## 台灣組織及個體販毒網絡之質化考察\*

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本文以網絡分析中的概念與觀點探討台灣販毒內在網絡關係所形成的交易 脈絡,著重在販毒過程中組織與個人所產生毒品販賣網絡建構的考察。研究發 現販毒過程中,毒品社群間的互動必須兼顧強連結的信任及保持弱聯繫的彈 性,以強連結的信任來拓展市場及以弱聯繫的彈性來規避市場上的風險。此外, 個體吸販毒者之間存在著遞移式的分享關係,以及販毒網絡關係發展存在著個 體與組織之間的斷耦性質。斷耦性的阻絕功能得以避免檢警在稽查毒品時,產 生抓粽子現象的發生,因爲一個節點的失風可能會造成販毒系統的瓦解。

其次在信任機制及行動網絡仲介者角色與功能探討上,不同販毒或吸毒階段網絡的改變,使得個人信任機制在不同階段承載角色產生不同的轉變。在區隔化的交易脈絡中,仲介者形成吸販毒者網絡關係連結中的載體。在互惠的經濟邏輯與社會關係交錯發展與限制下,促使販毒者產生不同的行動思考脈絡。此外,不同的鑲嵌過程出現於販毒「初期」交易活動的發展階段,並促使吸販毒者將行動深化在透過關係所產生的交易經驗脈絡之中,促使交易行爲產生穩定的發展。因此,純粹的市場交易缺乏毒品交易所需要的信任,但完全封閉的販毒網絡又侷限了市場的擴張,此種旣鬆但又連結的網絡關係正符合毒品販售交易的需求。本文透過網絡概念的運用,藉以釐清台灣販毒關係的脈絡發展。希望此販毒過程的初步檢視上,能經驗性的安置與補足網絡分析在犯罪社會學領域的詮釋空間。

關鍵字:網絡分析、鑲嵌、弱聯繫、仲介者

# Organizational and Individual Networks of Drug Transactions in Taiwan

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#### ABSTRACT

This research is concerned with the internal network relationships and contexts between drug transactions in Taiwan, especially focusing on the individual and organizational drug transactions in the social network system. We find that the interactions between diverse drug groups rely on strong trust as well as weak and flexible ties. The strong trust helps to extend the drug market, and the weak ties help to evade transactional risk. In addition, the shared delivery system of individual drug dealers (traffickers) is characterized by discontinuance. The discontinuance avoids the group arrests of drug dealers when under monitoring by the police. The arrest of nodes (dealers) would lead to the collapse of drug dealers' organizations.

In the investigation of trust and brokers, changes between drug dealers in different stages enhance the function of trust in diverse transformations. In the context of transactions, brokers become the carriers within the network of drug dealers. Those drug dealers have diverse ideas, which create the limitations that mutually develop reciprocal actions under economic, logical and social relationships. Besides, the diverse embeddedness influences the primary stage of drug transactions and encourages the transactions to embed in the past experience and to stabilize their transactions. Therefore, the general transactions in the market lack of the trust of drug market. However, the network is framed by drug dealers, which limits the expansion of the drug market. The loosely-coupled network relationships tally with the requirements of transactions of the drug market. This paper intends to investigate the criminal world from a micro perspective. By exploring the dynamic

social network structure between individual actions and organized activities, this paper provides a different analysis for organizational investigation in Criminal Sociology.

Key Words: network analysis, embeddedness, weak ties, brokers