

**Mainstreaming Gender, Restructuring the State:
Preliminary Reflections on
the Institutionalization of Women's Policy Agency in Taiwan**

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1. Introduction

To women's movement, state apparatus was once regarded as the source of oppression and a segment of whole patriarchy system. However, researchers on the experience of welfare states trigger reflections not only on the relationship between women and the state but also the diversity of national characteristics and the heterogeneity of women. With reconsidering the nature of the state and criticizing its gender-neutral assumption, advocates of gender equality put forward three main strategies to restructure the state. These strategies include presence, voice, and process, which correspond to improving the proportion of gender in the political system, creating a channel for women's movement into the government system, and transforming the policy formulation and decision-making processes (Squires, 2007).

Besides the quota system secures the opportunity for women to participate in decision making and responds the politics of presence (Phillips, 1995), since the 1970s, many countries have established **women's policy agencies** (WPAs) as a channel for delivering various women's groups' opinions and needs by linking women's organizations and governments. After 1995, there was another wave of gender mainstreaming in the policy process that considered gender equality issues, hoping to eliminate gender disparities by changing the political decision-making process. Due to the flourishing of WPAs, some cross-national researchers termed the phenomenon as "State Feminism" (McBride and Mazur 1995), which means states found the national machinery in government and women groups cooperate with the mechanism to accomplish equality goals.

It seems that Taiwan follows the global trend, since the late 1990s, the government has deployed a series steps to deal with emerging gender issues and that are defined as state feminism to a certain extent (Yang, 2004). In 1997, the Committee of Women's Rights Promotion (CWRP) was built inside the administrative system as the WPA of Taiwan, and then the central government has

adopted gender mainstreaming as the chief strategy since 2005 and set up gender equality working unit inside all ministries. Eventually, the government renamed CWRP to Gender Equality Committee (GEC) in 2012 and instituted the Office of Gender Equality under Prime Minister to serve as the secretariat of GEC.

Though the case has commons with the concept of state feminism, nevertheless, the factors of the genesis and evolution of the CWPR, and the consolidating gender mainstreaming still need investigation. Therefore, the primary purpose of this article is trying to explain how and why the government has become more “gendered” during the last two decades in Taiwan. I will depict the development of women’s policy agency, especially the process that women’s group restructure the national machinery by promoting gender mainstreaming, then briefly outlines the concept and framework of state feminism, finally make reflections on Taiwan’s experience by comparing the framework and suggest some further research questions.

2. The development of Taiwan’s state feminism

During the past two decades, Taiwan government has become more gendered in two dimensions, the first one is building CWRP in Executive Yuan (the Cabinet), and the second is incorporating gender mainstreaming as the principal strategy to attain gender equality. These efforts could be categorized as reorganizing the structure of government and reforming the process of policy making.

2-1. Reorganizing: the pathway from CWRP to GEC

Although the initiation of CWRP in central government can be traced to 1997, the original model was started at the municipal level in 1995 by Mayor Chen Shui-Bien, who was the first mayor of the capital city from the opposition party (Democratic Progress Party, DPP). In response to the support by many civic groups (especially women’s movement groups), Chen established the Committee for Women’s Rights Promotion of Taipei City and served as the chair. The committee was composed of municipal officers, women’s group representatives, and academics to correspond its consulting functions so that opinions in society can be brought into the public sector. This organization institutionalized the relationship and changed the potential interactions between government and the women’s movement after Taiwan’s democratization (Huang 2008). After two years, this model was imitated by the central government (which controlled by ruling party,

Kuomintang, KMT) to respond women groups' discontent (Yang 2004; Fan 2010).¹

In the beginning, CWRP was considered as a symbolic organization without substantial functions because the members of the committee were nominated and designated by administrative system. However, owing to the party alternation first time in Taiwan, DPP held the executive power in central government and changed the members of it. Some studies suggest that DPP had connected with more grass-rooted women's groups when it was still the opposition party, and then appointed these groups as the members of CWRP while it became the ruling party. With cooperation from the head of the administrative system and their political will, CWRP gradually formed its connection to various departments and developed its consulting role in government (Du and Peng 2008).

On January 12, 2010, the Congress of Taiwan, Legislative Yuan passed the Organizational Act of the Executive Yuan with the resolution to establish the Office of Gender Equality as the systematic policy agency. There are two significant meanings to this resolution. First, "Gender Mainstreaming," the strategic tool used internationally for the promotion of gender equality officially became the policy guideline acknowledged by the administrative and legislative departments of the Taiwan government. Second, the government decided to maintain the formation of CWRP and changed its name to Gender Equality Committee, which is convened by the Premier and the Office of Gender Equality as the women's policy agency to promote equality. This accomplishment built on the cooperative and competitive relationship between the civic groups and the government has institutionalized as the national mechanism for gender equality.

Under the circumstances, women's groups have a platform inner the administrative system to voice; they can propose in the committee and no longer just legislative lobbying and pressuring the parliament from outside. Many scholars attribute the result to the transformed of political opportunity structure (Huang 2008; Yang 2004; Peng 2008; Lin 2008; Huang and Wu 2016). With the consolidation of democracy, the transition of ruling party not only increasing access to policymaking by nominated more women's groups' representatives, but it also shifted alignments of the central government and civic groups because new ruling party need more supports from citizens. In this sense, the border between state and society has blurred, social force (women movement) has crossed the line and advocated gender equality issue by participating in CWRP, the national

¹ In 1996, one of the women's movement leaders, Peng Wan-ru, was raped and murdered. The major crimes jeopardize women's safety made the public extremely dissatisfied with the government's ability to fight crimes. In order to respond the demand, central government built CWRP to express

machinery.

2-2. Transforming: the process of policy making

Another main effort of gendering the government is the practice of gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming has been officially promoted by United Nations since the Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995. It involves ensuring that gender perspectives and attention to the goal of gender equality are central to policy development, research, advocacy, dialogue, legislation, resource allocation, and planning, implementation and monitoring of programs and projects (OSAGI, 2001).

Contrary to many other countries, Taiwan was not influenced directly by international organizations since without membership, however, was still introduced with gender mainstreaming in 2003 and started planning to implement in all ministries after two years. These reforms can attribute to three main characteristics:

- (1) One third gender quota and gender unit: Through the project, every commission under ministries should keep at least one-third of their members be of each gender. Meanwhile, CWRP requested that all departments imitate the model of CWRP to establish their gender units, which are chaired by ministers and composed of women's group, academics, and officials. The arrangement is for including opinions from different genders, which is one of the primary purposes of gender mainstreaming.
- (2) Annual report and quadrennial project: From 2006, every four years all departments in the cabinet have had to propose gender mainstreaming implementation project respectively. These proposals would be drafted and discussed in the gender unit of ministry and reviewed by CWRP; moreover, ministries ought to report annually. By this process, both public sector and civic groups participate in making policy related to gender equality, and CWRP can monitor them.
- (3) Development of equipment: Although each department formulates gender mainstreaming project individually, there are still some standard contents and requirements. For instance, the plan must delineate how to develop equipment, including gender statistics (gender disaggregated data), gender analysis, gender impact assessment, gender budgeting, gender awareness and organization reform, and use them to set and attain policy goals. Another case is that academic members of CWRP cooperate with the research department of government to develop the Gender Impact Assessment Form, which applies to all multi years programs and law amendment as a toolkit to ensure the officials considering gender issues thoroughly.

To sum up, I suggest that the development of the national mechanism for gender equality and modification of policy making process contribute to some important consequences. First, the mechanism has become formalized with the functions and goals clarified. CWRP (now GEC) turned from a provisional unit with only consultant status to a machinery which involves in monitoring policy, advocating gender equality and designing evaluative tools, and be supported by regular budgets and staffs. Even though the composition of the committee is still semi-official, it can influence gender-related policy through the formalized regulations.

Second, the relationship between government and civil society, especially women's groups and gender experts, is gradually institutionalized. Not only because of the growth of CWRP and the gender unit within each ministry, but also the regulations such as "ministry must consult with external members for advice" and "summon committee every six months to review gender project" forcing departments to build connections with outsiders of government.

Third, the practice of gender mainstreaming has turned into bureaucratization (Huang 2008; Peng 2008). As mentioned above, many departments never had aware that they are under obligation to cope with gender equality too, and then request advice and define working procedures explicitly to devise substantial goals. However, explicit rules lead officials to focus only on the requirements of the regulation, while ignoring its original purpose is to result in consideration of gender perspective.

Formalized mechanism, institutionalized interaction, and bureaucratized procedure mark the properties of the restructuring process in Taiwan. Many researchers and feminist movement actors in Taiwan term the development of CWRP and GEC as state feminism, however, given the broad scope of state feminism, I provide a brief outline of the concept and theoretical context, then review Taiwan's case by referring to the concept and question further.

3. An outline of the concept and theoretical foundation for State Feminism

The connotation of state feminism had been diverse due to the different political and social context. Nevertheless, the empirical studies generally captured the emergence of a new set of state-society relations and focuses on the interaction of the machinery and women's movement; and based on the premise that democracies can and should be feminist (Mazur and McBride 2008).

3-1. Naming and conceptualization:

Broadly speaking, state feminism is concerned with how the state proposes and practices

women or gender equality policies, and since the term first appeared in early 1980s, it has gone through three phases which reflecting respective national context as well as feminist thought to state (Mazur and McBride 2008).

Based on the Nordic political and social settings, Helga Hernes, who credited with coin the term, identified state feminism is the process that interplay between agitation from below and integration from above, and contribute to a women-friendly polity (1987: 15). Moreover, Siim specified that state feminism is the result of the integration of women who are in positions of power that includes bureaucrats, administrator, and elected politicians to advocate gender equality policies (Siim 1991:189). The original concept assumed that the nature of state could be beneficial to women's development and focused on the interactions between state and society through individual feminist actors.

In addition to Nordic experience, Australian scholars elaborated the new term, femocrat, to interpret that feminist actors operate within the various arena of the state and make use of public resources to attain the aim (Franzway, Court, and Connell, 1989: 133-8). However, instead of interest in the structure of the public sector, Australian researchers give more attention to the individual state actors, the femocrats, consociate the government's gender equality agenda through agencies or policies (Eisenstein, 1996; Franzway, Court, and Connell 1989).

As important as recording the process of feminist actors' engagement with the government, these analyses reveal reflections on the underlying notion of a monolithic patriarchal state by defining the state as a set of arenas divided by policy department, level of government, and functional role (Mazur and McBride 2008: 248-9). Although research still lacked precise definition of the concept and did not identify who were or were not femocrats, it brought the state back in the analysis and advanced our understanding of the complex relationship between women and state in terms of feminist perspectives.

The preceding cases gave rise to a favorable view of the state as a complicated arena where feminist actors, including movement groups, femocrats, and politicians with equality awareness, align to struggle with conventional politics through policy debates and process reformations. Meanwhile, the fourth women's conference in 1995 was a major focal point for feminist mobilization at all levels around the world and determined that WPAs within member states ought to involve more in the policy process (Rai 2003). The emphasis on WPA and transnational advocating drew researchers' attention in different countries to study their own WPA and attempt to accomplish

systematic research by comparative methods, and result in the conceptual connection between state feminism and WPA consequently.

A series of comparative studies since 1995 has mainly contributed by the Research Network on Gender Politics and the State (RNGS), whose core question is whether the WPA is feminist and focus on the extent to which can influence the content of policy debate with gender concepts and frameworks and the opportunities provided to women's movement actors in policy making arenas (McBride and Mazur 1995: 14). The explaining framework, which adopts characteristics of the women's movement and the policy environment as independent variables, and the properties of WPA are intervening variables, and then explore how independent variables affect the intervening variables and bring varying degrees of state feminism, the dependent variable. Through the framework, RNGS provided the first systematic of state feminism in terms of women's movement-WPA relations and embodies the most common usage of the term today (Mazur and McBride 2008; Haussman and Sauer 2007).

3-2. Theoretical foundation for the framework

It is not the purpose here to introduce the explaining model thoroughly, however, is to illustrate the theoretical elements related to it and examine Taiwan's experience carefully. As researchers note, due to the state feminism concentrate on WPA, it is inevitable to deal with subjects such as the approach to comprehend the state, the women's movements, and political representation and policy framing.

(1) Institutionalism and the state:

Feminist theorists take issue with the idea of state quite differently and debate on the ultimate influence of the state on women. Unlike their colleagues who criticize liberal state as a monolithic authoritarian and hierarchical structure that reinforce patriarchal power regime, or those who suspect that welfare state could improve overall status of women by social policies, scholars with interest in women's policy agencies recognize the state as a site of structures and process that are differentiated internally and leads the diverse conceptions and meaning of the state (Franzway, Court, and Connell, 1989; Mazur and McBride 2010: 9-10).

This idea was correspondent with Theda Skocpol's introduction to *Bring the State Back In* that notified two themes to the state feminism framework. First was the notion of the capacity of the state impacting on society through policy. The second was the assumption that state structures and process

affect various groups and result in the unique political relationship by interacting with each other (McBride and Mazur 2013). Owing to these standpoints, state feminism inclined to institutional approach, which views the democratic state as a complex arena not only constructed by but also organizes society through formulating and executing various institutions.

(2) Social movements and women's movements:

State feminism framework also adapted concepts from resources mobilization and political opportunity structure, both are explanations of social movements. The former exams the internal properties of movements like activities, organizations, and mobilizations; and the latter concentrates on external factors such as state organization, political parties, legislative process, cultural compatibility and so on (McBride and Mazur 2013). Additionally, since leftist political party or union are usually considered as significant factors in movement success because left-wing forces typically include equality values and are women-friendly, many empirical studies of state feminism also give weight to these factors (Hausman and Sauer 2007; Lovenduski, 2005; Outshoorn, 2004).

(3) Political representation and policy framing

The construction of WPA increase both descriptive and substantive representation pertaining to women and the state, and therefore change democracies themselves by enhancing the degree of representativeness. Descriptive representation means that people with similar characteristics with groups in the citizenry present in government; and substantive representation refers to the representative pursues advancement of a group's policy preference and interests (Mazur and McBride 2010). In terms of state feminism, when the WPA include women's group and attach to the decision-making process, it overcome the exclusion of women in political system and hence make governments more democratic.

Additionally, framing theory, which means the definition of issues that point out the policy problem and preferred solution, offers the mechanism to describe the operation of state feminism. On the on hand, whether women's groups and WPA form alliance is by comparing their own frames, then bargain and communicate with each other over ideas. On the other hand, issue frames decide who is more influential and allowed for participating in the decision making, thus the women's movement actors attempt to influence the issue frame of the debate to reflect their standpoints.

4. An examination of Taiwan's experiences from the frame of State Feminism

As an international trend, many countries have established various type and levels of women's

policy agencies and advocated gender mainstreaming as equality strategy. Although it is reasonable to assume that each country's case results from particular factors and circumstance, yet we can observe Taiwan's experience more clearly by referring to the theoretical context of state feminism:

4-1. The absence of international factor: supranational organizations

The impact from supranational organizations is an essential condition for the establishment of women's policy agencies in many countries. For many emerging democracies, WPA has been mostly designed and created to respond to the advocating of the United Nations First World Conference on Women in 1975. Since then women's policy agency has been set up around the world and flourished between the 1970s and 1980 and the mid-1980s (Squires 2007: 33). In other cases, many European countries follow the anti-discrimination policies of the European Union, which has allowed member states to amend gender equality policies. European Court of Justice is also another approach for women's groups in the member states to appeal and influence their domestic gender equality policies by litigation (Outshoorn and Kantola 2007: 269).

Concerning to the advocate of gender mainstreaming, Jacqui True and Michael Mintrom (2001) have analyzed causes through empirical data, pointing out that the existence of transnational networks provides a powerful explanation of the state set up a gender mainstreaming system. The transnational networks mean that nonstate actors, such as women's groups crossing domestic and international surroundings, who link domestic institutional changes and international norms by participation in the United Nations Women's Conference, as well as in internal advocate action. By networking among women's groups, governments, and international organizations, these actors introduce international norms and provides the impetus and pressure to reform domestic institutions (True and Mintrom 2001: 38).

Contrary to these findings, the supranational factor is absent in Taiwan's case because Taiwan has lost the membership of the United Nations since 1971 for the sovereignty dispute, and been unable to adequately receive both critical messages and reform pressure from international organizations. Although some researchers suggest that international non-government can still actors affect the government through mass media and public opinion; and the international norms would legitimate the discourse of the promotion of gender mainstreaming and women's policy agency (Yang 2004; Shen and Lu 2013), there is still lack of directive demand from international organizations and need to speculate more carefully.

In other words, without the exogenous pressures, why the government instituted CWRP, the women's policy agency, and claim gender mainstreaming as the main strategy to accomplish gender equality. Can this action be recognized as state autonomy and capacity, which displayed by the bureaucracies for autonomous operations? If the causes are unique in the local experience of Taiwan, would they affect to the gender mechanism continuously in the long term and differentiate the case from other countries.

Besides, the absence of external pressures does not mean that the international factors have no effects. Concerning the globalization and information age, the international norms are of course transmitting cross-border, given this, it seems more appropriate to investigate how the idea being conveyed in the society, that is to say, who translated and diffuses gender mainstreaming or WPA by what approach, thus frames the gendered perspective of the policy process.

4-2. The difference of the internal factors: the political spectrum and party politics

According to some empirical findings, if the left-wing parties are close to the concept of women's movement and are in power, the women's movement can achieve the goal by benefiting from the assistance of the women's policy agency, and the support of the left-wing forces is one of the elements to explain the success of state feminism (Mazur and McBride 2010: 14; 2013). The explaining framework focuses on whether women's policy agency is feminist and on the extent to which it can influence the content of policy debate with gender concepts and perspectives by investigating the access for women's groups to agency and policy making process (McBride Stetson and Mazur 1995: 4).

However, comparing to the social and political context of those cases, we need to notice two apparently different conditions, which are the lack of left wing in party spectrum and the relationships between social and political sectors in Taiwan. Contrasting to most European and North American countries, the distinction between Taiwan's political parties is national identity more than social or economic policy values. Moreover, the background also could be attributed to the authoritative period during which the ruling party, Kuomintang, banned communism and social democratic thoughts and emphasized keeping Chinese identity since its loss to Chinese Communist Party in the civil war. From 1949 to 1987, the freedom of organizing a political party and social groups was restricted by the imposition of Taiwan martial law, and after 1980, social and political reformation forces aligned to demand abrogate the martial law. The course of history is to some

extent the reason that after liberalization many movement groups (including women's groups) once had been close to the main opposition party, DPP.

By adopting the concept of state feminism, most researchers consider the alteration of political opportunity structure, marked by the first time DPP became the ruling party in 2000, is the turning point of CWRP (Yang 2004; 2014; Du and Peng 2008; Huang 2008; Lin 2008). Under the circumstance, the coordination of women's groups and DPP formalized through the operation in committee, and the resolutions can affect administrative system substantially due to the DPP government change the chairperson of CWRP from Minister of Interior to Prime minister. Despite the lack of left-wing in the party spectrum, DPP government still can be regarded as more progressive than KMT and advanced the state to serve as feminist goals (Huang 2017).

The changing of political opportunity structure may explain the empowerment of CWRP in the policy process and attribute the achievement to DPP government appointed those women groups' representatives with feminist perspectives and can trust reciprocally. Nevertheless, the same factor can't propose a complete explanation of whether the empowerment of CWRP will continue or be interrupted. For instance, during 2006-7, once many women's groups requested to transform CWRP from semi-official organization to an official committee with the directive and executive power, DPP government refused the proposal from women's groups even though there used to be some cohesive partnership between them. Contrarily, while KMT in authority again, the conservative government not only continued the promotion of gender mainstreaming but also institutionalized all the mechanism which started from the former administration.

To summarize, in Taiwan's experience, political opportunity structure could lead partial variation of gender mechanism. Furthermore, once the mechanism was institutionalized, it is unlikely to be demolished or reversed. It's appeared that institutions are themselves shaped and reconfigured over time and correspond to the viewpoint of path dependent (Thelen 2003).

4-3. How gender mainstreamed? bureaucratic or participatory.

The government of Taiwan applies gender mainstreaming to the administrative system to improve awareness of gender issue and integrity of policy. However, advocating of gender mainstreaming are not necessarily equivalent to the connotation of gender equality, even conflict in certain aspects of gender equality perspectives of feminism (Walby 2011). Some reflections on the practical experiences and conceptual implications in different countries have already indicated that

though spreading widely through international networks, countries accept and promote this strategy unevenly in fact (Daly 2005; Mazey 2002; Ree, 2005; Walby 2005). I categorize these observations and introduce them in turn.

First of them is the flexibility of core concept resulting in incapability of transforming old institutions. Because of the core concept of gender mainstreaming is quite malleable, it is modified and integrated to the existed frames or process of policy making quite so often, and is unable to transform them consequently (Beveridge and Nott 2002; Daly 2005; Hafner-Burton and Pollack 2002; Verloo 2005). When gender concept applied to the administrative system, it must be confronted with standard operating procedures and multi levels assessment and easily resulted in preventing reflective concerns about the critical issue such as the intersectionality of the community, and the power relations of gender regime (Eveline and Bacchi 2005).

Second, the intensive interaction between the officials and gender experts blocks out the grassroots people and groups. Owing to mainstreaming strategy attempting to reconstruct policy process, it must be operated within government and restrained by the regulations; hence the reformation tends to be the expert-bureaucratic model than the participatory-democratic model (Beveridge and Nott 2002; McGauran 2009). When gender-related issue handled by the expert and bureaucratic, it would cause the exclusion of various grassroot and gender minority groups (Verloo 2005) and then neglect various life experiences in the policy making process, which is also the primary idea of mainstreaming.

Third, current division of government and the affirmative action for women may also have trouble with the mainstreaming. Regarding the organizational structure, because gender mainstreaming advocates cross-sectoral collaboration inside public sector, it conflicts with the deeply ingrained arrangement of government systems, such as hierarchical power distribution and division of professional functions and thus usually meet significant setbacks and challenged by the officials with traditional perspectives (McGauran 2009). Besides, in several countries, gender mainstreaming is considered as an alternative approach to equality and then threatens the status of women's policy agency and abolishes the policy of promoting women's rights and interests (Mazey 2002; Rees 2005;). As the mainstreaming brings entirely different outcomes of the women's policy agency, some are rejuvenating and others demolishing, analysts consider the blessing is "mixed" and need more empirical evidence to demonstrate (Outshoorn and Kantola 2007: 278).

Comparing to these observations, the most prominent characteristics of Taiwan's gender

mechanism are the expert-bureaucratic model and tight link of mainstreaming and CWRP. Concerning the practice, the concept of gender mainstreaming has aimed at developing technic tools for appraising policies and not taken the meaning of each device implementation into account. As much preceding analysis, the existing administrative organizations and policy processes are so rigid that those policies are lack of consideration the intersection issue and cross-sector dialogue is limited as before (Peng, 2015). Meanwhile, promoting gender mainstreaming also contribute to the empowerment of CWRP. Due to the prime minister, also the chair of CWRP, approved the resolution that mainstreaming strategy ought to be applied to policy formation broadly, many departments which are entirely unfamiliar with gender issue before appealing to public members or gender expertise for aid, and this condition results in the expansion of CWRP. However, when the government dealing with many emerging gender equality issues, the lack of integration among different ministries and unclear task division usually result in the avoidance of obligation hence losing the accountability of CWRP consequently (Huang 2008).

5. Concluding remarks and further question

Comparing the Taiwan experience with the international discussions on state feminism and gender mainstreaming, this article would like to raise a few reflective points for discussion and some research question that should be explored in the future.

The first is the analysis of the effects of policy influence and the change to political opportunity structure for women's policy agency in Taiwan. After the ruling party rotated for the third time, the administrative system did not change its direction and pace in continuously strengthen the women's policy agency. Can this be seen as the result of path dependence for the organization? Additionally, when the political opportunity structure changes, will the various social groups which entered the policy agency change the actual influence of the agency because of the groups' ability of policy discourse and friendliness toward the government?

Second, how will connecting with the policy agency change the movement strategies of the women's groups and the relationship between the state and civil society in Taiwan? Haussman and Sauer think that the state and the society will be more closely connected because of the creation of the policy agency, which makes the women's movement in the private sector manifest a "declining" and yet more "active" action approach (Haussman and Sauer 2007). The former refers to the fact that being a branch of the social movement, the level of energy for women's movement to mobilize the

group and confrontation outside the system are decreasing. However, the way it utilizes the party politics, organized interest groups, elected officials, public media, academic research and the administrative officials to institutionalize and strengthen its mobility has become another paradigm for the movements. Women's movement in Taiwan has always been interacting with the government in high frequency. After the policy agency is institutionalized, what changes will occur in the way its strategies? That is another important empirical question.

Third, will the access of state apparatus create the hegemony of unitary gender perspective? The state is the combination of the system and organization, and it must be construed as the arena for power struggle. During this process, it will create institutionalized and dominating interests. The relationship between the state and the society is interconnected. Under this definition, struggles within the civil society and corresponding effects of the changes in the state discourse will cause the state to transition (Sauer 2003). However, cooperating with the state also implies the numbness and compromise toward its hegemony discourse. Women's movement's participation in and tacit acknowledgement of the policy may legitimize the androcentric ideology embedded within said policy. It may strengthen the existing gender order and suppresses the diversity and divergence in the society instead. Therefore, we still need to evaluate with caution whether access to the state apparatus can really achieve the ultimate goal of gender equality – reforming the framework of consciousness and ideology.

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