviant leisure was for them. Going to the internet café, gang fight, drug abuse, alcohol abuse, smoking, participating in temple fair (Ba Chia Chiang troupe) and robbery were the deviant activities that most of the juveniles participated in. The author found that these different activities were linked closely together. Most of the juveniles participated in more than one of these activities. These deviant leisure activities and

the people who participated in these activities with them were the most significant part of their life before the diversion

3. Reasons of participation in deviant leisure

Living in a dysfunctional family, including single parenthood, living with relatives, they cannot receive care from their family. This was one of the reasons why they got involved in deviant leisure and this reason could also apply to all 11 juveniles. Such reasons as school education, friends and peers' involvement in deviant leisure, money and personal motivation will bring them excitement and happiness, which were all reasons for the juveniles to participate in deviant leisure. It was a way for the juveniles who dropped out of school, ran away from home and has nowhere to go to escape from real life, and enjoy themselves. In a way, these deviant leisure activities were their 'home', which is a place they could be free, to be themselves and to find approval from other peers and their own self-identity.

4. The impacts and influences of deviant leisure involvement

The impacts and influences of deviant leisure on these juveniles were very similar to the reasons of their participation. Influences such as physical status, daily life, friends, money, fear and personal affection were what impact on juveniles' life after they participated in deviant leisure. However, these factors were very similar and almost the same influences that most people will receive from the general leisure activities.

5. The relationship and the connection between the reasons of participation and influences of involvement were very similar. The author concluded all similarities into three different patterns. The first pattern showed reasons of participation and influence of involvements shared the same factors such as money, friendship, excitement and happiness. The second pattern showed after juveniles participated in certain deviant activities. The outcome from the involvement such as money, friends and excitement will become the reason for them to participate in the same deviant

activities again. The third pattern showed that the outcome of deviant leisure such as money will easily become the reason of participation for author deviant leisure activities such as going to internet café. The outcomes from the second deviant leisure activities might become the reason for the first deviant leisure activity. Even though there are three different similar but different patterns. However, all juveniles' deviant participation could fit in either one of these pattern or these three patterns which explains most of the relationship between the reasons of juveniles' participation in deviant leisure and the influences of involvement. The detail showed in figure 16 below.

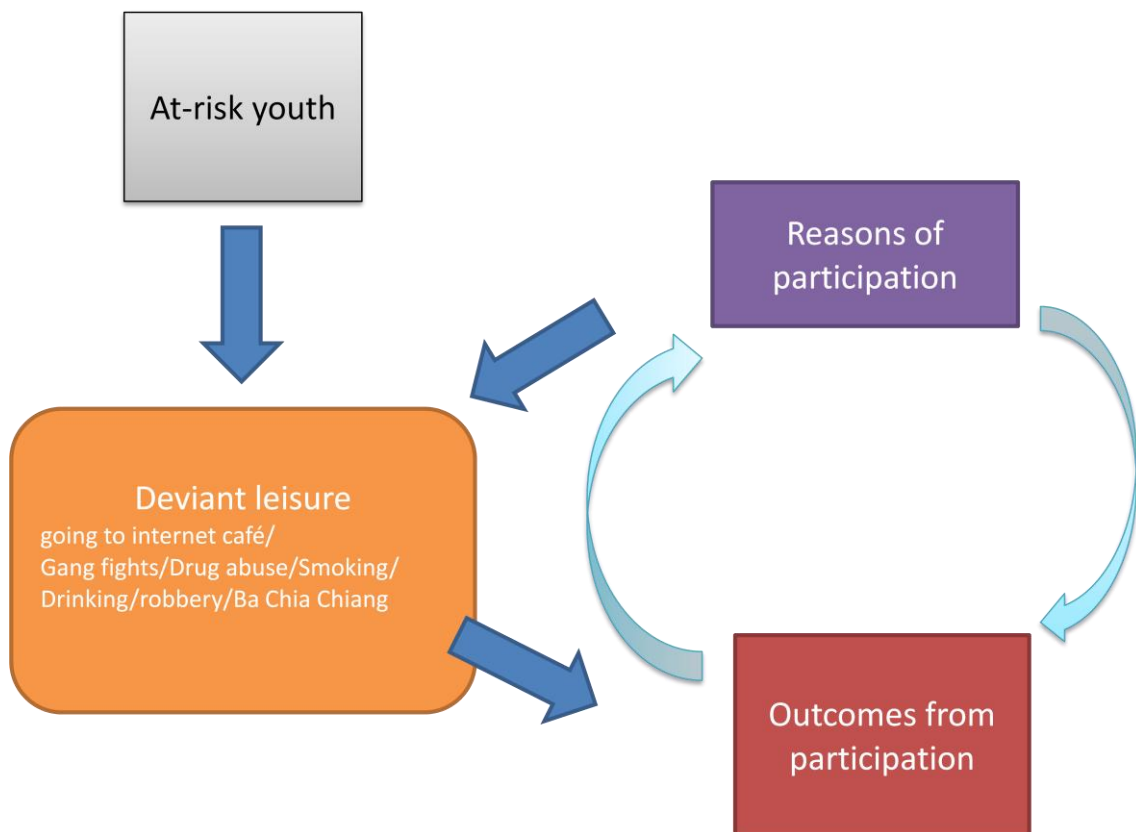


Figure 16. The connection between at-risk youths' deviant participation and the interrelationship between the reasons of participation and the outcomes from participation

Every juvenile has a missing piece in their life. For some juveniles, it might be they did not have a complete family and for some juveniles they might not be able to live a good life so they have to steal. Still others might have the approval from their friends. However, on their way of searching their missing pieces, they found deviant leisure and they thought that was the pieces which were missing and the pieces that will make their life complete again. Therefore, they took deviant leisure as part of their life. During the game sections and the interviews, the author believed that for the juveniles the deviant leisure was not only an activity or a particular behavior but a culture, a way of living and a system. Only the people who lived in the system knew the rules. Juveniles' motivation of participations and what influenced them in their involvement in these activities were very similar. These factors go around in a cycle that impacts and influences each other. No matter what deviant leisure they participated in they just did not meet the standard of the expectation of the society. Their family of origins and living environment were not able to teach them and provide them with good education and teaching as well as positive leisure experiences. Therefore, these could be the factors to lead them to deviant behavior and deviant leisure activities became a way for them to escape from the real world and to lose themselves. This diversion center also provides the juveniles an option to have spiritual and religious teaching by introducing them to a new religion, for them to find a new meaning for their life. The research also showed that spirituality has been shown to be associated with several positive psychological outcomes including subjective well-being and lack of spirituality has been associated with several negative behavioral and psychological outcomes including depression. (Davis, Kerr & Kurpius. 2003) According to the former director of this diversion center, she thinks that she is doing a meaningful job to help these juveniles to change while they have the chance and to prevent them from further damage before it is too late and to help these juveniles to be able to have a life which is different from their family of origin.

那我覺得這樣的工作，我在做的時候我覺得還滿有意義的事。因為他是一個預防的工作。因為孩子如果在他青少年的時候可以有這樣的改變的機會。那你救一個家庭啦。可能兩個家庭。原來他的原生家庭，還有他以後的家庭。那如果沒有的話，那就是幾乎就是原來的這個家庭已經破碎了阿。那接下來他也沒有辦法去建立一個完整的家庭阿（主任）

During their time in the diversion, they started to transform after they receive a different way of teaching, learning and correction which was different from their life before the diversion. In the diversion center, there were people who care about them, accompany and look after them during their transformation to compensate what they were missing in their life and to help them find themselves. Even though their life will still not be complete or make a whole again but hopefully what they thought they found the missing parts one after another.

8.2 Suggestions

There are a few suggestions that author concluded that hopefully it could help the diversion organization and schools in terms of providing healthy leisure activities for juveniles and also be able to create more positive leisure opportunities for juveniles.

1. The juveniles who ended up participating in deviant leisure activities were often lack of opportunities and personal skills to participate in socially actable leisure activities. (Robertson, 2000) Therefore, if diversion organization could cooperate with companies to provide juveniles practical skills, such as cooking, baking, fixing motorbikes or plumping. It will not only provide the juveniles with the ways to learn different things, but also future working opportunities after the diversion. The diversion center could also work with departments in the university nearby to run camps or workshops. Encourage college students to lead the juveniles to participate in designed activities or games. It might give the juveniles a chance to work and play with other promising youths. This might give them positive influences and show the juveniles what other youths are doing and what kind of positive activities they are doing and maybe they could learn from them.

2. According to the director and the teacher of the diversion center, there is no follow up after the juveniles leave the diversion. Although the juveniles all agreed that they have changed over time during their stay in the diversion. However, after two years of transformation and learning, it will be a pity if the juveniles went back to their old life. It will be good to work with social services to have a follow up the system, to check on the juveniles and to care for them.

3. Since the juveniles were not able to reach the world outside of diversion center. The diversion center should provide a variety of positive leisure activities for he juveniles if possible. Leisure activities such as different kinds of sports lesson, arts or music programs to help the juveniles develop interests in other areas. Teachers or social workers could also encourage the juveniles to set up goals to achieve and help the juveniles regain their confidence.

8.3 The limitation of study and suggestions for future study

8.3.1 The limitation of study

1. This study was conducted by using the method of in depth interviews. The data was analyzed based on what he juveniles said during the interviews and manuscripts from the interview. However, during the study, the diversion center also approved the author to interview the juveniles within their available time. Within the time limit, the author was able to conduct only one game session once and interviewed each juvenile once. Also the diversion demanded the juveniles to call the author ‘teacher’, and the juveniles were asked to behave well during the interviews; otherwise, there will be punishment. These factors created a gap and distance between the juveniles and the author. Therefore, when the author asked questions of their families or their deviant behavior, some of the juveniles refused to answer the questions. However, they were seeing the author as the role of a ‘teacher’. Therefore, they tried to provide good and

positive comments about them rather than negative things. This might affect the reliability of the study.

2. The cases of this study were from the southern part of Taiwan and all cases are taking from one diversion center with only male juveniles. Therefore, the analyzed result may not be able to present the whole at-risk youth population and their deviant behavior in Taiwan. This research only provides the cases from one diversion center. There was no evidence to prove results to represent other diversion center in Taiwan.
3. During the time of the interviews (July to August, 2011), there were only 11 juveniles in the diversion center. Therefore the author only had 11 samples and maybe it was not enough to present the whole juveniles' population.

8.3.2 Suggestions for the future study

1. There are other diversion centers which accommodated female juvenile offenders. Future study could also focus on female juveniles and compare the differences between male and female juveniles.
2. More time should be spent to get to know the juveniles first before conducting any research or interview. This might help the juveniles to build more trust on the researcher, and for them to be able to provide more reliable information and data for the study.
3. Try to collect samples from multiple diversion centers if possible. By doing so, this could increase the number of samples and might be able to provide a variety of data.

8.4 The contribution of the study

Different from the previous studies, this study did not only focus on what caused juveniles to participate in deviant leisure but also found the connection between the reasons of participation and the outcomes from the participation. By knowing this, the author hopes that this study can be used as a reference for any studies in terms of the youth participants in deviant leisure. This study showed that juveniles' participation in deviant was not caused by one factor but by the whole environment. Therefore, the

juveniles should not be the only element, who needs to be educated or corrected, but also their family of origins, their living environment and even the society. Leisure educators or leisure program designer who wants to design or develop leisure activities for at-risk youths could try to design activities not only for the juveniles but also for the people and their surroundings.

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Appendix 1: Interview questionnaire

1. What leisure activities do you normally participate (using after school hours) before you came to this rehabilitation center? From your own understanding, what is “leisure activities”?
2. How did you first get involved with these activities? Who did you normally go with? And when did you go and do these activities?
3. Among these activities, what did you like the most? Why? What is the content of the activity/ activities?
4. What are the reactions of your family when they found out you are participating in this activity? How did they feel about it? What are the reactions of your teachers and friends? How did you react to it?
5. What are the main reasons that made you participate in this activity? What is attracting you ?
6. How did this activity influence your life?
7. What activity do you miss to do? Why?
8. What are the activities that you will continue doing after you leave here?
9. What are the activities you are doing in the rehabilitation center? Which activities do you like the most? Why?

10. Are these activities similar from the activities that you participated before? What are the differences? If you get to choose, which one would you choose to do? Why?
11. How did you look at the activities that the rehabilitation center arranged for you? And how do you look at the activities you participated in before?
12. Can you compare how these two different kinds of activities impact on your life? the impacts of these two activities on you

Appendix 2 Interview questionnaire 訪談大綱 (中文)

- 1.在還沒有安置之前你（在課餘時間）通常都作些什麼活動？
- 2.你認為「休閒活動」是什麼？
- 3.這些活動最初是怎麼接觸到的？你都跟誰一起去？什麼時間去？
- 4.這些活動中你最喜歡哪一樣？都做些什麼(內容)?為什麼？
- 5.通常從事這項活動你家人的態度如何？你學校老師和其他同學或朋友的反應如何？你都如何因應？
- 6.你在從事這項活動時最讓你快樂的因素是什麼?一次又一次吸引你的是什麼？
- 7.你最喜歡的這項休閒活動對你那時候生活的影響有哪些？
- 8.到現在你想起這些活動有哪些是令你懷念是你還會想繼續的？為什麼
- 9.現在你在安置機構最常從事的休閒活動有哪些？其中哪一樣是你喜歡的？
- 10 有哪一樣是你離開安置機構後還會想繼續從事的？
- 11 這些活動跟你安置前的那些活動有哪些相似的？有哪些不同的？如果可以選擇一樣你會選什麼?為什麼？
- 12 你怎麼看待現在在安置機構安排的休閒活動？你又怎麼看待之前你所從事的休閒活動？
- 13 比較一下這兩者對你的影響？

Appendix 3 Consent form 訪談同意書

訪談同意書

在訪談之前研究者已經告知我這個研究的目的。主要訪談的內容是想要了解我在進安置中心前休閒活動的參與和參與這些活動的原因，以及這些休閒活動對我的重要性及意義。在訪談過程中，如果有我不想要回答的問題，可以不需要回答。如果有任何疑問，也可以隨時提出。

此外，研究者會在訪談中進行錄音。因為研究的需要，研究者會將錄音的內容轉為逐字稿，並且引用相關資料，進行資料分析。但訪談內容中如有相關個人資料，研究者會遵守保密的原則，以暱稱來取代。在研究完成後，研究者也會把所有訪談錄音帶與逐字稿銷毀。

以上內容，我已經瞭解，我願意參與此研究。

參與者(簽名)

研究者(簽名)

日期: