

Policy Assemblage in Taiwan's Child Protection Reforms: Policy Mixture, Policy Regime Change and Shifting Policy Challenges

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Abstract

For the last two decades, East Asia has witnessed a wave of child protection reforms. In this paper, the case of Taiwan is selected for study because of its rich experiences in this respect. With the adoption of a policy assemblage perspective, this case study aims to explain Taiwan's policy regime transformation and the shifting policy challenges. The interplay between the imported US policy model and local circumstances is found to have triggered the subsequent reform acts. In particular, with ongoing assembling of programmes borrowed from the USA, Taiwan has transformed the policy regime into a managerialist one. Moreover, through consideration of policy governance, the evolving policy regime is found to be fraught with challenges, in particular, retaining a sufficient and committed workforce for policy delivery. Based on the research findings, a more balanced reform approach towards child protection is recommended for the policy stakeholders of developing countries when pursuing relevant reform acts.

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“ ‘This case study aims to explain Taiwan's policy regime transformation and the shifting policy challenges’ ”

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Key Practitioner Messages

Learning and assembling the policy ideas and programmes of developed countries have been the mainstream approach to child protection reforms in other parts of world, including East Asia.

Different assemblages of international policy ideas and programmes often lead to an evolving child protection regime and shifting policy challenges.

Practitioners are advised to adopt a more balanced consideration of three major dimensions of child protection governance: system input, system capacity and system effectiveness.

“ ‘Assembling the policy ideas and programmes of developed countries has been the mainstream approach to child protection reforms’ ”

Introduction

Over the last two decades, there have been several waves of debate about child protection reforms in the international arena. The main focus of interest throughout has been on the exchange of policy ideas and models among developed countries (Gilbert *et al.*, [2011](#); Mansell *et al.*, [2011](#); Pösö *et al.*, [2014](#)). As a result, the policy experiences of developing countries have received scant attention amidst the internationalisation of policy models. In particular, some East Asian countries have ratified international conventions on the protection of children (e.g. the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child). Following this, they have successfully substituted short-term and issue-based projects that protected children for national child protection systems (Thompstone *et al.*, [2014](#)). However, extant international scholarship has often overlooked these policy efforts.

“ ‘The policy experiences of developing countries have received scant attention amidst the internationalisation of policy models’ ”

In order to fill this gap, Taiwan's case was selected for study, because of its rich experiences in policy learning and policy emulation (Peng, [2011](#)). In particular, its policy development has shown that intense interplay between the imported policy programmes and local circumstances often presents a huge challenge to the operation of the child protection system. To understand this complicated policy process better, the perspective of policy assemblage is adopted, as suggested in recent policy transfer studies (McCann and Ward, [2013](#)). Regarding the paper's structure, first, the trends in child maltreatment and the features of the child protection system in Taiwan are considered. Subsequently, the approach of policy assemblage is discussed in terms of its insights into international child protection reforms. After that, the assemblage perspective is applied in the aforementioned Taiwanese case study. Through this process, the aim is to account for why the policy regime has evolved in different policy forms. In particular, the shifting challenges that different policy regimes have faced in relation to the governance of child protection are analysed. The paper concludes with a consideration of the contribution of Taiwan's case to international child protection scholarship in theoretical and practical terms.

‘The perspective of policy assemblage is adopted’

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The Child Abuse Problem and Child Protection System in Taiwan

Despite the long-term existence of corporal punishment in the home, it was not until the 1990s that social worker movements against child maltreatment raised public awareness about this issue in Taiwan. Since then, social workers have been extensively involved in practical service provision (Yu, 1999). Also, the advocacy efforts of social worker groups have successfully pressurised the government into modernising child protection (Wang, 2010). In order to monitor child abuse cases, the government started to collect and release relevant statistics. In relation to this, Figure 1 shows the trend in the notification of child maltreatment and substantiation of these reports from 2005–2015. As seen in the figure, there has been a steady increase in the notifications of suspected child abuse and neglect to the child protection agency for the last decade. In addition to increasingly volatile family situations, part of this trend reflects a legal amendment to introduce a mandatory reporting system and the media campaigns that accompanied this (Peng, 2011). As to the substantiations, these almost kept pace with notifications for the first half of the decade in question, but fell away during the remainder of this period. This can be attributed to multiple factors, such as the nature of the notified cases, heavy workloads and the decision-making capacity of child protective social workers as well as the changing thresholds for the child protection plan (Yu, 2012). In sum, as a result of contrasting trends in reported cases and substantiated ones, there has been a growing gap between the two and consequently, this has cast doubt on the performance of the child protection system, which is considered later.

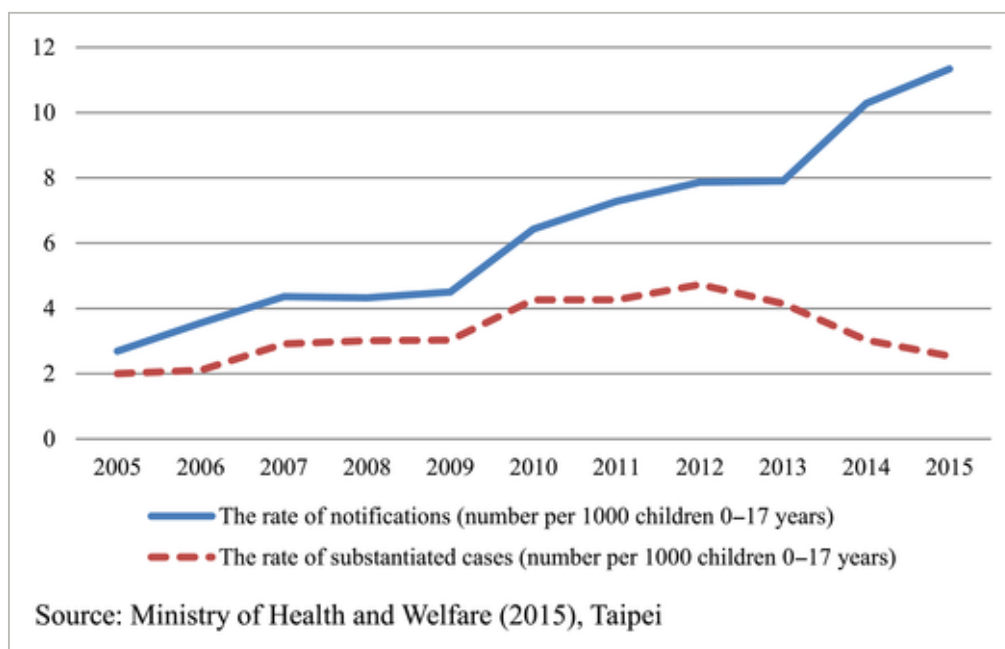


Figure 1

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The rates of notifications and substantiations per 1000 children from 2005 to 2015. Source: Ministry of Health and Welfare (2015). [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

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“ ‘The advocacy efforts of social worker groups have successfully pressurised the government into modernising child protection’

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In order to respond to heightened social concern surrounding child abuse, in the mid-1990s, the government started to borrow US policy experiences to amend child welfare law and to establish a more comprehensive policy set-up. In contrast to the USA, which has a separate law safeguarding children, the Taiwanese government merely added new protective rules to the extant child welfare laws. With subsequent legal amendments, the rules covered the required definition of child maltreatment, the designated professionals for dealing with this and the related regulations regarding service delivery (Peng, [2011](#)). Following continuing policy learning and emulation, Taiwan's current child protection system is characterised as having the following features.

“ ‘In the mid-1990s, the government started to borrow US policy experiences to amend child welfare law’

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First, influenced by the US policy paradigm, the government's policy stance commonly attributes child maltreatment to parental deficiency. Meanwhile, families and other child carers are designated as being responsible for safeguarding children. Under these assumptions, the policy system followed promotes the need for notifications of suspected cases and correction of any parental behaviours that are deemed to be harming children (Yu, [1999](#)).

“ ‘The government's policy stance commonly attributes child maltreatment to parental deficiency’

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Second, regarding the introduced policy programmes, these cover four pillars of child protection, including: a mandatory reporting system, an investigatory system of notification, reactive treatment for those families whose children are being maltreated, and proactive as well as preventive services for families at risk of child abuse (Peng, [2011](#)).

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Third, the government has drawn on international lessons and made a specific labour division in relation to policy delivery. Specifically, central government has taken responsibility for relevant policy formulation, coordination and management, while local government has been assigned service delivery funded by the state. In contrast to affluent countries, the fiscal insufficiency of local jurisdictions has resulted in the further division of labour regarding service delivery. That is, local government is responsible for receiving and investigating notifications, while the service provision to children and their families is contracted out to non-profit organisations (NPOs). Compared to other professions, social worker groups have a much longer history of, and more expertise in, these service practices. Given this state of affairs, the majority of child protection

services have been delivered by social workers rather than other appropriate professionals (Yu, [2014](#)).

“ ‘Local government has been assigned service delivery funded by the state’

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In order to maintain its effective functioning, Taiwan's policy system has had to meet three interdependent and frequently competing demands, as is the case for other countries: system input, system capacity and system effectiveness. System input refers to the required human and financial resources for policy delivery (Thompstone *et al.*, [2014](#)), while system capacity concerns whether the policy system is able to receive and respond efficiently to an increase in the notifications of suspected child maltreatment (Mansell, [2006](#)). System effectiveness relates to the level of policy performance in terms of its prevention of child abuse deaths and the promotion of child wellbeing (Mansell *et al.*, [2011](#); Pösö *et al.*, [2014](#)). Influenced by policy orientations, developed countries have varied in relation to their policy objectives. For example, through a policy focus on hazard detection, the nascent child protection systems of Anglo-Saxon countries were aimed at ensuring system capacity with minimum system input (Gilbert *et al.*, [2011](#)). In contrast, those of European countries stress the importance of investment in the infrastructure for in-home services. Thus, their policy endeavour was to prioritise the goal of system input to achieve the anticipated system effectiveness (Freymond and Cameron, [2006](#)). On account of the starkly different policy priorities, these child protection systems have been confronted by distinct policy challenges. Before considering how Taiwan's reformers have dealt with the three policy demands, in the next section, the adopted analytical approach of policy assemblage is discussed.

“ ‘Influenced by policy orientations, developed countries have varied in relation to their policy objectives’

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The Policy Assemblage Approach to Analysis of Child Protection Reforms

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The Policy Assemblage Approach

For many less-developed welfare states, their governments have made references to affluent countries' policy experiences for reform insights. For this type of policy development, existing studies have often adopted the theory of policy transfer for explanation (Clarke *et al.*, [2015](#)). For this type of policy development, existing studies have often adopted the theory of policy transfer for explanation (Clarke *et al.*, [2015](#)). Based on the assumption of rational policymaking, proponents of this theory hold that policy development in developing countries should involve attempting to copy the policies of their developed counterparts (Benson and Jordan, [2011](#)). However, this stance has been increasingly criticised for two reasons. First, policy transfer theory

overlooks the likely incompatibility between the imported policy models and implementation circumstances (Park *et al.*, [2017](#)). Second, it fails to consider the fact that local policy actors often reinterpret, shape and localise external policy models for their purposes (Clarke *et al.*, [2015](#)). In order to address these limitations, the policy assemblage approach has been proposed in recent policy studies. Regarding the proponents of the assemblage approach, they conceptualise policy as a configuration of heterogeneous elements, including diverse policy stakeholders, conflicting policy ideas and competing interpretation of policy outcomes (Ureta, [2014](#)). Also, as argued by them, policy actors often borrow and assemble incoherent policy elements of different localities in their reform projects (McCann and Ward, [2013](#)). Moreover, as a result of the intense interplay between the borrowed policies and implementation conditions, this would lead to ever-changing policy arrangements (Ureta, [2014](#)). Compared to the previous policy transfer approach, this particular perspective can deepen our understanding of the complexity and dynamic nature of policy development (Clarke *et al.*, [2015](#)).

“ ‘Policy transfer theory overlooks the likely incompatibility between the imported policy models and implementation circumstances’

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Policy Assemblage of Child Protection Reforms

In the international policy forum, both protection and family care have been regarded as being indispensable for safeguarding children, which has placed them on the reform agenda. Table 1 summarises typical strategies being contemplated in this forum. In the table, two major political ideologies have been identified for their significant influence on the reform measures, namely: managerialism and professionalism (Howe, [1992](#); Mansell *et al.*, [2011](#)). Under the former, protective practitioners are often considered as knaves, thus giving licence to addressing their serious mistakes with more management control instruments (Le Grand, [2003](#)). Given this situation, protagonists of managerialism have proposed replacing professional judgement in the investigation of referral cases with a more bureaucratic procedure, interagency regulation, information technology and formal assessment tools (Samsonsen and Turney, [2017](#)). Also have argued for the strengthening of the regulation of professionals in relation to service provision to families (Yu, [2014](#)). In contrast, under professionalism, it is assumed that professionals are public-spirited and accordingly, maintaining their autonomy is believed to contribute to service quality (Le Grand, [2003](#)). In the field of child protection investigation, this perspective justifies the policy claims that social workers should not become too involved in dealing with investigatory affairs. The reason for this can be attributed to the belief that investigation is not consistent with the social work professional's mission, vision and values (Mansell *et al.*, [2011](#); Myers, [2006](#)). In relation to the implementation of professionalism in family support services, all the proposed reform measures are aimed at achieving the social work mission of providing effective services to needy families (Gilbert *et al.*, [2011](#)).

Table 1. Typical types of strategies for reforming the child protection system in the international arena

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Ideology	Area	
	Investigation	Family support services
Managerialism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Standardised procedure of processing notifications Prescribed information management and recording system Strengthened inter-agency coordination Formal assessment tools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regulating family support services prescribed by managerialism
Professionalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transferring reporting and investigation to the criminal justice system More flexible reporting system providing senior practitioners with professional discretion in the notification of suspected cases 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bringing social workers back into family support services Giving more leadership to the social work profession in relation to service provision Encouraging social workers to provide more tailor-made services to vulnerable families and children

“ ‘Protagonists of managerialism have proposed replacing professional judgement in the investigation of referral cases with a more bureaucratic procedure’

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Pertinent to the policy assemblage proposed, different mixtures of investigatory and family support service reforms have characterised the child protection systems established in developed countries. Table 2 presents how different ways of policy assemblage lead to a particular typology of child protection regime. Regarding the policy regime considered here, this refers to the combination of ideas, policy institutions and actors that are involved in formulating and governing policy (Ureta, 2014). From the table, it can be seen that when a government pursues managerialism to reform both investigation and family support services, this results in a managerialist policy regime, as exemplified in current Anglo-Saxon policy systems (Gilbert *et al.*, 2011). In contrast, the so-called professionalism-based policy regime is constructed by the ideology of professionalism guiding the reforms of these two service settings, which is typical of the strategies adopted by some European countries (Freymond and Cameron, 2006). Between these two situations is the assemblage of investigation and family services being guided by contrasting ideologies, which occurred in some countries when their governments attempted to

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incorporate foreign policy ideas into their domestic policy systems. In this regard, the appetite in the 1990s for a family service track in the US child protection system is a typical case of cell B (Waldfoegel, [1998](#)), while the hybrid system of cell D is demonstrated by the recent Norwegian reform of its child protection investigation system (Samsonsen and Turney, [2017](#)).

Table 2. Post-reform child protection regimes in the international arena

Reform approaches to family support services	Reform approaches to investigation	
	Managerialism	Professionalism
Managerialism	Cell A: Managerialist policy regime	Cell D: Hybrid policy regime with discretionary investigation and regulated service provision
Professionalism	Cell B: Hybrid policy regime with regulated investigation and discretionary service provision	Cell C: Professionalism-based policy regime

“ ‘When a government pursues managerialism to reform both investigation and family support services, this results in a managerialist policy regime’ ”

As predicted by the assemblage approach, policy regimes identified are often confronted with two major problems. The first concerns the contradiction within policy design, while the other relates to the incompatibility between the imported policy and the implementation environment, thus leading to policy dysfunction. Given these difficulties, the policy regimes can never be fully stable, being subject to further change and transformation (Ureta, [2014](#)). In the next section, Taiwan's policy trajectory in recent decades and the challenges that have been faced are considered in detail in a case study form.

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Child Protection Regime Transformation and Shifting Policy Challenges in Taiwan

Taiwan's child protection reforms have relied much on learning from other countries' policy experiences and they have also involved synthesised policy programmes with different origins as the policy process has unfolded. In this section, how different policy assemblages led to changing policy regime and the resulting shifting nature of the policy challenges are covered. Three policy stages are considered: policy initiation, initial policy reforms and further policy reforms.

‘Three policy stages are considered: policy initiation, initial policy reforms and further

“ policy reforms’

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Policy Initiation in the Mid-1990s

In the 1990s, after acknowledging that there was no prior experience in child protection practices, social work advocacy groups suggested that the government should learn from some developed countries' policy experiences (Wang, [2010](#)). Since then, pro-child academia and social work activists have been working through diverse channels to find policy knowledge and models applicable to local circumstances. The learning tools that they employed included conferences, journals, reports, study tours and workshops (Lee, [1998](#)). On account of both informational availability and less of a language barrier, the US child protection model eventually became the major source for policy emulation (Wang, [2010](#)). However, being limited by implementation issues, only a few elements of US policy were considered in terms of transfer feasibility. Specifically, mandatory reporting and investigation of suspected child abuse were selected for introduction (Peng, [2011](#)). While noting American legal sanctions for child abuse, these were rarely imposed for fear of a parental backlash against what were seen by East Asian culture as over-intrusive measures. Instead, the reformers introduced mandatory classes of parenting for those parents whose children had been badly harmed (Yu, [1999](#)). Furthermore, an insufficient budget for child protection resulted in a general shortage of in-home services for children in need of protection (Yu, [1999](#)). Moreover, the government's conservative fiscal stance sowed the seeds of workforce insufficiency. In sum, the embryonic policy regime was formed by the emulation of some of the American policy ideas. In spite of this, sociopolitical circumstances still restricted the newly established policy system from fully functioning. Consistent with the prediction of the assemblage approach, the discrepancy between the US and Taiwanese contexts led to the instability of the imported policy system, which is considered later.

“ ‘Only a few elements of US policy were considered in terms of transfer feasibility’

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Initial Policy Reforms of the Mid-2000s

Shortly after policy implementation, the newly introduced policy system was found to exhibit limitations in meeting the three policy demands mentioned above. Regarding system capacity, the policy system was overloaded with an ever-increasing deluge of child abuse reports. Turning to system effectiveness, there was a complete lack of in-home services and extensive social criticism over high-profile child deaths. In relation to the input aspect, the system faced difficulties in retaining frontline social workers (Yan, [2010](#)). These drawbacks triggered an initial round of policy reforms. Since the majority of policy problems also emerged in the USA, the quick-fix mentality drove the reformers to reference US lessons in the following ways.

The newly introduced policy system was found to exhibit limitations in meeting the three policy demands.

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First, in response to increasing notifications, the government learned US lessons in the introduction of management procedures for dealing with referral cases. With such regulation, the reformers aimed to enhance system capacity. Additionally, the reform was to help tackle a string of failures in saving children's lives (Child Bureau, [2006](#)). Second, in order to address the absence of in-home services, the government gained much insight from US policy experiences. As a consequence, both a Family Treatment Programme and a High Risk Family Intervention Scheme were provided to referred families and multi-problem families, respectively (Sung, [2006](#); Yu, [2014](#)).

However, compared to the efforts being made to handle investigation and family services, the issue of heavy workloads of frontline social workers received only a lukewarm response from the government. In this regard, Taiwanese protective workers have much higher caseloads in international terms of 50–60 clients (Cheng, [2008](#)). The reasons for excessive workloads can be put down to shoestring budgets for the policy system and a hiring freeze in child protection (Yan, [2010](#)). In response, financially cautious officials only promised a temporary budget for recruiting more contract social workers in the public sector (Chien and Lin, [2010](#)).

“ ‘The issue of heavy workloads of frontline social workers received only a lukewarm response from the government’

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In sum, the first wave of policy reforms was characterised by enhanced regulation of notification and investigation practices. Also, the government started to fill the gap in family services. With such a policy assemblage, the policy regime was transformed from that adhering to the hazard detection model into a hybrid one with a combination of regulated investigation and discretionary family service provision (i.e. cell B in Table [2](#)). The new regime prioritised both the goals of system capacity and effectiveness, placing less emphasis on adequate resourcing for policy delivery. As a consequence, both an insufficient workforce and excessive workload presented a serious challenge. This negatively influenced other reform efforts, such as the failure to diagnose some serious cases and the insufficiency of family service provision. Perhaps more importantly, given the cost containment, child protective social workers and family service social workers had to compete for limited resources. This significantly reduced the benefits of synergy for these two types of field workers involved with maltreated children (Lin and Lee, [2016](#)). Since the new policy regime did not achieve the desired results, it eventually triggered a new round of policy reforms.

“ ‘The first wave of policy reforms was characterised by enhanced regulation of notification and investigation practices’

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The Second Round of Policy Reforms in the 2010s

Despite regime transformation, the common occurrence of high-profile child abuse cases still provoked widespread criticism of the policy system for failing to address the issues of both capacity and effectiveness (Chao *et al.*, 2010). In addition, the excessive workloads of protective practitioners was still a salient issue, which led to long-term low morale and a high turnover of workers (Yan, 2010). In particular, with skilled workers often leaving in disillusionment, the practice field contained a high percentage of novice workers without sufficient experience. This was definitely harmful to the promised performance of the policy system (Shen *et al.*, 2013). More recently, in order to tackle these shortfalls, the government has launched a new round of policy reforms. In this round, reformers decided to broaden their learning outside US policy experiences. The reason for this had a lot to do with new reform-minded policy stakeholders. Also, US in-home services had been criticised for being too patchy for vulnerable families (Ku, 2008). After digesting more heterogeneous policy ideas, the government put forward the following reform measures:

- a. With the technical assistance of a US task group, a structured diagnosis system was localised and introduced to the decision-making on child protection. It was anticipated that this assessment tool would assist child protective social workers in eliminating the blame game regarding their inability to identify high-risk cases for precautionary intervention. Also, it has helped to enhance system capacity by facilitating the screening out of falsely reported cases of child abuse (Liu and Yang, 2011).
- b. In order to strengthen system capacity, a new information management and recording system was introduced for dealing with referral cases (Chang and Gu, 2016).
- c. Stringent regulation was applied to family service providers so as to ensure more cost-effective services for children and their families (Yu, 2014).
- d. In order to address the long-standing problem of patchy service provision, the reformers turned to the matured policy models of Hong Kong and Singapore for inspiration (Ku, 2008). Subsequently, family welfare centres were introduced in different localities, with the aim being to promote a more complete and integrated approach to safeguarding children (Peng, 2012). By providing a variety of income and social support to parents in need, these centres also aimed to prevent child maltreatment.

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“ ‘The common occurrence of high-profile child abuse cases still provoked widespread criticism of the policy system’

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“ ‘Reformers turned to the matured policy models of Hong Kong and Singapore for inspiration’

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Through such reform efforts, the government has successfully introduced a series of surveillance and control techniques for investigation and family support services. These tougher

regulations have further transformed the policy regime into a managerialist one (i.e. cell A in Table 2). In the face of this new policy regime, the policy stakeholders had differing opinions. Regarding government bureaucrats, they claimed that they had reduced substantiated cases to a manageable level, because the adoption of a structural assessment tool had helped to raise the substantiation threshold (see Figure 1). Regarding child welfare NPOs, they welcomed the more integrated family services, because these were beneficial for children and their families (Peng, 2012). However, frontline social workers raised doubts about the managerialist regime owing to its repercussions regarding their professional autonomy. Many believed that the workforce problem would become more intractable than previously, as the profession would become less attractive (Yu, 2014). In sum, the managerialist policy system was not expected to deliver the three policy demands of child protection in an even-handed way.

“ ‘Frontline social workers raised doubts about the managerialist regime owing to its repercussions regarding their professional autonomy’

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“ ‘The managerialist policy system was not expected to deliver the three policy demands of child protection in an even-handed way’

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From the above discussion of the complicated reform process, it can be seen that Taiwan's child protection system still faces challenges. Figure 2 illustrates the extent to which the evolving policy regime has addressed the three major policy demands. From the figure, it can be seen that both issues of capacity and effectiveness of the policy system have dominated regime transformation, while the input issue concern of frontline practitioners has received less attention. In order to seek a more equally balanced policy solution, policy stakeholders are recommended to expand their knowledge of policy assemblage and its consequences, as has been considered here.

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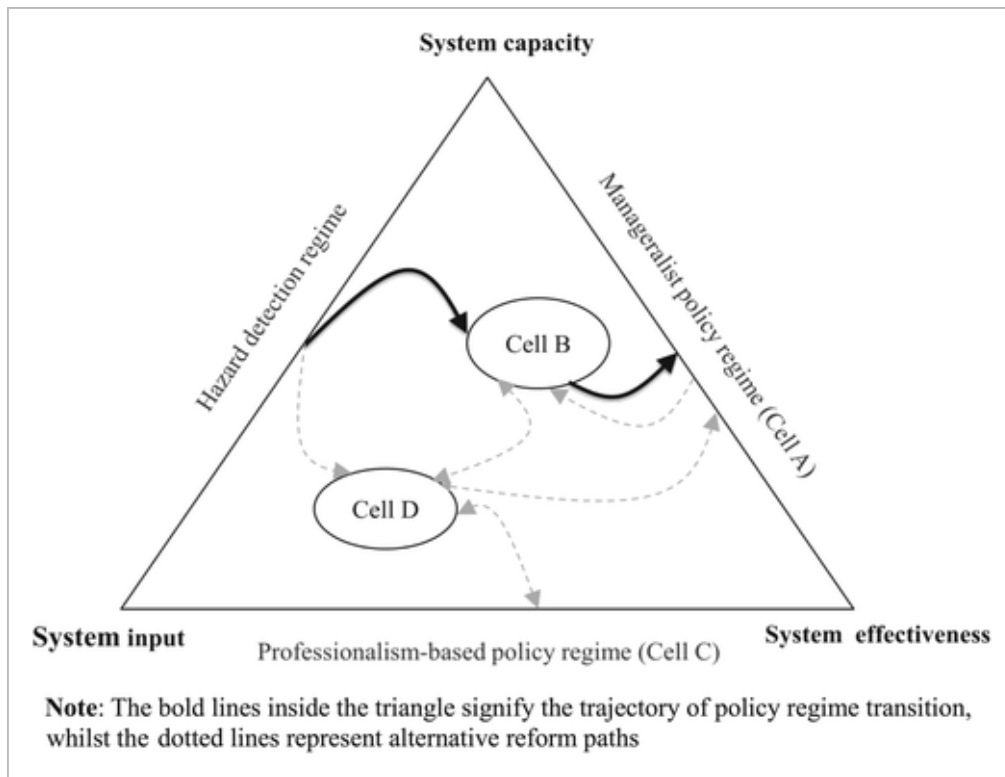


Figure 2

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Taiwan's child protection regime transformation and its relationship to three key policy demands.

Discussion and Conclusion

From the study of Taiwan's policy case, it has been shown that child protection modernisation is rarely undertaken entirely from scratch. In many instances, its policy reforms have relied heavily on policy learning and emulation from overseas. Based on the research findings, it is concluded that the implications of Taiwan's policy case for child protection scholarship in theoretical and practical terms are as follows.

First, as the assemblage perspective predicts, assembling the policy schemes from different origins has featured prominently in Taiwan's child protection reforms. Shifting of the policy assemblage orientation has led to the transformation of the policy regime. Of relevance to similar policy pursuits of other countries, this theoretical approach would help them adopt a more dynamic perspective on considering their policy developments. Also, it could contribute to identifying the distinctive contours of their own policy regimes. Moreover, this particular perspective could provide them with understanding of the rationale behind the system transformation, as it has done in Taiwan's case.

“ ‘Assembling the policy schemes from different origins has featured prominently in Taiwan's child protection reforms’

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Second, as discussed, the majority of policy reforms have been triggered by the failure of the policy regime to meet three demands of the child protection system, namely: system input, capacity and effectiveness. Even with the present managerialist policy system, the priority lies in the objectives of system capacity and system effectiveness, but scant attention is being paid to investment in the protective workforce. As a consequence, it is anticipated that unbalanced policy pursuits will lead to implementation difficulties. In particular, high turnover and low morale of protective practitioners could threaten to undermine the reform efforts with regards to the other aspects. In relation to the policymaking of developing countries, these three policy demands of the child protection system are highly related to each other and they need to be treated as equally important, if the governance of child protection is to be effective. Hence, regardless of the political ideologies, a more balanced reform approach is recommended so as to ensure the stable operation of the policy system.

“ ‘High turnover and low morale of protective practitioners could threaten to undermine the reform efforts’

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Third, regarding how to pursue the proposed balanced reform approach to child protection, the assemblage perspective provides new insights into achieving this. For example, it implies that the opinions of some neglected policy stakeholders (e.g. frontline workers and vulnerable families) should receive more attention in policymaking than previously. Also, all policy stakeholders are advised to broaden their policy learning horizon. The creation of such a new policy assemblage would facilitate a more equal exchange of policy concerns and ideas among stakeholders. In addition, it would help build a more flexible and acceptable child protection model than simply delivering a fairly straightforward copy of those from other countries.

In sum, it is inevitable that developing countries will take up the policy lessons of other countries in their child protection reforms. These reforms will most likely take the form of policy assemblage, as observed in Taiwan's case. Moreover, in order to secure effective functioning of the policy system, many of these governments will have to face how to reconcile competing policy demands, as considered in this paper. Given these policy challenges, governments are recommended to adopt the assemblage perspective to make child protection reforms contextually appropriate.

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“ ‘Governments are recommended to adopt the assemblage perspective to make child protection reforms contextually appropriate’

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