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**A STUDY OF SCHOOL ANTI-BULLYING POLICY
IN TAIWAN**

**BY
MING-LUN CHUNG**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the scale of bullying in Taiwanese schools and the impact of school anti-bullying policies. Critical realism is used in this policy-related research to argue against current empirical bullying research mainstream and how it may be possible to conduct scientific policy research in Taiwan. The thesis is divided into two parts, covering the literature review and methodology (four chapters in part one) and analysis of the case study in Taiwan (three chapters in part two). This research endeavours to link critical realism with empirical research to deepen our understanding of the school anti-bullying policy structure in Taiwan.

The thesis begins with the exploration of the conceptualisation and development of bullying research in Chapter 2 whose main purpose is to capture the definition of bullying and the prevalence of school bullying in different countries and then illustrate the main research areas and the international trend of bullying research. Following Chapter 2, bullying-related theories and approaches to bullying research are highlighted in Chapter 3 and policy process theories and school anti-bullying policies are touched on in Chapter 4 in term of policy agenda setting, policy formulation and policy implementation consideration. A crucial role is played by Chapter 5 which focuses on the philosophical discussion of critical social research (ontology, epistemology and methodology) with reference to the appropriate use of practical methods and related ethical issues. This chapter sets out to explain how critical realism could function in this research to bridge the gap between the literature review and the case study research.

In part two, three chapters discuss the formation of school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan. Chapter 6, which is an historical inquiry, illuminates the trajectory of school regulation policies with regard to the democratic transformation of a political system since 1945 in Taiwan. After the historical discussion, light is shed on empirical inquiry into school anti-bullying policy in Chapter 7, which analyses different debates over school anti-bullying policy and power struggles between four different policy stakeholders. Most importantly, Chapter 8 attempts to theorise the ‘generative mechanism’ behind the policy making process and the inferential logic of knowledge production is also considered at the end of this chapter. In addition, reflection on the generative mechanism and collective agency of community and professional groups in policy making are also involved. The concluding chapter reflects on the use of theories, methodology and the research findings in answer to the research questions and elaborates on the compatibility of critical realism, the critical qualitative case study and school anti-bullying policy research in Taiwan. To be reflexive this chapter finishes by looking at further research directions for policy making and practice between political governance, policy research and school practice.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction: Research Background

This thesis explores the scale of bullying in Taiwanese schools and the impact of school anti-bullying policies. As indicated by different types of research and surveys (academic investigation, NPO survey and government project), the prevalence of school bullying in Taiwan is gradually worsening among school children at all levels (Child Welfare League Foundation, 2004; Wei, Jonson-Reid & Tsao, 2007; Cheng & Huang, 2010; Chen & Cheng, 2013). However, Chen and Cheng (2013) pointed out that adopting the different methods of measurement and data collection directly brought about the different results of prevalence rates, such as self-reported questionnaire, peer nomination and parental report. The rise of anti-bullying concerns could be attributed to the outbreak of two bullying events in Taoyuan (2010) and Hsinchu (2011) junior high schools and subsequently the public displayed anti-bullying consciousness and called for the making of anti-bullying policy in Taiwan (Chapter 7). As indicated by Chen, Cheng and Huang (2010), the anti-bullying action initiated by government authorities began in 2006 when the Ministry of Education (2006) declared the Implementation Programme of Improving School Security: the Promotion of Friendly Campus and the Enactment of Anti-gangsters which is related to curbing school violence, school bullying, drug abuse and gangster invasion. As could be seen, the conception of school anti-bullying in Taiwan is closely associated with violent behaviour and drug abuse in that the term ‘bullying’ first appeared in Taiwan in 2004 and, then, ‘violent behaviour’ was preferred by the Taiwanese scholars and the government authorities. Hence, this also caused a great debate on the definition of school bullying between different policy stakeholders in the agenda of policy making since 2011 (Chapter 7). In terms of Chinese meaning, ‘bullying as two Chinese characters [Ba Ling: 霸凌] which signifies the notion of bossy, superior in power and position, insulting, and property occupying’ (Cheng, Chen, Ho & Cheng, 2011, p.228). Historically, the appearance of anti-bullying policy could be also seen as a legacy of party politics and political governance as represented in school practice (Chapter 6). In other

words, how to explore the nature of anti-bullying policy should be linked with the specific contexts rather than focusing on empirical measurement of school bullying, Taiwan is the case study in this thesis so as to deepen our understanding of the interdependent and irreducible relations between the activation of policy structure, social events of policy planning and empirical inquiry of individual experience.

As already indicated by different research, aggressive behaviour causes not only physical injuries but also psychological impacts, in the period of adolescence to adulthood. In the 1970s, the Norwegian psychologist Dan Olweus, regarded as the first school bullying researcher in Scandinavia, distinguished his research from previous school violence research, which gradually spurred the rise of a bullying research movement throughout the world. Early theorisation of bullying can be traced back to Olweus's series of publications (Olweus, 1978; Olweus, 1984; Olweus, 1988; Olweus, 1993; Olweus, 1994; Olweus, 2001; Olweus, 2003; Olweus, 2011; Olweus, 2013). Researchers from different countries have followed Olweus's steps to conduct bullying research based upon multiple perspectives and cross/interdisciplinary analysis, such as Smith, Sharp and Tattum in the UK, Rigby and Slee in Australia, Morita in Japan, Sullivan in New Zealand, Wong in Hong Kong, Craig in Canada and Farrington and Ttofi in the US. There have been seven main theories which are widely adopted and applied to interpret bullying: strain theory, cultural deviance theory, differential association theory, social control theory, labelling theory and social learning theory and critical pedagogy theory. Moreover, the bullying research movement has promoted public appeals for a safe learning environment for children, and therefore, this issue has gradually become a socio-political one.

Different research fields centre on different assumptions and issues with reference to school bullying. For example, psychologists have been mainly interested in dealing with social and emotional skills, psychological effects of bullying, peer relationships and cyber bullying. When it comes to clinical research of school bullying, what we know about medical and health research is largely based upon clinical studies that investigate cognitive neuroscience, psychosocial and mental health, nonclinical psychotic experiences, childhood trauma and psychotic symptom and psychiatric disorders. The assumption of this field is that bullying itself could be viewed as pathology of requiring treatment. According to the criminological and violent (aggressive) behaviour research on school bullying, it is viewed as deviant behaviour, anti-social behaviour, or even criminal behaviour which has resulted in social

disorder as well as social disintegration. Numerous studies have attempted to explain the difference between indirect and invisible aggression, provocative and passive aggression. From the perspective of anti-social behaviour, a series of adolescent studies have examined the causal relations between the bullying behaviour and drug/alcohol abuse and between the bullying experience in childhood and criminal or aggressive behaviour in adulthood. In educational research on school bullying there is a large volume of published studies describing how to use curriculum project, school climate, classroom management and discipline, teaching strategies, for the purpose of making the school environment more inclusive. As opposed to the Scandinavian research tradition of behaviour science within the field of psychology, this thesis turns to focus on the formation of school anti-bullying policy (rather than the de-contextualised constitution and casual attribution of bullying behaviour) with reference to the underpinning meaning and praxis of political governance to which the transformation to democracy is highly related.

As indicated already, at the initial stage of scientific research, bullying behaviour in different research areas was regarded as a kind of individualised and pathological problem rather than a social one. This led to a stigmatised stereotype that bullying behaviour in schools was commonly recognised as an aggressive way of either interaction or domination over others which were, of course, socially and culturally depreciated. However, how possible bullying behaviour could be produced and reproduced within specific social relations failed to be questioned in current social science research. Moreover, bullying behaviour is closely associated with wider social-spatial contexts, including family, community, school culture and even invisible historical and political spheres, rather than simply individual behaviour. Based upon critical social research, this implies that different assumptions of the theoretical foundations will determine how the people understand or recognise the specific issue and how government authorities combined political ideologies with policy making to maintain social order in an attempt to rationalise the legalisation and stability of governance. Following this logic, the above research background was used to explain the gap between the function of social structure and evolution of school anti-bullying policy (as a part of school regulation policies in relation to a consecutive representation of political governance in socio-political contexts) at the centre of critical bullying policy research. The rest of this introductory chapter is divided into four sections, including the research problem and purpose, research questions, scopes and limitations, contributions of the thesis, the thesis plan.

Research Problems and Objectives

School bullying has been raising wide concern across the globe and appears as a topic in the journals from various disciplines (such as psychology, criminology, clinical studies, pedagogy and so on). Previous bullying research can be divided into three main orientations (Jimerson, Swearer and Espelage, 2008), covering foundations for understanding bullying, assessment and measurement of bullying and research-based prevention and intervention. These three orientations currently delineate the scientific development of school bullying research which locates the notion of school bullying as a social issue that needs to be predicted and controlled in the context of school practice in order to maintain the general equilibrium of school systems (as a part of the social system). Furthermore, a variety of debates over this issue concentrate on the motivations and types of bullying behaviour and the consequential effects of anti-bullying programmes, at the level of government and local schools, through theoretical explorations and empirical inquiries, using quantitative, qualitative or mixed methods. Considering the relation between the application of approaches and theories with reference to bullying behaviour, one question is continually debated, that of how to justify the validity of different approaches and theoretical explanations in capturing the social reality and social fact of school bullying, such as the interaction between structure and agency, between fact and value, and between particularity and generality. This reflection reminds us that school bullying is not only an issue of social science but also concerns dialectical reasoning in terms of its methodological and theoretical foundations. The first objective of this thesis is to establish the scope of the problem of bullying.

It is argued that the knowledge production of school bullying research needs to be re-examined because the formation of scientific knowledge structure is highly related to epistemology (the nature of knowing), as discussed by both Durkheimian (1938) and Weberian (1949) explorations in the methodology of social science. From the Durkheimian tradition, school bullying research centred on a positivist approach to discovering the causal relations in the school bullying behaviour and events, such as measuring the frequency and severity of bullying behaviour and attributing its related factors. That is a holistic (or collectivist) approach, which is de-contextualised in support of value-free scientificity, in the application of naturalistic methodology. For the Weberian tradition, an exploration of the interpretive meaning behind school bullying was assumed to bridge the gap between agential experience and the nature of school bullying, departing from an individualist methodology,

that is therefore context-based in defence of value-laden scientificity. Two different approaches will be discussed in later chapters to demonstrate the knowledge disjunction of current bullying research. This kind of demarcation between the use of methodology and the logic of knowledge production reflected not only how to tackle school bullying, but in what way the knowing could be approaching scientificity to make a comprehensive policy. When referring to policy making, the logic and method cannot be overemphasised that public policy could be seen as a complicated process of ideological debates and power struggles, mainly espoused by critical theorists, and as a mutual integrative process between social systems and social values, chiefly embraced by structural functionalists. The connection between bullying research and anti-bullying policy focuses more on pragmatism approaches to problem-solving which stops at the level of empirical experience, but sheds little light on the discovery of social mechanisms which goes beyond the level of specific social events and empirical experience. Such a critical approach questions the relations between empirical experience and social mechanism concerning the epistemic logic of school bullying research and, therefore, how to bridge this divide would be an unresolved issue. The second objective of this thesis is to look for the methodological and epistemological foundations to elicit unseen and unexplored philosophical assumptions behind bullying research.

According to Easton's (1965) simple model of the political system, the research behind current anti-bullying policies and programmes highlight the 'output' and 'feedback' of policy formation, but lost sight of the 'input' and 'conversion' aspects. Put differently, the former stresses the practicality of policy to influence bullying behaviour modification, while the latter attenuates the power relations between various policy stakeholders. This disjunction between the former and the latter in bullying policy research fails to capture the whole picture of policy process within a specific political system, not to mention the interaction between policy and outer political environment. As discussed above, knowledge production is related to epistemological and methodological groundings which could be also analogous to the formation of anti-bullying policy. A widely-accepted definition of public policy by Easton (1953, p.129) refers to 'the authoritative allocation of values for the society' and Ball (2006, p.10) further elucidated 'policy as a text and discourse' in arguing for the influence of power struggles on policy formation. According to Easton and Ball, knowledge production and discourses of power struggles are inseparable at the heart of the school anti-bullying policy formation. Situated in an open system of a social world, school anti-bullying policy could be viewed as a mixture of ideological discourses (either scientific or political claims) and the

object of pre-existing social mechanism (which could be activated by historical, cultural and political structure). This explanation points out an emerging gap between policy research and traditional sociological approaches to comprehending the nature of school bullying at the level of epistemology and methodology. The third objective is to look for alternative approach to school anti-bullying policy research. Then, as explained and justified in later chapters the selected approach is critical realism. Bhaskar's critical realism (ontological realism) bridges the gap between natural science and social science in defence of scientific research and further tends to go beyond the epistemological and methodological contradictions and disjunctions in critical policy research. Bhaskar (1979) reconceptualised the nature of social reality, an attempt to go beyond a debate between realism and constructivism, which is categorised as threefold layers (domains of the real, actual and empirical) that could be used to re-examine the irreducible relations (the exercise of causal power), as opposed to causal relations in the positivism tradition, between 'the upper level of generative mechanism', 'the middle level of actual events', 'the lower levels of empirical experience' in respect to a specific context of anti-bullying policy structure.

Concerning the compatibility of a case study and bullying research, it is undoubted that bullying behaviour could be seen as a product of social structure based upon assumptions of the sociology of deviance, such as social control theory, strain theory, cultural deviance theory, labelling theory, and differential association theory, that fits with the main purpose of a case study research. At the level of policy consideration, this means that school anti-bullying policy research needs to explore the associations between what bullying behaviour is in the eyes of policy stakeholders and how possible policy could be made under a specific context. As mentioned before, the current case study of bullying research laid emphasis on descriptive and evaluative school practice that, to some extent, tends to provide a successful experience in tackling this issue. However, three dimensions are used to explain the major inadequacies in this case study of bullying research. First, policy research fails to explain the relations between governance and disciplinary regulations in control of students' behaviour. It is assumed that policy formation is affiliated to political governance under a specific democratic regime. Second, the current policy research de-emphasises the importance of historicity which assumes that policy is a historical product in association with the transformation of political structure. Third, how policy research could generalise to a social reality of policy structure to meet the requirement of scientific inquiry needs to be explored and analysed. The fourth objective of this thesis is to draw on the qualitative method, as

opposed to a positivist tradition of measurement, to try to trace a deeper structure of anti-bullying policy formation and a consecutive historical process under the transformation of democratic regime and further generalise a case study of bullying policy research to policy structure in order to re-contextualise and re-conceptualise school anti-bullying policy and research in Taiwan.

The research questions of this thesis

Following the above four objectives eight main research questions formed the bases of this research. These eight questions primarily focus on the logic of policy formation in consideration of the dialectical relations between anti-bullying policies, theories and methods.

- What is the scope of school bullying? What are strengths and limitations of bullying definitions, theories and approaches and how can they be used to explain and interpret school bullying research?

These questions are primarily discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the first of which considers how the definition of school bullying be created with reference to the measurement of school bullying by single and cross-country surveys, and the second compares and analyses the possible theories and approaches with reference to socio-political dimensions in search of the limitations and possibilities of the current bullying research.

- What kinds of alternative analytical approach could be used in the exploration of school anti-bullying policy? In what ways can this research uncover the social reality and social facts of school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan?

These questions are addressed in Chapter 5 which highlights the naturalistic possibility of Bhaskarian critical realism in the application of anti-bullying policy research based upon critical review of anti-bullying policies and programmes in Chapter 4. Furthermore, the notion of generalisation is also justified in Chapter 5 to make a bridgeable connection between a qualitative case study of bullying research and a broader social reality of policy structure in the context of Taiwan. The three layers of the Bhaskarian framework of critical realism are used in Chapter 5 to delimit the theoretical foundations underpinning in this research.

- What are the historical process and underpinning foundations of school anti-bullying policy? To what extent and in what way is the ideological influence on the anti-bullying policy making and implementation at all levels of policy stakeholders?

These questions are considered in Chapters 6 and 7 so as to capture the historical and empirical knowledge of anti-bullying policy in Taiwan. The former lays emphasis on the longitudinal analysis of the political system and school regulation policies in Taiwan since 1945 and the latter uses three kinds of cross-sectional sources (official documents, newspaper reports and semi-structured interviews) to re-construct the underpinning politicisation of anti-bullying policy formation in association with the exercise of power relations among contrasting policy stakeholders (government officials, legislators, school principals, NPO activists and policy researchers) whose discourses could help reshape the objective social events of policy making and then reflect on the nature of policy structure itself in Taiwan.

- What are the irreducible causal laws between social structure/generative mechanism and anti-bullying policy formation in Taiwan? In what ways can the knowledge production of school anti-bullying policy fit with the requirements of scientific and objective inquiry?

Following the historical discussion (Chapter 6) and empirical analysis (Chapter 7) as a scientific foundation of policy research, theorising the generative mechanism of the school anti-bullying policy is discussed in Chapter 8 (theoretical inquiry). Furthermore, the logic of knowledge production and reflections on the generative mechanism concerning top-down democratic governance of school anti-bullying policy is also addressed in the later part of Chapter 8 in defence of the naturalistic possibility of reflexive research on school anti-bullying policy research in which scientific social research is principally involved.

The Scopes and Limitations of this Research

The first main focus of this thesis is the macro level of anti-bullying policy formation which is constituted of three layers of social reality, including the generative mechanism, social events and empirical experience. Macro anti-bullying policy research is to a great extent confined to the discussion of structural dimensions (historically, politically and culturally)

with reference to the function of ideologies and the exercise of power relations behind policy making within a system of political governance, rather than dealing with the types of school bullying and the causal relations of bullying behaviour which belongs to a micro level of behavioural science inquiry. More specifically, this research is, in essence, looking for the macro transformation of policy structure in relation to anti-bullying policy in the context of Taiwan, but not the micro modification of bullying behaviour in schools. Hence, policy stakeholders are mainly chosen as the research participants, rather than schoolchildren.

Secondly, this research concentrates on a policy-oriented case study of Taiwan to counteract the international tendency of homogenising anti-bullying policy research. The meaning of a case study is to contextualise the process of a policy formation which is grounded in a specific historical, political and cultural milieu. Three kinds of analysis underpin this case study of school anti-bullying policy, embracing political system and school regulation policies in Taiwan (an historical analysis in Chapter 6), the foundations of school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan (an empirical analysis in Chapter 7) and theorising the generative mechanism of school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan (a theoretical analysis in Chapter 8). In this regard this policy research is an indigenous inquiry of policy structure in Taiwan, as a mixture of cultural-based and theoretical-laden approaches. Thus it could fail to externally generalise a case study in Taiwan to either other countries or other contexts. However, this research could move forward to arguing for the compatibility of internal generalisation and a case study through a grounded qualitative inquiry. That is to say, the limitation lies primarily in stressing the morphological differentiations of indigenous policy structure within Taiwanese context rather than transferring the general commonalities of anti-bullying policy niches and strategies to other countries and milieus. Significantly associated with the first point, both the research key informants as a first-hand source (such as four kinds of policy stakeholders) and local documents as a second-hand source (such as governmental gazettes and newspaper reports) help this qualitative case study of policy research to fit within an existing macro structure in Taiwan in search of objective and indigenous operationalising mechanism behind a policy structure.

Different types of anti-bullying policy research have been emphasised by governments across the globe. This research was thus engaged in traditional anti-bullying policy, as opposed to two main types of cyberbullying and sexual bullying. There are two reasons for choosing traditional bullying in this research. First, sexual bullying is highly related to sexual

harassment and sexual assault in schools and directly involved in criminal laws, regulated in the Regulations on the Prevention of Sexual Assault, Sexual Harassment, and Sexual Bullying on Campus in 2011, which was excluded from the making of anti-bullying policy in Taiwan. The second reason is that the notion of anti-cyberbullying, mainly taking place in the virtual world, is remaining at the initial stage of a general academic discussion rather than stepping into the process of policy agenda in Taiwan. In other words, the development of anti-cyberbullying policy could be seen as immature in Taiwan before 2015. For these two reasons this research prioritises the traditional anti-bullying policy as a main object which is conducive to exploring the relations between democratic governance and the process of policy formation in the socio-political context (the power struggles of party politics and different policy stakeholders) of the Taiwan. The limitation is that this research does not cover all types of anti-bullying policy in Taiwan and is confined to a traditional type of school bullying, primarily regulated in the Regulations on the Prevention of Bullying on Campus in 2012 and the Implementation Plan of Prevention on School Bullying at All School Levels in 2012.

The limitation relates to the adoption of theoretical perspectives in the analysis of anti-bullying policy in Taiwan. As mentioned before, this is critical social research which shares a tangential point with the subject of social policy and educational policy within the field of sociological studies. This research therefore tends to downplay the psychological research tradition which was more involved in behavioural science and turns instead to engage in the exploration of policy structure. Considering the exploration of policy structure behind policy formation, the application of sociological theories are considered to be more suitable than psychological and clinical perspectives in the explanation and interpretation of critical policy analysis. By and large, the former deals with more macro level of social structure and the latter was applied to a micro psychic and behavioural dimension. Furthermore, the adoption of sociological perspectives in this research satisfies the needs of critical realism in discovering the stratified layers of social reality to go beyond the empirical experience of anti-bullying perception among policy stakeholders or schoolchildren. The fourth limitation is on a par with the first one that the use of a sociological inspection, in principle, aims to shed light on picture of policy structure in practising a democratic governance of policy making rather than illuminate dysfunction of individual psychic and mind in reducing the prevalence of bullying behaviour.

Contributions of the Thesis

This thesis is the first case study of school anti-bullying policies research in Taiwan that makes three distinct contributions to knowledge. First, the consideration of theoretical knowledge (the notion of know-why) signifies the importance of re-contextualising and re-conceptualising indigenous knowledge in relation to the process of anti-bullying policy formation. Two aspects which are interrelated are considered in this section. On the one hand, as explained earlier, this policy research comes to adopt Bhaskar's (1979) framework of stratified social reality on school anti-bullying policy which contributes to an extensive spectrum of knowledge in understanding the different layers of an anti-bullying policy reality. On the other hand, sociological perspectives were used to analyse the process of policy formation, which is called transitive knowledge that is associated to human perceptions. By contrast, the intransitive knowledge of generative mechanisms behind anti-bullying policy structure is also considered in this research which is an object of scientific knowledge (belonging to an ontological side). Transitive knowledge is more empirically-driven and focuses on the ideological debates (the notion of politicism, eclecticism and scientism discussed in Chapter 7) among the discourses of policy stakeholders; in contrast, intransitive knowledge engages on a discussion of the generative mechanisms behind the policy structure (the notion of legal, counselling and pedagogical systems). These three systems embody different theoretical foundations, fields of representation, object (subject) of task executives, and meaning of function within the policy structure. For example, three kinds of social relations are found in the practice of policy: military instructor/police officer to bullies (criminological system), social worker/psychologist to victims (psychological system) and school staff to general students (pedagogical system). In this way this thesis contributes to theorising the policy structure behind school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan.

The second contribution concerns indigenous factual knowledge (the notion of know-what) which is related to historical knowledge (Chapter 6) and empirical knowledge (Chapter 7) elicited from official documents and research participant interviews. First, the historical knowledge bridges the gap between school regulation policies and the transformation of the political system from the authoritative to democratic trajectory (1945-2014), leading to the politicisation of school regulation policies. This also explains the exercise of invisible ideologies behind school regulation policies in correspondence to political needs of top-down governance at the four different historical stages and further represents that indigenous party

politics culture is principally central to school regulation policy making at the level of a central government and local schools. Significantly, these two kinds of practical knowledge embedded in the Taiwanese context (which is diachronic and synchronic inquiry) contribute to seeking for the possibility of human emancipation on anti-bullying policy practice in relation to school practice under a democratic mechanism and framework. It is noted that the underpinning practical knowledge, as an infrastructure of knowledge production, is helpful for capturing theoretical. Considering two kinds of knowledge strikes a balance between theories (ideals) and practices (actions) and between social reality (generative mechanism) and social facts (empirical experience) and between empirical objectivity (objective fact which is analytical) and idealistic subjectivity (individual interpretation and reflection which is normative), to make both theoretical practices and practical theories more dialectically-driven and emancipatory-oriented in policy research.

Third, this thesis also engaged with methodological knowledge (the notion of know-how) applied in critical policy research. This research reflects on theories and approaches of school bullying research in the first part of thesis and then contributes to the integration of critical realism, case study and a qualitative approach to anti-bullying policy in Taiwan. Explaining how it is possible for the critical qualitative approach to replace the quantitative one in defence of scientific inquiry is one of the main arguments in this research. Scientific research is associated with the notion of generalisability (whether research findings could be applied to other settings) and validity (whether research is internally valid and essentially true). This research fills a gap between qualitative research (always seen as non-naturalistic traditions under the paradigmatic umbrella of post-positivism and constructivism) and the scientific inquiry of social science (always seen as the naturalistic traditions under the paradigmatic umbrella of positivism) through the adoption of critical realism. This is related to the appropriate use of research inference (inferential modes of induction, deduction and abduction/retroduction) suggested by Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, and Karlsson (2002). In this way, four different levels (structural level, mechanism level, ideological level and experience and social events level) in association with the anti-bullying policy formation can be interlinked and seen as irreducible through different modes of research inferences to justify scientific knowledge as generalisable (internal generalisation) within the Taiwanese context. It is worth mentioning that the use of abduction and retroduction between empirical data and structural/mechanism in this research attempts to go beyond the traditional empirical research (concentrating on the relations between policy makers' consciousness and

perceptions) in discovering a predominant existence of generative mechanisms and social structures (such as party politics under the top down governance tradition) which is in parallel with the ‘intransitive knowledge’ (viewed as a naturalistic discovery of social reality reconceptualised by Bhaskar) in the first claim. In other words, this integration of methodological knowledge in policy research engaged with bridging the gap between theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge in policy inquiry. Specifically, methodological knowledge plays a pivotal part in penetrating visible ideologies and social facts (primarily constructed and reshaped by policy stakeholders) and invisible historical facts (predominantly produced by a specific political regime) and invisible generative mechanism (independently existed within policy structure), in answer to the cardinal meta-questions of this research: (i) What is the nature of anti-bullying policy structure in Taiwan? (ii) Whose knowledge is being considered in policy making? (iii) What is the alternative possibility of policy transformation in bullying research and development?

The Thesis Plan

This thesis consists of two parts and nine chapters, each of which echoes the research questions set out earlier in this chapter. Chapter 1 briefly reviews the current research issues which lead onto the research aims and research questions. The purpose of this chapter is to explain the underpinning focus and arguments of the research and the logic of the thesis (Figure 1.1).

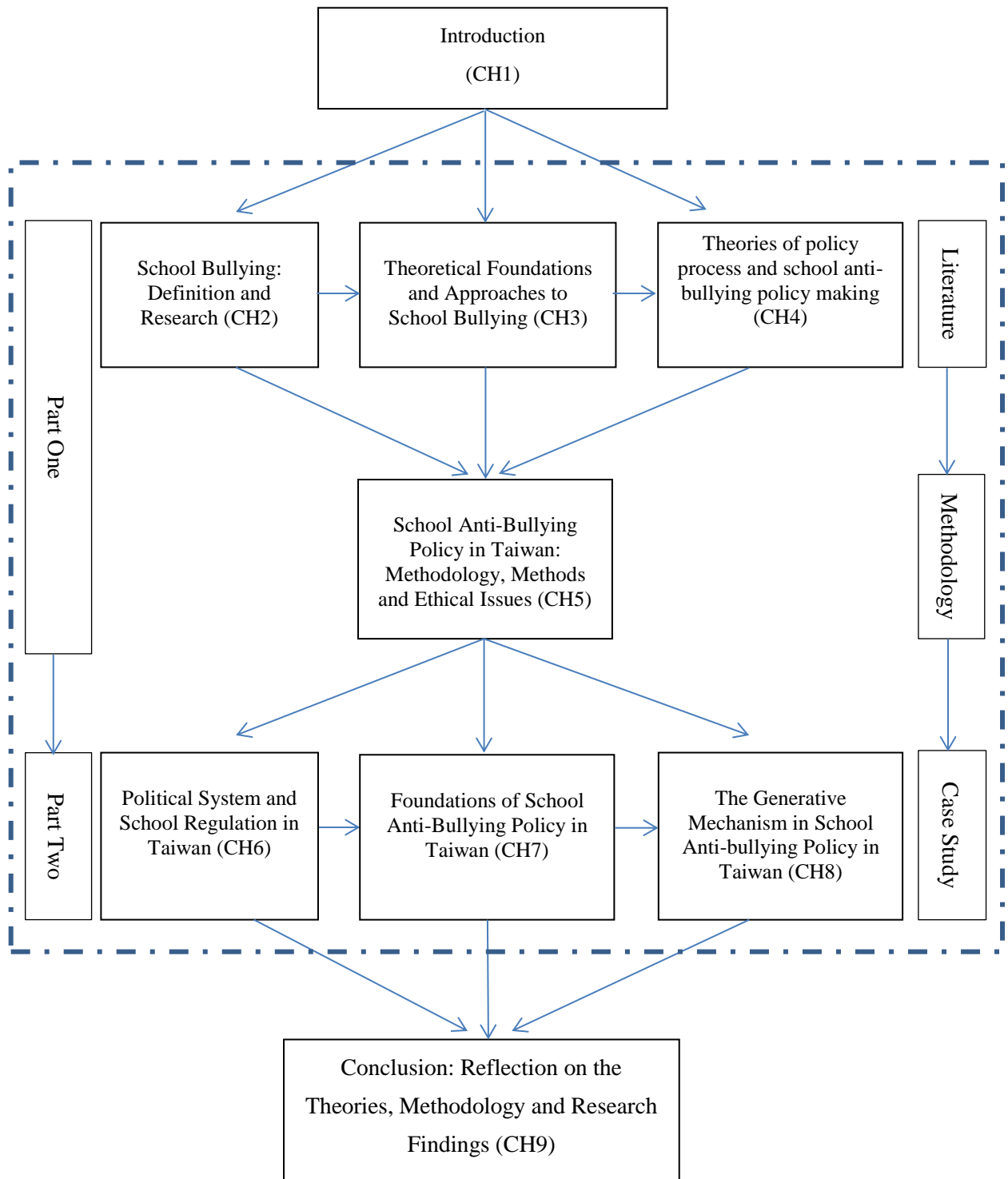
Part 1 covers the literature review on bullying research and, having analysed alternatives, argues for the application of critical realism. Four chapters are incorporated in this part. Chapter 2 re-examines and reflects on the conceptualisation of school bullying which involves the definition of bullying, the empirical surveys of bullying prevalence, the current issues and domains of bullying research and historical overview of international bullying research. This chapter provides a brief picture of the limitations of bullying research as a foundation for the thesis. Chapter 3 explores the theoretical approaches which underpins the analytical and critical assumptions and groundings to deal with a case study of Taiwan. The consideration on theoretical approaches highlights socio-cultural aspects to clarify the inner logic of values and ideological systems behind current bullying research. Chapters 2 and 3 play a role in answering the first and second research question that fills a gap between research issues, theoretical foundations and approaches. Chapter 4 focuses on how policy

process theories can provide an alternative framework for analysing dynamics of school anti-bullying policy with reference to the politics of policy making. First, the theories of agenda setting, policy formulation and policy implementation are critically reviewed and its assumptions and its theoretical development are further explored. Second, the deeper specification of school anti-bullying policy research includes the exploration of values system, general and specific trends and the sequential logic of policy making. Third, the application of policy process theories in school anti-bullying policy is also extensively discussed. Chapter 5 continues to explain and compare different philosophical meanings of bullying research at the level of ontology, epistemology and methodology with a view to bridging the gap between the literature review of current research and the new possibility of a policy research case study. How to use the case study method with a critical qualitative approach in this research are fully explained in this chapter where the notion of research ethics is also closely involved. It is noted that the re-considerations of policy process theories in Chapter 4 and methodological arguments in Chapter 5 responds to the second research question in arguing how critical realism could be applied in anti-bullying policy research in the context of Taiwan.

Part II consists of the case study of Taiwan as an example of the dynamic interaction between anti-bullying policy and socio-political context. Three chapters constitute the qualitative case study in Taiwan, including historical analysis of school regulation policies in Chapter 6, empirical analysis of anti-bullying policy in Chapter 7 and theorising generative mechanism of anti-bullying policy in Chapter 8. At the beginning of a case study, Chapter 6 traces the historical trajectory of school bullying based upon a political system in Taiwan that sets out to delve into how political regimes (Kuomintang and Democratic Progressive Party) exercise their political power on education reforms and, in particular, school regulation policies at the different historical stages. School anti-bullying in Taiwan is assumed to be an inseparable part of school regulation polices in charge of disciplining students' mind and behaviour in schools. This historical discussion also involves discussion of ideological propaganda under the top-down governance and explores how possible authoritative and democratic values could be applied in the formation of school regulation policies in search of a historical departure time of school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan. Following the historical analysis in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 provide the main arguments and finding of this research. Chapter 7 deals with empirical data, based upon official documents, newspaper reports and research interviews, which is related to discussion of the debates of bullying definition, social

movements and school campaigns and social planning of policy making. The discourses and reflections of four policy stakeholders are also described and analysed within three kinds of ideal types between different levels of political and scientific ideologies, embracing politicism, eclecticism and scientism. Chapter 8 concentrates on theorisation of the generative mechanism behind policy structure with reference to anti-bullying policy in Taiwan, in terms of grounded data analysis and theoretical driven framework. Four different layers of social reality (structural, mechanism, ideological and experience/social event levels) are re-constructed and embedded in the Taiwanese context with which the inferential mode of knowledge production for anti-bullying policy is also associated. These three chapters answer the fifth to eighth research questions in defence of scientific ties between empirical inquiry and transcendental generative mechanism discovery. The main purpose of the concluding chapter is to summarise the main points of the previous chapters and provide the directions for future research. Chapter 9 also discusses the comprehensive implications of theoretical and methodological foundations used in this research, comprising the compatibility of critical realism and critical qualitative case research and the compatibility of critical realism and school anti-bullying policy research.

Figure 1.1 The Structure of This Thesis



CHAPTER 2

SCHOOL BULLYING: DEFINITION AND RESEARCH

Introduction

School bullying has been the subject of controversy for over two decades. Different countries and non-governmental organisations as well as academic institutions have provided crucial evidence to explain and analyse its prevalence. The main purpose of this chapter is to review definition of school bullying and its various explanations as well as explore the prevalence and historical development of school bullying. The chapter is divided into four main sections. The first section outlines the definition and features of bullying which is manifested in the nature of bullying. The next section examines the prevalence of school bullying in relation single country and cross-national research. The third section examines the domain of bullying research and its current research topics. The fourth section explores the historical development of school bullying research and analyses different characteristics of each stage in relation to research paradigm, research field, research trend and the role of government and cross-national cooperation. This chapter lays the foundation for understanding of the core concept, prevalence, research field and history in relation to school bullying and research into it.

Definition and Features of Bullying: A Critical Reflection

School bullying has been viewed as social problem in many countries and has raised great public concern. Different countries apply different definitions of and perspectives in this topic. For example, in Japan, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (2010, para.1) defines bullying when ‘children feel distress due to physical and psychological attack by someone who has a relation to him or her’. In Portugal, Almeida (1999, pp.178-179) defined school bullying as ‘physical and psychological violence occurring against someone who is more fragile and vulnerable in power or strength’. In France, the notion of school bullying defined by Fabre-Cornali, Emin and Pain (1999, p.130) refers to ‘all different forms of misuse of power, violence of school itself and manifestation of

incivilities'. In the United States, bullying is interpreted by Harachi, Catalano and Hawkins (1999, p.281) as both direct (i.e. physical aggression) and indirect behaviour (i.e. verbal threat) and occurred in children. In Australia, the term 'bullying' is used by Rigby and Slee (1999, pp.324-325) to refer to 'oppression directed by more powerful person or by a group of person against individual who cannot defend by themselves'. In Poland, the notion of bullying identified by Janowski (1999, pp.265-266) would include 'all kinds of physical or verbal aggression as well as intentional or thoughtless harming, ridiculing, humiliating and name-calling of peer and younger children'. An article written by Olweus (2001, para. 1) and published in the OECD Observer pointed out that 'a broad definition of bullying is when a student is repeatedly exposed to negative actions on the part of one or more other students'.

A few studies have shed light on the definition of bullying from different roles, including teacher's, student's and staff's perspectives (Cheng, Chen, Ho & Cheng, 2011; Frisén, Holmqvist & Oscarsson, 2008; Maunder, Harrop & Tattersall, 2010). For example, Cheng et al. (2011) have employed the grounded theory to compare definitions of bullying from the perspectives of bystanders (537), bullies (217), victims (213) and educators (591). The result has shown that conceptions of bullying included features of intentionality, power imbalance, assaults, and negative results from educators' and students' perspective. Educators tended to mention the characteristics of repetition and unintended acts. Three patterns of aggressive behaviour were classified in this study, including playful teasing, bullying, and severe bullying. Another empirical study conducted by Fedewa and Ahn (2011) has proposed an interesting question whether researchers and children/youth are talking the same thing about bullying. The results have shown that student's definitions of bullying are different from the researchers and they mentioned physical aggression, general harassing behaviour and verbal aggression in their subjective definition. These kinds of research remind us that who has a power to determine what the nature of 'school bullying' is of great significance.

When it comes to conceptual definition of school bullying, bullying is seen as a continuum of behaviour (Askew, 1989) which could be defined as the 'systematic abuse of power' (Smith & Sharp, 1994), 'gaining power and dominance over others' (Askew, 1989), 'intentional aggressive behaviour repeatedly over time' (Olweus, 1993), 'repeated oppression of a less powerful person' (Farrington, 1993). In contrast to viewing bullying as behaviour, Pepler, Craig, Connolly, Yuile, McMaster, and Jiang (2006, p.376) argued that 'bullying is a relationship problem because it is a form of aggression that unfolds in the context of a

relationship in which one child asserts interpersonal power through aggression'. Hence, the commonality of different conceptual definitions is centring on the notion of 'repeated behaviours', 'power imbalance' and 'intentionality' (intentional aggressive acts). However, these abstract conceptual elements bring difficulties in judging bullying behaviour in schools. To be specific, bullying behaviour may include a distinction between boys and girls. The former of which 'use direct, physical means such as hitting and kicking, using their feet and fists in their attacks', while the latter of which 'use a range of indirect aggressions including social ostracism, name-calling, abusive notes and messages to assert and abuse their power' (Rivers, Duncan & Besag, 2007, p.24). Critically, the current and mainstream definition of school bullying emphasises the feasibility of measuring psychological constructs and reduces school bullying to individual and collective group behaviour, with an attempt to either testify or estimate the prevalence of school bullying, rather than making a connection between the mechanism of social structure and the (re)production of bullying behaviour as a whole. The next section continues to discuss the prevalence of school bullying under the dominant form of scientific research.

The Prevalence of School Bullying

A large body of literature on school bullying has been produced over the last few decades, much of which has shifted from an emphasis on single schools or regions to pay attention to whole countries or even cross-national comparisons (Craig, Harel-Fisch, Fogel-Grinvald, Dostaler, Hetland, Simons-Morton, Molcho, de Mato, Overpeck, Due & Pickett, 2009; McGuckin & Lewis, 2003; Molcho, Craig, Due, Pickett, Harel-Fisch & Overpeck, 2009; Nansel, Craig, Overpeck, Saluja & Ruan, 2004; Ortega, Elipe, Mora-Merchán, Genta, Brighi, Guarini, Smith, Thompson & Tippett, 2012; Sentenac, Gavin, Arnaud, Molcho, Godeau & Gabhainn, 2011; Wolke, 2000). In this section, the national and cross-national surveys are introduced. National surveys illustrate the prevalence of school bullying in four different countries, including the US, UK, Australia and Japan, based upon government documents and empirical research. Compared with other countries, these four countries have produced seminal studies in relation to school bullying carried out by their national researchers. The second part considers the cross-national surveys based upon the data from international non-governmental organisations, such as OECD and WHO, and then compares the prevalence of school bullying in a global and cross-cultural perspective.

National School Bullying Surveys and Research

Most bullying studies have been conducted in the USA due to the high-profile cases of school shootings and racial discrimination. The National Education Association (2002), for example, estimated that more than 160,000 students were unwilling to attend schools due to bullying. There is a non-profit organisation, called Bully Police USA, which publishes statistics at regular intervals to arouse public attention on school bullying. The results of a national survey showed that the top ten of lowest bullying rate states were W. Virginia, S. Dakota, N. Dakota, New Mexico, Florida, Kansas, Maryland, Alabama, Texas, and S. Carolina (Bully Police USA, 2003). However, the top ten of highest bullying rate states were New Hampshire, Montana, Washington, Maine, Connecticut, Iowa, Vermont, Minnesota, Alaska, and Illinois (Bully Police USA, 2003). Furthermore, according to the Table 2.1, there is no relationship between population sizes of the states and the prevalence of bullying. The report on Bully Police USA (2003) pointed out that of children in sixth through tenth grades, more than 3.2 million are victims of bullying every year and 3.7 million bully other children. Based upon a gender analysis, boys are more likely to experience bullying than girls; however, the level of bullying among girls is increasing significantly.

Table 2.1 US State Ranking of Bullying Rates (Top 10 of Lowest and Highest Bullying Rates)

| Ranking | State | Population | Ranking | State | Population |
|---------|-------------|------------|---------|---------------|------------|
| 1 | W. Virginia | 1,808,344 | 41 | Illinois | 12,419,293 |
| 2 | S. Dakota | 754,844 | 42 | Alaska | 626,932 |
| 3 | N. Dakota | 642,200 | 43 | Minnesota | 4,919,479 |
| 4 | New Mexico | 1,819,046 | 44 | Vermont | 608,827 |
| 5 | Florida | 15,982,378 | 45 | Iowa | 2,926,324 |
| 6 | Kansas | 2,688,418 | 46 | Connecticut | 3,405,565 |
| 7 | Maryland | 5,296,486 | 47 | Maine | 1,274,923 |
| 8 | Alabama | 4,447,100 | 48 | Washington | 5,894,121 |
| 9 | Texas | 20,851,820 | 49 | Montana | 902,195 |
| 10 | S. Carolina | 4,012,012 | 50 | New Hampshire | 1,235,786 |

Source: adapted from Bully Police USA, 2003, Retrieve from <http://www.bullypolice.org/BullyPoliceUSA.pdf>

In the UK, a bullying survey was conducted by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) in 1997 with the samples selected from 5 primary schools and 14 secondary schools. The results showed that those who were bullied totalled 44.5% and those who bullied others were 26.6%. With regard to gender, 43 % of boys were bullied and 46 % of girls. Boys who bullied others comprised 28 % and girls who bullied others 24.9% (Department for Education and Skills, 2002:10). According to Department for Education (DfE) (2010), as far as age was concerned, 47% of those aged 14 had been bullied, 41% of those aged 15 had been bullied,

and 29% of those aged 16 had been bullied. The declaration of ‘Tellus4 National Report’ by the Department for Children, School and Families (DCSF) (2010) investigated the location of bullying and found that those who were bullied inside school 112,346 and outside of school totalled 49, 695. According to Farrington and Baldry (2010), the causes of school bullying in the UK are closely related to behaviour factors (troublesome, dishonest and antisocial), individual factors (high daring, hyperactive, high impulsivity, nervous-withdrawn, few friends, unpopular, low non-verbal, low attainment, low height, low weight), family factors (convicted parent, delinquent sibling, harsh discipline, poor supervision, disrupted family, parental conflict, large family size, young mother) and socio-economic factors (low social class, low family income, poor housing, delinquent school). A recent study conducted by Tippett, Wolke and Platt (2013) investigated ethnic differences based upon a national youth samples (4668). The results showed that African boys and girls were less likely to be victims than white youths, whereas Pakistani and Caribbean girls frequently tended to bully others compared to white girls.

Table 2 2 Incidence of Bullying in Schools (%)

| | Not at all | Only once or twice | Sometimes (2-3 times per month) | Once per week | Several times per week |
|---------------------|------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| Been Bullied | | | | | |
| Overall | 55.5 | 4.3 | 4.3 | 3.8 | 4.1 |
| Boys | 56.8 | 4.9 | 4.9 | 4.0 | 3.8 |
| Girls | 53.9 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 3.6 | 4.5 |
| Bullies | | | | | |
| Overall | 73.4 | 23.7 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 0.6 |
| Boys | 71.9 | 24.1 | 1.7 | 1.5 | 0.8 |
| Girls | 75.1 | 23.1 | 0.9 | 0.5 | 0.4 |

Adapted from Department for Education and Skill (United Kingdom), 2002, p.10

Japan was viewed as a representative country in Asia in school bullying research due to the specific cultural tradition and geographic position. In Japan, according to a survey by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (Japan Today, 2012), bullying rates reached 38% of all schools nationwide which was inclusive of 33,124 cases in elementary schools. Bullying in Kumamoto is the most prevalent at 3.29%. Saga and Fukushima had the lowest bullying rates which reached 6 %, and 8 % respectively (Japan Today, 2012). The types of bullying in Japan included physical, verbal, social and cyber bullying and verbal bullying (64.8 %) is the most prevalent type (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2010). According to a gender analysis, boys are

more likely than girls to experience bullying at school at each educational level (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2010). The school cultural factors of school bullying in Japan were certified by Yoneyama and Naito (2003) as authoritarian, hierarchical, and power-dominant human relationships, alienating modes of learning, high levels of regimentation, dehumanising methods of discipline, and highly interventionist human relationships in group-oriented social environment.

Rigby and Slee (1991) published the first bullying report in Australia. The report demonstrated that bullied girls at the age of 6-16 totalled 13% and bullied boys peaked at 17%. A large scale survey conducted by Rigby (1997) collected the data from 60 schools from 1993 to 1996 and found that bullying rate among boys arrived at 55% and among girls reached 40%. The most prevalent type of bullying among boys was physical bullying and among girls it was social bullying (Tulloch, 1995). Another survey investigated by Rigby and Johnson (2005) on the frequency of bullying and also found that there were, at the age of 7 to 17, 19% of students were being bullied by other students every week.

Cross-national School Bullying Surveys and Research

There are three cross-national surveys which cover school bullying including the 'World Report on Violence and Health' (2001) and the 'Health behaviour in School-age Children Study: International Report' (2004) which were all published by the World Health Organisation (WHO). The prevalence of bullying could be seen in two crucial reports which provide insightful perspectives for researchers and practitioners to understand the nature of bullying.

The World Report on Violence and Health (Krug, Mercy, Dahlberg & Zwi, 2002) centred on different types of violent behaviour and intervention programmes. There is a chapter concerned with youths and violence. The report explained that young males are the main perpetrators and victims in the violent events. In 2000, young people killed in violent events reached a total of 199,000 and the regions with the lightest prevalence were Africa and Latin America. The report has attributed youth violent behaviour to severe punishment, broken families, lack of supervision by parents, and the influence of the deviant companions. According to the geographic factors, young people who have lived in poor or high crime rates community would have tendency to behave violently. Two other factors are concerned with social and political change and gap between the rich and the poor.

Health behaviour in School-age Children Study (HBSC) was initiated in 1982 by researchers from 3 countries and 43 countries and regions were covered. In the Young People's Health in Context of HBSC, there is a chapter which discusses the cross-national comparison of bullying, physical fighting and victimisation (World Health Organisation, 2004). The average rates of bullying others at least once during the couple of month for the three age groups (11, 13, 15 years-old) was 30 %, 38% and 36%. According to the level of frequency, Australia, Estonia, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania arrived at the high rates on the report and Czech Republic, Ireland, Scotland, Slovenia, Sweden registered the low rates in the survey. The report stated that bullying others occurred between at the age of 11 and 13-years-old and among boys more than girls.

In addition, the average rates of being victims of bullying at least once during the couple of months studied for the three age groups (11, 13, 15 years-old) were 38 %, 36% and 27%. According to the level of frequency, Estonia, Greenland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Portugal were listed at the top by the report. In contrast, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Sweden had low rates for all ages with reference to victimisation. According to the level of frequency, most countries and regions demonstrated the significant decrease in victimisation with age. Based upon the analysis of bullying and victimisation rates, the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Sweden reported low rates in the bullying survey. Comparing different regions (Table 2.3), the rates of bullying in North American, Oceanian, East European and Asian countries are higher than those in West Europe, South Europe, South Europe, North Europe and Central Europe.

Table 2.3 Students Who Were Bullied at Least Once in the Previous Month (%)

| country | 11 year-old | | 13year-old | | 15year-old | |
|-----------------------|-------------|------|------------|------|------------|-------|
| | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys |
| North America | | | | | | |
| Greenland | 53.9 | 44.3 | 44.3 | 39.3 | 39.1 | 37.6 |
| Canada | 42.5 | 40.1 | 39.6 | 39.7 | 26.7 | 34.3 |
| USA | 35.3 | 35.2 | 36.1 | 39.5 | 26.2 | 31.3 |
| Oceania | | | | | | |
| Austria | 40.9 | 46.4 | 48.9 | 52.4 | 32.0 | 43.5 |
| East Europe | | | | | | |
| Latvia | 48.2 | 53.3 | 46.5 | 58.7 | 39.8 | 43.8 |
| Ukraine | 56.2 | 57.3 | 50.4 | 53.7 | 40.4 | 42.6 |
| Lithuania | 62.1 | 63.7 | 69.4 | 68.2 | 59.3 | 63.1 |
| TFYR Macedonia | 24.5 | 31.5 | 29.2 | 35.8 | 21.5 | 24.6 |
| Croatia | 23.1 | 35.7 | 24.7 | 28.4 | 15.4 | 19.4 |
| West Europe | | | | | | |
| Belgium (French) | 32.5 | 53.8 | 31.4 | 49.2 | 36.9 | 48.4 |
| Belgium(Flemish) | 32.5 | 53.8 | 31.4 | 49.2 | 20.1 | 23.4 |
| Switzerland | 37.6 | 45.4 | 42.3 | 46.9 | 35.5 | 35.0 |
| France | 36.7 | 36.9 | 37.6 | 34.6 | 33.5 | 31.3 |
| Germany | 37.5 | 41.1 | 34.0 | 42.0 | 29.4 | 34.9 |
| England | 41.1 | 45.4 | 38.2 | 37.6 | 24.2 | 28.1 |
| Scotland | 34.7 | 30.9 | 31.4 | 31.0 | 21.7 | 18.7 |
| Ireland | 30.5 | 29.8 | 22.7 | 32.1 | 18.2 | 23.1 |
| Wales | 35.9 | 36.6 | 32.8 | 30.6 | 21.6 | 17.2 |
| South Europe | | | | | | |
| Portugal | 46.3 | 65.5 | 51.3 | 55.9 | 32.1 | 39.9 |
| Spain | 25.7 | 28.1 | 25.3 | 28.2 | 23.0 | 25.7 |
| Greece | 21.6 | 28.1 | 23.5 | 28.0 | 22.4 | 23.2 |
| Malta | 19.7 | 36.1 | 21.6 | 32.9 | 13.9 | 20.5 |
| Italy | 29.0 | 37.8 | 30.6 | 33.1 | 15.0 | 18.4 |
| North Europe | | | | | | |
| Estonia | 45.7 | 52.9 | 47.5 | 52.1 | 33.6 | 33.4 |
| Denmark | 35.1 | 34.4 | 35.2 | 32.4 | 24.8 | 26.0 |
| Russian Federation | 44.4 | 54.4 | 40.0 | 40.2 | 21.3 | 25.8 |
| Norway | 43.5 | 45.6 | 26.3 | 36.3 | 20.0 | 22.26 |
| Netherlands | 33.2 | 38.8 | 28.6 | 31.6 | 18.8 | 25.6 |
| Finland | 23.9 | 33.1 | 25.9 | 28.3 | 13.3 | 19.1 |
| Sweden | 14.9 | 13.9 | 17.9 | 18.4 | 11.3 | 13.6 |
| Central Europe | | | | | | |
| Poland | 28.6 | 36.7 | 27.6 | 37.2 | 25.9 | 25.3 |
| Slovenia | 23.8 | 25.3 | 26.1 | 23.0 | 17.6 | 15.6 |
| Czech Republic | 16.4 | 17.5 | 14.3 | 20.3 | 14.1 | 13.8 |
| Hungary | 30.8 | 30.8 | 27.1 | 24.4 | 14.6 | 10.0 |
| Asia | | | | | | |
| Israel | 39.8 | 54.6 | 24.5 | 48.3 | 16.3 | 31.5 |
| HBSC average | 35.2 | 33.9 | 33.8 | 37.7 | 25.3 | 28.5 |

Source: adapted from World Health Organisation, 2004, p.138

Moore, Jones and Broadbent (2008) discussed school violence and further analysed the cultural and political factors in OECD countries. Their report pointed out that specific countries make laws to protest against bullying, including Korea, Norway, UK and USA. On the basis of cultural dimension, for example, school academic culture promoted the level of bullying in Portugal, Japan and Korea. Stassen Berger (2007) reviewed the rate of bullying in different countries and concluded that the prevalence of bullying depended on the definition, method of information gathering and the period of time. Other crucial variations concerning the reaction of respondents within countries are presented in the study. For example, compared with French Belgians, students in Flemish Belgium are more willing to state they are bullies than victims. Put differently, self-reported bullying questionnaires will be directly affected by the students' attitudes towards bullying and violence surrounding them.

Table 2.4 Prevalence of Bullies and Victims in OECD Countries

| Countries | Bullies (%) | Victims (%) |
|-------------|--|--|
| Netherlands | 4 | 9 |
| England | 4 | 10 |
| U.S. | 8 | 9 |
| Germany | 9 | 10 |
| Norway | 8 | 12 |
| Canada | 9 | 18 |
| Japan | 17 | 14 |
| Australia | 7 (younger children) ; 3 (older children) | 25 (younger children) ; 14 (older children) |

Source: adapted from Moore, Jones & Broadbent, 2008, p.8

Some studies have attempted to make cross-national comparisons of the level of school bullying, some of which adapted secondary data from cross-national survey (e.g. HBSC) and some of which used a self-reported questionnaire. For example, Nansel, Craig, Overpeck, Saluja and Ruan (2004) collected data from the 1997-1998 HBSC study in 25 countries and explored the associations between bullying and psychological adjustment. The results showed that bullies, victims and bullies/victims demonstrated health problems, poor emotional and social adjustment across the countries. In addition, Borntrager, Davis, Bernstein and Gorman (2009) chose two English speaking countries (USA and UK) and compared the differences in the level of bullying. The study pointed out that few differences between two countries or sex has been addressed. However, the study conducted by Elgar, Craig, Boyce, Morgan and Vella-Zarb (2009), in order to deepen our understanding of rates of bullying and victimisation, investigated the prevalence of school bullying and victimisation in 40 countries

and compared the different types of bullying by gender and age in 6 countries. The rates of bullying in the Baltic countries were higher than those in Northern European countries. With regard to the gender analysis, as similar with the previous studies, the boys were more likely higher than girls to be involved in bullying events. The rate of victimisation had gradually alleviated in 30 countries among boys and in 25 countries among girls.

A study of cross-national time trends in bullying from 1994-2006 conducted by Molcho et al. (2009) examined the European countries and North America and found that the rates of bullying were consistently decreasing in Western European countries and in most Eastern European countries between 1993/94 to 2005/06. However, there has been either no change and/or increases in almost all English speaking countries, including England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland and Canada, but not in the USA. Craig, Due, Pickett, Harel-Fisch and Overpeck (2009) referred to the limitation of the cross-national survey and stated that definitions and perceptions of bullying may vary in different cultural context which would lead to cross-national variations.

A quantitative cross-cultural survey conducted by Chen and Astor (2009) adapted the western risk factors, which were gathered by reviewing the previous bullying studies from western countries, to predict the school bullying in Taiwan as an example of an Asian country and found that strong similarities between western factors and school bullying in Taiwan. Four major variables were measured in this survey, including 'school violence', 'Personal-Oriented Variable' (witness victimisation, direct victimisation, smoking, alcohol use, positive attitude toward violence, trait anger, and lack of impulse control), 'Family-Oriented Variables' (parental monitoring, family conflict, family conflict and family SES) and 'School-oriented variables' (poor student-teacher relationship, low level of school engagement, involvement with at risk peers and poor academic performance). According to the statistical regression analysis, Chen and Astor (2009) found that the Western and Asia societies shared similar risk factors with regard to school bullying. This survey is just like 'putting the old wine in a new bottle' and can be criticised in two dimensions. First, this study relied too heavily on a quantitative analysis of risk factors and paid less attention to the nature and meaning of risk factors in different social contexts. A second criticism of Chen & Astor's work was that the four major variables and sub-variables were too general to explore the concrete differences between the Western and Asian societies. For example, the racial as well as gender cultural aspects should also be taken into account to specify whether the western risk factors could

explain the school bullying in other cultural or social contexts. Another major study conducted by Hilton, Anngela-Cole and Wakita (2010) adopted the cross-cultural perspective to compare the differences between Japan and American on bullying. They found that different factors are related to bullying, including age, gender, ethnicity and personal characteristics. According to the age, bullying occurred in early adolescence in two countries and the rates of bullying have declined with age. Other US researchers argued that the rates of bullying did not decline with age for the reason that the adolescence adopted the different forms of bullying (Perry, Kusel & Perry, 1988).

These two crucial reports explained the incidence of violent behaviour by young people and school bullying based upon an international perspective which has led to a series of cross-national studies during the past decades. The reports focused on health and psychological analysis rather than social and culture-based comparisons. It should be noted, however, that there have been attempts to explore the casual relations between the cultural/social context and bullying behaviour. In other words, light could be shed on bullying as a mixture of complicated cultural and social factors which are still largely unexplored. The next section will turn attention to discussing the four domains of school bullying research.

Mapping the Domains of School Bullying Research

Bullying happens in many contexts, but this thesis focuses on school bullying. Bullying research is complex and elusive with each approach trying to conduct research in the hope of reducing bullying in schools. Hong and Espelage (2012) have reviewed 181 empirical findings on the risk factors associated with bullying and peer victimisation, taking the ecosystem perspective to categorise the previous studies into five dimensions, including microsystem (parent–youth relationships, inter-parental violence, relations with peers, school connectedness, and school environment), mesosystem (teacher involvement), exosystem (exposure to media violence, neighborhood environment), macrosystem (cultural norms and beliefs, religious affiliation), and chronosystem (changes in family structure). Although much research on bullying has been interdisciplinary, it can be generally classified into four domains, comprising psychological research, clinical research, criminological and violent behaviour research as well as educational research.

Psychological Research

With regard to psychological and applied psychological research, the psychologists have been mainly interested in dealing with, social and emotional skills, psychological effects of bullying, peer relationships and cyber bullying. First, it is noted that social and emotional skill can help the students to deal with the interpersonal relations which could indirectly reduce the bullying (Fox & Boulton, 2005; Keith & Martin, 2005; Polan, Sieving & McMorris, 2013); For example, Fox and Boulton (2003) & Rubin-Vaughan, Pepler, Brown and Craig (2011) have widely discussed the association between social skill programme and bullying intervention. Larke and Beran (2006) have analysed the relationship between children's social skills and bullying behaviours. Moreover, Postigo, González, Mateu and Montoya (2012) have investigated the differential impacts of social skills, maladjustment and popularity on bullying. The sample of this study (N = 641) was made up of adolescents aged between 12 and 17 years. The research found that the level of maladjustment and social skills could predict socio-metric popularity. Another implication of this study is that the variables of maladjustment, social skills and socio-metric popularity explained more aggression than victimisation, especially on justifying the role of bully-victim involved in the bullying episodes than pure roles of bully and victim.

Secondly, numerous studies (Brunstein Klomek, Marrocco, Kleinman, Schonfeld & Gould, 2007; Craig, 1998; Dao, Kerbs, Rollin, Potts, Gutierrez, Choi, Creason, Wolf & Prevatt, 2006; Fekkes, Pijpers & Verloove-Vanhorick, 2004; Klomek, Sourander, Kumpulainen, Piha, Tamminen, Moilanen, Almqvist & Gould, 2009; Verduyn, Rogers & Wood, 2009; Wang, Nansel & Iannotti, 2011; Weiss, Mouttapa, Cen, Johnson & Unger, 2011) have attempted to explain the effects of bullying (i.e., psychological distress and depression) or even the tendency to suicidal ideas (Klomek, Sourander, Niemelä, Kumpulainen, Piha, Tamminen, Almqvist & Gould, 2009; Losey, 2011; Meltzer, Vostanis, Ford, Bebbington & Dennis, 2011; Winsper, Lereya, Zanarini & Wolke, 2012). A survey conducted by Winsper, Lereya, Zanarini and Wolke (2012) provides in-depth analysis of the link between involvement in bullying (bully, victim, bully/victim), and subsequent suicide ideas and suicidal/self-injury. Data from several sources have identified the increased depression and suicidal ideation associated with bullying in schools (Bonanno & Hymel, 2010; Fitzpatrick, Dulin & Piko, 2010; Fleming & Jacobsen, 2009; Heikkilä, Väänänen, Helminen, Fröjd, Marttunen & Kaltiala-Heino, 2013; Kaltiala-Heino, Fröjd & Marttunen, 2010; Klomek, Kleinman,

Altschuler, Marrocco, Amakawa & Gould, 2011; Skapinakis, Bellos, Gkatsa, Magklara, Lewis, Araya, Stylianidis & Mavreas, 2011). These kinds of studies have produced results which corroborate the findings of a great deal of the clinical studies.

Thirdly, some analysts have attempted to draw fine distinctions of peer relations, such as peer support systems (Cowie & Wallace, 2000; Naylor & Cowie, 1999) and peer victimisation (Bollmer, Harris & Milich, 2006; Eisenberg & Aalsma, 2005; Finkelhor, Turner & Hamby, 2012; Harris, 2009; Hong & Espelage, 2012; Kochenderfer-Ladd & Pelletier, 2008; Renfrow & Teuton, 2008; Sugarman, 2009). For example, a number of studies have found that a peer support system, as an intervention, has facilitated the improvement of bullying (Cowie, 1998; Cowie, 2011; Cowie, Hutson, Oztug & Myers, 2008; Cowie & Wallace, 2000; McElearney, Roosmale-Cocq, Scott & Stephenson, 2008; Naylor & Cowie, 1999).

Fourthly, the dramatic transformation from face to face/traditional bullying to cyber bullying has been widely investigated (Baker & Tanrikulu, 2010; Hudson, 2011; Hunter, 2012; Mishna, Khoury-Kassabri, Gadalla & Daciuk, 2012; Mura, Topcu, Erdur-Baker & Diamantini, 2011; Myers, McCaw & Hemphill, 2011; Ogura, Hamada, Yamawaki, Honjo & Kaneko, 2012; Reutter, 2011; Trolley & Hanel, 2010). Keith and Martin (2005) have pointed out that new technologies have made it easier for bullies to gain access to their victims. The media of cyber bullying could be divided into seven kinds, including 'phone call', 'text message', 'e-mail', 'video clip', 'instant messaging', 'website', 'chat room'. According to previous studies, the causes of cyber bullying are closely related to associated anonymity (Mishna, Saini & Solomon, 2009) and lower parental monitor (Low & Espelage, 2013). In addition, Mishna, Cook, Gadalla, Daciuk and Solomon (2010) has analysed the data from middle and high school students (N=2186) and concluded that students felt angry, sad, and depressed after being bullied online.

Lastly, several attempts have been made to examine and evaluate the Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme (Bauer, Lozano & Rivara, 2007; Black & Jackson, 2007; Challender, 1995; Hong, 2009; Limber, 2011; Olweus & Hazelden Publishing and Educational Services., 2007; Yaakub, Haron & Leong, 2010). The purpose of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme is to reduce the level of bullying at school-wide, classroom, individual and community levels. At the different levels, teachers, students, staff and parents have specific responsibilities to deal with the school bullying. The four anti-bullying rules which should be

taught in the classroom as part of that programme: (i) We will not bully others; (ii) We will try to help students who are bullied; (iii) We will try to include students who are left out; (iv) If we know that somebody is being bullied, we will tell an adult at school and an adult at home. The efficacy of Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme can be clearly seen in the case of Black and Jackson's (2007) research. They have replicated the programme among urban youth from diverse ethnic backgrounds and found that it has reduced incident density by up to 65 percent.

The main weakness of the psychological studies is the failure to address how to maintain a stable and legitimate social and school order. In other words, most studies have only focused on behaviour itself rather than treated the interaction between bullying behaviour and social structure in much detail. Another drawback is that the definition, methodology and theoretical framework of bullying has been limited greatly to Olweus's thoughts and lacked contextual and grounded research.

Clinical and Public Health Research

A considerable amount of bullying literature has been published in health and medical research journals. These studies are primarily concerned with the child and adolescent psychiatry. What we know about medical and health research is largely based upon clinical studies that investigate cognitive neuroscience (Viding, McCrory, Blakemore & Frederickson, 2011), psychosocial and mental health (Kaltiala-Heino, Rimpelä, Rantanen & Rimpelä, 2000; Uchida et al., 2012), nonclinical psychotic experiences (Gromann, Goosens, Olthof, Pronk & Krabbendam, 2013), childhood trauma and psychotic symptom (Kelleher, Harley, Lynch, Arseneault, Fitzpatrick & Cannon, 2008) and psychiatric disorders (Kumpulainen & Räsänen, 2000; Kumpulainen, Räsänen, Henttonen, Almqvist, Kresanov, Linna, Moilanen, Piha, Puura & Tamminen, 1998; Luukkonen, Räsänen, Hakko & Riala, 2010; Luukkonen, Riala, Hakko & Räsänen, 2011; Luukkonen, Riala, Hakko & Räsänen, 2010). Judging from the above, bullying itself could be viewed as psychiatric pathology which requires treatment. The main problem with clinical research is that it has failed to take the cultural context into consideration and has overlooked the influence of social structure.

Criminological and Violent Behaviour Research

Last, criminological and violent behaviour research has provided a large volume of published

studies. These studies were mainly published in the Journal of Criminal Justice, Aggression and Violent Behaviour, Studies in Crime & Punishment. This kind of research has viewed school bullying as deviant behaviour, anti-social behaviour, or even criminal behaviour which has resulted in social disorder as well as social disintegration.

Numerous studies have attempted to explain the difference between indirect and invisible aggression (Garandean & Cillessen, 2006; Garandean & Cillessen, 2006), provocative and passive aggression (Griffin & Gross, 2004). These studies have revealed that bullying is a kind of violent and aggressive behaviour; however, the existing accounts have tried to clarify the differences and commonalities between aggressive behaviour, violent behaviour and school bullying. Jordan and Austin (2012) has investigated five different types of bullying: (i) physical bullying, (ii) verbal bullying, (iii) bullying through relational aggression, (iv) bullying through social aggression, and (v) cyber bullying. Farrington and Baldry (2010b) has examined individual risk factors for bullying and identified that the most important individual risk factors are low impulsiveness and low empathy. In another major study, some studies carried out by Cowie and Wallace (2000) & Gini, Albiero, Benelli and Altoè (2007) found that active defending behaviour and passive bystanding behaviour is strongly associated with bullying.

From the perspective of anti-social behaviour, a series of adolescent studies have examined the causal relationship between the bullying behaviour and drug/alcohol abuse (Carmona Torres, Cangas, Garc ía, Langer & Zárate, 2012; Chapman, 2011). Recent evidence suggests that early detection of drug use was highly correlated with bullying in secondary schools (Carmona Torres, Cangas, Garc ía, Langer & Zárate, 2012).

Several attempts have been made to explore the relations between the bullying experience in childhood and criminal or aggressive behaviour in adulthood (Bender & Losel, 2011; Kim, Catalano, Haggerty & Abbott, 2011; Lencl & Matuga, 2010; Meltzer et al., 2011; Sansone, Lam & Wiederman, 2013; Sesar, Barišić, Pandža & Dodaj, 2012). The recent cohort studies by Sourander, Brunstein Klomek, Kumpulainen, Puustjärvi, Elonheimo, Ristkari, Tamminen, Moilanen, Piha and Ronning (2011) have explored predictive associations between bullying and victimisation at the age of eight in childhood and adult criminal offenses. The results have shown that bullying in childhood was the strongest predictor of adult criminality and bullying among boys signals an elevated risk of adult criminality. Ttofi et al. (2012) have

conducted a survey to measure the efficacy of school bullying (perpetration and victimisation) in predicting aggression and violence later in life and found that general long-term antisocial tendency is more predictable than specific underlying violent tendency.

Furthermore, in recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature on sexual harassment which has been another key issue on gender studies. The causes and effect of sexual harassment in elementary and secondary have been widely investigated, especially on sexual minority (Ashbaughm & Cornell, 2008; Berlan, Corliss, Field, Goodman & Austin, 2007; Bishop & Casida, 2011; Cavendish & Salomone, 2001; deLara, 2008; DeSouza & Ribeiro, 2005; Espelage, Basile & Hamburger, 2012; Fedewa & Ahn, 2011; Great Britain. Dept. for Children Schools and Families., 2009; Gruber & Fineran, 2007; Gruber & Fineran, 2008; Johnson, Kidd, Dunn, Green, Corliss & Bowen, 2011; Lampman, Phelps, Bancroft & Beneke, 2009; Land, 2003; Messerschmidt, 2011; Minton, Dahl, O' Moore & Tuck, 2008; Nothwehr, 2012; Pellegrini, 2001; Pepler, Craig, Connolly & Williams, 2003; Rivers, 2004; Sanchez, Robertson, Lewis, Rosenbluth, Bohman & Casey, 2001; Shute, Owens & Slee, 2008; Trotter, 2009; Varjas, Dew, Marshall, Graybill, Singh, Meyers & Birckbichler, 2008). A qualitative meta-analysis carried out by Fedewa and Ahn (2011) has discussed sexual-minority youths experience and the finding has shown that sexual-minority youths have experienced more bullying and victimisation than heterosexual peers. This hostile experience has brought about more negative outcomes in their later life.

Therefore, one of the limitations with this approach is that it does not explain why criminological theory should be applied to school bullying. The theoretical gap between crime and bullying should be discussed in future studies. Another criticism is that the existing accounts have failed to propose the practical suggestions for the educators in schools.

Educational and Pedagogical Research

There is a large volume of published studies describing how to use curriculum project (Centre for Multicultural Education., 1996), school climate, classroom management and discipline (Fernley, LaRue & Norlin, 2007; Irish National Teachers' Organisation., 1993; Savage, Savage & Savage, 2010), teaching strategies (Collins, 2004; Fox, 2005; Laminack & Wadsworth; Richards & Armstrong, 2012) in reducing school bullying, for the purpose of making the school environment more inclusive.

There is also a large volume of published studies describing the role of teachers in school bullying, especially teacher's perceptions (Dake, Price, Telljohann & Funk, 2003; Fox & Boulton, 2005; Kennedy, Russom & Kevorkian, 2012; Newgent, Lounsbery, Keller, Baker, Cavell & Boughfman, 2009; Smith & Hoy, 2004; Stockdale, Hangaduambo, Duys, Larson & Sarvela, 2002; Zerillo & Osterman, 2011), teacher's awareness and knowledge (Bauman & Del Rio, 2005; Craig, Bell & Leschied, 2011; Houndoumadi & Pateraki, 2001; Huang, 2012; Inan, 2010; Milburn & Palladino, 2012; Nicolaidis, Toda & Smith, 2002), teacher-student relationships (Konishi, Hymel, Zumbo & Li, 2010), teacher's classroom management (Allen, 2010; Barton, 2006; Beane, 2011; Kochenderfer-Ladd & Pelletier, 2008; Rose & Monda-Amaya, 2012). Other studies conducted by Bauman and Del Rio (2005), Benitez, Garcia-Berben and Fernandez-Cabezas (2009), Çankaya and Tan (2010), Inan (2010) & Craig et al. (2011) have turned to put emphasis on the role of pre-service teacher. All of the above teacher and pre-service teacher's related factors may have significantly contributed to the improvement of school bullying.

Recent research has suggested that positive school climate may indeed facilitate a reduction in the school bullying (Agirdag, Demanet, Van Houtte & Van Avermaet, 2011; Bandyopadhyay, Cornell & Konold, 2009; Birkett, Espelage & Koenig, 2009; Eliot, Cornell, Gregory & Fan, 2010; Gendron, Williams & Guerra, 2011; Giovazolias, Kourkoutas, Mitsopoulou & Georgiadi, 2010; Klein, Cornell & Konold, 2012; Lee & Song, 2012; Preble & Gordon, 2011; Smith, 2012). Klein et al. (2012), for example, has examined the relations between positive school climate and lower student risk behaviour. This finding also suggests that a positive school climate could be a crucial protective factor in preventing student risk behaviour.

The curriculum should be viewed as a bridge between students and teacher which conveys the educative knowledge and virtues. There has been a vast amount of literature on anti-bullying curricula or bullying prevention curricula (Andreou, Didaskalou & Vlachou, 2007; Andreou, Didaskalou & Vlachou, 2008; Beran, 2006; Bott, 2009; Lamanna, Shillingford, Parrish & Sheffield, 2010; Limber, Kowalski & Agatston, 2009; Limber, Kowalski & Agatston, 2008; Ma, Shek & Merrick, 2012; Wurf, 2012). There are relatively few studies that have discussed how bullying behaviour is influenced by the hidden curriculum (Beran, 2005; Beran, 2006).

Framing the problems of School Bullying Research and its Research Gap

Based upon the above empirical literature review, this section reflects on the conceptual problems of school bullying research within theoretical domains and also elaborates on its research gap. First, in each of the four domains of school bullying research, different dimensions of gender are considered. For example, seminal work on school bullying research carried out by educational psychologists and pedagogists (educational staff) has focused to some extent on which psychological mechanism of gender relations and sexual orientation determined different peer interactions and conflicts. By way of illustrations, Hussein (2010); Navarro, Larrañaga and Yubero (2011); Topcu and Erdur-Baker (2012); Von Marées and Petermann (2010), Dukes, Stein and Zane (2010) discussed gender differences and peer interactions in bullying episodes, while Dijkstra, Lindenberg and Veenstra (2007) focused on the peer acceptance and rejection of sexual and gender minorities in the context of heterosexism. Compared with the concerns of psychology and pedagogy, criminologists have tended to focus on violent and aggressive behaviour among girls and boys in relation to a wide context of anti-social behaviour and deviant behaviour. For instance, a classic study by Carbone-Lopez, Esbensen and Brick (2010) questioned the fact that male students were more likely to be bullies and victims and re-examined the gender differences and similarities in the form of direct and indirect bullying. Outside of the field of social science, clinical researchers combined physiological and psychiatric health with sexual bullying behaviour in an attempt to reduce the issue of sexual bullying behaviour to dysfunction of cognitive neuroscience (Sugarman, 2009; Viding et al., 2011) and developmental differences (Griezel, Finger, Bodkin-Andrews, Craven & Yeung, 2012; Sawyer, Bradshaw & O'Brennan, 2008; Sullivan & Stoner, 2012).

Second, school culture is of central interest in the context of bullying, and yet, there are very few studies of it (Arter, 2012; Beaudoin, Taylor & Beaudoin, 2009; Rae, Sargeant & Smith, 2010). It is in this area that the topic is particularly under-researched and under-discussed. Another major drawback of previous studies is that they have yet to deal with the political relations between the national anti-bullying policies and local school anti-bullying programmes. Although extensive research has been carried out on school bullying to date, no single case study has existed which is centring on the policy process of school anti-bullying policy making based upon the perspectives of historical, political and cultural dimensions.

Third, when reflecting on the specific objects of each domain with reference to school bullying research, it is noted that psychological research focuses more on the accommodation and assimilation of the psychological mind; criminology research stresses the importance of modifying aggressive behaviour; clinical research attenuates medical therapies of mental health and pedagogical research highlights the possibilities of transforming curriculum and teaching practice. Obviously, these multi-theoretical conceptions reduce the appearance of school bullying to dysfunction of individual behaviour and psychological mind. A neglected area that needs to be explored is how multi-dimensional bullying-related conceptions can explain the reproduction of bullying behaviour within a specific context and structure.

Fourth, following the assumptive explanation of each research domains in the third part, plenty of empirical and evidence-based research in these four research areas zero in on the construction of causal relations between theoretical and conceptual constructs with the intention of discovering the prime reasons behind school bullying and by measuring the effectiveness of anti-bullying programmes. The major concern of theses research studies is limited by the absence of the dynamic interaction between political governance, the process of policy making and participation of policy actors (such as policy makers, policy implementers, policy tanks and civil group activists). To put it differently, the current empirical research tends to search for the positivist generalisability of effective policies and programmes, but may be oblivious to the political relations between the means of social control and the imagination of social order in the context of educational settings and how democratic governance can be possible in making anti-bullying policies and programmes in schools.

Figure 2.1: The Domains of Bullying Research and its Research Objects

| | |
|---|--|
| Psychological Research (psychological mind state) | Criminological and Violent Behaviour Research (aggressive behaviour) |
| Educational and Pedagogical studies (curriculum and teaching) | Clinical and Public Health Research (mental health) |

History of School Bullying Research

According to Smith's (2013) initial as well as brief analysis, bullying research could be divided into four stages which, to a greater or lesser extent, accounted for the main concerns for academic development, each government's efforts and international cooperation. The four stages of school bullying research encompass: (i) concept formation and origins: 1970s to 1988; (ii) empirical research and government Intervention: 1989 to mid-1990s; (iii) cross-national survey and international cooperation: mid-1990s to 2004; (iv) research paradigm transformation: 2004-. Following Smith's categorisation of four bullying stages, the stages in this section are renamed and re-examined according to the primary concerns and contributions to school bullying research and how each stage was interrelated with research domain in relation to school bullying.

First Stage of Concept Formation and Origins: 1862-1988

The earliest literature to deal with bullying dates back to Burk's work in 1897. Burk (1897) gave a broad rather than evidence-based explanation about bullying and teasing in school and this is the first time that the concept of bullying appeared in a formal journal article. The Times introduced a bullying incident in 1862 due to the death of soldier in the army. At that time, according to the analysis of The Times, bullying was generally viewed as a part of human nature in schools, camps and barracks (Koo, 2007). To some extent, this could explain why Burk's initial work had not caused heated discussion and further exploration during that conservative epoch. When it comes to scientific bullying research, Olweus is regarded as the first scholar and he conducted a series of bullying studies in Scandinavia during the 1970s.

There are two reasons behind the revival of school bullying research after the 1970s. One reason is that human beings around the world have commonly experienced two world wars. People were eagerly to pursue world peace and started to place a high value on human rights and human dignity. Some researchers recognised that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights signed in 1948 was a concrete breakthrough and sparked social science research in relation to values of human rights, especially on the rights of children, minority groups and labours (Koo, 2007). The second reason is interrelated with the first one in that the first national anti-bullying campaign was held in Norway in 1983 which aroused much attention to children's overt behaviour and psychological health (Smith, 2013). Then, Olweus designed a successful Bullying Prevention Programme (1983-1985) in an attempt to reduce bullying

behaviour in school. More specifically, it may have encouraged researchers and governments to rethink how to create positive learning environment and modify as well as improve children's deviant behaviour at the stage of mental and physical development. In 1988, there was a first bullying conference in Stavanger, Norway which was organised by Erling Roland who introduced the Scandinavian work to the public (Dixon, 2011). During this period, there had been little empirical research on school bullying. Simply stated, the first stage laid emphasis on the formation of the concept of bullying and how researchers developed methodologies to evaluate the effectiveness of programmes.

The Second Stage of Empirical Research and Government Intervention: 1989 –mid-1990s

Many researchers from different countries were inspired by Olweus's studies and commenced to engage in bullying research. Based upon Smith's (2013) analysis, around 1989, a number of related journal articles were published, including evidence-based approaches to qualitative and quantitative research. In this way, bullying research has entered into empirical and scientific epoch. During this period, the definition of bullying gradually matured and reached agreement among academic communities. At the first stage, Olweus (1978) merely took direct and physical harm into consideration. During the period of 1980s, after cross disciplinary discussions and comparisons, indirect harm was incorporated into the meaning of bullying that broadened the insights of research. According to the database analysis, for example of ProQuest, researchers from the field of psychology and educational studies have initiated school bullying research and the research topics have focused on bullying behaviour and its psychological impact.

However, bullying research projects and government reports were released to implement some specific programmes or interventions. For example, in the UK, the Elton Report on Discipline was published in 1989 and mentioned the severity of school bullying at around 20% of students being bullied in a term and then Sheffield became the first city to conduct an anti-bullying project, called DES Sheffield Bullying Project, which was initiated by the Department for Education in 1991-1994 (Sharp & Smith, 1991). This project adopted a whole-school policy in the curriculum and also employed self-reported questionnaire to evaluate the effectiveness of programme (Sharp & Smith, 1991). Another example that needs to be mentioned is the early work in the USA which was conducted by Perry et al. (1988) and Crick and Grotpeter (1995). Compared with other North European countries, previous US

studies focused on drug abuse and gangster problems which led to slow development in bullying research (Dixon, 2011).

In summary, the characteristic of this stage was to stress the importance of single region research and programmes and are, therefore, gradually applied to other regions or cities. Speaking of research fields, there are two main areas, psychology and educational studies, in the social sciences which started to conduct school bullying research. Thus, bullying research mainly centred on European countries and the USA.

The Third Stage of Cross-national Survey and International Cooperation: mid-1990s-2004

After the maturation of bullying research in different countries, a number of cross-national surveys and interventions were carried out during this period, such as Smith (2013) 21 countries and Smith, Pepler and Rigby (2004) 11 countries reports on intervention. More researchers were aware of the school bullying is a common issue all over the world which should be built up international comprehensive dataset to track the frequencies and levels of school bullying for different time series. To take an example of the WHO, the institution will release the publications periodically to compare the rates of school bullying among countries and release the raw data to encourage researchers to conduct comparative research, such as Gofin, Palti and Gordon (2002); Janssen, Craig, Boyce and Pickett (2004); Moreno Rodriguez, Munoz Tinoco, Perez Moreno and Sanchez Queija (2004); Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan, Simons-Morton and Scheidt (2001). When it comes to research field, medical science has started to pay close attention to school bullying, especially in the field of health and clinical studies. Moreover, school bullying research has been conducted in the literature to capture its transdisciplinarity.

The limitation of cross-national research is language expression and contextual factors due to the fact that each cultural context would use specific term, such as 'ijime' in Japan and 'wang-ta' in Korea, to express bullying behaviour and produce different understanding and interpretation. Light could be shed on how to narrow the cross-cultural gaps among countries are still unknown and uninvestigated. More simply put, the main concern of this stage is to facilitate international cooperation in relation to bullying research and interventions.

Children increasingly use ICT devices to interact with each other which brought about a new type of school bullying, called cyberbullying. The previous traditional bullying mainly focused on the real world, such as playground, classroom or lunchroom, rather than virtual world, such as sending messages to harass others by the phone or computer (Patchin & Hinduja, 2006). During this period, cyberbullying has challenged the traditional concept of bullying in that it is invisible and hard to monitor. The main cause of cyberbullying is the disinhabitation effect. Suler (2004) pointed out that children in virtual world would be highly anonymous and feel more relax to do what the real world was inhibited, like spreading rumours or name-calling. In other words, some children would not repress their behaviour and get liberated from oppressive real world which is called disinhibited effect (Suler, 2004). Tradition bullying happening in the public sphere would be possibly supervised by school adults or CCTV, while cyberbullying taking place in private sphere or virtual world would not be easily monitored and behaviour would become more impulsive, irrational and aggressive (Cooper, 2005; Suler, 2004). For the sake of simplicity, the researchers have turned their attention to cyberbullying and sought for new methodologies as well as theoretical foundations to investigate virtual aggressive behaviour. At the beginning of this stage, researchers from the field of criminology commenced studies of school bullying and adopted criminological theories, such as strain theory and general strain theory to testify for the interpretability of criminological theories.

Conclusion

The aims of this chapter were to review the definition and prevalence of school bullying, to explore the nature of school bullying as well as to examine national and cross-national research. Several research implications can be drawn from each section of this chapter. First, the definition of school bullying is largely limited by measurable and observable practicability and has largely ignored the contextualisation of behaviour and politics of social research which would lead to de-contextualised of school bullying research and the separation of bullying behaviour and social context. Second, a large number of investigations use a quantitative approach to understand the macro bullying phenomenon. It is noted that the link between macro bullying and micro bullying culture is lacking a strong social connection. Third, however, most of the surveys are limited by the use of a cross-sectional design that

makes it difficult to identify the level of bullying over time. Fourth, the cultural meaning behind statistics in bullying surveys is so crucial that it will affect how to understand and explain the solutions to school bullying. Fourth, how to shift attention from cross-national and cross cultural empirical research to anti-bullying policy making at global level is another issue that needs to be discussed. In other words, if the debate is to be moved forward, a comprehensive integration of research and policy needs to be developed. Last but not least, historical exploration, in an attempt to echo the prevalence of bullying, may be important in explaining the progress of bullying research as well as in providing a better understanding of research paradigm shifts. To sum up, the chapter concludes with implications for definition, research field and historical account. The next chapter will continue to analyse the theoretical foundations and approaches to school bullying research.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS AND APPROACHES TO SCHOOL BULLYING

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the theories and approaches of bullying research and it is divided into two main parts. The first part outlines theories and perspectives on bullying research and seven social-cultural theories (strain theory/general strain theory, cultural deviance theory, differential association theory, social control theory, labelling theory and critical pedagogy) with reference to bullying research are discussed and compared. This helps to bridge the gap between theory and empirical bullying research and reflects on compatibility between them. The second part reviews the theoretical and methodological approaches to school bullying in the field of socio-political and socio-cultural territory behind anti-bullying policy making. These two parts are intended to shed light on the underlying infrastructure of current bullying research and the need to rethink the underpinning of theoretical perspectives and approaches in bullying research.

Theories and Perspectives on Bullying

Early theorisation and empirical research of bullying research can be traced back to Olweus's series of publications which primarily focused on psychological elements. However, there have been also seven main socio-cultural theories which are widely adopted and applied to interpret bullying phenomena, including strain theory, cultural deviance theory, differential association theory, social control theory, labelling theory, social learning theory and critical pedagogy theory.

Strain Theory/General Strain Theory

Strain theory, also called anomie theory, was first advanced by Durkheim (Agnew, 2006; Hessaby, 1946). Merton had exalted the core thought of strain theory and stated that social structure is the root of social problems (Agnew & Brezina, 2010). Merton further identified

that the deviants shared the same objective, values and ideals with other people, but they were lacking sufficient ability and legal ways to achieve them (Agnew & Brezina, 2010). Hence, as far as the deviants were concerned, there was ultimately a gap between the ideal and reality which led to that fact that the deviants disobeyed the social regulations and laws to alleviate their strain and anxiety (Agnew & Brezina, 2010 ; Lawrence, 1997; Walklate, 2007). Strain theory can be divided into two forms, 'structural strain' and 'individual strain'. The former stresses sociological perspectives to explore the economic and social sources of strain and how it has shaped collective human behaviour. The latter takes psychological perspectives to investigate why individual life experiences, such as pain and misery, have led to antisocial behaviour (Siegel, 2012).

General strain theory was initially proposed by Agnew (1992) who has tried to overcome the weakness of strain theory. General strain theory has tried to add other sources of strain that could be applied to an individual's life. General strain theory posits three elements of strain.

- i. Failure to achieve positively valued stimuli: Agnew noted that there are three types of goals for which members of the society strive, including money, status and respect and autonomy. Someone who has failed to achieve positively valued goals would experience strain.
- ii. The loss of positively valued stimuli: Agnew argued that the removal of positive stimuli can also cause strain, including a broken relationship with a friend or romantic partner and the theft of a valued object.
- iii. The presentation of negative stimuli: Someone who experiences negative stimuli like child abuse, neglect, adverse relations with parents and teachers, negative school experiences, adverse relations with peers, neighbourhood problems, and homelessness would experience the third type of strain.

According to general strain theory, a variety of sources of strain could be attributable to two kinds, 'social sources of strain' and 'community sources of strain'. Social sources of strain may be defined as interaction with their peers whose mechanism in coping with strain would determine whether the strain is producing continuously or not. By contrast, community sources of strain have come to be used to refer to blocked opportunities and lack of social support (Agnew, 1992).

The contribution of Merton's work was to clarify the relations between class differences and

crime rates. Nevertheless, Agnew's (1992) general strain theory has tried to explain why strains would lead people to commit crimes. The strengths of general strain theory are to explain the complexities of modern society and crime. Its major premise is that strain caused crime due to lack of proper coping mechanism. A great deal of violent and criminological studies have adopted general strain theory to explore and examine the casual relations between source of strain, negative affective states and anti-social behaviour.

General strain theory is supported by Agnew & White (1992), Smith, Mahdavi, Carvalho, Fisher, Russell & Tippett (2008) and Paternoster & Mazerolle (1994) who found that there is close connection between negative childhood experience and bullying behaviour. For example, a large scale study by Cullen, Unnever, Hartman, Turner, and Agnew (2008) took the general strain theory to examine the effect of bullying victimisation on delinquent involvement and substance misuse. They found that strain on delinquency is stronger among students with 'weaker school social bonds' as well as with 'higher levels of aggressive attitudes'. Smith et al. (2008) has found that adolescents would take bullying behaviour under disguise of sense of fear and alienation. Paternoster and Mazerolle (1994) have also indicated that several facets of general strain, such as the broken family, unemployment, unsatisfying with their school and friends, are positively related to involvement in a wide scope of delinquent acts.

Cultural Deviance Theory

Cultural deviance theory was proposed by two main theorists Cohen and Mill who stated that deviant behaviour and crime originated from the underclass of society (Lawrence, 1998). Miller (1958) tried to explore how different social classes were affected by the incentive to commit crimes. Many theorists frequently explain the crime as a result of intergeneration poverty; however, Miller (1958) argued that crime should be strongly connected with the underclass and criminal behaviour was reinforced and recognised by its community. Cultural deviance theory also argued that underclass cultures have led to the production of crimes.

There have been three types of sub-theory embedded in cultural deviance theory. First, Cohen proposed the theory of delinquent gangs which explained the fact that the underclass children were willing to join a gang due to their frustration in comparison with the middle class children. Cohen thought the deviant behaviour could be viewed as class struggle and conflict for the reason that school system conveyed the value of middle class which brought about the

anxiety and frustration for the underclass students (Lawrence, 1998). Second, Miller's focal concerns theory put emphasis on the conflict between the social rules of the underclass and middle class. Miller (1958) concluded that the element of underclass culture, including trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate and autonomy which was associated with the focal concerns and values of the underclass. Thirdly, Cloward and Ohlin's theory of opportunity advanced the view that underclass children lost the opportunity and join a gang to seek a social identity. In short, deviant behaviour had become symbolic for the resistance to the values and culture of the middle class.

Cultural deviance theory emphasises 'the values, beliefs, rituals, and practices of societies that promote certain deviant behaviours' (Inderbitzin, Bates & Gainey, 2013, p.244). Hence, the elements of cultural deviance theory could be explained in order of its sequence, including poverty, socialisation, subculture, deviant values, crime and delinquency, and crime. Underclass children have lived in relative poverty and lack of opportunities for upward mobility. They are socialised in pursuit of middle class values and goals; however, they could not compete with middle class children in academic performance. Facing the numerous frustrations and blocked opportunities, they have gradually formed their subculture and lifestyle which is different from middle class culture. The main function of subculture is for them to seek a sense of identity and resist the mainstream normative culture that has shaped a set of deviant values. The underclass youths are more willing to obey the subcultural values and engage in criminal behaviour. The criminal behaviour would be reinforced by their members and may lead to a career in crime.

The studies conducted by Strohmeier, Wagner, Spiel and von Eye (2010) and Olewus (1994) supported this theory and found that adolescent bullying behaviour meets the needs for dominance of power and group belonging for underclass students. Strohmeier, Wagner, Spiel and von Eye (2010) found that adolescents would undertake bullying behaviour in return for the belongings and power within their subgroup.

Differential Association Theory

Differential Association Theory was offered by Sutherland's work Principles of Criminology (Sutherland, 1992; Sutherland & Cressey, 1960). Sutherland's premise is that behaviour learning is through communication, interaction and imitation. Hence, deviant behaviour could

be learned in the same way (Sutherland, 1992; Sutherland & Cressey, 1960). Sutherland explained the reason why a person would become a criminal due to the fact that he or she perceives more favourable than unfavourable consequences from breaking social rules (laws). In other words, if the adolescents were immersed in the situation which was full of crime and delinquent behaviour, they would take it for granted and engage in anti-social behaviour.

The principles of Sutherland's theory of differential association can be summarised in four key points (Lawrence, 1998). First, criminal behaviour could be learned in the process of social interaction. Second, intimate personal groups play crucial role for the individual who could learn criminal behaviour from them, including techniques of crime and specific direction of motives, drives, rationalisations, and attitudes. Third, those who become delinquent would view the violation of law as favourable rather than unfavourable. Fourth, the process of learning crime is the same as law-abiding which is involved in particular kind of social mechanism and social value. Numerous studies have supported the principles of the differential association theory and focused on an association between getting deviant friends, holding deviant attitudes and committing deviant acts (Siegel, 2012).

Differential association theory attracted three different criticisms. The first major criticism of this theory is that it failed to explain why young people are exposed to delinquent definitions and then bend their knee to them. The main question is who is the 'first mentor' to teach them delinquent attitudes and definitions (Siegel, 2012). The second criticism is that the theory has presumed the criminal acts to be rational and systematic; however, it has ignored wanton and spontaneous acts of violence (Siegel, 2012). The third critique has focused on the relations between deviant peers and committing a crime. Someone could learn about crime and then commit a crime, but another possibility is that the criminals could interact with each other after they had individually engaged in criminal acts (Warr, 1988). Despite the criticism, the strength of the theory lies in that fact that it provides a broad definition and explanation of criminal and delinquent behaviour which has accounted for not only the criminal acts of the underclass but the upper/middle class as well (Siegel, 2012).

Several studies have adapted differential association theory to examine the relationship between peer association violent attitude and bullying behaviour (Espelage, Bosworth, & Simon, 2000; Pepler & Craig, 1995). An example of this is the study carried out by Espelage, Bosworth and Simon (2000) which primarily focused on the relationship between bullying

behaviour and three components of the social context of middle school students, including family and adult influences, peer influences, and other contextual variables. The results showed that parental physical discipline, without adult supervision, negative peer influences, and neighbourhood safety concerns were positively associated with bullying behaviour.

Social Control Theory

Social control theory, also called social bond theory, was proposed by Durkheim (Maimon & Kuhl, 2008). This theory is premised on the notion of the evil side of human nature which was different from the other theories considered so far (Beirne & Messerschmidt, 2011; Lanier, Henry & Lanier, 2006; F. P. Williams & McShane, 2010).

The statement proposed by Gottfredson and Hirschi (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Hirschi, Gottfredson, & American Society of Criminology, 1980) demonstrated that if someone cannot meet the needs of their desire, they may break rules or commit a crime. Social control theory views the crime as a part of human nature; therefore, it has focused on why someone is unwilling to break the rules rather than on the criminal or deviant behaviour. There are four types of social bonds which made people abide by the rule, including attachment, commitment, involvement and belief (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). The element of attachment was divided into three parts, including attachment to parents, school and peers (Hirschi, 2002). The meaning of commitment and involvement was explained by the hypothesis that young people were engaged in conventional value (i.e. striving to get a good education, refusing to drink alcohol) and conventional activities (i.e. homework), the criminal behaviour would be reduced (Hirschi, 2002). The final type of social bond is belief which means that criminal behaviour is related to lack of law-disobeying belief rather than law abiding belief (Hirschi, 2002). To sum up, in contrast to the rule/law abider, social control theory has taken the crime and rule breaking for granted, which is derived from the evil side of human nature.

A large scale survey conducted by Hirschi (2002) attempted to test the hypotheses of social control theory and more than 4000 self-reports were collected from junior and senior high school students in California. The results supported his theory and found that a negative relation between 'attachment to parents and youth criminal acts' as well as 'conventional activities involvement and youth criminal act'. Most studies on violent and bullying behaviour have adopted Social Control Theory to elucidate the deviant behaviour (Akiba,

2004; Lopez-Ropero, 2012; Sapouna, 2010; K. R. Williams & Guerra, 2011). For instance, Akiba (2004) has investigated the prevalence of bullying which was called 'Ijime' in Japan. His results have shown that students and teachers referred to the bullying in connection with classroom community that was viewed as a social control organisation in the past; however, the classroom as a social control organisation in Japan has been weakening and this has led to the prevalence of bullying due to the lack of trusting relationships in peer groups.

Labelling Theory

Labelling theory which was derived from Cooley's notion of the 'looking glass self' was first proposed by Tannenbaum (1938); further, Becker (1963) published the book called Outsiders to elucidate labelling theory. The proposition of labelling theory which is different from the previous theory stated that deviant behaviour is neither 'nature' nor 'nurture'. Labelling theory has shifted attention from deviant behaviour itself to how deviant behaviour was being defined by social reaction. Put differently, deviant behaviour was not a specific characteristic of behaviour but defined by the public or social regulations or the outcome of social reaction. Followed by this proposition of labelling theory, the interpretation of crime is built on the foundation of 'symbolic interactionism' (Akers, 1999). The labelling process of crime can be divided into six stages, including (i)'initial criminal act', (ii)'detection by justice system', (iii)'decision to label', (iv)'creation of a new identity', (v)'acceptance of labels' and (vi)'deviance amplification' (Siegel, 2012, p.188). People commit an initial criminal act for numerous reasons. They are arrested due to the influence of racial, economic and power relations and are labelled officially as a criminal by the court authorities. Those labelled create a new identity as criminals, trouble makers and then accept themselves as outsiders. After that, stigmatised offenders would be involved in criminal careers.

Lemert (1967) has conceptualised deviant behaviour into two kinds, comprising primary deviance and secondary deviance. The former (primary deviance) 'is assumed to arise in a wide variety of social, cultural and psychological contexts and at best has only marginal implications for the psychic structure of the individuals' (Lemert, 1967, p.17). The latter (secondary deviance) refers to 'a special class of socially defined responses which people make to problems created by the society reaction to their deviance' (Lemert, 1967, p.17). There are two effects of labelling, including the creation of stigma and the effect on self-image. Arguably, stigmatisation may be a social interactive process that maintains the

criminal justice and stable social order while it has a potential to ‘have the effect of consolidating criminal behaviour rather than deterring it and discouraging reintegration of offenders into society’ (McFarquhar, 2011, p.197).

The application of labelling theory has suffered from some critiques focusing on two aspects. One of the limitations with this explanation is that it does not explain why someone is labelled and others remain ‘secret deviants’ (Muncie and Fitzgerald, 1981). One question that needs to be asked concerns the causal relations between labelling and criminality. Another criticism is about the cost of being labelled. A study conducted by Tittle (1975) found that there has been little evidence of a connection between stigma and crime and he further explained that a criminal career would not necessarily derive from the effect of labelling. However, Paternoster and Iovanni (1989) explained the contribution of the labelling theory in criminological studies. First, social control agents played an important role in the process of labelling. Second, the theory viewed criminality as the outcome of social reaction and interaction rather than social pathological behaviour. Third, the theory made a distinction between criminal acts (primary deviance) and criminal careers (secondary deviance). Speaking of empirical study, Theriot, Dulmus, Sowers, and Johnson (2005), for example, adopted labelling theory to examine the bullying experiences of self-labelled bullying victims and found that self-labelled victims experienced more types of bullying behaviour than non-self-labelled ones. Moreover, Thornberg (2015) argued that school bullying was related to ‘stigma processes and ‘identity struggling’ and result showed that peer cultures, social norms and collective processes were helpful for reducing school bullying. The above two studies echoes the claims of labelling theory.

Social Learning Theory

In cognitive psychology research, social learning theory developed by Bandura (1977) demonstrated that individuals can learn different behaviour by direct/indirect imitation and observation. An empirical experiment conducted by Bandura and Walters (1963) strongly supported their proposition and explained that the children could learn violent behaviour through observation and imitation. Moreover, modelling and reinforcement are the two main concepts of social learning theory. Bandura (1973) published an article, called Aggression: A Social Learning Analysis, to justify the casual relationship between social learning and aggressive behaviour. Social learning theory has been applied in criminology and could be

traced back to Akers' (1973) work entitled Deviant Behaviour: A Social Learning Approach. The presumption of the social learning theory is to stress the importance of social factors and social interaction which could lead to criminal or aggressive behaviour.

Akers (1973) proposed social learning theory in an attempt to integrate three kind of social learning, including Sutherland's differential association theory, Skinner's operational conditioning Theory and Bandura's social cognition theory (Akers, 1996). The main point of Aker's social learning theory is that criminal behaviour could be learned on the ground of the principles of operant conditioning, happening in non-social situations and in social interaction (Akers, 1996). The learning of criminal behaviour could be inclusive of specific techniques, attitudes, and avoidance procedures. Speaking of the strength of criminal behaviour is a direct function of the amount, frequency, and probability of its reinforcement (Akers, 1996).

Numerous studies have applied social learning theory to examine the school bullying behaviour (Georgiou, 2008; Low & Espelage, 2013; O'Connell, Pepler, & Craig, 1999; Powell & Ladd, 2010; Wilson, Parry, Nettelbeck, & Bell, 2003). For example, data from several sources have identified the positive relations between social learning and bullying behaviour, including real world (school playground) social learning (O'Connell et al., 1999) and virtual world (cyber blog) social learning (Harvey, 2009; Low & Espelage, 2013).

Critical Pedagogy Theory

Critical theory is derived from Marx's thought and developed by the scholars of the Frankfurt School (Gibson, 1986). Critical theory which focused on ideology and the imbalance of power relations has been applied in many disciplines, including cultural studies (Agger, 1992; Gunster, 2004), media studies (Dahlberg & Phelan, 2011; Penny, 1995), and educational studies (Bush, 1985; Gibson, 1986; Popkewitz & Fendler, 1999). During the 1960s, the Brazilian scholar Freire (1972) published Pedagogy of the Oppressed and caused a great sensation in educational studies because it provided new insights to uncover the black boxes of taken-for-granted teaching practice and school administration.

Since then, the terms 'critical pedagogy' and 'critical multiculturalism education' have been widely used in critical educational studies and sociology of education. From a macro level, Lingard and Ozga (2007, p.3) pointed out that 'education policy has been characterised as the authoritative allocation of values within education systems'. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997)

also demonstrated that critical multiculturalism explored emancipatory commitment to social justice and the egalitarian democracy. The spiritual aim of critical theory is to deconstruct unjust treatment and structural oppression rooted in the construction of class, gender and racial/ ethnic relations. From the viewpoint of critical pedagogy theory, the theorists would question who has built the social order and social norms in school in order to discipline and regulate students' behaviour. To hit the nail on the head, Walton (2005) adopted critical theory to criticise the anti-bullying programmes because they reinforced the idea of school-based violence as a problem of individualisation. Furthermore, Walton (2010) has adopted the Foucauldian perspective in line with policy archaeology methodology which was proposed by Scheurich (1994) to re-examine the power relations within school anti-bullying policy.

The purpose of policy archaeology as a method of analysis is to investigate the grid of conditions, assumptions and forces which lie behind the emergence of a social problem. Policy archaeology provided new insights from reviewing policy documents about how the problem of school bullying has come to be understood in specific ways and how policy and interventions are constrained (Scheurich, 1994). Briefly speaking, critical theory provides a theoretical lens and methodological framework to penetrate the nature of school bullying in deconstructing power domination and approaching human emancipation.

All of these seven theories tend to discover the causation of bullying behaviour concerning sociological inquiry of deviant behaviour and each assumption and meaning is schematically listed in Table 3.1. As could be found, the notions of strain theory (general strain theory), cultural deviance theory, differential association theory and social control theory are widely applied in criminology that is structured-based bullying explanation. Comparatively, the notions of labelling theory and social learning theory, both of which are fully adopted in psychology, depart from a psychological grounding to explore the relationship between interpersonal factors (social reaction) and social mechanisms in bullying events. However, critical pedagogy turns to reflect on the structural oppression of class, gender and racial (ethnic) relations in schools and endeavours to revolutionise an unjust structure through questioning the legitimacy of policy construction and power structure. These above discussions imply that how to justify the contextual compatibility of theory translation and school practice in explaining the multiplicity of bullying behaviour will be further investigated.

Table 3.1 Comparison of School Bullying Theories

| Theory | Assumption | Meaning | Key concept |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|---|
| Strain Theory/General Strain Theory | Strain caused crime due to lack of proper coping mechanism | To identify the complexities of strain in modern society and explain middle class crime | Structural and psychological strain, social and community sources of strain |
| Cultural Deviance Theory | Different social classes were affected by the incentive to commit crimes | Criminal behaviour was reinforced and recognised by its community | The production of underclass culture |
| Differential Association Theory | Behaviour learning is through the communication, interaction and imitation. | More favourable than unfavourable consequences from breaking the social rules or laws | Differential association (e.g., attitudes, values, definitions, subjective opportunity) |
| Social Control Theory | Human nature is evil and crime could be as a part of human nature | To explore why someone is unwilling to break the rules rather than discuss the criminal or deviant behaviour | Social bonds (attachment, commitment, involvement and belief) |
| Labelling Theory | Deviant behaviour is neither 'nature' nor 'nurture' | To explain how deviant behaviour was being defined by social reaction | Primary deviance and secondary deviance |
| Social Learning Theory | Individual can learn different behaviour by direct/indirect imitation and observation | To stress the importance of social factors and social interaction | Modelling and reinforcement |
| Critical Pedagogy Theory | To focused on ideology and imbalance of power relation | To deconstruct the unjust treatment and structural oppression rooted in the construction of class, gender and racial (ethnic) relations. | Critical multiculturalism, social justice, human emancipation |

Approaches to School Bullying Research

Following the discussion of theoretical perspectives on school bullying research this part will turn to explore how the sociological and psychological theories can be incorporated in the formulation of anti-bullying policy to reduce school bullying. The explorations depart from two territories of anti-bullying policy, the socio-political and socio-cultural ones. Each territory will elaborate on the conceptual meaning, theoretical and methodological approaches to anti-bullying policy formulation. In particular, the analysis of theoretical and methodological approaches, to some extent, brings attention to reflect on the operationalisation of sociological and psychological ideologies with reference to policy making and its accompanying policy discourses.

The socio-political territory of School Anti-bullying Policy

Based upon the reviews of bullying research in the previous chapters, we can say that most researchers discuss bullying issues mainly from the stances of positive psychology and political conservatism, in an attempt to stress the importance of behaviour modification and psychological adaptation, and so tend to reduce all bullying behaviour to individual pathology which locates itself in the ideological spectrum of the political right. However, anti-bullying policies also need to turn left to be re-considered in the context of ideological state apparatus which overwhelmingly challenges and distinguishes itself from traditional assumptions of epistemological and ontological paradigms. This part is divided into three sections, including the notion of political meaning, ideological state apparatus and political reflexivity with respect to anti-bullying policies and programmes.

The Political Meanings and Interpretations of Anti-bullying Policies

Easton's (1953, p.129) widely accepted definition of public policy is 'the authoritative allocation of values within the whole society'. What we need to question is that the nature of anti-bullying policy is either a political ideology-free or value-free output which seems to be paradoxical. Most discussion on bullying policy fails to focus on the 'ideological framework' which is embedded in the discourses of policy making. Moreover, policy analysis, as discussed in previous chapters, has walked unwarily into the trap of psychological behaviourism rather than critical structuralism, due to the fact that the former is a 'visible' behaviouristic expression and the latter is 'invisible' hegemonic domination (Franberg &

Wrethander, 2012). There are two strands of epistemological analysis within the political contexts exemplified in this section. One strand denotes the political meaning of psychological behaviourism and how this notion dominated the making of anti-bullying policies. The second strand discusses the radical perspectives of critical structuralism and how this stance criticised the epistemological perspectives of psychological behaviourism.

Based upon epistemological groundings, the main argument of psychological behaviourism assumes that bullying behaviour is either individualistic pathology or the dynamic interaction among peer groups (Franberg & Wrethander, 2012). Following this assumption, the policies would focus on psychological or behavioural modification, such as emotional management and control (Lomas, Stough, Hansen & Downey, 2012), and building up proper interpersonal relationships (Larke & Beran, 2006; Sutton & Keogh, 2000). Moreover, the production of bullying behaviour in schools is usually visible which is related to the nature of oppression and anti-oppression merely derived from the quality of peer relations. The political meaning of this anti-bullying policy is to maintain the school order within the wider social and political context (Bibou-nakou, Tsiantis, Assimopoulos, Chatzilambou & Giannakopoulou, 2012). Simply put, the code of behaviour is in part predetermined by the social norms and political structures which are taken for granted. Researchers who hold these kinds of assumptions would not be critical of how the political ideologies politicalised anti-bullying policies and programmes, but may stress, to a lesser or greater extent, the relations between effectiveness of policies/programmes and the reduction of bullying rates.

In contrast, the second strand demonstrated that a radical perspective would have been critically important in laying the groundwork for understanding how the structural factors rather than individual problems have a great influence on bullying behaviour and policies. From the epistemological perspectives, bullying is embedded in historical, political and cultural contexts which are subjective and invisible social facts which need to dismantle as well as uncover ideological politicisation behind specific contexts. Following this assumption, the political meaning of anti-bullying policies is to resist the structural oppressive factors through empowering the oppressed (Freire, 1972). Another question that needs to be asked is who are the oppressed? From the right-wing psychological perspective, some may argue that victims in bullying incidents are the main oppressed: those hurt by bullies or violent attackers. Opposite to the right-wing perspectives, which foster social stability and friendly environments, the radical perspective of critical structuralism de-

emphasises the predominant social order and highlights the importance of both victims and bullies as the oppressed who are dominated by an unjust structure (Freire, 1972). Radicals argue that too much bias on psychological behaviourism may result in ‘cognitive tunnel vision’ and failure to understand the abstract relations between anti-bullying policy and socio-political structure (Franberg & Wrethander, 2012).

The comparison between these two strands should help us to clarify the meaning of political epistemology with relation to bullying behaviour and anti-bullying policies/programmes. The knowledge production of psychological behaviourism and critical structuralism is primarily based upon their different epistemological assumptions which lead to the differentiated theoretical groundings of anti-bullying policies and programmes and subsequently are discussed below.

The Theoretical Approach to Anti-bullying Policies in the Socio-political Territory

After the 1970s, many psychologists, such as Olweus in Norway, Farrington and Ttofi in the US, Morita in Japan, Smith, Sharp and Tattum in the UK, Rigby and Slee in Australia and Craig in Canada, undertook school bullying research and offered a sounder socio-psychological theoretical basis for bullying analysis which has been the subject of much discussion and debate ever since. However, the research is still at an early stage in terms of its socio-political theorisation of anti-bullying policies and programmes, not to mention a paucity of literature on this subject. In light of the two kinds of foundations of political epistemology, this section continues to discuss the socio-political theoretical groundings of anti-bullying policies and programmes. This section is divided into three parts, covering traditional policy analysis and then turning to a structural Marxism perspective and the dialectic and normative integration of the two analyses. The aim of this section is to clarify the differences between the analysis of traditional functionalism and structural Marxism.

The Traditional Analysis from Psychological Behaviourism to Structural Functionalism

During the 1970s, Neo-liberalism and Neo-conservatism dominated the field of policy planning in several European countries and the US in the form of the political ideology of the ‘New Right’, which was also called ‘Reaganism’ in the US and ‘Thatcherism’ in the UK (Cooper, 2012). At the same time, bullying research was first conducted in Scandinavia and gradually received more attention by other European countries, North America and East Asia.

The combination of political ideology of the New Right and the perspectives of psychological behaviourism became the main trend of anti-bullying policy making which stressed not only control of centralised authority but the maintenance of social order and collective norms as well embedded in social policy and educational policy.

A substantial body of bullying research and reports reflected research assumptions of a school class as a social system were primarily based upon Parson's (1959) structural functionalism, arguing that the school was playing an important role in socialisation and selection with the intention of social integration. Moreover, the application of a socio-ecological framework underpinned by Bertalanffy's (1973) social system theory is widely accepted in bullying policy research. This apparently helps to explore the different social levels of bullying as well as to design preventive anti-bullying programmes (Dresler-Hawke & Whitehead, 2009; Espelage, 2004; Espelage & Swearer, 2004; Farmer, Hamm, Leung, Lambert & Gravelle, 2011; Grant, 2005; Hong & Espelage, 2012; Hong & Garbarino, 2012; Lee, 2011; Rahey & Craig, 2002; Swearer, 2002; Swearer & Doll, 2001). This means bullying behaviour was seen as a dysfunctional part of the social system while the goal of anti-bullying policy is to maintain the stability of the social system as well as help students modify either their deviant or bullying behaviour. The political ideology of the New Right subtly bridges a crossing between psychological behaviourism and structural functionalism with regard to anti-bullying policies and programmes in the US and European countries. Put the other way around, the making of existing anti-bullying policies and programmes also seems to meet the requirements of psychological research and the needs of the political New Right and reinforces the taken-for-granted legitimacy of governance.

According to Foucauldian perspective, Walton (2005:61) argued that 'bullying is a construction embedded in discursive practice that arises from a network or system of institutional, historical, social, and political relations'. As noted in the previous section, the preventive strategy of 'restorative justice' designed by Slee (International Institute for Restorative Practices, 2011) in Australia was exemplified as a form of collective power, such as victims, bullies and communities, modifying the bullying behaviour. In the UK, the report 'Bullying: Don't Suffer in Silence-an Anti-Bullying Pack for Schools' (1994) as a representative example of the adoption of a whole school approach and laid emphasis on the responsibilities of teachers, parents and school staff, creating friendly learning environments and enhancing the level of school safety. The anti-bullying polities and laws in the US are

attributed to the history of the civil rights movement and the assertion of human rights. As mentioned above, behavioural modification had a central place in maintaining the social order and political stability which echoed the core values of structural functionalism.

From Structural Functionalism to Structural Marxism

The best way to explain the formative relations between states and violence is via 'ideological state apparatus' (ISA) and 'repressive state apparatus' (RSA), the terms coined by Althusser (1971), which revised classical Marxism's historical materialism and critically assessed the nature of state violence. According to Althusser (1971), RSA referred to the army, police, judiciary, and prison system and the notion of ISA consisted of the family, media, religious organisations, educational systems, all of that explained the way in which a capitalist government dominated the massive proletariat and served the purpose of bourgeois political authority. As was mentioned above, the purpose of school anti-bullying policy is to deal with the way in which the government is not only faced with tackling bullying and violent behaviour, but maintains the predominant school order as well. With reference to the function of school, Althusser (1971, p.132) pointed out that:

...children at school also learn the 'rules' of good behaviour, i.e. the attitude that should be observed by every agent in the division of labour, according to the job he is 'destined' for: rules of morality, civic and professional conscience, which actually means rules of respect for the socio-technical division of labour and ultimately the rules of the order established by class domination... the school teaches 'know-how', but in forms which ensure subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its 'practice'

The relations between ideologies behind anti-bullying policy and the nature of power relations is an area that is under-researched. A review of the literature indicated that some victims in the bullying incidents will become bullies one day which provokes us to rethink the operation of policy as well as the nature of oppression (Harris & Petrie, 2003; Ma, 2001; Veenstra et al., 2005). Three dimensions would need to be considered in the making and operation of policy. First, policy makers eagerly build up new school order to alleviate public anxiety about school bullying but have ignored the abstract ideological thinking, such as whose order and justice prevails in schools and who benefits from policy itself? Second, it is noted that the media plays an important role in promoting the making of anti-bullying policies. However, the media always focuses on the detailed procedure of bullying incidents, but lacks political reflections about how policies control the school to achieve political

governance in the name of hypocritical educational appeal. Thirdly, despite the fact that this body of bullying research has the undeniable merits of offering valuable insights into the attribution of bullying, the scope of the research is also limited to the existing conservative political framework and predominant ideological perspectives. Another problem that often arises in the use of dominant psychological and criminological theories is that many questions about political structural factors are still unanswered. This is the reason why attention should be shifted from 'structural functionalism' to 'structural Marxism' to uncover the nature of power which is involved in the politicised meaning of bullying behaviour in schools. According to theories of power, Hill (2005, p.43) explained the difference between structural functionalism and Marxism:

Structural functionalism...suggested that social institutions reinforce each other in ways which support the status quo in allegedly 'static' societies – and propositions from social Darwinism, which traced processes of social evolution. Sociologists in this tradition in the United States or Western Europe saw their own societies as 'progressing', with their institutions adapting in response to evolving social needs. Where Marxists saw an evolutionary process leading towards social crisis, these theorists saw a progressive adaptation occurring.

The following are some interpretations of how governments implicitly adopt ISA and RSA to control school order in correspondence with existing political ideology. According to Althusser (1971), ISA could be seen as a representation of state domination over the proletariat, indeed, is a part of ISA which propagates capitalist ideologies toward students and teachers. Following the assumptions of ISA and RSA, the making of anti-bullying policy is a mixture of ISA and RSA that clearly demonstrates the political baseline of bullying behaviour itself. It also means that anti-bullying policy is a specific way in which governments exert their legitimate political power to maintain the stability of the capitalist school system and discipline bullying or violent behaviour through the police, the judiciary, and the prison system. According to the cross-analysis of social class and bullying, it seemed that the role of victims and bullies came from low income and high income family backgrounds (Christie-Mizell, 2004; Elgar, Craig, Boyce, Morgan & Vella-Zarb, 2009; Fitzpatrick, Dulin & Piko, 2010; Peskin, Tortolero, Markham, Addy & Baumler, 2007; Wilson, Bovet, Viswanathan & Suris, 2012). Therefore, the assumption that school anti-bullying policy is beneficial for all students studying in school has been seriously questioned.

The school is an arena of class struggle and the construction of middle class habitus seems compatible with the capitalist school systems (Bourdieu, 1990; Willis, 1979). Bowles and

Gintis (1976, p.131), for example, interpreted the reproduction of social relations from a school system to a capitalist system, arguing that ‘the relationships between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and students, and students and their work replicate the hierarchical division of labour’. Collins (1977, p.9) also critically pointed out that ‘historical evidence indicates that mass, compulsory education was first created not for industrial, but for military and political discipline’. Benton (1984, p.101) critically reflected on how Althusser’s ISA and RSA reproduced the relations of production through coercion and persuasion:

The ISAs have their own internal coercive practices (for example, forms of punishment in schools), and the RSAs secure their internal unity and their wider social authority significantly through ideology (for example, traditional and charismatic legitimations of leadership in the armed forces, the guarantee of security against lawless elements in the ideology of 'law and order', and ideologies of patriotism and national integrity).

Taking the US as an example, the fifty-one states have passed anti-bullying policy measures and only ten states (Colorado, Arizona, Kansas, Texas, Missouri, Arkansas, Illinois, Mississippi, Pennsylvania, North Carolina) further legalise anti-bullying policies in reducing school bullying (stopbullying.gov, 2015), which could be seen as the operation of ISA and RSA to normalise the code of behaviour in correspondence with political ideologies of state apparatus. Similarly, in the Australian anti-bullying policy (2011), the application and promotion of ‘restorative justice’ in the policy is a product of ISA and RSA which means schools as mediating institutes of state apparatus to be in charge of social order through lawful and criminal ideologies. Given the nature of the school system, this discussion leads us to question that the making of anti-bullying laws and policies may be used to reproduce the relations of production and then maintain the stability of capitalist school systems.

The Dialectic and Normative Integration of Structural Functionalism and Structural Marxism

These discussions raise the possibilities that school anti-bullying policy is a representation of political ideologies embedded in policy texts and in the process of policy implementation. The two core elements of structural functionalism and structural Marxism may be summarised. First, according to a political assumption, structural functionalism underscores the stability of society and the implementation of anti-bullying policy is a tool to maintain school order because the school system is a subsystem of wider society. This also means that a stable structure will fulfil the operation of social functions. However, structural

functionalism highlights the importance of structural oppression, especially state apparatus, and provides a framework to criticise the injustices of social structure. Therefore, anti-bullying policy is an important characteristic of maintaining the legitimacy of capitalist school systems to reproduce the relations of production within capitalist society. Second, political meaning and purpose is embedded in the assumptions of social system and social structure. It is a structural functional framework that reduces bullying behaviour to psychological pathology and focuses on how to adopt the best strategies to deal with aberrant behaviour. The political meaning is to restore school order and to create a friendly learning environment. Such a claim runs counter to structural Marxism which considers the causal relations between bullying behaviour and social structure. It is critically pointed out that bullying policy is a mixture of ISA and RSA and serves the purpose of political governance. After this comparison of the two schools, the two hypotheses could be seen as paradoxical, but there is a similarity between them. They both recognise the existence of social structure and close relations between schools and wider societies. However, the former fails to challenge the presumption of social structure, while the latter puts much more emphasis on criticising the structural oppression of state apparatus. To put it another way, the former fails to deconstruct the unjust predominant social order of mainstream societies, and the latter does not explain the practical possibilities of reconstructing a new school order to follow after deconstructing the social order. As a matter of fact, anti-bullying policies should balance the ideological spectrums between structural functionalism and structural Marxism rather than be seen as two paradoxical strands which would be more practical in making and implementing anti-bullying policies. According to this dialectical discussion, an ideal anti-bullying policy should take the two elements of the ‘operation of institutionalised function’ and ‘oppression of state apparatus’ into consideration. The next section will turn to discuss the relations between social reality, political reflexivity and anti-bullying policies.

The Methodological Approach to Anti-bullying Policies in the Socio-political Territory

This section focuses on the methodology of socio-politicisation with relation to anti-school bullying policies. The main purpose of this section is to uncover some crucial methodological assumptions beneath those policies. There are two issues discussed in the following, the social reality and political reflexivity and the notions of ‘political particularity’ and ‘political generality’ of anti-bullying policy process. First, the relationship between social reality and political reality is not contradictory or incongruent, but complementary. How to make sense

of anti-bullying policy as political reflexivity within social reality entails further discussion on the socio-politicisation of anti-bullying policy. With regard to Parson's structural functionalism, the methodology of bullying policy research, as noted in early part of this chapter, primarily employed positivism (naïve realism) and post-positivism (subtle realism) to explore social reality, which implies that political reality is pre-existing as well as objectively existing. Contrary to structural functionalism, bullying policy research, especially based upon Althusserian structural Marxism (Benton, 1984), relies heavily on stressing the exercise of asymmetrical power relations from government authorities to local schools. This implies that political reality is a formative process through a successive social construction of state power and history, echoing the assertion of historical realism discussed in the first section of this chapter. Another crucial issue is the extending debate between 'political generality' and 'political particularity' behind policy process which could be seen as a dichotomy of sociological methodology (Brown & McMenemy, 1982). For anti-bullying policy process, structural functionalism presumably demonstrates the importance of 'political generality' (policy construction) which denotes that effective anti-bullying policy transfer could also achieve the stability of political governance through an instrumental-rational approach. This claim emphasises the significance of learning from successful international experience of policy making and also echoes the assumption of rational choice theory in policy making. However, Lendvai and Stubbs (2007, p.179), pointed out the invisible nature of 'transferred knowledge' concerning policy transfer, including 'contradictions of a universalistic understanding' and 'the cultural, political and social particularities of their diverse meanings, interactions, consequences and resistances'. Following this reflexivity, anti-bullying policy needs to rethink political particularity (policy deconstruction) pertaining to mechanisms of social control and ideological indoctrination in the disguise of policy adaption. The implication of political reflexivity is to critically question the normalisation of 'political generality' in defence of democratic values behind anti-bullying policy process.

The Socio-cultural Territory of Anti-bullying Policy

A substantial body of bullying research has a tendency to recommend a return to the creation of positive culture and a friendly learning environment in schools which is similar to the ideological spectrum of the new cultural right. There has thus far been relatively little research into the cultural foundations of anti-bullying policy, not to mention a paucity of cultural left perspectives on this subject. This section will illustrate the relations between

cultural dimensions and anti-bullying policies from the critical perspective of Gramscianism which re-conceptualises anti-bullying policy in the specific cultural context. This part is divided into three sections, the cultural meaning, Gramscist criticism and cultural reflexivity.

The Cultural Meanings and Interpretations of Anti-bullying Policies

As noted in previous parts, the construction of anti-bullying policies is embedded in historical and political trajectories which also produce some specific cultural forms pervading in societies. This section outlines the two main contending cultural interpretations of anti-bullying policies, ‘liberal multiculturalism’ and ‘critical multiculturalism’, which argue that the nature of culture is elusive and, to some degree, taken for granted in the process of policy making.

Based upon the epistemological assumption of liberal multiculturalism (Sleeter, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 1988), the purpose of cultural construction is to highlight individuality within social groups, thus facilitating cultural integration and assimilation. This assertion could be tracked back to the human rights and, specifically, the children rights movement, as mentioned in the first section, which put a high premium on the exercise of individual citizenship and basic human rights. The cultural role of anti-bullying policies is to outline the rules and regulations of interpersonal interaction to prevent bullying. This means that no one has the right to invade other people, including physically and psychologically, no matter what their background is and school culture implicitly forces students to accept the concepts of ‘mutual respect’ and ‘tolerance of differences’ between their identities and class backgrounds (Sleeter, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 1994). Most anti-bullying policies aim to create friendly learning environments and this has become the common consensus all over the world. The assumption that all students should be treated equally has been questioned in that liberal multiculturalism reduces bullying to ‘not respecting each other’ and even ‘intolerance of differences’ and fails to uncover the complexity of a multifaceted problem, such as the interaction between class, gender and race. Other critics rightly point out that this assumption consolidated mainstream cultural construction in schools and deliberately ignored the differences in cultural identities among students to maintain legitimacy and mainstream culture mediated by ‘anti-bullying policies of liberal multiculturalism’ (Sleeter, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 1994).

Unlike the assumption of liberal multiculturalism, the epistemological assumption of critical multiculturalism views cultural construction as an interwoven web of power relations,

recognition and knowledge (Sleeter & Grant, 1994; May & Sleeter, 2010). This assertion which was inspired by the Frankfurt school indicates the contradiction within underlying principles of liberal multiculturalism and stresses the deconstruction of the imbalance of power relations between privileged and unprivileged groups, and then the reconstruction of a just society. According to May and Sleeter (2010), the cultural role of anti-bullying policies is to challenge the power relations between school culture and capitalist societies. More specifically, the primary function of anti-bullying policies is to uncover the oppressive culture and dismantle ideological domination rather than to create a false school culture for students to follow. This means, as Foucault critically argued (1988, p.123), that ‘there is a power relation there is a possibility of resistance’. According to critical multiculturalists’ considerations, anti-bullying policies should be thus closely related to differentiated contextualisation and gave priority to transforming unjust school culture and institutionalised structure. Compared with liberal multiculturalism, critical multiculturalism focuses on the deconstruction rather than the construction of school culture, but essentially this demonstration is likely to be an intuitive assumption, lacking concrete and direct evidence to support it. In the light of these two strands, different types of socio-cultural theories will lead to a variety of anti-bullying policies and programmes. The next section will continue to discuss how the socio-cultural theories explain and criticise the current anti-bullying policies and programmes.

The Theoretical Approach to Anti-bullying Policies in the Socio-cultural Territory

During the 1970s, the issue of youth subculture played a critical role in the field of cultural studies, especially the ‘Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies’ (CCCS) in the UK and ‘Chicago school’ in the US. The aim of this research was to realise, in particular, the nature of adolescent culture formation and then take the complex structural factors into consideration. There have been numerous studies dealing with causal relations between violent behaviour and youth subculture (Cohen, 1955; Willis, 1977; Yinger, 1960). However, on the whole there has been relatively little progress in examining how official anti-bullying policy, as a part of multicultural policy, affected the formation of youth subculture, not to mention the socio-cultural theorisation of anti-bullying policies. This section will discuss the argument of two main strands, comprising the ideological spectrum of the New Right and New Left in the application of anti-bullying policies.

The Discourse of the 'New Right' on Anti-bullying Policies

As mentioned in the first section, the ideology of the New Right has dominated different policy areas with the logic that cultural policy should rethink the importance of government authorities together with individual rights (Hayek, 1944). Following this kind of ideology, the formation of cultural policies, especially in the UK and US, was carried out by the cultural logic of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. The logic of neo-conservatism denoted that the resurgence of classical liberalism is of great importance to governance and the welfare state should be turned from government intervention to market competition (Hayek, 1944, 1948). More specifically, the responsibility of government is to make up the proper market rules for corporations to abide by (Hayek, 1948). However, the logic of neo-conservatism places a high value on government authorities and community solidarity which is traditionally incongruent with the logic of neo-liberalism (Harrington, 1973). When it comes to cultural governance, the ideology behind anti-bullying policies is prone to neo-conservatism and means that policies have become an imperative bridge to convey national cultural ideology and traditional value to students, such as a sense of traditional historical glory and patriotism.

The common discourse of anti-bullying policies, taking Australian anti-bullying policy within the National Safe Schools Framework (NSSF) as an example (Ministerial Council on Education, Early Childhood Development and Youth Affairs, 2011), is to support students to learn in a violence-free environment and teach students how to respect others so as to develop the safe community and enhance student welfare. According to the logic of this policy discourse, it is obvious that government authorities are eager to link anti-bullying policies to nation-based cultural ideology which is a reflection of neo-conservatism ideology. The questions needing to be asked are whose cultural discourse should be represented in schools and whose cultural habitus, as coined by Bourdieu (1990), could be legitimately permitted within the anti-bullying policies framework? It seems extremely premature to posit visions and guidelines of anti-bullying policy without specifying the nature of cultural ideology. The next part will discuss the critique of the 'New Left' on current anti-bullying policies and specify the ideal revision of anti-bullying policies.

Gramscist Criticism of the New Left on Anti-bullying Policies

The cultural studies of the 'New Left' were originated in Gramscianism which rethought class relations within capitalist society. The transformation from Althusserianism to

Gramscianism implies that the concept of culture has become a critical element in class analysis. Gramsci (1971, p.57) proposed a theory of cultural hegemony to analyse the relations between state apparatus and cultural formation and demonstrated that ‘the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as domination and as intellectual and moral leadership’. Anderson (1977, p.26) analytically used antinomies of Gramsci to explain how the civil society adopted consent of masses to arrive at hegemony (as opposed to Althusser’s argument of adopting coercion to achieve domination within a political society), suggesting that ‘Gramsci’s hegemony means the ideological subordination of the working class by the bourgeoisie, which enables it to rule by consent’. The clear definition of cultural hegemony means ruling class domination of a culturally diverse society by one social class who manipulate the societal culture so that its ruling class becomes the worldview that is imposed and accepted as the cultural norm (Gramsci, 1971). This theoretical framework was also widely used in the analysis of cultural policies to deconstruct hegemonic ideology implicitly pervading in societies (Lears, 1985; Gündoğan, 2008). For example, Green (1990, p.309) further interpreted the inseparable relationship between national education systems and dominant cultural ideologies as follows:

The major impetus for the creation of national education systems lay in the need to provide the state with trained administrators, engineers and military personnel; to spread dominant national cultures and inculcate popular ideologies of nationhood; and so to forge the political and cultural unity of burgeoning nation states and cement the ideological hegemony of their dominant classes.

As discussed in the last part, most anti-bullying policies tend to focus on a harmonious and diverse culture rather than on hidden cultural rules with relation to capitalist societies. Based upon the Gramscian (1971) idea of cultural hegemony, anti-bullying policies exhibit several weaknesses as the way to equal and just societies. First, the policies have failed to deal with the nature of class, gender and race relations which were taken for granted in the cultural discourse of policy assertions and took the anti-bullying policies as a cultural tool to achieve governance in the name and disguise of the social reconstruction of ‘liberal multiculturalism’ which seems to be more reasonable to legitimacy of governance. Second, students in bullying incidents were not empowered to recognise the role of structural oppression, but some studies clearly indicated that the victims sometimes become bullies themselves. In other words, the role of victims and bullies were separated by the intervention of anti-bullying policies and both tended to hate and despise one another after the bullying events. The above-mentioned two critiques accounted for being too limiting and myopic in the thinking and making of

current anti-bullying policy discourses. However, the Gramscian perspective itself garnered criticism and suffered from a number of limitations in the practicality of anti-bullying policies within real life contexts. The next parts look for normative integration between the New Right and Gramscianism on anti-bullying policies.

The Normative Integration of Socio-cultural Theorisation on Anti-bullying Policies

This comparison between the two schools leads us to rethink the basic assumptions behind policy formation. Culture is an elusive concept that potentially dominates school orders and produces an official culture to regulate the peer interaction and mode of behaviour in schools. In the past, the approach to anti-bullying policies focused on problem-solving rather than on the exercise of hegemonic power relations that the authorities always take school culture for granted and neutral, but failed to emphasise the structural oppression and cultural production among students. The New Right anti-bullying policies in combination with the assertion of liberal multiculturalism seem to stress the importance of government authorities and to set up a policy discourse that bullying behaviour originated from the formation of 'poor' culture and, in turn, the construction of 'good' culture could reduce the rates of bullying behaviour. The discourse of school culture was in the hands of government authorities and the causal relations of bullying events were oversimplified and limited by top-down power relations. However, Gramscianism provided insight into the deconstruction of hegemonic relations which shed new light on the association between political governance and culture production with relation to policy making that is still largely a neglected area. The implication of Gramscianism clarified the logic of power relations and cultural hegemony, though it has generated relatively little discussion in the considerable amount of literature on policy making, let alone school anti-bullying policies. With regard to this limitation, Gramscianism has failed to proliferate in practice so that how to narrow the gap between the abstract theoretical perspectives and policy making has not yet been explored.

The ideal type of multicultural studies and policies, Grant and Sleeter (1986) argued, is to reconsider the integration of race, social class and gender which led the cultural discourse from 'liberalism multiculturalism' to 'critical multiculturalism' and to make the policy making more practical. Bullying policies usually focus on either gender bullying or racial bullying and it appears that lack of integration of race, social class and gender issues which has not been given the attention it needs. More specifically, the mission of socio-cultural

theorisation is to capture the multiple cultural dimensions with regard to school bullying and strikes the balance between the notion of New Right and Gramscianism in the process of policy making. The next part will re-locate the position of social reality and cultural reflexivity in the making of anti-bullying policies.

The methodological approach to Anti-bullying Policies in the socio-cultural territory

As discussed, anti-bullying policies are symbolic of not only the top-down domination but also the representation of cultural conflict between the mainstream and marginal cultures. This implies that cultural discourse determines the way in which government authorities respond to social events and public opinion and the way in which people take attitudes towards policy making. McLennan (2006, p161) stressed the distancing role of reflexivity in sociological cultural studies as follows:

Since research activity is never a mere projection of our opinions or standpoints, reflexivity serves to check our predispositions as well as to develop them. But reflexivity's distancing role here is quite apparently nothing other than a form of 'correcting for bias', the very thing that was supposed to constitute the objectivist fallacy

Notably, McLennan's perspective reminds researchers to re-locate the reflexive relations between anti-bullying policies and cultural ideology which is helpful for realising the social reality of school culture practice in the web of social structure. Following this assumption of cultural reflexivity, cultural methodology also deals with value system (axiology) between cultural absolutism and cultural relativism in policy making that needs to be considered. According to Guillaume and Funder's (2016) perspectives of cross-cultural psychology, the notion of cultural absolutism refers to 'characteristics that bring people together as a human race, reducing as much noise as possible in order to tap into true human nature' (p.213), while the notion of cultural relativism refers to 'different constructs within cultures that are thus incomparable across cultures' (p.214). Taking the anti-bullying policy making for example, as further analysed by Guillaume and Funder (2016), the former of which (cultural absolutism) is eager to build up nation-based moral rules and social order for people to abide by and implies that 'measures can be developed in one culture and imported in to another with little effort' (p.213). By contrast, the latter of which (cultural relativism) recognises the existence of relative moral rules and politics of cultural difference embedded in specific contexts and assumes that 'measures would be constructed within a culture and not shared across cultures' (p.214). Stated another way, the dislocation between social behaviour and

culture context and between etic (policy makers and researchers) and emic (school practitioners) perspectives was criticised by many cultural anthropologists (Locke, 1924; Lowie, 1917; Boas & Lewis, 2004). The cultural implication for this research is that the production of bullying behaviour is closely related to the positionality of class, gender and race culture. How to justify the practicality of cultural relativism and absolutism into policy practice in avoidance of cultural prejudice and hegemonic domination will be further discussed in chapter 5.

Table 3.2 Summary of Two Dimensional Approaches to Anti-Bullying Policy

| Dimension | Socio-political territory | Socio-cultural territory |
|-------------------------|---|---|
| Conceptual meaning | Psychological behaviourism Structural behaviourism | Liberal multiculturalism critical multiculturalism |
| Theoretical approach | Structural functionalism Structural Marxism | New Right ideology New Left ideology |
| Methodological approach | Political generality Political particularity | Cultural absolutism Cultural relativism |

Conclusion

This aim of this chapter was to review the literature about the theories and approaches to school bullying. First, seven theories were discussed and compared to illustrate the groundings of previous empirical studies which primarily focus on three research fields, such as criminology, psychology and pedagogy. In the wake of theories of bullying research, the second part discussed socio-political and socio-cultural territory in association with theoretical and methodological approach. The exploration helped us to rethink the role of power struggle and structural oppression in the making of anti-bullying policies through examining the underpinning sociological and psychological assumptions which have yet to be explored. Each territory also compared two contending perspectives in each section, including structural functionalism to structural Marxism in the socio-political territory and New Right (Reaganism and Thatcherism) and New Left (Gramscianism) in the socio-cultural territory, which illuminated the ideological contradictions between different discourses. In each section, the notion of reflexivity was also discussed to re-examine the relations between positionality and policy making. For example, the logic of anti-bullying policy formulation

represented dichotomies between political generality and political particularity as well as cultural absolutism and cultural relativism interpreted differences in the use of specific methodology with regard to anti-bullying policies. This chapter has taken a step in the direction of defining and reconceptualising the analytical framework which is critically important in laying the groundwork for understanding how school bullying could be made a thorough inquiry and elucidation.

CHAPTER 4

THEORIES OF POLICY PROCESS AND SCHOOL ANTI-BULLYING POLICY MAKING

Introduction

According to Laswell (1971), public policy research can be broadly divided into two parts: policy content as the intelligent needs of policy (knowledge in the decision process) and policy process (knowledge of the decision process). The former emphasises on scientific knowledge in decision making (such as how professional knowledge can be effectively used in policy making) which is characterised as static policy research, while the latter deals with knowledge of decision processes (such as empirical studies used in policy forming and execution) which is closed to dynamic policy research. To some extent, these two categories are interrelated and interdependent. Based upon the scope of this thesis, which aims to capture the comprehensive picture of school anti-bullying policy processes, this chapter focuses more on the relations between theories of the policy processes and school anti-bullying in different stages of policy making. Three parts are involved in this chapter: theories of the policy process, reviewing the school anti-bullying research and the compatibility of policy process theories and anti-bullying policy research. The first part elaborates on the meaning and development of policy process research and illuminates the assumptions and logic of policy processes. The second part discusses the school anti-bullying policy research, such as the exploration of value systems, research trends and the sequential logic of anti-bullying policy making. The third part turns to specify the gap in the field of school anti-bullying policy research and how policy process theories could bridge the existing discontinuities between perspectives on the policy process and school anti-bullying policy research.

Mapping Theories of Policy Process and its Research Focus

The idea of policy stages (or also called stage heuristic) was derived from Jones's (1970) study of public policy, including transmission of the problem to government, action in government, government to problem, policy to government, problem resolution or change.

According to Anderson's (1974) practical categorisation of the policy process, six stages was widely adopted and clearly identified in policy process research: (i) problem identification; (ii) problem identification and agenda formation; (iii) policy formulation; (iv) policy adoption; (v) policy implementation; and (vi) policy evaluation. According to Stewart, Hedge and Lester's (2008) analysis of the evolution of policy studies, policy formulation research concentrated on descriptive approach models (case studies) in the 1950s and then policy implementation, agenda setting, policy evaluation and policy termination have aroused during the 1960s to 1980s based on the development of behaviourism and positivism. After the 1990s, the research on policy change, agenda setting and policy implementation recognised the existence of multifaceted phenomenon and evidence and adopted post-positivism (the use of qualitative and quantitative methods) in place of positivism (the use of quantitative techniques). Following the above development of the policy stage model, the first part discusses the general category of policy process, involving in agenda setting, policy formulation and decision making, policy implementation and policy evaluation. As also suggested by Brinton Milward (1980, p.247), 'if policy researchers wish to improve the prospects for policy success, they would do well to focus their research on the relationship between agenda-setting and implementation'. Hill (1997:1) also argued that 'the study of policy process is shown to be closely connected to efforts to examine the nature of power in society and specify the necessary conditions for democratic government'. The purpose of this review is to explore theories building behind each stage of policy process and rethink how theories can be translated into policy practice in understanding the process of policy development.

Policy agenda setting

When it comes to discussing agenda setting, previous literature and research have concentrated on what kind of political mechanisms an issue or a public problem becomes a part of the policy agenda and how the operationalisation of agenda setting is possible to trigger conveyor belt of policy making. Four sections are involved: (i) the meaning of public problem and issue attention, (ii) the nature of agenda setting and its typology, (iii) existing model-building of agenda setting, (iv) who has the power to set the policy agenda?

The triggering of problem identification and issue attention

In general, problem identification can be viewed as the first step in agenda setting. Before discussing the nature and model of agenda setting, attention should be given on the

articulation of social problems, public problems and issue attention. Gusfield (1981) clearly elaborated the differences between ‘social problem’ and ‘public problem’ and the latter is, in nature, more political attention (notably focused by policy makers or policy scientists) than the former which is only socially recognised (chiefly highlighted by social activists and sociologists). This means that some issues are stopping at the stage of being a social problem but not necessarily arriving at being a public problem. On the contrary, most public problems can be seen ‘as an extension of social problems’ (Knoepfel, Larrue, Varone and Hill, 2007, p.129). Anderson (2003, p.81), in consonance with Gusfield’s (1981) distinction, clarified the nature of public problems before proceeding to agenda setting and defined them as ‘a condition or situation that produces needs or dissatisfaction among people and for which relief or redress by governmental action is sought’. Cobb and Elder (1972, p.32) also defined an issue as ‘a conflict between two or more identifiable groups over procedural or substantive matters relating to the distribution of positions or resources’. Downs (1972, pp.39-41) also addressed the inner logic of the ‘issue-attention’ cycle in examining the environmental issue in American society, including (i) the pre-problem stage: an issue was not attentive among the public, (ii) alerted discovery and euphoric enthusiasm: the public become aware of some questions, (iii) realising the cost of significance process: gradual realization of high cost in solving the problems, (v) general decline of intense public interest: gradual decline in the intensity of public interest in the problem, (iv) the post-problem stage: an issue was replaced by the public concern and was moved to prolonged limbo. One important question is what qualities or attributes make the problems public-driven and issues social-oriented? Arguably, Anderson (2003) tended to make a connection between public problems, issue attention and agenda setting and claimed that ‘a public problem must be converted into an issue or a matter requiring governmental attention for the purpose of agenda setting’. As previously discussed, policy agenda setting can be characterised as a rational and causal process, embracing the awareness of social problem, the identification of public problem and politicisation of issue attention.

The nature of agenda setting and its conceptual typologies

As Cobb and Elder (1971, pp.903-904) stated, agenda setting refers to ‘an issue or a demand becomes or fails to become the focus of concern and interest within a polity’. The meaning of agenda setting can be characterised as two conceptions: systemic agenda and institutional agenda. As defined by Cobb and Elder (1983, pp.85-86), the former ‘consists of all issues

that are commonly perceived by members of the political community as meriting public attention and as involving matters within the legitimate jurisdiction of existing governmental authority' and the latter refers to 'that list of items explicitly up for the active and serious consideration of authoritative decision makers'. Jones (1997) closely followed Cobb and Elder's (1983) classification of agenda and generally classified the four levels of agenda: decision agenda, institution agenda, systemic agenda and agenda universe. For Jones (1997), the agenda universe means that 'all ideas that could possibly be brought up and discussed in a society or a political system' (p.107) and decision agenda refers to 'items about to be acted on by a governmental body' (p.108). According to the four levels, the struggle and conflict between different interest groups (e.g., seeking for change and opposing change groups) would take place at the level of systemic agenda, institution agenda and decision agenda, due to the fact that the agenda, in practice, is finite at these three levels (Jones, 1997). Cobb and Elder (1971, p.909) further emphasised the role of the media in the agenda setting with the intention of 'elevating issues to the systemic agenda and increasing their chances of receiving consideration on institutional agendas'. Dearing and Rogers (1996) argued for the three indispensable components of agenda setting: media agenda, public agenda and policy agenda, stressing that 'agenda-setting process is an ongoing competition among the proponents of a set of issues to gain the attention of media professionals, the public, and policy elites'. As can be found, the formal process of agenda setting can be seen as a power struggle of issues politics between depoliticised unawareness and politicised awareness. Furthermore, Cobb and Elder (1971, pp.906-909) reflected on the 'source of bias' in the systemic and institutional agenda. The former refers to the fact that 'the legitimacy of the group will be greatly enhanced by the status and community standing of its members', while the latter refers to agenda building which was based upon 'the tendency of decision makers to give priority to older items'.

The existing models of policy agenda setting

There are four models of agenda setting which are widely discussed by policy scientists in the process of agenda setting: outside initiative model, mobilisation model, inside access model, and multiple stream models. The first three are elaborated by Cobb, Ross and Ross (1976) and the last one addressed by Kingdon (2013). First, the outside initiative model stresses the role of interest groups that make an issue enter into agenda setting 'initiated outside the governmental structure' (Cobb, Ross & Ross, 1976, p.128). This model is assumed to be

applied in the following contexts (i) initiated by different interest groups who concern some specific issues and further translate systemic agenda (public agenda) to institutional agenda (political agenda) and the degree of visibility depends on their practical experience and articulation of issues; (ii) the translation of general grievances to specific demands; (iii) expanding interests to other interest groups to gain agenda setting power; (iv) imposing sufficient pressure on policy makers who are willing to bring issues to the formal agenda (Cobb, Ross & Boss, 1976, pp.128-132). The second model appears in hierarchical societies in which it was assumed that the policy agenda was mobilised by government officials whose announcements were expected to be supported by the public. Three stages are used to explain the exercise of mobilisation model: (i) the issue is initially placed on the government agenda by political leaders and also disseminated by the media which placed it on the public agenda (initiation stage); (ii) the political leaders make efforts to 'articulate the new programmes and announcements' to gain support from the public (specification stage) and (iii) implementation is often based on 'public acceptance and changes in behaviour' (expansion stage) (Cobb, Ross & Boss, 1976, pp.132-135). The third model is termed the inside access model and excludes public participation as agenda builders. A new proposal is made within government or groups which build close relations with the government. The fourth model is the multiple stream model, which challenges the rational approach to agenda setting and asserts that the coupling of problem stream, policy stream and political stream will create a policy window which makes the agenda setting possible (Kingdon, 2013). To be specific, the three streams of process develop independently and determine whether proposals can be enlisted in the political agenda. The problem stream is mainly affected by systematic indicators, dramatic events, or feedback from the operation of existing programs (Kingdon, 2013, p.90). Noting that 'the criteria for selecting ideas in the policy stream are affected by specialists' anticipation of what the political or budgetary constraints might be' (Kingdon, 2013:88). The political stream is composed of swings of national mood, vagaries of public opinion, election results, changes of administration (Kingdon, 2013, p.87). Kingdon (2013, p.165) clearly defined a policy window as 'an opportunity for advocates of proposals to push their pet solutions, or to push attention to their special problems'. Accordingly, Kingdon's theoretical accounts and framework of agenda setting are widely applied in the initial stage of policy process research.

Policy formulation

As Hill (2014) pointed that, policy formulation is a ‘middle process’ of policy stages related to policy decision making in that the former stresses the importance of intense interaction between multiple policy stakeholders and the latter deals more with how government could employ a systematic way to arrive at policy goals and further satisfy the public needs. This section will specify (i) the meaning of policy making, (ii) the choice of policy instruments and (iii) the models of policy decision making, and (vi) the comparison of decision making models.

The meaning of policy formulation

Unlike policy agenda setting, policy formulation generally surrounds the questions of who formulates policy and how is policy formulated. Anderson (2003, p.80) defined policy formulation as the ‘crafting of alternatives or options for dealing with a problem’. Sidney (2007, p.79) claims that policy formulation is part of the pre-decision phase of policy making and defined it as ‘identifying and/or crafting a set of policy alternatives to address a problem, and narrowing that set of solutions in preparation for the final policy decision’. Jones (1977) broadly divided three types of policy formulation, embracing routine formulation, analogous formulation and creative formulation. The first of which refers to ‘changeless process of reformulating similar proposals’. The second of which is defined as dealing with new problems by previous experience with similar problems. The third of which denotes the making of ‘unprecedented proposals departing from existing practices’. In terms of different factual understanding (or knowledgeability) of social problems, routine formulation and analogous formulation was used in the context of policy maker’s better understanding of social problems, while creative formulation was adopted in the context of unfamiliar social problem.

Policy formulation can be seen as having at least two meanings. First, it is a dynamic process where policy stakeholders and those who are interested in specific issues may be invited to participate, such as administrative staff, law maker, interest groups and think tanks. Hence, this first meaning focuses on who has the right to engage in policy formulation. According to the notion of the right to participate in policy formulation, three main theories are continuously rethought and re-examined, including elite theory, group theory and citizen participation. The second meaning puts a premium on the principles of policy formation.

Kaplan (1973) formulated seven principles of policy formulation: principle of individuality, maximum principle, distributive principle, principle of continuity, principle of autonomy and principle of urgency. The policy instrument and the approaches to decision making are closely related to policy formulation. The former is related to how the government makes the policy workable and actionable to achieve the policy objectives and the latter is concerned with how decisions can be made in the process of policy formulation.

The choice of policy instrument

This section consists of an exploration of policy formulation and continues to discuss the choice of policy instrument or tools in the policy formulation process. Howlett and Ramesh (1995:80) clearly defined policy instruments as ‘the actual means or devices which governments have at their disposal for implementing policies’. According to the Turnpenny, Jordan, Benson and Rayner (2015, p.4), policy formulation tools are regarded as ‘a means to address many other policy formulation tasks, for example understanding the nature of policy problems, estimating how they might change over time and clarifying or even eliminating some of the many possible policy response options’. The purpose of a policy tool could be in forecasting and exploring future problems, recommending policy options and exploring problem structuring (Dunn, 2004). Turnpenny, Jordan, Benson and Rayner (2015) further argued that policy formulation tools are concerned with four key elements: actors (policy formulators and the embodiment of policy value policy), venues (the different levels of governance and the selection of policy tool), capacity (the exercise of policy capacity and maintaining the social order) and effect (substantial and procedure effects). The core question in regard to policy formulation instruments is that what sorts of policy instruments can be chosen in the different types of policy issues. Speaking of the typology of policy instrument, the policy tools proposed by McDonnell and Elmore (1987) include mandate, inducements, capacity building and system changing. Howlett and Ramesh (1995) constructed the spectrum of policy instruments based upon the degree of state involvement, including voluntary, mixed and compulsory instruments. Voluntary instruments are characteristic of low state involvement and governments can adopt this kind of policy instrument in market, family and community and voluntary organisations with reference to economic and social policies. Unlike voluntary instruments, compulsory instruments stress the importance of coercive power in regulations, public enterprise and direct provision. The use of mixed instruments employs the eclectic approach to policy making that the government is primarily responsible

for the policy making process and the private actors make the final decision that were widely applied in the field of information and exhortation, subsidy, auction of property rights and taxes and user charges. However, Salamon (2002:11) argued that the choice of policy tool is not only a technical decision but also a central part of a political battle as well: ‘what is at stake in these battles is not simply the most efficient way to solve a particular public problem, but also the relative influence that various affected interests will have in shaping the program’s postenactment evolution’.

Approaches to decision making

On the basis of the different levels of rationality in policy decision making, there are six models which are illustrated as follows. These six models specify a spectrum of organisational policy decision making from high rationality to low rationality. The following discussion involves the assumptions and fundamentals of decision making in each model and in what ways and to what extent each model can deal with the interaction between theory and practice in parallel with the construction of knowledge system and quality of decision making.

(i) Rational-comprehensive model

The rational-comprehensive decision model is based upon the classical economic tradition and assumed that policy makers can economically calculate the maximum benefit in any policy making process. According to Lindblom’s detailed analysis (1959, p.81), there are five assumptions in the rational comprehensive mode: (1) a clear objective is a prerequisite to empirical analysis; (2) policy-formulation is approachable through means-end analysis; (3) the most appropriate means to desired ends would bring about good policy; (4) analysis is comprehensive and all relevant factors are widely considered (5) this model is heavily reliant on theory. It was largely challenged by economists and policy makers due to the assumption of exercising rational-comprehensive decision making, such as political intervention, the disconnection and conflict between value and objective, the influence of sunk cost, limited capabilities, resources and information and parochialism between different governmental sectors and authorities.

(ii) Bounded rationality model

The notion of ‘bounded rationality’ was put forward by Simon in Administrative Behaviour (1947). Based upon the assumption of knowing, Simon (1947, p. xxvi) claimed that ‘the

world you perceive is drastically simplified model of the real world'. Simon (1947) argued against that classical and neoclassical economic perspectives applied in policy formulation are unrealistic in practice and demonstrated that policy makers shall be acting as 'administrative man' with 'bounded rationality' in pursuit of 'satisfactory or good enough course of action' (p. xxix) in place of 'economic man' with comprehensive rationality in pursuit of maximum benefit. Simon (1947, p.78) clearly defined the principle of bounded rationality and also pointed out the function of knowledge in the decision making process as follows:

The principle of bounded rationality is the capacity of the human mind for formulating and solving complex problems is very small compared with the size of the problems whose solution is required for objectively rational behavior in the real world — or even for a reasonable approximation to such objective rationality (p.198).

The function of knowledge in the decision-making process is to determine which consequences follow upon which of the alternative strategies. It is the task of knowledge to select from the whole class of possible consequences a more limited subclass, or even (ideally) a single set of consequences correlated with each strategy.

According to Simon's (1947, p.79) account, the assumption of bounded rationality was underpinned by three main reasons: (1) each action could bring about unexpected consequences owing that 'knowledge of consequences is always fragmentary' behind courses of action; (2) policy makers always find it hard to arrange the priorities of the possible alternatives in the process of decision making due to the fact that 'values can be only imperfectly anticipated'; (3) policy makers are looking for a satisfactory course of action on the basis of 'a very few of all these possible alternatives' rather than selecting 'the best alternative'. Compared with rational-comprehensive model, the contribution of bounded rationality model is that 'decision making processes are aimed at finding courses of action that are feasible or satisfactory in the light of multiple goals and constraints'(Simon, 1947, p.274).

(iii) Incrementalism model

The incremental decision making model, inspired by bounded rationality, was first provided by Lindblom (1959) in The Science of Muddling Through. This model is also called the branch approach due to the fact that the policy decision making is characterised as the compromising process of give and take between different roles of policy stakeholders and policy makers. Lindblom (1959, p.81) argued that incrementalism model would be more practical and progressive in policy decision making for the following five reasons: (1) goal

and action are not distinct but interrelated; (2) means-end analysis is not distinct but often limited; (3) good policy is made by consent and agreement; (4) possible outcomes, alternative potential policies and important affected values are neglected by analysis; (5) a succession of comparisons brings about less reliance on theory.

(iv) Mixed scanning model

Since the 1940s, the decision making approach centred on the debate between rationalistic and incrementalist approach. The former was replaced by the latter as a result of an unbridgeable gap, or even less correspondence between the real world and theoretical speculations with reference to decision making (Etzioni, 1967). Etzioni (1967) criticised the assumptions of these two approaches and put forward the third approach of mixed scanning. As suggested by Etzioni (1967) the mixed scanning model was divided into two levels of mechanisms: fundamental decisions and incremental decisions. Fundamental decisions can be seen as 'high-order, fundamental policy-making processes which set basic directions' (such as the use of 'broad-angle camera' to review possible alternatives) and incremental decisions in the decision making process make an attempt to 'prepare for fundamental decisions and work them out after they have been reached' (such as 'zeroing in on specific areas revealed by the first camera [broad-angle camera] to require a more in-depth examination') (Etzioni, 1967:388-389). These two levels of mechanism are mutually complementary that the incremental decision, on the one hand, could 'reduce the unrealistic aspects of rationalism' and the fundamental decision, on the other hand, could 'contextualise rationalism and overcome the conservative slant of incrementalism' (Etzioni, 1967, p.390). The contribution of the mixed scanning approach is to help policy makers to set up the objectives of decision making by rational and scientific way in the first level of fundamental decision and then how to choose a right strategy depends on the consensus and agreement made by policy makers and stakeholders in the second level of incremental decision. However, the major criticism of the mixed scanning model is that Etzioni was conceptually over-optimistic to integrate the two major approaches in the process of decision making rather than to explore the nature of difference between fundamental decision (based upon the rationalist approach) and incremental decision (based upon the incrementalist approach). To be specific, Etzioni failed to explain the way in which the feasibility of potential strategies can be achieved by employing the fundamental and incremental decision dichotomy and how these two levels of mechanism can be activated within a real decision making situation.

(v) Garbage can model

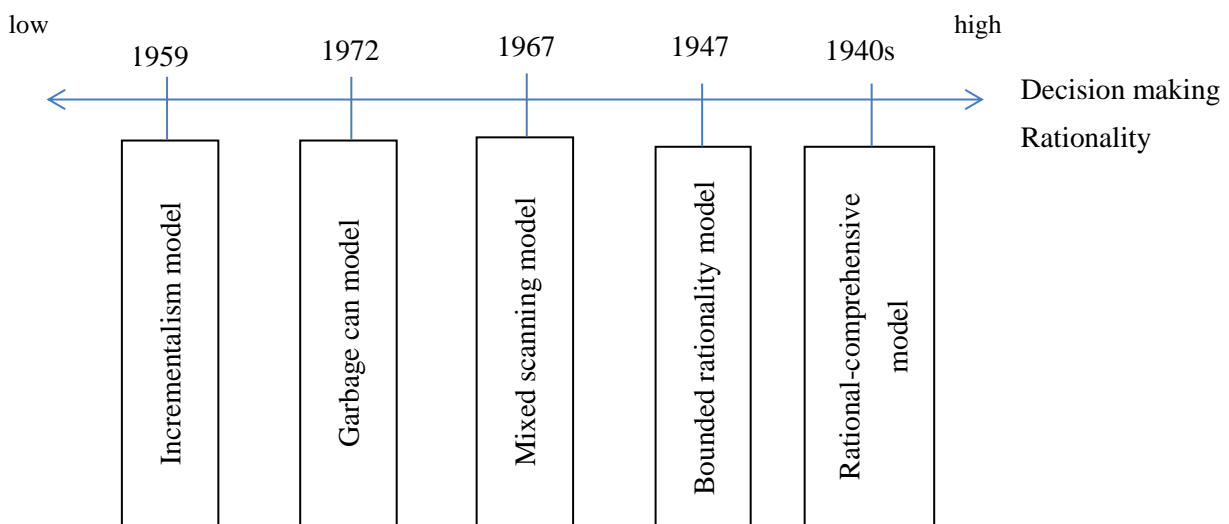
The garbage can decision making model first appeared in Cohen, March and Olsen's (1972) journal article 'A garbage can model of organizational choice' which raised discussion of the core concept of 'organised anarchies' in the process of decision making. Organized anarchies are constituted by three properties: problematic preferences, unclear technology, and fluid participation. The first property of 'problematic preferences' means that the operation of an organisation is built on 'a variety of inconsistent and ill-defined preference' and suggests that preference is formulated through action (p.1). The second property of 'unclear technology' denotes that the operational procedure of an organisation is not always understood by its members and the practical operation depends on the basis of 'simple trial-and-error procedures, the residue of learning from the accidents of past experience, and pragmatic inventions of necessity' (p.1). The third property of 'fluid participation' signified that varied participants make efforts and time in different domains that leads to 'the boundaries of the organization are uncertain and changing' (p.1). Due to these three properties, Cohen, March and Olsen (1972) indicated that decision making is closely related to four streams, each independent and exogenous to a system, within an organisation: a stream of problems, a stream of energy from participants, a stream of participants and a rate of flow of choice opportunity. Hence, according to the garbage can model, policy formulation lies in the interaction between the four streams rather than the use of either comprehensive or bounded rationality. The meaning of the garbage can model in the process of decision making is 'one in which problems, solutions, and participants move from one choice opportunity to another in such a way that the nature of the choice, the time it takes, and the problems it solves all depend on a relatively complicated intermeshing of element' (Cohen, March and Olsen, 1972, p.16). In practical terms, as mentioned in the earlier discussion of agenda setting, Kingdon (2013) applied the garbage can model and argued that whether the policy window in agenda setting is open depends on the interaction between policy problems and the policy and politics streams.

Comparison of the approaches to decision making

The different approaches based upon the various assumptions and theoretical arguments can be discussed in three aspects. First, the notion of rationality plays an important part at the centre of decision making approach. This consideration among different approaches reflects the causal relations between the different levels of rationality and the production of potential alternatives. It was noted that the spectrum of rationality can be seen as the evolution of how

decision making theory can explain the appropriateness and feasibility of policy formulation to reduce disjunction between conceptual application and realistic policy making process. Second, following the first aspect, the relations between the decision making approach and the characteristics of the policy context need to be considered. For example, the purpose of the high rational-driven model is to maximise the benefits in the policy making that is outcome based criteria for choosing the potential strategies, but oblivious to the contextual factors and organisational structure. In contrast, the low rational-driven model is to stress the legitimacy of the policy making process to reach agreement, yet perhaps loses sight of the possibility of rational thinking. However, this dual contradiction, to some extent, romanticises the use of individualised reason and experience to seek appropriate solutions to the social problems and deemphasises the ‘exercise of power’ in the decision making system embedded in a social world. Third, following the second aspect, the five main approaches zero in on the ‘depoliticised way of decision making’ and disregards ‘unquantifiable social values’, such as human rights and social justice. As argued by Schumpeter’s theory of democracy, political decision making depends on those who ‘acquire the power to decide by means of competitive struggle for the people’s vote’ (Schumpeter, 1975:269). The politics of decision making in the policy making process brings attention to the notion of whose interests can be considered within a political arena.

Figure 4.1: The Different Levels of Rationality in Decision Making Approach



Sources: revised from Simon (1947); Lindblom (1959); Etzioni (1967); Cohen, March and Olsen (1972)

Policy implementation

Following the discussion of agenda setting and policy formulation, this section reviews the development of policy implementation research since 1970s. Policy implementation is also called the ‘missing link’ in the field of policy analysis research. After the publication of Implementation: How Great Expectations in Washington are Dashed in Oakland by Pressman and Wildavsky in 1973, policy implementation gradually raised public concern with its emphasis on exploring the differences between policy making and policy implementation. This section will elicit the meaning of policy implementation, the development of policy implementation and reflect on agency, power and policy implementation.

The nature and meaning of policy implementation

The nature and meaning of policy implementation was unexplored until Pressman and Wildavsky (1973, p.166) reflected on the literature of policy implementation, claiming that ‘except for the few pieces mentioned in the body of this book, we have been unable to find any significant analytic work dealing with implementation’. The earlier definition of policy implementation can be traced back to Willams’s (1971, p.144) statement that ‘an inquiry about implementation seeks to determine whether an organization can bring together men and material in a cohesive organisation unit and motivate them in such a way as to carry out the organization’s stated objectives’. Pressman and Wildavsky (1973, p. xiv) also argued that ‘lack of implementation should not refer to failure to get going but to inability to follow through’. Van Meter and Van Horn (1975, p.447) clearly defined that ‘policy implementation encompasses those actions by public and private individuals (or groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions.’ The initial exploration of the meaning of policy implementation centres on the connection between clear policy objectives and the fulfilment of objectives. Matland (1995) reviewed the past policy implementation research and construct a matrix framework of policy implementation with an emphasis on the variables of conflict and ambiguity. As analysed and synthesised by Matland (1995), this framework generally assumed that ‘the level of policy conflict directly affects the ease of access to the implementation process’ (p.157)’ and ‘the degree of ambiguity inherent in a policy directly affects the implementation process in significant ways’ (p.159). Matland’s conceptual categorisation is based upon distinct principles in association with power, resources, contextual condition and coalition strength and these four types include administrative implementation, political implementation, experimental implementation and

symbolic implementation. The first notion of administrative implementation by low ambiguity and low conflict refers to that fact that the central principle is that outcomes are determined by resources and this type is seen as 'traditional public administrative practices' (p.160). In the second notion of political implementation by low ambiguity and high conflict refers to that 'central principle is that outcomes are decided by power' (p.163) and bargaining power is a key to reaching agreement. In the third notion of experimental implementation by high ambiguity and low conflict the 'central principle is that contextual conditions dominate the process' and outcomes depend heavily on the resources and actors present in the microimplementing environment' (pp.165-166). The fourth notion of symbolic implementation by high ambiguity and high conflict refers to the central principle that local level coalitional strength determines the outcome and the policy course is determined by the coalition of factors at the local level who control the available resource (p.168). This matrix framework also laid a sound foundation for de Leon and de Leon's (2002) elaboration on the democratic approach to policy implementation research. de Leon and de Leon (2002, p.468) further argued that 'policy implementation has too often been practiced as a top-down or governing-elite phenomenon and that its study and practice would be much better served were its practitioners to adopt a more participatory, more directly democratic orientation'. The following continues to discuss the different models of policy implementation and explore the main debates between different models.

The development and evolving models of policy implementation

The evolution of policy implementation research can be divided into four generations and, in general, each generation attempts to explore the underpinning assumptions of implementation research and elaborate on the limitations of previous generation in the level of methodology and epistemology. The central issues surrounding this section are 'how the policy can be implemented' and 'who implement the policy'.

(i) The first generation of policy implementation

The concern of the first generation was the top-down model (also called forward mapping). This model assumes that the structure of administration is state-centred and hierarchical underpinned by Weberian and Taylorian classical administrative science. This also means that politicians tend to be responsible for policy making while the street-level bureaucrats are in charge of implementing policy. Accordingly, the division of labour between policy making

and policy implementation is clear-cut yet successive. Various top-down models were put forward by policy analysts, such as Pressman and Wildavsky (1973), Bardach (1977), Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) and Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979), Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983). In terms of methodological concern, this generation focused more on scientific causal relations between independent variables and dependent variables within the process of policy implementation. For example, Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980) addressed 17 independent variables that could affect policy implementation. However, this generation placed more emphasis on the exploration of case studies (such as Pressman and Wildavsky's policy implementation research in Oakland) rather than the construction of theoretical models that only accounts for the applicability of regulative and redistributive policy. According to Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979, pp.487-492), six criteria are used to measure the effectiveness of policy implementation: (1) 'clear and consistent objectives'; (2) 'adequate causal theory'; (3) 'implementation process legally structured to enhance compliance by implementing officials and target groups'; (4) 'committed and skilful implementing officials'; (5) 'support of interest groups and sovereigns'; (6) 'changes in socio-economic conditions which do not substantially undermine political support or causal theory'. In other words, the criterion for judging the effectiveness of policy implementation is a goal-achievement orientation set by policy makers. However, this generation was criticised for its the overemphasis on the single case exploration and the absence of sufficient theoretical frameworks in justifying the generalisability of non-accumulative case study to other relevant policy implementation practices.

(ii) The second generation of policy implementation

Following the top-down model, the second generation of policy implementation moved to discussed the potential alternative notion of bottom-up model (also called backward mapping), such as Lipsky (1971, 1980), Elmore (1980), Hjern and Porter (1981), Hjern (1982), Hjern and Hull (1982), Edward III (1980). Elmore's (1980:604) backward mapping 'explicitly questioned the assumption that policymakers ought to, or do, exercise the determinant influence over what happens in the implementation'. This model challenged the rational model of top-down supervision and argued that policy implementation could be seen as an outcome of interaction between different policy actors and stakeholders. Hence, in terms of methodological concern, the network empirical analysis was used to explore the relations between policy actors with reference to policy implementation (Hjern and Porter,

1981; Hjern, 1982; Hjern and Hull, 1982). For example, Edward III (1980) argued that there are four key variables that could influence policy implementation, such as communication, resources, dispositions (or attitudes), and bureaucratic structure. Moreover, the most influential discussion in this model is that the role of local officials (or called street-level bureaucrats termed by Lipsky) in policy implementation research. Lipsky (1980) argued that street-level bureaucrats directly interact with target population in their daily service work and, most importantly, have the discretionary power to implement public policy. Hill and Hupe (2002) also mentioned the main contribution of Lipsky's work in this model and that Lipsky's justification for methodological strategies placed emphasis on street-level bureaucrats rather than traditional policy makers, on the one hand, and his argument clearly explained the contingent relations between top-down objectives and the success of policy implementation on the other hand. To be brief, the bottom-up model stressed the importance of bureaucrat's discretionary power with a dispersal of control rather than authoritative power with hierarchical command. The model could be widely applied in self-regulatory policy and distributive policy.

(iii) The third generation of policy implementation

The main concern of the third generation was to integrate the two previous models into a practical one, such as Ripley and Franklin (1982), Elmore (1985), Sabatier (1986), and Goggin, Bowman, Lester, and O'Toole (1990). Sabatier (1986) reviewed the top-down and bottom-up models and provided an integrative model of 'Advocacy Coalition Framework' (ACF). Sabatier's (1988, p.145) framework placed the three belief systems at the centre of this framework with reference to policy change and policy oriented learning, including deep core beliefs (personal philosophy), policy core beliefs (policy area of interest) and secondary aspects (specific to policy/ subsystem of interest). Sabatier (1988) further argued that various coalitions within a policy subsystem, defined as 'set of actors who are involved in dealing with a policy problem' (p.138), compete with each other on the same policy issue based upon their own policy brief (as flexible secondary aspects) and resources and the role of policy brokers would help reduce the conflicts and then make the workable alternatives to policy decision with government authorities. Another synthetic attempt was the model of intergovernmental policy implementation by Goggin, Bowman, Lester, and O'Toole (1990). Goggin, Bowman, Lester, and O'Toole (1990) constructed three variables to explain the process of policy implementation, such as independent variables (Federal level inducement

and constrains and state and local level inducement and constrains), intervening variables (state capacity and state decision outcome) and dependent variables (state implementation). The difference between these two models is that Sabatier's model put a spotlight on coalition alliance and their subsystem belief and the Goggin and his colleagues' model shed light on the political dynamics of intergovernmental interaction. Goggin (1986, p.342) pointed out that the problem of 'too few cases and too many variables' in policy implementation research that brought about many unanswered questions in the first and second generation, embracing 'the different types of implementation', 'the causal patterns associated with these outcomes', 'the frequency with which they occur', and 'the relative importance and unique effects of various factors on implementation performance'.

(iv) The fourth generation of policy implementation

The fourth generation can be traced back to de Leon's (1999) revisited missing link of policy implementation research. de Leon's (1999) and de Leon and de Leon (2002) reviewed the policy implementation research and put forward three suggestions: (i) policy implementation research should take democratic process into consideration (such as how to apply the 'communicative rationality' and 'discursive democracy' in policy implementation research); (ii) the use of methodology should be extended to post-positivist which could, to some extent, largely resonate with the democratic orientation of policy implementation; (iii) the researchers should reconsider both the contribution of failure and success cases rather than focus on the failure one (such as the overemphasis on failure case study in the first generation). This generation also created a new era in the study of governance, such as Hill and Hupe's 'three levels of governance' (2002) and later revision of 'the multiple governance framework' (2009), Schofield and Sausman's (2004) 'post-national governance', Exworthy and Powell's (2004) 'policy window of congested state'. These above models are contingent on different political structures (such as centralised state, decentralised state, and 'supernational' organisations) and issues of policy implementation. All in all, this generation absorbed the previous three generations' research experience and broadened the spectrum of methodology and epistemology, such as striking the balance between theoretical framework and policy implementation work, and between positivism and post-positivism, and between political (governance) structure and democratic consideration.

Comparison of four policy implementation generations

Since the 1970s, policy implementation research has experienced four generations and each one demonstrated its characteristics in dealing with the notion of how policy can be successfully implemented. The first generation highlights the importance of hierarchical structure and the authority of policy makers in the course of policy implementation and the use of positivism and rationalism also helps the researchers to judge the effectiveness of policy implementation. The second generation, in contrast, stressed the role of local officials and street level bureaucrats on the frontline of policy practice whose exercise of discretionary power may determine whether policy can be successfully implemented. The second generation reflected on the limitations of the positivist approach to policy implementation and the postpositivist critical multiplism should be taken into consideration in exploring the multiple perspectives of policy implementation (Fox, 1990). The third generation synthesised the debate between top-downers and bottom-uppers and evaluated the compatibility of implantation case study and theoretical framework. The scope of policy implementation makes an attempt to study the organisation-based operation of coalition alliances and intergovernmental interaction. The fourth generation focused more on the multiple models of democratic governance and this also challenged the myopic vision of policy implementation that is limited by the central position of policy makers, peripheral position of street-level bureaucrats and target populations of different social issues. According to the development of policy implementation research, two primary contributions in policy research are concluded. First, the multi-dimensional concepts, theories and methodologies are widely used to explore the possibility of democratic governance in solving the social problems and achieving the idea of social justice. Second, as Brokdin (1990) argued, implementation can be viewed as a channel for policy politics. Notably, the politics of policy implementation reminds us to question the notion of who and how implement the public policy in the political arena and to be critical of how the government depoliticises and obscures the dynamics of policy implementation through evaluating the outcome and output of policy performance.

Reviewing School Anti-bullying Policy Research

Bullying policy is embedded in different cultural and social contexts. So far, however, there has been little discussion and agreement on the school bullying in different cultural contexts. In this section, four parts are identified to discuss the relations between contextual factors and

school bullying, including traditional values system in school bullying research, general and specific trend of school anti-bullying policy and the reflection on sequential logic of anti-bullying policy process.

The Traditional Value System and School Bullying

Cross-cultural research conducted by Schwartz (1992) in more than seventy different kinds of cultures developed a ten point value typology which was based upon different goals, including power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, benevolence, tradition, conformity, security and universalism. Specifically, the value typology was classified as three interests comprising individual interest (power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction), collective interest (benevolence, tradition, conformity) and mixed interest (security and universalism). Hofstede (1980, 1991, 2001), a social psychologist, has initiated cross-cultural comparisons between western and eastern societies. His series of studies found that most western countries belong to the cultural tradition of individualism, whereas most eastern countries, especially China, is regarded as having collectivist cultural traditions.

Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk and Gelfand (1995) outlined a theoretical framework comprising the two dimensions of individualism and collectivism, including vertical and horizontal dimensions. Vertical individualism refers to becoming distinguished and acquiring status by competition with others. Horizontal individualism can be defined as being eager to be distinct from the group and seeing individuals as equal based upon worth, dignity and rights. By contrast, the term vertical collectivism is generally understood to mean emphasizing in-group cohesion, norms and respect and submission to authoritative figures. Horizontal collectivism is sometimes equated with common goal and interdependence. Georgiou, Fousiani, Michaelides, and Stavrinides (2013) have adapted a framework of two dimensions of individualism and collectivism to examine the cultural value orientation, authoritative parenting and bullying at school. The study concluded that vertical individualism was a mediator between authoritarian parental style and bullying tendency. Japanese researcher pointed out that Japan was existing competitive exam culture and students take little time in bullying, which explained the reason why the rates of bullying have declined with age (Feldman, 1998).

A growing body of literature has incorporated a distinct cultural framework to investigate the cultural variations in school bullying. For example, Unnever and Cornell (2003) and

Bradshaw and Waasdorp (2009) have investigated the culture of bullying in middle schools and contended that it is a pervasive phenomenon among school students. Preliminary work on the value system of school bullying was undertaken by Nesdale and Naito (2005) who adopted the two cultural conceptions, collectivism and individualism, to compare the students' attitudes toward group-based bullying in Japan (as a representative of collectivism) and Australia (as a representative of individualism). The results revealed that Japanese participants demonstrated a greater probability of bullying, and a lower probability of helping a victim than those of Australians. Hussein's (2009) research greatly resembled Nesdale and Naito's and indicated that high levels of bullying in collectivistic context would be attributable to authoritarian parenting. Contrary to related findings, cross-national research conducted by Bergeron and Schneider (2005) investigated relations between cultural values and aggression. They showed that collectivism with high moral discipline, egalitarian commitment, tolerance for uncertainty and appreciating Confucian values was associated with lower levels of aggression. Research by Le and Stockdale (2005) seemed compatible with those of Bergeron and Schneider (2005) and found that individualism was highly pertinent to self-reported delinquency, while collectivism was seen to be less relevant to delinquency. According to the results of previous studies, there is no clear consensus, let alone directional causation, on whether the values of collectivism or individualism are the cause of prevalence as well as high levels of school bullying.

General Trend of School Anti-bullying Policies and Programmes

After World War II, the United Nations (UN) reiterated the importance of human rights and human dignity. The members of UN signed The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 as a milestone of human rights development. At that time, children's rights did not deserve much attention on the international agenda until the signing of Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989. As mentioned in Chapter 3, bullying research was initiated in Scandinavia during the 1970s which was very close to the signing of the international convention. This means that there is a breakthrough in children's rights as a part of the broader human rights agenda. Some have argued that the casual relationship between bullying research and the connection on children's rights is weak and could be viewed as the notion of 'elective affinities' or 'contingent relations' because of the lack of empirical support and historical analysis, but the children's rights movement has been the subject of much discussion and debate ever since.

During the 1970s, another historical factor was the rise of Neo-Marxism which provided a critical framework in the analysis of school disorder. Neo-Marxist researchers attributed school disorder to class conflict between the middle and working classes which followed the development of capitalism and neoliberalism, such as Bowls and Gintis (1976), Willis (1977), Bernstein (1971). Most of these works departed from the perspective of the sociology of education focusing instead on how capitalism shapes and reproduces the class culture in schools. But there was a noticeable absence of research projects dealing with the relations between school bullying as a part of class conflict and educational policies of the welfare state. With the progressive development of children's rights awareness, anti-bullying policies have become embedded in liberal reforms appeals and this has resulted in discussion in the political arena and academia in many countries.

Specific Contexts and Anti-bullying Policies and Programmes

According to Farrington and Ttofi's (2009) analysis, nearly 600 reports were identified globally and 59 of these could be used in the systematic review as they met the necessary high quality standard. The rationale for the selection of anti-bullying policies for this research drew on that of Farrington and Ttofi (2009) and three criteria were established. First, countries should be a member of OECD and UN because these two organisations publish periodic evaluation reports of bullying policies and organise network meetings about bullying policies, such as the OECD's International Network on School Bullying and Violence (2008). Second, the policy review primarily focuses on English speaking countries due to the language limitations of the authors as well as to ensure consistent usage of terminology. Third, the countries should have a substantial body of bullying research and high quality evaluation reports. According to these three criteria, four countries were chosen for analysis in this policy review: the UK, Norway, the US and Australia. To be concrete, the main purpose of choosing these four countries was largely based upon the historicity of anti-bullying policy agendas which could highlight the importance of the interaction between historical contexts and policy evolution.

In response to anti-bullying social movements, the UK published a series of government reports, such as Don't Suffer in Silence: An Anti-bullying Pack for Schools (DfES, 2002), Bullying: Effective Action in Secondary School (DfES, 2003), Bullying- A Charter for Action, 'Safeguarding Children in Education (DfES, 2004), Bullying around Racism and

Culture (DfES, 2006), Stand up for Us: Challenging Homophobia in Schools (DfES, 2005), Anti-Bullying Toolkit for Local Authorities (DCSF, 2007), Bullying: A Charter for Action (DCSF, 2007), Cyberbullying: A Whole-School Community Issue (DCSF, 2007), Cyberbullying, Safe to Learn: Embedding Anti-Bullying Work in School (DCSF, 2007), Bullying involving Children with Special Education Needs and Disabilities (DCSF, 2008), Tellus4 National Report (DCSF, 2010) and Characteristic of Bullying Victims in School (DCSF, 2010). These reports also integrated the various issues of class, gender, race and disability into the process of policy making. The most important causal factor is attributed to multiple racial relations in British society which are characteristic of different religious and cultural traditions, where racism could easily become a trigger for school bullying.

Roland (2011, p.384) analysed the historical development of the Norwegian manifesto against bullying, including National Pupil Study on Bullying (2001), The King and Prime Minister Address the Nation (2002), Manifesto-I is Launched (2002), National Pupil Study on Bullying (2004), Study on School Effort (2004), Manifesto-I Summing up Conference (2004), Manifesto II is Launched (2006), National Pupil Study on Bullying (2008). According to Norwegian experience in dealing with school bullying, investigations were conducted in 2001, 2004, and 2008 between Manifesto-I and Manifesto II to evaluate the effectiveness of anti-bullying policies in Norway.

In the US, after 1999, the legislative authorities of each state commenced to pass anti-bullying laws and policies to regulate the responsibilities and obligations of local schools and communities (Bully Police USA, 2003). The US legislative process on school bullying is primarily based upon traditional human rights acts, including Title VI of the civil right Act of 1964, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, Section 504 of the rehabilitation Act of 1973, Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990. These human rights acts incorporated contemporary human rights thinking into the making of anti-bullying policies, such as prohibiting discrimination of race, colour and nationality (Title VI), of sexual orientations and gender identity (Title IX) and of disabilities (Section 504 & Title II) (United State Department of Education, 2011). The famous bullying programs adopted in the US schools are The Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme (OBPP) (1991), The Power of One Foundation (1999), Linking the Interests of Family and Teachers (1991), The Incredible Years (2006), Bullying-What's Your Plan (2003), Positive Youth Development (2008). The Norwegian Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme (1991) in the US schools has

successfully reduced bullying rates by 50% (Bully Police USA, 2003). The programme *Bullying-What's your plan* (2003) recorded one case of a child's death from school bullying invoking public concerns and finally contributed to the signing and making of anti-bullying laws in Vermont.

In Australia, people are fond of aggressive sports, such as boxing and rugby, which are primarily characteristic of masculine dispositions and related to school bullying through social imitation and social learning (Rigby & Slee, 1999). Rigby and Slee (1991) published the first Australian bullying report and pointed to the prevalence of bullying and its negative effects on students. In 1994, the Australian government issued *Sticks and Stones: Report on Violence in Australian Schools* which aimed to terminate school bullying and violent behaviour and create friendly environments for students to study. The Australian Government, one of the first developed countries to do so, outlined an integrated policy of National Safe School Framework in 2002 and devoted to the prevention of violence, bullying and other aggressive behaviour among the youths (Cross et al., 2011). The Australian Government in collaboration with state and territorial government (2011) has declared the 18th of March as a National Day of Action Against Bullying and Violence and a different main issue is chosen every year on that day, such as the issue of 'Bystander Behaviour' in 2011. Slee (2011) positively responded the nation-wide policy and adopted the strategy of restorative practice which was derived from the field of judicial system and stressed the high support and high control within societies, in the Australian anti-bullying programmes, called 'P.E.A.C.E. Pack'. The philosophical idea of this programme is to emphasise that 'restorative justice' applied in schools needs to be supported by 'the harmed', 'the harmer' and 'communities'. In 2009, Edith Cowan University (Western Australia) published a report entitled *Australian Covert Bullying Prevalence Study (ACBPS)* within the context of NSSF to stress the complexity of bullying types and called for the government authorities to take account of social media bullying (Cross et al., 2011).

Reflection on Sequential Logic of Anti-bullying Policies and programmes

As was mentioned above, the assumptions of bullying policies and programmes are laying the foundation of 'cause and effect' thinking toward bullying incidents and ignoring a holistic analysis of those incidents as a whole. This means that effective policies and programmes may reduce bullying rates, but the results always suggested that the trend of bullying rates

was on the rise (Rigby & Smith, 2011). A sequential logic could be concluded based upon the historical experience and social events from different countries. The sequential logic of policy making is mainly divided into five stages and each stage is discussed and exemplified in the following.

The First Stage of Bullying Incidents

Bullying incidents are the dynamic and interactive outcome of peers in a specific time and field, by which is meant 'social embeddedness' rather than 'individual behaviour'. The causal relations of bullying incidents determine the way in which people take actions against bullying. Most countries have started to treat anti-bullying as a part of the political agenda due to the fact that bullying incidents which challenged the baseline of social norms have caused social panic. Historically, one question that needs to be considered is whether the incident is socially constructed by social norms in specific historical and political contexts. For the sake of clarity, bullying incidents raised by public awareness depend on a set of values and a cultural system. Therefore, the assumption that bullying incidents are attributed to the linear casual processes of psychological behaviourism has been questioned (Franberg & Wrethander, 2012).

The Second Stage of Raising the Public Concern

The reports of the mass media have been important in laying the groundwork for understanding how the public were informed about bullying incidents. People from different countries will adopt different strategies to arouse public concerns. For example, people may stage a protest march and call for legislation against school anti-bullying. Taking the Australian experience as an example, the historical meaning of the 'National Day of Action against Bullying and Violence' is symbolic of not only raising the public concern but stressing the sense of national morality and obligations as well. But if the severity of bullying incidents could not be perceived by the public, the process of policy making would not emerge.

The Third Stage of Releasing Research and Reports

As mentioned in Chapter 2, government authorities and researchers have embarked on bullying research and demonstrated the prevalence of school bullying and its negative impact

on students. It is obvious that the level of public concern would determine either ‘issue setting’ or ‘issue formation’ of social research (Akiba, 2004; Smith, Ananiadou & Cowie, 2003). The perspectives of bullying research and reports will have influence on the ideological presumptions of the making of anti-bullying policies and laws. The discourses of bullying reports and research are primarily based upon the behavioural perspectives of psychology, criminology and health studies, and easily caused, to a lesser and greater extent, discontinuity between specific historical contexts and policy making.

The Fourth Stage of Policy Formulation

The process of policy and law making is mainly based upon political ideologies and research outcomes. Many countries directly translated anti-bullying policies and laws from other countries (Franberg & Wrethander, 2012). For example, The Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme (1991) has been widely applied in the US and other European countries, and anti-bullying policies in the US have had a great impact on European countries such as Sweden (Franberg & Wrethander, 2012). Therefore, the policies and laws are not necessarily deeply rooted in social realities and historical contexts. Another ideological question that needs to be judged is how the government maintained the school order by conservative institutions and means to secure the legitimacy of governance.

The Fifth Stage of the Policy Implementation

Different anti-bullying approaches have been implemented by local school districts, such as ‘whole-school approach’ (Heinrichs, 2003; Richard, Schneider, & Mallet, 2012; Suckling & Temple, 2002; Wong, Cheng, Ngan, & Ma, 2011) and ‘community approach’ (Byrne, 1994; Herbert, 1997; Srabstein et al., 2008). Several studies have discussed the effectiveness of whole-school approach and provided different outcomes. On the one hand, Wong, Cheng, Ngan and Ma (2011) found that a restorative school approach programme could successfully tackle the school bullying. On the other hand, Richard, Schneider and Mallet (2012) conducted a meta-analysis of whole-school approach and found that whole school intervention had limited success in tackling school bullying. The policy implementation of anti-bullying policy is primarily limited by the quantitative comparison of bullying rates rather than viewing the effectiveness of bullying policy as a whole. Recent studies that attempted to establish reflexive relations between social realities and anti-bullying policies embedded in specific context have not been very successful.

Policy Process Theories and School Anti-bullying Policy Research

Broadly speaking, policy science can be categorised as having two dimensions, policy content and policy process analysis (Garson, 1971). The former based upon logical-positivism deals with the notion of how the scientific evidence supports the mode of policy making with the help of instrumental policy tool. In contrast, the latter underlines the role of politics and organisational context. Unlike the former's synoptic perspective of policy analysis, the latter concentrates on pluralistic argument to examine the dynamics of policy making. According to Anderson's (2003, p.19) reflection on policy making, 'rules and structural arrangements are usually not neutral in their effects; rather, they tend to favour some interests in society over others and some policy results over others'.

On the basis of the literature review, the current anti-bullying policy research overemphasises the fact that scientific evidence of logical positivism can reduce and improve the rates of school bullying, yet overlooks the possibility of 'humanitarian democracy' in dealing with the bullying issues. As could be seen, little research is available on the applicability of policy process theories and anti-bullying policy research. In other words, the policy process theories may provide an alternative framework for exploring the dynamics of anti-bullying policy making process in understanding the interaction between organisational structure and policy stakeholders.

First, the exploration of the policy process departs from how agenda setting can be successfully activated. According to the sequential logic of anti-bullying policy making, the awareness of bullying incidents, raising the public concern and releasing the bullying report can be seen as a dynamic process of agenda setting. According to the Kingdon's (2013) theory, the focus of this stage is to analyse how the policy window can be opened to and in what ways the politics of bullying issue become possible in governmental agenda. The extended concern is to highlight whose interests can be placed in agenda setting and how the different interests can be compromised in the context political arena. Second, the inquiry moves to explore how anti-bullying policy can be formulated. In particular, this stage needs to be reconsidered how policy tools can be politically employed and whose values dominate the policy design in the policy formulation process. The politics of policy formulation directs our attention to uncovering how the discourse of power could be legitimately incorporated in policy formulation in the name of scientific rationality and administrative neutrality.

Exploring the debate between the government authorities and different social groups is a channel for capturing the political ideologies and policy value system behind the policy formulation. Third, the concern of policy implementation is to clarify the roles of policy makers and policy implementers (such as street-level bureaucrats) and further reflect on the modes of governance (such as top-down and bottom-up model) in the course of policy implementation. As far as anti-bullying policy is concerned, the contending notions of ‘statute authority’ (used in top-down model) and ‘discretionary power’ (used in top-down model) in policy implementation research should be seriously taken into consideration and is closely related to the pursuit of humanitarian democratic governance in place of authoritative social control.

What we argue here is that the policy process theories could provide an alternative framework for analysing the causal logic of school anti-bullying policy making (Table 4.1) and further make a thorough inquiry of power struggle through the different stakeholders’ ideological discourses. However, the current policy process research is somewhat limited by the absence of analysis of the interaction between the mechanism of policy structure, the activation of policy process and the agency of policy stakeholders. Chapter five will continue to compare the various meta-theories in the field of ontology, epistemology and methodology in search of potential analytical policy framework that could be compatible with policy process theories.

Table: 4.1 Alternative Framework of Policy Process in School Anti-bullying Policy Research

| | Agenda setting | Policy formulation | Policy implementation |
|---------------------|--|---|---|
| Conceptual meaning | issues become the focus of concern and interest within a polity | alternatives or options for dealing with a social problem | actions that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions |
| Key concepts | systemic and institutional agenda | policy instruments and policy decision approaches | Top-down (statue authority) and bottom-up (discretion) governance |
| Policy participants | Civil groups, policy makers, media reporters | Civil groups, policy makers, policy research think tanks | Policy makers, school teachers, principals disciplinary administrators |
| policy implication | How the anti-bullying policy window can be opened and how the different interests can be compromised | How the policy be formulated and whose values can be served in anti-bullying policy formulation | How the anti-bullying policy can be implemented and the possible the democratic governance could be practised |

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the policy process theories and school anti-bullying policy research. The first part explored the development of policy process theories, including agenda setting, policy formulation and policy implementation. These three sequential processes what mechanism agenda can be set and policy can be formulated and then implementation that bring our attention to the issue of politics of public policy. The second part re-examined the school anti-bullying policy research. The review of this part began with an exploration of tradition value system (such as individualism and collectivism) in anti-bullying research which, to some extent, is similar to Sabatier's account of belief system in 'Coalition Alliance Framework' and also explored the general and specific trend of school anti-bullying policy making. The rest of this part critically reflected on the sequential logic of school anti-bullying policy and considers the possibility of capturing holistic landscape and comprehensive continuum of policy formation. The third part attempted to justify how the policy process theories can be incorporated in the school anti-bullying policy research and then specify the implications of policy process theories in each stage in pursuit of objective social fact of school anti-bullying policy making. Notably, this alternative policy framework could be conducive to making a powerful connection between neglected mechanism of policy structure and observable school anti-bullying practice in association with the sociological inquiry of interaction between social structure and agency in the field of policy research.

CHAPTER 5

SCHOOL ANTI-BULLYING POLICY IN TAIWAN: METHODOLOGY, METHODS AND ETHICAL ISSUES

Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to explain the methodological foundations of the thesis and, the method it employs. The first part accounts for the ontological and epistemological perspectives of critical realism and then justifies the application of critical realism to anti-bullying policy in Taiwan. The use of critical realism is based upon an integration of the strengths and drawbacks of the previous three chapters reviews (Chapter 2 to 4) in order to go beyond an analytical and normative approach and policy construction and deconstruction. The second part interprets the methodological perspectives of critical realism and constructs the methodological framework which echoes the ontological and epistemological perspective. The third part introduces the fieldwork in Taiwan, including central government sectors, non-profit organisations (local civil groups), academia and local schools. The fourth part illuminates the applicability of realist qualitative research and some ethical issues with regard to critical policy analysis.

The Philosophical Grounding: Ontological and Epistemological Perspective of Critical Realism

In this section the assumption and meaning of realism, critical realism and relativism are discussed, including ontological and epistemological perspectives. Specifically, the former deals with the nature of social reality while the latter explores the relations between the knower and social reality. The stance of ontology and epistemology will determine the way in which the methodological framework and methods will be employed in discussing social issues. Five sections will be introduced in this part to explain differences between ontological and epistemological perspectives, including the philosophical argument of different ontological and epistemological perspective and the justification of the appropriateness of critical realism in the school anti-bullying policy research.

The Assumption and Meaning of Realism, Critical Realism and Social Constructionism

As far as ontological assumptions are concerned, the debate between realism and social constructionism in social science has lasted a long time. The relation between realism and science/social science was well sketched out by Sayer (2000) and Bhaskar (1979) who explained the ontological foundations of science and social science. With regard to the assumption of realism in the application of social science, realism premised that there is a fixed reality and general laws (or social regularities) in social world and the logic of knowledge discovery is to explore the casual relations between different variables applied in a value-free system (such as a causation of human behaviour and social events) (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). However, social constructionism rejected the fixed and pre-existing reality, an 'ontological relativism', and claimed that reality was captured by socially constructed experience and ideologies generally applied in the field of social science (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Burr, 1998; Kukla, 2000; Miller & Holstein, 1993).

Bhaskar was the one of founders of critical realism in the 1970s and he explained the differences of 'being' between the 'natural world' and the 'social world' and explored the deeper 'generative mechanism' which referred to 'the causal powers of ways of acting of structured things' (Bhaskar, 1998, p.197) grounded in the structure of social reality. Bhaskar's (1975) early work on the philosophy of science was called 'transcendental realism' in which The Possibility of Naturalism (1979) which was seen as 'critical naturalism' in the philosophy of social science. Critical realism was widely used by other scholars at that time, such as Collier (1994), and differs from the notion of realism based upon the presumption of the 'nature of reality' (Kemp, 2005). Bhaskar (1979) pointed out the positivists' misunderstanding of natural science and suggested that the main task of critical realism is to shift the focus from epistemology to ontology within the field of philosophy and to focus 'events' and 'state of affairs' on 'structure' and 'mechanism' within the field of ontology. Bhaskar's analysis of social science and natural science lays a solid foundation for subsequent discussion of critical educational policy research, such as Wilmott (2002) and Scott (2013).

Two main contributions were made by Bhaskar's critical realism, the distinction between intransitive and transitive dimensions and the three domains of reality, including the domain of the empirical, the domain of the actual and the domain of the real. Bhaskar (1979)

explained the meaning of the 'intransitive' as well as 'transitive' dimensions. The former explained that all research subjects were independent of human knowing, and the latter recognised that scientific knowledge, theory and discourse could be adopted, integrated and even revised. The distinction clarified the confusion between 'the nature of social world' and 'the knowing of the social world' and Bhaskar's account was critical of 'empirical realism' which mistook the ontological understanding that the 'domain of the empirical is equal to the domain of the real'. The second was followed by the first demonstration which compared the three different domains of reality. The first domain of the real is composed of the 'generative mechanism' which is independent of human's existence or acts, such as capitalism or bureaucracy. Then, the second domain of the actual explained 'event' or 'state of affairs' was exercised by the 'generative mechanism', such as oppression from capitalism or bureaucracy. The third domain of the empirical referred to the fact that subjects could be experienced and observed by human beings, such as the economic analysis of substantial exploitation. The intransitive and transitive dimensions are closely interwoven with the analysis of the three domains of reality which dismantled the elusive ontological contradiction between the philosophies of social science and natural science. Bhaskar (1979, p.12) clearly distinguished the roles and meaning between the transitive and intransitive dimensions in the discussion of the philosophy of science:

If the objects of our knowledge exist and act independently of the knowledge of which they are the objects, it is equally the case that such knowledge as we actually possess always consists in historically specific social forms. Thus to think our way clearly in the philosophy of science we need to constitute a transitive dimension or philosophical sociology to complement the intransitive dimension or philosophical ontology already established.

According to Bhaskar, the social meaning of critical realism was categorised into macro and micro dimensions. In the macro dimension, social reality is driven by specific ideological mechanisms within historical structure which is intransitive to human beings. In the micro dimension, in contrast, social reality is dominated by those who seize the power with regard to the authoritative allocation of social resources and social values within social structure which is belonging to the domain of the actual and empirical. Taking the macro and micro dimensions into consideration, in an attempt to be approaching the 'social world' rather than the 'natural world', not only facilitated broad understanding of interplay between structure (generative mechanism) and agency (power struggles, or also called 'state of affairs') but also distinguished the ontological differences between the 'natural world' and the 'social world' .

Examining Existing Explanations of School Bullying from a Critical Realist Perspective

Ontologically, bullying research is based upon the assumptions of the realist tradition and allowed for, in Guba and Lincoln's (1994) terms, bullying being seen as a 'real reality' which is either apprehensible or measurable. On the basis of this assumption, bullying behaviour itself in the social world is generally analogous to atoms in the natural world. This could also be traced back to ontological assumptions of bullying research in different academic fields, such as psychology, criminology and public health, which was deeply influenced by the western scientific movement and highlights the importance of 'prediction' and 'control' leading to a more rational society, as an extension of the 'Enlightenment Project'. Put another way, 'extensionality' of individualised behaviour, represented either in societies or schools, is seen as controllable and predictable under the 'mathematical modelling' which was criticised by Scott (2013, p.82):

Standard logic which underpins mathematical modelling of social events and processes is predicated on a notion of extensionality, then intentional idioms, that is, propositions that relate to beliefs, wishes, fears and intentions, have no place in standard logic, and thus within mathematical modelling.

Realists would exploit linear causal relations of bullying behaviour rather than deal with meta-meaning embedded in social and historical contexts. However, social constructionists explored the meaning of bullying which, it was argued, is socially constructed by students, teachers and policy makers. As a result, a tentative judgment could be made that the current realist bullying research is ontologically de-historicised and de-contextualised, which brought about the ontological gap between realism and critical realism in bullying research. In contrast, current social constructionist bullying research gave up seeking reality and overestimated the subjective experience. The next section will continue to link the epistemological assumption and meaning with reference to the 'knowing' of bullying and further bridge the gap between ontology (being) and epistemology (knowing).

The Assumption and Meaning of Epistemological Perspective

The main purpose of positivism is to verify the hypotheses which compose a body of knowledge, whereas nonfalsified hypotheses consist of knowledge of post-positivism (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Similarly, both recognise the existence of social reality and seek facts and laws to control and predict the social world (Benton & Craib, 2011). Unlike positivism, some post-positivists explore the nature of knowledge by indepth historical and structural

insights for the purpose of ‘transformation of inequality’ and ‘human emancipation’ (Bhaskar, 1986; Benton & Craib, 2011), an example is Marx’s notion of ‘historical materialism’ to explain class relations within different historical periods (Eagleton, 2011). However, the epistemological presumption in social constructionism is quite different from that of positivism and post-positivism. Social constructionists pay attention to the dual dynamic interaction between researcher and research participants and argue for the legitimacy of infusion of subjects and objects. Even radical social constructionists argue that that ‘the conventional distinction between ontology and epistemology disappears, as in the case of critical theory’ (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.111).

Under the assumption of the nature of knowledge, positivists and post-positivists will set up ‘generalisations and cause-effect linkage’ to accumulate the body of knowledge, and thus enhance the quality of knowledge through the criteria of internal and external ‘validity’, ‘reliability’ and ‘objectivity’ (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In terms of type of knowledge, positivists and post-positivists would both recognise the existence of ‘objective knowledge’; however, there is a bit difference between them in that the knowing of post-positivists is more limited than the fully known which resonated Bhaskar’s analysis of ‘false knowing of empiricism’ in the field of social science. On the other hand, social constructionists rejected the existence of objective knowledge because the subjective value directly mediates the construction of knowledge. The next section will depart from the epistemological perspective to examine the ‘knowing of bullying’ and the construction of subjective/objective bullying knowledge.

Critiquing Existing Explanations of School Bullying from an Epistemological Perspective

From an epistemological perspective the argument between positivism and post-positivism in bullying research is unseen and unexplored. Bullying research has centred on the epistemological assumptions, seeing bullying behaviour as an ‘objective body of knowledge’ that could be controlled and predicted. Positivists around the world have tended to explore causal relations which were reducible to understandable scientific-like models while post-positivists complementarily turned to explain the multi-layer of bullying behaviour, as an example of social-ecological perspectives and models applied in bullying research (Espelage & Swearer, 2006; Espelage, 2004). For epistemological theme, the aim of inquiry in most bullying research is to serve the purpose of characterising typologies and motivations of

bullying behaviour for ‘social control’ rather than ‘social emancipation’. One of the limitations of this aim is that it does not explain the subjective body of bullying knowledge with regard to ‘normalising standard lines of behaviour’ embedded in social and political structure. Specifically, the existing accounts fail to resolve the contradiction between historical structure and the evolutionary appearance of bullying behaviour, such as from traditional bullying to cyber/virtual bullying, and between power relations and normalization of behaviour, such as who has absolute right to determine ‘normalising standard lines of behaviour’.

Another major criticism focuses on the ‘generalisation of epistemological definition’ of school bullying, including the notions of ‘imbalance of power’, ‘repetition’ and ‘over a period of time’ which almost extended or uncritically reproduced Olweus’s Scandinavian research tradition. Such transferred applications of ‘generalisation of epistemological definition’ are unsatisfactory because bullying is happening in a real social world (not in a natural world) and the three elements of bullying definition are hard to generalise and explain the multiple bullying behaviour situated in specific contexts. Moreover, one paradoxical question that needs to be asked is how to employ ‘subjectified conceptions of bullying’ to either verify the ‘presupposed hypotheses’ or measure the ‘rates of bullying behaviour’ in different contexts aiming at producing ‘objectified knowledge and universal laws’ for the broad knowing of bullying. Arguably, this would return the starting point of epistemological stance to enquire about the possibility of ‘the construction of objectified bullying knowledge’ and to question the fact that whose knowledge is uncritically dominating development of society.

Last but not least, a criticism is based upon the ‘antithesis of issue setting’ that much research effort has been subjected to ‘the knowledge of bullying behaviour’ (such as who has involved in bullying) rather than ‘the knowledge of non-bullying behaviour’ (such as who has ‘not’ involved in bullying). This may give a fuller insight into the continuous spectrum from ‘the knowledge of bullying behaviour’ to ‘the knowledge of non-bullying behaviour’.

Justification of the Use of Critical Realism to Understand Anti-bullying Policy in Taiwan

Ontological and epistemological perspectives make contributions to ‘philosophise’ as well as ‘theorise’ school bullying research. Hence, three main justifications are made for choosing critical realism as a foundation of methodology in this research. First, school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan is related to a specific historical, political and cultural context which is a

dynamic process between political governance and school culture. Previous studies of anti-bullying policy research in Taiwan have not dealt with the process of policy making and questioned whether the localised anti-bullying policy led to the ‘democratic school’ and ‘human emancipation’. On the basis of ontological assumptions, critical realism is more appropriate than realism to lay a solid foundation for analysing underlying power struggles with reference to policy making and policy implementation. Second, according to Becker’s (1963, p.10) labelling theory, deviance is defined as ‘not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender’. School anti-bullying policy always treated bullies as deviants for punishing and victims/bystanders as innocents in need of receiving psychological counselling and physiological therapy which ‘labelled’ (by Becker’s terminology) or ‘stigmatised’ (by Goffman’s terminology) them on the basis of their individualised behaviour. As far as the epistemological presumption is concerned, the appearance of bullying behaviour is indeed subjective and transactional, not independent from the social world. As a result, the construction of subjectified bullying knowledge will be conducive to dismantling the exercise of ‘generative mechanism’ and to exploring the ‘reproduction of power relations’ and ‘transformation of political ideologies’. Third, the ontology and epistemology of critical realism not only discover the ‘nature and logic of being and knowing’, which refers to philosophical meaning, but also paves the way for approaching ‘human emancipation’, which is close to sociological meaning. The main task of school anti-bullying policy research in this thesis is concentrating on structural oppression (politicised code of behaviour) rather than on the dual relations of bully-victim. The former is cut out for the emancipatory philosophical and sociological stance of critical realism.

Methodology of Critical Social Research and its Practical Framework

This part has three dimensions. The first reconceptualises the concrete differences between ‘methodological individualism’, ‘methodological collectivism’ and ‘dialectical methodology’. Then, critiquing existing methodological explanations of school bullying is necessary in order to understand the disjunction and contradiction between methodological borrowing and the nature of social reality. The third one justifies the methodological stance and framework employed in this thesis and explains how this kind of methodology is appropriate for conducting policy research and to answer the research questions.

The Assumption and Meaning of Methodology in Social Research

The timeline of development of rigorous methodology in social science can be traced back to Comte's (1975) 'positive philosophy' which explained human progress and then typologised the law of the three stages, embracing theological, metaphysical and scientific stages in that order. His philosophical account brought sociological studies into the scientific terrain to navigate social reality. Sociologists discussed the methodological theories in their landmark studies, such as Durkheim's 'methodological collectivism', Weber's 'methodological individualism', and Marx's 'dialectical methodology', the three of which revealed the different knowing of the 'logic of capitalism' and 'the constitution of society'. These three methodological theories widely applied in contemporary social research are discussed below.

Durkheim's methodological account, called methodological collectivism or methodological holism, was based upon the discovery of 'social fact'. In his famous book The Rules of Sociological Method, Durkheim (1895, p.72) clearly defined 'social facts' as being 'every way of acting, whether fixed or not, which is capable of exercising an external constraint on the individual; or, which is general throughout a given society, whilst having an existence of its own, independent of its individual manifestations'. Put differently, his account viewed social phenomenon, such as capitalism, industry, bureaucracy, as a whole rather than an accumulation of individual motivations and actions. For example, Durkheim (1951) first adopted scientific-positivist way to characterise four types of suicide in France and formally initiated the epoch of positivism in social research through the application of quantitative methods. The two main characteristics of methodological collectivism are the notion of 'objectivity' in epistemology and the notion of 'value-free' in axiology that are closely followed by the philosophy of science. This kind of methodological position was embraced by quantitative researchers, echoing the ontological demonstrations of naïve realism, to claim the legitimacy of 'universal rules' and 'general laws' applied in different areas and countries.

In contrast, Weber's (1964, p.88) methodological account stressed the meaning of social action in social research in pursuit of social reality and explained that 'action is social in so far as, by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual (or individuals) it takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course'. Weber's methodological consideration put a high premium on 'acting individuals' and 'action-orientation' which is called methodological individualism (Bhargava, 1992; Kalberg,

1994; Udehn, 2002). This kind of methodological stance was indeed opposed to the 'mathematised world view' and laid great stress on the interpretative meaning of life experience and individual action (Bhargava, 1992; Udehn, 2002). The application of methodological individualism was widely used in micro social research, such as the paradigm of 'post-positivism' and 'social constructionism'. The former, on the one hand, recognised the 'existence of social reality' (subtle realism) and 'objectivity of knowledge' (empirical epistemology) through the display of multiple perspectives (Hammersley, 1992). The latter, on the other hand, acknowledged that the reality was socially constructed (relativism) and the constitution of knowledge was known and made by subjective consciousness and life experience (Berger & Luckmann, 1990). The common characteristic among two kinds in axiological terrain is, to some extent, labelled as 'value-laden' or 'value-mediated' that adequately accounted for the interdependent relations between researchers/research participants and the nature of social reality.

Marx's work is seen as a typical representative of critical social research and his methodological theory is close to Durkheim's methodological collectivism (Harvey, 1990). Marx's thoughts were largely inspired by Hegelian dialectical methodology, however his philosophical accounts in *Capital* transformed from Hegelian idealism to historical materialism to explore the intertwined relations between 'value of labour force' and 'logic of capitalism' and then to get rid of irrational and non-scientific 'vulgar sociology'. Marx's methodology not only explored the nature of social reality but also implied the possibility of human emancipation, which transcended the surface of labour value and recognised the dynamic forces between structure (capitalism) and agency (proletariats), between deconstruction and reconstruction and between fact and value (Harvey, 1990). According to Smyth and Shacklock (1998, p.3), it was noted that 'critical research is centrally concerned with the simultaneous process of deconstruction and reconstruction'. Ontologically, Marx's dialectical analysis was more closely related to the notion of critical realism (Bhaskar & Callinicos, 2007) which raises two kinds of unsolved debates in the axiological and epistemological terrain, including the 'theoretical ideology paradigm' (for example the Frankfurt school) and 'scientific theory paradigm' (for example the 'scientific Marxism'). Mainly, the former, which viewed knowledge as subjective and research as fully value-laden (relativism), was gradually becoming a mainstream paradigm in critical social research, while the latter was viewed knowledge as objective and research as value-free (critical realism). After the 1970s, different approaches in social research were spurred by Marxist dialectical

methodology with reference to human emancipation and social revolution, such as gender studies, racial issues, green studies, international political relations and so on, which not only focused on what the generative mechanism of society, as a scientific-like analytical approach, but also uncovered where the structural oppression is and justified how the ideal society and quality of life could be, as an emancipatory normative approach.

The three sociological thinkers mentioned above outlined comprehensive methodological frameworks and put their thoughts into practice. Hence, the typology of three methodological theories needs to be compared and explained in the four dimensions of ontology, epistemology, approach and method as follows (Table 5.1). Methodological collectivism belongs to naïve realism in pursuit of empirical epistemology through rigorous experimental observation and scientific social measurement which is quantitative. Then, methodological individualism produced two strands, including ‘subtle realism’ in post-positivism as more analytical and relativism in social constructionism as more normative. These two strands addressed interpretative epistemology through life experience analysis and both are underpinned by qualitative method as opposed to positivism. Dialectical methodology reintegrated two methodological theories and addressed two distinctive strands in social research, including critical realism in scientific theory paradigm and historical realism in theoretical ideologies paradigm. However, the theoretical ideologies paradigm laid more emphasis on critical reflexivity and human emancipation which premised normative implications for reconstruction in pursuit of creating a better life in the social world rather than just understanding, interpreting and deconstructing it. Moreover, the application of method in scientific theory paradigm is more flexible in using quantitative and qualitative methods to explore the irreducibly generalisable scientificity of social reality in line with the needs of human emancipation. After the detailed comparison of different methodologies, this thesis adopts the dialectical methodology-scientific theories paradigm as a philosophical framework to explore school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan because it reconciles the distinctive gulf between methodological collectivism and methodological individualism in the construction of knowledge and thus integrates analytical and normative approach into critical social research as complementary. Before dealing with the philosophical framework, the advantages and disadvantages of current methodologies and their applications in anti-bullying policy analysis are discussed in more detail and then I will justify the reliability claims to knowledge construction by using dialectical methodology.

Table 5.1 Typology of Three Methodological Theories

| Methodological theory/typology | Ontology | Epistemology | Approach | Method |
|--|--------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Collectivism -positivism | naïve realism | empirical | analytical | quantitative |
| Individualism -postpositivism | subtle realism | interpretative | analytical | qualitative |
| Individualism -social constructionism | relativism | interpretative | normative | qualitative |
| Dialectical methodology -theoretical ideologies | historical realism | interpretative critical-reflexive | normative | qualitative |
| Dialectical methodology -scientific theories | critical realism | empirical critical-reflexive | analytical and normative | quantitative or qualitative |

Sources: Revised from Bhaskar, 1979; Hammersley, 1992; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009

Analysing Existing Explanations of School Bullying from a Methodological Perspective

According to the methodological framework and typologies outlined above, school bullying research mainly falls into three types, comprising positivism, post-positivism and social constructionism. The aim of these three types is to deepen the understanding of school bullying and seek ways to reduce rates of bullying. Each of these is thoroughly discussed and compared as follows in the dimensions of the use of method and research approach.

An extensive use of positivism in bullying research became popular after the 1990s due to the initiation of cross-national research and international research by the World Health Organisation (WHO) and the successful Scandinavian bullying research led by Olweus. Plenty of quantitative measurements of school bullying were designed by psychologists, criminologists and even health researchers which mainly focused on the frequency of bullying behaviour and its causal relationship with variables of family, school and community. The crucial social destination of positivist methodology saw school bullying as an objective social fact which assumed that Durkheimian methodological collectivism is the most conducive to broader understanding of school bullying. This means that the research value orientation is external to the issue of bullying and a statistical model is recognised as helpful for the construction of a school order, as a kind of integration of social functions, will be the general consensus within this type of methodology.

Another prevailing methodological type is post-positivism which tried to overcome the drawbacks of positivism and claimed that behaviour is not necessarily measurable by objective scales. This type of methodology was followed by Weberian methodological individualism which premised that school bullying as an objective social fact needed to be interpreted by plural perspectives and then considered empirical and interpretative epistemology as complementary. The distinction between positivism and post-positivism in bullying research involves the discussion of social contextualisation with reference to the possibility of objective knowledge construction. More specifically, positivist research always viewed context as intervening variables which need to be derecognised and excluded on purpose. In contrast, post-positivist research strengthens the contextual-based meanings and interpretations to delimit the unabridged picture of social fact. In other words, current post-positivist research drew more attention to relations between bullying behaviour and contextual factors, such as family background, school structure and community culture, which commonly adopted multiple qualitative approaches to arrive at its social destination, including hermeneutic, phenomenological, ethnographical, and feminist approaches.

Social constructionist methodology in sociology is also deeply influenced by Weberian methodological individualism which challenged the post-positivism presumptions in ontological and epistemological terrains. A subtle distinction between them is hard to make in that social constructionism claimed that social reality is not fixed and is continually changing with specific contexts and ideologies. Hence, social constructionist methodology premised that knowledge construction is embedded in subjective ideologies and discourse which was substantially affected by Foucauldian 'philosophy of subjectivity' and greatly inspired by Foucault's (1979) work Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Hence, the Foucauldian approaches of critical discourse analysis and policy archaeology were thus extensively applied in critical policy analysis and anti-bullying policy research is no exception, such as Walton (2005, 2010, 2011). Considering the social function of the application of social constructionist methodology, the main research aim is to re-examine the exercise of socio-political power and the operation of disciplining mechanism in schools and then to finalise the social pathological oppression in and out of schools. Put another way the notion of deconstruction rather than reconstruction is indeed the significant social function embedded in social constructionism research which strongly criticises that school anti-bullying policy as a politicalised tool to control and normalise students' code of behaviour.

There are two questions involving different methodologies about the ongoing sociological debates between social fact and value orientation and between the notion of particularity and generalisation, and between social teleology of construction and deconstruction. Each of these questions could be used to re-examine the three types of methodologies in school bullying research. According to the research spectrum, social research locates itself between scientific research and humanistic studies that is either scientificity of social fact or humanity of value orientation determined the way in which the social research is accurate and trustworthy. Positivism and post-positivism tend to lead social research in more scientific ways by accurately measuring the atomisation of individual behaviour and social cognition and interpreting the meaning of social action and individual behaviour in pursuit of objective social fact. Conversely, social constructionism challenged the legitimacy of scientific or absolute objective social facts and reiterated the importance of subjectivity in social research. The second debate centred on the possibility of generalisation and particularity. Positivism and post-positivism demonstrated that the meaning of generalisation in bullying research was beneficial for prediction and social control in maintaining the stability of the school system. In contrast, social constructionism always dealt with the relations between contextualisation and ideologies which, in essence, focused on the deconstruction of power relations and political authorities in context of society. The third debate concerns the sociological teleology of construction and deconstruction. Basically, positivism and post-positivism in bullying research are focused on the ‘empirical and interpretative construction of school bullying’ while the social constructionism tends to deconstruct the predominant power relations behind a social order.

The current applications of methodologies manifested three drawbacks within the three debates, one of which explained that mainstream methodologies failed to clarify elusive relations between scientificity and ideologies in bullying research and put forth an ideal model for social reconstruction in policy making; Another of which pointed out that most of bullying studies overestimated the importance of the methodological practicality of problem-solving, but underestimated the influence of beneath the surface of social structure, such as historical, political and cultural dimensions. The other of which claimed that current anti-bullying policy research lacked attempts to theorise the social practice and critical reflexivity between social structure (generative mechanism), research participants and researchers. These three main critical reflections on current policy research paved the way for constructing the methodological and analytical framework of this thesis. Garfinkel (1967, p.vii) suggests ‘the

reflexivity of that phenomenon is a singular feature of practical actions, of practical circumstances, of common sense knowledge of social structures, and of practical sociological reasoning. By permitting us to locate and examine their occurrence the reflexivity of that phenomenon establishes their study’.

Explanation and Justification of the Methodological Framework

Anti-bullying policy research could be categorised as a diverse mixture of policy studies and issue-based studies, the former of which outlines the logic of policy making and political governance which the latter addresses the nature of bullying, the measurement of bullying rates and invention of bullying. Based upon the previous review of ontological, epistemological and methodological foundations, Bhaskar’s critical realism and dialectical methodology will be adopted in the analysis of anti-bullying policy to break through the methodological limitations of current studies. In what follows, the methodological framework is discussed and schematically represented (Table 5.2).

The first level of the framework discusses the notion of generative mechanism which is inclusive of the domain of the real put forward by Bhaskar (1978). As mentioned above, generative mechanism is the most important core element which activated the natural and social worlds, such as gravity in the natural world and capitalism in social world. It is noteworthy that policy analysis and issue-based research seldom deals with generative mechanism and its influence on the exercise of society. In this thesis, the generative mechanism of Taiwanese political governance and logic of policy structure is discussed as highly pertinent to policy planning and subsequent practice based upon the historical documents and government reports. The aim of this level is to adopt the underpinning theoretical framework to seek for plausible explanation of social events and empirical experience (abductive reasoning) exercised by the specific generative mechanisms in Taiwan (retroductive reasoning).

The second level of the framework involves events and states of affairs which are exercised (activated) by the generative mechanism in Taiwan and comprise domains of the real and the actual. At the second level, the domain of the real illustrated the Taiwanese anti-bullying policy planning and the dimensions of political ideology. The domain of the actual explores the anti-bullying policy implementation and evaluation reshaped by research participants (government officials and school principals) and newspaper reports. The aim of this level is

to address objective facts to bridge the gap between social structure and agential experience.

The third level of the framework considers the notion of experience which consists of the domain of the real, the domain of the actual and the domain of the empirical. This level identifies the construction of factual knowledge produced by school practice which could be observable and measurable through human perceptions. The domain of the real concentrates on the school system and logic of school practice that implied the school as a social system in which to represent social pathology. The domain of the actual took anti-bullying rebuttal and argumentation (experience-based) into consideration which was directly affected by school structure and political structure. The individual reflection on anti-bullying policy rebuttal and argumentation could be analysed on the basis of the subjective experience of policy stakeholders. The domain of the empirical depicts and compares the differences of 'the rates of bullying' provided by non-profit organisations, researchers and governmental sectors. This level is strongly supported by mainstream methodologists and provided extensive discussions of empirical examinations in different facets. The aim of this level is to objectify the subjective empirical reflections on policy argumentation and rebuttal with the help of inductive reasoning (from particular reflections to general ideologies).

Compared with the current three mainstream methodologies, this methodological framework represents three advances. First of all, it sketches out a stratified policy analysis, based upon Bhaskar's ontological arguments, from invisible structure to visible experience which strikes a balance between the notion of particularity (logic of school practice) and generality (logic of policy structure) and between structure (political structure and ideologies) and agency (practicality of policy implementation and evaluation). Secondly, it has the potential to deepen our understanding of being (ontology) and knowing (epistemology) in the formation of Taiwanese anti-bullying policy which reconciles the discrepancies between objective scientificity (empirical evidence) and subjective ideologies (political and scientific ideologies). Thirdly, it sees anti-bullying policy 'as a whole' rather than an accumulation of different elements which made the policy research more logical and dialectical (event → experience → ideology → theory → event) to indicate the abstract contradictions in the process of policy itself, and therefore to argue for the practical possibility of an ideal model for the future research and policy revision.

Table 5.2 Methodological and Analytical Framework and its Related Elements

| | Domain of the real | Domain of the actual | Domain of the empirical |
|----------------------------|--|---|------------------------------------|
| Generative mechanism | Political governance and logic of policy structure | * | * |
| Event and state of affairs | Policy formulation and its political ideology | policy agenda setting and policy implementation | * |
| Experience | School system and logic of school practice | Policy argumentation and policy rebuttal | bullying survey and public opinion |

Source: revised from Bhaskar, 1978, p.13

The first and second parts establish a philosophical basis for the subsequent application of policy research fieldwork. The next section makes the link from methodological framework to research methods with reference to the implications for data processing, covering data collection, verification of data quality and the procedure of data analysis.

Method of Critical Realism and its Ethical Issues

This part turns to discuss the application of critical realism in this thesis based upon the aforementioned philosophical and methodological foundations. The crucial analytical elements in the framework of critical realism with social research are primarily inclusive of the generative mechanism (higher level), event or state of affairs (medium level) and empirical experience (lower level) which stress the importance of the close association between ontology, epistemology and methodology in the uncontrollable open system (the social world) as oppose to controllable closed system (the natural world) (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 1997). This part explains the four terrains in the fieldwork and then elucidates the qualitative case study and its application. Furthermore, reflexivity of critical methodology and method deals with the notion of ideological perspectives and political relations which interplays with research ethics in the last section.

The Research Fieldwork in Taiwan

After 2010, the social and educational issue of school bullying received much local newspaper coverage, which may have contributed to bringing school bullying into the public domain and raised political and academic concerns about how the government might tackle this problem. Due to the researcher's cultural and ethnic background, the

fieldwork was chosen in my homeland, The Republic of China (Taiwan), in pursuit of exploring the unseen operation of power relations and political ideologies in the process of policy making and searching for humanitarian alternatives for dealing with school bullying.

School anti-bullying policies are highly connected to the specific cultural and historical context and the production of policy is a mixture of ongoing public debates and political ideologies. After the detailed literature review and fuller discussions about the anti-bullying research in 2013 and 2014, four kinds of policy stakeholders were selected: governmental officials and law makers (legislators), policy researchers from different fields, social group communities and school principals. The research participants were invited from four specific levels to facilitate a broader understanding of policy itself and uncover the other sides of neglected dimensions, as examples of historical, political and cultural struggles, in the policy making and implementation. The reasons for choosing four policy levels as the main analytical units will now be briefly introduced (Table 5.3).

Central Government

In Taiwan, policy making is largely determined by administrative sector (Executive Yuan) and legislative sector (Legislative Yuan) based upon the democratic principle of the separation of powers and checks and balances. An educational policy is initially drafted by the Ministry of Education (MOE) and then is submitted to the whole committee of the Executive Yuan which discusses the policy directions and feasible strategies. Before and after the policy making, legislators in the educational committee, on the basis of constitutional rights and liabilities, will invite government officials to receive interpellations in the Legislative Yuan and then government officials are asked to briefly explain the effect and efficacy of policy implementation and respond to public questioning and legislators' interpellation.

There was a great debate on the definition of school bullying between government officials and legislators in that the former have adopted the international definition but the latter have insisted on local opinion based mainly on middle class pressure. Government policy based upon international standard of measuring rates of school bullying focused on those who had suffered hurt, physically and psychologically, for a period of time rather than just once. The definition has changed several times between 2010 and 2012 thus making it hard to reach an agreement concerning the policy implementation. Another debate surrounding the legislation

of anti-bullying policy is currently an unsolved and inconclusive issue in Taiwan. This is the reason why the government officials and legislators were selected to be key informants for the exploration of policy making with regard to logic of political struggle at the level of central government.

In the fieldwork, three government officials and two legislators took part in interviews in July 2014. Each semi-structured interview took place in the government offices and lasted about one hour, and field notes and fieldwork reflection were jotted down in the process of interview. The research questions concentrated on the origins of policy making and the debates between government officials and legislators. More specifically, the gap between them is that how government officials respond their top-down policy planning which is close related to authoritarian democracy and how the legislators on behalf of citizens successfully challenged the policy implementation which is in favour of representative democracy. In this terrain, the research questions focus on policy historical development, the process of policy formation, policy and political ideology, policy argumentation and debate, policy propaganda and responses and policy implementation and evaluation. Their descriptions, explanations, analyses and interpretations of policy concerning historical background with reference to political ideologies will be fully discussed in Chapter 7.

Academia

The second level in the policy making process is the different research fields which comprise various ontological and epistemological assumptions. Bullying research has increased noticeably in recent years and the study of school bullying has apparently moved from descriptive and rather normative to more scientific approaches. Bullying research played a crucial role in bridging the gap between government policies and school practice which shed light on the nature of school bullying seen as a social fact.

In Taiwan, the underlying trends in school bullying research indicate that research is limited to four fields, including criminology, public health, psychology and educational studies and resonated with the international research discussed in Chapter 2. However, the fields of public health and criminology continue to exert influence on policy-making and implementation rather than the field of psychology and educational studies. More specifically, government research funding is flowing into the field of criminology rather than the field of public health. Hence, the struggle for academic resources between different research fields

has raised acrimonious disputes under the table which have mirrored the tendency of ideological stances with reference to political governance.

Six bullying researchers enthusiastically accepted to be interviewed in June and July, 2014. Their research fields comprise social work and social policy (1), criminology (2), public health and psychology (2) and educational studies (1). What follows here are two research focuses regarding the practicality and politicisation of the research level. One explores the assumption of each field regarding bullying research and discusses the practical contributions of current indigenous policy research. The other attempts to exploit the translation of policy research into school practice and the power relations between different research areas and political governance needs to be re-examined and be re-clarified. For the sake of simplicity, the two focuses are closely related to sociological inquiry about practice and theory and power control and human emancipation. The research questions concentrate on the logic of policy and political governance, policy research method and approach, the gap between policy making and policy research, the gap between policy research and school practice, policy historical development and policy critiques and suggestions.

Civil Groups

Taiwan is currently seeing a mushrooming of civil groups which are mainly related to issues of human rights and environmental protection. There are three main civil groups engaging in child welfare and student rights, which are called the Taiwan Association for Human Rights (TAHR, established in 1991), Humanistic Education Foundation (HEF, established in 1987) and Child Welfare League Foundation (CWLF, established in 1984). Their main task in the education domain is continually examining educational policy involving in children right and welfare. However, TAHR, HEF and CWLF are different due to their political ideologies and stances.

In particular, the CWLF conducted a series of bullying investigations among children in school life for 10 years (1994-2014) and the annual reports were released to reveal the unseen aspects which are beneath the surface of a peaceful school environment. On the other hand, the TAHR and HEF is more radical and critical of state violence and ideological state apparatus, coined by Althusserian terminology (Althusser, 1971). In 2010, HEF hosted the international bullying prevention conference in Taiwan in an attempt to absorb the successful experience from different countries, including England, Japan, Canada and Sweden. Notably,

this means that whether policy transfer (translation) is suitable for indigenous school bullying needs to further question in the political ideological stances and social value orientations.

At the social group level, three participants were interviewed and these took place in June and July, 2014. Civil group documents were also collected at the same time, such as the periodical publications and annual reports. The research questions focused on each civil group's claims and demonstrations and exploring in neglected area about the intertwined relations between civil groups and government authorities to set forth explicitly some parameters for looking at the effect of power relations and social value which will be discussed and analysed in later chapters. The research questions in this terrain revolved around the political and education's appeal to policy, the contradictions between the policy and school practice, and policy critiques and suggestions and policy implementation and social expectation.

Local Schools

The local school is a core focus in bullying research in that schools play a significant role in their own right and in connecting to other levels. In general, it is a hierarchical system in that local schools are supervised by the central and district government based upon the regulations of The Constitution of The Republic of China and Educational Fundamental Act 2011. Local schools could also apply for anti-bullying funding from the government for three years at most and this would further provide substantial accountability, such as curriculum designs and school activities, to account for their recent improvement with reference to school bullying at the end of each year. The Ministry of Education will invite specialists from different academic fields, such as psychologists, pedagogists and criminologists, to evaluate school self-reports and provide on-site supervision for one day which will be seriously taken into consideration for funding allocation for next year.

Local schools were passively loaded with historical and political culture and they could actively reproduce school culture and student subculture as well. At length, schools could be viewed as a main arena of political and cultural representation and school practices have clearly recorded a sketch of top-down power relations and political ideologies over a specific period of time. The school principals are the key informants to explore (in)visible effect of school anti-bullying policy and the gap between the central government policy and local school programmes. Eight principals were interviewed in July of 2014 and they came from

different types of school, including primary school (1), secondary schools (5) and post-secondary schools (2). School anti-bullying programmes and related brochures were collected as part of the fieldwork. The research at this level concentrated on three points, one of which explored the relations between school/student culture and school bullying, another of which provoked discussion in political relations between government and local schools, and the other accounted for the whole process of dealing with school bully in local schools with regard to the issue of human rights and democratic principles. Practically speaking, the research questions involve policy and school programme development, the gap between policy implementation and school practice, policy implementation and the construction of school culture and policy evaluation and feedback.

Four kinds of research participants could provide different insights into the policy making process and implementation which covered two different perspectives. First, the research participants come from different terrains reflecting different cultural dispositions and habituses. For example, the government officials and principals spend more time on explaining about and justifying for what the emerging construction of policy is, while the activists and researchers are thus critical of and reflect on what the ideal construction of policy is. Second, compared with the government, the other three sections are open to share written forms and hard copies of policy documents, including bullying research reports, local school programmes, bullying surveys, anti-bullying conference booklets and the outcomes of policy implementation. However, according to the Freedom of Government Information Law in 2005 (Office of the President, 2005c), some specific government information could have limited access to the public and two regulations as follows are used to explain the limitations of data collection from government sectors in this case study research:

Classified by law as national secrets, required to maintain confidentiality or prohibited from provision to the public according to other laws, regulations, or orders (Paragraph 1 of Article 18)

The draft for internal use or other preparatory works before the government agency make a decision. Such works can be made available to the public or be provided if deemed necessary to public interest' (Paragraph 3 of Article 18).

Hence, the government officials and law makers (legislators) cautiously take information privacy and political sensitivity into consideration which is also associated with ethics and politics of data collection and processing in social research.

Reflection on the Role of Policy Research Participants in National and Educational Setting

This section reflects on the characteristics of policy research participants and their roles with regard to national and educational settings. First, this research invited law makers, street-level bureaucrats and politicians working in central government to be interviewed with an aim to gain more policy information in national setting. Their contributions embraced the inquiry of how a social issue can be translated into a political issue, and how the bureaucratic division of labour can make policy formulation possible, and how the policy can be implemented in association with the adoption of top-down governance. Each participant, as a political insider, was expected to explain their policy ideas within the bureaucratic structure. In particular, the exploration of the dynamics between law makers, street-level bureaucrats and politicians was seen as a channel for inquiring into the politics of public policy making.

Second, policy researchers were also invited to take part in this research to help understand the gap between policy formulation and policy implementation on the one hand and explore the practical contributions of professional role in this issue on the other hand. The criteria for choosing the policy researchers focused on their diverse professional background, including psychology, criminology, pedagogy and social policy, in relation to school bullying research. Their insider roles and tacit knowledge could be conducive to delving into professional knowledge in academic areas and disclose dominant discourses in policy making process.

Third, the civil activists play outsider roles in policy making in that their position is located as peripheral and could penetrate the flow of power relations between different policy stakeholders. Three activists were invited to join this research reflecting different political ideologies and policy initiation, including children welfare, human rights and humanistic education. The contribution of the civil activists to this research can help to dig into how policy agenda can be politically activated and probe into how collective agency can be exercised in the process of political debates within the politics of agenda setting.

Fourth, school principals are acting as the local implementers and semi-professional insiders at the frontline and their role is related to practice work in micro educational setting. The role of school principals is to help scrutinise a disjunction between the idea of policy formulation in government level and the operation of policy implementation in school level. This exploration reflected the means and effects of top-down governance within a school system.

Table 5.3 Interview Checklist of School Anti-bullying Policy in Taiwan

| Dimension | Government officials and law makers (legislators) | NPO activists | School principals | Policy researchers (policy tanks) |
|--|--|--|--|---|
| Organisation | Central government | Civil group | Local school | Academia |
| Numbers | 5 | 3 | 8 | 6 |
| Interview duration | 45-60 minutes | 45-60 minutes | 45-60 minutes | 45-60 minutes |
| Role status | Political insider | Political outsider | Semi-professional insider | Professional insider |
| The rationales for choosing the interview participants | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Committee members of anti-bullying policy making ➤ In charge of bullying-related administration and policy (law) making | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Engaging in anti-bullying campaigns and civil movements ➤ Taking part in human rights activities and children welfare affairs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Committee Members of anti-bullying policy making ➤ Representatives of different regions in Taiwan (urban area and suburban/remote area) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Engaging in bullying Policy research (academic institutions and non-profit organisations) ➤ Committee members of anti-bullying policy making |
| Interview questions focus | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The process of policy formation ➤ Policy and political ideology ➤ Policy argumentation and debate ➤ Policy propaganda and response ➤ Policy effectiveness and evaluation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ School anti-bullying initiatives and campaigns ➤ Policy rebuttal and arguments ➤ The social criticisms of policy making and implementation ➤ Policy feedbacks and the possibility of a policy alternative | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Policy and school programme development ➤ The gap between Policy making and school practice ➤ Policy implementation and the construction of school culture ➤ Policy evaluation and feedback | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Policy historical development ➤ The gap between Policy making and policy research ➤ The gap between Policy research and school practice ➤ Policy critiques and suggestions |
| Research method | Semi-structured interview | Semi-structured interview | Semi-structured interview | Semi-structured interview |
| Raw material collection | Official (historical) documents and policy reports | NPO reports, statements and articles | Local school documents and evaluation reports | Research reports and meeting minutes |

The Method of Critical Realism: Case study and Qualitative method

The case study is extensively used for critical social research and thus is appropriate for discovering the deeper ontology of the generative mechanism which is rooted in specific contexts and structures. The definition of case study by Hitchcock and Hughes (1995, p.317) refers to a 'rich description of the specific events', 'chronological narrative', 'perceptions of individual and group actors' with reference to the case. Geertz (1973) interprets that a case study as exploring 'what it is like to be' and as uncovering 'thick descriptions of social reality' within the context of specific time and space. According to these definitions of case study, Taiwan's school anti-bullying policy was chosen as a case study in this research due to the fact that different social and education policies in Taiwan have been influenced by the specific transformation of political structure from one-party state regime (1949-1987) to democratic/post-democratic regime (1987-2014) and was thus, to a great extent, determined by the specific top-down modes of policy making from central government to local schools. Hence, the case study is suitable for uncovering the logic of policy structure and of how the political mechanism produces events and states of affairs with reference to school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan.

The practical method of case study in this research is a critical qualitative approach as opposed to a main traditional qualitative approach. As far as the research aims are concerned, the latter focuses more on the understanding of social events or phenomenon which easily falls into trap of epistemic fallacy (knowing is reducible to being) criticised by Bhaskar, whereas the former is concerned with social inequality embedded as well as entangled in the web of social structure and premises the possibility of human emancipation and social change, clearly distinguishing the dichotomy of ontology and epistemology in the social research (Walford & Carspecken, 2001). More specifically, the critical qualitative approach is well equipped dialectically to deal with power struggles, the operation of ideology and the dynamic of structure and agency which echoes the earlier discussion of critical realism and critical epistemology. Moreover, the use of a critical qualitative approach indeed traces the footprints of the ontological notion of what is the generative mechanism and epistemological notion of whose knowledge is legitimate with regard to reflexively questioning the hegemonic construction of school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan. To be specific, the logical stages of a case study made by Bassey (2000, pp.66-73) are mainly composed of identifying the research issue and hypothesis (stage 1), asking research question with regards to ethical

guideline (stage 2), collecting and storing data (stage 3), generating and testing analytical statement (stage 4), interpreting and explaining the analytical statement (stage 5), deciding on the outcome and writing the case report (stage 6) and finishing and publishing (stage 7). In this research, Chapters 1 to 4 reviewed the previous empirical studies and policies in order to locate research issues and formulate research questions (stages 1 and 2). Then, Chapter 5 continues to explain an alternative approach to this bullying research and deal with the way in which data collection, generating statements and some ethical issues could be appropriately tailored to this study (stages 2 to 4). Following the discussion of Chapter 5, three chapters of a case study in Taiwan tends to interpret and explain the process of school anti-bullying making and implementation (stages 5 and 6). Subsequently, conclusion chapter finalises the research outcomes and reflects on the methods and a framework employed in this research (stage 7).

Before the process of formal interview, invitation letters were sent to potential research participants through e-mail to enquire about their willingness. The rationale for choosing the research participants was based upon the criterion of direct and indirect participation in the making of school anti-bullying policy. Direct participation means research participants are the core members of policy making committee (such as government officials, school principals and policy researchers), while indirect participation means research participants engaged in school anti-bullying campaigns and social movements out of a political system (such as NPO activists) to be critical of policy making and implementation. In practice, 24 invitation letters were sent to potential research participants and only two research participants (a male policy researcher) refused this interview due to joining a conference meeting abroad. The research interviews were activated by getting formal permission from invited research participants who fixed the specific time and place for interviewing. At the beginning of the interviews, the information sheet and consent form, approved by the Ethics Committee at The University of Sheffield in May 2014, were fully explained by the researcher and read and signed by research participants. Each interview lasted at least one hour and took place in the workplace provided by research participants during their working hours. After the interview, the recorded interviews were completely converted into written files which are directly sent back to research participants to process double check. Since receiving the check by research participants, all interview transcripts are ready to be translated from Taiwanese into English. More importantly, how to confirm the accuracy and quality of data translation is another major issue of validity and credibility for cross-cultural qualitative research. The translation

of transcripts is thus only examined by my supervisor with the intention of enhancing the level of validity and credibility and of ensuring the quality of data saturation.

After the data collection and data translation, the English transcripts were encoded into a qualitative programme Nvivo 10 licensed by The University of Sheffield which embarked on data categorisation and then data coding according to the aforementioned framework of critical realism, including political governance and logic of policy structure, logic of school practice, policy planning, policy argumentation and rebuttal, policy implementation and policy evaluation and public opinion and statistics. Each categorisation includes different fields of the interviews concerning 'value-laden' discourses and 'evidence-based' social facts of anti-bullying policy which are fully described, explained, analysed, compared and interpreted in the specific context of Taiwan within the thesis. It is worth mentioning that the process of data analysis precisely clarified the distinctions between social facts (objectivity) and individual and social values (subjectivity) which transcend the inseparable dichotomy of value and fact in the qualitative tradition of post-positivist interpretative analysis and Foucauldian critical discourse analysis. In practical terms, how to conduct a data analysis is also important after the data collection and translations. The first kind of qualitative data from research participants could be categorised as two parts (Table 5.5). One is open coding which is based upon original texts of interviews in forming descriptive concepts and the other is axial coding which is further using the analytical concepts to fit with the policy research questions for the purpose of, as suggested by Charmaz (2006, p.60), 'sorting, synthesising, and organising data and reassembling them in new ways after open coding'. The second kind of qualitative data from historical documents and newspapers could be coded into two parts: event-based and concept-based coding. The former stresses the causal relations between bullying events and policy making (such as policy making agenda and actual school practice) while the latter emphasise abstract concepts elicited from different events and newspaper criticism (such as the power struggles and relations, ideologies of party politics, policy rebuttal and argument). These two kinds of qualitative data will be put into different chapters in discussing the process of anti-bullying policy making, such as historical data and statements in Chapter 6, empirical data in Chapter 7 and theoretical concepts in Chapter 8.

Nisbet and Watt (1984) argue that one of the main drawbacks in the use of the case study fails to deal with the notion of generalisation. The traditional account just lays stress on the abstract relations between case study and epistemology rather than between case study and

ontology. The former looks for the original and alternative construction of knowledge, such as methodological collectivism and individualism, through the mode of inference of deduction and induction, while the latter uncovers the hidden beneath the surface of stratified reality with reference to a specific case which arrives at the abstract generative mechanism and social structure (transfactual condition) through the mode of inference of abduction and retroduction (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 1997). Specifically, Bassey (2000, pp.31-32) defined and compared the two different types of generalisation in the application of case study in educational settings:

Predictive generalisation' is that which arises from the study of samples and is the form in which data are accumulated in the sciences. 'Retrospective generalisation' is that which can arise from the analysis of case studies and is the form in which data are accumulated in history.

The mode of inference of deduction and induction is close to predictive generalisation which is also called statistical generalisation by Yin (1994), while the mode of inference of abduction and retroduction relies on the dialectical method back and forth between historical data and social theories as being complementary (fully used in Chapter 8). The latter is the most appropriate for this critical policy research as a case study to understand the stratified reality concerning anti-bullying policy in the context of Taiwan. At the level of a critical qualitative approach in the case study, the method of data collection is similar to a traditional qualitative approach. There are two methods of data collection in this thesis. One comprehensively collected primary historical documents and official reports from government authorities and civic reports and public opinions from civil groups and newspapers. Taiwanese historical documents and official reports are freely available from the National Central Library Gazette Online, Laws & Regulations Database of The Republic of China and School Anti-Bullying Website of The Ministry of Education. Civil group reports and public opinions are gathered from English database of Taipei Times and China Post. The other method was interviews with four different groups of policy stakeholders (government officials, researchers, principals and civil group activists). The next section explains the ethical issues in this research.

The case study research consists of three chapters (Table 5.4). First, Chapter 6 adopts historical content analysis through historical documents (newspapers and policy texts) to argue for the historical trajectory of school regulation policy since 1945 in association with the transformation of political governance. This historical inquiry belongs to diachronic

analysis (1945–2011) that four stages of political and educational system development explain the ways in which how government politicised school regulation policies in search of potential historical generalisation. Second, Chapter 7, as a synchronic analysis (2011–2014), introduces the origins and development of anti-bullying policy making and implementation and explores its potential ideologies behind policy process, in arguing for the interactive influences between objective events and subjective reflection on this policy. As mentioned before, representative research participants (22 interviewees from four terrains) were invited to capture and reshape a comprehensive policy process in achieving empirical generalisation. Third, Chapter 8, based upon critical realist methodology, is underpinned by the two previous chapters’ inquiries and then discovers the generative mechanism of policy structure. This chapter’s discussion mainly focuses on how different systems activate the policy making and on interaction between social structure, agency and policy activation (as an integration of diachronic and synchronic analysis), in echoing the stratification of policy framework to carry out transcendental generalisation embedded in Taiwan (Table 5.2).

Table 5.4 Summary of the Case Study Research in Taiwan

| Dimension | Political system and school regulation (Chapter 6) | Foundations of school anti-bullying policy (Chapter 7) | Generative mechanism of school anti-bullying policy (Chapter 8) |
|------------------------|---|--|--|
| Type of realism | Historical realism | Empirical realism | Critical realism |
| Type of research | Diachronic research | Synchronic research | Diachronic and synchronic research |
| Type of causation | Historical causal relations (Politics of historical structure and school regulation policy) | Empirical causal relations (bullying event and its ideological reflection) | Causal power (structure, agency and policy process) |
| Type of generalisation | Historical (retrospective) generalisation | Empirical generalisation | Transcendental generalisation |
| Object of analysis | The historicity of school regulation policy | The production of anti-bullying policy and its ideologies | The interaction between structure, agency and policy activation |
| Use of method | Historical content analysis | Qualitative analysis | Qualitative analysis and theoretical analysis |
| Use of inference | Induction | Induction | Induction, deduction and abduction (retroduction) |
| Data source | Historical document, (newspaper and policy text) | Interview text, newspaper and policy document | Interview text, newspaper and policy document |
| Focus of argument | Arguing for the relations between formation of school regulation policy and operation of political system | Arguing for the relations between the event-based facts and knowing-based ideologies in the anti-bullying policy process | Arguing for potential generative mechanism behind policy structure |

Ethical Issues in Critical Policy Research

This section concerns the ethical relations between the researcher and research participants and how to strike a balance between the use of data and protection of individual privacy during the ongoing process of social research. The ethical issues in this research could be categorised into three stages, including the pre-interview stage, the process of interview stage and post-interview stage. Each stage is followed by the two main regulations of the Research Ethics: General Principles and Statements (The University of Sheffield, 2015) and Statement of Ethical Practice (British Sociological Association, 2002). The ethical issues could be divided into procedural ethics and ethics in practice by Guillemin and Gillam (2004, p.263) and their clear definition argues for the relations between research ethics and reflexivity:

‘procedural ethics’, which usually involves seeking approval from a relevant ethics committee to undertake research involving humans; and “ethics in practice” or the everyday ethical issues that arise in the doing of research.

At the pre-interview stage, the information sheet and consent form were reviewed and then approved by ethics committee at the University of Sheffield in May 2014. The information sheet clearly explained the research purpose and data protection with reference to subsequent data analysis and the legal rights of researcher and research participants. The consent form is thus a formal contract between researcher and research participants to inform them of their rights and obligations in the process of research. According to the rationales for choosing the research participants discussed in last section, the invitation letter was sent to research participants through personal E-mail gained from organisational website to wait for their further reply and notice. After receiving the permission, the information sheet, consent form and semi-structured questionnaire were sent to them to prepare in advance. Finally, there were twenty-two research participants who received the interview from four main terrains, including government sectors (three government officials and two law-makers), non-profit organisations (three civil group activists), academia (six researchers) and local schools (one primary principals and six secondary principals) (Table 5.1).

The focus of the second stage was to process the formal and face-to-face interview. The specific time and place was fixed by research participants and took place in their workplace during their working hours. This research participation is entirely voluntary and participants would withdraw from this project at any point without giving any reasons. No expenses and compensation were given in the process of research project. Before the start of interview, the

researcher explained the research focus and then verbally informed the participants of their obligations and rights during the process. Research participants were asked to check each item listed in the form and finally sign the name at the end of the consent form. Each face-to-face interview lasted about one hour and was recorded on a digital recorder. The interviews were suspended for various reasons, such as someone dropping in or a mobile phone ringing. Based upon the semi-structured interview, every research participant had the equal rights to answer what they were thinking about and to refuse to answer what they did not want to. In the process of the interviews, fieldwork notes also needed to be permitted by research participants and were regulated by the related ethics statements. The researcher neither disclosed who has taken part in this research nor uncovers the contents of interview to other interviewees. Reflexively, it is noted that the difficulties in the process of interview could be divided into two. The first is the choice of research participants, who are concerned with the issue of generalisable social fact and its subsequent influence on data analysis. The second part deals with the proportion of objective statements and subjective values in the process of semi-structured interview in a given time. Could I intervene in the interview or respect the intentionality of research participants? For example, some research participants focused narrowly on their subjective criticism of policy making and implementation while some stressed their objective statements in avoidance of discussion about policy ideologies. This is an intangible matter of who should dominate the interview, such as a debate between a researcher-based and participant-based approach.

The post-interview stage laid stress on double checking the transcripts and the anonymity of data analysis. The purpose of the former was to ensure the credibility of data and provide the research participants with second chance to rethink the contents and discourses of interview. Furthermore, the research participants had the right to revise and verify the accuracy of their responses. The second part of the last stage is to carry on with cross-cultural data translation and anonymity of data analysis. The data translation is only examined by supervisor that is clearly described in the information sheet and consent form so as to enhance the accuracy and quality of the data. During the process of thesis writing, the data collected remained anonymous. Thus, no real names were used in this process and the real identities of participants are known only to myself. Most importantly, the data themselves are held on a password protected computer and will be deleted after the completion of the whole research. All other materials, such as personal data, transcripts and fieldwork note-takings, are in a locked cabinet.

To conclude, the confidential information given by the participants is used for academic purposes only and all of these personal data would absolutely be kept strictly confidential in each stage of interview. How to strike the balance between the protection of privacy and the accuracy of data needs to be continually reflected on the importance of procedural ethics and ethics in practice due to the boundary of legal and moral regulations.

Conclusion

This chapter consolidates the foundations of methodology and methods. This first part considered the ontological and epistemological groundings with reference to school bullying research and further adopted critical realism in this research. This second part continued to compare the different methodological theories and approaches and bridged the gap between critical realism and methodological theory. After this comparison, the scientific theory approach in dialectical methodology as opposed to the theoretical approach is the best suited for dealing with the distinction between fact and value and between generality and particularity. The first and second parts tend to be more abstract to lay the foundations of the analytical framework and data analysis. The third part is more practical and introduced the detailed information about the fieldwork in Taiwan and four terrains (government sectors, non-profit organisation, research organisations and local schools) covering the main stakeholders within the school anti-bullying policy research. The last part included the application of method and its ethical issues which explain the practicability of data analysis and data interpretation. A critical qualitative case study was adopted in this policy research which is suitable for exploring the generative mechanism and causal power behind the events and situations in line with the underpinning claims of critical realism. On the one hand, ethical issues are also introduced and explained in this part which is conducive to reflecting on procedural ethics and ethics in practice within the three stages of interview (pre-interview, process of interview and post-interview) due to the legal and moral regulation of social research. On the other hand, ethics is, to a substantial extent, closely related to the process of the entire research and further redefines the clear relations between researcher and research participants, between researcher and data analysis, and between researcher and abstract social relations within the specific research.

Table 5.5 Summary of Research Participants and Coding Structure

| Coding number | Name (gender) | Terrain | Educational background | Coding type | |
|---------------|-------------------|-------------------------|---|--|---|
| | | | | (1) Open coding | (2) Axial coding |
| A1-20140703 | Alexis (male) | Central Government | PhD degree in educational administration and policy | ➤ To problematise school bullying ➤ To promote policy formation | Policy planning, and political ideology |
| A2-20140717 | Anselm (male) | Central Government | MA degree in educational administration and policy | ➤ To respond to the criticism from the public and law-makers; ➤ To construct the policy discourse to persuade the public | Policy planning & implementation |
| A3-20140617 | Brian (male) | Central Government | PhD degree in educational administration and policy | ➤ To design the policy for improving the bullying problem | Policy planning & implementation |
| A4-20140709 | Annabel (female) | Central Government | PhD degree in political science | ➤ To discuss the political meaning of law-making; | Law making and policy inquiry; Political ideology |
| A5-20140707 | Brenda (female) | Central Government | PhD degree in political science | ➤ To strike the balance between the public and political struggle | Law making and policy inquiry; Political ideology |
| B1-20140708 | Claudia (female) | Non-Profit Organisation | MA degree in social work and social welfare | ➤ Focusing on the child welfare and rights ➤ Strengthening the connection between the family, school and community | Policy rebuttal (pro-government) |
| B2-20140618 | Desmond (male) | Non-Profit Organisation | BA degree in sociology | ➤ To demonstrate the stance of human right and government responsibility | Policy rebuttal (against government) |
| B3-20140707 | Eunice (female) | Non-Profit Organisation | BA degree in sociology | ➤ A radical group to fight against bureaucratic educational policy ➤ To stress the construction of humanistic Education | Policy rebuttal (against government) |
| C1-20140718 | Gabriel (male) | Local school | PhD student in special education | ➤ To introduce the programme design in primary school level ➤ To reflect the policy gap between government and local school culture ➤ To rethink the policy and the transformation of school-based programme | Programme implementation & school culture |
| C2-20140723 | Florence (female) | Local school | MA degree in pedagogy | ➤ To introduce the programme design in secondary school level | Programme implementation & school culture |
| C3-20140717 | Henry (male) | Local school | MA degree in pedagogy | ➤ To reflect the national policy gap between government and local school | Programme implementation & school culture |
| C4-20140701 | Laurence (male) | Local school | MA degree in counselling | ➤ To link the bullying issue to drug abuse and | Programme implementation & school culture |

| | | | | | |
|-------------|------------------|--------------|---|---|--|
| C5-20140701 | Louisa (female) | Local school | MA degree in pedagogy | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ gangsters problem among adolescents ➤ To discuss the peer culture and school culture | Programme implementation & school culture |
| C6-20140623 | Murray (male) | Local school | MA degree in pedagogy | | Programme implementation & school culture |
| C7-20140619 | Rosalyn (female) | Local school | BA degree in citizenship education | | Programme implementation & school culture |
| C8-20140715 | Ronald (male) | Local school | MA degree in pedagogy | | Programme implementation & school culture |
| D1-20140627 | Teddy (male) | Academia | PhD degree in public health | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ To discuss the ties between safe school and public health promotion ➤ To rethink the essence of subject and political struggle | Policy research and political ideology; policy gap between research and practice |
| D2-20140711 | Wesley (male) | Academia | PhD degree in criminology | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ To incorporate the criminology into school violence ➤ To stress the link between the police agency system and school administration | Policy research and political ideology; policy gap between research and practice |
| D3-20140713 | Reynold (male) | Academia | PhD degree in social work and social policy | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ To stress the responsibility of school safety for social workers and clarify the differences between counsellors and social workers ➤ To reflect the subject status in the political arena | Policy research and political ideology; policy gap between research and practice |
| D4-20140711 | Suzanne (female) | Academia | PhD degree in public health and psychology of education | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ To discuss the ties between safe community and public health promotion ➤ To criticise policy and further analyse logic of policy | Policy research and political ideology; policy gap between research and practice |
| D5-20140714 | Nigel (male) | Academia | PhD degree in criminology | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ To reconceptualise the meaning of bullying ➤ To discuss the ties between safe school and public criminology ➤ To promote and apply the criminal justice in conciliation between bullies and victims | Policy research and political ideology; policy gap between research and practice |
| D6-20140716 | Luman (male) | Academia | PhD degree in pedagogy and psychology | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ To discuss pedagogical development in policy and curriculum design ➤ To rethink the subject role in the policy making and political struggle | Policy research and political ideology; policy gap between research and practice |

CHAPTER 6

POLITICAL SYSTEM AND SCHOOL REGULATION IN TAIWAN

Introduction

The main purpose of the second part of this thesis is to examine school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan by discussing its development since 1945 and analysing the evolution of school regulation policy. This chapter begins with a case study in Taiwan that is divided into four parts. First, the Taiwanese political system is considered and described to establish the public policy approach and mode of party-state governance in the context of Taiwan. Then, the second part introduces the operation of the education system, especially at the of primary and secondary levels, which helps us to illuminate the power struggles of policy making within and beyond education system. The third part sketches out a general picture of the origins and development of school regulation policy. The final part brings together the main arguments discussed in this chapter and then reflects on the limitations of historicising Taiwanese school anti-bullying policy on the basis of the progress of democratic schooling development.

The Transition to Taiwanese Political System and Governance

The narrative of Taiwanese history is full of colonisation and the country was mainly governed by the Netherlands (1624-1662), Spain (1626-1642) and Japan (1895-1945). Since the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) took over Taiwan in 1945 and fled to Taiwan in 1949, the structure of governance based upon the level of democratisation could be broadly divided into four main periods: authoritarian (1945-1986), post-martial law (1987-1996), democratic transformation (1996-2008) and democratic consolidation and deepening (2008-2014). In what follow, each period is described and discussed in line with the transformation of political ideology and the formation of two-party politics in the historical context of party-state governance.

The Authoritarian Period (1945-1986)

After its unconditional surrender at the end of the World War II, Japan relinquished Taiwan in 1945. Meanwhile, at the outbreak of the second Chinese Civil War (1945-1949), the Chinese nationalist party (KMT) mainly led by Chiang Kai-Shek was trounced by the China Communist Party forces led by Mao Zedong and then fled to in 1949 Taiwan as a military base in preparation for taking back China. In the initial stage of this period it was said that the KMT government put a high premium on resisting China's Communist regime and viewed Taiwan as a temporary military base which led to inward conflict between mainland government officials and Taiwanese local citizens.

From 1949, the state and party were inseparable and the narrative of governance may be characterised as authoritarian leadership with a weak civil society and a repressive political mechanism with the aim of controlling people's minds in the interests of collective solidarity and loyal patriotism (Mattlin, 2011). At that time, the authoritarian government of the KMT intentionally excluded the local Taiwanese elites who had helped to resist the Japanese imperialism and employed a large number of officials from China (originally they had lived in Taiwan and moved to China during the period of Japanese colonisation) who were called 'half-mountain' Taiwanese (banshan). Davison (2003, p.75) described the alienated relations between 'half-mountain' Taiwanese and local people under the one party state governance :

The half-mountain appellation was applied to those native Taiwanese who allied themselves with the Guomindang [KMT] and gave their efforts to the struggle against the Japanese on the mainland. Hence, there were ongoing conflicts and contractions within the political framework of 'one-party state' that, to a large degree, brought about the alienation and antagonism between the ruling party and Taiwanese local people.

According to the historical documents Taiwan was situated in the international political struggle between the US and the Soviet Union and was simultaneously faced with heavy pressures of economic depression and post war recovery. This meant that everything was waiting to be done. The KMT led by Chiang Kai-Shek took the step of enforcing martial law, imposing curfews and even suspending the operation of the constitution in the name of national security to strengthen the legitimacy of the authoritarian state in Taiwan. At that time local elections were controlled by the KMT to build political factions grounded in local areas and repressed dissidents whose ideologies were against the ruling party. This caused the tragic political persecution of the Kaohsiung Incident in 1979 during the reign of the 'white

terror' (Rigger, 2001). The origin of this incident was that Formosa Magazine staff organised pro-democracy activities to commemorate International Human Rights Day in December which was strongly suppressed by the KMT government and eight members of its staff were charged with subversion (Rigger, 2001).

The main contributions of political economy in Taiwan led by Chiang Kai-Shek's son, Chiang Ching-Kuo (1978-88), can be discussed in two main facets, including the policy of centrally-planned economy (especially in land reform and industrial construction) and the continual promotion of nine-year compulsory education. In terms of the state-led planned economy, the KMT initiated land reform for Taiwanese peasants, comprising The 37.5% Arable Rent Reduction Act in 1951 (Office of the President, 1951b), Release of Government-Owned Tillable Land to Self-tilling Farmers in Taiwan Province in 1951 (Taiwan Provincial Government, 1951c) and Land to the Tiller Act in 1953 (Office of the President, 1953) that, in reality, practised the ideal of 'Three Principles of the People' by Dr. Sen Yat-Sen. In 1958, the People's Republic of China (PRC) made war by launching an intense artillery bombardment against Kinmen, resulting in Taiwan Strait Crisis which was called 823 Artillery Bombardment (Szonyi, 2008). In terms of cross-strait political situation, Chiang Kai-Shek on behalf of Taiwanese government signed the Joint Communiqué with America on the 23rd of October with the intention of gaining American defense. In the same year, the KMT officially declared the abandonment of taking back China and political legitimacy in China due to establishing diplomatic relations between China and America. After that, it was an historical turning point when the primary focus of the KMT governance gradually turned to the domestic construction of Taiwan rather than focusing on full-scale counterattack.

In 1968, the KMT perceived labour quality as essential for national development and implemented the nine-year compulsory education to satisfy the basic educational needs that is, to some extent, conducive to the raising of civic consciousness and the transition in political structure (Office of the President, 1968; Chou & Ching, 2012). On the other hand, education was seen as a means of hegemonic domination and conveyed the ideology of the one-party state. Hence, during the 1960s and 1970s, the Ten Major Infrastructure Projects (including construction of transportation and heavy industry) combined with a successful compulsory education system stabilised social development and gave rise to the birth and expansion of the the middle class (Roy, 2003). In 1967, the central parliament by-election was open to Taiwanese citizens and unlocked the political channel for dissidents to take part

in political decisions and law making under the governance of the one-party state (Rigger, 1999). The exercise of political revolution by non-party members rebuilt the new possibility of Taiwanese identity and challenged the legitimacy of undemocratic governance that laid the foundation for making the political transition to the democratic period and for boosting the development of industrialisation and urbanisation (Wachman, 1994). Accompanied by political development with reference to identity politics, it was notable that the indigenous (localisation) movement and identity movement was deeply rooted in different aspect of life for the purposes of reconceptualisation of Taiwanisation, especially in the field of Taiwanese dialectics, literature and history, which thus facilitated the pace of democratic development (Wachman, 1994).

The Post-martial Law Period (1987-1996)

In the second period of political governance the KMT positively responded to public desire for democratisation in Taiwanese civil society by lifting the Martial Law in 1987 and the ban on newspaper publications and political parties in 1988 (Office of the President, 1987). Before lifting the ban on political parties, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was established in 1986 which marked a prelude to two-party politics in Taiwan (Rigger, 1999). Notably, President Lee Teng-hui abolished the Temporary Provisions Effective during the Period of National Mobilisation for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion in 1991 and the Legislative Yuan were first fully re-elected in 1992, the two of which meant that the political development was oriented to meet the minimal needs of democracy (Rigger, 1999; Roy, 2003). After the massive social moment for freedom of speech, Article 100 of Criminal Code which regulated the thoughts and speeches of pro-communists, and Taiwan independence were revised in 1992. During the 1990s, it was noted that the amendment of the constitution provided a legal foundation to elect the president by Taiwanese citizens.

Moving to discussion of the political system, it was composed of Five Yuan based upon the constitution drafted by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen that was fully controlled by the KMT during the period of one-party state. In this period, the enlightenment of democratic consciousness was rooted in people's minds and the competition of a two-party framework brought about the practice of constitutionalism that represented the decline of authoritarianism and transformation of democracy (Yeh, 2002). Yeh (2002, p.65) described the constitutionalism and democratisation in Taiwan:

In Taiwan, for example, the transition began with an externally imposed constitution and a relatively healthy economy and ended with a regime change more than a decade later. Uniquely enough, all the constitutional politics in the transitional period has taken place in a territory recognised diplomatically by only 27 countries of the international community, and hence statehood, political identity and international representation become core issues in the development of transitional constitutionalism. The celebrated ‘quiet revolution’ in Taiwan was carried out and codified into the existing constitution that used to be considered as externally imposed.

The Democratic Transformation Period (1996-2008)

The first direct presidential election was held on the 23rd of March 1997. At the same time, the 334-member National Assembly and a 225-member Legislative Yuan were also re-elected both of which substantially initiated the democratic reform in Taiwan (Fell, 2012). Lee Teng-hui was elected as president with 54 percent of the vote and appointed Lien Chan to act as Premier. This election raised international concerns with reference to the issue of Asian democratisation and, in particular, the European Parliament made an important decision to support Taiwan joining in international organisations on the 18th of July 1996 (Dickson & Zhao, 2002). The consciousness of Taiwan’s subjectivity was aroused due to the fact that the Taiwanese government announced sovereignty of Tiaoyutai Island on the 12th of September 1996 and rejected any cooperation with the Chinese government in the protection of fishing rights. In order to facilitate the national reform, the Taiwanese National Development Conference took place on the 23th of December and finally reached a crucial agreement on downsizing and abolishing the provincial government (Fell, 2012). Taiwan was made a province of China in 1887 (Copper, 2009) and the meaning of downsizing and abolishing the provincial government was to raise the government efficiency and re-allocate political power between central and district governments (Dickson & Zhao, 2002) .

In this period, it was noted that the social order was unstable and violent crimes had almost become a part of social life. There are two lethal crimes that caused a sensation in the history of Taiwan’s security in 1996 and 1997. On the 21st of November, Taoyuan County Magistrate Liu Pang-you and seven local politicians were shot dead at Liu’s residence, which was reported as a gang political assassination. Another incident took place on 14th of April 1997 was the murder of Pai Hsiao-Ya. Hence, on the 4th of May 1997, several civil groups staged a massive demonstration, called for March for Taiwan, to defend a positive social order and was the largest protest in Taiwan’s history at the time (Copper, 2015). The Council of Grand Justice announced that the legislator’s violent behaviour was no longer exempted from arrest

and legal prosecution after 1st of August 1997 (Copper, 2015). Specifically, people expected the new era of democracy even while suffering from political and social violence in their daily life. This accounted for the unsolved socio-political problem about the relations between hegemonic structure and party state governance. In the authoritarian period, the government took control of individual behaviour and thoughts based upon undemocratic and strict regulations, while a criticism was also made in the democratic period that the democratic regime still failed to consolidate democratic values in every aspect of social life which was perhaps underpinned by hegemonic political regime (Mai & Shih, 2001).

The first transfer of political power is another major aspect in this period. In March of 2000, Chen Shui-bian and Annette Lu on behalf of the DPP won the presidential election with 39.2 percent of the vote and ended more than fifty years of one party-state domination by the KMT. In December of 2001, DPP also won the 87 of the body's 225 seats in the parliamentary election and became the largest party in the Taiwan's Legislative Yuan (Lachlan & Copper, 2008). President Chen Shui-Bian reiterated the subjectivity of Taiwanisation, promoting localisation movements in different areas in pursuit of Taiwanese identity as opposed to the KMT's Han chauvinist identity, such as in local culture policy, language policy, and multicultural education policy (Chang, 2011). As discussed earlier, the ethos of democracy in Taiwan was embedded in a violent structure of politicisation in that Chen Shui-bian and Annette Lu on behalf of the DPP running for the second time presidential election were shot and the assailant became a fugitive. Finally, Chen Shui-bian and Annette Lu won the election while this outcome was highly controversial. President Chen Shui-Bian and his ministries were accused of political corruption in 2005 which spurred the massive Red Movement to depose the President (Bradsher, 2006). After the end of his presidential term in November 2008, President Chen Shui-Bian was accused of corruption and held incommunicado (Barboza, 2008).

The Democratic Consolidation and Deepening Period (2008-2014)

After Chen's political corruption, Ma Ying-Jeou on behalf of the KMT won the election to be the 12th Taiwanese President. This means the second peaceful power transfer (the first power transfer took place in 2000 to end 55-years of the KMT governance when Chen Shui-Bian won the presidential election) as democratic consolidation echoing Huntington's (1991, p.267) political conception of 'two-turnover test' which means 'the party that takes power in

the initial election at the time of transition loses a subsequent election and turns over power to those election winners, and if those election winners then peacefully turn over power to the winners of a later election'. At the initial stage of the KMT regime in this period, under the heavy pressure of human rights groups, President Ma's government put a high premium on the reconstruction of cross-strait relations with China and devoted itself to legalising the human right covenants, such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (Office of the President, 2009). Political reform focused on revision of Taiwanese domestic laws and regulations based upon the principles of human right acts and covenants and laid the foundation for democratic consolidation and deepening.

Compared with the previous period, this one was characterised by the stable development of democratisation. However, according to Clark's (1998) categorisation of political ideology, the policy ideologies of the KMT broadly transformed from authoritarian conservatism to modern liberalism orientation in pursuit of the accumulation and flow of economic capital in the free market at the expense of labour exploitation and de-humanised fierce competition that was considerably criticised as 'authoritarian legalisation' in the process of Taiwanese democratisation (Cooney, 1996). The ongoing discussion between capitalism and democracy raised the public concerns in this period, targeting the political issues of signing the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement with China and the monopoly of mass media. These issues also brought about large scale social movements including the Anti-Media Monopoly Movement in 2012 and the Sunflower Movement in 2014 that helped the citizens rethink the elusive ties between democratisation and economic ideology and which ideological direction should be followed to the ideal civil society in Taiwan (Rawnsley, 2014).

The four different periods recorded evolution of political change in parallel with the development of democratisation. Critically, the political reform in 1989 was seen as a watershed in the process of democratisation (Rigger, 1999) which intensified the underpinning infrastructure of electoral system and the operation of oppositional political parties (Rigger, 1999; Fell, 2010). To put it another way, the transition to political structure led Taiwanese society toward embracing the core values of equity and liberty which triggered the transformation of sub-system and the education system is no exception. Specifically, schooling as a disciplinary system by a party state is loaded with political ideologies that epitomise the operation of the generative mechanism between structure and agency.

Taiwanese Educational System and the Logic of Political Ideology

The education system and the development of the party state were indivisible. Each period of schooling conveys specific political ideologies for students and instructors to follow with the intention of ensuring the stability of hegemonic governance based upon the Althusserian account of ideological state apparatus and Gramscian consideration of cultural hegemony (Cole, 2007). The following describes the ideological principles and functions of schooling in different periods and explores the interplay between the logic of political operation and production of educational policy with reference to implicit state control and the construction of national identity.

Schooling in the Authoritarian Period (1945-1986)

The educational principle of the authoritarian period was to strengthen the core thoughts of the one-party state for the purpose of the sinicisation of Taiwan and being Anti-Communist and Anti-Soviet, including the promotion of Three Principles of the People in school curriculum and military-like student campus life (Office of the President, 1951a). Furthermore, it was demonstrable that the education system and political governance were inseparably intertwined. In terms of historical Taiwanese studies, schooling intentionally designed and fully dominated by the KMT regime had become a part of the policing system to control students' thoughts and behaviour with the intention of learning to be nationalistic and patriotic. For example, Pre-Minister of Education Tu Cheng-Sheng (2007, p.3) was critical of KMT party-state education as a combination of Fascist education and Chinese-oriented education in a public speech at the London School of Economics and Political Science:

To protect and safeguard their privileges and vested interests, the KMT declared the rule of martial law, which continued to be enforced all over the island for 38 years, from 1949-1988. On campuses lurked almost ever present thought police, who never failed to spy, on behalf of the KMT and to check people's loyalty to and obedience of the ruling party. Liberal-minded teachers and students were always subject to their surveillance and control. Military education was required of all high school and college students. Military personnel or so-called drill-masters were universally stationed at all civilian educational institutions. ... It was during this period that the KMT combined Fascist education and Chinese-oriented education, blending them together, into one like twins.

More specifically, the implementation of the curriculum was closely related to political ideologies. It was noted that the national policy of General Programs of Opposing the

Communists and Resisting the Russians was released by the KMT regime that pushed the revision of the Secondary School Guideline in 1952 for the purpose of consolidating the subject of Three Principles of the People and military training education in secondary schools (Chiang, 1952). During the period of the 1950s and the 1960s, the slogan and thought of opposing the communists and resisting the Russians was widely politically propagated at the centre of campus life, such as the adoption of teaching materials with reference to opposing the communists and resisting the Russians (Taiwan Provincial Government, 1951) and the adoption of music materials concerning Opposing the Communists and Resisting the Russians (Taiwan Provincial Government, 1952). Before the implementation of the nine year compulsory education policy, another goal of schooling was to help students prepare for the junior high school (secondary level) and senior high school (post-secondary level) entrance examination. Under the heavy pressure of competition, students would stay in schools until 5:00 pm and sometimes stay until 8:00 or 9:00 pm for extra classes (Chou & Ching, 2012).

Until 1968, it was a milestone that the national education policy extended compulsory education from 6 to 9 years on the basis of the 1968 Compulsory Education Act to enhance the quality of the labour force in preparation for economic development (Office of the President, 1968). The goal of compulsory education is to cultivate the development of the whole person in the moral, intelligent, physical, teamwork and aesthetic dimensions, especially in the intelligence aspect (Chou & Ching, 2012). For instance, research conducted by Wilson (1970) discussed the relations between the political socialisation of Taiwanese children and the ways of learning to be Chinese. The results of this research showed that there are three ways to realise how the schools and families reinforce children to be Chinese, including group orientation, leadership and political style and hostility. In fact, the author just objectively described and explained the main characteristics of the education system under the domination of the KMT regime and his discussion was to a considerable extent uncritical of how the authoritarian mechanism made the Taiwanese children to be moral people in the specific context of the one party-state governance. In this period, the education system primarily served the purpose of the ruling party's governance and students were asked to spend a lot of time on education of ideological indoctrination and fierce competition of entrance examination in control of their mind and soul.

Schooling in the Post-martial Law Period (1987-1996)

Compared with the authoritarian period this was featured as the age of education restructuring which was in pursuit of the transformation of the educational system and human rights-oriented education (Chou & Ching, 2012). It is argued that the turning point with reference to transition of educational system from centralisation to decentralisation is called the 'educational earthquake' (Weng, 2004). For example, many crucial educational programmes were implemented in this period, such as the Programme on Developing and Improving Child Education 1992-1998 and the Programme on Developing and Improving Adult Education 1991-1996. Following the lifting of Martial Law in 1987, the political reform spurred the possibility of educational change, including the democratic institutionalisation of education policy, the rise of education reform group and the enlightenment of democratic consciousness (Chou & Ching, 2012 ; Tu, 2007).

On the 10th of May 1994, it was noted that the 410 Education Reform Union on behalf of the middle class in Taiwan staged a demonstration to call for a liberalisation of education and emphasis on the subjectivity of learners (Tu, 2007). It was demonstrated that four appeals were put forth in this civil movement, including expanding the number of public high schools and universities, making the Educational Fundamental Act, downsizing classes and schools and enacting the liberalisation of education. Notably, Pre-Minister of Education Tu Cheng-Sheng interpreted the meaning of power restructuring in this educational movement as follows (Tu, 2007, p. 5):

Its main appeal was to demand the removal of all unreasonable controls and bondages imposed on education by the authoritarian government and to return to the student-centered educational liberation movement. It demanded a shift of the concepts of de-centralisation to individualisation. That is to say, the previous top-down linear government system, from central to local, from governmental agencies to individual schools, needed to be replaced; in its stead, teachers and schools should be able to form the mainstay of education, and take charge of education matters.

The Taiwanese Executive Yuan set up The Education Reform Committee in 1994 hosted by Lee Yuan-Tseh, being the first Taiwanese Nobel Prize laureate, and finally the committee reached agreement on the issue of education reform, publishing five Consultants' Concluding Report on Education Reform in 1996 in response to the civil appeals (Executive Yuan, 1996). These reports were concluded by five recommendations for the future educational development, comprising deregulating education, focusing on each individual student,

providing multiple ways to advanced learning, raising education opportunity and establishing a lifelong learning society. This was the first time that a grassroots civil group exerted considerable pressure on the government body to engage in the agenda of educational modernisation and liberalisation.

A key to pushing forward educational reform can be attributed to the enactment of Civil Organisation Law in 1989 which led to the rise of educational reform groups, including the Humanistic Education Foundation in 1989, the National Teachers Professional Organisation in 1999, Taiwan Association of University Professors in 1990 and so on (Weng, 2004; Chou & Ching, 2012). Their appearance brought about the initial development of civil society and embarked on the creation of humanitarian learning environment, as could be seen in Chou and Ching's (2012, p.28) critical remarks about the political meaning of educational reform groups:

They [educational reform groups] were all dissatisfied with the KMT government's hegemonic control of the education system. The common goals among these groups created opportunities for them to form alliances to work together. They united to organise mass demonstrations or hold large conferences to stand against the KMT government on some educational issues that they felt were incompatible with Taiwan's new social circumstances.

In terms of practical facets, the changing structure of the curriculum in primary and secondary schools was somewhat involved in the reconstruction of Taiwanese identity. For example, the subject of Knowing Taiwan in the field of social studies was implemented in the in the early 1990s which was in line with the Tu's discourse of 'concentric framework about history education' (Tu, 2007). His framework laid stressed on the subjectivity of the Taiwanese and implied the subversion of China ideology that 'the teaching of history should start from an understanding of Taiwan, from local to global, to be expanded to China, Asia, and the world' (Tu, 2007, p.4).

Schooling in the Democratic Transformation Period (1996-2008)

In this period it was assumed that the making of the Educational Fundamental Act in 1999 (Office of the President, 1999a) and the revision of the Primary and Junior High School Act in 1999 (Office of the President, 1999b) were welcome by Taiwanese citizens, further legalising education rights and equalising educational opportunity. The linkage between education law, educational policy and curriculum reform sketched out the evolutionary

development of education reform and its dialectical relations between macro socio-political structure and micro schooling of democratisation with respect to politics identity.

Following the development of educational liberalisation and modernisation, the political transition of education aims reflected in the Educational Fundamental Act in 1999 and Article 2 of the Act embodied the importance of humanitarian education purposes and ideas as follows (Office of the President, 1999a):

People are the subject of education rights. The purposes of education are to cultivate modern citizens with sense of national identity and international perspectives by fostering the development of wholesome personality, democratic literacy, ideas of rule of law, and humanities virtues, patriotic education, native soil care and information capability; strengthening people's physical health as well as their abilities to think, judge and create; and enhancing respect for basic human rights, protection of ecosystems and natural environment, and understandings of and concerns for different countries, ethnic groups, sexes, religions and cultures. The country, educational institutions, teachers and parents alike shall share responsibilities to facilitate in the realization of the aforesaid education purposes.

In terms of political environment, it was noted that the stability of regular elections and the institutionalisation of party competition consolidated the consciousness of democracy. As far as schooling reform is concerned, the promotion of equality of opportunity and the rights of parental choice made schools become arenas of power struggles with reference to critical issues of social restructuring, political democratisation and economic liberalisation (Weng, 2004). For example, it was considered that the publication of The Twelve Programmes of Action Plan for Education Reform in 1998 (Ministry of Education, 1998), including improving compulsory education, expanding nursery education, improving teacher training and in-service education system, pluralizing and refining technical and vocational education, pursuing excellent higher education, implementing lifelong and IT education, implementing family education, reinforcing education for students with special needs, higher education reform, guidance system reform and reinforcing education expenditure and research. A historical analysis by Lin (2003, p.136) with reference to the relations between political indoctrination and Taiwanese education reform pointed out that Pre-President Lee's (1993-1999) main characteristics of education policy could be seen as a student-centred orientation rather than meet the needs of political agenda, embracing preparing students for future challenge and international competitiveness, consolidating K-12 education, making curriculum more realistic, emphasizing human subjects, empowering teacher for curriculum flexibility.

In practical terms, there was a crucial national education reform in this period based upon Pre-President Chen Shui-bian's ideology of localisation. It was recognised that the education reform of Grade 1-9 Curriculum policy paid attention to the school-based curriculum development and indigenization curriculum. This meant that the localisation movement exerted considerable influence on local school curriculum reform and the promotion of school-based curriculum development facilitated the development of indigenisation curriculum. For example, Hughes and Stone (1999, p.989) viewed curriculum reform in Taiwan as not only a kind of political indoctrination, but also the critical skill development of political literacy. Moreover, Mao's (2008, p.586) critical discussions comprehensively dealt with the relations between identity politics and curriculum reform:

The emergence of two new curricula (Indigenisation Curriculum and Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum) is a part of an identity construction process. What curriculum includes and excludes and what forms it takes are not merely educational issues concerning educators. They are also identity questions tied to each member of the society.

In brief, compared with the previous period, it was argued that the central discussion of this period was more involved in the schooling of democratisation and identity politics of Taiwanisation along with the dramatic transformation of political ideology. It is worth mentioning that a political dilemma between learning either to be Chinese or Taiwanese remains unsolved and intangible in the ongoing process of education reform that may heavily depend on whose knowledge is of most worth rather than what knowledge is of most worth.

Schooling in the Democratic Consolidation and Deepening Period (2008-2014)

After the second period of political power transfer, it was said that how to enhance the quality of schooling reform and further secure the students' rights had become the main focus in this period after the KMT's return to political power. There were three main issues discussed in this period, including the emerging crisis of school safety, the undemocratic revision of curriculum guideline and the implementation of twelve-year compulsory education policy, which could be seen as the intensification of democratic consolidation in schooling reform within the context of Taiwanese civil society.

First, the issue of school safety in Taiwan included the legitimacy of corporal punishment and events of school bullying. In essence, these two dimensions are to a great extent concerned

with the right of body autonomy and the school regulations of students' rewards and punishments. It was suggested that high consensus was reached by the different policy stakeholders that facilitated the revision of Educational Fundamental Act in 2006 and 2011 and the revision of the Teachers' Act in 2009, legalising students' right of body autonomy and securing students' right of freedom from fear and violence produced by teachers and peers. Article 8 in the Educational Fundamental Act shows that (Office of the President, 2011):

Students' rights to learning and education, the right to develop mentally and physically shall be protected by the country, and also will safeguard students' rights against mental or corporal punishment and bullying. Parents have the responsibility to provide guidance to their children during the period of national compulsory education for their children, and have the rights to select the form and content of education and participate educational affairs of the school for the wellbeing of their children in accordance with relevant laws and regulations. Schools shall provide a good learning environment in line with the developmental needs of the local community under the legal supervision of governments of all levels.

Secondly, it was a breakthrough that the purpose of the Twelve-year Compulsory Education Policy in 2013 was to reduce the competition of high school entrance examinations and normalise teaching and learning in schools. Politically, this could be seen as the practice of President Ma Ying-Jeou's campaign platform that extended compulsory education from 9 to 12 years in response to the right of receiving basic education and bridges the gap between rural and urban educational development (Executive Yuan, 2013). However, there is an unsolved debate about the existence and disappearance of elite high schools on behalf of elitism and the fairness of entering tradition elite high schools. Moreover, how to strike the balance between the pressure from middle class and working class family was not merely a conflict between educational ideologies but also the logic of power struggles and political ideologies in restructuring a new social and school order. Critically, it is argued that discussion should be focused on whether the extension of school years is a way of liberation or emancipation from abnormal credentialism or of limiting the development of students who are not interested in academic learning and suffer from learning helplessness.

Thirdly, curriculum reform is an arena of political ideology and power struggles between different parties which was related to the aforementioned issue of political identity, played out in the ongoing debate between Sinicisation (also called Chinalisation) and Taiwanisation, in the context of Taiwan's education reform. It was claimed that the Ministry of Education undemocratically passed the 'minor adjustments' of curriculum guidelines for the Senior

High school in support of the hegemonic ideology of Sinicisation before the start of the second semester on the 10th of February 2014 (Huang, 2014). This means that there is a serious error of administrative procedure, including avoiding the supervision of the Legislative Yuan and disobeying the principles of constitutionalism, as could be seen in Huang's (2014, p.8) criticism about the KMT's ideological stance and undemocratic procedure with reference to 'minor adjustments of the high-school curriculum guidelines':

A 10-member assessment task force appointed by the Ministry of Education dominated the ministry's so-called 'minor adjustments' of the high-school curriculum guidelines for Chinese literature and social sciences as they carried out President Ma Ying-jeou's 'Sinicisation' instructions. The ministry's method of Sinicising the curriculum guidelines was not helpful to the achievement of the objectives of cultivating modern citizens with democratic literacy and awareness of the rule of law. Of course, its administrative acts were therefore in violation of the law.

Thus, the democratic interplay between the school order and power relations is playing a crucial role in constructing the emancipatory schooling structure. The changing of schooling development in terms of law-making, policy production and curriculum reform provided the socio-political background and specific context to explore the gradual evolution of Taiwanese school regulation policy since 1945.

Historical Evolution of Taiwanese School Regulation Policy

Following the examination of Taiwanese political and educational structure with reference to the development of democratisation, this part will turn to discuss the Taiwanese school regulation policy since 1945. The purpose is to historicise the school regulation policy within the school surveillance and control system at the interaction between political and education contexts. Similarly, there are four periods of school regulation policy along with the democratic development discussed in order. Moreover, three dimensions are included in the following discussion of school regulation policy, comprising physical and hygiene education, education on military training and campus security plus with student affairs and guidance.

School Regulation Policy in Authoritarian Period (1945-1986)

The earliest three school regulation policies were School Discipline and Moral Education in 1939 (its revision in 1952 was implemented in Taiwan) (Ministry of Education, 1952) and Guideline of Reinforcing National Spirit Education at All School Levels in 1952 (Taiwan

Provincial Government, 1952) and the Implementation Scheme of Life Education in 1962 (Ministry of Education, 1962), initially drafted by the KMT government based upon the needs of warfare with the intention of controlling students' behaviour and thoughts rather than counselling. The basic spiritual grounding of the Guideline of discipline is the Three Principles of The People by Dr Sun Yat-Sen (including principle of the nationalism, principle of democracy and principle of people's livelihood) and all students were asked to follow and memorise twelve Rules for Behaviour of Youth made by Chiang Kai-Shek as follows (Ministry of Education, 1952, p.16):

(1) Braveness is the root for being patriotic; (2) Filial piety is the root for regulating the family; (3) Kindheartedness is the root for keeping good relations with people; (4) Loyalty is the root for a successful career; (5) Peace is the root for a good conduct in the society; (6) Etiquette is the root for handling people's affairs; (7) Doing service is the root for taking the responsibilities; (8) Thrift is the root for doing one's service; (9) Being neat is the root for keeping a good health; (10) Helping others is the root for happiness; (11) Profound knowledge is the root for serving the country; (12) Persistence is the root for a success.

Historically, the subjects of scouting education in secondary schools and military education in post-secondary schools reflected the political need to teach basic military skills and instructing the management of students' campus life. Hence, since 1953, qualified military instructors would be selected by the Ministry of National Defense and distributed to post-secondary schools for military teaching on the basis of the Guideline of Military Spirit and Skill Training Above Post-secondary School in the Period of National Mobilisation in 1951 and the Implementation Rules of Post-secondary Military Training Education in 1953 (Ministry of Education, 1978). Subsequently, scouting education was implemented in 1957 on the basis of the Enforcement Plan for Scouting Education in Secondary Schools which was issued by Ministry of Education in 1957 for the purpose of learning national spirit education and life education (Ministry of Education, 1957). To be specific, the design of the Command Stage at the centre of school playground and the institutionalisation of school student picketing and school honour guard trained by either disciplinarians or military instructors were characterised as militarising schooling in the name of safeguarding school security and stabilising the social order.

The propaganda of the school regulation policy was to cultivate moral people and to be loyal to the national leadership which was seen as the governance of militarism. In terms of the bureaucratic division of labour with regard to school regulation policy, at the central government level, the Student Affairs Committee under the Ministry of Education was

established in 1945 and put in charge of national policy making and supervision of school regulations (Ministry of Education, 1978). At the local school level, based upon the Compulsory Education Law in 1944, the establishment of Disciplinary Section was institutionalised under Educational Affairs Section in primary and secondary schools to be responsible for the implementation of related policies and programmes with reference to life education and behaviour management. Similarly, the founding of the Military Training Office primarily took the responsibility of military training education and school security at the level of post-secondary school (Ministry of Education, 1978).

In this authoritarian period, three characteristics delineate the school regulations of party state schooling spanning 40 years. First, it was found that the association between military and educational institutions was hierarchically inseparable in the service of statism and militarism, two of which was thus mutually complementary. Second, students' behaviour was nationally disciplined and socially constructed by the politics of militarism which was underpinned by scouting education, military education and the politicised school discipline. Third, it was said that the scouting education and military education incorporated into schooling made Taiwan become the modelling province of the Three Principles of The People as the military base for fighting against communism and recovering the territory of mainland China. This meant that school regulation was deemed to be as means of political society that ran counter to Durkheim (1973, p.152) demonstration that 'school discipline can produce the useful results that it should only by confining itself within certain limits'.

School Regulation Policy in the Post-martial Law Period (1987-1996)

Under a public appeal for establishing a democratic civil society, school regulation policy in Taiwan gradually turned to place a premium on student guidance and behaviour counselling. In this period, it was understood that student affairs and guidance and education on military training and campus security served the purpose of student development rather than political needs. In terms of student affairs and guidance, the Six-Year Plan for MOE Student Effort was promulgated in 1991, focusing on the propaganda of training student guidance personnel, adding student guidance facilities, consolidating student guidance activities, and broadening the scope of student guidance (Ministry of Education, 1991). In reality, the official evaluative reports showed that this plan was urgently made in response to rising rates of juvenile crime and dropouts which were causing instability in schools during the early 1990s (Research,

Development, and Evaluation Commission of Executive Yuan, 1993). This hegemonic structure of schooling is attributed to the ‘elective affinity’ (or contingent relations), coined by Weber (1967), between indigenous gang culture of political fractions and social emancipation from long-term oppressive school regulation policy.

Table 6.1 Summary of Number and Rate of Crime in the Early 1990s

| Year | Number of crime (A) | Number of juvenile crime (B) | Rates of crime (B/A)*100 |
|------|---------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1991 | 14,822 | 8,624 | 58.18% |
| 1992 | 13,653 | 10,064 | 57.01% |
| 1993 | 15,465 | 9,139 | 59.09% |

Source: adapted from Research, Development, and Evaluation Commission of Executive Yuan, 1993, p. 7.

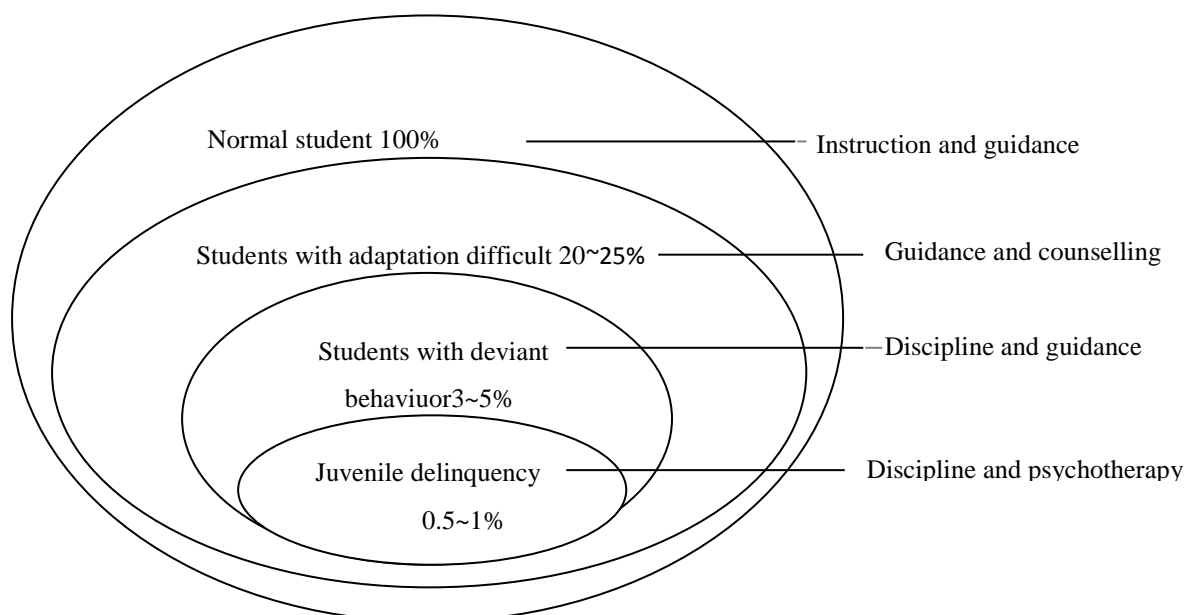
As far as education on military training and campus security were concerned, it was reported that illegal drugs were ubiquitous and trafficked in and out of schools. The Promotion Team of Youth-Support Project was established in 1990 and policy of Youth-Support Project in 1993 was promoted to tackle drug abuse on primary and high school campus and in particular implemented by military instructors and school disciplinarians. This project was primarily divided into three dimensions, including educational propaganda, urine tests for drugs and student counselling (Ministry of Education, 1993). Subsequently, a series of laws and practical actions were initiated, including, holding National Conference of Anti-drug’ in 1994, the making of the Regulations on Notification Mechanism and Re-entry Guidance of Drop-out Students in 1996 (Ministry of Education, 1996), Against Narcotics Act in 1998 (Office of the President, 1998) and the implementation of Programme of Educational Grant for Urine Tests for Drugs in 1998 (Ministry of Education, 1998).

The aim of school regulation in this period was to strike a balance between the liberation of political structure and restructuration of school order with reference to consideration on the social integration of social relations and the establishment of rule of law. In other words, a function of schooling was seen as a means of reducing juvenile delinquency rather than stressing whole person development. This period could be viewed as an initial stage of and as a necessary bridge on the way to schooling under democracy.

School Regulation Policy in the Democratic Transformation Period (1996-2008)

In this period, the new school order was restructured in response to the 410 Education Reform in 1994. In 1997, in the light of student affairs and guidance, the authoritarian educational policy of School discipline and Moral Education was abolished (1939/1952-1997) and replaced by the Youth Guidance Programme in 1997, the Plan for Strengthening the Education in Law in 1997 and Program of Integrative System for Instruction, Discipline and Guidance in 1999. These measures represented a paradigm shift of school regulation policy from political ideological indoctrination to pedagogical practice. The primary goal of student affairs and guidance was to turn greater attention to ‘mental health education for students’, guidance for dropouts to return to school, human rights education, gender equality education, life education, law and order education, and supporting school affairs in line with the initial development of a democratised society. In particular, it was noted that the purpose of the Program of Integrative System for Instruction, Discipline and Guidance was to clarify the different levels of deviance in schools and adopt particular ways (including the strategy of instruction, counselling, discipline and guidance) in which the school could properly deal with students’ code of behaviour (including normal student, students with adaptation difficult, students with deviant behaviour and juvenile delinquency/crime) in response to the ideal of No Child Left Behind (Figure 6.1) (Cheng, 2000). Following the regular democratic elections and the institutionalisation of two-party political competition, the practice of human rights, especially gender and sexuality rights, has been incorporated into the policy and laws, such as the Medium-Term Plans for promotion of Life Education in 1991, the Gender Equity Education Act in 2004, the Regulations on the Prevention of Sexual Assault, Sexual Harassment, and Sexual Bullying on Campus in 2005 and the Programme to Build Friendly Campuses in 2005. At the same time, school discipline policy was reconsidered with reference to regulating the punishment and the treatment of deviant behaviour, comprising the promulgation of the Guidelines for Facilitating Character and/or Moral Education Programs, Notice for School Regulations on Teacher’s Guidance and Discipline in 2006 and Regulations on School Implementing Teacher’s’ Guidance and Discipline’ in 2006 and Working Plan on the Promotion of School Positive Discipline in 2006. Moreover, it was suggested by Lee (2009) that the theoretical grounding of positive discipline was originally derived from Durkheim’s (1961) argument about the moral legitimacy of school discipline which could be interpreted as a means of making students moral and focus on the indivisible relations between the implementation of moral education and the reconstruction of school order.

Figure 6.1 Design of Integrative System for Instruction, Discipline and Guidance



Source: adapted from Cheng, 2000, p. 22.

In order to institutionalise the network of school security the establishment of campus security offices in 2001 dealt with the issue of natural disasters and school security events and the digitalised construction of school security network was initiated in 2002. The ongoing debate about whether military instructors should withdraw from schools has remained unresolved. According to the National Defence Education Act in 2005 (Office of the President, 2005a) and the revision of Regulations for the Implementation of Military Training above Senior High School in 2006 (Ministry of Education, 2006) , the changing role of military instructors in schools started to turn into teaching in the subject of General Education of National Defence in 2006. In 2006, due to the rising crime rates, the Committee of Reinforcing Social Security under the Administrative Yuan was set up and the main tasks of Ministry of Education included the prevention of school violence, bullying, drug abuse, and gang organisations. The problem of dropouts was also a priority which led to a close bond of oversight between educational institutions and the police administrations based upon the declaration of the Implementation Programme of Improving School Security: the Promotion of Friendly Campus and the Enactment of Anti-gangsters in 2006 (Ministry of Education, 2006). This implementation programme was seen by some as the prelude to school anti-bullying policy (Chen, Cheng & Huang, 2010).

Compared with the previous period, much emphasis was placed on physical and hygiene

education in school during this period with intention of constructing a health promotion system. It was noted that the Programme on Health Promoting Schools was implemented in 2001 (Ministry of Education, 2001) and the School Health Act was promulgated in 2002 (Office of the President, 2002), which paid much attention to ‘promoting the health of students and faculty members, and to providing the foundation for national health and life quality improvement’ (Article 1 of School Health Act). Legalisation on physical and hygiene education made the school environment more inclusive and supportive of students’ health management and life quality with regards to human rights to health on the one hand, while on the other, the individual pupil’s body become legally controlled by the state apparatus under the surveillance of the school control system. The former perspective was supported by scholars from the field of public health and orthodox psychology (Huang, 2011), while the latter perspective was largely espoused by critical theorists, especially Foucauldian criticism of discursive formation between bio-power and healthism represented in health education called the politics of health (Fitzpatrick & Tinning, 2014).

In essence, the hegemonic construction of school regulation policy in this period featured the integration of military training, student guidance and physical and hygiene education within the framework of evolutionary democratic regime, which is ideologically and morally driven socio-politics embedded in the school control system (Chun, 2013). For example, Chun (2013, p.158) illustrates how the disciplinary regime shaped the moral citizenship in the Taiwanese school system:

Spatial containment, social hierarchy and temporal regulation characterise the essential framework by which to understand the ritualised behaviours and etiquettes that represent the nature of social relations between teachers and students as well as between staff members and the system. While the educational system makes students the object of socializing discipline, with teachers and staff being agents of that system, the system also disciplines staff members as well, in the process of work, through similar regimes of supervision and evaluation. These disciplinary regimes operate in parallel, but they are largely predicated by similar principles.

School Regulation Policy in the Democratic Consolidation and Deepening Period (2008-2014)

In the wake of the third period, school regulation policy was still composed of military training, health education and student guidance which has continued working on the unsolved issues of school violence, school bullying and drug abuse. A central concern of student affairs

and guidance has been a change of emphasis from authoritarian and statist discipline to moral and human rights based discipline, such as the revision of the Guidelines for Facilitating Character and/or Moral Education Programs in 2009 (Ministry of Education, 2009) and the declaration of the White Paper of Gender Equity in 2010 (Ministry of Education, 2010a) and Medium-Term Plans of Life Education in 2010 (Ministry of Education, 2010c). At the level of school practice, revision of the Primary and Junior High School Act in 2012 (Office of the President, 2012) was made to tackle school violence and bullying through the establishment of counselling centre and employing a full-time director and several full-time guidance counsellors in each school. Then, specific action was taken to help drop-outs returning to school with the students' rights based upon the revision of the Regulations on Notification Mechanism and Re-entry Guidance of Drop-out Students in 2012 (Ministry of Education, 2012c). Most of arguments and consensus about the casual relations of school violence and student drop-out were attributed to a lack of guidance counsellors in schools which resulted in backward, misbehaved and learning helpless students. This implied that the logic of school regulation policy in principle overemphasised the individualisation and psychological perspectives rather than the role of social pathology with reference to disintegration of wider social resources and social relations at the heart of the politicalised school system.

Similar to the third period, the development of military education in this period continued to focus on knowledge of national defence, including the topics of the international situation, national defence policy, national defence education and training-defence mobilisation, and defence technology, based upon the promulgation of the Regulations for the curriculum Implementation of Nation Defence Education at All School Levels in 2010 (Ministry of Education, 2010b). Except for the existing post-secondary military education, this emerging policy suggested the incorporation of teaching methods to promote military education in primary and secondary schools with the intention of expanding students' global vision and cultivating patriotism and indigenous consciousness. This means that the military training education at this stage focuses more on ideologically pedagogical indoctrination than politicalised military training at all school levels. However, some of the controversy surrounding the concept and nature of defence education lies with the criticism of the political structure with reference to legitimacy of knowledge control and state authority. For instance, a critical sociological interpretation of school knowledge and social control made by Bernstein (1977, p.83) argued that:

How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control. From this point of view, differences within and change in the organisation, transmission and evaluation of educational knowledge should be a major area of sociological interest.

Two of the thorniest problems the government faced were the prevalence of school bullying and drug abuse in schools, both of which was inter-related and with no apparent single solution to these multifaceted problems. The primary purpose of some education policies was negatively made to problematise the social issues in response to public opinions. At the mention of school bullying, for example, the Implementation Plan of Prevention on School bullying at All School Levels was made in 2011 to put a counselling framework for tertiary prevention into the practice of school bullying prevention (Ministry of Education, 2011a). Moreover, the establishment of the Task Force of Prevention of School Bullying took full responsibility for collecting and evaluating school bullying incidents at all school levels. At the same time, public pressure from civil society led to the revision of Article 8 in the Educational Fundamental Act in 2011, stressing that ‘students’ rights to learning and education, the right to develop mentally and physically shall be protected by the country, and also will safeguard students’ rights against mental or corporal punishment and bullying’. Then, the practical policy of Regulations on the Prevention of Bullying on Campus in 2012 (Ministry of Education, 2012b) was introduced to assist schools in the making and revision of school regulations and processing flow with reference to dealing with school bullying incidences. A detailed discussion about the making of anti-bullying policy with reference to the dynamic interplay between political struggle and social relations will follow in the next two chapters (Chapters 7 and 8).

In terms of physical and hygiene education, in response to the democratic claims of human rights with reference to urine tests for drugs in schools, a revision of the Operating Guideline for Specific Urine Tests for Drugs at All school Levels was made to prevent drug abuse among students, coupling with civil society to stage the Echinacea Anti-drug Campaign in 2012 (Ministry of Education, 2012e). Subsequently, the educational policy of the Enforcement Plan for Enhancement in Echinacea Anti-drug Campaign in 2013 echoing the Youth-Support Project in 1993, valued the new propaganda image of health, anti-drugs and loving others and yourself highly in pursuit of mental health in schools. At the root of the second concern on physical and hygiene education were the issues of tobacco and betel nuts control and sex education. For example, it was suggested that three main educational policies

were legally responsible for both issues, including the Enforcement Plan for School Sex Education (including HIV prevention) in 2013 (Ministry of Education, 2013), the Working Plan for Betel Nuts Control among Youths and Children in 2014 (Ministry of Education, 2014a), the Enforcement Plan for Smoke Free School Project in 2014 (Ministry of Education, 2014b).

It was demonstrated that the policy of prevention of school bullying and drug abuse not only embodied the reinforcement of centralised state control but also characterised the representation of top-down democratic governance with regard to educational policy propaganda and students' body discipline. The meaning of social control has been interpreted by different classical sociologists, including Marx, Durkheim and Weber. Innes (2003, p.17) compared the differences between them in discussing a history of the idea of social control:

For Marx, control was both explicit and hidden, buttressing the operations of the conflict ridden capitalist system. Whereas for Durkheim, social order was based upon the institutionalisation and ritualisation of traditional moral values, some of which were codified into laws. In contrast Weber saw the 'iron cage of bureaucracy' as representing a rationalised logic of social ordering practices, which would, he believed, increasingly constrain and mould the physical and subjective qualities of individuals.

Sykes and Matza (1957, p.107) explained the logic of neutralising techniques in dealing with delinquents, arguing that 'internal and external social controls may be neutralised by sacrificing the demands of the larger society for the demands of the smaller social groups to which the delinquent belongs, such as the sibling pair, the gang, or the friendship clique'. According to the historicity of school regulation policies in Taiwan, a social web of the control system is tightly embedded in the making of school regulation policy, such as the gradual transition from School Discipline and Moral Education (1952) to the Guidelines for Facilitating Character and/or Moral Education Programmes (2009), the establishment of the Digitalised Construction of School Security Network (2002) within the framework of rational bureaucracy. Historically, it is assumed that the school regulation policy was implicitly dominated by socio-political mechanisms which were, to a greater extent, related to ontological issues of what the social reality of democratic governance is and how it used the social and school control systems to achieve the aim of hegemonic incorporation. School anti-bullying policy in Taiwan was loaded with historical tradition and political ideologies that needed to be questioned and challenged in the process of democratic governance with reference to the making of educational policy and the operation of the school system.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to explore the inter-related history of political transformation, education reform and the evolution of school regulation policy, which were epitomised by the socio-political mechanism of disciplinary regime and school control system. The chapter also acts as a bridge between the previous methodological considerations and later empirical studies. The historical development since 1945 is divided into four periods and each featured the logic of political governance (from authoritarianism to democratic structure) and the transformation of political ideologies (from conservatism to liberalism) which are historically inter-related to the making of education reform and school regulation policy. More specifically, the radical progress of democracy lays a robust foundation for the decentralisation of school structure and institutionalisation of policy making. However, the notions of power struggles and school control are particularly important variables in considering the possibility of indigenous democratic schooling. The primary argument in this chapter maps the transformation and characterisation of social control from explicit oppression within the political framework of an authoritarian regime to implicit hegemonic incorporation within the governance of an immature democracy in the name of either human rights or morally legitimate policy discourse. This implies that the importance of questioning elusive relations between the nature of school discipline and the meaning of school and social order has contributed considerably to the development of mature democratisation. Therefore, it is argued that this was accomplished by shifting the focus of democratisation away from an emphasis on democratic outcomes and instead placing greater emphasis on democratic processes. These issues will be explored further in how school regulation policies integrate the democratic processes and outcomes and in questioning whose ideologies and interests are served in the process of policy making. The next two chapters fully report the empirical analysis of the fieldwork (Chapter 7) and transcendental analysis concerning stratified layers of social ontology (Chapter 8) based upon qualitative data from representative research participants and underpinning critical insights from the theoretical foundations.

CHAPTER 7

FOUNDATIONS OF SCHOOL ANTI-BULLYING POLICY IN TAIWAN

Introduction

Following the discussion of the relations between political structure and school regulations in Taiwan, this chapter turns to explore the epistemic production of school anti-bullying policy on the basis of empirical data and historical documents. This chapter, in line with the methodological framework in Chapter 5, shows that school anti-bullying policy is largely a product of political struggle embedded in the contextual web of socio-political and research-based logic. It is divided into six sections. The first section begins with the discussion of the prevalence of school bullying revealed by the official and civil group survey and reflects on the meaning of and myths behind this survey. The second section analyses the political meaning and social impacts of school anti-bullying movement that was seen as a prelude to activate the production of school anti-bullying policy. Following the analysis of the anti-bullying movement, the third section departs from the discussion of origins and definitive debates of school anti-bullying policy and then considers the modes of social planning and school practices as a result of this policy. Then the dominant discourse and argument of policy stakeholders derived from qualitative data are further discussed. The last three sections consider the ideological logic and scientific logic of school anti-bullying policy and the differences between them. The seven sections tend to fit with Bhaskar's ontological layers of the domain of the actual (the level of experience and state of affairs) and the empirical (the level of experience), as explained in Chapter 5. In essence, this chapter builds the foundation for the next chapter's exploration of the indigenous generative mechanism (the domain of the real) and theorisation of school anti-bullying policy in pursuit of the possibility of schooling under democratic governance.

The Prevalence and Severity of School Bullying

Official consideration of school bullying was the result of media reports and some surveys among school children after the 1990s. A new school order, different from the authoritative schooling under the domination of the KMT one party state, was created in terms of human rights and democratic orientation after the lifting of Martial Law in 1987. Two kinds of bullying surveys conducted by a civil groups and the government are discussed and compared to understand the meaning of the statistics.

Civil Group Longitudinal Survey and Advocacy of School Bullying

Since 2004 the CWLF was the first non-profit organisation to conduct a bullying survey in schools and has periodically released annual bullying reports to which the public and legislators paid attention. Their longitudinal investigations primarily focused on the experience and types of school bullying among primary and secondary school children and the term ‘school bullying’, as opposed to that of ‘school violence’ by government authorities, was first introduced by this organisation. An NPO researcher, Claudia, working in this non-profit organisation, when interviewed mentioned the origins and motivation of the school bullying survey:

At first, the primary aim of our organisation is to promote the critical revision of The Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act and located itself as advocacy non-profit organisation, including the two modes of advocacy within and beyond the political system. In the past, the league put much emphasis on dealing with the practical issue about children anxiety of interpersonal relations and promoted the law making and revision which is belonging to advocacy within the political system. After finishing the law revision of The Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act, the league decided to conduct a survey of school bullying. In 2005, the league held the press conference to release the first bullying report in Taiwan which was seen as advocacy beyond the political system (B1-20140708).

This series of annual school bullying reports affected public attention to what was happening in schools. As mentioned in Chapter 6, the appearance of violent behaviour in schools became a critical issue after the lifting of martial law. Due to the absence of the political governance with reference to the discussion of anti-bullying policy, the practical contributions of these survey conducted by a civil group led to making the elusive issue of school bullying more political and transparent to the public. From 2004-2014, various topics around school bullying, based upon the CWLF survey, were considered in different years,

including the life experience of bullying in the year of 2004, 2010 and 2014, non-physical bullying in 2005, sexual bullying in 2006, the role of bullies in 2007, the key factors of bullying in 2009, cyber-bullying in 2012, and relational bullying in 2013. Claudia also mentioned the interaction between the start of the issue setting and different feedback from media, parents and government authorities:

In 2005, the issue of school bullying caused an overnight sensation in Taiwan because the press conference was appealing to many news reporters and journalists in a small meeting room. After that, CWLF received lots of feedback from the circle of media and individual parents. Some parents shared their children's bullying experience and received the negative attitude from local schools. However, we felt disappointed at that time in that the government authorities did not take any practical actions to deal with this emerging problem in schools (B1-20140708).

The long term research on school bullying, an attempt to highlight the prevalence of school bullying, has energised the CWLF to take part in educational reform within and beyond the political system. Claudia explained the reason why much emphasis on school bullying is interwoven between time and space in the context of Taiwan and the way in which this issue became politicised between the civil society and political arena:

Before the outbreak of serious bullying event of Ba-deh Junior-high School in 2010, we have made efforts to care about school bullying. For example, we collected some anti-bullying strategies to tackle school bullying from different foreign countries for a long time and put the practical programme into practice in schools. The media reporters usually contacted with me to enquire about exclusive news and perspectives about bullying. By this means, we can response at once when the Ba-deh [junior high school] bullying incident was triggered the public concern. Hence, the Ministry of Education invited us to assist in policy making and acted as a committee member of evaluating the implementation of policy (B1-20140708).

Another powerful civil group HEF, which always stands beyond the bureaucratic system (such as in the way it protests), deals with the imbalance of power with reference to the 'school and teachers of inappropriate policy and discipline' (Humanistic Education Foundation, 2011, p. 3) HEF not only held a series of press conferences in terms of humanitarian perspective but an international conference on school bullying prevention as well. Their main concern about the nature of bullying broke through the tradition dual perspective of bullies and victims in bullying incidents and claimed that:

We are certain that school bullying is not only a student-to-student issue but also a system-to-student and teacher-to-student issue, considering the application of corporal punishment and oral insult, and the arrangement of student's seat or

classroom by academic achievement. Each of these deeds represents the spirit of bullying and misguides students into a bullying school culture (Humanistic Education Foundation, 2011, pp.3-4).

The ways in which these two civil groups take action and their political stances on school bullying are quite different. In terms of the belief system on educational thoughts, the CWLF took soft and practical actions by releasing an annual survey in press conferences and gradually cooperated with government to assist in evaluating the outcomes of policy implementation within local schools. The HEF critically challenged the inappropriate policy and discipline by radical protest and holding press conferences to call for the revision of discipline policies and school regulations. HEF also stressed that ‘as the first non-governmental punishment organisation, anti-corporal we are not only against any kind of school bullying but also profoundly aware that education and counselling are the only solution to school bullying’ (Humanistic Education Foundation, 2011, p. 4) Clearly, both CWLF and HEF insisted on their belief system and specific actions to demonstrate the prevalence and advocacy of school bullying.

The Taiwanese Official Survey of School Bullying

The response from the government can be divided into two parts, comprising the Legislative Yuan and Ministry of Education under the Administrative Yuan. In terms of the division of governmental institutions and the constitutional principle of checks and balances, the Legislative Yuan was responsible for the annual budget review, law-making and interpellation and Ministry of Education was in charge of national-wide educational policy making and evaluating the policy implementation.

Starting with the response from the Legislative Yuan in 2009, these reports were officially quoted and mentioned by Legislator Chiang in the interpellation of Legislative Yuan to emphasise the seriousness of school bullying and call for reconsideration on school safety and anti-bullying and these surveys from 2004 to 2009 clearly showed that one out of ten students experienced bullying in schools (Legislative Yuan, 2010, pp.174-175). According to the statistical report from the Ministry of Education, 1,174 bullying incidents occurred from 2006 to 2009 in primary and secondary schools, including 808 cases in 2006, 703 cases in 2007, 938 case in 2008 and 938 cases in 2009 respectively (Legislative Yuan, 2010, p.175). It was noted that there was a tenfold difference between the civil survey and official report on the prevalence of school bullying. Hence, a joint declaration made by twenty legislators

called for the practical programmes and policy in preventing school from bullying (Legislative Yuan, 2010, pp.174):

The survey showed by the Ministry of Education indicated that there were 30,000 junior high school students suffering from bullying. The Ministry of Education admitted that there was an over tenfold gap between official notification and real number. To maintain school safety and protect students from bullying, the legislators called for Administrative Yuan to hold the national-wide anti-bullying conference and incorporate professional suggestions into the policy making for regulating and reducing the happening of school bullying. Moreover, victims/bullies and their parents were given an individual and collective counselling by educational and counselling institutions. The policy propaganda should be made at the level of primary education.

In 2010, the Ministry of Education provided funds for the Institute of Education at National Sun Yat-Sen University (NSYU) to implement the Project of School Violent Survey and Improvement Strategies (Cheng & Huang, 2010). The participants in this survey centred on secondary and post-secondary students. The research designed the School Bullying Severity Scale (SBSS) which is a standardised measure to examine the bullying rate (Cheng & Huang, 2010). Table 7.1 lists the bullying rates at different levels of education. Two points are worth highlighting. One is that the proportion of bystanders (40.2%, 23.1% & 22.3%) is higher than any of the other roles in the bullying event. The other is that bullying happens in different types of school at different rates. The results reflect the fact that the bullying rate of SHS & VTS is outnumbered by that of JHS. The results of this survey, as official scientific evidence, were also mentioned in the interpellation of the Legislative Yuan to highlight the prevalence of school bullying (Legislative Yuan, 2010).

Table 7.1 Bullying Rates among Secondary and Post-Secondary Students

| level of education | Bullies (%) | Victims (%) | Bystanders (%) |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Total rate | 10.3 | 10.1 | 28.6 |
| Junior high school(JHS) | 13.3 | 13.6 | 40.2 |
| Senior high school(SHS) | 9.8 | 9.5 | 23.1 |
| Vocational and technical school(VTS) | 7.6 | 7.3 | 22.3 |

Source: adapted from Cheng & Huang, 2010

A bullying researcher, Luman, who took part in this project made reference to the origins of this project that, due to the limited financial budget, no researcher was willing to apply for the

project. The Ministry of Education had hoped that this research would be conducted in a qualitative way involving interviewing thousands of students, their bullying experience at the level of secondary education in different parts of Taiwan. Finally, the project team compromised with the Ministry of Education to conduct a national quantitative survey in place of a qualitative inquiry (D4-20140716). However, a civil group interviewee Eunice was critical of this official bullying project because the detailed outcomes of this project have not been made available, either a hard or soft copy, to the public (B2-20140707).

President Ma Yingjeou called for nationwide efforts to tackle school bullying before the International Children's Day and put forward the four principles that 'School administrators must take the initiative to identify bullies, handle the issue quickly and offer a public explanation of their actions...not be afraid of revealing skeletons in their closets' (Mo, 2011, p. 3). When discussing the extent of bullying in the interview with senior government official Anselm, he mentioned that many local principals have underreported the real level of school bullying because of school reputation and parental pressure which was highly associated with culture of local politics (A2-20140717). Burdened with heavy pressure from legislators' radical interpellation in the Legislative Yuan, the Ministry of Education recognised the prevalence of school bullying and made a commitment to incorporate the professional considerations and evaluation into its policy making. The Minister of Education in the interpellation of the Legislative Yuan responded to the criticism about the level of school bullying (Legislative Yuan, 2011, p. 216):

In fact, to implement anti-bullying in schools, I think that cure symptom and cure disease is important as an analogy to the issue of school bullying. I am very thankful for the Ministry of Justice and the National Policy Agency's assistance. For example, the Ministry of Justice called for prosecutors to sweep of gang organisations in schools and the National Policy Agency set up patrol boxes to enhance the number of patronising in schools and communities regularly and irregularly that could be serve as a deterrent to students who are frequently bullies others. ...I reiterated the importance of moral education that prevention is better the punishment. As we knew, different anti-social behaviour was also derived from family problem, such as students from single parent family and grandparenting family, lack of family discipline and dysfunction of family education. In this part, we need to make efforts and cooperate with parents.

Clearly, the legislators and government officials both recognised the prevalence and seriousness of school bullying but the political attitude and contributing factors were different. For legislators, their main pressure comes from the local constituency and what they can do is to call for the government authorities to take responsibility for school order and

students' bullying behaviour. The main concern for government officials focuses on the problem-solving of school bullying at once rather than meeting the needs of humanistic and democratic policy making.

Social Movement and School Campaign of School Anti-bullying in Taiwan

In the wake of the legislators' interpellation and the civil group advocacy, this section explores the social movement and school campaign for the purpose of mapping the policy landscape of how the public address and response to school bullying and then of how voluntary grassroots advocacy become possible in the context of party state politics. Three subsections comprise the discussion of this section, including the origins and social values, political meaning and social impact of the anti-bullying movement.

The Origins and Social Values of the Anti-bullying Movement

The origins of the anti-bullying movement can be traced back to a high profile case which happened in Hsinchu junior high school, in the northern part of Taiwan, where a female student suffered from collective bullying and violent behaviour that was related to the teenage subculture and local gang culture (Hu, 2011) . A Bullying video was posted on YouTube Website, as the most popular social media among young people, by the bullies on 17th March, 2011, and caused widespread attention. Many enthusiastic netters voluntarily launched a protest march, summoning people to heed the call and temporarily organised a civil group in the name of the Anti-Bullying Alliance, to express their advocacy. The head of the Anti-Bullying Alliance Lee explained the motivation of this protest that 'the incident shocked the public, prompting several netizens to call on people to take to the streets to demonstrate the public's desire for schoolyards free of bullying' (Hu, 2011, p. 3). There was an estimated 300-person march in support of the anti-bullying and anti-violent behaviour in schools and it was the first time that the public called on the government to tackle the bullying in schools that had become the starting point of the anti-bullying movement from the grassroots (The China Post, 2011c, p.1). In terms of an educational perspectives stated by a government official, the punishment of the three bullies was that 'students also had to read assigned books and write reports, provide community service for a total of 12 hours and receive counselling' (The China Post, 2011b, p.1). Consequently, TV stations started to broadcast news about what was happening in schools, reporting about bullying events and its negative effects on the bullied and their families.

At that moment, the emerging social value of this protest put emphasis on the control and regulation of student behaviour with the intention of safeguarding school safety and asking for the legalisation of school anti-bullying at the level of central government. For example, a protesting parent from Hsinchu County explained the real gap between the parents' expectation and bureaucratic claim in the context of local school practice and hopelessly said that 'the school had not reported the incidents because the other boy's parents were on the parents' council. Even after they reported the bullying to the police, nothing was done for eight months and the case did not make it to court' (Hu, 2011, p.3). This pointed out that school bullying is not only in part an education problem but also in part a political issue with reference to the power struggles between different local factions inherited from statist governance.

The Political Meaning of School Anti-bullying Movement

Before the end of this anti-bullying march, the protesters walked to the ministry building and handed their petition to a senior official at the ministry's Department of Military Training Education. A senior official on behalf of Ministry of Education responded 'the ministry had already held several national seminars on the subject and encouraged students to report bullying to parents or teachers if they witnessed it or were victims.' (Hu, 2011, p.3). The Ministry of Education claimed to 'penalise school officials who try to cover up bullying cases' in response to the anti-bullying advocacy' and, as minister said, 'any students whose bullying acts are believed to have broken criminal laws must be reported to the police' (The China Post, 2011a, p.1). However, the civil groups, such as the HEF and the National Alliance of Parents Organisation, were critical of the minister's claims of viewing school bullies as criminals and a subsequent controversy questioned the 'dysfunction of education' and 'criminalisation of school bullying' due to the fact that 'education system was seemingly replaced by the national police system' (Feng, 2011). Furthermore, 13 local county councillors, in an attempt to support district government officials on the basis of local politics stance, held different opinions about the political meaning of the anti-bullying campaign and argued that anti-bullying campaign 'stigmatised the Hsinchu County as a bullying city' (Liberty Times, 2011).

This protest represented the demonstration of grassroots agency to disclose a neglected social problem embedded in the context of school practice and made this issue become more political and further addressed the relations between the politics of school regulations and the

logic of bureaucratisation. According to Weber's social theory of organisations, Hill (2005, p.199) defined the conception of bureaucratisation as 'a consequence of the development of a complex economic and political system, and also as a phenomenon that has helped to make these developments possible'. The political meaning of this protest lies at the heart of the politics of school bullying with a view to bringing the individual bullying events to light and re-overviewing the social mechanism of school regulations which is related to the notion of 'organic solidarity', first coined by Durkheim (1933) to explain the division of labour in society, with the top-down governance and local politics. Two main forces are contending with each other in this protest through their grassroots actions and political advocacy. One supports the government regime in taking strict actions in the face of school bullying that is in line with the Weberian conception of instrumental rationality (the casual relations between strict school regulations and being free of bullying) while the other stresses the educational values and responsibilities on the basis of the wider context of social structure and logic of institutions that echoes the Weberian conception of value rationality (the casual relations between educational values and transformation of educational system). The axis of school anti-bullying policy mirrored the ebb and flow of political ideologies which will be discussed later.

Local School Campaign of School Anti-bullying and its Social Impact

Local school anti-bullying campaigns were mobilised by the central government in response to the public attention to the friendly school environment which was free of school bullying. Anti-bullying actions were taken by local schools through 'distributing stickers and shouting slogans, and more meaningful educational programs such as skits and group discussions to encourage students to share their experiences' (Taipei Times, 2011d, p.3) that reinforced the school-wide anti-bullying consciousness among students and school staff. One senior official said that 'A friendly school environment week will take place from Aug. 30 to Sept. 5 in which county and city mayors will be invited to visit schools to help promote the anti-bullying campaign' (Taipei Times, 2011d, p.3). However, different cities and local schools took various approaches to tackling bullying. For example, in New Taipei City, 'the mayor led education officials and senior police officers in wearing a pink scarf to symbolise greater warmth and peace on school campuses' and 'one local school principal led 1,800 students and teachers pledging that they would show concern for students, respect teachers, be filial to parents and abide by school regulations with passion' (Taipei Times, 2011a, p.2).

At the outbreak of the national-wide anti-bullying campaign, the Greater Kaohsiung Mayor, Greater Taichung Mayor and New Taipei City said in public that ‘the presence of military education officers on school grounds would help keep schools safe’ (Loa, 2011, p.2). This claim reiterated the consensus on the importance of military education officers in local schools to deal with school bullying. However, the HEF executive director insisted on the opposite stance on the presence of military education officers in schools: ‘I regret that the mayors cannot grab hold of that opportunity and prefer to hold on to the old system instead’ (Loa, 2011, p.2). A vice director of National Teachers’ Association, in line with the stance of HEF, disagreed with militant-like way to deal with school bullying and argued that ‘students need guidance, not control’, and ‘military officers may be able to exercise control’ (Loa, 2011, p.2). Historically, local schools and the government regime, either under the KMT or DPP, remained heavily reliant on military education officers to maintain school order (Chapter 6).

The Planning and Practice of School Anti-bullying Policy

Before proceeding to the core discussion of the policy debate between ideological and scientific logics, this section will sketch the planning and practice of school anti-bullying policy with the intention of clarifying the definitive conceptions and social planning of policy procedure. The last subsection will discuss the logic of school practice and social impact with reference to the promotion of school anti-bullying policy.

The Origins and Social Values of School Anti-bullying Policy

The term ‘school bullying’ first appeared in the official document Implementation Programme of Improving School Security: the Promotion of Friendly Campus and the Enactment of Anti-gangsters in 2006 (Chapter 6) which aimed to reconstruct the new school order in response to the social expectation of friendly school environment. At that time, the recognition of school bullying was closely related to anti-drug abuse and anti-gangsters among at-risk youths that effectuated the bilateral cooperation between Ministry of Education and National Police Agency in dealing with school safety, forming an inter-departmental consensus within the political governance (Legislative Yuan, 2010). This meant that the national police system took some responsibilities for not only social order but school order as well and reinforced school surveillance either in avoidance or control of the production of deviant behaviour in and out of schools. Hence, except for the civil groups’ considerations on

the investigation of school bullying, the nature and definition of school bullying remain unthought in public.

After the outbreak of a serious school bullying event at Taoyuan County's Ba-deh Junior High School, both the public and academics started to rethink what the nature of school bullying is within a black box of school practice. This event could be analogous to the butterfly effect and brought about a response from the public and government authorities. Ironically, Ba-deh Junior High School won the Ministry of Education's Friendly Campus Award in 2008 which was chosen by Taoyuan County Government as a model school (Wang, 2010). The school principal was accused of turning a blind eye to school bullying and was suspended from his position by the Department of Education. Due to the acrimonious social criticism of this event, the minister of education paid a visit to Ba-deh Junior High School and gave a talk to school staff and students and officially claimed that (Wang, 2010, p. 3):

...he would have the police intervene if gang members were involved in bullying on school grounds and reminded teachers that it was more important to teach students how to get along with other people than to help them get into a good high school or university. He also called on school administrators and teachers to try to teach students, both in class and during school gatherings, the importance of protecting and respecting others.

The Minister of Education suffered from public criticism due to the fact that he said that school bullying was a 'trivial matter' in the public talk to school staff and students at Ba-deh Junior High School (The China Post, 2010a, p.1). After this criticism, he formally apologised to the public three times for making an indiscreet remark on the school bullying but stressed his original motivation of caring school order (The China Post, 2010a, p.1). A senior official, Anselm, mentioned this event in the interview and said that 'the minister of education should not rush into the frontline of local school without considering the political reality and culture of local politics' (A2-201407017).

According to the official investigation report from the Control Yuan (in charge of illegal acts and derelictions of duty among public servants), the Ba-deh bullying event was attributed to the inefficiency of the principals leadership that directly led to the continuous conflicts within the school administrative and teaching system and neglected the instant notification to the Ministry of Education (Control Yuan, 2011). Politically speaking, this single bullying case was a turning point and spurred political consideration and scientific research on the prevalence of and approaches to school bullying and, at the same time, a great debate on the

definition of school bullying was starting between different policy stakeholders.

The Great Debate on the Definition of School Bullying

Before making the detailed anti-bullying policy, the definition of school bullying remained unexplored in the specific context of party politics. As mentioned in the Chapter 2, different countries have adopted various definitions to authenticate whether the individual cases cut out for the political definition of school bullying in response to the needs of specific contexts, either historically, politically or culturally (most definitions referring to the Olweus's definition). In Taiwan, the definition was changed many times due to the political struggle between social expectations and professional insistence.

According to the first wave of debate over the definition of school bullying, four elements were included in the definition of bullying suggested by the Ministry of Education, including 'an imbalance of power, ongoing and persistent humiliation, deliberate intention to cause harm and inflicting physical and psychological trauma in the victims' in March 2010. The additional explanation of definition suggested that 'all four elements' must be present for the case to be considered bullying. This definition was based upon Olweus's perspective and the bullying measurement by the World Health Organisation (WHO), but was seen as too restricted and asked for broadening the definition of school bullying. After discussion, the Ministry of Education added a fifth element of 'other definitions given by bullying-response groups' in December 2010. The transformation of the definition would be an additional explanation that 'either one of five elements' must be present for the case to be considered bullying ([The China Post](#), 2010b). This revision of the definition met social expectations and reflected the outcome of political struggle. A researcher, Nigel, explained the political transformation of the definition

...the media report is a key factor that the reports exaggerated the seriousness of school bullying and distorted the nature of bullying event bullying that led to the collective social panic during that period. This explained the reason why the appearance of 'bullying-response groups' in the definition that looked for the just procedure to investigate bullying cases in response to the parents of bullies and victims. However, if legislators intervened in the investigation, bullying events in schools would become more complicated and more political (D4-20140714)

The second wave of the debate focused on the specific definitions of each element. For example, how many times of 'harm and inflicting physical and psychological trauma' could be defined as bullying and how often of 'ongoing and persistent humiliation' could be

confirmed as bullying? This ambiguity caused serious criticism from the public and legislators. However, the ongoing changes in the definition was incurred by the corrections of the Control Yuan whose report asked for the provision of a clear and practical definition of school bullying for local schools to follow and adopt (Control Yuan, 2011). The Ministry of Education negotiated with the public and held a nation-wide conference of each county's department of education and local principals in search of social consensus and then released the new definition of school bullying, including 'an imbalance of power, once humiliation, deliberate intention to cause harm and inflicting physical and psychological trauma in the victims and other definitions given by bullying-response groups' (Legislative Yuan, 2011, p. 195). This means that the second transformation of definition put much emphasis on once humiliation in place of ongoing and persistent humiliation. When interviewing a senior government officer, he mentioned the differences between the first and second wave of definitions on the basis of local context and professional considerations:

At first, we adopt the Scandinavian definition of school bullying in the past, but after outbreak of the Ba-deh bullying event, we cancel the conception of 'ongoing and persistent' in the definition due to the heavy pressure from public opinion. According to the new definition, we used vigorous definition to deal with school bullying which is similar to that of violent behaviour in schools on the basis of our social expectations with the intention to revolving the long-term violent behaviour problems rooted in local schools (A1-20140703).

The Ba-deh bullying event was a watershed in the process of changing definitions. The third wave of definition arose due to the fact that the previous definitions resulted in Taiwan having the highest prevalence of school bullying in the world. After the tumult of school bullying subsided, the Ministry of Education made a practical policy of Rules of Prevention on School Bullying in 2012 and the definition revised back to the original one to stress the 'ongoing and persistent humiliation' as a key element in evaluating whether a case would be school bullying. The legislative statement of this policy pointed out that the definition was primarily based upon the Gender Equity Education Act, US anti-bullying laws (such as Delaware, Georgia, Massachusetts and New Hampshire State), Olweus's definition and World Health Organisation's youth reports of health behaviour (the Ministry of Education, 2012b, p. 2). The government changed the title of this policy from 'anti-bullying' to 'bullying prevention' as the latter is less politically sensitive than the former. As suggested by one principal, Murray, 'school bullying should not be viewed as a psychological pathology and needed to control rather than cure' (C6-20140630). The definition of school bullying was interwoven with the web of the compromising political reality and the ideal considerations of

professionalism, both of which identified a commonality within the definition debate that school bullying cannot be extensively discussed and broadly understood without taking into account political culture and the excise of power relations inherited from the period of party state governance.

Social Planning of School Anti-bullying Policy

The anti-bullying policy was first initiated by the policy of Implementation Programme of Improving School Security: the Promotion of Friendly Campus and the Enactment of Anti-gangsters in 2006. As mentioned in Chapter 6, this policy put much emphasis on tackling school violence and school bullying and set up the three layers of platforms in dealing with school security, including the central government level (drafting policy and strategies of campus security), local county /district level (the practice of government policy and evaluation/supervision of policy implementation in schools, horizontal connection between different district governments) and school level (the instant notification of school bullying, educational propaganda and the treatment of school bullying).

At the level of central government, the Ministry of Education established the Central Inter-departmental Committee of Campus Security and held the irregular conferences with the Ministry of Justice, National Police Agency and Social Affairs Section to discuss the issues of school safety with reference to school violence and school bullying. In practice, there were fourteen central inter-departmental conferences on the prevention of school bullying between 2006 and 2011 (Control Yuan, 2011, pp.3-5). The production of school anti-bullying policy is briefly summarised in the Table 7.1 which shows the political trajectory and logic of policy transformation. Before the year of 2010, the government took the conception of school anti-bullying as a part of school security which is similar to the treatment of school violence. After the outbreak of the Ba-deh bullying event, the school anti-bullying policy and propaganda was formally initiated from central government to local schools and four dimensional tasks was introduced to the treatment of school bullying.

First, the Minister of Education wrote a letter to national-wide principals on the 16th December 2010 and called for the educational staff and parents should take responsibility for dealing with school bullying. For example, local principals should hold related workshops to reinforce the knowing of legal responsibility as well as campus security and the Ministry of Education assigned the first week of new semester as a friendly campus week to propagate

the strategies of bullying prevention. The Ministry of education also invited teachers' and parents' unions to recognise the official definition of bullying and propagate legal responsibility in the face of school bullying. Corporal punished was banned after the revision of Educational fundamental Law in 2006. The legal forms of school discipline were composed of positive discipline (oral praising and recoding a merit), general discipline (oral warning, oral apology to victims and writing statement of apology) and specific discipline (taking coercive measure by teachers, noticing the parents to take students back, arranging students into intensive-concern programmes and sending them to police station or juvenile court). A 24-hour appeal hotline was built in and run by the Ministry of Education to deal with the notification of school bullying to practice top-down governance.

Second, according to the division of labour at the level of central government the irregular Central Inter-departmental Conferences with the Ministry of Justice, National Police Agency and Social Affairs Section were held to draft the strategies of school anti-bullying (Table 7.1). The Ministry of Education would hold the meeting to discuss the bullying cases collected from the local schools within a week on every Monday and Thursday and bullying prevention meeting was regularly held to discuss the bullying cases and access the progress in how the district governments and local schools were dealing with the treatment of bullying cases on every Tuesday and Friday (Legislative Yuan, 2011). The Ministry of education made a policy of Programme on School Bullying prevention at the all School Levels in 2011 in the three-layer practice of primary prevention (educational propaganda), secondary prevention (discovery and treatment) and tertiary prevention (counselling). The connection between the district governments should establish the horizontal mechanism of campus security which is similar to the Central Inter-departmental Conferences at the level of central government.

Third, there are two practical ways of curbing school bullying, out-of-school surveillance and in-school counselling. On out-of-school surveillance, the central government asked local schools to sign the Protocol of safeguarding Campus Security with local police stations (100 percentage of completion mentioned by Minister of education in the interpellation) in reinforcing out of school patrol, on the basis of the policy of Implementation Programme of Improving School Security: the Promotion of Friendly Campus and the Enactment of Anti-gangsters in 2006 (Legislative Yuan, 2011, p. 197). According to the statistical data from 1st March 2006 to 8th December 2010, there were 56,390 patrols by the united patrol union (irregularly organised by teachers, military instructors and police officers), 96,138 times by

police officers, 69,700 by military instructors and 40,095 by school teachers (Legislative Yuan, 2011, p.197). With regard to in-school counselling, the central government increased educational budgets up to one billion and two hundred million to enhance the needs of counselling psychologists and social workers in schools to deal with school bullying events in a bid to solve the problem of long-term shortage of professional human resource in local schools in the school year of 2010 (Legislative Yuan, 2011, p.198). Due to the limited budgets for professional human resources, power struggles between the counselling psychologists and social workers in schools raised a debate over the budget review at the Legislative Yuan which will be discussed later. Furthermore, the campus life questionnaire (Appendix II) was designed by the Ministry of Education and would be filled by students in April and October (one anonymous questionnaire and one named questionnaire) in primary and secondary schools to investigate the prevalence of school bullying and perceive unexplored school bullying cases (Legislative Yuan, 2011, p.206). The campus life questionnaire was criticised by civil groups and researchers because of the lack of ethical confidentiality and receiving counterfactual/nonfactual statements from students that ran counter to the nature and meaning of this test.

Table 7.2 Central Inter-departmental Conferences on School Anti-bullying Policy (2006-2011)

| Date | Name of conferences | Conference issues |
|------------|--|--|
| 2006.05.09 | The 4 th central inter-departmental committee of campus security | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Promoting the policy of Implementation Programme of Improving School Security: the Promotion of Friendly Campus and the Enactment of Anti-gangsters by the Ministry of Education 2. Drafting the evaluative programme on implementation of safeguarding Campus security by the Ministry of the Interior |
| 2006.07.13 | The 6 th central inter-departmental committee of campus security | Reporting the effectiveness of implementing campus security by the Ministry of Education |
| 2006.09.12 | The 8 th central inter-departmental committee of campus security | Reporting the effectiveness of implementing campus security by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior |
| 2007.01.05 | The 9 th central inter-departmental committee of campus security | Reporting the effectiveness of implementing campus security by the Ministry of Education |
| 2007.05.10 | The 10 th central inter-departmental committee of campus security | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reporting the effectiveness of implementing campus security by the Ministry of Education 2. Drafting the process of emergent campus security at all school levels 3. The evaluation and improvement of safeguarding mechanism on school security by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior |
| 2007.09.21 | The 11 th central inter-departmental committee of campus security | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reporting the effectiveness of improving campus security by the Ministry of Education 2. Reporting the evaluation and improvement of school security by the Ministry of the Interior |
| 2008.06.18 | The 12 th central inter-departmental committee of campus security | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reporting the effectiveness of improving campus security by the Ministry of Education 2. Drafting the counseling mechanism and legal education of school anti-bullying and preventing from posting its video on the website and spreading 3. Reporting the prevention of illegal video posting and spreading and reinforcing the propaganda legal education among teenagers |
| 2009.02.18 | The 13 th central inter-departmental committee of campus security | Reporting the evaluation and improvement of safeguarding mechanism on school security by the Ministry of Education |
| 2010.02.09 | The 14 th central inter-departmental committee of campus security | Reporting the evaluation and improvement of safeguarding mechanism on school security by the Ministry of Education |
| 2010.03.16 | The definition, types, evaluation and related strategies of school bullying conference | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Discussing the definition of school bullying and its behavioural types 2. The evaluation of school bullying behaviour 3. The positive strategies of school violence and bullying by education administration and local schools |
| 2010.04.23 | The 2 nd of prevention of school bullying conference | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Holding the empowering workshops for educational staff 2. Providing a package of measures to prevent school bullying 3. Revising the items of campus life questionnaire designed by the Ministry of Education |
| 2011.01.14 | The pre-central inter-departmental committee of prevention of school bullying | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reporting the Programmes on implementing prevention of school bullying 2. The case analysis of school bullying events 3. Planning the school councilors of district government 4. Reinforcing the connection between the Ministry of Justice, the National Police Agency and the Social Affairs Section in tackling school bullying |

| | | |
|------------|---|--|
| 2011.01.27 | The 1 st central inter-departmental committee of prevention of school bullying | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reporting the Programmes on implementing prevention of school bullying 2. Discussing the case analysis of school bullying events 3. Reinforcing the connection between the Ministry of Justice, National Police Agency and Social Affairs Section in tackling school bullying 4. Discussing the treatment of school bullying based upon the Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act |
|------------|---|--|

Source: adapted from Control Yuan, 2011, pp.3-5

School Practice and Social Impact of School Anti-bullying Policy

The school-based practice of anti-bullying policy can be divided into three dimensions, educational propaganda (school campaigns), bullying prevention (procedures of a school bullying event) and bullying interventions (counselling) (see Appendix IV). In terms of educational propaganda in local schools, they have to reinforce the core themes of legal education, moral education, human right education, life education and gender education among both staff and students. In practice, as mentioned before, the first week of a new semester is the friendly campus week and calls for anti-gangster invasion, anti-drug abuse and anti-bullying whereby local schools make various plans of activities for school staff and students to clearly recognise the importance of anti-bullying behaviour (derived from The Promotional Activity of Friendly Campus Week at All School Levels in 2011). There are three main elements of propaganda included in this practice. For students, a variety of propaganda programmes take place surrounding the recognition of anti-bullying within local schools, such as dynamic and static competition of drama, dancing, singing, cartoon drawing, speech, essay and calligraphy. For teachers, local schools are asked to emphasise the negative influences of school bullying, drug abuse and gangster invasion. These three are always closely related to each other and rooted in the official knowledge of the government authorities and school administrators, promulgated and discussed in the school meetings, tutors' meetings and parents' meetings where it is explained how to effectively deal with suspected cases based upon a standard operating procedure of school notification. For local community action, local schools recruit community volunteers to patrol blind corners of schools and sign a mutual contract with local convenience stores to further protect student safety out of school with the intention of building an instant notification system. It was noted that anti-bullying propaganda would also be used in school assemblies, student club activities and each class meeting and be incorporated in different curriculums and teaching practices. This means that the first dimension of educational propaganda (school campaign) to a

considerable extent lays emphasis on the awareness and recognition of what can be done and what cannot be done between students in relation to the school order and campus safety. These local schools essentially play a passive role of mouthpiece between the government authorities and school agents (school staff, parents and students) as a result of top-down political governance.

The second dimension is the treatment of school bullying that focuses on the how to discover suspected bullying cases and the initial stage of case notification and management. Each local school is asked to set up a bullying complaints office and construct an anti-bullying website with information about bullying prevention (laws, regulations and anti-bullying toolkit) for school staff, parents and students. Moreover, the local anti-bullying websites would be linked to the anti-bullying website of the Ministry of Education. When suspected bullying incidents occur, local schools are expected to organise bullying-response groups at once to evaluate whether the cases are actually bullying (according to the five elements of bullying mentioned before). At the same time, schools need to report to the local department of education and the Ministry of Education on the basis of the regulation of school safety notification. As mentioned before, a campus life questionnaire is required to be completed by primary and secondary students twice a year (an open one in April and an anonymous one in October) and questionnaire results are submitted to the local department of education before the 1st of May and November for case management and school accountability of education supervision. With reference to out of school bullying, schools were asked to sign the Campus Safety Support Agreement with neighbouring police stations to reinforce the bullying free network within local communities.

The third dimension focuses on intervention and counselling when bullying cases are confirmed by the bullying-response groups within local schools. The counselling committee of school bullying, organised by class tutors, student affairs staff, parents, school social workers and juvenile delinquency prevention police brigades, is responsible for drafting counselling plans for victims and bullies. If the bullying behaviour caused grievous bodily harm to victims, local schools are expected to actively inform the Ministry of Justice, National Police Agency and Social Affairs Section for further professional treatment and legal intervention. If bullies cannot improve their behaviour after a period of counselling and observation, the committee would help the student to transfer to another school and readjust in a new learning environment. When local schools report suspected bullying cases to the

government authorities they are asked to deal with the case evaluation and counselling for three months. However, when discussing the practical treatment of bullying in local schools, the application of restorative justice (called the Olive Branch Programme) is widely used in the post-treatment of school bullying which suggested that bullies and victims could achieve mutual understanding by mediation and learn how to respect others and conflict resolution. As a matter of fact, the implementation of this programme was not generally popularised in local school because of traditional family values (an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth). One principal, Louisa, referred to this programme:

The Olive Branch Programme is a part of counselling skills and, in reality, it was very hard to invite bullies and victims and their parents to join this post-treatment of bullying because if one side of students or parents were not willing to take part in this programme, this programme was hardly implemented and carried out, not to mention its practical effect (C5-20140701).

The logic of school practice reproduces a political ideology of punishing bullies, protecting victims and counselling bullies and victims to curb school bullying and pays little attention to the existing repressive structure and to how policy and practice could transform the vicious circle between school system and school pupils and teachers. As was found, the government authorities, based upon top-down governance, adopt educational propaganda (conference meetings, professional training workshops and seminars) and administrative directions (guidelines, collaboration frameworks and checklists of implementing regulations) rather than legalisation to carry out the objective of school practice since 2010 (Table 7.3). The first three parts explore the experience level of the real (the logic of school practice), the actual (policy implementation and evaluation) and the empirical (prevalence of bullying) for the broader understanding of factual knowledge of anti-bullying policy. Three of which are event-based inquiries to delimit the picture of policy making and implementation process.

Table 7.3 Timetable of Events and Activities about School Anti-Bullying (2010-2011)

| Date | Institution | Events title | Form(type) | Objective of school practice |
|-----------------------|-------------|---|---|---|
| 2010.08.03 – 08.24 | MOE | MOE, Seminar ROC Year 99 on Maintaining Campus Security (& Anti-Bullying) | Advanced Professional Training workshops (conducted by city/county government levels) | For interaction and intercommunication among (1) Directors of both Student Affairs Division and Counselling Division from all public and private senior high school & occupational schools; (2) The officials of Education Div.(Dept.) of every county (city and municipal city) in charge of campus safety ; (3) The officials of Juvenile Affairs Div. of Police Dept. of every county (city and municipal city) in charge of campus safety ; (4) The executive secretary and officials of Extracurricular Guidance Association of every county (city and municipal city) in charge of campus safety. |
| 2010.09.28 | MOE | MOE, Promotion Project of Positive Discipline on Campus | Administrative Directions (Amendment, 22 Jun 2007) | By professional advanced training to enrich the educational personnel's awareness and knowledge about the detrimental effect of corporal punishment, origin, types and corresponding measure of deviant behaviours; as well as to enhance the educational personnel's techniques of classroom management and skills of emotional control. |
| 2010.12.01 | MOE | The Checklist of Implementing Regulation on Teachers for Student Guidance and Discipline on Senior High School Levels and above | Administrative Directions | By providing the checklists for schools to examine their implementation of students' guidance and discipline. |
| 2010.12.29 | MOE | The Seminars on Promoting Anti-Bully Safe School, which hosted by northern, southern and middle regions of Taiwan. | Seminars and Demonstrations | (1) To facilitate inter-varsity collaboration by sharing and communicating the handling procedure of prevention, discovery, handling, and following up measures of school bullying cases. (2) To help teachers and educational personnel at all school levels to establish the correct knowledge and mentality so as to create friendly campus. |
| 2011.01.10 | MOE | Implementation Plan of Prevention on School Bullying | Administrative Directions | To prevent school bullying event and establish an effective mechanism for prevention and handling meticulously, given that school bullying, which is a serious deviant behaviour, causes severe detrimental impact both physically and mentally on the involved parties and bystanders. |
| 2011.01.21 | MOE | ROC Year 99 Training Conference on Anti-Bullying Safe School | Conferences | (1) To train and help participants to develop advanced knowledge on the educational campaign of anti-bullying |

| | | | | |
|------------|-----|---|---------------------------|---|
| | | Plan Partnership and Seeded Teachers | | and the ability to execute relevant policies and plans. (2) To cultivate participants' professional mentality and values on anti-bullying prevention through training programs on sharing hands-on experiences. (3) To contribute communities and schools with seed teachers and educational personnel who received advanced training as well as to promote the policy of anti-violent-bullying safe schools. |
| 2011.01.27 | MOE | The Collaboration Framework of Prevention on School Bullying, among all competent agencies. | Administrative Directions | For promoting the relevant activities and events of "Friendly Campus Week" at all school levels. |
| 2011.02.01 | MOE | The Promotional Activity of Friendly Campus Week at All School Levels | Administrative Directions | For guiding and helping high-cared students; for preventing drug abuses, school bullying and involving gangs or similar organisations among students; for looking after drop-out students or student quitting school, and for creating safe, friendly and positive campus environment. |
| 2011.02.01 | MOE | The Supporting Measures Checklist on MOE Promotion Project of Positive Discipline on Campus | Administrative Directions | For grounding four principles in terms of student guidance and prohibition on corporal punishment: 'Use alternatives, Teach wisely, Touch students sympathetically, and create friendly campus'. |
| 2011.02.01 | MOE | The Guidelines of the Regulation on Teachers for Student Counselling and Disciplining (Amendment). | Administrative Directions | By amending the guidelines to provide teachers with clearer instructions in terms of student guidance and discipline. |
| 2011.02.14 | MOE | The official launch of Friendly Campus Week, which aims to mobilize everyone to prevent school bullying jointly | Administrative Directions | Every school at all levels officially launched the "Friendly Campus Week" from 14 Feb to 19 Feb 2011 so as to declare our firm stance, "We Oppose It", against school bullying, by posting or exhibiting posters or pastes with "Anti-Bullying Logo", by wearing any pink accessory, by designing any indoor or street performance, by hosting a quiz contest, or by hosting other relevant events and activities. |
| 2011.02.18 | MOE | The Collaboration Framework of Prevention on Campus Bully, Gangsters, and Drug Abuse among the Central Government, District Government, and Schools at All Levels | Administrative Directions | For clearly distinguish the authority and responsibility of relevant competent agencies so as not to be able to shift the blame on others. |

Source: adapted from MOE Taiwanese Anti-bullying Website concerning administrative directions and training workshop, Retrieved from: <https://csrc.edu.tw/bully/rule.asp> and <https://csrc.edu.tw/bully/event.asp>

The Dominant Discourse and Argument of Policy Stakeholders in the Process of Policy Making

This part continues to analyse the knowledge and perceptions of policy stakeholders which is seen as a critical representation of experience-based reflections in different contexts of policy terrains and political positionalities. Following the previous discussion of process-based policy explorations, this part describes and analyses the interview statements of policy stakeholders (primarily focusing on policy argumentation and rebuttal) in order to make the data speak for themselves before proceeding to the ideological and theoretical analysis of policy inquiry. Four sorts of policy actors (government officials and legislators, local schools principals, NPO activists and policy researchers) were interviewed in this research on behalf of the different levels of institutions and positionality of policy making whose accounts and experience need to be examined to link the ties between subjective experience and objective policy process.

The Role of Government Officials/Legislators and Their Policy Claims

Three government officials and two legislators were interviewed and they are in charge of different aspects of policy making. When it comes to the attribution of bullying behaviour, there is a gap in realising and interpreting the ties between bullying victims and social class. A secretary to the legislator, Brenda, stressed that ‘victims are always from disadvantage and poor family and they have no power to resist authority structure in the face of bullying events’ (A5-20140707). However, another legislator, Annabel, said that ‘her child was bullied in a school and that not all victims came from poor family background’ (A4-20140709). However, both of them recognised that the Ministry of education should draft a school anti-policy law to curb the repetition of school bullying based upon the political accountability in keeping off the happening of underreporting. According to the categorisations of accountability, Hill (2005, p.261) argued that political accountability (being responsible to ‘elected representatives’) is always associated with legal (being safeguarded by ‘judicial system’), hierarchical (being responsible to ‘head of organisations’) and bureaucratic accountability (originated from ‘political, hierarchical and legal one and potentially involving ‘overriding responsibilities’) and possibly ran counter to direct (being responsible to ‘the public’) and professional accountability (guided by ‘profession-related principles’). Brenda also mentioned the dilemma between parents and school:

if school staff was required to be responsible for school bullying due to a specific legal law that may bring about the enhancement of parental power operation toward school affairs. Hence, establishing the notification system of school bullying run by the Ministry of Education for appealing could be seen as a tentative compromise between school accountability and parental expectations (A5-20140707).

Another attribution of school bullying incidents is traditional culture and value. An official, Brian, said that ‘our culture did not encourage students to report (when facing the school bullying) as a value of justice and integrity’ (A3-20140617). According to Brian’s statement, it was assumed that the vein of traditional values symbolised many positive moral regulations in maintaining the stability of social development. However, he reflected that ‘we always asked for group discipline rather self-regulation, the former of which is the demonstration of obedience to a social group and the latter of which could inspire students to do the right thing through a correct value system’ (A3-20140617). Another senior official, Alexis, laid stress on the social structural problem with reference to school bullying. He said that bullying was not only related to violent behaviour but also involved in the structure of schooling system because ‘the overemphasis on ‘credentialism of intellectual education’ in schools but relatively ignore the moral and group education’. Alexis suggested that what we need to do is to re-examine the life education, legal education, gender education and this issue serves the purpose of ‘reminding the government authorities not only a student conflict incident but also a reflection on social structure of schooling’ (A1-20140703).

The definition of school bullying is elusive which makes the precise legalisation of policy hard to achieve. Brenda suggested that the fundamental way to prevent school bullying is to ‘raise the anti-bullying consciousness among parents and students and then serve the purpose of creating friendly campus and reminding the anti-bullying responsibility of teachers and principals’ (A5-20140707). In terms of political practice, when legislators receive petitions about school bullying incidents from parents, they would, in principle, take active actions to negotiate with school administrations and bullying clients (either bullies or victims) in school meeting room rather than hold a press conference to the public in that most legislators burdened some pressure from political elections and would be reluctant to offend school principals, teachers and parents as constituencies within the political relations. A government official, Anselm, reflected on the relation between school bullying and exercise of politic and said that the knowing and judgement of school bullying was over-dominated by political considerations and always disobey the autonomy of academic professionalism (A2-

20140717). Significantly, how to strike a balance between educational functions, the needs of clients and political interests would always be taken into consideration in the first priority (A5-20140707).

With regard to the consideration of cultural background in policy making (such as social class, racial groups and gender identity), all the research participants replied that the policy has not considered this. For example, Brenda explained the reason for considering cultural factors in the policy making is that it was very hard to categorise different status within a general regulation of school bullying and the categorisation of cultural background would lead to raising difficulties in implementing this policy (A5-20140707). Furthermore, sexual bullying and harassment in schools, for instance, would be suitable to adopt the Regulations on the Prevention of Sexual Assault, Sexual Harassment, and Sexual Bullying on Campus in 2005 rather than Regulations on the Prevention of Bullying on Campus in 2012 (A5-20140707) . According to Brenda's practical experience, she said that working class students were involved in more bullying incidents and we seldom did further analysis about the relation between student family background and bullying behaviour. However, on the ground of gender, it showed that male students were more involved in violent bullying behaviour and female students more in relational bullying (A5-20140707).

Given the consideration of activating the policy making, one official, Brian, highlighted the importance of civil groups and suggested that policy legalisation could exert powerful influences on policy implementation based upon the cooperation between and pressure from civil groups and legislators. Taking the anti-corporal punishment in the Educational Fundamental Act and the making of Gender Equity Education Act for example, Brian further mentioned that civil groups (such as HEF and various gender groups) have been playing a pivotal role in pushing the government authorities to emphasise some specific social issues (A3-20140617). One senior government official, Alexis, reiterated that the HEF brought the school bullying issue to light

The critical debate of who needs to deal with school bullying remains unresolved. In general, school teachers, school disciplinary officers and military instructors (only in senior high schools) would directly face the school bullying incidents and, in reality, many teachers dislike dealing with school bullying. One legislator, Annabel, stated that military instructors are not suitable to deal with school bullying because their professional background focused

on military training (the executive of school discipline) not educational training that implies obedience value and educational value is contradictory (A4-20140709). While revising the Senior High School Act, Annabel insisted that military instructors should withdraw from high schools in eight years, but the Ministry of Education tended to legalise the role of military instructors and transform their military role to school counsellors through taking educational courses (A4-20140709). She strongly suggested that the process of teaching training shall incorporate the anti-corporal punishment and anti-bullying into the curriculum structure and took the initiative in legalising the institutionalisation of psychologist and social works in schools (revision of Article 10 in the Primary and Junior High School Act in 2011) to engage in student guidance and counselling (A4-20140709).

When referring to the differences of party attitude toward treatment of school bullying and violence, she explained that ‘DDP was originated from democratic social movement and was more willing to deal with this social issue’ (A4-20140709). One senior official from the KMT party, Alexis, said that there is no difference between KMT and DPP governance because education should appeal to profession consideration without any political intervention and the subject of policy implementation is administrative staff, not political politicians (A1-20140703). To be fair, one government official, Brian, argued that the KMT and DPP governance focused on different dimensions of school regulation. For example, legal education was promoted in 1996 (KMT governance) and human rights education and life education in 2000 and gender education in 2004 (DPP governance) (A3-20140617).

The Role of NPO Activists and Their Initiation of out-of-Government System

Three NPO activists on behalf of three social groups, the Child Welfare League Foundation (CWLF), Humanistic Education Foundation (HELFF) and Taiwan Association for Human Rights (TAHR), were interviewed about their experiences in the process of anti-bullying policy making and implementation. They particularly emphasised mobilisation and social criticism toward the logic, value and practice of policy itself. One NPO researcher, Claudia, restated how the concept of school bullying could be widely used in Taiwanese society. Claudia said that the CWLF has begun to research school bullying in 2005 as the first institution to discuss the nature and prevalence of school bullying which is distinct from violent behaviour widely recognised in the past. Turning to the definition of school bullying, the CWLF insisted on the element of repetition in the definition which stand for the

imbalance of power in the group interaction and also implies that victims had no power to change status quo and needed comprehensive intervention and counselling strategies (B1-20140708). Claudia mentioned the experience of discussing school bullying with local school teachers and she reflect on experience differences that ‘I saw school bullying as a whole based upon the perspective of group dynamic which was ignored by school teacher whose considerations were caught in a trap of repetition and power imbalance’ (B1-20140708).By the way, the subject of school bullying with reference to power relations needed to be considered and Desmond, a TAHR activist, reflected on the subjects of school bullying incidents, suggesting that the current school anti-bullying policy put more emphasis on student-to-student relations rather than other types of social relations within school contexts (such as school teacher-to-student, school administrator-to-student, military instructor-to-student)(B2-20140618).

When discussing the dimension of the attribution of school bullying, Claudia on behalf of the CWLF said that school bullying as a representation of ‘poor interpersonal relations’ among peer groups in schools which need to be intervened through professional strategies (B1-20140708). However, Eunice from HEF stressed school bullying as a pathology of social structure. Eunice also mentioned how the teachers were reluctant to deal with school bullying because of the legalisation of the Zero Corporal Punishment Policy. Eunice further criticised that many teachers explained that the happening of school bullying incident was due to the deprivation of corporal punishment and this could be seen as teachers’ fighting back to ask for recovery of corporal punishment as a part of disciplinary style (B3-20140707). Considering social class factors, based upon the community service experience, Claudia pointed out that ‘students from dysfunctional families easily become bullies in schools as a result that students lived in high-risk family with high possibility of facing domestic violence’. By contrast, students from low social class family easily become the major target of being bullied due to their unique behaviour and appearance in schools (B1-20140708).

Claudia pointed out that the procedure of school bullying was fully transferred from the Regulations on the Prevention of Sexual Assault, Sexual Harassment, and Sexual Bullying on Campus in 2005. She distinguished their social role from government authorities that the CWLF tended to promote the preventive strategies on school bullying and governmental regulations or law making were closed to post-treatment strategies’ (B1-20140708). She further explained that

...if we cannot encourage teachers and students how to raise the consciousness of anti-bullying or sympathise others in advance, the other strategies is not important at all. Hence, we would like to join the policy and law making with government authorities and provide some concrete suggestions from angles of 'prevention better than cure'. However, as could be seen, many local schools seem to brush the government off after the promotion of anti-bullying policy (B1-20140708).

When mentioning the ties between civil groups and the government, Desmond referred to the The Paris Principles (relating to status of national institutions) which was made by United Nations Human Rights Committee in 1991 and expected that establishment of national safety committee following these principles could incorporate school bullying as a human rights issue with the help of writing a special report to facilitate the development of human rights in school practices (B2-20140618). However, Claudia illustrated that their strategy was to cooperate with the government authorities based upon the experience of the HEF whose conflict strategies toward the government authorities were not conducive to the promotion of some programmes. In practice, the CWLF would regularly co-organise one activity with the government authorities in order to bring our idea into schools through public power' (B1-20140708). By contrast, Eunice explained the reason why they insisted on radical strategies from a case treatment and suggested that

To be frank, I always think that transformation of social structure is not practical and firmly believed that school bullying is like a non-issue (a topic of little or no importance). I cared more about the teaching profession and whole school culture and the most important thing should focus on how local schools treated those who did not meet the requirement of school regulations. Our school system set up a narrow gate for students to learn, not only in the dimension of academic standard but also behaviour standard as being a moral person in the future. Hence, we tended to depart from single school case to look for the possibility of social change (B3-20140707).

Speaking of school practice, all the civil groups disagreed with the use of militarising way (military instructors) and policing intimidation (police officers) to deal with school bullying. Claudia demonstrated that these two approaches to curbing school bullying that 'treated bullies as criminals' in schools (B1-20140708) and Eunice was also critical of the 'bullying-response groups which is similar to the application of 'criminal detection' (B3-20140707). Eunice explained that this kind of sub-organisation under a school administration overemphasised the responsibility for investigating bullying facts and ignored the educative meaning behind investigation. Eunice also suggested that school should be responsible for what they need (either bullies or victims) and help them deal with their current situation rather than be accusing of who are bullies and victims in bullying incidents (B3-20140707).

Claudia referred to children's feedbacks from using repression in dealing with school bullying and pointed out that 'if police officers got involved in school incidents, children would think that they got betrayed by their teachers. However, school staff always reckoned that it was a best way to intimidate students' (B1-20140708). Claudia mentioned one research study by the Ministry of Education about the consequential treatment of school bullying in local schools which concluded that over eighty percent of bullying cases finalise with 'writing statement of apology by bullies' and Claudia criticised that 'the treatment of school bullying is indistinguishable from one-time deviant behaviour' (B1-20140708).

Another criticism focused on the way in which the campus life questionnaires were used in schools. Claudia mentioned that one policy researcher suggested that the government to test twice a year (the purpose of the anonymous one is to realise real situation and named one is to solve the bullying problem). The intensive use of questionnaires led to pressure on students because 'if students report that they were bullied, they would be cared by school staff to enquire detailed information about interpersonal relations and full story of bullying incidents' (B1-20140708). Eunice felt frustrated that their annual survey of school bullying administered in front of the school gates lacked credibility and was affected by the intensive use of life campus questionnaire inside schools (B3-20140707).

In discussing the difference between the two political parties on this issue, Claudia thought this issue was always used as political speculation before local and general election campaigns whereby the opposition party was critical of the ruling party that it did not take any responsibility for the children in schools. They all felt that the process of school anti-bullying policy is a political formality and Claudia explained how the government propagandise their accountability on this issue:

school anti-bullying for the government authorities tended to produce an image of positively dealing with this issue and creating friendly school environment. The government always claimed that we have promulgated the specific regulations on anti-bullying and set up a well-rounded mechanism of Standard Operation Procedure which could be legally followed by local schools to deal with school bullying (B1-20140708).

By comparison, Claudia tended to adopt a strategy of cooperating with government and gradually step into schools for the purpose of spreading their ideas while Eunice and Desmond attempted to adopt a hostile stance to supervise governmental strategies and criticise ideologies behind policy making. However, their criticisms on different dimensions

of this policy are consistent with each other in that they centred on the way in which the government and local schools deal with school bullying in bureaucratic ways and the extent to which the representation of children's feeling about the treatment of school bullying was related to the dehumanised approaches adopted by the government.

The Role of Local School Principals and Their School Practice

There were eight local principals (including primary, secondary and post-secondary level of schools) who shared their experience on the implementation and evaluation of school anti-bullying policy. School principals play a substantial role in bridging the gap between policy ideas and school practice that makes policy more accessible to students and school staff. The school principals put a high premium on policy transformation, the politics of local and community culture and policy feedback.

At the mention of definition, school principals suggested that the changing definition of bullying brought about the difficulties of evaluation because school bullying was seen as a high-profile political issue to the public and media which was related to the administrative notification system. One principal, Ronald, pointed out that school bullying was seen as a subjective judgement of peer relations that 'we feel embarrassed when parents directly reported to media in that local and central government officials would tend to blame for the outbreak of school bullying events'(C8-20140715). Ronald said that most principals will notify to central government when they find suspected bullying cases in avoidance of administrative responsibility and activate the mechanism to evaluate whether a case fitted with elements of school bullying through bullying-response groups organised by in-school and out-of-school committee members (C8-20140715). Another principal, Gabriel, said that it was highly difficult for school teachers to evaluate what is bullying and what is not bullying, (C1-20140718). The notification system and bullying-response groups could also be seen as a rational and professional mechanism in school daily practice which explained the reason why Claudia as a social activist questioned that school teachers always concentrated on how to evaluate behaviour mode of repetition and power imbalance in school bullying events rather than preventive strategies.

Several principals also referred to the influence of the media which determined how the public recognise the process of bullying treatment and governmental attitude. One of them, Gabriel, said that the HEF would like to mobilise the media to zoom in on school bullying

incidents and be critical of school administrations that would easily lead to social panic and distrust between parents and schools (C1-20140718). Florence said that the media was interested in school bullying and TV and newspaper reporters, in particular, could easily get into schools. In practice, she referred to 'the importance of protecting the right of students (bullies, victims and bystanders) and stated that all the information would be provided by a school spokesperson' (C2-20140723). One principal, Henry, stated that 'media report cannot distinguish the general student conflict incidents from school bullying that causes misunderstanding between bullies' and victims' parents. He further argued that 'one-time violent behaviour (physical conflict) always could be misunderstood as school bullying by parents' (C3-20140717).

The exploration of the promotion of anti-bullying policy between community culture and school practice was considered by most principals to whom school accountability is related and connected. One principal, Henry, compared the differences between urban and suburban schools and pointed out that 'urban school would lay stress on entrance examination and take more time on elite students and, relatively, negative attitude on academic poor performance student'. When school staff promoted the policy in the community, residents would doubt whether many bullying cases actually arose in schools (C3-20140717). Another principal, Louisa, shared her experience that a school shall play an active role in promoting and propagandising the policy ideas to community residents through the design of dynamic activities in the pursuit of parents' and community residents' supports (C5-20140701). According to the anti-bullying regulations, schools were encouraged to sign the contract with neighbouring convenient stores and local police stations in safeguarding out-of-school safety that were also mentioned by principals. One principal, Florence, recognised the significance of building close ties with convenient stores and stated that the network of convenient stores is a very useful community recourse which helps schools to restructure contextual framework of school safety in reducing the possibility of school bullying (C2-20140723). When referring to the attitudes toward police officers and military instructors, most principals held the positive attitude on the influence of police officer and military instructors in curbing school bullying. Florence said that 'when students behaviour was out of control, schools would call for permission of parents and then invited police officers to talk with students based upon their authoritative role to intimidate students' (C2-20140723). Principals also stressed that the symbolic meaning of mobilising police forces to intimidate students was over than substantial meaning to criminalise a student in dealing with student deviant and bullying behaviour (C1-

20140718; C2-20140723; C5-20140701). Some parents would ask for local councillors to intervene in the treatment of school bullying in defence of their children's rights and one principal, Henry, explained how to respond to councillors' influence peddling that the subtle relations between school principals, parents and local councillors is interdependent within the framework of local politics and, on the positive side, local councillors can also help schools to pacify parents and deal with intractable bullying events. However, Ronald was critical of this culture of local politics in which 'local councillors' offices could seemingly replace schools to deal with educational affairs at any time' (C8-20140715).

Most principals shared some practical experience of using life campus questionnaire and holding anti-bullying activities in promoting the consciousness of bullying prevention. For example, Gabriel mentioned the limitation of anti-bullying activities and said that taking the friendly campus week for example, the financial budget of district government was very limited that led to a fact that the substantial effects of anti-bullying activities was hard to manifest as expected (C1-20140718). Principals also mentioned that the life campus questionnaire could not achieve its purpose of prevention, Henry and Louisa suggested that many principals tended to cope with bureaucratic accountability and then fabricated false questionnaire data to the government authorities that made the questionnaire become a routine paper work without reflecting the real situations in schools (C3-20140717; C5-20140701).

The Role of Policy Researchers and Their Criticism

There were six policy researchers who took part in the interviews from the fields of psychology, public health, social work, criminology and pedagogy. Their experience can be described and analysed in seven dimensions, covering the definition, traditional values, practical approach, media influence, academic struggle and political governance and school practice.

Most of policy researchers recognised that the definition of school bullying in policy making was a process of political struggle and political intervention. One researcher, Wesley, stated that the definition followed by the World Health Organisation (WHO) at the initial stage of the policy making that tended to be in line with international standard (D2-20140711). Another researcher, Teddy, compared the differences between consequential and academic perspective on school bullying. He pointed out that 'the consequential perspective mainly

referred to property and psychological harm in schools where students produced a sense of fear' (D1-20140627). However, Teddy argued that the 'current definition was based upon academic perspective which led to the abstraction of bullying definition, such as the elusive behavioural elements of repetition, power imbalance and a period of time' (D1-20140627). Teddy said that politics affected policy making at the centre of definition where one legislator strongly criticised the academic perspective and 'asked for the removal of the underpinning elements of repetition and a period of time, suggesting that these two elements were too bloody and rigorous in judging school bullying cases (D1-20140627). Another policy researcher, Nigel, reflected on the 'power of definition' and stated that who has the absolute power to define what school bullying is ignored by our society that led to domination of media and politicians at the initial stage of discursive formation (D5-20140714). Nigel explained that 'this phenomenal formed a crisis of false alarm (not a bullying case in reality but being viewed as bullying case at the first time) in the notification of school bullying' and further analysed that 'the appearance of irrational parents and unwarranted media report could easily brought about the high possibility of false alarm' (D5-20140714). The key point in the definition is the committee of bullying-response groups which was regulated to be composed of experts. Teddy mirrored the questioning from parents about who can act as experts in this committee to evaluate cases and what the legal responsibility of the committee was if the committee made a wrong decision (D1-20140627).

A policy researcher, Wesley, mentioned the relation between Confucian values and the conception of bullying and stated that Confucianism is a way of helping the emperor to control people's behaviour and mind in the ancient times that was seen as a representation of bullying at the level of political governance (D2-20140711). Most researchers reflected on the relations between policy making and local culture to which people's thinking styles and social habitus were related. Wesley demonstrated that many policies were not rooted in our social contexts and the adoptability of policy transfer was seen as an efficient way of solving the social problems in response to public expectations (D2-20140711). Reynold pointed out the key fact that how to make the policy transfer take root in the cultural soil needed to be reconsidered because culture differences behind the policy making always reflect the ways which people used to solve problems (D3-20140713). Wesley said two approaches to dealing with school bullying, including traditional model and contemporary model. The former stressed that policies were only used to solve current problems in schools and the latter emphasised that policies was playing an important part in integrating frameworks of a school

order, such as enhancing safety consciousness and building school safety system (D2-20140711). Wesley preferred the latter in that if the safety system could be constructed, the prevalence of school bullying could be easily control (D2-20140711). Two policy researchers, Teddy and Suzanne were in charge of two different institutions to promote accreditation of safe schools and safe communities. Teddy's work involved evaluating school safety through indicators of campus security in line with international standard (D1-20140627) and Suzanne's work focused on how to prevent the happening of unsafe case in schools and to enhance the coefficient of safety (D4-20140711). However, Luman disagreed with the Teddy and Suzanne's initiations of safety accreditation and argued that the 'policy practice should focus on the micro context of classroom rather than wider context of school and community in that many school bullying events took place within classroom, including relational and verbal bullying as two of main traditional bullying types' (D6-20140716).

These approaches are related to the meta-thinking of policy making that was mentioned by different policy researchers. For example, Teddy and Wesley laid emphasis on the bystander justice and Nigel concentrated on restorative justice, Reynold highlighted the importance of sociological analysis and value reasoning and Luman underlined the function of interpersonal network in schools. Teddy rejected the promotion of restorative justice and explained that what we need in our social context was the promotion of bystander justice which informed children how to put themselves forward for social justice (D1-20140627). Nigel pointed out that the Olive Branch Programme was the concrete practice of restorative justice in the treatment of school bullying which stressed the notion of conflict-solving to rebuild social relations between bullies and victims through restorative conversation (D5-20140714). As opposed to the two kinds of justice, Reynold accentuated the significance of sociological analysis and explained that this values reasoning could enhance analytical ability of social events that helped school staff to realise the formation of school culture and applicability of policy (D3-20140713).

When it came to the legalisation of anti-bullying policy, different opinions were showed in the interviews to explain the possibilities and limitations. Wesley discussed the structure of legal system in Taiwan and illustrated the incompatibility of legalisation that our legal system belonged to civil law system which implied that it was hard to revise. Considering the current political situations, if the law-making cannot fit with the needs of school contexts, education affairs would be easily taken controlled by laws according to the principle of evil law as law'

(D2-20140711). This consideration could be linked to the bureaucratisation of government institutions which was considered uncondusive to promoting policy making and implementation under the democratic framework. Reynold analysed the reasons for this phenomenon that many educational government officials graduated from Normal University (also called Teacher's College) System where top-down interpersonal relations (junior shall show respect to senior in universities) became a kind of traditional culture which led to cultural habitus of formalism, transferring from universities to government departments. Taking the Department of Military Training (renamed the Department of Student Affairs and Special Education since 2013) in the Ministry of Education for example, Nigel further analysed the bureaucratisation of influential power on anti-bullying policy making within the government system and suggested that according to the different layers of government departments, the bottom layer of three administrative staff exerted an influence of about 50 percent, the middle layer of one section chief about 20 percent and one director of department about 30 percent (D5-20140714). In practice, it was noted that three administrative staff and one section chief proposed some policies or programmes to a director and he said that the three administrative staff at the bottom of a department almost determined the nation-wide policy (D5-20140714).

The foundation of policy making was associated with results of government research projects which were conducted by policy researchers. Reynold strongly criticised that there was a strong notion of academic territorialisation, such as the occupation of discourse arenas, resource arenas and positional arenas, in the policy making system and it was hard to gain government support outsider of their group (D3-20140713). Reynold felt frustrated that the field of education cooperated with government systems to strive for more psychologists into local schools in defence of their students' job opportunities; however, it was hard for the field of social work to compete with the field of education (D3-20140713). Teddy reflected on his experience when policy researchers were critical of policy making, it was hard to get any research funding from government (D1-20140627). Two policy researchers, Nigel and Luman, also mentioned that their heads of department were personally acquainted with officials and they could easily get government funding to conduct nation-wide research (D5-20140714; D6-20140716).

Most policy researchers discussed their experience when they acted as evaluation committee members on behalf of government authorities. Reynold was critical of the notion of the

friendly campus week and he suggested that anti-bullying consciousness should be viewed as a life attitude in school practice not just hosting some activities (such as shouting slogan, wearing anti-bullying T-shirt, joining anti-bullying writing and arts competition) to cope with the official evaluation. This formalism culture could be attributed to the hybrid composition of teachers' culture from 'Normal University' Systems, school administrators' culture from 'bureaucratic organisations' and military instructors' culture from 'military academies' (D3-20140713). They also found that local school anti-bullying programmes and standard operating procedures were nearly transferred from government samples that caused the disjunction between local school culture and anti-bullying programmes (D1-20140627; D4-20140711). Suzanne as a member of educational evaluation interviewed school teachers and found that many teachers did not recognise the basic meaning of school bullying, not to mention students' knowledge of school bullying (D4-20140711). Furthermore, at the micro level of teacher-student relations, policy researchers reinforced the importance of a home-room teacher who was playing a key role in a frontline position of preventing school bullying incidents and in acting as role model to teach students how to respect others (D1-20140627; D3-20140713). Wesley suggested that home-room teachers qualified as 'school insiders' should take more responsibility in the bullying-response groups rather than heavily rely on experts as school outsiders (D2-20140711).

After reviewing the web of social relations in policy making and implementation, it can be summarised that NPO activists and policy researchers could easily penetrated the operation of power relations and political influences on policy making in the policy arena. In contrast, government officials and school principals tended to defend the political legitimacy of a predominant social order and the stability of a school system. The discussion in this parts stressed the agency of policy stakeholders within the policy networks and also echoed Hill and Hupe's (2002, p.77) account that 'policy networks thus form a context in which actors act strategically'. According to Weber (1949, p.89), the discovery of ideal types in social research is a critical process of translating 'viewpoints into a unified analytical construct' and 'is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena'. In this way, the following three sections continues to analyse two kinds of ideological types, including socio-political and scientific ideologies, based upon the empirical data and explained how these two ideologies could correspond with each other to produce three kinds of ideal types in capturing the abstract meaning of policy practice.

The Socio-political Debates and Political Logic of School Anti-bullying Policy

The purpose of this part is to explore the relations between political ideology and anti-bullying policy. This part further discusses the socio-political ideological logic behind policy making and implementation which sheds light on three notions of ideological assumptions, political governance and critical reflection in relation to power relations within the practice of anti-bullying policy.

The Assumptions of Socio-political Debates and Political Logic

The assumptions of socio-political debates mirrored the interaction between ideological stances and social practice. The following explores the three types of policy assumptions which rested on research participants' ideas and ideologies when discussing the relations between policy and politics. The first assumption built on the fact that 'school anti-bullying policy is undoubtedly free of political ideology' (P1). This assumption demonstrated that policy formation and political operation are two mutually exclusive entities. When asked about politics, one senior officer, Alexis, said that 'the aim of school anti-bullying policy was to create a safe learning environment which was free of violence and free of fear learning in schools; hence, there was no differences between KMT and DPP governance in tackling an issue of school bullying' (A1-20140703). He further mentioned that 'when the DPP governance was in power, the policy was made and implemented by the public servants rather than politicians' (A1-20140703). One principal, Gabriel, echoed this kind of assumption and suggested that:

a bullying issue focused on the side of school practice (rather than the side of governance ideology) and treatment specific student case and, in reality, there were more and more school principals gained master and phd degree in pursuit of professional combination between theory and school practice to deal with school bullying, as opposed to the previous principal appointed by the statist party (C1-20140718).

This emerging assumption seems to be paying to politics what belongs to politics and school what belongs to school and neglected the belief in the separation of state and education which is analogous to that of the separation of state and religion. This assumption was in line with the principle of impartiality in the Article 8 of the Education Fundamental Law which stated that:

Education shall be based upon the principle of impartiality. Schools may not engage in promotional or other activities for any specific political group. Neither the competent education administrative authority nor any school may force school administrative personnel, teachers, or students to participate in any political group or political activity.

The second assumption positively responds to the first assumption and demonstrates that ‘political operation is a part of policy formation’ (P2). This assumption was perceived and recognised by some research participants and argued that the practice of the principle of impartiality in school is impossible but a school is viewed as a self-autonomous system. This assumption focused on the democratic principle procedural justice and the logic of local politics within school practice and stressed that of the procedural justice could overcome and modify the over-intervention of central and local politics. One principal, Henry, referred to a hidden rule of how a school as a self-autonomous system operated before the outbreak of a bullying incident:

School bullying in Taiwan always focused on whether the media reported to the public or not. Taking the notification system set up by the Ministry of Education for example, if parents made a complaint to the ‘anti-bullying hotline’ run by the Ministry of Education, a government officer who was in charge of bullying affairs would notice school staff at once and then local schools could take some instant actions for a bullying case before the uncovering of media reports (C3-20140717).

The third assumption radically suggests that ‘political ideology within the politics culture over-dominated policy making’ (P3). This means the focus is not policy itself but the exercise of power relations. This assumption claims that the separation of education and politics was unrealistic in the context of school practice. Teddy, a researcher stated that ‘when the outbreak of the Ba-deh bullying incident, political ideologies played a crucial role in exercising their influence on the policy making rather than law making due to the fact that political ideologies to some extent can be seen as a means of political struggle between different parties’ (D1-20140627). Another researcher, Nigel, reflected on the bullying incidents and thought that ‘I felt the treatment of school bullying was dominated by politics and professionalism cannot be exercised that was so called bureaucratisation’ (D5-20140714). Nigel also quoted a practical case to explain the operation of local politics in schools:

School bullying was evaluated and confirmed by bullying-response groups on the basis of the policy regulation and if either one side of parents in specific events alleged influenced peddling to principals or turned to ask for local councillors’ assistance. It was hard to say what kind of results was declared under the pressure and intervention of local politics (D5-20140714).

Some attributed the political struggle in school practice to distorted media reports and over-intervention due to the consideration of commercial interests which affected the school professional evaluations on each specific case and led to the radicalised and polarised operation of politics (D2-20140711; C5-20140701). One researcher, Wesley, discussed structural factors in the bullying events and made the following point: ‘policy making always considered whether the public opinion, media responses and local councillors can accept or not, but paid little attention to the authentic needs of subjects (youths or teenagers) within school regulation policies’ (D2-20140711). The three assumptions can be seen as a spectrum of political and ideological perceptions which to a great extent reflected multi-dimensional perspectives of dynamic interaction between the knowing of political structure and the exercise of agential power relations in the context of school practice.

The Relations between Political Governance and School Anti-bullying Policy

This section follows the three kinds of assumptions and discusses different types of political governance and school practice. In terms of the first assumption (P1), the government officers and school principals claimed that the notion of the administration according to law and rule of law were the core values of political governance. This means that the conception of law was objective and neutral which maintained the stabilisation and normalisation of the social system. It was noted that a school was viewed as a part of social system and, as mentioned before, the educative promotion of legal education, moral education, gender education, life education and human rights education in schools was exercised to prevent school bullying and this incorporated the school order into wider context of social structure (A1-20140703; A3-20140617). One senior officer, Brian, stressed the close link between the educational practice and anti-bullying policy and ‘the promotion of human rights education focuses on the respect for others that definitely led to the reduction of school bullying and that the promotion of life education put emphasis on the respect for life that was also conducive for curbing school bullying’ (A3-20140617). However, this assumption (P1) was also supportive of the use of criminological and militarised ways of dealing with serious bullying incidents which were related to gang organisation invasion (A1-20140703). The logic of non-educative intervention was built on the underpinning presumption that school is a sub-system of social system and instant problem-solving approach can reduce social panic and uphold the legitimacy of political governance. It was presumed that both school practice and criminal justice can stabilise the school order and then achieve the aim of creating

friendly learning environment.

The second assumption (P2) argues that the first assumption (P1) could be over-optimistic about the association between political governance and school practice and claimed that school was an arena of political struggle. This means that the second assumption recognised the existence of political power in schools rather than free of politics; however, it was noted that school systems remain holding the dominant power to maintain school operation. Speaking of the confirmation and treatment of school bullying, the decisions were made by school staff and outer experts within school committees which was a consensus form of decision making and not controlled by specific committee members. One principal, Murray, discussed the operation of anti-bullying committee and referred to the democratic process of decision making:

When the outbreak of one bullying case in Taipei, the committee was organised inside the school and started to investigate this bullying case. Although the public opinion expected the committee to declare the result as soon as possible, I insisted that we shall keep our pace to write the report in detail. After I report this result in the committee, committee members started to vote whether this case is cut out for the elements of bullying. The result of voting was that this case is not a bullying incident. After the end of the meeting, I stayed in the school to prepare for the press statement of next day press conference. At the end, the committee appointed one representative of the 'Child League Foundation' to declare the result of bullying investigation (C6-20140623).

Another principal, Henry, mentioned the interaction with county councillors that if there were any who cared about school bullying, the school would explain clearly to them and, in turn, they would mobilise the local relations to strike the balance between school interests and parents' pressure. The hidden rule in local school was that county councillors were very smart and reluctant to offend the school principal due to building a positive image of social justice for their constituency. In turn, they would sometimes help schools to negotiate the treatment of school bullying between the victims and bullies (C3-20140717). This assumption of political governance laid much emphasis on the subjectivity of school through either a democratic principle or hidden rule of local politics.

In contrast, the third assumption (P3) would transcend the previous two assumptions (P1 and P2) and demonstrate that the real operation of local and central politics exerted their influence on school practice. This means that there is no positionality of subjectivity for local schools to deal with school bullying because of the logic of power relations. Historically, it was suggested that anti-bullying policy was a product of state party politics (Chapter 6) and a

secretary to a senior legislator, Annabel, mentioned the logic of institutional politics with regard to policy and law making and said that ‘there was nothing that the Legislative Yuan cannot work...If there was an emergent social need for the public, one law can be quickly passed in one month. This is question of legislative skills rather than the ability of individual legislators’ (A5-20140707). When discussing the contradiction between professional considerations and political interests, Annabel said that ‘most legislators would take into consideration school interests as a whole, but primary political pressure was originated from their constituency’ (A5-20140707). Another official, Anselm, discussed the foundation of the constitution on the basis of powers of the central and district governments (Article 111 suggested that ‘if it is national in nature; of the province, if it is provincial in nature; and of the county, if it concerns the county. In case of dispute, it shall be settled by the Legislative Yuan) and further questioned whether the making of anti-bullying policy was belonging to political power of central or district governments (A2-20140717). Anselm thought that school bullying was a matter of school practice and question why the central government exercised dominant power over district government and even local schools (A2-20140717). This pointed to the contradiction between the central or district governments in relation to distribution of political power. This assumption accentuated the ideological logic of top-down governance and asymmetry power relations that interpreted schools as passive institutions without substantial power to resist.

Critical Reflection of Socio-political Debates and Political Logic

Obviously, the three kinds of assumptions are linked to the practice of political governance and reflected ideological stances behind the anti-bullying policy formation. Each assumption needs to be examined and questioned critically with regard to power relations and political domination. The first assumption, free of politics, tends to simplify the relations between state and education and stresses the principle of impartiality that turns a blind eye to the existence of political power and simplifies the social relations between social agents. Speaking of the political governance of this assumption, educative prevention and criminal intervention was allowed to deal with school bullying and then maintain the school order and systematic stability that was in line with the demonstrations of structural functionalism and psychological behaviourism (the relation between indoctrinated propaganda/punishment and reduction of bullying/stable school order). The second assumption part of politics intervention recognised the school as an autonomous system as opposed to a political system

and stresses the operation of micro politics between school practice and political system. When it comes to the political governance of the second assumption, both the democratic principle and the hidden rule of local politics seemingly maintain surface stability beneath the black boxes of school practice. This assumption and political governance corresponds to a wider structure and was oblivious to the possibility of transformation. The third assumption of over-determination of politics stresses that school practice is subordinated to both central and local politics. Concerning the political governance of this assumption, it is noted that top-down governance and asymmetry power relations limits the possibility of school autonomy and opportunity of self-determination. This assumption and political governance overstates the domination of political power over school practice and takes no notice of the interaction between agential resistance and political oppression. This analysis of ideological logic and political governance reminds us of the importance of how political ideologies are constituted and activated in the context of school practice and what determines the way in which positionality and intentionality of each stance reproduces the repressive structure in the name of stabilising school order and the reduction of school bullying. The next part will explore the scientific logic of school anti-bullying policy on the opposition of ideological logic and political governance.

The Research-based Debates and Scientific Logic of School Anti-bullying Policy

This section explores the extent to which the scientific logic and claims are widely produced in the policy making that is distinct from aforementioned political ideologies. This exploration sets out to reshape the scientific landscape behind the policy making and further discuss how different levels of scientific ideologies could activate the policy making in arguing for and against the legitimacy of policy practice. Three dimensions are discussed at the centre of scientific ideologies: the underlying assumptions, the relations between ideologies and policy making and the critical reflection on scientific ideologies on which the research-based debates are primarily based.

The Assumptions of Research-based Debates and 'Scientific Logic'

The assumptions of scientific logic can be divided into three kinds, including the notion of objectivity, a mixture of objectivity and subjectivity and subjectivity which reverberates

around the discussion of epistemology and methodology in Chapter 5 with reference to the formation of policy making and implementation. The first assumption of objectivity (S1) practises rigorous scientific methods to know the truth. For example, when the Minister of Education reported anti-bullying policy in the Legislative Yuan and cited the results of quantitative research conducted by the Institute of Education at the National Sun Yat-Sen University (NSYU) and the CWLF to demonstrate the prevalence of school bullying in Taiwan (Legislative Yuan, 2011). As noted before, the student life questionnaire was tested twice a year in primary and secondary schools to calculate frequency and prevalence. On the investigation of bullying events, a series of relations between bullying behaviour and harmful effect constitutes a social reality of bullying event. Based upon the anti-bullying regulation, a bullying-response group was composed of objective and professional representatives to discover the truth of bullying incidents. The logic of this assumption seeks a de-politicised approach to tackling school bullying and reinforces the scientific image of the educational system within a rational society.

The second assumption of a mixture of subjectivity and objectivity (S2) argues that policy making is the construction of subjectivity which leads to the objective operation within a school system. On the evaluation of school bullying, the selection of a bullying-response group and members' ideologies are rather subjective which is conducive for making the objective and collective agreement through a legal democratic procedure. For example, one researcher, Wesley, clearly resonated with this assumption that school bullying in essence was made up of two elements, including objective and subjective ones. The former belongs to psychological and physical feeling in our daily life (such as feeling uncomfortable or depressed) and the latter to the professional evaluation (such as reaching consensus in school panel meetings) (D2-20140711). The logic of this assumption lies in the causal relations between professional evaluation and the discovery and presumes that a truth can be discovered through professional evaluation. Comparatively, the first and second assumption recognise the existence of a truth in a bullying incident through the various approaches.

The third assumption of subjectivity (S3) questions the previous two assumptions and argues that both of them overlook the subjective consciousness and the operation of power relations. It was noted that the construction of policy and bullying investigation were full of subjective judgements due to the accountability of bureaucratisation. For example, one researcher, Nigel, mentioned the elements of school bullying that the concept of repetition and imbalance

of power is a subjective judgment and the ongoing changes of bullying definition showed that the construction of anti-bullying policy was to some extent the output of political struggle and compromise (D5-20140714). A key proposition challenged by this assumption was who has the right to determine what school bullying is? In practical terms, this explained why many principals underreported cases of school bullying to local and central governments. When discussing the test of student life question, a principal, Henry, mentioned that it was very easy for the questionnaire to be filled out by school staff rather students (C3-20140717) and another said that ‘once she acted as a member of evaluation committee selected by the Ministry of Education, it was so incredible that the statistical case of school bullying in many schools is zero’ (C5-20140701). Arguably, the logic of this assumption is that the false consciousness within the school and political systems reproduces a proposition of scientific inquiry (the discovery of truth) in the disguise of an objective evaluation and a legal democratic procedure.

The Relations between Scientific Ideology and School Anti-bullying Policy

It is presumed that the notion of scientific ideology, as opposed to political ideology, was embedded in the anti-bullying policy that can be seen as a part of epistemic knowing in relation to the approach to policy making. Three kinds of scientific ideology will be discussed on the basis of their respective assumptions. The practice of objectivity in policy making can be found in the interview with a senior officer, Alexis, when he stressed that:

The definition authentically considered our culture context and gave up the element of repetition in the definition which was more rigorous. ...The scientific research was conducted by academic institution funded by the government before the outbreak of the Ba-deh bullying incidence. However, I did not start the bullying problem but just brought this issue to light (A1-20140703).

Policy making can be divided into different stages, including the selection of policy makers, policy planning, implementation and evaluation. When discussing the initial stage of how to make anti-bullying policy, the senior officer referred to the constitution of committee members and the process of policy making which was a scientific approach:

Most committee members were school discipline staff from local schools and some experts from different governmental sections, including Ministry of Justice, National Police Agency and the Social Affairs Section and the Ministry of Education. These committee members based upon their professional areas were asked to provide theoretical knowledge in the discussion of policy making (A1-20140703).

As discussed before, the questionnaire and the practice of educational propaganda with reference to anti-bullying were implemented at the different levels of local schools. At the level of the local schools, the confirmation of school bullying was given by bullying-response groups and if a bullying case was confirmed, the school necessitated to work out a final report submitted to the Ministry of Education in three months (C6-20140623). Subsequently, the Ministry of Education would be responsible for tracking follow-up guidance and actions taken by the school (A1-20140703). The scientific ideology of objectivity was seemingly incorporated into the policy making and implementation from the central government to local schools.

The practice of the second assumption of a mixture of objectivity and subjectivity seemed to modify the stance of objectivity and discussed in detail the interaction between macro and micro scientific logics. The first assumption focuses on the macro framework of scientific logic rather than micro one and further stresses that the notion of multiple subjective consciousness would bring about relative objective decision. For example, speaking of the representativeness in policy making, there was no teachers' union speaking on behalf of staff, as opposed to a parents' union, due to the fact that most teachers in schools were reluctant to deal with school bullying that the burden of responsibility in relation to treatment of deviant or bullying behaviour would rest on school discipline staff and military instructors (A2-20140717). To be specific, the question of who needs to take more responsibilities in the school bullying events is a compromise between subjective willingness and objective situation and conditions in the context of school practice. Following this proposition, another scientific debate focuses on who has the professional qualifications and right to deal with school bullying in connection with counselling mechanisms. One researcher, Reynold, mentioned the professional struggle in school practice:

If local schools got funding from government, they would recruit psychologists rather than social workers. The real question needed be focus on is the thinking structural dimension, such as realising the interaction between [bullies] students and their family, community environment and how the school culture be shaped. To be honest, sociological analysis is very important but our education system did not lay emphasis on analytical ability with value dialectical thinking. It was said that you cannot deal with educational issues without thinking about the conflict between different value systems (D3-20140713).

Obviously, this means that school issues within the social system are primarily composed of subjective value/consciousness and objective structural factors that upholds the basic proposition and the assumption of scientific ideology in the context of school practice.

Last but not the least, the practice of the third assumption of subjectivity tends to overturn the previous propositions and claims. It is argued that no matter what the macro or micro dimensions of scientific logic are, policy making and implementation is the scientific representation of subjective consciousness and the dominant power of scientific interpretation was fully controlled by administrative and academic institution. It is demonstrated that that the notion of multiple subjective consciousness would bring about subjective decision rather than objective one. For example, two researchers in different projects discussed how to get funding from government. One of them, Nigel, said that ‘the leader of this project had good personal relations with a senior government official in the Ministry of Education and the funding was directly appointed to our project’ (D5-20140714). Another researcher, Luman, said that ‘the Ministry of Education made an advertised bidding for the school bullying project, but there was no academic staff willing to join this process due to the limited budget. The government entrusted the leader of our department to conduct this research’ (D6-20140716). Many researchers in the interviews were critical of the unfair distribution of scientific resources (D1-20140627; D4-20140711) and one of them, Suzanne, further pointed out that ‘government research projects can dominate the direction of policy making and school practice and the research team funded by the government always followed the subjective political considerations to manipulate the scientific result due to the future academic resources’ (D4-20140711). In short, this assumption deconstructs the myth of scientific neutrality and uncovers subjective considerations in both political and scientific interests.

Critical Reflection of Research-based Debates and Scientific Logic

This section further discusses the three kinds of scientific assumptions and this relation with anti-bullying policy. The first assumption of objectivity-based ideology focuses more on the surface of objective structure than the exploration of deeper scientific logic beneath the bureaucratisation of institution. The second assumption of a mixture of objectivity and subjectivity tends to strike a balance between objective scientificity and subjective consciousness; by contrast, this assumption ignored the constitution of objective scientificity and overemphasised the possibility of mutual complement. The third assumption of subjectivity-based ideology is critical of the existence of scientific reality and reminds us the importance of uncovering power domination and scientific hegemony behind the operation between scientific research and political governance.

Political Ideology and Scientific Ideology

Three kinds of ideal types can be constructed by the logic of political ideology and scientific ideology, embracing the notions of scientism (Type I), eclecticism (Type II), and politicism (Type III). On the first type, scientism, the ideological logic of being free of politics corresponds to the scientific logic of objectivity that stresses the importance of de-historicizing/de-politicalising and scientific neutrality in the making of anti-bullying policy and dealing with bullying behaviour. This type reiterates that notion that being value free and free of political intervention are conducive to discovery of the truth and then to effectively solving school bullying problem. With reference to the second type, eclecticism, both political and scientific ideologies recognise the existence of power relations and the objectivity of social reality that the assumption of part intervention of politics in the logic of political ideology to a great extent echoes that of a mixture of objectivity and subjectivity in the logic of scientific ideology that were mutual complementarily. The third type, politicism, underscores the over-determination of politics in the political dimension and subjectivity in the scientific dimension that tends to deconstruct the exercise of power relations and unfair distribution of academic hegemony. According to the proposition of the third type, political and scientific reality was constructed by those who hold power in the social system. These three ideal types were extracted from the empirical data in the interviews to explore two kinds of ideological differences. As suggested by Althusser (1971, p.162), the conception of ideology could be seen as ‘the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence’. Echoing the structural Marxist analysis in Chapter 4, Althusser (1971) tended to justify how a capitalist state reproduces the relations of production through two main state apparatuses (ISA and RAS) in securing the legitimacy of capitalist governance. Following this assumption, how to generalise these three imaginary relationships (ideal types) to the existence of the generative mechanisms in Taiwan will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

Table 7.4 Three Ideal Types between Logic of Political Ideology and Scientific Ideology

| Ideal Type | Logic of political ideology(P) | Logic of scientific ideology(S) |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| Type I: scientism | Free of politics (P1) | Objectivity-based (S1) |
| Type II: eclecticism | Part intervention of politics (P2) | A mixture of objectivity and subjectivity (S2) |
| Type III: politicism | Over-determination of politics (P3) | Subjectivity-based (S3) |

Conclusion

This chapter explored six aspects of anti-bullying policy, including the practical discussion of prevalence, civil and school campaign and social planning and the abstract discussion of political ideology, scientific ideology and three kinds of ideal types. The first part explained how this issue can be problematised and brought to light in the political and school system through the declaration of statistical analysis and media report. The second part focused on how local schools and civil groups activate campaigns in responses to this issue with the intention of raising public concern. The third part elucidated the social planning and practice elements of this policy in the domain of central government and local schools that lays the robust foundation for subsequent analysis of abstract ideologies. The fourth part explores the dominant discourse and argument of policy stakeholders on the basis of qualitative data in the process of policy making in bridging the gap between event-based analysis and ideological analysis. The fifth and sixth parts further analysed the logic of socio-political ideology and scientific ideology in the dimension of fundamental assumptions and its relations with anti-bullying policy and critical reflections. The final part extracted the logic of political and scientific ideology and then categorise three kinds of ideal types. To sum up, these six aspects can be seen as underpinning foundations of school anti-bullying policy. How to generalise the generative mechanism micro empirical data to a wider context of specific structure and how to activate casual power between state of affairs and generative mechanism will be further analysed and discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8

THE GENERATIVE MECHANISM IN SCHOOL ANTI-BULLYING POLICY IN TAIWAN

Introduction

This chapter explores a role of the generative mechanism (Bhaskar, 1979) with reference to the empirical data from Taiwan. It comprises five parts with the intention of understanding the interaction between the structure of policy making and the agency of policy stakeholders. The first part analyses the relations between critical realism and then three types of theory (the criminological, psychological and pedagogical) are crystallised from the empirical data. The second part links the three ideal types (scientism, eclecticism and politicism) analysed in Chapter 7 under the three types of theory. These first two parts focus on the transformation from empirical data, which is the representation of transitive knowledge, both interview statements and historical documents, to abstract theory which is the formation of intransitive knowledge. The third part is the key to the whole thesis and analyses the existence of causal power and how the generative mechanism (governance of top-down party politics) activates the operation of policy making and implementation through power in the ontological domain of the real. The fourth part deals with the account of objectivity (epistemological dimension) and generalisation (methodological dimension) in relation to the production of transitive and intransitive knowledge. The fifth and sixth part reflects on the generative mechanism of top-down governance and collective agency of professional and community groups respectively in search of the transformative possibility of policy making in the future to meet the needs of human emancipation.

Critical Realism and School Anti-bullying Policy

The application of the critical realist approach, suggested by Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, and Karlsson (2002) and Wuisman (2005), should focus on the inference of retrodution which was opposed to that of induction in the empiricist approach and that of abduction in the interpretive approach. Furthermore, Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, and Karlsson (2002,

p.110) demonstrated that some questions needed to be asked: ‘What is fundamentally constitutive for the structures and relations (X)? How is X possible? What properties must exist for X to be what X is? What causal mechanisms are related to X?’ In practice, the powerful theories should be compared and used to explain a specific social issue to which social structure and generative mechanism are closely related (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2002). Following this proposition of critical realism, the three types of theory with reference to anti-bullying policy were formed and crystallised by the interaction between empirical data (Chapters 6 & 7) and previous theoretical foundations (Chapter 3). Each type of theory and its assumptions was discussed as follows.

Criminological Analysis in School Anti-bullying Policy

According to the development of party politics, anti-bullying policy inherited the top-down mechanism of political control that was associated with the treatment of deviant behaviour and violent crime. Historically, a variety of studies on juvenile delinquency were emphasised by the public authorities with the intention of maintaining school order. The conception of criminological analysis in anti-bullying policy was gradually shaped at the initial stage of the great debate on bullying definitions as a result of a political struggle between two main parties (KMT and DPP) which saw schools as inextricable part of the state apparatus. For example, in terms of political struggle, the opposition party was critical of the ineffective accountability of tackling school bullying that made the ruling party mobilise the policing and militarised system on the basis of four principles by the President Ma Yingjeou: ‘to search actively, to handle efficiently, to help investigation cooperatively and to explain publicly’ (The China Post, 2010c, p.1). Another example explained why the school was seen as a part of state apparatus mentioned by a senior government officer, who said that ‘I found that there was a very detailed booklet about the notification system and treatment of school bullying in local police stations before the Ministry of Education officially put forward the anti-bullying policy’ (A2-20140717). The assumption of the criminological analysis departs from the conception of school bullying as a part of ‘quasi-criminal conduct’ which was possibly suggested by a criminal system in the name of violating the school order. This means that student behaviour is regulated and monitored under the surveillance of the legal system within a wider society which focuses on the binary adversarial relations between bullies/penetrators and victims (Humanistic Education Foundation, 2011). More specifically,

this logic of criminological analysis deals with relations between regulations and laws made by a state and bullying behaviour displayed by individual students.

Echoing the criminological theories on school bullying, the making of anti-bullying policy was linked with conceptions of deviant behaviour, aggressive behaviour, juvenile delinquency, gangster invasion, drug abuse that was inductively characterised as ‘family resemblance’ (Wittgenstein, 1953). This means that all these conceptions (such as different types of behaviour) are in essence different from each other but could be categorised as a prototype (youth crime). Simply put, the formation of the criminological analysis in relation to school bullying posits that school bullying has become a member of the ‘criminal-concept family’ under the activation of political and scientific mechanism which will be further analysed in the next part. Deductively, according to the logic explanation of syllogism concerning the formation of the criminological analysis, it was noted that ‘all crimes are being punished by a legal system’ (major premise) and that ‘school bullying is a type of a crime’ (minor premise), therefore it may validly conclude that ‘school bullying is being punished by a legal system’. The meaning of social function is embedded in the ‘context’ and grounded in the ‘text’ of anti-bullying policy making, built on the foundation of ‘political accountability under the operation of state apparatus’ and ‘the undistinguishable characteristic of family resemblance between crime and school bullying’. This helps to understand why the criminological theories are widely used in the discussion of bullying research.

Psychological Analysis in School Anti-bullying Policy

The second theory concerns psychological analysis. As discussed in the previous chapter, school bullying research originated in the psychological tradition that triggered the discussion of bullying definitions, the quantitative measurement of bullying prevalence and the application of anti-bullying programmes. This means that the psychological theories set out to lay a robust foundation for the ‘scientificity of bullying research’ and premised that bullying behaviour is ‘the representation of mental set and psychological state’. Compared to the criminological assumption, psychologists devoted themselves to unveiling respective psychological structure behind the appearance of bullying behaviour rather than examining bullying behaviour itself. As seen in Chapter 2, many psychological accounts and attributions focused on the casual relations between the conceptions of therapy counselling, pathology,

suicide, emotional, anger management and the representation of bullying behaviour to which the domain of public health research is closely related.

In Taiwan, at the initial stage of anti-bullying policy making, the psychological perspective was widely adopted in the discussions of definition, policy implementation and evaluation and was readily accepted by school staff. At the level of central government, the design of the psychologicalised policy put much emphasis on the institutionalised human resource of school counsellors and the construction of interpersonal relations among students which dominates the primary understanding of school bullying. This implies that school counsellors could fully deal with the prevention and treatment of school bullying and the slogan of establishing friendly campuses cannot be overemphasised at the heart of reconstructing the school order. The question needs to be asked: what is the social function of psychologised policy in relation to the practice anti-bullying strategies? This question involves the relation between the authority structure of the state and individual psychological structure. This policy conveys the order of state authority to students through the activation of psychological mechanism before and after the occurrence of school bullying and the maintenance of the school order is to examine the correspondence between a predominant social order and the adaption of the individuals' psychological state. For example, the school life questionnaire which examines the interpersonal relations among students in schools, showed that state apparatus could directly monitor private social relations and individual psychological states through top-down governance under the guise of a scientific and democratic approach.

The psychological analysis links the macro structure of state authority to the micro psychological structure and in this way school bullying is reduced to a psychological problem. According to the logical explanation of deductive syllogism concerning the formation of this psychological approach, it was noted that all psychological problem are being cured and treated by a counselling system (major premise) and that school bullying is a type of psychological problems (minor premise), therefore it may validly be concluded that school bullying is being cured by a counselling system. In comparative terms, the similarity between a counselling system and a legal system is the predomination of authority structure and the individualised disciplinary institution that assumes the importance of a bureaucratising state hierarchy and normalising individual behaviour. However, the distinction between the two of them is that the former stresses the legal logic of bullying behaviour with reference to a legalised structure of state apparatus and the latter highlights

psychological logic of bullying behaviour with reference to a social psychological order of state apparatus. It is argued that the meaning of social function of the psychological analysis in relation to anti-bullying policy makes the state apparatus implicitly invade the student life world that takes control of not only external behaviour itself but also internal psychological states.

The Pedagogical Analysis in School Anti-bullying Policy

The third theory, pedagogical analysis, highlights teaching methods and curriculum design in relation to the promotion of anti-bullying policy in schools. Similar to the application of psychology, the pedagogical knowledge and strategies are extensively adopted and discussed in local schools, such as in the areas of classroom management, teaching methods, and the official curriculum. Furthermore, the logic of pedagogical research draws attention to the relations between the educative practices within schools and the occurrence of school bullying. However, a pedagogical system does not exist independently of the party state governance that explains the integral relations between a state authority and the construction of knowledge and methods of teaching.

As discussed in Chapter 7, anti-bullying policy in Taiwan was implemented in different dimensions, including drama, dancing, singing, cartoon drawing, speech, essays and calligraphy and the promotion of education in law, gender, human rights, morality, which are related to pedagogical issues and research. As opposed to the two previous theories, this theory assumes that school bullying could be attributed to the dysfunction of the pedagogical system, such as the use of teaching methods and the selection of curriculum material. In other words, this implies that the causal relations of this theory were built on the linear logic between pedagogical practice and the reduction of school bullying. To some extent, students are indeed expected to be taught to be moral citizens associated with the adoption of teaching methods and curriculum materials.

The formation of the pedagogical analysis in anti-bullying policy bridges the gap between state authority and school practice. As a matter of fact, the pedagogical propaganda was implemented by central government which accentuated the relationship between the state authority and the construction of anti-bullying knowledge. The state apparatus integrated the anti-bullying knowledge into the teaching and curriculum within the school system, coupling with education in law, gender, human rights, morality which is called official knowledge and

regulated by central government authorities. According to the logical explanation of deductive syllogism concerning the formation of the pedagogical analysis, it was noted that all official knowledge is being taught by school staff within a pedagogical system (major premise) and that the knowledge of anti-bullying is a type of official knowledge (minor premise), therefore it may be concluded that knowledge of anti-bullying is being taught by school staff within a pedagogical system. By comparison, the pedagogical system is somewhat distinct from the two previous systems, legal and counselling systems, in that the object of representation in relation to anti-bullying policy brings micro material of curriculum to light at the heart of psychological analysis as opposed to criminal behaviour derived from legal system in the criminological analysis and psychological state derived from the counselling system in psychological analysis. The meaning of social function in the process of psychological analysis is that the incorporation of anti-bullying knowledge into an official knowledge system not only narrows the vision concerning school bullying but also limits the agency of local anti-bullying knowledge production that is different from behaviour control and mind control under the surveillance of state apparatus.

Table 8.1 Summary of Three Theoretical Approaches to Anti-bullying Policy

| Dimension | Domain of the criminological | Domain of the psychological | Domain of the pedagogical |
|--------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|---|
| Theoretical foundation | criminology | psychology and public health research | pedagogy |
| Field of representation | legal system | counselling system | pedagogical system |
| Subject of task executives | police officer and military instructor | social worker and psychologist | principal, teacher, administrative staff |
| Object of task executives | bullies | victims | general students |
| Objects of representation | quasi-criminal conduct | psychological state | material of curriculum and method of teaching |
| Deduction of theoretical logic | school bullying is being punished | school bullying is being cured | knowledge to prevent bullying is being taught |
| Meaning of function | behaviour control | mind control | knowledge control |

The Ideological Types in Anti-bullying Policy

This part moves on to the discussion and analysis of the intersection between the three theorisations (criminological, psychological and pedagogical) in Chapter 8 and the three ideological types (scientism, eclecticism and politicism in Chapter 7) in relation to the formation of anti-bullying policy. This discussion sets out to resonate with the scientific and

holistic discovery of critical realism and further bridge the divide between experience, events and the generative mechanism. Each section serves the purpose of exploring and comparing the different theoretical categorisations based upon social events and reflexive experience.

Criminological Analysis of School Anti-bullying Policy

This section discusses three kinds of relations, including criminological-scientism, criminological-eclecticism and criminological -politicism and explains how criminological analysis was incorporated into policy making and school practice through the political and scientific ideologies and each sub-type also elucidates the meaning and argument of empirical experience and actual events in relation to policy making.

Criminological-scientism

This first type assumes that school bullying should be treated as a scientific-based process of judicial justice and criminal justice that focuses on observable bullying behaviour. This assumption also stresses the types of school bullying which are objective and distinguishable to evaluate without the intervention of political forces. According to the level of empirical experience, a senior official, Alexis, reiterated that the Ministry of Education will strengthen to cooperate with the National Policy Agency and the Ministry of Justice to tackle rampant school bullying (A1-20140703) and, in return, the National Police Agency echoed the need of public expectation and underscored ‘the prevention of out of school bully during winter break as one key task in the security measures late at night during the spring festival period’ (The China Post, 2011a, p.1). This means school bullying is not only a school issue (which is related to school regulations) but a social issue (which is also associated with national laws) as well in that the National Policy Agency and the Ministry of Justice could adopt a legal way to tackle school bullying effectively and instantly. It was assumed that the existence of the anti-bullying legalisation being objective and democratic could maintain a social order.

Based upon actual events in April 2011, it was noted that one student was bullied in the toilet at school by 13 other students who forced the victim to sing the national anthem, stand still, do a break dance and even took his pants off. Eventually, this was first time that all bullying students were sent to the police to face legal charges (Humanistic Education Foundation, 2011). An amendment to the Education Fundamental Act in 2013 provided the foundation for schools to prohibit school bullying and stressed that ‘students’ rights to learning and

education, the right to develop mentally and physically shall be protected by the country, and also will safeguard students' rights against mental or corporal punishment and bullying' (Article 8, Section 2) and 'the central government education authority shall formulate the anti-bullying mechanism, sop and other matters' (Article 8, Section 5). With reference to a related policy made by the Ministry of Justice, it was suggested that the Juvenile Delinquency Act in 2005 (Office of the President, 2005b) and the School Anti-crime Programme in 1999 (Ministry of Justice, 1999) could be fully used to deal with those who violate criminal laws in relation to school bullying. More specifically, article 3 of the Juvenile Delinquency Act lists the seven types of juvenile delinquency as follows:

- (i) frequently associated to those with criminal habits; (ii) frequents unsuitable places for juveniles; (iii) skips school or runs away from home regularly; (iv) participates in gangs; (v) carries knives or weapons without a valid reason on a regular basis; (vi) takes or injects narcotics other than anesthetic; (vii) intends to or attempts to commit an offense but are not punishable by criminal law.

The government authorities assumed that these seven types were highly related to the possibility of school bullying. In terms of educational propaganda by the Ministry of Justice, the application of restorative justice was promoted in local schools to practise the spirits of 'zero-tolerance' of school bullying and then opportunities shall be given to bullies in correcting their behaviour (Legislative Yuan, 2011). As discussed in Chapter 7, local schools are required to sign the Protocol of Safeguarding Campus Security with local police stations to build a social network in curbing school bullying (Legislative Yuan, 2011). This underpinning logical connection between the experience and actual events explains the representation of quasi-criminal conduct in anti-bullying policy making and implementation which appeals to practising a social order of scientific objectivity under the operation of the legal system.

Criminological-eclecticism

This type modifies the first type of scientific assumption and highlights the importance of balance between a legal system and a political system in dealing with school bullying. This type recognises that political influences could possibly lead to the criminological analysis of policy which is conducive to the maintenance of an objective social order. As reported by the empirical experience, one principal (Florence) mentioned that 'the effect of police officer patrols in and out of school serve to achieve the function of intimidation toward students' which was swashbuckling' (C2-20140723). Many principals admitted to the fact that very

few students were accused of violating criminal laws in bullying cases and, to some extent, there was in nature more symbolic meaning than the real practice in the discussion of criminality of school bullying. In light of the Sponsorship Guidelines for Safe Anti-bullying Schools proposed by the Ministry of Education in 2013, local schools are encouraged to apply for funding to develop local school anti-bullying programmes and receive the school evaluation every year. In reality, it was reported by several principals that government funding, for example, was spent on purchasing monitors installed in blind corners of schools under the surveillance of student affairs office or military instructors' offices (C1-20140718; C3-20140717; C5-20140701; C6-20140623). This means that the application of the 'panopticon' in prison was legally used in the surveillance of student behaviour and all students are indeed seen as suspected bullies. One principal, Ronald, argued that many monitors in local schools were just installed but not activated due to saving cost of repair and maintenance (C8-20140715) and one researcher, Suzanne, also mentioned a number of applying the Sponsorship Guidelines is gradually decreasing because each school has one chance to gain three-year long funding (D4-20140711). She further discussed a contradiction that well-performing schools were willing to apply for this programme than poorly-performed ones and pointed out that this programme may not help those schools which need it. The above practical experience implies that local schools may achieve the goal of anti-bullying in the disguise of false surveillance and swashbuckling intimidation which could be seen as an eclectic approach to carrying out the criminological analysis of anti-bullying policy.

On the basis of actual events, three dimensions are known to support the experience of the criminological analysis of anti-bullying policy. First, as discussed in Chapter 7, the routine patrols organised by teachers, military instructors, and police officers were implemented in and out of school between day and night which was seen as cooperation between education, police and the military. Second, the Sponsorship Guidelines by Ministry of Education provided financial support to promote an improvement in school bullying. Third, according to the Implementation Plan of Prevention on School Bullying at All School Levels, local schools are encouraged to cooperate with neighbouring convenience stores in communities where the safety network can be comprehensively established to monitor student behaviour. These three events focus more on the prevention of school bullying rather than post treatment. According to the Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act in 2014 (Office of the President, 2014) and the Regulations for Reporting and Processing Protection of Children and

Youth in 2012 (Office of the President, 2012), the notification mechanism of school bullying made by the Ministry of Education was regulated by a legal system and the two articles respectively pointed out that:

Medical personnel, social workers, educational personnel, day care personnel, police, judicial personnel, administrators of villages (community) or other conductors implementing children and youth welfare that acknowledge on their duties one issue of the below issues relating to children and youth will report it to the authorised municipal agencies and county (city) governments in no less than 24 hours (Article 53 of Regulations for Reporting and Processing Protection of Children and Youth).

When medical personnel, social workers, educators, care givers, policemen, village officers and any personnel executing children and youth welfare on duty learn information about children and youth that require protection, they shall fill out a communication report in no less than twenty-four (24) hours and report it to competent authorities of the municipal or county (city) government by internet, facsimile or through other technological telecommunications. In case of emergency, they may report orally or by telephone, and fill out the communication report within twenty-four (24) hours from the moment of knowing and then submit it to competent authorities of the municipal or county (city) government (Article 2 of Regulations for Reporting and Processing Protection of Children and Youth).

This means that all workers in charge of child welfare are legally forced to be accountable for reporting bullying and injury cases to government authorities based upon the regulation and the school staff are no exception. The level of experience and actual events in the cross-analysis of criminological-eclecticism shows that a school system plays an important part in assisting central and district government in the control of behaviour and the establishment of a notification mechanism in the name of policy implementation and legal regulations in line with the logic of top-down governance (political ideology) and securing objective social order (scientific ideology).

Criminological-politicism

The third type is critical of the previous approaches in that it assumes that the criminological analysis represents political ideology and mirrored the reality of social control. It is noted that the demonstration of power struggles and the exercise of power relations makes anti-bullying policy more criminalised and de-humanised. According to a culture logic of crime control, Garland (2001, p.13) suggested that ‘the politicisation of crime control has transformed the structure of relationships that connects the political process and the institutions of criminal justice...whereby the power to punish was largely delegated to professional experts and

administrators'. The Humanistic Education Foundation (2011) was critical of the government authorities adopting a criminal approach in tackling bullying and explained clearly how the government authorities exercised their hierarchical bureaucratic power (such as the policing and judicial system) to serve the purpose of controlling school order and student behaviour.

...the Minister of MOE clearly stated that he will not tolerate serious bully behaviours. He indicated that moderate bullying behaviours like isolating or neglecting someone can be changed by education, but if bullying has violated criminal laws, then the students will be sent straight to the police station instead of getting a detention in school. Such bullying behaviours include publicly insulting others, threatening others, posting bullying videos and forcefully controlling others against their own will. If schools do not follow this policy of sending students to the police, then once bully incident is confirmed, the school principal could face a fine and other administrative sanctions (p.38).

As opposed to the assertions of the first and second types, this one focuses on challenging the objective social order (the ends) and the criminal approach to dealing with school bullying (the means). As indicated by the Ministry of Education in 2011, it was reported that there are currently 3,700 military instructors, with 2,700 working at high schools and the rest at universities or colleges (High schools are required to have military instructors, while universities are free to decide whether to employ them) (Taipei Times, 2011c, p.2). The chief executive of the HEF was highly critical of 'the continued presence of military instructors on campuses was not a good omen because they were a symbol of authoritarianism' (Taipei Times, 2011c, p. 2). A paradoxical logic can be found in the discussion of behaviour discipline in schools that the government authorities legalise the zero-corporal punishment (Article 8 of the Educational Fundamental Act) but reinforced the cooperation between local schools and police stations (the Implementation Plan of Prevention on School Bullying at All School Levels). Hence, in terms of a debate about disciplinary strategies in schools, the Taipei Teachers Association demanded that the Ministry of Education allowed teachers to 'use stronger means to discipline students' so as to curb school bullying (Humanistic Education Foundation, 2011, p.37). This implies that the social order was constructed and controlled by political power with which the making of anti-bullying policy was closely associated. Many social reformers questioned a claim made by the government that the presence of military instructors to deal with school bullying events is free of politics and without any political interventions, but based upon the professional ability (emergency response and crisis management) of military instructors rigorously trained within a military system.

Turning to the discussion of actual events, as mentioned in the previous section about the installation of monitors in schools, one example can be used to explain how local politics exerted a considerable influence on the school anti-bullying strategy. After the outbreak of the Ba-deh bullying event, the school installed 80 monitors due to the fact that one local councillor called for his friend's help, who was President of an electronics company, to improve the surveillance system in the Ba-de secondary school (Cheng & Yu, 2011). The Chairman of Taoyuan Teachers Association claimed that these monitors were legally installed in public rather than in private sphere with no intention of invading the right of privacy (Cheng & Yu, 2011). However, this claim seemingly contradicted the bullying research outcome that school bullying always took place in private places. Another debate was about the existence and abolition of a military instructor system, the amendment to the Senior High School Act in 2013, due to the considerations of professionalism and division of labour in local schools, it was suggested that the quantity of military instructors shall be controlled by the Ministry of Education and then military instructors shall gradually withdraw from schools to military system in eight years on the basic requirement that without any worries of school safety shall arise (the years 2014 to 2022). Moreover, professional student affairs staff should be recruited to take charge of student discipline and school safety (Legislative Yuan, 2013, pp.571-572). One KMT legislator set out to propose an amendment to legalise the legitimacy of military instructors in schools and argued that the crisis of school safety posed a threat to the right of learning that is not cut out for the basic requirement (without any worries of school safety shall arise) made in the Attached Resolutions of the Senior High School Act in relations to the withdraw of military instructors. The Ministry of Education echoed the legislator's claim and suggested that the making of the Attached Resolutions of Student Guidance and Counselling Act in 2014 has reached an agreement to incorporate military instructors as a school counsellor in a counselling system in place of a military system. By the way, the definition of guidance counsellor in this Act is that 'a teacher who satisfies the requirements to be a guidance counsellor in a school at the elementary, junior high, or senior secondary level, who in accordance with the law and regulations is assigned to engage in student guidance and counselling work in such a school'. The level of critical experience and actual events implies that the making of anti-bullying policy is viewed as a representation of power struggles of party politics and historical heritage of a military instructor system, both of which make the policy more criminalised and politicised.

Psychological Analysis of School Anti-bullying Policy

The second type of theorisation deals with the process and formation of psychological analysis based upon the empirical evidence and actual events and, at the same time, resonates with the psychological theories and its related issues. This type is connected with the three kinds of ideologies concerning the discussion of anti-bullying policy making and its relationship with the psychological operations between government authorities and local school practice, including the notion of psychological-scientism, psychological-eclecticism and psychological-politicism.

Psychological-scientism

Psychological-scientism suggested that the construction of psychological mechanisms can focus on the prevention and post-treatment of bullying behaviour and posits the existence of a relationship between individual psychology and objective social order. This means that bullying behaviour originates in the dysfunction of psychological structure and the meaning of policy is to evaluate and control students' psychological state which could fit with the requirements of social regulations and a moral order of state authorities. The social function of this type highlights the process and outcome of the objectification of subjective psychological problems and psychic states through a counselling system, as opposed to a legal system. Based upon the experience of this type, the activation of a counselling system is rather objective in dealing with school bullying events based upon a theoretical foundation of scientific psychology. One senior official, Alexis, stated the importance of psychological influence on the reduction of school bullying behaviour saying that 'school bullying was not a specific issue in Taiwan but an international issue. However, we were hoping to help students change their bullying behaviour by psychological counselling rather than by giving school bullies a criminal record' (A1-20140703). Another official, Brian, agreed with the Alexis's claim and emphasised 'the need for the legalisation of a counselling system' with reference to policy making (A3-20140617).

Moving on to the discussion of actual events, as mentioned in Chapter 6, the school life questionnaire was adopted to examine the real situation in schools, including the prevalence and types of bullying. According to the Implementation Plan of Prevention on School Bullying at All School Levels, local schools were asked to implement a friendly campus week in the first week of a new semester and hold a series of activities in the name of anti-

bullying, anti-drug abuse and anti-gangster invasion. Taking the last semester in 2014 for example, the anti-bullying policy in local schools was coupled with the promotion of the Friendly Campus Reconstruction Program in 2004 which stressed the concept of school justice to teach students how to respect, care, help and protect others and yourself with the intention of being free of bullying (The Ministry of Education, 2014). Moreover, the human resource (the budget debate between social workers and school counsellors discussed in Chapter 7) should be supported and used on student affairs as well as counselling tasks and the governmental funding shall be administered to help local schools in the application of an International Safe School (ISS) certificated by the World Health Organisation (WHO). This programme also demonstrated that the purpose of activating counselling was to carry out a counselling intervention between bullies, victims and bystanders in association with professional guidance through a long-term follow-up observation. According to the Regulations for Reporting and Processing Protection of Children and Youth in 2012 (Office of the President, 2012) and the Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act in 2014 (Office of the President, 2014), the connection between the counselling and legal systems was used to regulate school staff in dealing with school bullying behaviour in the avoidance of the underreporting of bullying cases in schools:

Children and youth welfare institutes, medical institutions or schools shall provide children and youth with appropriate protection and care before competent authorities of the municipal or county (city) government handle the case; children and youth in need of medical treatment shall be sent to the hospital (Article 53 of Regulations for Reporting and Processing Protection of Children and Youth)

Medical personnel, social workers, educational personnel, care workers, police, judicial personnel, administrators of villages (community) or other conductors implementing children and youth welfare who violate the regulations described in Paragraph 1 of Article 53 without reasonable grounds will be fined a sum of no less than NT\$ 6,000 and no more than NT\$ 30,000 (Article 100 of The Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act).

This type gives prominence to the construction of the psychologised mechanism and the propaganda of the friendly school environment at the level of the central government and local schools is, to a considerable extent, conducive to improving the possibility of avoiding bullying behaviour. This type of argument is related to the legitimacy of de-politicised counselling system and the assertion of the objectification of subjective psychological problems and psychic states.

Psychological-eclecticism

Psychological-eclecticism modifies the assumption and assertions of the first type, suggesting that political influence is playing an important part in the relationship between individual psychological order and objective social order. To some extent, this type recognises the existence of objective social order to which the effect of political governance is pertinent. According to the level of experience, this type turns to focus more on the importance of the bystander in bullying events and one researcher, Teddy, said that ‘I disagree with the promotion of restorative justice (by the government authorities) so that I put forward a bystander justice’ (D1-20140627). It is a need that the promotion of bystander justice in the cultural context of Taiwan and teach students how to stand up not only for an issue of anti-bullying but also for issues of social justice. Another statistic survey by the CWLF in relation to the role of the bystander concluded that ‘the role of bystanders is crucial to stopping the bully’ and further suggested that ‘what caught our attention was that as children grow, their sense of justice fades, with high-school students having the least sense of justice among the three groups’ (Hsiao, 2014, p.3). Moreover, the division of labour in dealing with school bullying within a counselling system was stressed by Su (2010, p.8) who put a high premium on clarifying school and community responsibility between social workers and psychologists:

Social workers would be able to help in handling all kinds of problems, including disadvantaged families, homes where one or more of the parents are immigrants and prevention and correction of youth crime in the community. Psychologists would be able to provide psychological support to students and the communities in which they live, and help deal with problems -experienced by mentally and physically disabled people, students with learning difficulties and those needing psychological treatment or adjustment.

As mentioned in Chapter 7, a partnership with the community was highlighted by local school principals but one principal, Henry, argued for the difficulties of anti-bullying in nearby communities and explained that parents and community residents would question whether many bullying cases arises inside schools in terms of face problem (C3-20140717). This means that the function of social trust between local schools and communities would be brought into consideration in dealing with school bullying.

The crucial emphasis will be shifted away from empirical experience to actual events, once policy is made by the Ministry of Education, suggesting the establishment of the Parental Workshop of Safeguarding School Safety in local schools based upon the Implementation

Plan of Prevention on School Bullying at All School Levels. This will seemingly lead to a good connection with parental engagement in reaction to their passive attitude of community involvement. As discussed in Chapter 7, the human resource issue concerning guidance counsellors was resolved by the legalisation of an amendment to Article 10 of Primary and Junior High School Act in 2011 (Office of the President, 2011) and pointed out that:

Primary schools with 24 or more classes shall employ one guidance counsellor. Every junior high school shall employ one guidance counsellor. Schools with 21 or more classes shall employ an additional counsellor. The regulation set out in the preceding paragraph came into effect on August 1, 2012, and shall be successively implemented over five years. Primary and junior high schools may additionally employ a number of full-time professional counsellors and volunteer counsellors, based upon their specific needs. Schools with 55 or more classes shall employ at least one full-time professional counsellor.

The making of the Working Programme on the Treatment of School Bullying Cases by the Ministry of Education in 2015 was proposed to help school staff to in dealing with school bullying cases that tended to bridge the gap between the policy understanding and counselling practice. Hence, local principals, directors of student affairs, directors of counsellors' office and school teachers were invited to join this programme to discuss and exchange opinions about the practicality of standard operation procedure. On evaluation of post-treatment, according to the Implementation Plan of Prevention on School Bullying at All School Levels, if the students' behaviour cannot be effectively improved and they could be sent to counselling and medical institutes legally approved by their parents. At the same time, school counselling panels need to keep in contact with counselling and medical institutes for follow-up guidance and, if necessary, local schools could call for assistance in further guidance and settlement through judicial institutes and social affairs sections. By and large, the experience and actual events imply the importance of psychological-eclecticism between the exercise of counselling systems and the implementation of political governance within the practice of school operations.

Psychological-politicism

The third type, psychological-politicism, argues that a counselling system was controlled by the political governance and local schools are followed by the political intervention without any flexibility. The evidence shown by experience and actual events reverse the two previous theories, In terms of the level of experience, three objections are used to explain the relations between psychological treatments and political influence. First, the treatment of bullying was

divided into two parts whereby victims were sent to a counselling office to receive psychological counselling and bullies were sent to student affairs office to receive discipline and guidance. An NPO researcher, Claudia, explained the operation of treatment in local schools: around 80 % of bullies were asked to write a statement of penitence for their own behaviour to wind up a case based upon the survey of the Ministry of Education that was indifferent to the treatment of a one-off deviant behaviour (B1-20140708). One researcher Nigel pointed out that ‘the way of writing a statement of penitence is a representation of formalism and then bullies were given demerits by student affairs offices and forcibly asked to do fatigue duty on the weekends’ (D5-20140714). He further argued that local schools and parents, in practice, cared more about whether behaviour fitted with the requirement of bullying rather than treatment of bullying behaviour (D5-20140714). Second, it was critical of the connection between school bullying and stigmatisation as a way of labelling bullies. One NPO activist, Eunice, said that ‘the treatment of bullying issue was a representation of teachers’ anxiety when their right of corporal punishment was removed by the Education Fundamental Law (Chapter 7) (B3-20140707). Hence, she pointed out that ‘local schools set out to install more monitors in reaction to social expectations in association with strongly stigmatising bullies as school devils’ (B3-20140707). Third, the treatment of school bullying was related to the school principals’ accountability and school guidance officers’ opportunity for promotion, two of which disclosed the primary drawback of top-down governance of bureaucratic system in dealing with school bullying events. The news editorial by Su (2010, p.8) pointed out the hierarchical connection between a school guidance system and a school administration and further argued that school bullying is a social rather than a school issue:

School guidance offices, being subordinate to the school administration, usually limit their work to the confines of a school’s campus. Once students walk out of the school gates, some schools turn a blind eye to their behaviour. Sometimes this hands-off approach leads to serious problems and these are invariably blamed on under-staffing or a lack of professionalism...If the person directly in charge of the guidance system was someone other than the principal, then principals would not have to worry about bullying being seen as a schoolyard affair that could influence their schools’ reputation and their own prospects for promotion. In fact, bullying is clearly a social affair.

Closely followed by the three empirical arguments from the level of experience, three actual events echo the assumptions of psychological-politicism. First, in terms of the Supplementary Provision of School Anti-bullying proposed by Central Region Office of the Ministry of Education in 2012 (Ministry of Education, 2012f), the activation of local inspectors and school safety system was used to regulate the management of bullying cases and the process

of counsel. School visits were scheduled regularly and irregularly to evaluate the implementation of school anti-bullying policies. Second, it was noted that sexual bullying was excluded from the anti-bullying policy based upon the making of the Gender Equity Education Act in 2013 (Office of the President, 2013) in that the definition of sexual bullying and harassment in this Act refers to ‘ridicule, attacks, or threats directed at another person’s gender characteristics, gender temperaments, sexual orientation, or gender identity by using verbal, physical or other forms of violence’. This means that the treatment of sexual bullying was more rigorous than other types of school bullying, both of which are evaluated by bullying-response groups in local schools (the judgement of sexual bullying and non-sexual bullying). According to a discussion of body-politics, this also implies that a distinction between physical and sex/gender bullying could be legitimately interpreted that the latter (sex/gender) is seemingly not a part of the former (physical body) and both exists independently of each other through the regulation of the legal and counselling systems. Third, judged by the Implementation Plan of Prevention on School Bullying at All School Levels, it was demonstrated that school staff who actively informed about bullying and made the best of student counselling were given award in public by district government authorities and school administrative system. The political accountability of student counselling was seen as a means of the operant conditioning (always used by a school of psychological behaviourism) between political governance and school counsellors. Arguably, the level of experience and actual events furnished the arguments against the two previous assumptions and claims that shed light on a logic of political influences and administrative operations on a counselling system in the treatment of school bullying. This type pointed out that mind control in relation to the post-treatment of school bullying was not only operated by a politicised counselling system but also dominated by bureaucratisation of political governance, both of which were seen as the notion of reciprocal causation (a bureaucratisation of political governance leads to a politicised counselling and, in return, a politicised counselling maintains the bureaucratisation of political governance).

Pedagogical Analysis of School Anti-bullying Policy

This section discusses the pedagogical analysis of school anti-bullying policy that is involved in the issues of classroom management, teaching and curriculum design within a pedagogical system. In contrast to the two previous theories, the pedagogical analysis argues for the importance of the prevention of bullying and ways to adopt educational propaganda in the

reduction of school bullying. Three types of theory, pedagogical-scientism, pedagogical-eclecticism and pedagogical-politicism, are used to explain the ways in which a pedagogical practice and the production of de-politicised knowledge could fit with the process of policy making and implementation. The level of experience and actual events are put forward in each type at the centre of pedagogical analysis.

Pedagogical-scientism

The first type of pedagogical analysis stresses the importance of scientificity which points out that the scientific pedagogy is the fundamental way to curb school bullying. The assumption of this type is that objective and de-politicised knowledge can be taught to adapt behaviour and thinking which is conducive to structural transformation within a school system. In terms of the level of experience, three kinds of arguments are used to justify the substantial connection between the possibility of objective pedagogy and social order in relation to policy making. First, it was noted that the promotion of traditional moral values were reiterated by government officials in public. One senior official, Alexis, commented on a connection between pedagogical practice and education structure: ‘this society ignored the importance of gender equity, rule of law, moral and life value that led to the treatment of individualised cases in bullying events and what we need to do is to rethink the problem of current educational structure’(A1-20140703). Another official, Brian, further explained the relations between government authority and sense of self-autonomy in the development of democratisation: ‘after the lifting of martial law, children were getting liberated from political shackles that led to decreasing the sense of self-autonomy. During the period of enforcing martial law, the deviant and violent behaviour could be self-controlled by a repressive authority due to the suppression of moral value. When getting rid of a repressive authority, many students lost sense of their self-autonomy and then deviant behaviour would arise’ (A3-20140617). Second, pedagogical practice could shed light on the problem of the legal and counselling systems, such as the ignorance of legal education, life education and gender education. Again Alexis pointed out that:

School bullying is not only a problem-solving of violent behaviour, but also a problem of educational structure in that we focused more on credentialism under the domination of intellectual education rather than moral education and group education for a long time. Relatively, life education, gender education and legal education shall be rethought and re-examined (A1-20140703).

Third, the production of anti-bullying knowledge was implemented in school daily life, such

as ritual activities and anti-bullying exams, to incorporate the knowing and recognition of anti-bullying actions into a school knowledge system. One senior government officer claimed in public that:

Schools would put an anti-bullying sign on every hallway at 8am on Feb. 16 — the third day after the spring semester begins — while students can put stickers bearing the sign on their body. The Ministry of Education is also mulling holding a nationwide exam to test and help students understand the consequences of bullying (Wang, 2011:8)

Turning to the actual events, three were highlighted in policy making related to the promotion of curriculum design, community propaganda and anti-bullying workshops for local school teachers. First, suggested by the Implementation Plan of Prevention on School Bullying at All School Levels, it was noted that education in law, moral education, human rights education, life education, gender equity education, ethics of information education and the prevention of deviant behaviour and victimisation should be incorporated into the field of social studies and comprehensive activities. The compilation of anti-bullying cases in association with its legal responsibilities among local and central government authorities was also delivered to local schools. Second, local schools were encouraged to cooperate with civil groups and neighbouring communities to propagandise education in law, morality, human rights education, life education, gender equity education, ethics of information education and the prevention of deviant behaviour and victimisation and its related workshops were held for empowering school teachers in dealing with school bullying cases. Third, based upon the Working Programme of Friendly Campus with Student Affairs and Guidance in 2011 (Ministry of Education, 2011b) and the Enforcement Plan for Youth Support Project in 2011 (Ministry of Education, 2011c), the anti-crime, anti-drug and anti-bullying of nationwide legal knowledge examination was implemented by local schools and the primary purpose of this examination was to enhance the legal knowledge in relations to the prevention of crime, drug abuse and school bullying and facilitate the understanding and problem-solving abilities of bully-free. Moreover, it was regulated that students who received a score below 70 in this examination would receive legal knowledge education again. These actual events imply that the propaganda of legal knowledge and the practice of curriculum integrations could reshape a new school order in the pursuit of friendly and safe campuses. The level of experience and actual events were embracing the construction of de-politicised anti-bullying knowledge and argued that the learning and recognition of objective anti-bullying knowledge constructed by the government authorities, at the preventive stage of school bullying events, could contribute

to the restructuring of social order and the improvement of school bullying behaviour.

Pedagogical-eclecticism

The second type claims the existence of an objective social order and knowledge and further argues that the part of political influence could lead to the stability of pedagogical systems in dealing with school bullying. According to the level of experience, three kinds of arguments are made to support the assertions of this type. First, as discussed in Chapter 7, the role of teachers as gatekeepers in bullying events but, in reality, school teachers are usually unwilling to deal with this problem which causes a disjunction between administrative sections and themselves. One school principal, Florence, said that the way in which school administration spurred teachers to cooperate in facing and dealing with this issue and said that ‘the method of curriculum-integration is the best way of connection between an issue of school bullying and a practice of teaching work in that the implementation of ‘curriculum integration’ could become a school-based characteristic which could encourage teachers to design creative lesson plan in the curriculum to carry out a far-reaching influence on students’(C2-20140723). Another principal, Ronald, echoed the importance and limitations of curriculum integration and pointed out that, based upon the attributes of each subject, the legal knowledge of anti-bullying policy is closely related to subjects of citizenship education and social studies and even the subject of Chinese literature could also discuss the relations between rational moral behaviour and school anti-bullying actions but it was hard to integrate the issue of school bullying in the subject of maths and natural science’(C8-20140715). One strategy of teaching put forward by one principal, Gabriel, demonstrated that school administration would suggest teachers to adopt ‘random teaching methods’ to discuss and then lead students to reflect on a recent bullying news during the class meeting time in that traditional curriculum-integration spent a long time to design and was inefficient for teaching works’ (C1-20140718). Second, another issue was the role of the teacher union raised by school principal, Florence, that ‘the organisational climate is very important that was associated with the ties between a school teacher union and a school principal. The principals’ leadership determined the way in which the administrative sections and a school teachers union dealt with a bullying issue. By the way, school teachers knew more how to protect their labour rights than before’. Third, the notion of ‘policy transformation’ was mentioned by one principal, Gabriel, who argued that ‘policy making departed from a good intention and motivation. For example, before the outbreak of the Ba-deh bullying incident, the

government authorities set out to improve a school order and local school were asked to propagandise the importance of anti-crime in 2006. Hence, policy transformation is very important for school practice, such as curriculum design and teaching works' (C1-20140718).

Concerning actual events, two kinds of official programmes can be discussed. In order to enhance the professional knowledge of school bullying, the Ministry of Education set out to hold the anti-bullying training workshops, seminars and conferences in 2010 and 2011 in the northern, middle and southern parts of Taiwan (Table 7.3). The themes of this plan covered policy explanation of bullying prevention, creating friendly campus and the prevention of bullying, the discovery and treatment of school bullying, international comparison of school bullying, counselling of school bullying, policy explanations of Regulations on the Prevention of Bullying on Campus, practical experience sharing and comprehensive discussion that aims at integration of administrative resources through the promotion of educational propaganda, case treatment and counselling intervention in preventing and curbing school bullying. These teachers were responsible for educational propaganda in their schools. Second, in terms of educational evaluation of bullying prevention at the different levels of schools, the policy of the Enforcement Plan for Counselling and Guidance Group of Anti-bullying Safe School was proposed by the Ministry of education in 2012 (Ministry of Education, 2012d). This plan aims to organise a counselling and guidance group by government officials (the Department of Students Affairs and Special Education) and anti-bullying experts (selected by the government authorities annually) to evaluate the actual implementation of the anti-bullying programme and the use of this programme funds. This evaluation was primarily based upon the Indicators of Anti-bullying Safe School constructed by the Ministry of Education and the result of annual evaluation was used to appraise the follow-up anti-bullying funds. Tracking down the origins of these two plans, they were based upon the enabling statute of the Regulations on the Prevention of Bullying on Campus and Article 4 of this Regulation concerning prevention mechanisms and measures to promote the prevention of bullying on campus pointed out that the:

Competent authorities and schools shall enhance (1) the conduct of certain types of education; legal, character, human right, life, gender equality and information ethics education, (2) the prevention of deviant behaviours and (3) the campaign of prevention from becoming a victim, and therefore establish a foundation for prevention of bullying on campus (Paragraph 2 of Article 4)

Every semester, schools shall regularly host relevant advanced professional training, or use faculty senates, teacher conferences, and professional advance trainings to enhance the teacher and faculty's knowledge and ability about campus bully prevention' (Paragraph 3 of Article 4)

School may use human resources from retired teachers and extracurricular associations, so as to recruit volunteers and provide trainings, and therefore to provide school the assistance for prevention of bullying on campus and for enhancement of campus safety patrol (Paragraph 4 of Article 4).

Schools shall use educational and campaign activities to encourage students to promptly report or ask for inquiry, so as to facilitate schools for their evidence-based research and event investigation (Paragraph 5 of Article 4).

The above three kinds of experience and two actual policy making events show the political and school administrative influences on the pedagogical system in maintaining the social order and reproducing objective knowledge. This also implies that schools maintain part of their agency in exchange for obedience to the government authorities.

Pedagogical-politicism

The third type lies in the exploration of political influence on the pedagogical system and argues that the construction of official knowledge and objective social order was made predominant by specific political ideologies inherited by part state politics in the disguise of curriculum-integration and in the name of school evaluation. At the centre of elaboration on the level of experience of this type, three kinds of criticisms are made to support the claims of pedagogical-politicism in the process and implementation of anti-bullying policy making. First, one critic dealt with the issue of the connection between the ideological reinforcement of the Chinese ancient textbooks, including the Doctrine of the Mean (中庸), the Great Learning (大學), the Analects of Confucius (論語) and Mencius (孟子), and the problem-solving of school bullying that assumed the moral values embedded in the ancient textbooks can change students' minds to meet the requirements of the moral order. The Ministry's stated goal of learning Chinese ancient textbooks is to 'combat widespread bullying, drug use and gang problems among high school students' that was questioned by academics and teachers and pointed out that 'whether studying the books would solve these problems, and, at the same time, a critical question concerning identity politics (Chapter 6) was critically challenged for 'requiring study of the Fours Books really meant to combat bullying, or is it meant to make Taiwan's high school students more Chinese' (The Taipei Times, 2011b, p.8) ? Second, another debate concentrated on criticising ritualised activities and campaigns of

dogmatic formalism to deal with school bullying. One researcher, Reynold, explained the power struggles in the process of policy making:

Our government authorities had no democratic conversations with the public and the committee members recruited by the government authorities had a strong intention of occupying this policy arena. If you wanted to compete with their policy arena, you would be excluded by a small group bloc (D3-20140713).

Last but not the least, the criticism concentrated on the de-skilling of school teachers in dealing with school bullying that heavily relied on a school disciplinary system, such as the legal and counselling systems. This claim was supported by one government officer, Anselm, who said that ‘all student behaviour matters were pushed to student affair officers and military instructors in school that led to alienation between the treatment of school bullying and the practice of teaching work’(A2-20140717). A legislator, Annabel, further explained the reason why most school teachers were reluctant to touch on this issue within a pedagogical system:

School bullying was closely related to our traditional culture value and teachers’ belief shall be transformed and reflected through the knowing of educational philosophy to examine the education values. If a teacher viewed the purpose of education as educating to be a citizen with independent personality rather than being a competitive citizen in the capitalist society, arts and moral may be seen as more important than subject scores. In terms of structural problem, this is a transformative foundation of this issue in Taiwan (A4-20140709).

Shifting from the level of experience to actual events, two kinds of such events resonate with the experiential perspectives. First, school staff (such as principal, teachers, faculty staff, or other personnel) was relentlessly disciplined by the hierarchical (top-down) governance that legally recorded in the policy texts which resonated with pressure of school accountability mentioned by many principals, pointing out that:

Where the principals, the teachers, faculty staff, or other personnel violates this Regulation (hereinafter as to “violator”), the violator shall be punished in accordance with both the severity of the case and with performance evaluation act, punishment act, or other relevant acts. Where the alleged perpetrator violates this Regulation, the perpetrator shall be punished by schools or competent authorities in accordance with relevant laws or academic rules and regulation (Article 25 of the Regulations on the Prevention of Bullying on Campus).

Second, it was noted that the official configuration of moral knowledge connected with interpersonal social relation among students in the disguise of positive psychological terms was being taught and propagandised by the government authorities within a pedagogical

system that focused on the recovery of social order and one evident was shown in the policy texts:

Schools shall use daily teaching activities to encourage and teach students about how to communicate rationally, help others actively and deal with daily interaction effectively, so as to develop their sense of responsibility, morals, and life attitudes/ values of helping and respecting people. Schools and parents shall help students to establish their self-image, to face their own self and to think positively (Article 7 of the Regulations on the Prevention of Bullying on Campus).

Teachers shall inspire students' sense of justice, sense of honour, good characters of helping, concerning and caring people, and sympathy so as to eliminate bullying on campus (Article 9 of the Regulations on the Prevention of Bullying on Campus).

Situated outside of the official pedagogical system, this type of theory argues that the process and implementation of policy making entails a pedagogical system made political through the legitimate propaganda of official knowledge. Three kinds of experience and two kinds of actual events are, to some extent, exclusively complementary to point out the politics of teaching work with reference to official knowledge of school bullying. One challenging question is whose knowledge should be learned and whose social order shall be followed without examination by a democratic process and rational communicative argument?

Table 8.2 Three Domains of Theorisations and its Ideological Types

| | Domain of the criminological | Domain of the psychological | Domain of the pedagogical |
|-------------|--|--|--|
| Scientism | The scientific function of legal system | The scientific function of counselling system | The scientific function of pedagogical system |
| Eclecticism | The eclectic balance between legal system and political system | The eclectic balance between counselling system and political system | The eclectic balance between pedagogical system and political system |
| Politicism | The political critics of legal system | The political critics of counselling system | The political critics of pedagogical system |

Causal Power and the Generative Mechanism in Anti-bullying Policy

This part digs deeply to explore the existence of causal power and underpinning generative mechanism, both of which could be seen as cardinal elements to justify the possibility of anti-positivist naturalism (or a new critical naturalism) and explain the causal relations behind the process and implementation of anti-bullying policy. Two sections comprise this part which cover the interaction between a generative structure and three kinds of systems (legal, counselling and pedagogical) by means of a causal power, and the discussion of knowledge

production (transitive and intransitive knowledge) in the policy making to bridge the gulf between knowing (epistemological dimension) and social reality (ontological dimension).

First, this section stresses the causal power and mechanism within a critical realist framework. The definition of causal power based upon critical realism refers to ‘a matter of how objects work’ and ‘their mechanism’ under a specific social structure. According to Bhaskar, ‘social structures should indeed be thought of as having causal powers, as being things in their own right’. In order to respond to Harre’s rejection of the existence of causal power, he further argued that ‘the social world is concept-dependent (made up of discursive structures), the social world is also made up of non-discursive structures’ (López & Potter, 2001, pp.19-20). Following Bhaskar’s arguments, this research was distilled from three kinds of systems through empirical data and theoretical groundings, embracing legal, counselling and pedagogical systems. Three systems each have causal power to activate social events which sometime could be either visible or invisible. Moreover, these three systems did not exist independently of each other in the social world rather they have mutual interdependence. The political implication of critical realism argued by Bhaskar is that ‘one should not only attempt to change the existing narratives (discursive structures), but also the non-discursive structures with which these narratives co-exist’ (López & Potter, 2005, p.20). In this research these three systems triggered the process of anti-bullying policy making and the practice of bullying treatment and prevention with the intention of reducing school bullying. One question can be raised as to why these three systems could work in a social world due to the fact that they were dominated by the top-down governance of party politics that appeared in Taiwan from 1945. As discussed in previous parts, school bullying is not only a school issue but also a social one that relates to the operation of political bureaucracy (central and local politics) and multiple social relations between policy executives (police officers, military instructors, social workers, psychologists, school staff) and the subject of bullying behaviour (bullies, victims and bystanders). On the operation of political bureaucracy, the central government focused more on the political and scientific directions of policy making and social expectations to safeguard the social order. Local politics highlighted the importance of how to follow the policy regulations to maintain school order. In principle, the operation of two kinds of politics demonstrated the representation of accountability, including an administrative accountability of obedience to hierarchical governance (local schools were responsible to the central government authorities) and a political accountability of the typical election culture (the central government authorities were responsible to local

constituencies). In terms of social relations within each system, symmetrical social relations were used to explain the existence of social laws, such as police officers and military instructors to work with bullies, social workers and psychologists to work with victims and school staff for general students. The substantial social relations were based upon the fact that all social roles in school bullying were regulated by social structure of political governance that was called the ‘substantial social relations of symmetrically internal role’ (Bhaskar, 1989:42) The internal role means that ‘such a relation between objects, without which at least one of them would not be what it is in essence, if the relation did not exist’ (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2002, p.205). This account of social relations within the three systems as a whole argues that adopting individualised approaches to knowing and tackling school bullying was indeed self-contradictory, such as individualised bullying behaviour (legal system), individualised psychological problem (counselling system) and individualised knowledge propaganda (pedagogical system).

Second, the discussion in this section moves on to explore knowledge production and the possibility of generalisation from a case study to a whole society. According to the logic of critical realism, each generative mechanism produces experience and events that could elaborate on the differences between transitive (concrete) and intransitive (abstract) knowledge. The meaning of knowledge was advanced by Bhaskar (1979, p.12) in arguing for ‘how a philosophy of science is possible’ through bridging a gap between ‘philosophical sociology’ (transitive dimension) and ‘philosophical ontology’ (intransitive dimension) and demonstrated that:

If the objects of our knowledge exist and act independently of the knowledge of which they are the objects, it is equally the case that such knowledge as we actually possess always consists in historically specific social forms. Thus to think our way clearly in the philosophy of science we need to constitute a transitive dimension or philosophical sociology to complement the intransitive dimension or philosophical ontology already established.

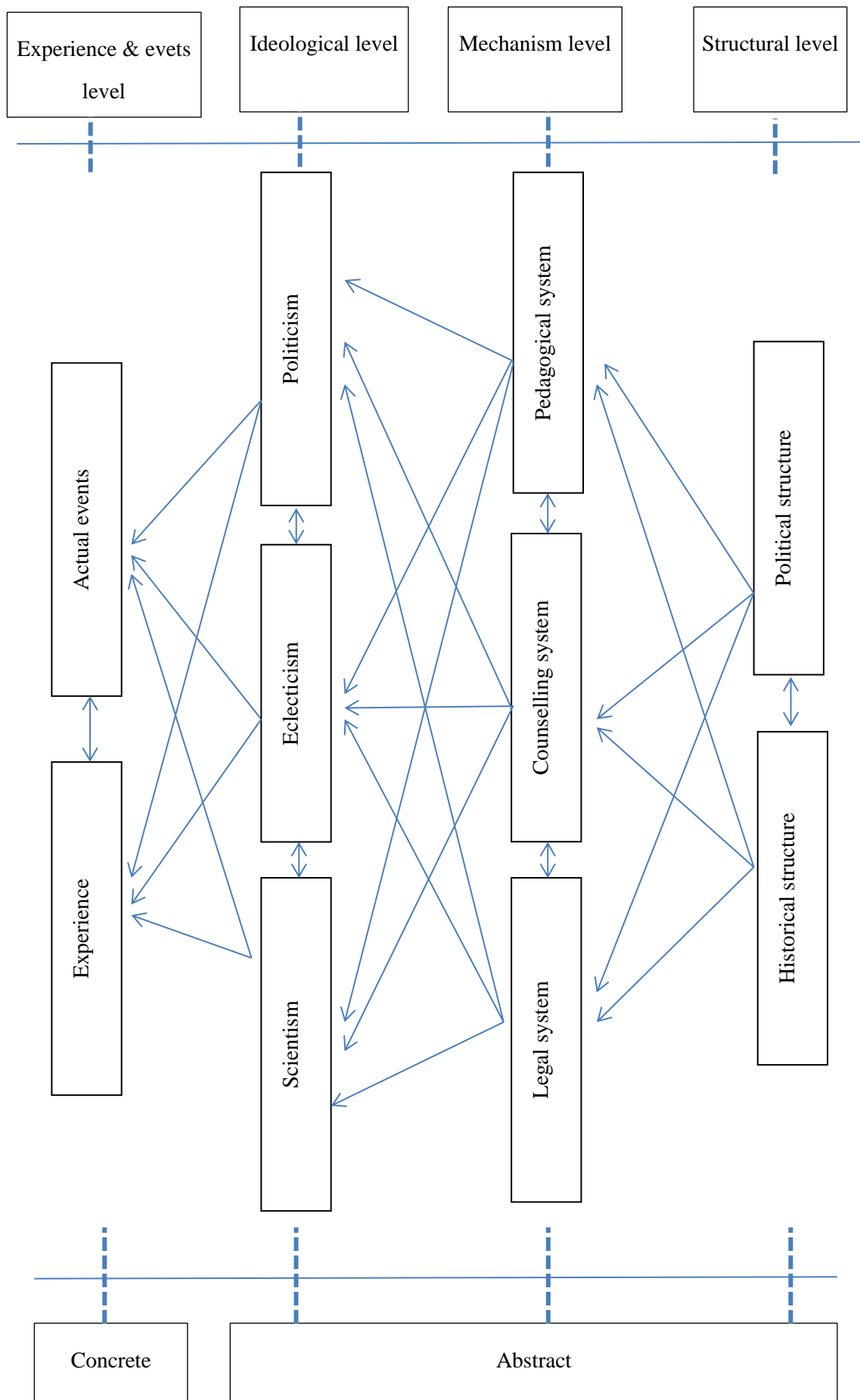
This critical consideration could work out the epistemic fallacy, which means that ‘reducing reality to empirical observation, that is, apprehending and defining reality as identical with empirically grounded conceptions’ (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2002, p.205). In this research, the stratified layer of knowledge was divided into four parts, comprising the levels of social structure, mechanism level, ideology and experience and events (Figure 8.1), the first three of which belong to the intransitive dimension of knowledge (the ontological side) and, the latter one of which was categorised as transitive dimension of

knowledge (the epistemological side). More specifically, the production of each level will be explained in detail as follows. The experiences and actual events were analysed, interpreted and compared at the centre of discussing the level of central government policy making and local schools practice. In terms of an ideological level, three types of ideologies are thus generally extracted from the empirical data from the interviews and historical documents which were categorised as political ideologies and scientific ideologies. Following the logic of mechanism discovery in the discussion of critical realism, the theorisations of mechanism are primarily based upon the theoretical groundings reviewed in Chapter 3, incorporating ideological types to grasp a holistic picture of anti-bullying policy in association with the political and historical structure (the top-down governance of party politics) in the context of Taiwan discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. According to this policy research, a formula of irreducible causal relations could be shown as follows:

The pre-existence of political and historical structure (top-down governance of party politics) → the activation of a legal, counselling and pedagogical system → (ideological production of scientism, eclecticism and politicism) → the representation of experience and actual events in Taiwan

This formula reaches beyond the empiricist predictions between bullying-related variables and interpretivist explanations among anti-bullying policy stakeholders and tries to discover a generative mechanism behind the policy making which is more close to transcendental realism arguments. This part also targets at linking the transitive to intransitive knowledge through causal power which leads to generalising the case study of bullying policy research to a wider anti-bullying policy structure. The epistemological and methodological reflections on scientific objectivity and generalisation are further discussed in the next part.

Figure 8.1 Structure, Mechanism, Ideology and Experience/Events of Anti-bullying Policy



The Logic of Scientific Discovery in School Anti-bullying Policy

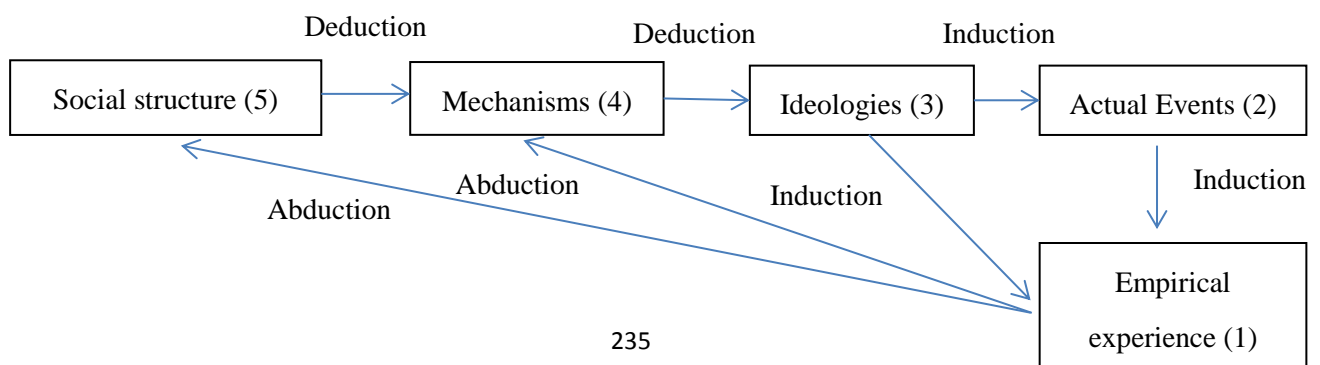
This part will continue to argue for the stance of epistemological/methodological collectivism in line with the stratification of social reality which was supported by Bhaskar's arguments against empirical realism, suggesting that 'the real entities the transcendental realist is concerned with are the objects of scientific discovery and investigation, such as causal laws. Realism about such entities will be seen to entail particular realist positions in the theory of perception and universals, but not to be reducible to them' (Bhaskar, 2008, p.16). Two kinds of accounts are explained and analysed so as to demonstrate the possibility of scientific discovery in the school anti-bullying policy, primarily covering beyond the dual debates between epistemological individualism and collectivism and the application of deduction and induction and abduction method in relation to generalisation.

First, the debate between epistemological individualism and collectivism was discussed in Chapter 5 which led to a discussion of knowledge production. Bhaskar argued against individualism and collectivism in social research and claimed that an 'ontological atomism and an epistemological individualism underpinned by Weber's empirical realism (neo-Kantian method) is a particular conception of men that are seen as passive sensors of given facts and recorders of their given conjunctions' (Bhaskar, 2008, p.234). Epistemological collectivism was also used by classical sociologists, such as Durkheim's positivist sociology, and claims that 'a phenomenon can be explained only if reduced to the whole of which it is a part', but this claim seemingly ignored 'relative autonomy of different strata' (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2002, p.164). As Bhaskar suggested, 'a combination of realist ontology and relational sociology, fully adopted by Marx should be seen as a critical realist approach to arriving at the possibility of naturalism in social world' (Bhaskar, 2005, p.33). In this research, the four different stratifications should not be reducible to any one because of the existence of causal power which could (not) be activated depending on a specific conditions and social spaces. For example, if policy stakeholders could not perceive the severity of school bullying in Taiwan and fail to call for the anti-bullying policy making, these three systems with casual powers within the a political and historical structure cannot be activated to cause actual events (the process and implementation of policy making) and empirical experience (individual experience and bullying survey). This implies each level of social reality is indeed causally interdependent which echoes the epistemological conception

of ‘causal intransitivity’ which means that ‘the fundamental laws of nature could be gained in social sphere’, as opposed to that of ‘existential intransitivity’ which means that ‘everything is existentially intransitive or determined and determinate the moment it comes to be, for nothing can now alter that and why it has occurred’ (Hartwig, 2008: xvi).

Second, in the inferential methods are considered in a critical realist approach to stratified layers of school anti-bullying policy research which is discussed as follows. Three kinds of methods were used in this research, deduction, induction and abduction (retroduction) (Figure 8.2). First, concerning the application of induction, actual events are normally seen as the actual policy making (2) and empirical experience (1) was collected from fieldwork interviews that the former makes an induction from latter. Moreover, the three ideological types (scientism, eclecticism and politicism) (3) thus make an induction from actual events (2) and empirical experience (1). Second, in the application of deduction, three ideologies (3) are derived from the generative mechanism of social systems (legal, counselling and pedagogical system) (4) which are embedded in two kinds of social structures (political and historical structure) through theoretical inferences. Third, in the application of abduction, it is noted that empirical experiences (1) are re-contextualised under the considerations of social structures (5) and mechanisms (4), both of which are, in turn, reinterpreted from reflections and observations of empirical experience. Methods of abduction and retroduction are always indistinguishable in social research (the method of abduction sometimes can be seen as a way of retroduction), the former of which is used to ‘deal with the interaction between experience and social structure’ the latter of which is used to ‘make an transcendental argument departing from observation of events and a conceptualization to transfactual conditions’ (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2002, p.96).

Figure 8.2 The Inferential Methods of School Anti-bullying Policy



Reflections on the Generative Mechanism of Top-down Governance

After analysing the epistemological and methodological inquiries and reflections, this part continues to explore how top-down governance makes the generative mechanism work in association with the reflexivity of critical awarenesses positively embraced by critical realism. In this part, three kinds of relations (historical, political and cultural) are considered to seek for the possibility of human emancipation rather than structural determination with reference to mode of top-down governance.

First, the production of top-down governance in Taiwan was derived from party politics as discussed in Chapter 6. A citizen was constitutionally given the right to vote after democratisation in Taiwan where the operation of party politics and bureaucratisation was taken-for-granted and inherited by an historical structure of top-down governance. Similarly, the process of anti-bullying policy making was based upon this mode and three systems embedded in this historical and political structure could be seen as an area to implement this policy. As mentioned before, the similarities among these three systems is that they all viewed school bullying in terms of individualised problems rather than social pathology and the shared functional targets at a logic of social control, such as behaviour control, mind control and knowledge control, which maintained the legitimacy of top-down governance in the name of democratic institutions. In essence, the historical structure and anti-bullying policy making are inseparable and appear in the dual social relations between police officers (military instructors) and bullies, social workers/psychologists and victims and school staff and general students without any social contracts of mutual consent. The key issues that should be reconsidered and challenged are what are the core foundation of political power that activates these social relations, and which kinds of power relations should be permitted in the process of policy making? Historically, before clarifying the above criticisms over the predominant social relations and political power, the current discourses in making and implementing anti-bullying policy account for who are in power and who controls the democracy in Taiwan.

Second, political relations between party politics and bureaucratic accountability will be further discussed and this is also related to top-down governance. As suggested by Hill (1997, p.140), the 'framework of top-down policy rule could be seen as rigid and the accountability

is seen as depending on deference to a legislative process' which reminds us to examine the exercise of ideological discourse in the process of policy making. Furthermore, three kinds of ideologies are distilled from policy texts and empirical interview and three ideologies are mixed with different level off political and scientific discourse. For example, the notion of scientism was always supported by government officials based upon related legal regulations of administrative neutrality (close to an emic approach) and the notion of eclecticism was embraced by school staff based upon the regulations of bureaucratic accountability (close to an emic approach) and the notion of politicism was put forward by social activists and some researchers on the ground of criticising asymmetric power domination (close to an etic approach). These kinds of discursive relations clearly justify the existence of top-down governance which leads to both side of influences on policy implementation that one is to make the anti-bullying policy more accountable to the public and the other is to form a culture habitus of political obedience and bureaucratic dependency toward government authorities in school practice.

Third, this section considers the micro dimension of cultural relations between local politics and school culture in dealing with school bullying. Based upon the operation of top-down governance, local schools are burdened with heavy pressure with regard to the school evaluation and local communities' expectations. On the one side, the annual school evaluation, in reality, was used to examine the implementation of school anti-bullying programmes which is closely related to school accountability and the bureaucratic promotion of individual school staff. On the other side, local schools also need to deal with the political relations of local politics between county councillors and communities residents with which the top-down governance is thus associated. The correspondence between the operation of local politics and central politics is based upon the consideration of local elections and the distribution of school funds, both of which bring about the complex social relations between school principals, county councillors and communities residents (also as local constituencies) in dealing with school bullying. According to a logic of the politics of school culture, it is demonstrated that when there is an outbreak of school bullying, the 'influence peddling' may be activated by county councillors and parents and school principals would face the dilemma between the administrative punishment of underreporting and the pressure of local political power. Taken as a whole, it was recognised that the treatment of school bullying is not always the top priority of schools rather than the exercise of power relations within the framework of

top-down governance, including maintaining the surface harmony of a social order and considering the operation of political calculations (A2-20140717; B1-20140708;C3-20140717; D2-20140711;D5-20140714).

Reflections on Collective Agency of Professional and Community Groups

This part, followed by the discussion of reflection on generative mechanism, deals with the collective agency of professional and community groups for the purpose of social change. The notion of collective agency can be seen as a neglected area in the field of mechanism of policy formation. Accordingly, the role of professional and community groups shall be reconsidered in transforming the unjust policy structure under the bureaucratic institutions with a view to consolidating the democratic development of civil society in Taiwan.

First, professional groups composed of professional bureaucrats and policy researchers are related to policy formulation. According to the findings and further analysis of anti-policy making in Taiwan, the professional groups should consider the structural limitations of bureaucratic top-down statue approach to formulating policy and then attempt to seek the bottom-up democratic approach to facilitating the discussion of professional knowledge in practising the idea of ‘communicative action’ (termed by Jürgen Habermas). What we suggest here is that the collective action of the professional groups is, on the one hand, to build up the participatory democratic platform, both in administrative and legislative arenas, for publicised and rational policy debates and, on the other hand, to construct a long-term evaluation mechanism for examining the transparency of policy making process and bridging the emerging gaps between evidence-based research and anti-bullying policy making.

Second, community groups mainly organised by school staff and NPO activists are concerned with the policy agenda setting and policy implementation. The collective agency of community groups can be demonstrated in dismantling the unjust power wielded by politicians to make the issue politicised and in zeroing in on the structural problems of practice work. Grassroots collective action in community is conducive to empowering activists and school staff in knowing politics of anti-bullying policy and to building solidarity in calling for bottom-up political participation and fair resource distribution. Notably, the community voice should not be silenced in the name of maintaining sacred social order.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the theorisations of the generative mechanism in the processes of anti-bullying policy in Taiwan, comprising the assumption of the theories, the ideological types of theory, causal power and generative mechanism, the logic of scientific discovery in policy making, and reflections on the generative mechanism of political top-down governance. These five parts aimed at discovering the stratified layers of social reality in the anti-bullying policy making in line with the critical realist approach to seeking for generative mechanisms and causal laws behind policy making. First, the underpinning assumptions of theorisations elaborate on the formative production of three systems (the field of representation), including theoretical foundation, subject of task executives, object of task executives, objects of representation, deduction of theoretical logic, meaning of social function. Second, three kinds of theory incorporated three ideological types extracted by a political ideology and scientific ideology in Chapter 7 and empirical data and actual events were thus used to discuss and analyse in supporting each type of arguments. Third, the concept of causal power is playing a key part in the discovery of generative mechanism which was conducive to capturing a formula of causal relations in the policy making. Fourth, this research lays much emphasis on the scientific inquiry to sketch a landscape of policy making based upon critical realist epistemology and methodology and, furthermore, the application of induction, deduction and abduction (retroduction) was used to explain how the generalisation of a case study to a wider society becomes possible. Fifth, reflections on the generative mechanism of political top-down governance were taken into further considerations in search of the transformative possibility between scientific inquiry and human emancipation based upon the representation of historical structure, political bureaucratisation and local school culture in association with the operation of power relations in the context of Taiwan. Sixth, the discussion of collective agency in professional and community groups reflects on how different social agents have potential capacity to transform unjust policy structure in search of possibility of transparent policy making process and the practice of participatory democracy.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION: REFLECTIONS ON THE THEORIES, METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

The first part of this thesis started with a discussion of the nature and theoretical foundation of school bullying research and further reviewed the anti-bullying policy proposed by English speaking countries through the dialectical inquiry of historical, political and cultural dimensions. The second part moved on to the application of methodology and the analysis of a case study in Taiwan which links the structural and systematic dimension to the empirical/agential dimension in capturing the stratified social reality of school bullying research rather than taking the usual individualised problem-solving approach.

This thesis challenges the traditional approaches to school bullying research and adopts critical realism, first put forward by Bhaskar, to discover the nature and logic of the generative mechanisms behind anti-bullying policy making and implementation in the context of Taiwan. Hence, the primary purpose of this chapter is to reflect on the finding and logic of policy formation between anti-bullying policies, theories and methods and to explore how a case study in Taiwan could generalise from the empirical experience and actual social events to the social reality of policy making and implementation in line with the integration of realist ontology and relational sociology.

This chapter sets out to summarise the cardinal results of the research and further reflect on theoretical and methodological applications and its implication for this research and future research directions. Its seven parts are as follows, (i) responses to eight main research questions of this thesis, (ii) the contextualisation and configuration of school bullying research, (iii) the findings of the case study (historical, empirical and theoretical analysis), (iv) reflections on the compatibility of critical realism, case study research and critical qualitative research in Taiwan, (v) evaluation of methodology, argument and knowledge contributions,

(vi) evaluation of fieldwork, interview relationship and qualitative data, (vii) the practical implications of critical realism for policy practitioners and local schools and (viii) the future direction of school bullying research.

Response to Research Questions

The eight research questions, as clearly explained in Chapter 1 (pp.7-8), are limited to the discussion of the process of school anti-bullying policy making and implementation and the application of critical realism, both of which make attempts to capture the social landscape of policy making between the activation of social structure and the agency of policy stakeholders.

- What is the scope of school bullying? What are strengths and limitations of bullying definitions, theories and approaches and how can they be used to explain and interpret school bullying research?
- What kinds of alternative approach could be used in the exploration of school anti-bullying policy? In what ways can this research uncover the social reality of school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan?
- What are the historical process and underpinning foundations of school anti-bullying policy? To what extent and in what way is the ideological influence on the anti-bullying policy making and implementation at all levels of policy stakeholders?
- What are the irreducible causal laws between social structure/generative mechanism and anti-bullying policy formation in Taiwan? In what ways can the knowledge production of school anti-bullying policy fit with the requirement of scientific and objective inquiry?

This thesis began with the discussion of the bullying definitions and the measurement of bullying prevalence (Chapter 2). Following the discussion of bullying conceptions, consideration was given to the application of theories which could be used to explain and analyse school bullying and in the discovery of approaches behind the school bullying research (Chapter 3). In response to the first and second question, the purpose of these two chapters was to set out to find the gap between theoretical groundings and the social issue of school bullying which concerns the relations between social structure and policy research.

Before proceeding with the justification of the methodological approach, anti-bullying actions were considered in Chapter 4 through the exploration of policy process theories (policy agenda setting, policy formulation and policy implementation) and school anti-bullying policy research. This chapter linked the abstract policy process theories to practical policy research in order to search for the alternative policy framework in policy analysis. After the policy review, the ontological and epistemological issues were justified in Chapter 5. There it was argued that the dialectical discussion brings about the new possibility of adopting the Bhaskar's framework of critical realism, beyond the tradition approaches of empiricism and interpretivism, in discovering the stratified social reality of school bullying in Taiwan which is in answer to the third and fourth research questions.

The first part of this thesis is composed of Chapters 2 to 5 which focus on the considering the development of current theories, policy making and methodological applications. The second part of thesis concerns the case study in Taiwan which explores the historical foundations of school regulations within the structure of party politics (Chapter 6), the empirical analysis of fieldwork in Taiwan (Chapter 7) and the theorisation of policy making (Chapter 8). Chapters 6 and 7 deal with the problem of a de-historicised as well as de-politicalised crisis in understanding the process of school anti-bullying policy making (at the level of government) and implementation (at the level of local schools). These two chapters view policy making and implementation as a continuous spectrum and casual interdependence rather than an accumulation of de-contextualised individual events within the political and historical structure.

The purpose of inquiring about the historical process and empirical foundation of school anti-bullying policy making and implementation is to lay a robust foundation for generalising and theorising policy making in Taiwan in association with the political and historical structure. This helps to resonate with the argument of critical realism in discovering the stratification of social reality and further exploring the existing generative mechanism and causal power (Chapter 8). In order to answer the seventh and eighth research question, this chapter integrates the theoretical foundations and empirical findings to distinguish between structural level, generative mechanism level, ideological level and experience/actual events level which are not irreducible to each other, but interdependent. Moreover, the scientific inquiry of knowledge production in school bullying research tends to break through the dilemma

between de-contextualised empiricism (value-free) and de-objectified interpretivism (value-laden) which echoes the possibility of critical naturalism in the application of school bullying policy research.

Exploring the Contemporary Configuration of School Anti-bullying Policy Research

This part explores current bullying research from conceptual and theoretical analysis to policy review which seeks for the boundary and limitation of current bullying research. The following explains the purpose and findings of each chapter and stresses the logical relations between the chapters.

Chapter 2 begins with a discussion of bullying definitions which is an elusive conception for both policy making and research. After reviewing the definition of school bullying two findings pointed out the development of this conception. First, the definition was limited to the framework of behavioural science, such as the elements of school bullying, the recognition of school bullying between different social actors, which is more individualistic approach to capturing this conception. Second, school bullying almost always followed by the Olweus's Scandinavia experience that leads to a crisis of policy transfer without considering the importance of contextualisation and conceptualisation embedded in bullying behaviour. Turning to the prevalence of school bullying, this is related to the adoption of operational definitions and methods of measurement. As can be seen in two kinds of surveys, the national surveys focused on specific areas and countries to recognise the severity of school bullying which may be conducted by central governments and the cross-national survey focuses on comparison of prevalence which may be investigated by international non-governmental organisations (such as the WHO and OECD) through structured-designed and measurable questionnaires. These two surveys depart from an empirical (or evident-based) approach with the intention of shedding light on the severity of school bullying. After that, mapping the terrains of school bullying research set out to deepen understanding of which bullying issues should be discussed and analysed in a specific area in exploring the social reality of school bullying. Four domains school bullying research were identified, including psychology, criminology, clinical (public health) and pedagogy, which made up the research landscape of knowing the nature of school bullying and would further lay a foundation for

theorisation of the case study in Chapter 8. Following the footprint of four domains in school bullying research, the historical development was also considered at the end of this chapter which was categorised as four stages in association with four research domains and its related issues. The scientific logic of this chapter intends to bridge the gap between conceptual analysis, empirical investigations, academic fields and historical developments as a holistic process of continuous spectrum that helps to arrive at discussing the theoretical groundings and approaches behind the school bullying research in Chapter 2

In response to the first research question, Chapter 3 explored the way in which bullying research produce knowledge through various theories and approaches. The consideration of seven theoretical explanations is adopted to dig deeply in discovering the social fact of school bullying relating to different issues. Significantly these seven theories lay a foundation for empirical bullying research in capturing the elusive conception of school bullying to which three domains (primarily including criminology, psychology and pedagogy) are highly related to. Different theories are described, comprehensively, interpreted and compared in line with school violence and bullying research with the intention of collating the casual relations between constituent premises and theoretical meaning. Some critical reflections on these theories question whether they fit well with bullying research which is involved in the adaptability of theory transfer and application in different social context? Notably, this reminds us that the importance of connection between bullying research and a specific social context and premises that bullying research cannot be authentically explored without emphasising a social context. The second part of this chapter moves on digging up the approaches to school anti-bullying policy research. Two research territories, socio-political and socio-cultural territory, are used to discuss how sociological and psychological theories can be incorporated in school anti-bullying policy making. The core question of first territory put emphasis on the debate between structural functionalism and structural Marxism which is related to the exercise of political governance and the imagination of political order. The consideration of political reflexivity (political generality and political particularity), as opposed to theoretical perspectives, sheds light on the methodological explanations with reference to policy making, the former of which policy could be widely applied under different political systems and the latter of which stresses the inseparable ties between political context and policy making. In the second territory, the socio-cultural dimension focuses on the debates between cultural ideologies of New Right and New Left which

highlight the ties between the exercise of cultural governance and the representation of cultural order. Moreover, the methodological debate of cultural reflexivity between cultural absolutism and cultural relativism is also taken into account, the former of which explains the nation-based moral rules could help at maintaining the social order and the latter of which argues that agency of cultural production shall be embedded in a specific cultural context. The scientific logic of this chapter adopts binary theoretical perspectives and methodological reflexivity to elaborate on the role of power relations and structural oppression in the making of anti-bullying policies among three kinds of dimensions which is associated with the further discussion of ontological, epistemological and methodological inquiry in the Chapter 5. The underpinning function of this chapter within the whole thesis is playing a cardinal role in clarifying intertwined relations between theories, approach and bullying research.

Following the conceptual and theoretical analysis of school bullying in Chapters 2 and 3, Chapter 4 turned to explore the policy process theories and then review the current school anti-bullying policy research. First, the policy process theories elaborate on the notion of policy agenda setting, policy formulation and policy implementation. The exploration of policy process theories aims to articulate the pivotal research objects and issues in each stage and the politics of policy making. Second, the emphases of policy review primarily placed on four sections, values systems (the debate between individualism and collectivism) in policy research, the general and specific policy trends and the sequential logic of policy making (bullying incidents→ raising the public concern→ releasing research and reports→policy formulation → policy implementation). Third, the main concern of this part is to elucidate the compatibility of policy theories and school anti-bullying policy research in search of an alternative policy framework for capturing the comprehensive landscape of policy making process. Notably, the current policy research gap is also discussed in this part in associate with the notion of whether policy process theories can be fully applied in school anti-bullying policy research. Moreover, the scientific logic of this chapter will be helpful for providing the policy framework for qualitative data analysis at the centre of theorisation in Chapter 7 and 8 in alignment with the historical and political context in Taiwan. The above three chapters (part one of this thesis) delimit the multifaceted foundations of current bullying research and anti-bullying policy making and shapes contemporary configurations of school bullying

research which is expected to be viewed as the underlying bedrock in advancing scientific inquiry and breaking through the limitations of empirical research.

Mapping Reconfiguration of the School Anti-bullying Policy Research in Taiwan

Part two of this thesis is divided into three chapters which focus on the formation of policy making in Taiwan, including historical analysis in Chapter 6 (longitudinal study), empirical analysis in Chapter 7 (cross-sectional study) and theoretical analysis in Chapter 8 (longitudinal study and cross-sectional study). Each chapter of this part links to the social context and political governance in line with the logic of school anti-bullying policy and explain how critical realism can be applied to this policy research in exploring stratified layers of social reality which fits with the Bhaskarian assertions of the possibility of scientific inquiry of social science.

In Chapter 6, four historical stages – authoritarian period (1945-1986), post-martial law period (1987-1996), democratic transformation period (1996-2008) and democratic consolidation and deepening period (2008-2014) – are addressed in association with political governance, the educational reform and school regulation policies. First, according to the development of political governance, the substantial discussions considerably rests with the transformation of political system from authoritarian (statism) to democracy with reference to political struggle of party politics which reflects on the legacy of top-down governance since 1945. Second, educational reform in Taiwan is followed by the logic of party politics and the transformation of political ideologies (from conservatism to liberalism). Accordingly, the making of educational laws (which is related to the systematic transformation) and curriculum reforms (which is related to pedagogical practice) is also used to explain the correspondence and congruence between political development and school practice. Third, more specific accounts focus on the evolution of school regulation policy which is closely pertaining to approaches to school disciplinary system based upon the structure of political governance and the operation of school practice. The primary aim of this chapter is to historicise the school regulation policies since 1945 and further link to the issues of what kind of social space and in what ways could the formation of school anti-bullying policy be activated and implemented in response to the fifth question of this thesis. The historical

inquiry of school regulation policies showed that school anti-bullying policy inherited the legacy from the notion of ‘a school being seen as a part of social control system under the domination of state apparatus’ which attempts to bind together a political order and school order in maintaining the legitimacy of political governance. The scientific logic of the chapter is to pave the way for the empirical analysis in Chapter 7 (ideological inquiry as a kind of cross-section research in response to the sixth question) and theoretical discussion in Chapter 8 (the discovery of generative mechanism as a combination of longitudinal and cross-section research in response to the seventh and eighth questions).

Empirical analysis of the case study in Chapter 7 highlights the dynamic process of school anti-bullying policy making and implementation on the basis of policy stakeholders’ interview statements (government officials, legislators, NPO activists, principals and policy researchers) and historical document discourses (official documents and local newspapers) which is context-based and agent-based analysis. Hence, the constitutive foundations of school anti-bullying policy can be divided into two parts, embracing the central government level of policy making and political debates and the local school level of policy implementation which fit with the third layers of the Bhaskarian framework (the level of empirical experience) to demonstrate how and what the policy stakeholders perceive the process of policy making and implementation. Furthermore, the binary ideologies of socio-political and scientific debate are analysed to capture the exercise of ideologies among different positionality of policy stakeholders. Considering the underpinning assumptions of these two ideologies, there are three kinds of ideological types – scientism, eclecticism and politicism – to justify the existence of ideological influences on policy making. The results of this chapter shed light on the process and procedure of policy making in relation to power struggles of different stakeholders and argue that the formation of school anti-bullying policy demonstrate not only how local schools deal with bullying behaviour but also in what extent the government authorities exert their ideological influences on policy making and implementation, both of which are, in principle, closely interrelated and mutually complementary. This chapter of empirical analysis plays a crucial role in bridging the gap between historical accounts in Chapter 6 and theorisation considerations in Chapter 8 that resonate with the critical realist approach to irreducible tendencies in place of the empirical approach to reducible casual laws (such as the Durkheimian and Weberian sociological methods).

Following the historical and empirical discussion of the case study, Chapter 8 is located as the theoretical discussion of the generative mechanism behind the anti-bullying policy making and implementation. As far as the possibility of scientific discovery in social science is concerned, the critical realist approach premises that the actual events and individualised experience are, in essence, activated by structures and mechanisms no matter whether or not agents may perceive and recognise it. Hence, this chapter take its departure from the three kinds of theoretical groundings in the fields of criminology, psychology and pedagogy, in line with three ideal types (scientism, eclecticism and politicism) constructed in the Chapter 7 that are a meta-theoretical approach (Chapters 2 and 3) to navigating the gap between transcendental realism in the domain of social reality and empirical realism in the domain of actual events and agential experience. Furthermore, three theories and three ideal types, in theory, could produce nine possible combinations of the generative mechanism at the centre of school anti-bullying policy making and implementation (Table 7.2). After the detailed theoretical discussion of policy analysis, the result of this chapter shows that three systems (criminal, psychological and pedagogical systems) under the structure of historical party politics activates and triggers the school anti-bullying policy making in Taiwan which is mediated by three ideologies (made up of by actual events and agential experience). The production of knowledge is also considered in the justification of scientific inquiry of policy analysis, including the application of deduction, induction and abduction, at the stratified layers of social reality. At the end of this chapter, reflections on policy analysis explore the considerations of historical, political and cultural relations which link the legacy of top-down governance (from authoritarian to democratic era) to the party politics of bureaucratic accountability and the hidden rules of local politics. This chapter analyses school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan on the basis of the Bhaskarian framework of critical realism to argue for the scientific possibility of policy analysis which is more dialectical and analytic (beyond the limitations of naïve realism and social constructivism) and further seek for the emancipatory possibility of policy making and implementation. The second part of this thesis, standing on the foundations of conceptual and theoretical inquiry of school bullying research in the first part, critically adopts the three dimensions (historical, empirical and theoretical analysis) in three chapters to reconfigures the incorporation of invisible structure (system) and visible experience and further deepen the broader understanding of school anti-bullying policy at the all levels of social entities.

Reflections on the Compatibility of Critical Qualitative-based Case Study and School Anti-bullying Policy

This research endeavours to break through the traditional approaches to capture the reality of school bullying and, in particular, focuses on the formation of school anti-bullying policy. Hence, this section turns to argue for and then reflect on the compatibility of critical qualitative-based case study and school anti-bullying policy. Three dimensions are used to explain how the critical qualitative case study could cater for the needs of school anti-bullying policy and in what ways this kind of method could target at invisible and unexplored areas which uncovers the crisis of a top-down governance concerning the exercise of power relations behind policy making.

First, this policy research adopts Taiwan as a case study based upon considerations of contextualisation and conceptualisation. As primarily suggested by grounded theorists (such as Glaser & Strauss, 1967), data analysis is qualitatively grounded in indigenous contexts and interactions between social actors for the purpose of letting the data speak for themselves. Following this logic, the conceptualisation and contextualisation of school anti-bullying policy is unfolded and argued in Chapter 6 (historical analysis) and 7 (empirical analysis). First, it is noted that Chapter 6 reviews the historical facts of school regulation policies with the development and transformation of democratic governance that presumes the appearance of school anti-bullying policy firmly embedded in a specific time and space is more or less a kind of representation of political system relevant to top-down social control mechanism in the context of Taiwan. Consideration on historical analysis aims to bridge a divide between policy structure of school regulation policies and historical structure of party politics. This implies that historical generalisation of policy research is possible and accessible that reshapes the causal sequences of historical facts, such as four different stages of school regulation policies mainly composed of physical and hygiene education, education on military training and campus security plus with student affairs and guidance (fully discussed in Chapter 6). Second, the conceptualisation and contextualisation of policy is also considered in Chapter 7 which highlights the underpinning foundations of school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan. Following the historical discussion, empirical discussion of school anti-bullying policy informs the sequential logic of policy making including the conceptual debates over school bullying, social movement and school campaign, policy planning. This chapter ended with the

discussion of three kinds of ideological types (scientism, eclecticism, politicism) which are composed of different levels of socio-political and scientific ideologies grounded in the first hand interviews (with 22 research participants) and second hand documents (official gazettes and local newspapers). That is to say, this chapter focuses more on exploration of empirical realism in pursuit of empirical-inductive generalisation.

The second dimension concerns the distinction between a traditional qualitative case study and critical qualitative case study in anti-bullying policy research. The former surrounding the notions of interpretive and hermeneutic approaches tends to look for the meaning behind the social events and social actors. However, the latter, as suggested by Carspecken (1996, p.3), pays sufficient attention to ‘the nature of social structure, power, culture, and human agency’. This research locates as critical social research whose concerns could easily fit well with the need of critical qualitative case study. For example, historical analysis in Chapter 6 on the one hand deals with the historical trajectory of school regulation policy agendas and on the other hand involves in how power relations with reference to hegemonic discourses could activate the policies under a specific historical contexts. In Chapter 7, exploring the process of policy making between policy stakeholders uncovers, in essence, the interaction between policy discourses and power dominations rather than causal regularities between causes and effects of different social events. Namely, a critical qualitative approach is more normative than the traditional one in setting out to deconstruct predominant hegemonic authority in search of the possibility of human emancipation plus with the transformation of social injustice.

What we need to emphasise here is the importance of historical realism (historical generalisation) and empirical realism (empirical generalisation) in response to the review of Chapter 3 (theories and approaches to bullying research) and 4 (school anti-bullying policies). These two kinds of realism in correspondence to respective generalisations could be seen as foundations for further justifying the legitimacy of critical realism whose main propositions basically depart from the discovery of causal power and generative mechanism (the ontological nature of existence) in social science, presuming social world as an open system. To put it directly, two dimensions, as discussed above, are used to inductively demonstrate the complete compatibility of critical qualitative-based case study and school anti-bullying

policy that sheds more light on grounded elements of conceptualisation, contextualisation and normativity.

Reflections on the Compatibility of School Anti-bullying Policy Research and Critical Realism

Following the first reflection, the second reflection further argues for the compatibility of school anti-bullying policy and critical realism. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the adoption of critical realism in policy research is to break through the unsolved debates between objective and subjective knowing (lower layer of social reality) in pursuit of generative mechanisms activated by causal power (tendencies) behind policy making (upper layer of social reality). This means that the nature of knowing should be seen as bedrock to explore the nature of existence which is more closely related to scientific inquiry in social science. Three dimensions are used to explain how the critical realism could be applied in school anti-bullying research and in what way the modes of inference (abduction and retrodution) could properly serve the purpose of discovering stratification and differentiation of social reality in this research.

First, the purposes of theorising the generative mechanism in Chapter 8 are, on the one hand, to conflate the nature of knowing with the nature of existence and, on the other hand, to integrate the inductive and deductive inference with abductive and retroductive one. As suggested by Oliver (2011, p.5), the cardinal task of realists is ‘to seek vertical explanations which link events and experiences to their underlying generative mechanisms rather than their antecedent events and experiences’. Speaking of a shift from the nature of knowing to existence, three systems, legal, psychological and pedagogical system, was used to explain the how the policy was activated in terms of theoretical foundations of psychology/public health, criminology and pedagogy. Three systems are closely associated with and based upon the historical knowing which is diachronic narrative (Chapter 6) and empirical knowing which is synchronic account (Chapter 7), mapping the existing configuration of generative mechanism behind the school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan. In practical terms, the domains of the real, actual and empirical in critical realism are fully realised by the appropriate use of abduction and retrodution in this policy research. Linking the theoretical foundations and empirical data under a specific condition (the historical and political context of Taiwan)

makes this policy research more practical rather than abstract and, therefore, necessitates the transformation of policy envisaged in line with the critical qualitative approach to exploration of power relations and unjust structure. Notably, it is argued that the nature of existence in policy research extends the spectrum of knowing to avoid the epistemic fallacy between social fact and social reality and thus circumvent and the misattribution of causation between and within empirical experience and social events.

Second, concerning the notion of generalisation, the transfactual generalisation fully adopted in Chapter 8 in terms of critical realism tends to go beyond empirical generalisation and historical generalisation. In this way, this explicitly demarcates the differentiations and stratifications between and within social structures, social systems, ideologies, empirical experience and social events in this policy research. As mentioned in Chapter 8, the irreducible causal mechanism rather than reducible causal relations behind the policy making exists independently of empirical experience and social events and further unfolds the vertical relation between perceived (or unperceived) realities and observable and perceived facts. The relationship between them is rather contingent. Speaking of the logic of knowledge production, this research links the transitive knowledge with intransitive knowledge of policy research that is compatible with the focus of critical realism between structure and agency. Both of which cannot subsumed to each other (the former could be seen as socialising the latter, while the latter could be reproducing and transforming the former) and this research attempts to regress from empirical experience/discourses/actions (such as newspaper reports and representative interviews) to actual events (school campaigns, social movements and policy implementation/evaluation) to systems (legal, psychological and pedagogical systems) to structures (historical and political structures) under a certain condition. This implies that the notion of transfactual generalisation is playing an indispensable in arguing for transcendental argumentation and transcendental realism. The former of which, according to Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, and Karlsson (2002, p.96), means that the social reality of policy should focus on ‘clarifying the basic prerequisites or conditions for social relationships, people’s actions, reasoning and knowledge’, not just the (re)presentation of policy stakeholders. The latter of which, suggested by Collier (1994, p.21), denotes that ‘knowledge of reality is possible just because reality is constructed in a certain way’, presuming that knowledge production is changeable and fallible under a certain condition rather than universal regularities (laws) claimed by Kantian philosophy (transcendental idealism). In this

research it is worth mentioning that transcendental argument, at the practical level of social research, seeks to surpass the inductive argument of horizontal causal relations between observable anti-bullying events and phenomenon which is empirical extrapolation and, therefore, turns to justify the legitimate relation between observable events/phenomenon and fundamental structure (such as the operation of party politics structure/top-down governance and existence of three kinds systems discussed in Chapter 8).

Evaluation of Fieldwork, Interview Relationship and Qualitative Data

Based upon positionality and reflexivity, this part evaluates the research fieldwork, interview process and qualitative data, three of which are related to authenticity and reliability of findings. Three dimensions are discussed as follows to critically reflect on (i) the selection of research participants and research terrains, (ii) researcher-participant relationship and (iii) the (re)presentation of data collection and (re)interpretation of data analysis. First, this research included 22 research participants from four terrains (central government, civil group, local school and academia) who were directly and indirectly involved in anti-bullying policy making. Are there any other terrains excluded from this research and are these four terrains enough to represent policy making and generalise to policy structure? This reflexivity primarily highlights the importance of whose voices should be considered in the process of policy making. For example, teachers and parents organisations cannot be found in policy committees at the level of central government and these two roles are always acting as key actors in educational reform in Taiwan. In reality, these two groups appears on behalf of oppositional political ideologies in the web of political relations. Accordingly, this research adopted newspaper reports to represent their perspectives in the discussion of policy formation to make compensation for the limitations of empirical representativeness of research terrains and participants.

Second, in terms of qualitative research, the researcher-participant relationship cannot be ignored in defence of objective stances and perspective to reshape their discourses and narratives. In this research, 22 research participants received this interview that could be broadly categorised as three types of mutual relations. In the first place, when I met and interviewed government officials and legislators, their interview time was limited and they sometimes need to deal with unexpected administrative affairs in the process of interview.

This made it difficult for the researcher to make close relations with them and explain the research project in detail. This type of participant focused on answering research questions and their perspectives, in general, surrounded reconstructing policy events and government actions rather than ideological reflection. Most of their statements could be found in the newspaper reports and government gazettes. In the second place, school principals and NPO activists were more enthusiastic and their interview time was more flexible than government officials. In this way, structured data can be easily produced in the process of interview. Moreover, school principals discussed more about policy implementation and policy feedback from school teachers, students and parents, while NPO activists were critical of policy process based upon their ideal political governance and individual experience of social movements. In the third place, policy researchers adopted seriously attitude in the interview which is similar to the first type, but their statements are more critical and concentrated on research experience reflection, embracing criticising the dysfunction of political governance and unjust distribution of academic resources. According to these three types of researcher-participant relationship, the second and third one were more open to share their personal perspectives and experience rather than the first one, to which the data collection and data analysis were related. When referring to political issues, government officials and school principals were more tentative, while NPO activists and policy researchers were always outspoken and sometimes angry.

In the third place, three kinds of data source (interview text, newspaper and government document) underpin the foundation of data analysis in this research. These different data are mutually complementary in the interpretation of data analysis. As discussed before, two qualitative data, including the event-based and the empirical experience-based, play various roles in capturing social facts of policy process. As a whole, the circular logic of data analysis could be concluded as follows: event → experience → ideology → theory → event. This evaluation concerning the circular logic of data analysis argument reminds us to rethink the association between (re)presentation of data collection and (re)interpretation of data analysis. In terms of objectification of data processing, the former considers: (i) what sorts of data could be incorporated and ruled out in this research and (ii) how to deal with politics of data collection concerning political power intervention, while the latter concerns: (i) in what ways data could speak for themselves rather than researcher-based subjective misinterpretation and (ii) in what ways quality of data interpretation could be critically evaluated and re-examined.

Evaluation of Methodology, Argument and Knowledge Contribution

This thesis, as the first example of school anti-bullying policy research in Taiwan, compared the different approaches with reference to ontological, epistemological and methodological discussion and then decided to adopt critical realism in this case study research. The following discussion reflects on how the use of the critical realist methodology and arguments could produce the main contributions in this research. First, the use of critical realism attempts to break through the limitations of bullying research in discovering different layers of the policy process and arriving at the ontological level of the generative mechanism behind policy structure in the context of Taiwan. For example, historical realism (historical causal relations) was used in Chapter 6 to argue for historicity and politics of school regulation policies and empirical realism (empirical causal relations) in Chapter 7 to argue for social facts of individual reflections on policy process (subjectivity) and anti-bullying events (objectivity), both of which underpin the critical realism in Chapter 8 to argue for the generative mechanism of policy activation (transcendental realism of causal power). The first knowledge contribution, in terms of methodology, is to justify the usefulness and progressiveness of critical realism as superior to other approaches (positivism, post-positivism and constructionism) in bullying research.

Second, this research adopts different inferences (induction, deduction and abduction and retrodution) to explore the operation of three systems (legal, counselling pedagogical system) and its affiliated ideologies (scientism, eclecticism and politicism) in the process of anti-bullying policy making and implementation in Taiwan. To be critical, anti-bullying policy in Taiwan, according to this research, could be seen as a means and an extension of party politics since 1945 with the intention of social control and legitimate domination through different policy discourses (westernised experience of policy transfer) and systematic operations (indigenous mechanism). This may be inferred argumentatively that critical realism not only played a cardinal role in discovering objective generative mechanism in a social world but only pointing out the historicity of ideological control (militarism, psychologism and pedagogism) and the possibility of human emancipation (the democratisation of school regulation policy). In this way, this could possibly guide policy stakeholders to highlight the inseparability of critical social research, political governance and school practice. The second knowledge contribution is to justify the practicality of anti-

bullying research in providing both analytical and normative ways to reflect on the generative process of policy making and implementation in Taiwan.

Third, this research is a sociological inquiry concerning the interaction between structure, agency and policy activation, embracing how the political governance and historical structure dominated the agency of anti-bullying policy process through policy activation and in what ways policy agents could transform rather than reproduce predominant structure by way of criticising and penetrating politics of anti-bullying policy process. In practical terms, the binary social relations and objects embedded in three systems were also considered in this research in echoing the application of realist ontology and relational sociology. For example, officers and militant instructors work with school bullies in control of quasi-criminal conduct, social workers and psychologists work with school victims in control of psychological state and school staff work with general students in control of knowledge. The third knowledge contribution, in theory, is to justify the applicability of critical realism in bullying research and further objectify the social relations and objects of anti-bullying policy within different systems in achieving the possibility of transcendental generalisation rather than staying at historical and empirical generalisation in Taiwan.

The Practical Implications of Critical Realism for Policy Practitioners in Local Schools

Critical realism, in essence, inherited Marxist dialectical methodology and philosophy of praxis, both of which tends to achieve the possibility of human emancipation. This approach resonated Marx's (1964, p.84) thought that 'the philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it'. In this research, three practical implications of critical realism for policy practitioners and local schools are made as follows. First, this approach could help practitioners (school teachers and administrators) penetrate the existence of the generative mechanisms (legal, counselling and pedagogical systems) and then rethink the possibility of school practice under democracy in the process of implementing the anti-bullying policy. Uncovering different social relations within three systems is also helpful for practitioners to reflect on the power relations between party-state (top-down) governance and positionality of school staff (such as police officers, military instructors, social workers, psychologists, principals, teachers and school administrators) in

the web of social structure. Second, based upon the empirical and theoretical analysis in Chapters 7 and 8, three systems produces three kinds of justice appeal (restorative justice in legal system, bystander justice in psychological system and school justice in pedagogical system), which could be seen as a whole for the purpose of reconstructing more humanistic anti-bullying programmes in schools and for students to learn in dealing with interpersonal conflicts (individual psychological problems) and structural oppression (socio-political and socio-cultural factors). This reminds us that how to incorporate the three kinds of justice appeal into the implementation of democratic school regulation policy needs to be carefully considered by school practitioners. Third, this approach endeavours to understand the anti-bullying policy activation between social structure and agency in Taiwan and be critical of power domination of policy making since 1945. This could help practitioners to search for alternative ways in transforming an unjust structure. When it comes to the similarity of these three implications, this approach not only advances the understanding of interaction between structure and agency, but also empowers policy practitioners to transform predominant structure into democratic and humanistic one by practising emancipatory knowledge which is context-based. That is to say that the nature of anti-bullying policy making and implementation is not staying at a narrow point of neutralising anti-bullying strategies (dual relations between bullies and victims) rather than targeting at liberating all school members (school staff and students) from bullying under the framework of democratic school life.

The Future Directions and Prospects for Policy Making and Practice

Echoing the scope and limitations of this thesis set out in Chapter 1, this section reflects on the theories, methodology and the finding of policy research for future policy making and practice. In what follows, four dimensions are further elucidated to briefly summarise the contributions of this research and, in addition, to pave the way for future research directions. Both of which tends to focus on and argue for three themes: how the adoption of theories and methods could fit with argumentative validity of policy inquiry and whether the refinement of generative mechanisms could be approaching the nature of social reality behind the policy structure under a certain condition and in what ways the gaps could be filled between policy research, political governance and school practice? First, this research is critical social research which embodies sociological theories and approaches (both discussed in Chapter 3) to anti-bullying policy inquiry while de-emphasising the plausible explanations of

trans/cross-disciplinary theories (such as public health and clinical studies) applied in this research. Based upon the thought of critical realism, the use of abduction and retroduction in social research is grounded in the adoption of theories whose role is critically played in bridging the gap between empirical experience and generative mechanisms. For example, it is analysed that school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan as a part of school regulation mechanisms in control of students' inner mind and outer behaviour that is highly related to the mode of top-down governance and history of part politics involving the transformation of democracy (Chapters 6 and 7). Following this context and assumption, the use of sociological theories, as one of the main contributions in this research, seemingly functions as critical lenses to uncover the complicated social relations (such as military instructors/police officers to bullies, psychologists/social workers to victims and local school staff to general students) and social reality (legal, psychological and pedagogical systems) in the web of policy structure with the help of abduction and retroduction (Chapter 8). What we need to further suggest here for future research is to carefully consider the priority relation between empirical data and a theoretical framework (or theoretical perspectives). Concretely speaking, the emphasis of empirical data rather than theoretical perspectives, on the one hand, is chiefly built on the assumption of grounded theory whose foremost aim is to produce contextualised theories (letting data speak for themselves) while the emphasis of theoretical perspectives than empirical data, on the other hand, lies at the heart of middle range theory whose primary goal is to test against the contextualised empirical data (letting data examined by theories or revise existing theories). These two different theoretical approaches to policy inquiry could give rise to the differentiations of argumentative validity and generative mechanisms upon which the consideration of generalisation is generally based.

Second, a critical qualitative case study is adopted in this research which uncovers the nature of power domination behind the school anti-bullying policy making in Taiwan in search of democratic school practice. The underpinning foundation of empirical data is primarily composed of qualitative discourses (official documents, newspapers and interview texts) rather than quantitative data (statistical measurement and reports) both of which represent differential argumentative validity of empirical data (the former is more close to induction and the latter is approaching deduction). As we justify in previous section, critical qualitative case study is indeed compatible with school anti-bullying policy research but how to integrate mixed methods with policy research to operationalise the 'probabilistic generalisation'

(including qualitative internal generalisation and quantitative external generalisation) to fit with the irreducibility of stratified social reality will be a new possibility of future research at the lower level of empirical inquiry and the construction of social events. Reflexively, the use of mixed methods in policy research could possibly broaden our understanding to strengthen the quality of transitive knowledge at the level of epistemic level concerning the knowing of knowledge production. Specifically, the multiplicity of research method and data saturation could prelude the crisis of epistemological relativism and concentrate on scientific policy explorations in search of human emancipation and institutional transformation.

Third, speaking of the analytical framework illustrated in Chapter 5, the activation of the policy process would possibly lead to social events and empirical experience, while the relations between them is contingent rather than necessary. In practical terms, the discovery of generative mechanism in policy research is to a great extent elicited from social events and empirical experience which is retroductive process. In other words, if policy researchers cannot ensure the quality of data collection and saturation, how possible generative mechanism could be found under this analytical framework of critical realism. This reflection points out the assumptions of critical realism concerning knowledge production due to the fact that knowledge, in essence, is changeable and fallible and the refinement of generative mechanism is possible to be approaching the nature of existence. As critically suggested by Sayer (2010, p.viii), the use of counter-evidence would be more complementary to evidence-based argument in revising the existing idea:

...we can only know things through existing ways of seeing, and can never escape from these and get 'sideways on' to see how our ideas compare with the world. Nevertheless, in many cases, we can still register counter-evidence to our beliefs, as when our expectations fail to anticipate what happens, or when we crash into something. That the revised ideas that might be developed in response to such failures are in principle fallible too doesn't mean there can be no progress.

In general, this policy research focuses on evidence-based argument rather than counter-evidence. That is to say, what we need to remind future research is how to take into account the strategic use of evidence-based and counter-evidence argument in school anti-bullying policy research will be widely considered in sharpening the contingent relations between empirical data, social events and generative mechanism. The purpose of continuing refinement of generative mechanism behind anti-bullying policy structure by counter-evidence argument would raise the further concern to transform the existing unjust structure

and seek for better quality of political governance and school practice. Arguably, future research could reasonably question generative mechanisms which have not been discovered in this existing policy structure.

Fourth, how to bridge the gap between policy research, political governance and school practice is widely considered by scholars and practitioner. In this research, the research finding is derived from representative policy researchers, school principals and government officials as policy stakeholders whose reflexive discourses map the configuration of anti-bullying policy in Taiwan. Three sociological implications for future research are critically made with reference to how policy research and school practice could transform the quality of political governance in reconciling the traditional sociological contradiction between structure and agency. One of which considers the relation between policy research and political governance which could be suggested that policy research and political governance is interdependent of each other. To be specific, the former is almost dominated by the latter due to the distribution of research funding and the latter is subjected to the former due to the production of policy discourses. This kind of correspondence relation would relatively exclude the possibility of multiple voices in the policy making to transform the political governance. What we suggest is to pay attention to interdependent relations which would be an invisible obstacle for changing existing structure. Another of which deals with the relation between political governance and school practice which could be found in this research that most of school principals are willing to follow inherited values and taken-for-granted policy regulations. Top-down governance tends to reproduce the existing structure and deprive of school autonomy and how to empower school staff to be more flexible in dealing with school bullying not only reflect the practicality of school democracy, but also transform rather than produce the political governance. The other of which emphasises the solidarity between policy research and school practice which is always independently of each other in policy making. As a matter of fact, policy researchers exert their potential through the government authorities based upon the analysis in Chapter 7 and 8 and this triangular power relation (between government, academia and school) directly causes the invisible disjunction between policy research and school practice. Future research should shed more light on this disjunctive relation which de-emphasises progressive forces between and within political governance and school practice in the making of school anti-bullying policy in Taiwan.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

Regulations on the Prevention of Bullying on Campus

Chapter I General Provisions

Article 1 Regulations on the Prevention of Bullying on Campus (hereinafter as to ‘this Regulation’) is prescribed pursuant to Paragraph 5, Article 8 of the Educational Fundamental Act.

Article 2 The competent authorities refer to the Ministry of Education at the central level, special municipality governments at the municipal level, and county (city) governments at the county (city) level.

Article 3 The terms used in this Regulation are defined as follows:

1. Bullying: any individual or collectively with others use language, words, pictures, symbols, non-verbal language or any other form in order to disparage, alienate, tease, harass, or make fun of a person, and thereby cause the learning environment of the campus hostile or unfriendly to the person; thereby render resistance highly impossible and cause mental, biological or property damage; or thereby hinder any learning activities.
2. School bullying: any bully happened, in or outside the campus, between or among students, who study either in same school or different ones.
3. Student: anyone who are currently enrolled in a regular program or a continuing/extension education program or student exchange program.

Where the aforementioned bullying also constitute the ‘Sexual Bullying’ pursuant to paragraph 5, section 1, article 2 of Gender Equity Education Act, the said bully shall be governed by Gender Equity Education Act.

Article 4 For competent authorities and school at all levels, prevention shall be the principle.

The following prevention mechanisms and measures shall be separately adopted so as to actively promote the prevention of bullying on campus:

1. Competent authorities shall flexibly adjust and deploy school personnel in regard to student affairs and student counselling, and shall supervise the construction of school for a friendly campus environment.
2. Competent authorities and schools shall enhance (1) the conduct of certain types of education; legal, character, human right, life, gender equality and information

ethics education, (2) the prevention of deviant behaviours and (3) the campaign of prevention from becoming a victim, and therefore establish a foundation for prevention of bullying on campus.

3. Every semester, schools shall regularly host relevant advanced professional training, or use faculty senates, teacher conferences, and professional advance trainings to enhance the teacher and faculty's knowledge and ability about campus bully prevention.
4. School may use human resources from retired teachers and extracurricular associations, so as to recruit volunteers and provide trainings, and therefore to provide school the assistance for prevention of bullying on campus and for enhancement of campus safety patrol.
5. Schools shall use educational and campaign activities to encourage students to promptly report or ask for inquiry, so as to facilitate schools for their evidence search and event investigation.

Students' parents may participate in every prevention measures, mechanisms, trainings and seminars conducted by schools, and shall cooperate with schools for educating and counselling their children.

Chapter II Campus Safety and prevention mechanism

Article 5 For preventing bullying on campus, schools shall, pursuant to Article 4 and Article 5 of Regulations on the Prevention of Sexual Assault, Sexual Harassment, and Sexual Bullying on Campus, incorporate prevention of bullying on campus into campus safety arrangement.

Article 6 Schools shall increase teachers and faculty's knowledge of rights and obligations of prevention of bullying on campus; teachers and faculty shall behave with good characters of helping and respecting people at the time of any school learning activities either in or outside the campus, of performing their duties and of interacting with people.

Prevention of bullying on campus shall be cooperatively conducted by and among classmates, teachers, parents, classes and schools.

Article 7 Schools shall use daily teaching activities to encourage and teach students about how to communicate rationally, help others actively and deal with daily interaction effectively, so as to develop their sense of responsibility, morals, and life attitudes/ values of helping and respecting people. Schools and parents shall

help students to establish their self-image, to face their own self and to think positively.

Article 8 Schools shall provide assistance and counselling to the bullied, the bully and the potential bully students, and shall comprehensively inquiry about the aforementioned students' learning situation, relationships with friends and family life. The aforementioned students shall be given sincere concerns and helps.

Article 9 Teachers shall inspire students' sense of justice, sense of honour, good characters of helping, concerning and caring people, and sympathy so as to eliminate bullying on campus.

Teachers shall actively concern and inquiry whether, and how, any student is bullied; shall assess the types, nature, and severity of the bullying; and shall provide counseling according to teachers' responsibility. Where necessary, the case shall be reported to the panel of prevention of school bullying. (hereinafter as to 'the Panel')

Chaper III The Procedure and Remedy of Bullying on Campus

Article 10 Schools shall organize the panel of prevention of bullying on campus, of which school principals shall be the convener, and whose members shall include teacher representatives, personnel of student affair sector, personnel of counselling sector, scholars and professionalists (and student representatives, at senior high school level and above). The panel shall be responsible for prevention, investigation, confirmation, counselling and other affairs relevant to the bullying on campus.

The aforementioned panel may, If necessary, invite these people with the knowledge of prevention of school bullying to attend the panel meeting as follows: professional consultants, gender equality committee members, legal professionalists, government representatives from police, health and welfare, or legal enforcement government agency, or student representatives.

Panel members of the first section shall participate in any training programs conducted by either competent authorities at all level; or by universities with teacher preparation programs; or by universities with social work department or counselling department; or by other professional groups or institutions.

Competent authorities at all levels shall conduct or coordinate with universities with teacher preparation programs, universities with social work department or

counselling department, and other professional groups or institutions, so as to provide appropriate training opportunities and increase more training programs.

Article 11 Any suspicious bullied or his/her legal guardian (hereinafter refer to jointly as ‘Applicant’) may apply for investigation to the school where the alleged bully was enrolled at the time of the case (hereafter referred to as ‘the School’). **The School** shall call a meeting of the Panel to initiate the handling procedure within three days from receipt of an application; and shall complete the aforementioned procedure within two months upon receiving applications with a written notification to the applicant about the results of the application and the remedy available in case of dissatisfaction with the result.

Where homeroom teachers, teachers, or other school personnel is aware of any suspicious school bullying event, they shall report the event to the principal or student affair sector. School shall conduct a preliminary investigation to the case, and shall call a meeting of the Panel to initiate the handling procedure within three days from receipt of the report.

Upon receiving any students or citizens' complaint (hereinafter jointly as ‘Complainant’), or any reports or notifications from mass media, police agency, and health and welfare agency, schools aware of suspicious school bullying shall conduct a preliminary investigation to the case, and shall call a meeting of the Panel to initiate the handling procedure within three days from receipt of the report.

Where any, except **the School**, person, group, institution or other receives an application, report, complaint, or notification, and is aware of suspicious school bullying case, they shall file a notification pursuant to Article 21, and shall transfer the case to the School for further investigation with a notification to the parties of the event.

Article 12 The Applicant or Complainant may file an application of investigation or complaint, made verbally, in writing, or by email, Where an application or complaint made verbally or by email, schools shall make a text record of it and read it out to the Applicant or Complainant or ask him/her to read it in order to confirm its accuracy. Subsequently, the text record shall be signed or sealed by the applicant or the complainant. Where the applicant or the complainant refuse to sign, stamp, or provide his/her real names, school may reject the application or complaint, unless otherwise already aware of the bullying.

The aforementioned text record of a written, verbal, or email application or

complaint shall contain the following items:

1. The applicant or the complainant's name, national identification card number, the institution where he or she is employed or enrolled, residence and domicile, telephone number, and date of the investigation's application.
2. At the time an application for an investigation is made, the applicant shall state the school and the class where the bullied studies.
3. If the applicant authorizes a representative for the applicant, an authorization letter shall be submitted containing the applicant's name, the representative's name, national identification card number, residence and domicile, and telephone number.
4. Facts of the case presented in an application or complainant, along with relevant evidence, if any, supporting the aforementioned facts, should be documented or attached.

Article 13 Where in a case there are two or more alleged perpetrators who are enrolled separately in different schools, the school accepting the application or complaint the earliest shall have the authority and responsibility to investigate the case. Any and all schools involved in the case shall send a representative to participate the investigation.

Where the alleged perpetrator is no longer a student who is enrolled either in the School or the aforementioned school involved, the School shall ask for sending representatives to joint the investigation with a written notification to the school where the alleged perpetrator is currently enrolled. The school notified shall not refuse to send its representatives.

In cases where an application or a complainant is filed during a period of academic transition, such that there is a dispute which schools or competent authorities (hereinafter as to 'the Dispute Parties') has jurisdiction to the case, the determination of the jurisdiction shall be made by a mutual superior competent authority to the Dispute Parties. When no such superior authority exists, the determination of the jurisdiction shall be made collaboratively by the superior authorities governing the Dispute Parties.

Article 14 For protecting the right to learn, the right to receive education, the right to body integrity, and the right of self-determination of the alleged perpetrator and the victim's (hereinafter as to 'the Parties involved'), during the investigation procedure of school bullying event, school may, if necessary, adopt the following measures and report to the competent authority for reference:

1. School may, without being subject to regulations pertaining to requests for leaves of absence and to performance appraisals, handle the attendance record or achievement assessment with flexibility as to the Parties involved; and assist the studies of Parties involved affirmatively.
2. Respect the wishes of the bullied and reduce any chances of interaction between the Parties involved; and, where the circumstance is in serious situation, may pull away the bullied or give individual learning activities and counselling.
3. Avoid any revenge of, and among, the perpetrator and any other interested people.
4. Prevent, reduce, or eliminate the possibility of re-committing a crime by the perpetrator.
5. Other necessary measures.

Where any Party involved is not enrolled at the School, the School shall notify the school which the aforementioned Party involved is currently enrolled at, and which shall handle the case in accordance with the terms described in the preceding paragraphs.

Any required measures of the first two preceding paragraphs shall not be implemented until a resolution is passed by the Panel.

Article 15 School shall investigate and handle a school bullying case according to the following principles:

1. Shall provide the Parties involved with a chance to give a statement during the investigation procedure, and shall permit the Parties involved of minor age to be accompanied by their guardians.
2. Confrontation between the perpetrator and the bullied shall be avoided, unless the following conditions are satisfied: the confrontation is necessary from educational or counselling perspectives; is consented by both the Parties involved and their legal guardians at the request of the Panel; and no asymmetry status between the Parties involved and their legal guardians in the circumstance.
3. Based on the necessity of the investigation, written documents may be made so long as it does not violate the obligation of confidentiality, and be provided to the alleged perpetrator, the bullied, or any person invited to assist in the investigation to be read or summarized.
4. Schools shall be kept the following information confidential except for the necessity of investigation or public interests: the names and other information able

to identify the Party involved, any complainants, witnesses, or persons invited to assist the investigation.

5. For clarifying the relevant liability, where an applicant withdraws his/her application, the Schools, obtaining a resolution of the Panel or a request of the alleged perpetrator, may continue the investigation. Where considering the facts of the case to be of sufficient gravity, the competent authority must direct the School to continue the investigation.

Article 16 The persons bound by the obligation of confidentiality prescribed in paragraph 4 of the preceding Article include all persons participating in the handling of a school bullying.

Person(s) who violate the obligation of confidentiality in the preceding paragraph shall be subjected to penalties in accordance with criminal laws and other pertinent regulations.

Excepted otherwise provided by the law, schools or competent authorities shall seal and store any original documents containing the names of the Parties involved, the complainant, witness, and the person who assist the investigation. The aforementioned documents shall not be examined or made available to any person(s) other than the agency in charge of legal investigation or trial.

Except original documents, the personnel investigating school bullying cases shall delete, and replace with codes, the names and other information of all documents for publicity, which is able to identify the Parties involved, complainant, witness, and the person who assist the investigation.

Article 17 The investigation and handling by the Panel shall not be affected by the judicial proceedings and results of the case.

The investigation procedure in the preceding paragraph shall not be suspended due to the fact that the perpetrator is no longer a student at any point of the procedure.

Article 18 The alleged perpetrator and its legal guardian shall cooperate with school for investigation or any other measures.

During investigation, where the bullied refuse to cooperate, schools shall provide necessary helps or counselling, and if not, competent authority shall actively supervise the handling of the school.

Article 19 At the completion of the investigation procedure, schools concluding the case is a school bullying event shall immediately initiate bullying counselling mechanism and continuously guide the perpetrator toward goodness; where the perpetrator not

enrolled at the School shall transfer the investigation reports, counselling, and recommended punishment to the school at which the alleged perpetrator is currently enrolled.

The counselling mechanism prescribed in the preceding section shall be consist of a counselling plan, which considers the Parties involved and other interested people, and which explicitly lists recommended punishments and other items pursuant to Article 14 such as necessary measures, the situation and process of each counselling, and collaboration in the aforementioned mechanism, and complete counselling records. Regular assessment shall be conducted so as to examine the improvement and the result of the counselling.

Where the Parties involved has no improvement after regular assessment, upon obtaining the consent of their legal guardians, the Parties involved may be transferred to professional consultants or medical institutions so as to receive correction, treatment, and counselling; or be transferred to social agency (or social institution) for guidance and placement.

At the confirmation of school bullying case, schools shall, with regard to the cause of the school bullying, re-examine and immediately correct their environment and educational measures; and school shall provide counselling resources to the teacher of the Parties involved. At the confirmation of no school bullying case, schools shall nevertheless conduct counselling and guidance in accordance with the Regulation of Counselling and Disciplining imposed by Teachers among Students which is passed by a resolution of the faculty senates.

Article 20 Where the circumstance of the school bullying is in significant gravity, schools shall ask for assistance from police agency, social agency(or institution), or prosecute agency; and shall handle the case in accordance with Juvenile Delinquency Act, The Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act, and Social Order Maintenance Act and other relevant rules or legislation.

Article 21 Where homeroom teachers, class teachers, or other school personnel (hereinafter to as ‘the Person aware’) is aware of any suspicious school bullying case which is confirmed as a school bullying by schools, the Person aware shall immediately report this case to the person with administrative responsibility in accordance with the person with administrative responsibility, as designated by the school’s regulations for preventing school bullying.

In addition, the school’s designated person with administrative responsibility shall,

in accordance with the Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act, the Reporting Operational Direction of Campus Safety and Hazard, and other applicable legal regulations, notify both the social and educational affairs competent authorities of the special municipality, county (city). Such notification must be made within 24 hours.

Except for investigation necessity or public safety concerns, or other occasions prescribed by the law, at the time reporting a case according to the preceding section of this Article, the names and other information able to identify the Parties involved, the complainant, the witness, and the person who assists the investigation shall be kept confidential.

Article 22 At the time written notification of the results of investigation procedure sent to the applicant and the alleged perpetrator, schools shall provide the investigation report altogether, as well as inform the remedy and the deadline for reapplication.

An applicant or alleged perpetrator not satisfied with the results of investigation procedure may reapply in writing with grounds to the school within twenty days since the receiving of the written notification. For those who reapply verbally, the School shall make a text record, read it and reveal it to the applicant or the alleged perpetrator. After its accuracy is confirmed, the documents shall be signed or sealed by the applicant or the alleged perpetrator.

Schools shall engage the Panel to make a decision with grounds and notify the result to the re-applicant within thirty days after the date of receiving the reapplication.

Article 23 Where not satisfied with the result of the re-application of the school bullying case or with the punishment imposed by the school due to a school bullying case, the Parties involved may file a re-application in accordance with the regulation of students reapplication at all school levels; or may file a administrative remedy in accordance with Administrative Appeal Act and the Code of Administrative Dispute Procedure.

Chapter 4 miscellaneous provision

Article 24 The school shall prescribe regulations on the prevention of school bullying in accordance with this Regulations, and Articles 6 to 9 shall be incorporated in the employment contract for faculty and in the student handbook.

The Regulations in the aforesaid paragraph shall contain the following matters:

1. Campus safety plans and arrangements.

2. Instructions of interactions and relationships with people on and off campus.
3. Policy announcements to prevent school bullying.
4. Definition, classification, responsibilities to report of school bullying cases.
5. The procedure to be followed of submitting an application for investigation of a school bullying case.
6. Procedures for the investigation and handling of cases of school bullying.
7. Procedures for making reapplications for investigation and for relief measures in a school bullying case.
8. Warnings of revenge prohibitions.
9. Protection of privacy.
10. Other matters pertinent to the prevention of school bullying.

Article 25 Where the principal, the teachers, faculty, or other personnel violates this Regulation (hereinafter as to ‘Violator’), the Violator shall be punished in accordance with both the severity of the case and with performance evaluation act, punishment act, or other relevant acts.

Where the alleged perpetrator violates this Regulation, the perpetrator shall be punished by schools or competent authorities in accordance with relevant laws or academic rules and regulation.

Article 26 After a school completed the investigation of school bullying, and its investigation report was approved by its Panel, the situation of the handling, the investigation report, and minutes of the Panel’s meeting shall be provided to the competent authority with administrative jurisdiction.

The competent authority shall perform evaluations of the school at regular intervals. The evaluation shall include the campus safety plans and the improvements to insecure campus areas prescribed in Articles 4 and 5, respectively, as well as the school’s performance in preventing and investigating cases of school bullying in its checklist of items to be regularly evaluated.

When a school investigates a case of school bullying, the competent authority shall provide to the aforementioned school counselling services, guidance and assistance, or appropriate supervision; or shall rectify errors.

Article 27 The Regulations will take effect as of the date of promulgation.

Appendix II

Implementation Plan of Prevention on School Bullying **at All School Levels**

I. Legal Basis

- A. Educational Fundamental Act Art.8 Sec.2
- B. Prevention Guideline of School Bullying
- C. ‘Implementation Rule of Campus Security Maintenance’, based on ‘Executive Directive No.(II) 1010212965B, Military Training Sec of Ministry of Education (hereinafter as to ‘MOE’) R.O.C.101.11.16

II. Goals

Given that the school bullying has been regarded as severe deviant behaviour, the bullying cause serious detrimental effects, both mentally and physically, to the parties involved or to the bystanders. For preventing the school bullying, building effective preventive mechanism, and improving the problem solving process, this implementation plan is so provided.

III. The Subject to be regulated

All schools and students.

IV. Implementation Strategy

A. Educational Campaign

The campaign shall be emphasized to (1) certain types of education; legal, character, human right, life, gender equality and information ethics education, (2) the prevention of deviant behaviours and (3) the campaign of prevention from becoming a victim. The campaign shall develop students’ values and attitudes of life, such as respecting people and being friendly, via measures which are, for examples, to refine campaign materials and host seminars and training projects so as to targetedly enhance faculty, teachers, and students’ ability to recognize and deal with school bullying.

B. Procedure to be followed in a event of a school bullying

Procedures are: to set up intra-department ‘campus safety maintenance conference’ both in central government and in state government in order to develop prevention strategies; to urge the execution of ‘the campus security assistance agreement’ between all schools and police station for enforcing assistance network of police station; to expand

the scope of either named or anonymous questionnaires of campus life and to give detailed investigation and counselling to certain cases which reveals school bullying. Where there is a dispute event in a campus, the event shall be promptly categorized as either occasional event or school bullying, and it shall be actively managed with the three-steps procedure, which are ‘discovering’, ‘managing’ and ‘following up’, according to ‘the management procedure of school bullying’.

C. Counselling and Intervention

The counselling system shall be initiated to actively provide counselling to bullies, victims, and bystander students, and, if necessary, shall be integrated the professional’s assistance to provide counselling. Long-term follow up observation shall be conducted for correcting students’ deviant behaviour. Where a bully causes actual physical harm and where the circumstance is significantly severe, the case shall be reported to the police department and social security department for seeking assistance and legal counselling, if necessary the case shall be referred to professional counselling, so as to protect the interests of parties’ involved and their legal guardians.

V. The Main Points of Implementation

A. Educational Campaign

- i. All relevant educational and campaign materials shall be composed and enriched for educational implementation.
- ii. Both social curriculums and integrated activities curriculums shall be integrated with contents and concepts about: (1) prevention against deviant behaviour, (2) prevention from being a victim, and (3) certain educations, such as legal, character, human right, life, gender equality and information ethics education. In addition, significant social events shall be conducted as opportune lessons during these curriculums, so as to encourage students to promptly report or ask for inquiry, so as to facilitate schools for their evidence search and event investigation.
- iii. When educational campaign is conducted, it is necessary to coordinate resources of the civil groups, public interest group, and the community. So that certain fundamental concepts and values, such as: (1) legal, character, human right, life, gender equality and information ethics education,(2) the prevention of deviant behaviours and (3) the campaign of prevention from becoming a victim, can be ingrained.
- iv. Certain seminars and teacher training programs, related to either of the topics: (1)legal, character, human right, life, gender equality and information ethics

- education,(2) the prevention of deviant behaviours and (3) the campaign of prevention from becoming a victim, shall be hosted to enhance teachers' ability.
- v. The legal education human resource database shall be established for providing a recommend lecturer list for schools hosting abovementioned seminars and training programs. (The human resource database of legal education on law enforcement department website could be see as a reference.)
 - vi. All anti-school bullying cases materials and compilation of laws shall be completed and published.
 - vii. School human resource shall be flexibly adjusted and deployed, in regard to student affairs and student counselling. Schools, at the senior high school level or below, shall be subsidized annually for managing 'the establishment of anti-bully safe school', and shall be helped to acquire the WHO certification of 'safety school'.
 - viii. The first week of every semester shall be 'Friendly Campus Week', where a series of theme events shall be organized and conducted for anti-bully, anti-drug, and anti-gangster.
 - ix. Competent Authorities shall manage or coordinate every university, professional group, and institutions to provide adequate training opportunities. Relevant activities and cases study seminars shall be hosted every semester. Members of every school anti-bully panel shall participate the aforementioned training and activities.
 - x. For every relevant seminars, evaluations, selection of the best participants, and talent contests hosted by Education department of Executive Yuan (hereinafter **the Education dept.**), Education sector of every special municipality government and every county/city governments shall cooperate with the aforementioned activities and shall instruct the schools under their jurisdiction to accomplish affairs related to the aforementioned activities, such as preparation, planning, compiling, first evaluation, and recommendation and etc.
 - xi. School at all levels shall use faculty senates, teacher conferences, and professional advance trainings to host keynote speeches of prevention of school bullying so as to enhance the school personnel's knowledge and ability about campus bully prevention.
 - xii. School at all levels shall set up a regular panel of school bullying prevention, of which school principals shall be the convener, and whose members shall include

teachers representatives, personnel of student affair sector, personnel of counselling sector, scholars and professionalists (and student representatives, at senior high school level and above). For promoting and implementing prevention of school bullying, the aforementioned panel may, If necessary, invite these people with the knowledge of prevention of school bullying to attend the panel meeting as follows: professional consultants, gender equality committee members, legal professionalists, government representatives from police, health and welfare, or legal enforcement government agency, or student representatives.

- xiii. Schools may host ‘parents workshop of maintaining campus safety’, which recruits volunteers, host seminars, help schools to prevent school bullying, and strengthen campus safety patrols.
- xiv. All students and parents’ knowledge of (1) their rights and obligation; and (2) prevention of school bullying shall be comprehensively increased.
- xv. Schools may seek the helps from local communities and wholehearted business owners so as to jointly prevent illegal activities and keep students safe even outside the campus.

B. The Procedure to be followed in the event of a school bullying

- i. The Education dept. shall annually commission professionalists or scholars to investigate school bullying on a need basis. The current situation must be correctly presented.
- ii. The Education dept. shall set up a toll-free number of 24 hour helpline: No. 0800200885 ; Also, district competent authorities shall set up anti-bullying helpline, assign an employee with full attendance, and enlist every complaint for inspection.
- iii. Campus life questionnaires shall be conducted to junior high school students and the fifth and sixth grade students in elementary schools as follows: (1) A general survey of named questionnaire shall be conducted every Aprils; (2) A general survey of anonymous questionnaire shall be conducted every October (for sample of these questionnaires, see Annex 2-1 and 2-2). Every questionnaire shall be followed up and be carefully given counselling. The statistics of aforementioned questionnaires shall be reported to education competent authority for compilation and then sent to the Education dept. for further compilation.
- iv. The Education dept. shall conduct a sample survey of anonymous campus life

questionnaire on every semester. (For sample of the questionnaire, see Annex 2-3 and 2-4). The said survey shall be conducted based on random sampling methodology. The sample schools will be the one-tenth selected from all high schools and the fifth and sixth grade students in elementary schools. Furthermore, sample schools with thirty classes and below shall randomly select one class to be conducted the survey; schools with thirty-one to sixty classes shall randomly select two classes to be conducted the survey; and schools with sixty-one and above shall randomly select three class to be conducted the survey. At the time that the aforementioned sample survey conducted, school inspectors and extracurricular association may collectively supervise these schools' conducting.

- v. Schools shall set up complaint mailboxes and anti-bullying webpages, which provides students and their parents for filing complaints and which disseminates relevant information and rules and laws. If a complaint were made, schools shall assign an employee with full attendance to deal with and provide counselling.
- vi. Where schools find a case of suspicious bullying, the case shall be reported via school safety procedure as a level B event, and shall be enlisted for follow-up inspection and counselling. A case confirmed as a school bullying shall be reported via school safety procedure as a level A event, and counselling shall be provided.
- vii. A confirmed school bullying case shall be enlisted under classifications as either 'handled by schools' or 'recorded for further supervision', after the aforementioned enlistment was confirmed by Educational Department (Sector) at the request from Extracurricular Association or K-12 Education Administration of MOE; and the aforementioned case shall be reported continuously in accordance with relevant rules and laws.
- viii. Where faculty of student guidance and counselling affairs (which include military instructors) and teachers is aware of a school bullying case, they shall actively contact the involved students' parents for assistance and cooperation.

C. Counselling and Intervention

- i. Seminars of prevention on school bullying at national level shall be hosted on a regular basis. Professionalists, scholars, and school principals shall be invited to discuss and figure out a better handling mechanism on cases occurred in the last year.
- ii. Educational competent authorities at all levels shall plan and host the seminars and

joint conferences of the prevention on school bullying so as to develop corresponding strategies.

- iii. K-12 Education Administration of MOE, every special municipality government, and every county/city governments shall connect every local counselling centres and provide schools under their administrative jurisdiction with necessary consulting services about prevention on school bullying.
- iv. Every special municipality government and county/city governments shall set up legal helpline (for legal helpline of all county/city government, see Annex 3) so as to provide schools with professional legal consulting.
- v. Where a student is suspiciously involved in a possible bullying incident, which is satisfied with all elements of school bullying and confirmed as a school bullying cases by the Panel, the confirmed case shall be reported through campus safety report system. A counselling panel shall also be established immediately. The member of the Panel may include homeroom teacher, faculty from both student affair and student counselling sector, or parents; and may, as the Panel deem necessary on a case-by-case basis, invite professional consultants, the members of Gender Equality Committee, Extracurricular Association, and Juvenile Affairs Division of Police Department to provide a further counselling. The counselling panel shall develop a counselling plan, which considers the parties involved in the bullying case and other interested people, and which explicitly lists following items pursuant to Article 14: necessary measures, the situation and process of each counselling, and collaboration. These documents and records shall be kept in schools for further inspection. (For the format record sheet of campus bullying cases, see Annex 4.)
- vi. Where the circumstance in the school bullying case is in severe gravity, the case shall be reported immediately to policy agency and social agency for assistance and cooperation, as well as the assistance from judicial agency which may be requested.
- vii. Students who nevertheless conducted deviant behaviours even after the completion of counselling and assessment of the school may, with the consent of the aforementioned student's parents, be transferred to professional consultants or medical institution for correction and guidance; The counselling panel shall continuously express concerns and keep in touch with the aforementioned professional consultants or medical institution so as to track relevant record on a

regular basis; and the panel may, if necessary, request judicial agency for assistance, as well as social agency of local special municipality government or county (city) government for replacement or guidance.

VI. Budget

- A. In addition compiling the budget of ‘the safety maintenance of campus student safety and the aid promotion of hazard prevention’ on the classification 02 under the ‘national defence education and safety maintenance’ on its annual budget of MOE, all government departments and sectors relevant to any affairs of prevention school bullying shall, as the condition of the case required, demand a fair amount of payment from the budget so as to promote with all efforts the relevant affairs of this Plan.
- B. All local educational competent authorities shall compile its own project budget so as to implement and promote this Plan.

VII. Onsite-Visit and Assessment

A. Regular On-site Visit

i. MOE:

- (a) The K-12 Education Administration of MOE shall conduct on-site visit to all the schools under its jurisdiction at least once every semester so as to realize the implementation of all schools on the prevention of school bullying.
- (b) MOE shall cooperate with annual joint supervision so as to realize the implementation of all county (city) governments on the prevention of school bullying.

ii. District Governments: All school supervisors shall conduct on-site visit (which may be incorporated into the general supervision) to all the schools under its jurisdiction at least once every semester so as to realize the implementation of all schools on the prevention of school bullying.

- B. On-site visit on a need basis: On-site visit on a need basis shall be conducted to the agency or school, in which material event occurred, for guiding and assisting the education, investigation, counselling and others so as to assist the promotion and development of the relevant affairs and to solve the problems.
- C. Schools where a school bullying case occurs shall be reported through Section 1, Article 53 of The Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act (hereinafter as to ‘the Act’), Article 2 of Regulations for Reporting and Processing Protection of Children and Youth (hereinafter as to ‘the Regulation’) and The Operative Direction of Report on Campus Safety and Hazard of MOE. Competent

Authorities of special municipalities and county (city) shall investigate and handle pursuant to Article 4 and Article 5 of the Regulation. Where a school bullying case is evaluated as the case which is needed for emergent placement pursuant to Section 1, Article 56 of the Act, the case shall be handled in accordance with Article 6 of the Regulation.

- D. Anyone who actively finds a school bullying case, handle it properly, and provide appropriate counselling shall be given a fair reward by a local district educational competent authority in accordance with its responsibility and authority; and may be praised publicly as the circumstance is appropriate. Anyone who makes no report and violate the obligation pursuant to Section 1, Article 53 of the Act may be sanctioned in accordance with Article 100 of the Act. Specifically, where a school make no report or violate the obligation to report within 24 hours, educators, officials in charge, and officials from the competent authority, either or all of whom have the knowledge of the aforementioned violation or no report, shall be sanctioned pursuant to Article 100 of The Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act (For the responsibility to report and the subsequent liability, see Annex 5). The Supervision and Evaluation Agency (which are K-12 Education Administration of MOE, the Education Department of special municipality government, and county (city) governments) shall provide assistance. For public school, the performance of the handling on school bullying cases shall be regarded as important criteria for both the annual evaluation of principal's managing performance and the principal's selection, and, as to private school, shall be regarded as a reference for reward and subsidy.
- E. All educational competent authorities shall fulfil their responsibilities to supervise or improve with all efforts according to the result of every surveys or investigations by professionalist or scholars who engaged by MOE; and of every survey with questionnaires conducted by special municipality governments, county (city) governments, or schools.

VIII. The Generals

- A. All colleges shall, with reference to the Plan, stipulate relevant plans or directives under their administrative authority.
- B. K-12 Educational Administration of MOE, educational department of special municipality government, and every county (city) governments (hereinafter as to 'the Government Agency') may stipulate implementation plan and incorporate the performance of the aforementioned plan as a category of school administrative

evaluation. The Government Agency shall, level by level, guide schools under their jurisdiction and examine the implementation plan stipulated by these schools; and shall guide and supervise the promotion of the Plan.

C. School at all levels shall, according to plans and project campaign activities conducted by supervision agency of the aforementioned school, intensively organize campaigns to help students to acquire correct knowledge with active and versatile learning programs.

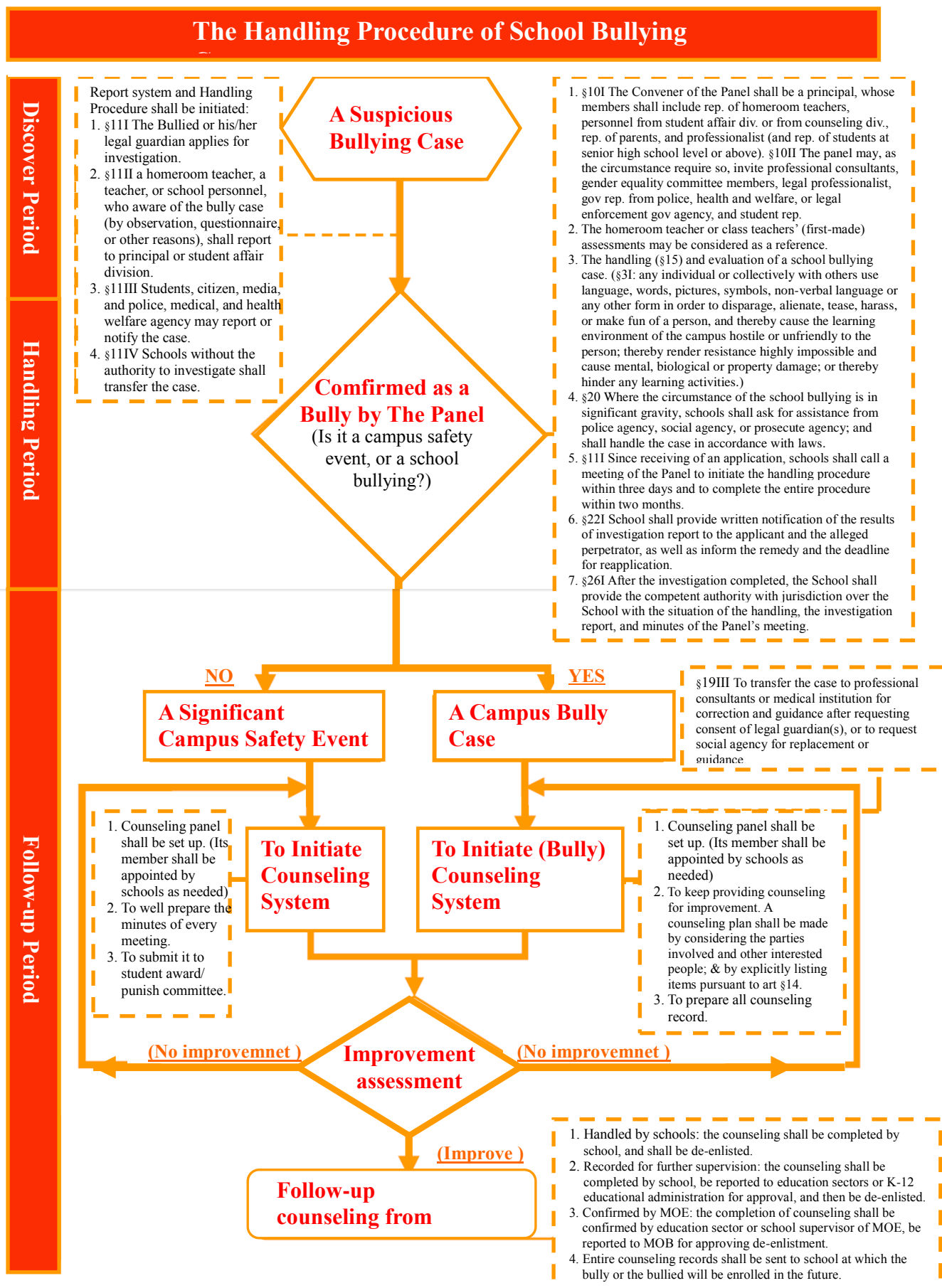
D. MOE Specific Collaboration Form of Prevention Measure on School Bullying: see Annex 6.

E. Other Supporting Measures:

i. Seminars and training programs shall be hosted by competent authorities level by level so as to inform officers and personnel at all level about their responsibilities and obligations.

ii. Every report shall be made not only efficiently and correctly, but also confidentially by preventing any information leaking so as to protect the privacy of the party involved.

IX. Matters not covered above may be supplement or revised by MOE.



P.S the “§ number” above and its content therein are cited and excerpted from "Regulations on the Prevention of Bullying on Campus"

Annex 2-1

Private and Confidential

Campus Life Questionnaire (For High School)

Dear Students:

Inevitably, there are dispute and conflicts between students, but there could be continuously unpleasant languages or repeatedly physical contact which make you to feel distrust or scared of school environment. By this questionnaire, let us understand the difficulty or suffer which you or your classmates face, will face, or have been through. We will help you to solve your problems as fast as we can. Any information you provided will be kept absolutely confidential and we will take it very seriously with great concerns. Thank you for letting us know your situation.

Sincerely,

(Principal's name)

Principal

I. Basic Information

Name: _____

Gender: Male Female

School/ Year of Study: (Junior High, _____year student) (Senior High, _____year student)

II. Survey of Friendly Campus Environment

| Description | Never | About once-twice | Around two-three times each month | Around two-three times each week | At least once (and above) everyday |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| From your experiences past six months, Put a cross in the appropriate box to indicate how often you experienced with each of the following statements | | | | | |
| 1. I have been hit, kicked, pushed by classmate(s)----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. I have been extorted by classmate(s)----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. I have been alienated or isolated intentionally by classmate(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. I have received intentionally verbal intimidation or threaten by classmate(s)----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. I have been hurt by rumours spread by classmate(s)----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. I have been hurt on the Internet by classmate(s)----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. I have seen classmate(s) who has(have) done one of the preceding behaviours 1 to 6----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. As mentioned in question no. 7, if you are aware of any classmate who has experienced any of a situation described as above, would you be willing to share us about their names or the situation they suffered in order to help them for school to provide them help to go through their miserable situations. (multiple choices) | | | | | |
| Name of the victim: _____ Type of the wrongful deed: <input type="checkbox"/> be beaten <input type="checkbox"/> be extorted <input type="checkbox"/> be alienated or isolated <input type="checkbox"/> by verbal intimidation or threat <input type="checkbox"/> by rumours <input type="checkbox"/> by Internet | | | | | |
| Time of the wrongful deed: ___y___m___d | | | | | |

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. From now on, if you or any classmate(s) are threatened, intimidated, hit, or extorted by other classmate(s) in campus, please contact or report to school. We will help you to solve the problem. You may use the helpline as follows:

1. Help E-Mailbox of School:
2. Helpline of School (For senior high school and above)
3. Helpline of Education Dept. (Sec.):
4. The toll free number of 24-hour Helpline of MOE: 0800-200885

Annex 2-2

Private and Confidential

Campus Life Questionnaire (For Elementary School)

Dear Students:

Inevitably, there are dispute and conflicts between students, but there could be continuously unpleasant languages or repeatedly physical contact which make you to feel distrust or scared of school environment. By this questionnaire, let us understand the difficulty or suffer which you or your classmates face, will face, or have been through. We will help you to solve your problems as fast as we can. Any information you provided will be kept absolutely confidential and we will take it very seriously with great concerns. Thank you for letting us know your situation.

Sincerely,

(Principal's name)

Principal

I. Basic Information

Name: _____

Gender: Male Female

School/ Year of Study: (Elementary School, _____year student)

II. Survey of Friendly Campus Environment

| Description | Never | About once-twice | Around two-three times each month | Around two-three times each week | At least once (and above) everyday |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| From your experiences past six months, Put a cross in the appropriate box to indicate how often you experienced with each of the following statements | | | | | |
| 1. I have been hit, kicked, pushed by classmate(s)----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. I have been extorted by classmate(s)----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. I have been intentionally and collectively neglected or ignored by classmate(s)----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. I have received intentionally verbal intimidation or threaten by classmate(s)----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. I have been bad-mouthed by classmate(s)----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. I have been hurt on the Internet by classmate(s)----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. I have seen classmate(s) who has(have) done one of the preceding behaviours 1 to 6----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. As mentioned in question no. 7, if you are aware of any classmate who has experienced any of a situation described as above, would you be willing to share us about their names or the situation they suffered in order to help them for school to provide them help to go through their miserable situations. (multiple choices) | | | | | |
| Name of the victim: _____ Type of the wrongful deed: <input type="checkbox"/> be beaten <input type="checkbox"/> be extorted <input type="checkbox"/> be collectively neglected or ignored <input type="checkbox"/> by verbal intimidation or threat <input type="checkbox"/> by rumours <input type="checkbox"/> by Internet | | | | | |
| Time of the wrongful deed: ___y___m___d | | | | | |

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. From now on, if you or any classmate(s) are threatened, intimidated, hit, or extorted by other classmate(s) in campus, please contact or report to school. We will help you to solve the problem. You may use the helpline as follows:

1. Help E-Mailbox of School:
2. Helpline of School (For senior high school and above)
3. Helpline of Education Dept. (Sec.):
4. The toll free number of 24-hour Helpline of MOE: 0800-200885

Annex 2-3

Private and Confidential

Campus Life Questionnaire (For High School)

Dear Students:

Inevitably, there are dispute and conflicts between students, but there could be continuously unpleasant languages or repeatedly physical contact which make you to feel distrust or scared of school environment. By this questionnaire, let us understand the difficulty or suffer which you or your classmates face, will face, or have been through. We will help you to solve your problems as fast as we can. Any information you provided will be kept absolutely confidential and we will take it very seriously with great concerns. Thank you for letting us know your situation.

Sincerely,

School Safety Center

I. Basic Information

Name: _____

Gender: Male Female

School/ Year of Study: (Junior High, _____year student) (Senior High, _____year student)

II. Survey of Friendly Campus Environment

| Description | Never | About once-twice | Around two-three times each month | Around two-three times each week | At least once (and above) everyday |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| From your experiences past six months, Put a cross in the appropriate box to indicate how often you experienced with each of the following statements | | | | | |
| 1. I have been hit, kicked, pushed by classmate(s)- ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. I have been extorted by classmate(s)- ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. I have been alienated or isolated intentionally by classmate(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. I have received intentionally verbal intimidation or threaten by classmate(s)- ----- -- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. I have been hurt by rumours spread by classmate(s)- ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. I have been hurt on the Internet by classmate(s)- - | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. I have seen classmate(s) who has(have) done one of the preceding behaviours 1 to 6- ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. As mentioned in question no. 7, if you are aware of any classmate who has experienced any of a situation described as above, would you be willing to share us about their names or the situation they suffered in order to help them for school to provide them help to go through their miserable situations. (multiple choices) | | | | | |
| Name of the victim: _____ Type of the wrongful deed: <input type="checkbox"/> be beaten <input type="checkbox"/> be extorted <input type="checkbox"/> be alienated or isolated <input type="checkbox"/> by verbal intimidation or threat <input type="checkbox"/> by rumours <input type="checkbox"/> by Internet | | | | | |
| Time of the wrongful deed: ___y___m___d | | | | | |

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. From now on, if you or any classmate(s) are threatened, intimidated, hit, or extorted by other classmate(s) in campus, please contact or report to school. We will help you to solve the problem. You may use the 24-hour helpline of MOE, toll free number: 0800-200885

Campus Life Questionnaire (For Elementary School)

Dear Students:

Inevitably, there are dispute and conflicts between students, but there could be continuously unpleasant languages or repeatedly physical contact which make you to feel distrust or scared of school environment. By this questionnaire, let us understand the difficulty or suffer which you or your classmates face, will face, or have been through. We will help you to solve your problems as fast as we can. Any information you provided will be kept absolutely confidential and we will take it very seriously with great concerns. Thank you for letting us know your situation.

Sincerely,

School Safety Centre

I. Basic Information

Name: _____

Gender: Male Female

School/ Year of Study: (Elementary School, _____year student)

II. Survey of Friendly Campus Environment

| Description | Never | About once-twice | Around two-three times each month | Around two-three times each week | At least once (and above) everyday |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| From your experiences past six months, Put a cross in the appropriate box to indicate how often you experienced with each of the following statements | | | | | |
| 1. I have been hit, kicked, pushed by classmate(s)----- ---- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. I have been extorted by classmate(s)----- ---- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. I have been intentionally and collectively neglected or ignored by classmate(s)----- ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. I have received intentionally verbal intimidation or threaten by classmate(s)----- ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. I have been bad-mouthed by classmate(s)----- ---- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. I have been hurt on the Internet by classmate(s)----- --- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. I have seen classmate(s) who has(have) done one of the preceding behaviours 1 to 6----- ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. As mentioned in question no. 7, if you are aware of any classmate who has experienced any of a situation described as above, would you be willing to share us about their names or the situation they suffered in order to help them for school to provide them help to go through their miserable situations. (multiple choices) | | | | | |
| Name of the victim: _____ Type of the wrongful deed: <input type="checkbox"/> be beaten <input type="checkbox"/> be extorted <input type="checkbox"/> be collectively neglected or ignored <input type="checkbox"/> by verbal intimidation or threat <input type="checkbox"/> by rumours <input type="checkbox"/> by Internet | | | | | |
| Time of the wrongful deed: ___y___m___d | | | | | |

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. From now on, if you or any classmate(s) are threatened, intimidated, hit, or extorted by other classmate(s) in campus, please contact or report to school. We will help you to solve the problem. You may use the 24-hour helpline of MOE, toll free number: 0800-200885

Annex 3

Legal helpline on every special municipality government and county (city) government

| District | Time | Address | Helpline number |
|-----------------|--|---|---|
| Keelung City | Mon-Fri 9:00AM-12:00AM | Joint Service Centre on 1f, Keelung City Gov., No.1, Yi 1st Rd., Zhongzheng Dist., Keelung City | (02) 2420-1122 Ex: 1213 |
| Taipei City | Mon-Fri 9:00AM-12:00AM 2:00PM-5:00PM | Joint Legal Service Counter of Taipei City Gov., 1F., No.1, Shifu Rd., Xinyi Dist., Taipei City | (02) 27256168 1999 Ex: 6168 |
| New Taipei City | Mon-Fri 09:00AM-12:00AM 2:00PM-4:00PM | Joint Service Centre of New Taipei City Gov., No.161, Sec. 1, Zhongshan Rd., Banqiao Dist., New Taipei City | (02) 2960-3456 Ex: 4783 |
| Taoyuan County | Mon-Fri 9:00AM-11:30AM | Legal Counsel Centre, 7f, No.1, Xianfu Rd, Taoyuan Dist., Taoyuan City | (03)332-2101 Ex: 5615 |
| Hsinchu City | Wed 9:30AM-11:30AM Thu 7:00PM-9:00PM | Service Centre of Hsinchu Gov., No. 120 Zhongzheng Road, Hsinchu City | (03) 521-6121 Ex: 234 |
| Hsinchu County | Fri 2:30PM-4:30PM | Service Center of Hsinchu Gov., No.10, Guangming 6th Rd., Zhubei City, Hsinchu County | (03) 551-8101 Ex: 3991~3997 |
| Miaoli County | 8:00AM-12:00AM; 1:00PM-5:00PM | No.1, Fuqian Rd., Miaoli City, Miaoli County | (037) 559-837 (be transferred via Legal affair section) |
| Taichung City | Mon-Fri 9:00AM-12:00AM 2:00PM-5:00PM | No.89, Sec. 2, Taizhonggang Rd., Xitun Dist., Taichung City | (04)2228-9111 # 23610、23611 |
| Changhua City | Mon 09:00AM-11:00AM | No.416, Sec. 2, Zhongshan Rd., Changhua City, Changhua County | (04)7222151 Ex:1722 |
| Nantou County | Mon-Wed 9:00AM-11:30AM | Service Centre of Nantou Gov. 1f, No.660, Zhongxing Rd., Nantou City, Nantou County | (049)222-2106 Ex:719 |
| Yunlin County | Mon-Fri 9:00AM-11:00AM | Yunlin Gov., No.515, Sec. 2, Yunlin Rd., Douliu City, Yunlin County | (05) 552-2956 (Legal affair section) |
| Chiayi City | Mon-Fri 9:30AM-12:00AM | 1st Conference room, 6f of Chiayi Gov., No.199, Zhongshan Rd., East Dist., Chiayi City | (05) 225-4321 Ex:342 |
| | Wed 9:30AM-12:00AM | 3F., No.28, Jinzhou 2nd St., West Dist., Chiayi City | (05)284-0850 Ex:25,26 |

| | | | |
|-------------------|--|---|--------------------------------------|
| Chiayi County | Fri 2:30PM-4:30PM | Hosted in turn by Chaiyi Gov., township (city) offices, and Jhuci Citizen Service Cub. | (05) 362-3456 |
| Tainan City | Mon-Fri 9:00AM-11:00AM | 1f, Joint Service Centre, 3F., No.6, Yonghua 2nd St., Anping Dist., Tainan City | (06) 2976688 Ex:7034 |
| | Sat 9:00AM-11:30AM Wed 9:00AM-11:30AM | 1f, Minzhi City Hall, No.36, Minzhi Rd., Xinying Dist., Tainan City | (06) 632-6903 |
| Kaohsiung City | Mon-Fri 9:00AM-12:00AM; 2:00PM-5:00PM | Joint Service Centre, 1f, Joint Office Building No. 2, Sihwei 3rd Road, Lingya District, Kaohsiung City | (07) 336-8333 Ex:3800-3801 |
| Pingtung County | Mon 9:00AM-11:30AM Wed 7:30PM-9:30PM Fri 2:00PM-5:00PM | Joint Service Centre of Pingtung County Gov., 1f, No.527, Tzu-yu Rd, Pingtung City | (08) 732-0415 Ex:6123 |
| | Mon-Fri 8:30AM-12:30AM; 1:30PM-5:30PM | The Pingtung Branch of Legal Aid Foundation, 2F., No.57-1, Bangqiu Rd., Pingtung City, Pingtung County | (08) 751-6798 |
| Taitung County | Mon 9:00AM-11:00AM | Taitung Citizen Service Centre, No.276, Zhongshan Rd., Taitung City | (089)347-550 (089)361-314 |
| Hualien County | Wed 10:00AM-12:00AM | Quick Service Centre of County Gov., No.17, Fuqian Rd., Hualien City, Hualien County | (038) 232050 (038) 227-171 Ex:358 |
| Yilan County | Wed 2:00PM-4:00PM | No.1, Xianzheng N. Rd., Yilan City, Yilan County | (03) 925-1000 Ex: 2521-2528 |
| Penghu County | Mon 2:00PM-5:00PM | The Dept of Civil Affairs, Penghu Gov., No.32, Jhihping Rd., Magong City Penghu County | (06) 927-4400 Ex:323 (06)927-2404 |
| Kinmen County | Tue/Fri: 9:00AM-10:30AM Mon/Wed/Thur/Fri: 2:00PM-3:30PM | No.198, Zhongxing Rd., Jincheng Township, Kinmen County | (082) 375-220 |
| Lienchiang County | Mon-Fri 8:10AM-12:00AM 1:40PM-5:30PM | Service Counter of Lienchiang County Gov., No.76, Jieshou Village, Nangan Township, Lienchiang County | (0836) 23367 ~ 68 |

Annex 4

| |
|--------------|
| Confidential |
|--------------|

School Safety Report No.:

| (Full Name) School Bullying on Campus Case Handling Record (Format) | |
|--|--|
| Summary of Facts | (Assessment and analysis on the facts, and type of the bully) |
| Number of the Parties Involved | <input type="checkbox"/> The Bully person(s) / <input type="checkbox"/> The Bullied person(s) / <input type="checkbox"/> Bystander person(s) |
| The Minute of the Panel Meeting | The Chairman: Time: Location: Resolution(s): |
| The Minutes of the Counselling Panel Meeting | The Chairman: Time: Location: Resolution(s): (The summary of the counselling strategy, collaboration, off-campus resource, and the schedule of counselling) |
| The Summary of the counselling process | (Brief the process of the counselling) |
| The minutes of The Close-up meeting | The Chairman: Time: Location: Resolution(s): |

| | |
|--|--|
| | <p>(1)</p> <p>(2)</p> <p>(3)</p> <p>(4) The student(s) involved in this case, after received counselling, becomes well-behaved, and his/her life gets back to normal. De-enlist for inspection may be suggested.</p> |
|--|--|

Note:

1. Where there is school bullying case, this record form shall be filled in. The counselling panel shall be organized, whose members may be consist of homeroom teachers, faculty from student affair division and from counselling division, student's parents. The panel may, as the circumstance require so, invite professionalists, members of gender equality education committee, and either extracurricular association or juvenile affairs division of police departments so as to reinforce the effects of counselling. Both counselling plan and schedule shall be stipulated in regard to the bully, the bullied, and bystanders individually and separately. (The period of every counselling session shall be three months.)
2. Where the space of this record form is not enough, the space of this form may be extended as needed.
3. The detailed information of the aforementioned summary and minutes of meeting may be presented by attachments.

Annex 5

Relevant Legal Liability of School Bullying Cases

Obligation and Liability Related to Educators' Reporting Duty (included principals and all teachers):

| Obligation | Liability |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sec 2, Art 8 of Educational Fundamental Act ‘Students’ rights to learning and education, the right to develop mentally and physically shall be protected by the country, and also will safeguard students’ rights against mental or corporal punishment and bullying.’ • Para 2, Art 49 of The Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act ‘No one shall mentally or physically abuse children and youth’ • Sec 1, Art 53 of The Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act ‘Educational personnel, acknowledged on their duties of any mentally or physically abuse on child or youth, shall report the case to the competent authority of municipal agencies and county (city) governments in no less than 24 hours.’ | <p>Where the consequence of any conduct in a school bullying case is equivalent to mentally and physically abuse, principals and teachers as an educators shall report this case in accordance with relevant laws, and, if any aforementioned educator(s), who makes no report without legitimate reasons, shall be:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fined a sum of no less than NT\$ 6,000 and no more than NT\$ 30,000, pursuant to Art 100 of The Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act • recorded two major demerits, where the said educators violate relevant laws and where the gravity of the circumstance is significant and severe, pursuant to Para 2, Sec 1, Art 7 of The Regulation on School Principals Performance Assessment at All Public Senior High Schools Level and Below; and pursuant to Para 2, Sec 1, Art 6 of The Regulation on Teachers Performance Assessment at All Public Senior High Schools Level and Below |

Student(s)' Legal Liability for Campus Bully Conducts

| Nature | Type(s) | Legal Liability | Notes |
|--------------------|--|--|--|
| Criminal liability | Bodily or health harm | <p>Art 277 of Criminal Code of Republic of China ‘A person who causes injury to another shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than three years, short-term imprisonment, or a fine of not more than one thousand NTD. If death results from the commission of an offense specified in the preceding paragraph, the offender shall be sentenced to life imprisonment or imprisonment for not less than seven years; if grave injury results, the offender shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not less than three years but not more than ten years.’</p> <p>Art 278 of Criminal Code of Republic of China ‘A person who causes grave injury to another shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not less than five years but not more than twelve years. If death results from the commission of an offense specified in the preceding paragraph, the offender shall be sentenced to life imprisonment or imprisonment for not less than seven years. An attempt to commit an offense specified in paragraph 1 shall be punished.</p> | According to Criminal Code of Republic of China and Juvenile Delinquency Act, anyone, who violates any criminal laws and who is more than the age of seven but under the age of fourteen, may be applied protective measures; anyone who is more than the age of fourteen but under the age of eighteen, may, depending on the characteristic and the severity of the case, be sanctioned penalty or be applied protective measures. |
| | Deprivation of the freedom of movement | <p>Art 302 of Criminal Code of Republic of China ‘A person, who, without legitimate reason, takes another into custody or deprives another of his/her freedom of movement by other illegal means, shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than five years, short-term imprisonment, or a fine of not more than three hundred NTD. If death results from the commission of the offense, the offender shall be sentenced to life imprisonment or imprisonment for not less than seven years; if aggravated injury results, the offender shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not less than three years but not more than ten years. An attempt to commit an offense specified in paragraph 1 is punishable.’</p> | |

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| | Coercion | <p>Art 304 of Criminal Code of Republic of China ‘A person, who by violence or threats forces another to do something not obliged to do so; or hinders another from doing something that he has the right to do, shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than three years, short-term imprisonment, or a fine or not more than three hundred NTD. An attempt to commit an offense specified in the preceding paragraph shall be punished.’</p> | |
| | Threaten | <p>Art 305 of Criminal Code of Republic of China ‘A person, who threatens to cause injury or damage to the life, body, freedom, reputation, or property of another and thereby endangers him/her, shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than two years, short-term imprisonment, or a fine of not more than three hundred NTD.’</p> <p>Art 346 of Criminal Code of Republic of China ‘A person, who threatens another to deliver over a thing belonging to him or a third party for purpose to exercise his (or others’) unlawful control over it, shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not less than six months but not more than five years; in addition thereto, a fine of not more than one thousand NTD may be imposed. A person, who obtains illegal property interests for him or others by using the means specified in the preceding paragraph, shall be subject to the same punishment. An attempt to commit an offense specified in preceding paragraphs shall be punished.’</p> | |
| | Insult | <p>Art 309 of Criminal Code of Republic of China ‘A person who publicly insults another shall be sentenced to short-term imprisonment or a fine of not more than three hundred NTD. A person who by violence commits an offense specified in the preceding paragraph shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than one year, short-term imprisonment, or a fine of not more</p> | |

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| | | than five hundred NTD.’ | |
| | Libel | Article 310 of Criminal Code of Republic of China ‘A person who points out or disseminates a fact which will injure the reputation of another for purpose that it be communicated to the public commits the offense of slander and shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than one year, short-term imprisonment, or a fine of not more than five hundred NTD. A person who by circulating a writing or drawing commits an offense specified in the preceding paragraph shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than two years, short-term imprisonment, or a fine of not more than one thousand NTD. A person who can prove the truth of the defamatory fact shall not be punished for the offense of defamation unless the fact concerns private life and is of no public concern.’ | |
| Civil Liability | Tort | Sec 1, Art 184 of Civil Code ‘A person who, intentionally or negligently, has wrongfully damaged the rights of another is bound to compensate him for any injury arising therefrom. The same rule shall be applied when the injury is done intentionally in a manner against the public morals.’ | |
| | Dignitary torts & Intentional infliction of emotional distress | Sec 1, Art 195 of Civil Code ‘If a person has wrongfully damaged to another’s body, health, reputation, liberty, credit, privacy or chastity, or legal interest of personality in a significant and severe way, the injured person may claim a reasonable compensation in money even if such injury is not a purely pecuniary loss. If it was reputation that has been damaged, the injured person may also claim the taking of proper measures for the rehabilitation of his reputation.’ | |
| Administrative Liability | Physical/mental abuse | Sec 1, Art 97 of The Protection of Children and Youths Welfare and Rights Act ‘the violator may be fined a sum of no less than NT\$ 60,000 | Article 9 of Administrative Penalty Act ‘An act committed by |

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| | | and no more than NT\$ 300,000 and their name or title will be announced.’ | a person who has not reached the age of fourteen years is not punishable. Penalty may be reduced for an act committed by a person who is fourteen years of age or older but has not reached the age of eighteen years.’ |
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Legal Guardian’s Legal Liability for their children committing school bullying

Where children or youth is a minor under the age of twenty pursuant to Article 13 of Civil Code and is liable for his/her tortious conduct, his/her legal guardian shall be jointly and severally liable pursuant to Article 187 of Civil Code.

Annex 6

| MOE of Education Specific Collaboration Form of Prevention on School Bullying | | | |
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| Measures to be implemented | | Responsible Government Agency | |
| | | Agency in Charge | Agency in Assistance |
| Educational Campaign | To compile and enrich educational and campaign materials | MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education | Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, School at all levels, MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE K-12 Education Administration |
| | To integrate both social curriculums and integrated activities curriculums with the knowledge of prevention against deviant behaviour; the knowledge of prevention from being a victim; and certain specific educations, such as legal, character, human right, life, gender equality and information ethics education. | Dept of Teacher and Art Education, MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education, Dept of Information and Technology Education | Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, School at all levels, MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE K-12 Education Administration |
| | To design active and versatile learning programs by coordinate resources of the civil groups, public interest group, and the community, so as to ingrain students with certain fundamental concepts and values, such as: (1) legal, character, human right, life, gender equality and information ethics education, (2) the prevention of deviant behaviours and (3) the campaign of prevention from becoming a victim. | Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, School at all levels, MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education, Dept of Information and Technology Education | MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE K-12 Education Administration |
| | To host seminar for teachers with subjects of certain education: legal, characteristic, human right, and life education | Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, | MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education |

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| | | school at all levels, MOE K-12 Education Administration, MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education | |
| | To establish the human resource database for legal education | MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education | Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE K-12 Education Administration |
| | To compile and publish anti-school bullying cases materials and compilation of laws for all category | MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education | Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE K-12 Education Administration |
| | To subsidize and promote schools at the senior high school level or below for 'the establishment of anti-bully safe school' | MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education | Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, MOE K-12 Education Administration |
| | To promote Friendly Campus Week and organize a series of theme events and activities | Educational Dept of special municipality gov, every county (city) gov and school at all levels, MOE K- 12 Education Administration | MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education |
| | To host case-study seminar and relevant activities every semester | Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every | |

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| | | county (city) gov, MOE K-12 Education Administration, MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education | |
| | To host keynote speeches of prevention on school bullying by using chances such as every seminar, professional advance trainings, conference, or meetings. | School at all levels | Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE K-12 Education Administration, MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education |
| | To set up the panel of prevention on school bullying | School at all levels | Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE K-12 Education Administration, MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education |
| | To host ‘the parents workshop of maintaining campus safety’ | School at all levels | Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE K-12 Education Administration, MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education |

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| <p>Handling after Finding a Case</p> | <p>To commission professionalists or scholars annually for conducting investigation and survey about school bullying on a need basis.</p> | <p>MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education</p> | <p>Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, school at all levels, MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE K-12 Education Administration</p> |
| | <p>To set up anti-bullying helpline, assign an employee with full attendance,</p> | <p>Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, school at all levels, MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education</p> | <p>MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE K-12 Education Administration</p> |
| | <p>To conduct the general surveys of named and anonymous ‘campus life questionnaire’</p> | <p>School at all levels</p> | <p>Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, MOE K-12 Education Administration, MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education</p> |
| | <p>To conduct a sample survey of anonymous campus life questionnaire on every semester.</p> | <p>MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education</p> | <p>Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, school at all levels, MOE K-12 Education Administration</p> |
| | <p>To set up complaint mailboxes for prevention on school bullying and to set up anti-bullying webpages where the circumstance require so.</p> | <p>School at all levels</p> | <p>Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE K-12 Education Administration, MOE</p> |
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| | | | Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education |
| | To report the case via school safety procedure after finding a case of suspicious bullying, and to enlist it for follow-up inspection and counselling. | School at all levels | Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE K-12 Education Administration, MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education |
| Intervention for counselling | To host seminars of prevention on school bullying at national level on a regular basis. | MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education | Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE K-12 Education Administration |
| | To host examining and coordinating conference of prevention on school bullying | Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, MOE K-12 Education Administration | MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education |
| | To set up a counselling panel, which panel shall stipulate counselling plan in regard to the bully, the bullied, and bystanders individually and separately. | School at all levels | Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE K-12 Education Administration, MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education |

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| | <p>To transfer the case to professional consultants or medical institution for correction and guidance.</p> | <p>School at all levels</p> | <p>Educational Dept of special municipality gov, and every county (city) gov, MOE Dept of Higher Education, MOE Dept of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE K-12 Education Administration, MOE Dept of Student Affairs and Special Education</p> |
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Appendix III

Ministry of Education Subsidy Guideline **for Anti-Bully Safe Schools**

I. Legal Basis:

For the execution of ‘MOE Implementation Plan of Excluding Campus Gangsters, Improving Campus Safety, and Promoting Friendly Campus’ based on ‘Executive Directive No. 0950057598 Dept. of Military Training, MOE, R.O.C. 95.4.28.’, the following subsidy guideline is so stipulated by Ministry of Education (hereinafter ‘MOE’).

II. Goals and objectives:

To promote the safe schools with prominent focus on ‘prevention on school bullying’; To integrate and coordinate school administration, teaching and learning, school environment, counselling, health service, and cooperation with community and etc; To refine the procedure of recognizing, handling, and following up a campus bully cases; To achieve the ultimate goal of creating a friendly campus.

III. Recipient schools:

- A. Public and private senior high schools and vocational schools.
- B. Public and private junior high schools.

IV. General guidelines:

- A. Schools, qualified as Recipients stipulated in preceding III and intending to conduct the promotion of anti-bully safe school, may apply for the subsidy application; Schools, as stipulated in preceding IIIA and with extension division, shall be priorly subsidized.
- B. The MOE annual budget allocated to subsidy fund shall be one million NTD as a matter of principle; the subsidy fund allocated to a school shall not exceed two hundred thousands NTD.
- C. For schools under the authority jurisdictions of special municipality governments and county (city) governments, their subsidy funds shall be allocated in accordance with Central Government Regulation for Subsidizing Special Municipality Governments and County (City) Governments.

V. Application and Examination Procedure:

- A. Application procedure:

- (i) Prior to 31 May every year, applicant schools shall send their application plan (hereinafter ‘the Plan’) to MOE. The timetable of the Plan shall be based on a school year, from August 1st to July 31st of the following year. The content of the Plan shall be consist of a title, background, current situation, objectives, specific measures, implementation timetable, specific collaboration, self-evaluation mechanism, and anticipated achievement. (For the outline of the Plan, see Annex.)
- (ii) Schools shall file the aforementioned subsidy application only once every year. Where an application made violates the application deadline, no subsidy shall be allocated to the applicant. For schools under the authority jurisdictions of special municipality governments and county (city) governments, these schools shall report their application to Education Dept. of special municipality governments or county (city) governments for approval and then transfer to MOE. For schools other than the aforementioned schools, these schools shall report their application directly to MOE.

B. Examination Procedure: MOE shall set up a examine panel, which shall conduct an examination conference at every June and shall select the best five applicant schools for subsidizing.

VI. Fund request and verification:

- A. The formal receipt of payment of subsidy fund for schools under authority jurisdictions of special municipality governments and county (city) governments shall be attached with the report sent to MOE by Dept. of Education of special municipality governments and county (city) governments. The allocation of subsidy fund shall be made with a ‘collections and payment transfer’ services.
- B. Prior to 31 August of the following year, schools received subsidy funds shall send one copy of each annual performance appraisal report and income and expenditure statement of subsidy fund to the audit agency for verification.
- C. The procedure and form for allocation, disbursement, and verification of subsidy funds are carried out in accordance with the MOE subsidy and commission expense verification guidelines.

VII. Audit and evaluation:

- A. The annual performance appraisal report of schools received subsidy shall include following information for audit and evaluation by MOE: (The cover page of the aforementioned report shall be stated the full school name, and the name and

timetable of the plan)

- (i) The activity proposal to be applied for subsidy.
- (ii) Documents related to the abovementioned activity, such as: posters, campaign flyers, governmental documents, seminar or course attendance sheets, event photos with a specific date, and the number of the participants and etc.
- (iii) Activity expenditure report of income and expenses (Every sponsor and their donation shall be stated.)
- (iv) Achievement and evaluation. (This shall be specifically described.)
- (v) A dedicated website shall be set up and shall, by electronic information system, contain information about the promotion process and achievement of the abovementioned activity. A link to the abovementioned website shall be embedded in the website of MOE Dept. of Military Training.

B. Where a school received subsidy funds conducts any promotional activity in a way inconsistent with its activity proposal which has been verified (hereinafter as to ‘the Verified Proposal’), changes the Verified Proposal without a prior report to MOE for approval, and conducts the verification and audit procedure not within the deadline, as well as any information or documents contains any statement or descriptions inconsistent with facts, or any promotional activity makes poor contribution or just poorly performs, all of which shall be made as a reference to both the decision to reduce the subsidy or the approval of the following subsidy application.

C. Where a school has an outstanding performance on conducting any of the aforementioned activities and obtains an approval of the WHO certification of ‘international safe school’, the aforementioned school shall be honoured and rewarded by the educational competent authority which has the authority jurisdiction over the aforementioned school in accordance with its authority.

VIII. Miscellaneous Provisions:

- A. Schools received subsidy funds shall cooperate with the counselling procedures or measures of every promotional project of anti-bully safe school, which is commissioned by MOE.
- B. The aforementioned campaign and educational activity shall primarily target school faculty and students, and secondarily citizen in the community.
- C. The style and content of the aforementioned campaign and educational activity, whether it is an active one, like an activity, or inactive one, say, exhibition, shall be consistent with the objectives and purpose of either prevention on campus violence,

prevention on bully, and the construction of safe school.

D. Schools which applied for subsidy shall conduct the aforementioned campaign and educational activity in accordance with its Verified Proposal. Where any changes made to its Verified Proposal, the change shall be report to MOE for approval.

Annex: The Content of Application Proposal

(The proposal shall include a cover page and its outline shall include following items)

I. Title of the plan

II. Background and current situation (include the current situation about how school prevent campus violence and bully, and every previous activity and plan related to the aforementioned topics.)

III. Objectives and goals (include the target value of prevention on campus violence and bully, and the objectives of the promotion of safe schools)

IV. Specific procedures and relevant supporting measures

V. Implementation timetable and specific collaboration,

VI. A self-evaluation and self-control mechanism about the implementation of the promotional project of anti-bully safe school.

VII. Anticipated achievement and impacts.

PS. This outline can be added any items according to the different content of each proposal.

Appendix IV The Collaboration Framework of Prevention on School Bullying among the Central Government, the District Governments, and School at all levels.

| Central Government | District Governments | School at all levels |
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| <p>First Stage Prevention (Educational Campaign)</p> <p>I. To promulgate ‘Implementation Plan of Prevention on School Bullying at All School Level ‘</p> <p>II. To conduct ‘The Prevention on School Bullying Briefing ‘</p> <p>III. To compile the educational material of prevention on school bullying; to train teachers to have knowledge and skills relevant to prevention on school bullying.</p> <p>IV. To establish the legal education human resource database.</p> <p>V. To subsidize and establish anti-bully safe school; to help schools to acquire the WHO certification of ‘safety school’</p> <p>VI. To promote the overall establishment of the Friendly Campus Week.</p> <p>Second Stage Prevention (The Handling Procedures of a school bullying event)</p> <p>I. To set up set up a toll-free number of 24 hour helpline: No. 0800200885.</p> <p>II. To conduct campus life questionnaire, both named and anonymous, at junior high school level.</p> <p>III. To establish campus safety report systems.</p> <p>IV. To collect and compile domestic ‘campus safety events’.</p> <p>V. To promulgate the regulation of off-campus joint safety patrols.</p> <p>VI. To commission professionalists or scholars to investigate school bullying on a need basis.</p> | <p>First Stage Prevention (Educational Campaign)</p> <p>I. To promulgate ‘District Implementation Plan of Prevention on School Bullying’</p> <p>II. To conduct ‘The Prevention on School Bullying Briefing’ on a regular basis so as to handle bullying cases and provide counselling.</p> <p>III. To use faculty senates to promote the importance of prevention on school bullying .</p> <p>IV. To organize the activities of Friendly Campus Week every semester.</p> <p>V. To host teacher training program with regard to prevention on school bullying.</p> <p>VI. To compile campaign materials or flyers about prevention of school bullying.</p> <p>VII. To host activities, seminars of case study, rewarding ceremonies with regard to prevention of school bullying.</p> <p>VIII. To cooperate with MOE to jointly host relevant seminars, evaluations and activities.</p> <p>IX. To promote the overall establishment of the Friendly Campus Week.</p> <p>Second Stage Prevention (The Handling Procedures of a school bullying event)</p> <p>I. To set up anti-bullying helpline at every county(city); to assign an employee with full attendance and enlist every complaint for inspection.</p> <p>II. To order school supervisors to realize the implementation of all schools on the prevention of school bullying.</p> <p>III. To conduct campus life</p> | <p>First Stage Prevention (Educational Campaign)</p> <p>I. To promulgate ‘Schools Implementation Plan of Prevention on School Bullying’</p> <p>II. To set up the corresponding panel of school bullying prevention.</p> <p>III. To organize the school activities of Friendly Campus Week.</p> <p>IV. To reinforce hardware and software facilities, map out the dangerous areas which happened or are likely to happen campus safety events, and strengthen safety patrols on the said areas.</p> <p>V. To promulgate school rules on bullying prevention and punishment.</p> <p>VI. To encourage teachers to take advanced training programs to enhance their ability and knowledge about classroom management and the capability of identifying high-cared student.</p> <p>VII. To identify high-cared students so as to provide intense programs of positive education and counselling, as well as legal education.</p> <p>X. To reinforce the cooperation among and between communities, administrative divisions, and school divisions; to call a coordination conference on a regular basis.</p> <p>VIII. To use faculty senates, teacher conferences, and professional advance trainings to host keynote speeches of prevention of school bullying.</p> <p>IX. To enhance both the teachers and students' knowledge of legal education and publicize the responsibility and punishment for a bullying.</p> <p>X. To sign up ‘the Agreement of Campus Safety Maintenance and Assistance’ with police agency.</p> <p>XI. To set up an ‘Parents Workshop for the Maintenance of Campus Safety’ and to recruit and train volunteers.</p> <p>XII. To integrate both social curriculums and integrated activities curriculums with certain educations, such as legal, character, human right, life, gender equality and information ethics education, and, where the circumstance is appropriate, to</p> |

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| <p>Third Stage Prevention (Counselling and Intervention)</p> <p>I. To promulgate the handling procedure of a school bullying event.</p> <p>II. To compile and report school bullying cases every Monday and Thursday so as to discuss how these cases should be handled.</p> <p>III. To call a project meeting of the panel of school bullying prevention every Tuesday and Friday.</p> <p>IV. To establish the divisional system of supervision and guidance of MOE school supervisor, so as to investigate and handle the school bullying cases in severe gravity.</p> <p>V. To host seminars of prevention on school bullying on a regular basis.</p> | <p>questionnaire.</p> <p>IV. To conduct off-campus joint safety patrols.</p> <p>V. To demand school to genuinely implement both the campus safety report systems and the relevant investigation.</p> <p>VI. To guide schools under administrative authority to handle school bullying cases.</p> <p>Third Stage Prevention (Counselling and Intervention)</p> <p>I. To set up a ‘Legal Helpline for Campus Safety Events’</p> <p>II. To connect policy agency, social agency, and every local counselling centres altogether so as to provide an assistance network of counselling.</p> <p>III. To host workshops, seminars, and coordination conferences with regard to prevention on school bullying.</p> <p>IV. To order school supervisor to conduct an onsite-visit on the school bullying event in severe gravity.</p> <p>I. V. To enlist school bullying cases occurred at the schools with administrative authority so as to provide follow-up counselling.</p> | <p>conduct opportune lessons based on significant social events during the aforementioned curriculums.</p> <p>Second Stage Prevention (The Handling Procedures of a school bullying event)</p> <p>I. To set up anti-bullying complaint mailboxes, email boxes, and a helpline with an employee with full attendance to deal with complaints received and provide counselling; to encourage students to be a whistleblower and teach the value of justice.</p> <p>II. To conduct the general survey of named campus life questionnaires every April and October and to strengthen the relevant measures of schools counselling system.</p> <p>III. To enlist a suspicious bullying case for follow-up inspection and counselling when it is found. Then the aforementioned case should be reported via campus safety system and should be sent to the Panel for further confirmation so as to initiate the school counselling system.</p> <p>Third Stage Prevention (Counselling and Intervention)</p> <p>I. To set up a counselling panel, which panel shall stipulate counselling plan, which explicitly describes the situation and process of each counselling, collaboration of the counselling system, and the expected result, with regard to the bully, the bullied, and bystanders individually and separately. These documents and records shall be kept in schools for further inspection.</p> <p>II. To report the bullying cases in severe gravity to the police agency for assistance and handling.</p> <p>III. Where a student conducted deviant behaviours seems impossible to be guided and changed, he/she may, with the his/her parents’ consent, be transferred to professional consultants or medical institution for correction and guidance; The counselling panel shall continuously express concerns and follow up the said student’s situation on a regular basis; and the panel may, if necessary, request social agency of local special municipality government or county (city) government for replacement or guidance.</p> |
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Appendix V

The Promotional Activity of Friendly Campus Week at All School Levels

I. Goals and Objectives:

For creating both a safe, warm, adaptive learning environment and a productive, positive, harmonious, and friendly campus atmosphere, through the fully support from every education competent authority at all level and the planning of versatile school activities, which school shall host a ‘Friendly Campus Week’ and promote theme activities, whose emphasis shall be ‘prevention of campus bully’, ‘prevention of the infiltration of gangsters’, and ‘prevention of drug abuse’, Ministry of Education (hereinafter as to ‘MOE’) expect that, by hosting aforementioned educational campaigns and activities, every citizen’s and every schools’ concern for the construction of friendly campus will be reckoned and considered. The construction and the relevant problems will be solved with much assistance.

II. Time: the first week of every semester.

III. Location: to be decided by individual responsible agency.

IV. Responsible Agency: MOE, Education Dept. of Special Municipality, county (city) government, and school at all levels.

V. Purpose:

A. Every activity shall be student(s)-center and coordinated by teachers, parents, and students altogether.

B. The spotlight is the school. Motivate everyone in the school with resources in and off campus.

VI. Specific Planning:

A. MOE:

For implementation the planning, execution, and supervision of Friendly Campus Week, every relevant activity shall be coordinated with MOE Dept. of Higher Education, MOE Dept. of Technological and Vocational Education, MOE K-12 Education Administration, and Dept. of Student Affairs and Special Education, so as to handle the activities as follow:

(i) Friendly Campus Seminars:

Friendly Campus Seminars shall be hosted to study and discuss three specific issues: ‘prevention of campus bully’, ‘prevention of the infiltration of gangsters’, and ‘prevention of drug abuse’.

(ii) Campaign documents and educational materials:

a. Campaign documents: brochures, flyers, advertisements, and campaign clips shall be made for enhancing the dissemination.

b. Educational materials: appropriate campaign films, teaching guidelines, or case compilation shall be made or distributed, so as to provide MOE, Education Dept. of Special Municipality, county (city) government, and school at all levels as educational materials.

B. Education Dept. of Special Municipality, county (city) government:

For promotion of prevention on campus bully at every county and city, ‘implementation plan of prevention on campus bully at every county and city’, Training programs of Friendly Campus Seeded Teacher, and relevant campaign documents and educational materials shall be made or hosted. The following activity shall be made:

(i) Competent authority at every county and city shall organize all types of educational campaign and activity to further encourage students’ and their parents’ participation so as to increase their knowledge and establish their consensus.

(ii) The aforementioned competent authority shall supervise schools handling theme activities of Friendly Campus Week under their jurisdictions ; and shall firmly execute the performance evaluation system.

C. Every high schools and elementary schools:

(i) Basic measure to be implemented firmly about prevention on campus bully:

a. Schools shall stipulate the ‘implementation plan of prevention on campus bully’, shall set up the panel of anti-bully on campus as well as a school helpline, a complaint mailbox, or an e-mailbox, and shall provide students with teacher’s phone number and e-mail address in case of emergency.

b. For enhancing teachers, students, and students’ parents’ knowledge about ‘prevention of campus bully’, ‘prevention of the infiltration of gangsters’, and ‘prevention of drug abuse’, as well as their ability to prevent and recognize any of the aforementioned situations, the educational campaign to teachers, students, and students’ parents shall be comprehensively strengthened. Schools may use meeting, conferences, seminars, class meetings, regular curriculums, vacant curriculums, parent and teachers meetings etc to give promotions with themes such as legal education, ethical education, human right education, life education, and gender equality

education.

(ii) Promotion by school principals in person:

During 'Friendly Campus Week', first week of every semester, school principals shall, in person, explain the importance and activities of 'Friendly Campus Week'; shall promote the content of 'School Personnel's Due Action of Prevention on Campus Bully', 'The Framework of Prohibition on Corporal Punishment and Its Supporting Measures (Counselling System)', 'The Detailed Directions and Guideline of Teachers' Regulation of Student Discipline and Counselling', and 'MOE The Promotion of Positive Discipline Measures'; and shall conduct a evaluation according to 'The Due Action Checklist of Teachers' Regulation of Student Discipline and Counselling'.

(iii) Campaign and Promotional Activity shall be taken:

The themes of every promotional activity and campaign, conducted by schools, shall be either of 'What should I do if I am bullied & What will happen if I bully others', 'I am NOT scared of campus intimidation and campus violence', 'No drugs'. For expanding campaign and increasing students and teachers' knowledge and participation, schools may choose one or more of these following creative activities, which it deems appropriate, to conduct the aforementioned activity, so as to touch student's hearts and to encourage real actions. Some suggestions might be class meeting discussion, role plays, 'Stand up! Good Kids', essay contest, creative book cards, comic strips, campaign poster, classroom posters, painting and drawing, picture books, calligraphy, speeches, student plays, pop dance, speak good things out loud, and legal knowledge contests and etc.

(iv) Coordination resources in and off campus:

While conducting 'Friendly Campus Week', school may coordinate resources from communities, government agencies, civil groups, and other resources altogether so as to promote relevant activities.

(v) Overall mobilization against bully:

School shall encourage every faculty, teachers and students to post or exhibits posters, pastes, or other signs with 'Anti-Bully Logo (as Annex)' so as to show the determination of anti-bully. Classmates may, aware of any classmate who is bullied, make an agreement to post 'Anti-Bully Logo' in order to show both condemnation to the bully and concern to the bullied.

VII. Budget:

Any budget and expense needed in implementing these aforementioned activities shall

be borne by relevant annual budgetary allocations from each responsible agency or institution.

VIII. Evaluation and Award:

The performance evaluation of all aforementioned activities shall be incorporate into the performance evaluation of the prevention on school bullying at every school. Anyone who makes significant contribution to any of the aforementioned activities shall be honoured and rewarded by schools and competent authority in accordance with their authority.

IX. The General Provisions:

- A. Every college may base on their autonomy and organize relevant activities at first week of every semester in accordance with these promotional activities as stipulated in above.
- B. Within one month after the end of ‘Friendly campus Week’, every education dept. of special municipality, education Dept. of Taoyuan County Government, every county (city) government, and MOE K-12 Administration of Education shall report the relevant statistics of the performance and achievements of aforementioned activities in regard to schools under their own authority jurisdiction.

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