To Break the Gendered Continuum of Violence

Sufficient and Necessary Conditions in the Implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in the Netherlands and Ireland

Joosje Heijmeijer

570837

International Public Management and Policy

Erasmus University Rotterdam

Dr. M. Onderco

19-08-2022

Word Count: 19.984

Summary

The Women, Peace and Security Agenda is unique in its kind. Built on four pillars, it is widely accepted as the main international security framework dealing with the gendered consequences on women and girls of war and violent conflict. Furthermore, it offers pathways to overcome these insecurities, promoting transformative change as a means to foster sustainable and durable peace. Having said that, the Agenda has failed to make a widespread impact on the lived experiences of women and girls on the ground. Scholars argue that this is grounded in the gap between rhetoric and implementation; while the UN, (partner-)organisations and states have expressed their support of the Agenda, various factors – among which are a one-sided and biased translation of the provisions, a lack of allocated financial and human resources, and a general lack of political commitment – suggest otherwise.

This study aims to elucidate the mechanisms underlying this gap between rhetoric and implementation. One of the theoretical approaches used to research this is Feminist Institutionalism. Grounded in the New Institutionalist school, it looks both at the interactions between formal and informal institutions in driving or withstanding institutional change and the social hierarchies underlying these institutions and interactions. In line with the Agenda's focus on positive change, this thesis will focus on the mechanisms that promote institutional change, not halt it.

Grounded in the Feminist Institutionalist approach, this thesis, thus, analyses to what extent a (feminist) constellation of actors, a gendered logic of appropriateness, path dependency and the mode of incremental change are sufficient and/or necessary conditions in explaining successful implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in the Netherlands and Ireland. Using Causal-Process Tracing, this study concludes that a (feminist) constellation of actors and the level of path dependency are necessary conditions in inducing WPS-implementation. The logic of appropriateness and mode of incremental change are sufficient conditions.

Acknowledgements

Looking back at my years as a student, I can pinpoint two moments that have greatly determined my path as both a student, and as a human being. The first has been the course 'Gender, Human Security and Violent Conflict' taught by Lucy Hall at the University of Amsterdam. It sparked an interest and passion for the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, gender equality and conflict studies, that I had not and since then have never felt before this intensely for anything relating to studies and work. These concepts have worked as a guiding light, helping me in my decisions of which path to follow. In this thesis, I have combined my passion for these topics with my ambition to make a meaningful impact on society at large – the reason why I had also decided to study International Public Management and Policy. Although this thesis is just a small step, I hope that it will help me come closer to attaining one of my deepest wishes, which is to help societies move from short-term security to long-term safety and stability.

The other moment has been my time as an NMUN delegate for Erasmus University to the NMUN 2021 (online) New York Conference. I am immensely grateful for the friendships I have made through NMUN. My friends have taught and shown me what freedom, home and friendship mean. I want to thank especially Jim for giving me Graceland and showing the importance of focusing on more than just the spoon.

Apart from that, I want to thank Dr. M. Onderco for his supervision, guidance and advice in writing this thesis. His advice on 'keeping my thesis on a tight leash' has helped me a lot in staying grounded and focused on the end-goal.

I, further, want to thank my family for their support and love, even when having no idea where either my Master nor thesis is about.

More than anyone I want to thank Eva. Throughout the whole process of writing, she has supported me with an almost unlimited supply of coffees, osawa cakes, and Ekoplaza bread. More importantly, I want to thank her for her friendship, her advice and her support. When the stress made me forget my passion for WPS, she helped me getting back on track, and finding that fire and sparkle again.

Table of Content

List of Tables

List of Abbreviations

1325 – United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

BPfA – Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

CEDAW – Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

CON – Congruence Analysis

COV – Covariational Approach

CPT – Causal Process Tracing

CSO – Civil Society Organisation

DFAT – Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

EU – European Union

EUMS – European Union Member States

FI – Feminist Institutionalism

GBV – Gender Based Violence

IOB – Policy and Operations Evaluation Department

MDGs – Millennium Development Goals

MoD – Ministry of Defence

MoFA – Ministry of Foreign Affairs

NAP – National Action Plan

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

NIA APG – The Northern Ireland Assembly All Party Working Group on UNSCR1325 Women Peace and Security

OG – Oversight Group

SDGs – Sustainable Development Goals

SGBV – Sexual and Gender Based Violence

TFVG – Taskforce Vrouwenrechten en Gendergelijkheid (Taskforce Women's Rights and Gender equality)

UN – United Nations

UNSC – United Nations Security Council

UNSCR – United Nations Security Council Resolution

UNSCR1325 – United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

UN SG – United Nations Secretary General

WPS – Women, Peace and Security

WPS-Agenda – Women, Peace and Security Agenda

1. Introduction

1.1 Research Goal and Question

When it was adopted in 2000, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR1325) was celebrated as a landmark resolution, as it was the first UNSCR specifically addressing the insecurities of violent conflict for women and girls. It came into existence after an intense collaboration with civil society organisations (CSOs) and politicians from several UNSC members, who were able to successfully advocate for setting the issue on the agenda. Since 2000, it has been expanded with nine other resolutions, together called the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda. While 1325 was unanimously adopted and while the UN, regional organisations and states have repeatedly underlined the importance of addressing the issues of UNSCR1325, the implementation of the WPS-Agenda is faced with many challenges. These obstacles have been identified as being, a biased and one-sided interpretation of the Agenda, a lack of financial and human resources, lack of engagement and knowledge on, and lack of political will to act upon the transformative potential of the Agenda.

Yet, little is yet known about the institutional drivers behind this inability to implement WPS. Furthermore, in-depth qualitative studies on implementation by individual states are missing, making it difficult to identify the mechanisms underlying the lack of WPS institutionalisation. This thesis aims to combine both gaps. Staying true to the nature of UNSCR1325 as a document advocating for positive, sustainable change, this thesis will fill these gaps by identifying institutional factors that promote change, not halt it. Applying the Causal Process Tracing (CPT) method and grounding the analysis in the Feminist Institutionalist (FI) theory, allows this thesis to examine the causal configurations of (feminist) constellations of actors, logic of appropriateness, path dependency and mode of bounded innovation in relation to WPS-implementation in the Netherlands and Ireland. Ultimately, this thesis aims to provide an answer to the research question:

"What are the necessary and sufficient factors that explain the implementation of the WPS-Agenda in the Netherlands and Ireland?"

1.2 Historical Development and Content

Motivated and inspired by the successes of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA), members of CSOs worked tirelessly to get the topic of WPS on the agenda of the UNSC (George & Shepherd, 2016). Eventually, it "was the combined efforts of inter- and transnational women's and

human rights organisations alongside a group of UN member states and UN agencies" that led the UNSC to put WPS on the agenda (Jonjić-Beitter, Stadler & Tietgen, 2020, p. 177). In 2000, CSOs had established the NGO Working Group for Women, Peace and Security in order to put a concentrated effort in advocating for a resolution on this topic (Jonjić-Beitter et al., 2020). The Working Group, for example, facilitated meetings between UNSC members and women from conflict-affected countries. Another important factor were the advocacy efforts from a number of non-permanent UNSC members– respectively, Namibia, Canada, Bangladesh and Jamaica – who together created momentum for a WPS-resolution. Importantly, Namibia had the presidency of the UNSC that year, thereby increasing the country's abilities to steer the discussions in its preferred direction. Together, international CSOs and states were able to raise the stakes and create the momentum needed to put WPS on the agenda and have it unanimously adopted.

The resolution was the first of its kind, providing the beginnings "of a policy framework that seeks to respond effectively to the complex array of gendered challenges" in (post-)conflict settings (George & Shepherd, 2016, p. 301). UNSCR1325 has been followed by a total of nine resolutions, building forth on and specifying 1325's focus points, addressing issues such as Sexual and Gender-based Violence (SGBV) and violent extremism. Together, these resolutions constitute the WPS-Agenda (see Annex 1 for a description of all resolutions).

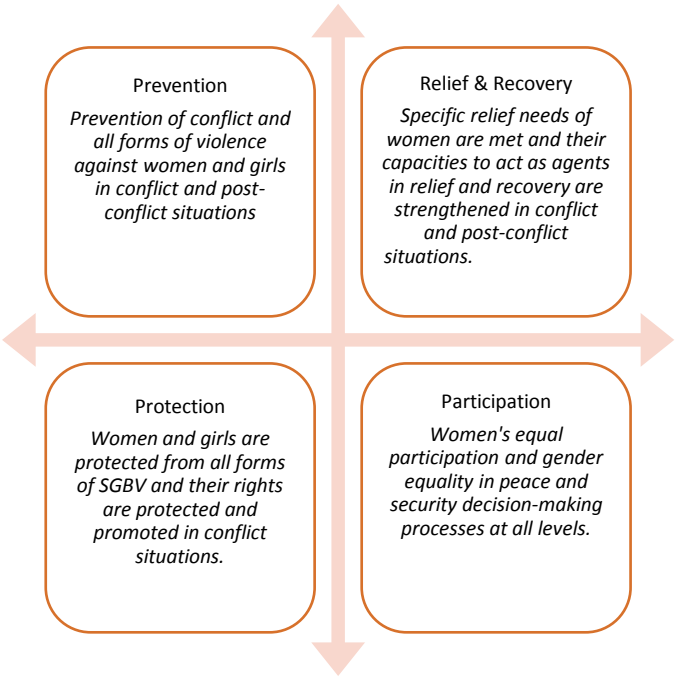
Grounded in the "progressive gender equality blueprints" of CEDAW and BPfA, the WPS-Agenda moves beyond a sole focus on the gendered impact of violent conflict on women and girls and the questions of protection stemming from this (OSAGI, n.d.). Rather, it stresses also "the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security" (OSAGI, n.d.). All resolutions build forth on the four-pillar structure as put forward in UNSCR1325, respectively participation, prevention, protection, and relief and recovery (see figure 1). As such, the Agenda is intended to promote both short- and long-term security for women and girls, fostering transformative change in the area of gender equality and women's rights and breaking the gendered continuum of violence.

The latter term relates to the notion that war is considered to be both "a creation and creator of the social reality in which it thrives" (Cohn, 2013, p. 21), meaning that violence in conflict reflects – distorted or magnified – social practices already present in society prior to violent conflict breaking out. In other words, dominant social practices to a great extent determine the insecurities women and girls will face in (post-)conflict settings (Bouta, Frerks & Bannon, 2005). Arguably, this explains in many instances the increased rates of sexual and domestic violence against women during and after conflict (Bouta et al., 2005). Criticising the clear-cut distinction between war and peace and broadening the concept of violence in conflict, the Agenda argues that a seize-fire is not enough to ensure durable peace. Rather, it is important to break this continuum of violence.

In the years following the adoption of UNSCR1325, it, however, became clear that tangible results on the ground were missing, partially because the Agenda lacked enforcement measures. Consequently, emphasis was placed "on developing additional methodologies, aimed at advancing the provisions of the resolutions into practice" (Swaine, 2017, p. 8). In 2004, the Secretary-General (SG) explicitly mentioned NAPs as one of these methods, which have since then become the default approach towards advancing effective implementation (Swaine, 2017). NAPs are stand-alone, national-level plans detailing the country's strategies to operationalise, incorporate and implement the WPS provisions and objectives into their national legislation, policies and practices. As of April 2021, 92 countries, i.e., 47 per cent of member-states, have adopted a NAP (WILPF, n.d.).

Figure 1

Pillars WPS-Agenda



Note. Adapted from *A global handbook. Parliaments as supporting partners for the Women, Peace and Security agenda*, by UNDP (2019). Copyright 2019 by UNDP.

1.3 Current State of Implementation

But despite this number of NAPs, implementation is lacking, leading to a lack of results on the ground. Currently, neither commonly agreed minimum standards nor a standard template exists to guide states in the development of a NAP (Jonjić-Beitter et al., 2020). Crucially, UNSCR1325 and later resolutions are often perceived as 'soft law', carrying only normative obligations. Relatedly, they contain no

reporting and monitoring requirements that oblige states to act (Barrow, 2016; Jonjić-Beitter et al., 2020). Despite the expectation that NAPs would fill this gap, their impact has been less than hoped. Responding to this, the SG published in 2015 the Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, which identified the causes to be the lack of sufficient funds from national budgets for NAPs, lack of NAP monitoring and accountability mechanisms, and in the lack of intergovernmental and CSO coordination (UNDP, 2019). Scholars have, furthermore, added that in the operationalisation and implementation of the Agenda, states have mainly focused on measures that protect women against sexual violence rather than incorporating its pillar-system in its totality (Puechguirbal, 2010; Kaptan, 2020). As a consequence, the UN, (partner-)organisation and majority of states have failed to capitalise on the transformative potential of the Agenda.

1.4 Societal Relevance

Arguably, the societal relevance of this thesis has two dimensions. The normative aim of this thesis is to identify successful pathways for more states to effectively implement the WPS-Agenda. This is needed because, fundamentally, the Agenda aims to tackle female day-to-day physical, social, economic and political insecurities in (post-)conflict settings across the world in order to promote durable peace and security (OSAGI, n.d.). Finding ways to promote effective implementation of the Agenda, hence, ultimately contributes to severing the gendered continuum of violence originating from these insecurities (True & Riveros-Morales, 2019).

On an instrumental level, it has been argued that successful WPS-implementation increases the effectiveness of peacebuilding efforts (True & Riveros-Morales, 2019). More specifically, when women are included in peace processes as witnesses, mediators, negotiators or as signatories it is twenty per cent "more likely that a peace agreement will last at least two years" and thirty-five per cent "more likely that it will endure" (True & Riveros-Morales, 2019, p. 25). Furthermore, gender inequalities have a negative impact on the behaviour of (non-)state armed groups in terms of the severity of violence and prevalence of SGBV (True & Riveros-Morales, 2019). With that in mind, the question should not be 'why to implement' but 'when'.

1.5 Scientific Relevance

The strength of the research lies in expanding the theory of FI to new areas and providing an in-depth look at the contributing factors for WPS-implementation in states.

When it comes to the EU, FI scholars have only focused on the determinants of WPS *adoption* in EU's CSDP. This thesis would, hence, bring two new elements into the application of FI; it would

focus on individual EU member-states (EUMS) and it would look whether certain FI identified conditions also hold for the process of *implementation in its totality*, and not just the phase of adoption.

Pertaining to WPS-implementation in states, research is mostly missing. Most literature focuses on broad themes, identified through a quantitative research design. This thesis brings depth to this research field, by using a qualitative research design and focusing on two countries in-depth.

1.6 Findings

Based on the analysis of the storylines, smoking-gun observations and confessions of the Netherlands and Ireland, this thesis concludes that a constellation of (feminist) actors and the level of path dependency are both necessary conditions in promoting WPS-implementation. The mode of incremental change and the logic of appropriateness are sufficient conditions.

1.7 Structure

This study will start its analysis with a literature review wherein we will delve into the literature on WPS-implementation within the UN, states and EU to illustrate the gap this thesis will advance on. In the theoretical framework, this thesis introduces the theory which will be used to provide an answer to the research question and fill in the gap. Thereafter, the methodology and research method of CPT are explained, followed by the operationalisation of the independent and dependent variables. In the analysis, this thesis will apply these concepts to the Netherlands and Ireland in order to provide an answer to the research question. By compiling storylines and by identifying smoking guns and confessions, the study will research to which extent a constellation of actors, a logic of appropriateness, path dependency and the mode of incremental change had an impact on the success of WPS-implementation in these countries. The evidence from the analysis will provide food for thought for the discussion, in which the thesis reflects on the meaning and shortcomings of the study. Lastly, in the conclusion, the study will reflect once more on the current state of implementation, its implications, and potential pathways to promote it.

2. Literature Review

Since 2000, various scholars have researched the various facets and implications of UNSCR1325 and WPS-Agenda. While many praise the creation of the Agenda, scholars are far from satisfied with how the Agenda has been put into practice within the (international) security domain. More specifically, they lament the lack of budget or commitment to the Agenda by Member States, and international and regional organisations dealing with security issues. Furthermore, where implemented, scholars argue that states focus predominantly on the pillar of 'protection' in relation to sexual violence. As such, states do not merely obscure the other three pillars of the Agenda, but also overlook that the insecurities women and girls face in and after conflict are not restricted to sexual violence. More substantially, various scholars have criticized the WPS-Agenda itself as inherently flawed and as such not suitable to address and tackle the gendered implications of (violent) conflict on women and girls.

In this literature review I will set the first steps in providing an answer to the question why there is a divide between rhetoric and real-life actions by countries. My aim is to provide the reader with a review of the literature on WPS-implementation, after which the study identifies the gap it will try to fill.

2.1 WPS-Agenda within the UN and systems of international security

In 2000, Member States, CSOs, and scholars alike celebrated the formulation and unanimous adoption of the revolutionary UNSCR1325. Ever since then, the WPS-Agenda is considered to be and has been used as the single "most significant international normative framework addressing the gender-specific impacts of conflict on women and girls" (True, 2016a, p.307). Contrary, however, to the significant degree of normative consensus on and approval of the importance of the WPS-Agenda, scholars have uncovered various cracks in the UN's and states' implementation of the Agenda.

Pertaining to the UN, Kreft (2017) argues that after UNSCR1325, gender provisions have only been selectively incorporated into peacekeeping mandates and operations. Her analysis reveals that that in the formulation of peacekeeping mandates, policy-makers focus only on the prevalence of sexual violence, a highly visible gender issue, when deciding whether gender provisions are of importance. As such, the mandates omit a substantive part of the Agenda, which moves beyond mere protection against sexual violence, and tries to counter women's socio-economic and political marginalisation in (post-)conflict settings (Kreft, 2017).

In her analysis, Puechguirbal (2010) expands on this argument. Analysing ten UN peacekeeping missions, she shows that the various resolutions of the WPS-Agenda are appropriated as to reinforce an image of women as a homogeneous group of mothers with children in need of protection against sexual

violence (Puechguirbal, 2010). More broadly, it is, for example, striking that of the ten resolutions under the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, six agreements focus solely on protection against and persecution of sexual violence. Due to this one-sided and biased overemphasis of the protection pillar, the Agenda's goals pertaining to participation or prevention have been mostly disregarded. Women, hence, remain politically marginalised, as policy-makers turn a deaf ear to the structural, practical and/or social barriers that hamper women to become involved on all decision-making levels (Taylor & Baldwin, 2019). Furthermore, the inflation of the protection pillar has led policy-makers to use the Agenda as a way to make armed conflict safe for women, rather than to use WPS to scrutinise the occurrence of armed conflict itself (Kaptan, 2020). As such, they fail to capitalise on the Agenda's transformative potential, obstructing a thorough reconfiguration of the international security system. Adding on to this, Puechguirbal argues that it appears that within UN-peacekeeping missions, references to 1325 are included merely as a proxy "for appearing to be concerned with gender-related issues in the country of mission without actually committing to its implementation" (2010, p. 182).

Starting from similar observations, True (2016b) identifies five different models of the implementation of gender mainstreaming measures in the context of international peace and security. She argues that these models "are relevant to understanding and explaining the lack of progress in mainstreaming gender in national and international peace and security institutions and settings" (p. 459). The first model is the Gender-as-sameness model in which gender concerns are mainly added to the existing frameworks without assessing or changing them, i.e., the 'add women and stir' approach. The gender-as-difference Model underlines the 'uniqueness' of men's and women's distinct contributions, depicting women as natural peacebuilders due to their distinct qualities. Moving beyond an essentialist reading of men and women, the gender-as-intersectionality Model reflects on the social inequalities that interact with gender, underlining the complexity of gender relations. The transformationalist Model goes a step further and challenges existing frameworks as a means to transform existing gender relations. The last model, the resistance-to-gender-mainstreaming Model pertains to situations wherein resistance to gender mainstreaming leads to an ambivalent programme or even outright rejection of gender principles.

Through an evaluation of gender equality strategies of peace and security policy-making bodies of various countries and international organisations, True (2016b) posits five criticisms. First, she finds that – in line with the fifth model – gender mainstreaming is "often adopted as an empty signifier in the form of a checklist to satisfy external actors rather than to achieve gender equality goals" (2016b, p.461). Secondly, gender mainstreaming practices often neglect the complexity of gender relations. In practice, gender is mainly understood as referring to women, and more specifically, passive victimised women. Likewise, True argues that UNSCR1325 is silent "about the underlying gender roles that celebrate masculine aggression and condone violence against women, as well as the gendered socio-economic inequalities that make women more vulnerable during conflict and post-conflict situations" (2016b, p.462). If gender mainstreaming efforts portray women as a homogenous group, they fail to

acknowledge the other factors that may contribute to gender inequalities. Thirdly, she posits that it is (too) difficult to assess the impact of gender mainstreaming as it is deployed in a wide range of forms and operations. Fourth, she criticises how gender mainstreaming is co-opted to achieve other goals, even when these goals do not necessarily contribute to gender equality. An example of this is when gender mainstreaming provisions are included only to the extent that they contribute to the attainment of security and stability, regardless of whether this entails gender equality. Lastly, she points out that the exclusion of women's CSOs in the formulation of gender mainstreaming practices and strategies undermines the transformative potential of gender mainstreaming.

2.2 WPS-Agenda and States

Outside the UN system, in the first years after the adoption of 1325, states were hesitant to incorporate the Agenda into their national policies. As a consequence, the SG requested states to adopt WPS-NAPS as a means to ensure effective incorporation (Swaine, 2017). As such, the NAPs are considered to be the driving force that facilitate state action and hence drive the global diffusion of the Agenda (Swaine, 2017; True, 2016a). NAPs indicate how national governments want to address the gender dimensions of peace and security and how committed they are to women's inclusion in these processes. To attain the policy commitments, NAPs are expected to provide concrete goals and targets. In her article, True (2016a) researches the global diffusion of NAPs to uncover the motivations of states to adopt one. She finds that a combination of a few factors can explain why and when states decide to formulate a NAP, among which are the country's degree of democratisation and female presence in positions of power (True, 2016a).

Having said this, the adoption of a NAP should be treated as the start of a process of implementation, rather than the end goal. Apart from the tendency of states to focus solely on the attainment of a NAP, there are, according to Swaine (2017) a few additional challenges that problematise effective implementation of the Agenda. Importantly, the WPS-resolutions are weak in terms of enforcement in comparison to other UNSC resolutions and as such provide little room to force States to incorporate the resolutions into their policies and turn them into tangible results. Furthermore, within the UNSC disagreement persists over whether the Agenda applies to all States or merely post-conflict and conflict States. Thus, due to a lack of external enforcement and accountability mechanisms and the disagreement over the width of the Agenda's jurisdiction, effective, holistic implementation of the Agenda is dependent on a state's own commitment to adopt and incorporate the provisions.

Looking in depth at the state-level, Swaine (2017) identifies a few factors that explain the variation in adoption. Currently, the main supporters of the adoption of a NAP are donor countries in the Global North, focusing mainly on providing security to women in the Global South (Swaine, 2017). She, further, finds that it matters which government body has the primary responsibility over the

development and monitoring of the NAP as this in turn has an effect on the funding and saliency granted towards the Plan (Swaine, 2017). The extent to which a government entity then includes other stakeholders, such as CSOs and other ministries, has an additional effect on both the nature of the Plan and the ease with which a government will be able to implement the provisions. The location within a government system and the inclusiveness of a NAP, hence, are both factors that could undermine or promote smooth implementation of the Agenda. The last two challenges Swaine identifies are the lack of transparency by states on their progress and the difficulties states face in translating the transformative, equity-based and whole-scale character of the Agenda into tangible, "narrow-time bound planning tools" (Swaine, 2017, p.17). Sharing most of these points, Barrow (2016) then goes on to argue if states wish their NAPs to be relevant to the lived experiences of women and girls presently in conflict, they should include CSOs into their deliberations, adopt a clear gender analysis into their framework, and hold regular evaluations as a means to ensure the effective operationalisation of the Agenda on both a normative and operational level.

2.3 WPS-Agenda and the European Union

Turning to the EU, various scholars have scrutinised the incorporation of gender provisions and the WPS-Agenda into the EU's foreign policy (Chappell & Guerrina, 2020; Guerrina & Wright, 2016; Deiana & McDonagh, 2018). In their piece, Deiana and McDonagh argue that policy initiatives in the area of WPS "tend to translate gender in problematic ways that either perpetuate problematic themes of women as passive victims or where agency is acknowledged as failing to address the broader structural issues that limit women's capacity to act" (2018, p. 416-417). Next to the problematic WPS-policy translation, they find that the Agenda's transformative potential has been under-exploited "due to the gap between declared policy commitments and the real institutional supports available to translate these into action" (2018, p. 419). Furthermore, where implemented, the WPS-Agenda is operationalised through a narrow range of targets. For example, in the area of Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), gender is mainly addressed in the context of gender-based violence (GBV).

Chappell and Guerrina (2020) share these observations, but have adopted a wider approach and look at the European External Action Service (EEAS) in its totality. Through their qualitative content analysis of EU's gender regime in the areas of personnel and security and defence policy, they find that the EEAS's gender approach is heavily reliant on the neo-liberal foundations of the EU, focusing mainly on adding women into the dominant structures in place. Regarding personnel, they find that EEAS' approach reflects True's first model of 'add women and stir'. Furthermore, there seems to be a clear pattern of vertical segregation wherein women are in almost all cases confined to the traditional lower-ranking administrative roles. Having said this, appointing a woman at a senior level position does not in itself lead to gender equality. Rather, "the adoption of a gender-sensitive approach requires a detailed

consideration of structural barriers faced by women operating within highly masculinised fields" (p. 272). Pertaining to gender provisions within EU's CSDP, the authors mention various obstacles that hamper gender mainstreaming within that policy field. First, lack of management support is mentioned, partially relating to the negative perception of gender mainstreaming efforts. Second, gender is predominantly seen as being part of human rights, thereby discarding the crosscutting and multi-level character of gender mainstreaming. Third, the WPS-Agenda is incorporated as one of many venues, rather than being considered as the "primary international vehicle for mainstreaming of gender" (p. 276). Based on their analysis, Chappell and Guerrina (2020) conclude that although the Union claims to be a normative gender actor, it is better to call them a gendered normative actor, as they incorporate gender provisions only to the extent that it suits the interests of the EU. This explains why, in the EEAS, the focus is on adding women to the existing structures, rather than focusing on the implementation of a transformative approach that tackles the biased and unequal structures of the body.

While the UN, other organisations, and states have voiced their support of WPS, the lack of an effective implementation of the Agenda into (inter-)national security structures suggests that other factors are at play as well. In essence, the Agenda is meant to sever the continuum of violence women experience in (post-)conflict settings, by establishing a bridge through participation between short-term protection and relief, and long-term prevention. However, as long as gender provisions in UN documents, EU policies and NAPs solely focus on protection against sexual violence, it is expected that they will merely treat the symptoms, and not the root causes of gendered insecurities in conflict.

Yet, while these critiques have been voiced by almost all scholars, only a minority of the literature then moves towards explaining these tendencies and identifying the sentiments or rationale underlying these actions. Furthermore, focusing on the EU, scholars have mainly focused on EU departments. When states are mentioned, scholars, further, only talk about them in 'plural' without differentiating between and within states. Arguably, this characterisation obscures not only the differences between Member States but also the different decision- and policy-making levels within individual EUMS that could have an effect on WPS-implementation as well. In this thesis, I will combine these two gaps in the literature – respectively, the lack of in-depth research into the sentiments underlying WPS-implementation, and the lack of detailed analysis of implementation in EUMS

This thesis will thus analyse the processes of WPS-implementation by EUMS in order to uncover the potential causal configurations that explain implementation. As such, this thesis hopes to provide new insights to not only the general literature on WPS-implementation, but also to the specific research field of the EU and EUMS.

3. Theoretical Framework

From the onset, the WPS-Agenda has been extensively scrutinised by scholars. Most research points toward the gap between proclaimed commitment and actual implementation of the Agenda. In this second part, the thesis will introduce the theoretical explanations of these tendencies. Broadly speaking, we can divide the academic literature between two feminist schools of thought; feminist International Relations (IR) and feminist Institutionalism. Originating in the 1980s, feminist IR looks at the broader power dynamics and meaning-making within the international sphere to explain the implementation – or lack thereof – of the Agenda (Thomson, 2019). Contemporary Feminist IR focuses mainly on language, and hence, is predominantly interested in discourse and the role of language in the formulation and reinforcement of the agenda. In addition to this, a growing body of feminist IR research focuses on norms theory. FI, on the contrary, is an expanding field of research that favours the incorporation of formal and informal institutions in the analysis of the Agenda. Scholars of FI argue that "the way in which institutions are structured has an impact on the ability they have to represent gendered concerns and to facilitate women's representation" (Thomson, 2018, p.188). More than Feminist IR, Feminist Institutionalism has the aim to provide insights "into the role of actors, culture, and structures in shaping key policies" (Guerrina, Chappell & Wright, 2018, p.1037). As such, I expect that FI could prove more useful than Feminist IR as a conceptual tool in the thesis' endeavour to elucidate the internal dynamics of WPS-implementation within EUMS.

3.1 Feminist Institutionalism; theory and main concepts

In short, FI analyses the social hierarchies inherent to a state's institutions. It has been developed as a response to the failure of New Institutionalism (NI) to incorporate gender into its analyses, ignoring, as a consequence, major institutional changes, such as gender quotas and mainstreaming (Mackay et al. 2010). FI as such contributes to the scholarly debates of institutions in four ways (Thomson, 2018). First, it incorporates into theory the understanding that gendered power dynamics are omnipresent within institutions. Second, it allows for a greater understanding of the interaction of formal and informal institutions, rules and norms. Third, more than NI, FI is concerned with explaining why and how institutional change occurs. And lastly, it provides us with a greater understanding of power, as it places power dynamics at the centre of its analysis. In that sense, while FI underlines the importance of both formal and informal institutions, it also elaborates on mechanisms of gender capture and bias to see how deeply implicated gender is within these institutions (Waylen, 2018).

To sum up, FI is concerned with exploring the "link between formal rules and informal norms at work" (Thomson, 2019, p.608), as well as the potential importance of actors and networks in

capitalising on or altering this regime (Joachim et al., 2017). As such, this theoretical approach makes it possible to "capture the forces that drive change both within and outside institutions" (Joachim et al., 2017, p. 109). Scholars of FI thus argue that institutions are reflective of a state's social hierarchies and as such take up a key role in the reproduction of the norms embedded in these hierarchies by their formal institutionalisation. Via this route, a society's gender norms are reproduced, institutionalised and hence, normalised. As institutions – and actors – are path dependent, it becomes, in turn, difficult to introduce policies that deviate from the state's existing gender regime (Guerrina et al., 2018).

3.2 Formal and Informal Institutions

But, before we can formulate the study's theoretical expectations, it is important to take a step back and establish what institutions are and what makes them gendered as a means to show the importance of FI as an approach. Within NI, including FI, discerning the character of and the interactions between formal and informal institutions is a main focus. In 2004, Helmke and Levitsky identified institutions as "rules and procedures (both formal and informal) that structure social interaction by constraining and enabling actors' behaviour" (2004, p. 727). Formal institutions are the "rules and procedures that are created, communicated and enforced through channels widely accepted as official" (2004, p. 727). Informal institutions, in turn, are considered to be the "socially shared rules, usually unwritten, that are created, communicated and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels" (2004, p. 727). Informal institutions, in that sense, serve as the hidden life of an institution, governing how – in our case – gender is woven into the fabric of an institution and naturalised so that its gendered norms and consequences remain unremarked and unperceived.

Likewise, we can differentiate between formal and informal rules. The former encompasses the formally codified rules, such as around employment or political participation, that determine the rules of the game and as such are easily recognisable (Waylen, 2018). The latter, on the other hand, encompasses all rules that are not formally written down, but co-exist and interact with, complement or complete formal rules, such as the sexual division of labour (Waylen, 2018).

3.3 Institutions and Gender

However, the existing approaches of NI were blind to the interactions of formal and informal institutions and related rules as relating to gender. FI has stepped into this gap. In their article, Mackay, Kenny and Chappell (2010) understand gender to be both "a constitutive element of social relations based upon perceived (socially constructed and culturally variable) differences between women and men" and as "a primary way of signifying (and naturalising) relationships of power and hierarchy" (Mackay et al., 2010, p. 580). So, gender, arguably, has both a subjective/interpersonal level as a structural one, wherein it is

a function of social structures and institutions. Within institutions, gender operates in a nominal and substantive sense. The nominal dimension, known as gender capture, is rooted in the historically rooted but continuing imbalance between men and women in holding the influential positions of power. The substantive dimension, or, gender bias, results in supposedly 'neutral' or 'impartial' political institutions and rules favouring a specific masculinity over other masculinities and femininities (Chappell & Waylen, 2013). It is built on "a set of social norms founded on accepted ideas about femininity and masculinity … usually (but not ineluctably) linked to a particular sex" (Chappell & Waylen, 2013, p. 601). This means that even if women and men would hold a similar number of influential positions of power, there is no guarantee that institutional operations and character will start to change accordingly. A gendered institution is, hence, an institution wherein "constructions of masculinity and femininity are intertwined in the daily life or logic of political institutions", in turn shaping and constraining social interaction (Mackay et al. 2010, p. 580).

Acknowledging these dynamics, FI adds an important dimension to NI and its understandings of power, "providing critical insights into the institutional dynamics of inclusion and exclusion" (Mackay et al., 2010, p. 583),

3.3.1 Institutional Change and Gender

FI, furthermore, provides us with a tool to uncover the gendered structures of political processes that work to resist or limit institutional reform, "highlighting particular mechanisms of reproduction that underpin political institutions and limit possibilities for change" (Mackay et al., 2010, p. 583). In her work, Waylen (2014; 2018) argues that it is in important to understand the interaction between formal and informal institutions to uncover the processes that can hinder or promote formal rule change. The form that the intended change will take is, further, dependent partially on the political context and the amount of discretion in the existing structures and rules (Waylen, 2014). More specifically, there seem to be four types of institutional change, respectively displacement, layering, drift and conversion (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010). It is argued that especially layering – the introduction of new rules on top or alongside existing rules – and conversion – use ambiguity within existing rules to influence institutions to behave in a different manner – are strategies fit to enforce changes in rules regarding gender equality (Waylen, 2014). Having said that, Waylen does acknowledge that this is not enough. Gender mainstreaming, for example, shows how formal rule change does not immediately lead to a changed institution, due to the "continuation of pre-existing norms and rules, badly designed and ineffective new rules, as well as lack of implementation and enforcement often facilitated by the existence of gaps and soft spots" (Waylen, 2014, 220).

Hence, this study expects that the mechanism of institutional change – displacement, layering, drift or conversion, respectively – has an effect on the success of WPS-implementation. Yet, as such it will be a sufficient, but not necessary condition.

3.3.2 Institutional Change and (Feminist) Constellation of Actors

Other FI scholars have focused on networks as a means to explain the gap between rhetoric and implementation of WPS and other gender mainstreaming policies. Moving specifically to the WPS-Agenda and UNSCR1325, Guerrina et al. (2018) apply the 'velvet triangle' as proposed by Woodward (2004), consisting of feminist actors – i.e., femocrats – within the institutions themselves, CSOs and academia – to analyse the lack of gender mainstreaming within the EU's CSDP. Within her work, Woodward has argued that the inclusion of gender within policy making is dependent on the presence of a feminist triangle or constellation, which serves as an informal governance platform for feminist advocates to promote institutional change (Guerrina et al., 2018). Woodward (2004) argues that especially femocrats are of vital importance to the success of gender policies, as they provide openings into high politics for feminist activists and scholars to voice their ideas and criticism. In doing so, femocrats can work to allow new gender norms to take root within institutions. So, ultimately, Woodward's (2004) approach assumes that the inclusion of gender within the "policy portfolio", combined with the presence of feminist actors within the processes of decision-making can initiate institutional change (Guerrina et al., 2018, p. 1040). Importantly, institutional change occurs via a process of layering rather than institutional conversion. Guerrina et al.' analysis (2018) suggests that feminist actors are of vital importance to the advancement of gender equality norms and their incorporation into an institution's policy agenda.

Founded on similar premises, Joachim, Schneiker and Jenichen (2017) argue that constellations work as 'transmission belts' "through which gender mainstreaming is carried into and diffused within institutions" (Joachim et al., 2017, p. 110). Having said that, the success of such a network is also partially dependent on the opportunities that the formal institution itself holds. From this, we can derive the theoretical expectation that for the WPS-Agenda to take root within a state's institutional structure, it needs a feminist constellation to initiate and stimulate this process. As such, this study, further, expects that it works as a necessary condition.

3.3.3 Institutional Change and a Gendered Logic of Appropriateness

Crucially, policy change is not binary; if a policy is incorporated, this does not mean that there inevitably will be institutional change. In their work, Minto and Mergaert (2018) have researched the institutionalisation of gender mainstreaming and evaluation within EU policy-making. Departing from

a FI approach, they set out to explain why evaluation as a mechanism has attracted a higher degree of institutionalisation within the Commission than gender mainstreaming, although both are deemed important in promoting effective policymaking (Minto & Mergaert, 2018). In their analysis, they apply concepts from the FI approach, respectively, path dependency, logic of appropriateness, and layering, to (partially) explain this difference. They explain path dependency to mean the impact of initial events – called critical junctures – in determining the long-term path and development of a policy, which in turn, is difficult to reroute (Collier & Collier, 1991; Minto & Mergaert, 2018). A logic of appropriateness, in turn, suggests that institutions are not value-free and objective but, rather, that institutions are made up of interrelated rules and routines, based on norms and values, that ultimately work to constrain certain types of behaviour, whilst encouraging others (Chappell, 2006). The logic of appropriateness, arguably, underlines the influence of informal institutions in determining the conducts of a formal institution. With regards to gender equality, many scholars have posited that – especially within Western, liberal bureaucracies – the logic of appropriateness of bureaucratic neutrality has led to ignoring the inherent gendered differences in these systems. As a consequence, this neutrality has perpetuated a gendered normative 'way of doing things', favouring specific masculine qualities over other masculine and feminine qualities (Chappell, 2006; Chappell & Waylen, 2013; Minto & Mergaert, 2018). As such, policies to promote gender equality, for example, via gender mainstreaming, are expected to run into more difficulties, as the dominant logic of appropriateness runs inherently counter to this goal. Minto & Mergaert (2018) argue that while critical junctures have worked in favour of promoting the institutionalisation of both policy evaluation and gender mainstreaming, the institutional logic of appropriateness within the Commission has worked against the institutionalisation of mainstreaming, even though it took the – less radical – route of layering.

Based on this, this study expects that the level of path dependency within the institution responsible for WPS has an effect on the success of implementation. Furthermore, it expects that if the responsible formal institution has a gendered logic of appropriateness, it will be more difficult to incorporate the Agenda within a state's institutional structure. Following the observations by Minto & Mergaert (2018), this study expects that the former is a sufficient condition, while the latter is a necessary one.

4. Research Design and Methods

4.1 Research Design

Using FI as a theoretical approach comes with a few methodological challenges. While formal institutions and their nature are easy to decipher, informal institutions are more difficult to research (Chappell & Waylen, 2013; Kenny, 2014). In their works, Chappell and Waylen (2013) and Kenny (2014) point to the success of institutional ethnography – and related participant observation – as a method to research gender and informal institutions. This type of method, however, is difficult to put in practice due to a restriction in the amount of time and resources (Kenny, 2014). Chappell and Waylen (2013) further highlight that this type of research might overemphasise the role of actors and their practices and beliefs, thereby ignoring the influence of the institutional context – including the power differentials, hierarchies and structures – in which they operate. Therefore, a different research design is desired.

A large-N design – on the other hand – would not suffice as well, as the complex, subjective nature of informal institutions requires an approach that provides the researcher with the space to do in-depth and detailed work (Lombardo & Hafner-Burton, 2000; Kenny, 2014). Following this line of argumentation, this thesis opts for a systematic, in-depth qualitative case study.

In their seminal book, Blatter and Haverland (2012) explain the added value of case studies. More than large-N research designs, a case study is able to take "into account a broad and diverse set of explanatory factors" (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, p. 5). Furthermore, the smaller number of cases makes a case study an ideal research method to investigate complex or abstract phenomena, such as, gendered formal and informal institutions (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). Furthermore, with a case study, a researcher is better equipped to gather detailed and specific empirical evidence and use these observations to reflect on their relationship with the abstract, core elements of theories and hypotheses (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). Within a case study design, you can differentiate between three types of design; co-variational design (COV), causal process tracing (CPT) and congruence analysis (CON) (Blatter & Haverland, 2012).

COV is an X-centred approach, used by researchers to research the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable. Importantly, a COV-design assumes that an independent variable has an autonomous causal power, working independently from other independent variables (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). Because this thesis is, in essence, interested in finding out the causes of WPS-implementation and I expect the independent variables not to have an autonomous causal power, we can rule out COV as suitable for this study.

CON is the most recent of the three case study designs and is considered to be the most suitable option for researchers who aim to contribute to the "theoretical discourse" within a specific field of research (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, p. 203). To do this, researchers make use of the 'three-cornered fight', "in which the empirical evidence is compared with expectations deduced from at least two different theories" (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, p. 204). Because this thesis is interested in the causal mechanisms behind WPS-implementation, rather than the elucidation of the relative strength of two different theoretical discourses, this design will not be used (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). Furthermore, due to constraints in available empirical evidence, I expect that it will be difficult to select crucial cases – which serves as an important part to the CON-approach – which would have undermined the strength of this research if we would still proceed with this particular approach.

CPT, rather than the COV approach, is arguably more y-centred, as the researcher is interested in the various, complex causes of a particular outcome (Y). To uncover the causal mechanisms at play, researchers make use of configurational thinking, which assumes that the interaction of a combination of causal factors together create a certain outcome. Relatedly, the CPT approach hence assumes that independent variables do not have independent causal power (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). As such, CPT is useful for researchers who are interested in explaining in a comprehensive and detailed manner the causal mechanisms underlying a single, important event or phenomenon. Next to that, the approach can also be used to "identify and explain more general and/or more abstract aspects of the social world" (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, p. 80). Consequently, case selection is based on 'accessibility' of empirical evidence.

Because of the CPT's focus on causal mechanisms and processes playing out over time and space, I believe this approach to be most suitable for our research focus. Furthermore, as the requirements for case selection are less strict, the CPT approach also accounts for the restrictions in availability of empirical evidence.

4.1.1 Internal and external validity

Within social sciences research, internal and external validity are two important concepts. Internal validity deals with the extent to which your measurement of the study's (theoretical) concepts is accurate. Put differently, internal validity measures the extent to which your causal claim is an adequate representation of the empirical evidence. External validity, on the other hand, is an indication of the generalisability of your research. In general, the CPT approach has strong internal validity, but weak external validity. Pertaining to internal validity, Blatter and Haverland (2012) argue that the process of causal-process observations, characteristic for the CPT approach, greatly strengthens the internal validity of the presumed causal inferences. More in general, case-studies enable the researcher to gather in-depth, detailed and comprehensive empirical evidence on a limited number of cases, thereby

increasing the chances that a correct causal inference will be made. Having said that, it also holds various research challenges, such researcher and/or confirmation bias (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007).

Furthermore, this detailed and comprehensive research of a case also leads to the research having a weak external validity, as the causal claims are more likely to only apply to one particular case. A possible way to overcome this weakness is to combine them with a comparative method that "map cases onto causally similar populations to enable generalisations to be made" (Beach, 2017, p. 21). Blatter and Haverland (2012), furthermore, highlight possibilistic – or, configurational – generalisation as a way to overcome the obstacles of external validity. Herein the focus is on "drawing conclusions toward the set of causal configurations that make a specific kind of outcome (Y) possible" (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, p. 82). More in general, Blatter and Haverland (2012), further, point out that the intention of CPT is not to generalise the findings of a study to a wider set of cases that embody similar independent variables, but rather to contribute to the detailed articulation of a set of causal configurations that make a certain outcome possible. Within this thesis, external validity will be enhanced by analysing two cases in-depth rather than one. Furthermore, I will make explicit the implications my study has on cases outside of the two investigated countries.

4.1.2 Reliability

Another important concept within research is reliability. In essence, reliability, means "the extent to which a measurement procedure yields the same answer however and whenever it is carried out" (Kirk & Miller, 2011, p. 6). Within this study, following Yin (2003) and Chappell and Waylen (2013), I will ensure reliability of the empirical evidence by collecting multiple sources of evidence and corroborating these sources in order to attain data triangulation. Data triangulation will also account for the bias stemming from the interviews, as I expect that social desirability bias, personal bias or confirmation bias can lead to measurement errors and difficulties in finding the same answers when the study is replicated (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007; Noble & Smith, 2015).

In relation to the CPT approach, Blatter and Haverland (2012), furthermore, highlight the importance of contextual information in ensuring a case study's reliability. Collecting a sufficient amount of contextual information plays a vital role in building up the comprehensive storyline that strengthens the certainty and reliability "of the most important pieces of empirical evidence": 'smoking guns' and 'confessions' (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, p. 99).

4.1.3 Theory and Case Selection

The empirical building blocks of CPT are storylines, smoking guns and confessions that together provide density, temporal order and depth to the formulation of a causal process. In essence, storylines constitute

the bigger picture of a causal mechanism, wherein "the development of potentially relevant causal conditions is presented in a narrative style" (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, p. 111). Importantly, a storyline serves as a means to identify the structural factors that work as critical moments, and as such, does not focus on micro-level aspects. Secondly, CPT aims to find the 'smoking-gun' observations that could provide certainty that a certain causal factor – or a combination – indeed mattered for the causal pathway or final outcome. Thirdly, confessions work to complement these observations and consist of the observations that provide deeper insights into the "perceptions, motivations, and anticipations of major actors" (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, p. 112). Together, these three types of empirical evidence are the fundamental building blocks that help to draw causal inferences, and as such are necessary factors to be included if a researcher wants to offer a full-fledged explanation of an outcome. Crucially, within a CPT approach, the researcher will make a distinction between necessary and sufficient conditions, wherein the former is a necessary factor in explaining the occurrence of a causal configuration. In other words, without this factor, the causal mechanism is non-existent, whereas the latter is a sufficient factor, meaning that the occurrence of a mechanism is less dependent on the existence of just this condition (Blatter & Haverland, 2012).

Within CPT the overarching principle that guides the case selection is 'accessibility'. For this approach to be applied in a sufficient manner and for its explanatory strength to have any value it is not only dependent on the density and depth, but also the quality and trustworthiness of the provided empirical evidence. For this, a researcher needs to have access to a wide range of sources and information (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). Next to this general criterion, there are additional criteria that need to be taken into account. As this thesis will focus on identifying the sufficient and necessary conditions that contribute to the outcome of WPS-implementation, case selection is based "on similarity with respect to the outcome and on a sequential logic of case selection" (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, p. 104).

As this thesis focuses on WPS-implementation in EUMS, the two cases will be chosen from this population. The guiding principles will be, first, accessibility, and second, outcome similarity. In light of the first principle, this thesis will only focus on Dutch, or, English speaking countries, in order to guarantee that a wide range of empirical evidence can be obtained. This leaves us with the Netherlands, Belgium and Ireland. In light of the second principle, I conducted a small review of the NAPs of the three respective countries in order to check for similarities. This analysis was conducted on the basis small number of indicators, which in turn were derived from the literature (Barrow, 2016; True, 2016b; Swaine, 2017). Based on the outcome of this short analysis (see figure 2), I have decided to focus on Ireland and the Netherlands, seeing that they share the highest similarity with respect to the outcome indicators.

Figure 2

Short review of the NAPs for determining case selection

	Ireland	**The Netherlands**	**Belgium**
Responsible government authority	Whole-of-government approach with involvement Department of – amongst others – Defence and Defence Forces, Department of Foreign Affairs, and Department of Justice and Equality.	Ministry of Foreign Affairs functions as coordinating partner, together with the Gender Platform WO=MEN	Involvement various ministries, amongst others, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Interior.
CSO participation in development	Yes, together with representatives from government and knowledge institutions	Yes, together with representatives from government and knowledge institutions	Semi, only in form of consultations.
CSO participation in implementation	Yes, but not specified which CSOs will be involved	Yes, and specified which type of CSOs will be involved.	No role for CSO, except to be included in consultations.
Holistic focus	Holistic approach, with focus on the WPS pillars of protection, prevention, relief and recovery. Expanded framework on disarmament to include gender perspective and women inclusion in arms control and non-proliferation	Focus on all four pillars of WPS.	Focus on WPS pillars of protection (specifically against sexual violence) and participation.
Budget allocation	No specific information on budget allocation or estimation.	Budget allocation by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but no	No specific information on budget allocation or estimation.

		estimated budget indicated.	
Monitoring and Evaluation	Oversight group consisting of representatives of government and CSOs and academia.	Context-specific monitoring and evaluation system based on SMART indicators wherein state meets with focus countries and CSOs	No specific monitor and evaluation system, nor involvement CSOs or other non-state actors.

Note. Information derived from WILPF's 1325 NAPs country database

4.1.4 Data Collection

The 'soundness' of a CPT case study is grounded both in the density and depth, and the quality and trustworthiness of the empirical evidence (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). To gather the needed evidence, Blatter and Haverland (2012) consequently prescribe a thorough 'soaking and poking'. Bearing this in mind, this study will use a combination of desk research and in-depth interviews. That way, this study will ensure that it has a broad base of detailed empirical evidence to ground its causal inference in and that – through data triangulation – the evidence is reliable and of good quality.

4.1.5 Desk Research

The main basis for gathering the empirical evidence will be desk research. To establish the level of institutionalisation of the WPS-Agenda, the study will focus on analysing the NAPs of the two countries in combination with other available national government reports, evaluation and policy documents and press releases from the involved government agencies. Taking into account the possibility of reporting bias, secondary (academic) sources, available reports and analyses by CSOs will also be used (Yin, 2003). The same sources will, further, help to identify the storylines, smoking-gun observations and confessions and shed light upon the expected causal configurations of the independent variables.

4.1.6 Interviews

Next to desk research, this study will also use empirical evidence obtained from in-depth, semi-structured interviews, the latter to allow for both flexibility and objective comparison. The interviews were conducted with people working in the field of WPS-implementation, in both governments and in CSOs. As such, they are an addition to the evidence deciphered through desk research. They help in

gathering confessions and in complementing the above-described empirical evidence with "perceptions, motivations, and anticipations of major actors" (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, p. 112).

4.2 Methodology

Through a case study design, this thesis aims to uncover the necessary and sufficient conditions that contribute to the implementation of the WPS-Agenda in the Netherlands and Ireland. For that, I have grounded my analysis in the FI perspective, believing that focusing on the interplay between formal and informal institutions and related institutional change could prove useful in uncovering the causal configurations underlying WPS-implementation.

4.2.1 The Dependent Variable: WPS-implementation

As this thesis moves beyond a binary view of implementation and – in essence – wishes to explain the process from formal adoption and implementation to (in)formal institutional change, I will operationalise the dependent variable of WPS-implementation as the full institutionalisation of a country's NAP within the state's formal and informal institutions.

To establish the level of institutionalisation, this study will follow Minto and Mergaert's model (2018) of policy mechanism institutionalisation. This model ranks the level of institutionalisation as either low, medium or high by focusing on five empirical indicators, respectively 1. Formalised adoption; 2. Structures and procedures; 3. Quality; 4. Accountability and compliance; and 5. Stability. Following this model, Minto and Mergaert (2018) consider a policy institutionalised when it "has become a normalised and stable part of the decision-making process, with the quality of this practice being maintained through the investment of resources (human and financial) and consistent monitoring" (Minto & Mergaert, 2018, p. 209). In figure 3, I have reprinted and adapted the model as to fit the thesis' research aim.

Figure 3

Dimensions of institutionalisation of the WPS-Agenda within states and related empirical indicators

Dimensions	Empirical indicators
Formalised adoption *the government has formally adopted the WPS-Agenda via a National Action Plan*	• Formal adoption via NAP • Explicit and high-level commitment

Structures and procedures *a regularised practice has been established, with supporting structures*	• Normalised part of policymaking • Dedicated bodies to support a NAP's implementation • Standard approach with clear guidelines • Dedicated tools to support daily routines and processes
Quality *Existence of institutional investment in achieving and maintaining high-quality practice*	• Investment of resources (human and financial) • Training of staff • Quality assurance mechanisms
Accountability and Compliance *Transparent practice, adequately, regularly monitored and mechanisms are in place to ensure compliance*	• Process is transparent to enable external oversight • Process is monitored on a regular basis • Texts are available • Actors are identifiable • Mechanisms to ensure guidelines are followed (i.e., incentives/sanctions)
Stability *Practice does not vary across policy areas or over time*	• Implementation of WPS National Action Plan is consistent across policy areas and over time

Note. Table and information reprinted and adapted from Minto and Mergaert (2018). Copyright by Minto and Mergaert (2018).

4.2.3 Operationalisation independent variables

Based on the theoretical framework, this thesis expects that (feminist) constellations, path dependency and critical junctures, logic of appropriateness, and the mode of incremental change all play a role in the causal mechanism explaining WPS-implementation. In this part, I will explain how this study operationalises these independent variables.

(Feminist) constellation

As explained in the theoretical framework, a (feminist) constellation or network is a network of influential political actors and other feminist actors, i.e., femocrats, operating in the formal government structures, together with representatives of CSOs and academics. The NAPs of the Netherlands and Ireland are a good source for identifying the key actors and representatives as the documents mention the CSOs, government agencies, knowledge institutions, and other actors involved. The extent of their influence will be 'measured' through a combination of the three CPT concepts, i.e., storylines, smoking guns and confessions.

Path dependency and critical junctures

This study considers path dependency to constitute the impact of initial events – i.e., critical junctures – on the long-term path and development of a policy, which, in turn, is difficult to reroute (Collier & Collier, 1991; Minto & Mergaert, 2018). In the analysis of the case studies of Ireland and the Netherlands, this thesis will apply the concepts of path dependency and critical junctures in order to investigate how and if critical junctures in both countries have bolstered possibilities – or limits – of institutional change in favour of the WPS-Agenda. This will be done through identifying a comprehensive storyline running from the adoption of UNSCR1325 in 2000 to the adoption and implementation of the latest NAP. Smoking guns and confessions will then add detail to this structural analysis, to guarantee that we research both the existence and nature of this causal mechanism.

Logic of Appropriateness

A logic of appropriateness illuminates the 'way of doing things' within an institution. More specifically, the concept holds that institutions are made up of interrelated rules and routines, based on norms and values, that ultimately work to constrain certain types of behaviour, whilst encouraging others (Chappell, 2006). Arguably, a logic of appropriateness is what connects informal and formal institutions to each other, showing how an informal institution impacts on the way of doing things within a formal institution. In order to establish the nature and influence of a logic of appropriateness, this study will thus look at the type of rules and routines, and norms and values present within the government agencies responsible for WPS-implementation in Ireland and the Netherlands. The empirical evidence needed for this will be derived from the interviews with government officials and from official government reports, publications and secondary (academic) sources. Again, the storyline will work to identify the structural, broader elements of the configuration, whereas the smoking guns and confessions will provide depth to this mechanism.

Mechanisms of incremental policy change

Mahoney and Thelen (2010) have identified four mechanisms of gradual institutional change; displacement, drift, conversion and layering. Displacement entails the full-blown removal of the existing rules and subsequent introduction of new rules. Drift occurs when due to shifts in the policy environment

and context existing rules have a different impact than originally intended. Layering entails the introduction of new rules alongside or on top of existing rules. Lastly, conversion occurs when ambiguity within existing rules is used strategically to influence institutions to behave in a different manner (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010; Waylen, 2014). In the operationalisation of these four types of policy change, the study will use the model as proposed by Mahoney & Thelen (2010), wherein the used mechanism is determined according to four indicators, respectively the removal, neglect or changed impact/enactment of old rules and the introduction of new rules (see figure 3). In essence, the storyline will help to identify the used mode, whereas the smoking guns and storylines will help to establish the extent of influence on institutional change.

Figure 3

Types of Incremental Change

	Displacement	Drift	Layering	Conversion
Removal of old rules	Yes	No	No	No
Neglect of old rules	-	No	Yes	No
Changed impact/enactment of old rules	-	No	Yes	Yes
Introduction of new rules	Yes	Yes	No	No

Note. Table reprinted from Mahoney and Thelen (2010). Copyright Mahoney and Thelen (2010).

5. Analysis – the Netherlands

With the latest NAP developed and signed in 2020, the Netherlands commenced with the fourth cycle of their efforts to operationalise and implement the Agenda. Building forth on the successes and lessons learned from the three earlier NAPs, NAP IV now has both an external and internal dimension and has – next to the four WPS-defined goals – solidified a fifth pillar focusing specifically on gender mainstreaming. Furthermore, it has incorporated a concrete monitoring framework and installed an oversight board wherein the government and CSOs together keep an eye on the implementation, evaluation and common learning-agenda. Arguably, with these new developments, NAP IV has put in place the mechanisms to ensure that it is holistic, effective and durable, fostering both short-term security and long-term stability and equality, thereby approximating or advancing on the transformative nature of the WPS-Agenda. Herein it, arguably, fits within True's (2016b) transformationalist model.

Within this analysis, the goal is to establish a comprehensive storyline, identify the smoking guns and make use of confessions to elucidate the necessary and sufficient conditions that have contributed to the articulation of such a NAP.

5.1 Level of institutionalisation

Before delving into the analysis of the independent variables, it is important to establish the level of institutionalisation of the WPS-Agenda within the responsible government departments in order to have a clear view of the dependent variable. While the Ministry of Defence (MoD), of Education, Culture and Science, and of Justice and Security have co-signed the different NAPs, this thesis will focus on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) in particular, because of its coordinating and leading role in the process. Using the model of institutionalisation by Minto and Mergaert (2018), we can establish that the WPS-Agenda – operationalised as the NAPs – is in the process of becoming highly institutionalised within MoFA.

Looking at formalised adoption, the WPS-Agenda is formally adopted via a NAP, and has received explicit, high-level commitment. This has been a constant since the adoption of UNSCR1325 in 2000, building forth on the MoFA's decades-long commitment to fostering human rights and gender equality in fragile and conflict-affected states (IOB, 2015a). Explicit and high-level commitment has shown itself, furthermore, through actions by the Dutch government on the European and UN-level, where it has repeatedly advocated in favour of measures advancing women's rights (IOB, 2015a; IOB, 2015b). During the Dutch membership of and one-month presidency in the UNSC it, for example, succeeded in strengthening the position of UNSCR1325 and gender-sensitive language within the UNAMA mandate

and had actively lobbied in favour of incorporating SGBV as a criterion within the existing international sanctions regime (Schuurman, 2018; Herweijer, 2019).

On the second criterion, this study argues that with every new NAP cycle it became more regularised. Currently, it has a formalised coordination structure in place, wherein MoFA's Taskforce Women's Rights and Gender Equality (TFVG) and WO=MEN together co-chair the NAP-network. WO=MEN is a Dutch gender platform through which ministries, NGOs and other organisations work together in promoting gender equality and women's rights. For the NAPs, WO=MEN coordinates the contribution, involvement and inclusion of CSOs. Since NAP-IV, MoFA has installed an oversight board, which overlooks the process of implementation and evaluation, fosters the common learning agenda and encourages the growth of the support base. As such, the coordination structure is supported by a clear set of guidelines and dedicated bodies. Outside this structure, the MoFA employs gender focal points and gender advisories throughout its departments and operations, thereby supporting the regularised and day-to-day implementation of the NAP throughout the Ministry. Critically, however, multiple mid-term reviews in 2015 and 2019 have shown that internally, departments diverged in their approach towards the NAP and WPS-Agenda (IOB, 2015a; Herweijer, 2019). While TFVG considered the NAPs to be *the* Dutch WPS approach, other departments considered it to be one venue through which one part of the WPS-Agenda could be implemented, seeing that NAP-II and NAP-III only focused on a total of eight countries. As a result, the NAPs or NAP-signatories were not systematically included or mentioned in the projects of other departments. As NAP-IV takes a wider approach again, it is expected that the NAP will be systematically included in other departments as well.

Pertaining to the third criterium this study finds mixed results. Except for gender advisors and staff within TFVG, MoFA lacks a standardised, obligatory training on WPS. Furthermore, staff appointed as gender focal points also have other tasks, which in practice, leads them to not being able to put enough time in NAP/WPS related activities. Having said that, since NAP-IV, MoFA has an institutionalised M&E structure in place build on a set of official gender indicators. That way, MoFA and WO=MEN are able to monitor the progress on the different strategic (sub-)goals and can hence ensure the quality of the different projects and practices dealing with WPS.

This, further, ties back in the fourth criterium, as the newly established monitor-framework enhances the accountability and compliance structures of the Plan. In addition to this, involved actors are identifiable and texts are publicly available.

Regarding the last criterium of stability, I would argue that the implementation of the NAP is partially consistent across policy areas and over time. A process of institutionalisation is clearly visible as the Agenda – with every new NAP cycle – gains new ground, receives more attention and becomes more standardised and regularised across more policy areas. This is partially reflected by the increasing number of signatories signing the Plan and the decision of the MoD to develop its own NAP.

Furthermore, every new NAP adds on to the previous ones, building forth on their best practices and lessons learned and responding to new developments. So, while NAP implementation itself is not yet a stable practice, it is getting there.

5.2 (Feminist) constellation of actors

The study's first expectation holds that a feminist constellation of actors is a necessary condition for successful WPS-implementation.

Storyline. Three years after the adoption of 1325 in the UNSC, the Dutch government set its first 'official' steps towards incorporation of the resolution into its internal procedures and institutions, when MoFa and MoD published a joint policy note on the state of implementation. This led to the creation of the interdepartmental Task Force Women, Security and Conflict in November 2003, mandated "to increase the role of women in conflict prevention, resolution and post-conflict reconstruction" (IOB, 2015a, p. 36). The operations of this Task Force were to a great extent grounded in the recommendations formulated by the Clingendael Institute. Together with the 2007 Schokland Agreement – a multi-stakeholder agreement between government, companies and CSOs as a means to promote the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals – this greatly defined the character of the formulation and implementation process of NAP-I, wherein CSOs played an important role (IOB, 2015a).

Around the same time, under the auspices of WO=MEN, an NGO working group on UNSCR1325 was created, consisting of representatives of NGOs and civil experts, conducting policy dialogue, knowledge sharing, awareness-raising and agenda-setting "to advocate for the effective implementation of UNSCR1325" (Strop-von Meijenfeldt et al., 2013, p. 42). Strop-von Meijenfeldt et al. (2013) argue that these efforts helped to put the implementation of UNSCR1325 on the priority list of MoFA, in turn, leading the Ministry to establish an ear-marked budget of 4 million euros for the implementation of NAP-II (Strop-von Meijenfeldt et al., 2013). The Policy and Operations Evaluation Department (IOB) has further concluded in their 2015 evaluation of the first two NAPs that it was "a successful mix of political will, positive examples provided by the Nordic countries and the UK, and parliamentary insistence that was supported by civil society advocacy efforts" that led the NAPs "to become an established element of Dutch policy on gender, peace and security" (IOB, 2015a, p. 44). Parliamentary insistence, for example, showed itself through the 2008 Motion Diks wherein parliament asked the government to include a paragraph on the situation of women "in all relevant state-of-affairs letters … that outline political, security and developmental progress in focus countries of the Dutch government and indicate the Dutch contribution to this progress" (IOB, 2015a, p. 38).

In the years following the adoption of NAP-I and subsequent NAP-II, the multi-stakeholder cooperative structure was institutionalised through the establishment of the coordination structure wherein MoFA and WO=MEN shared the task to coordinate the implementation of the Plan. Simultaneously, more emphasis was put on the role of local CSOs and actors in implementing the NAP in the focus countries. These (smaller) CSOs have, later, effectively advocated for funds for small-scale rapid action and innovative projects, which initially were left out of the bigger NAP-funding mechanisms (IOB, 2015a).

The different NAP cycles, signatory events and consultations further provided civil society actors and representatives of CSOs with the space to share their insights, to voice concerns and criticisms and recommend adjustments or new policies. On many occasions, these have worked as direct input for the formulation of a new Plan or adjustment of existing policies.

Looking at the incorporation of 'gender' in its totality within MoFA, individual (feminist) actors within MoFA and its internal departments have been of great importance to the regularised incorporation of gender into policies and practices (IOB, 2015b). While, on multiple occasions, the Ministry has confirmed the importance of gender equality and women's rights in the "overall agenda of promoting the inclusiveness of development" (IOB, 2015b, p. 58), the policy decisions to abolish gender experts at the Dutch embassies during the beginning of the 2000s, the lack of comprehensive gender trainings since 2011 and the irregularity in doing gender analyses during the implementation phase, led to gender becoming an 'optional' thing, rather than a necessity. Consequently, individual staff members have an enormous impact on whether or not gender is included.

Smoking-Guns. In the above-described storyline, we can identify various smoking-gun observations which show the impact of networks of (feminist) actors in promoting the creation and implementation, and influencing the content and focus of the different NAPs. The success of the NGO working group on UNSCR1325 in getting the topic on MoFA's agenda and establish an earmarked budget, and later, through Motie Diks, of parliament in promoting implementation through demanding gender-mainstreaming in all relevant MoFA operations are just two examples that show the positive influence of actors from CSOs and parliament in initiating and fostering the process of WPS institutionalisation.

Confessions. Providing depth to above-established storyline and smoking guns, both interviewees underline the importance of femocrats within the ministry itself in all stages of implementation. Interviewee A told how already from the start, a number of activist actors from within the Ministry – who had also worked on BPfA – were strongly committed to writing a Dutch NAP. So, while, according to interviewee A, CSOs initiated it, femocrats were vital in picking this up and starting the process of institutionalisation within MoFA. The second interviewee builds forth on this, underlying how individual actors from within the Ministry, and especially from higher management levels – although it

is becoming more regularised – are still vital in underlying the importance of WPS, implementing the policies, and raising awareness within their departments on 1325 and gender.

From the start, civil society has played a crucial role in the development, implementation and monitoring of the NAPs (Strop-von Meijenfeldt et al., 2013). While knowledge institutions play a marginal role within the implementation of UNSCR1325, the network of actors from MoFA, parliament and civil society has played an important role in both the character as the implementation of the different NAPs. While this was to a great extent a conscious decision from the start, it is partially determined by the fact that 'gender practices' in their broadest sense are not yet fully regularised, so that (feminist) actors within MoFA play a vital role in promoting institutional support for gender-conscious policies. As such, this study considers the constellation of actors to be a necessary condition for successful WPS-implementation.

5.3 Logic of Appropriateness

This study, further, expects that the logic of appropriateness is a necessary condition, meaning that if an institution has a gendered logic of appropriateness, it will become more difficult to implement the WPS-Agenda.

Storyline. For decades, the Dutch approach towards human rights has been unstable. It is considered to be a core pillar of the Dutch foreign policy for decades, wherein the Netherlands see themselves as a 'guiding nation' (IOB, 2014). However, it has had more difficulties in putting this in effect, when human rights efforts conflicted with other interests or when the political parties in power had other priorities (Baehr, Castermans-Holleman & Grünfeld, 2002; IOB, 2014). The implementation of WPS suffers from a similar logic as gender and concerns pertaining to women's human rights and human security often are set aside when more 'urgent' matters demand attention (IOB, 2015a).

From the 1990s, with the Dutch ratification of CEDAW, the Dutch policy on women's human rights has predominantly focused on combatting SGBV, promoting political participation and ensuring Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights. At the turn of the century until 2007, however, gender issues virtually disappeared from the MoFA's agenda and "specific funding of women's organisations had all but been abolished" (IOB, 2015b, p. 14). From 2007, women's rights and gender equality regained their importance and funding, but it took until 2011 for the Netherlands to formulate its first international gender policy (IOB, 2015b). This policy combined an instrumentalist with a rights-based approach, arguing on the one hand the universality of human rights, and on the other, the gains in policy effectiveness when incorporating gender analyses (IOB, 2015a; IOB, 2015b). Since 2012, MoFA

specifically asks “for more attention to women’s rights in the different spearheads and point to the need for demonstrating that country programmes are based on a careful analysis and diagnostic” (IOB, 2015b, p. 59). Furthermore, over the years, “amidst a wave of aid budget cuts”, funding for gender mainstreaming has been maintained and has even increased (IOB, 2015b, p. 68).

Smoking-Guns. This would suggest that the logic of appropriateness is slowly changing acknowledging both the normative and instrumental value and thus relevancy of women’s rights and gender equality. However, the continuing inconsistency with which women’s rights were picked up in various relevant policy documents, suggest that it is not yet fully accepted as an important issue within MoFA. For example, UNSCR1325 focal points appointed to the various MoFA departments are predominantly junior staff members, who have to learn on the job, and have to divide their time between other tasks as well.

Confessions. This ambiguity is reflected in confessions as well. Interviews conducted in the course of the IOB policy evaluation (2015b) showed, for example, that the ‘bureaucratic wall of indifference’, observed in 2001, had vanished. Yet, during the 2020 NAP-IV thematical consultations, the CSOs and knowledge institutions present argued that gender is still too often an afterthought or administrative add-on and that gender analysis tools are not systematically used (1325 Dutch NAP Partnership, 2020). Crucially, Interviewee A and B both argued that within MoFA there are interdepartmental differences. In essence this means that the department dealing with development assistance is far more open to and knowledgeable about how to conduct gender responsive and transformative analyses. In other departments, especially the ones dealing with security policy and stability, these methods are still sometimes undervalued and hence not-regularised and underused. Both interviewees do see a change for the better, with more staff and departments willing to inform themselves about gender and use it in their policies and operations.

Taken together, these observations suggest that the logic of appropriateness within the MoFA is mixed. From the literature we would expect that a NAP would then be met with more obstacles. Seeing the level of institutionalisation, this study however argues that this expectation does not hold. As such, a gendered logic of appropriateness is a sufficient, but not necessary condition.

5.4 Path Dependency

This study, further, expected that the level of path dependency within the responsible Ministry is a sufficient but not necessary condition in explaining the degree of WPS-implementation.

Storyline. The Dutch approach towards WPS is grounded within its larger commitment to fostering human rights and within the acknowledgement that women’s rights are human rights. While – as

previously explained – MoFA has an ambiguous stance towards human rights, human rights have been and remained one of the main pillars of the Dutch foreign policy (IOB, 2014; IOB, 2015a; IOB, 2015b). As such, while over the years it has not always been at the foreground of new and existing policies and frameworks, it has maintained its position. Women's rights in the field of peace and security have followed suit.

Two early monumental declarations have helped in defining the Dutch approach within this field, respectively CEDAW in 1979 and the BPfA in 1995 (IOB, 2015a). CEDAW, being the first international convention on discrimination against women, "laid the groundwork for future resolutions on women and gender" (IOB, 2015a, p. 34). In 1995, the BPfA specifically identified women in armed conflict to be one of its twelve Critical Areas of Concern and included for the first time a "global commitment to incorporate gender perspectives in peace and security issues" (IOB, 2015a, p. 34). Herein the emphasis was laid not only on protection but also participation and prevention, what would later come back in the WPS-Agenda as well. So, already before 1325, the Netherlands became familiar with an approach to women – and not gender – in conflict stooled on a set of pillars. The adoption of UNSCR1325 in 2000 and later WPS-resolutions further determined this path.

This path consists of two different tracks; a stand-alone track focused specifically on WPS with an emphasis on female leadership and the economic and political role of women in peace processes – as reflected by the BPfA and UNSCR1325 – and a gender-mainstreaming track – which had been mentioned in UNSCR1325 as well (IOB, 2015a).

The Schokland Agreement in 2007 and the subsequent creation of the MDG3 Fund have in turn influenced the way the Dutch MoFA have tried to put it in action. Within Schokland, the emphasis was on cooperation, wherein government, companies, CSOs and knowledge institutes came together to promote the attainment of the MDGs. The MDG3 Fund, in turn, was created to financially support companies, NGOs and knowledge institutes in bringing about improvements in the area of gender equality and women's empowerment. So, in both mechanisms, the emphasis was on a cooperative relationship between government, CSOs and companies, wherein all share the responsibility to foster change. To a great extent, this mentality comes back in all four NAPs, wherein it is expected that all signatories – both governmental and civil society – contribute to the strategic (sub-)goals.

Smoking-Guns. But, while we can identify several critical junctures that have to a great extent determined the path of WPS-implementation, developments over the years have shown that it is open to change. One development that reflects this openness is the decision to not only focus on (post-)conflict countries, but to include a national focus as well. Herein, the Dutch government runs counter to its decade-long approach to WPS wherein it solely focused on women in fragile and conflict-affected countries in the Global South (Commission for Foreign Affairs, 2021). Another development is the decision of the Dutch government to focus on the gendered consequences of the trade in SALWs and

other weapon-exports (Commission for Foreign Affairs, 2021; NAP-IV, 2020). In both examples MoFA has shown that it is open to change, responds to external criticism and new developments and insights.

Confessions. The interviewees also highlighted the embeddedness of WPS within existing policies concerning human rights and gender equality. They, furthermore, mentioned how the cooperative structure of NAP-implementation is reflective of an institutional wide approach towards (international) development and sustainable change, underlining responsibility-sharing. Having said that, both interviewees confirmed that the MoFA is open to change, adapting its policies when needed. A tangible example of this openness, mentioned by both, was the reformulation of NAP IV as a strategic document. Herein, it ran counter to the NAP's 'natural' development, as the earlier NAPs were mostly a funding mechanism. With NAP-IV, MoFA actively diverted from this path and restructured the NAP's functions.

This would suggest that despite a few monumental critical junctures in the formative years of WPS-formulation and implementation, that continue to determine the character of MoFA's approach to WPS-implementation, path dependency has not obstructed it from changing. Together, this stability and openness have played an influential role in the trajectory of the Dutch NAPs becoming on the one hand increasingly more regularised and institutionalised, but on the other, also more holistic and in touch with the practices on the ground. As such, this study argues that path dependency is not just a sufficient condition, but a necessary one.

5.5 Mode of Incremental Change

This study has, further, formulated the expectation, namely, that the mode of incremental change, as a sufficient condition, has an impact on the success of WPS-implementation. Current literature on WPS-implementation argues that a strategy of layering is most successful.

Storyline. Looking specifically at the different NAPs we can clearly see a model of layering, as old rules, i.e., policies – in most cases – do not get removed, nor replaced, while new rules are introduced. In that way, every new NAP builds onto the older ones, continuing with policies identified as effective and/or desirable, whilst introducing new rules when round talks with CSOs, evaluations or developments show that new policies are needed.

Regarding WPS within the broader policies of MoFA, policy innovation is bounded in similar manners. Prior to UNSCR1325 and the first NAP-I in 2007, policies concerning women's rights, SGBV and social development had been articulated and implemented within the Trade and Development Cooperation section of MoFA. When NAP-I was developed, the responsible policy-makers build further

on these policies. These policies, further, extended the cooperative structure of implementation that had been used in development policies. As the status quo reinforced an informal institution that was open to gender and women's rights, implementation of the NAPs was as such not too difficult. It has been mentioned, however, that because of the NAPs embeddedness within the sections of Development Cooperation, it was difficult to incorporate them in the Security section of MoFA. While the NAPs build forth on existing policies concerning gender and violence, i.e., CEDAW and the BPfA, the status quo was less open towards WPS as it was seen as not that urgent and more suited for development policy.

Smoking-Guns. This discrepancy in WPS-implementation between the different departments within MoFA presents us with a smoking-gun that uncovers part of the causal mechanism. This discrepancy suggests that the mode of incremental change – in this case layering – only accounts for a part of the story.

Confessions. The interviews strengthen this empirical evidence. Interviewee B highlighted, for example, that the cooperative structure characteristic of the Dutch NAPs is reflective of a broader approach the Ministry takes in the field of (sustainable) development cooperation, wherein responsibility is shared as a means to ensure all parties involved feel ownership of the specific policy. Furthermore, interviewee B confirmed that it was more difficult to embed WPS within the security and foreign affairs departments. Interviewee A sheds light on the mechanisms underlying this, arguing that 1325 implementation is not structural, because it has been more difficult to convince these departments of the relevancy and importance of gender-mainstreaming and WPS. Thus, as the status quo embodied an informal institution that perceives the NAPs as not that relevant or urgent, policy change via layering has been difficult.

As such, it seems that the success of institutional change is less dependent on the strategy of incremental change – in this case, layering – and more on the status quo within the different departments. Arguably, this ties back into the above-mentioned logic of appropriateness, thereby underlying the character of that concept as a necessary condition. The mode of incremental change, on the other hand, is arguably a sufficient, but not necessary condition, which means that the study's fourth expectation holds.

6. Analysis – Ireland

Ireland is currently in its third round (2019-2024) of NAP-implementation. Building forth on the successes and lessons learned of NAP-I (2011-2015) and II (2015-2019), NAP-II has broadened their holistic approach, now including topics such as violent extremism, the SDGs, human trafficking, and the inclusion of men and boys (NAP III, 2019). NAP-III, furthermore, has introduced an Oversight Group (OG), consisting of both government actors and members of CSOs, which oversees "the regular and systematic review of progress on achieving the outcomes, actions, targets and impact across all pillars" (NAP III, 2019, p. 24). Together these changes in content and operations are expected to greatly benefit the implementation of the Agenda, ensuring that an holistic plan, with a broad support base, has the structure to effectively be implemented and monitored. Another positive development has been the increasing embeddedness of the Agenda in wider developmental plans and the subsequent growing interdepartmental coherency. The Irish 'A Better World' (2019) places the Agenda within the country's wider policies on international development, thereby capitalising on UNSCR1325's transformative potential and staying true to True's (2016b) transformationalist model.

6.1 Level of Institutionalisation

Again, before we delve into the analysis of the independent variables, it is important to establish the level of institutionalisation of the WPS-Agenda – the dependent variable – within the responsible government departments. While many different state departments are involved, this study will focus on the level of institutionalisation within the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) as this department has the lead in the implementation (Tunney & McMinn, 2013).

Concerning the first criterium, this study argues that the WPS-Agenda within Ireland is formally adopted, and that it has explicit, high-level commitment. The latter shows itself through Ireland's persistent lobby and advocacy efforts on this topic within both the EU and the UN. Additionally, Ireland has formulated a fifth pillar that specifically focuses on the importance of promotion and advocacy efforts in advancing the goals of the WPS-Agenda (McMinn, n.d.)[1]. It, further, shows itself through Ireland's aim to have women and gendered perspectives at the centre of its UNSC membership (NAP III, 2019). Relatedly, it participates in "every Security Council open debate on Women, Peace and Security and consistently raises 1325-related issues, even as part of other thematic debates" (McMinn, n.d., p. 27).

Regarding the second criterium, Ireland has put in place a regularised practice with dedicated bodies and structures, among which are specific objectives and a formalised task division, that support

[1] In later NAPs, the relief and recovery pillar was removed, meaning that currently, Ireland has four pillars, them being protection, participation, prevention and promotion

implementation. The first NAP, for example, contained 12 objectives and 48 actions, whereby each action has a designated department or actors who hold responsibility for implementation, with the Conflict Resolution Unit (CRU) as head coordinating unit. This task division has been repeated in NAP II and III as well.

When it comes to the third criterium, Ireland has more difficulties. The NAPs funding mechanism lacks a detailed structure as funding falls under each individual implementing unit. As a consequence, notwithstanding the fact that funding of gender and women's rights-related activities has increased, it is not clear how much of those financial resources goes to specific NAP-related activities. Furthermore, in the consecutive NAPs it is not specified whether and how appointed staff will be trained to specifically address the challenges surrounding NAP-implementation. It has, however, solid quality assurance mechanisms in place, through the OG, a specific Monitoring Framework and an external evaluation in the middle and the end of an implementation cycle (NAP III, 2019). Together with consultation sessions, these mechanisms are meant to promote institutional learning. Hence, we can argue that there is partial institutional investment in achieving and maintaining a high-quality practice.

This ties back into the fourth criterium. On this, Ireland shows better results, as texts – such as the various reviews and meeting-outcomes – are available and actors are identifiable. The process is, further, transparent in order to ensure the above-mentioned external evaluation can be properly conducted. Through the quarterly meetings of the OG the process is, furthermore, monitored on a regular basis.

Concerning the fifth criterium, this study finds that practice has become more stable over policy areas over time. With every new NAP cycle, policy coherence among and collaboration between units on WPS within DFAT has strengthened. Furthermore, the DFAT has proactively placed the WPS-Agenda in various of its long-term strategic visions, such as the Statement of Strategy (2011-2014), and the One World, One Future which outlines Ireland's international development policy (McMinn, n.d.).

As such, this study argues that WPS-implementation in Ireland is in the process of becoming highly institutionalised.

6.2 (Feminist) Constellation of Actors

The first expectation of this study reads that a (feminist) constellation of actors is a necessary condition in the success of WPS-implementation.

Storyline. From the onset of NAP-I, CSOs and knowledge institutions have been closely involved in the formulation and review processes. Prior to the adoption of NAP-I, CSOs such as the Irish Consortium on Gender Based Violence (ICGBV) and the National Women's Council of Ireland and various gender activists and academics "played a significant role in the inception and development of Ireland's NAP" (Tunney & McMinn, 2013, p. 27). Their main activities consisted of "commissioning of research on best practice in developing NAPs by the ICGBV, actions to build collaborative working on UNSCR1325

within civil society … [and] advocating for the creation of a formal role for civil society in the NAP process" (Tunney & McMinn, 2013, p. 27).

Later in the development phase of NAP I, actors from civil society were able to push the DFAT to reconstitute the newly-developed consultative group (CG) and to appoint an independent Chair as to ensure that more women were consulted and that concrete or measurable actions would be included in the NAP's draft (Tunney & McMinn, 2013). In his evaluation of the ICGBV, Mike Williams (2011) further notes that the bulk of recommendations proposed in the CG by the Consortium and other CSOs were ultimately used in the final NAP draft. The newly-appointed chair, in turn, further organised a technical group with actors from civil society to give advice on monitoring and evaluation. This was used to organise an outreach consultation session with "individuals and groups of women who had experienced conflict and were now living in Ireland as asylum seekers, refugees and migrants" and with women living in Northern Ireland and along the borders (Tunney & McMinn, 2013, p. 28). As such, the consultation process proved to be a key mechanism in improving the NAP's quality, as it actively included the experiences of the women living with conflict.

Importantly, it shows how CSOs were able to successfully advocate for a wider inclusion of actors. Building forth on this, it has been argued that these interventions by the wide range of actors "have been fundamental in the development of constructive responses to bringing women's rights and perspectives of peace and conflict into macro-level political processes" (Woever, 2016, p. 145).

After the adoption of NAP I, this collaborative model was continued, and the Monitoring Group – now the OG – has an equal representation of actors from government and actors from CSO or academia with expertise on WPS issues, led by an independent chair. CRU-led consultative workshops have, further worked as opportunities for CSOs, activists and academics to inform the character of every new NAP. An analysis of the three consecutive NAPs and texts of the consultative workshops show that the DFAT is receptive to the input given by these actors.

Simultaneously, questions by parliamentarians to the Ministers of DFAT and Defence in the Seanad Éireann and the organisation of discussions on gender equality, women's rights or security in foreign affairs committees further worked to promote DFAT's commitment to implementation (Dáil Éireann, 11 May 2021; Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, 23 March 2021).

Smoking-Guns. In the above-described storyline, we see multiple points that underline the important role of actors from CSOs, academic institutions, and parliament, in combination with governmental actors in influencing the development, character, and depth of implementation of the NAP. While from the start, the DFAT sought to include members from civil society and academia, it was due to efforts by these actors that the process became more inclusive and more in touch with the lived experiences from women affected by conflict. In combination with parliamentarians, they then monitored the process of implementation, assuring structural commitment by the DFAT to this topic.

Confessions. This pattern is confirmed by confessions. In the evaluation of the ICGBV, members and (senior) staff and managers from the fifteen member-organisations mentioned the success and effectiveness of advocacy efforts of the organisations in promoting the adoption and implementation of a holistic UNSCR1325 NAP (Williams, 2011).

Based on this, this study argues that a constellation of actors from governmental institutions, CSO and of academic institutions proved a necessary condition for WPS-implementation in Ireland. On the one hand, this constellation has successfully advocated for a broad inclusion of perspectives and experiences, thereby strengthening the content of NAPs and grounding it in the lived experiences of women. On the other, through the consultative workshops, the OG, and involvement of parliamentarians, the network of actors was able to underline the saliency of WPS in Ireland's foreign affairs and defence work.

6.3 Logic of Appropriateness

This study, further, posits the expectation that the logic of appropriateness is a necessary condition in determining the level of WPS-implementation.

Storyline. Over the years since the creation of NAP-I, the Agenda has become more embedded within both the formal and informal institutional structures of the DFAT. As WPS has been included in various strategic government documents, such as A Better World or the Statement of Strategy, the NAPs have taken on a "central place in Ireland's foreign policy and development policy and programmes", whilst effective implementation is considered an international commitment (Hinds & Donnelly, n.d., p. 17). As a consequence, momentum around activities relating to WPS is building and more and more DFAT units and actors within have expressed the desire to engage with it (Hinds & Donnelly, n.d.). Simultaneously, the work of the CRU and its expertise and management of UNSCR1325 is increasingly being recognised. These developments point towards two mechanisms; the inclusion of WPS within both the formal and informal structures of an institution. The latter mechanism furthermore shines light upon the logic of appropriateness pertaining to gender and women's rights with the DFAT.

In 2013, the DFAT held an audit to research the effectiveness of its gender equality policies and strategy, thereby focusing on the extent to which staff members formally and informally supported these changes. Analysing this audit, this study finds that around the time Ireland adopted its first NAP, the DFAT was already strongly committed to gender equality and balance, as the staff had an "atypically strong workplace appreciation of gender equality as a mainstream issue at the core of DFAT's business" (Brosnan, 2013, p. 7). Staff members at senior levels, furthermore, showed "an unprecedented openness to issues of gender equality" (Brosnan, 2013, p. 7). This would suggest that the logic of appropriateness

has been open to issues of gender equality, providing a strong foundation for the WPS to be implemented on.

Smoking-Guns. The above-mentioned empirical evidence seems to point towards two mechanisms; the inclusion of WPS within the formal structures of an institution, them being official strategies and plans, and the inclusion of WPS within the informal structures, through changing attitudes and relating norms pertaining to the desirability and perceived usefulness of a NAP. As such, these smoking guns can be used to elucidate both the character and intensity of the logic of appropriateness within the DFAT.

Confessions. The evidence from the interviews and survey undertaken in light of the 2013 Audit suggest two mechanisms important for our understanding of the gendered logic of appropriateness, the first relating to an instrumentalist view of gender, and second, the partial commitment to equality. A significant majority of DFAT employees has stated that their appreciation of gender equality policies come from the policies' instrumental role in achieving DFAT's objectives, as these enhance the efficiency and productivity of DFAT's work (Brosnan, 2013). This view diverts from the normative idea that holds that gender equality is – or women's rights are – a fundamental human right, and that gender equality policies are not only the most effective, but also the right way to do it.

Secondly, the majority of staff members, further, felt that while DFAT had undertaken sufficient actions to discourage gender inequality, it had done less to encourage equality. In other words, while a majority has felt that "there was political will underpinning DFAT's commitment to gender equality", relatively few staff members "felt that this commitment was demonstrated in consistent practical actions to assist gender equality" (Brosnan, 2013, p. 42). As a consequence, a significant minority of employees indicated that they had experienced problems of discrimination (Brosnan, 2013).

Taken together, the empirical evidence provides us with a mixed picture. The confessions show that while committed to change it, the DFAT still struggles with a gendered logic of appropriateness, wherein formal rules have yet to lead to informal institutional change. Evidence from the storyline and smoking-guns suggests that within the DFAT the logic of appropriateness remains nevertheless open towards policies promoting gender equality and women's rights, which has led to a formal and informal inclusion of the WPS-Agenda into the institutional structure. Seeing the latter, this study hence argues that the expectation does not hold.

6.4 Path Dependency

The third expectation of this study holds that the level of path dependency in the responsible institution is a sufficient condition in explaining the level of WPS-implementation.

Storyline. The Irish approach towards WPS is firmly grounded in an international commitment to human rights, finding its translation in various UN human rights conventions. When the Agenda was translated into a specific NAP, the process was as such greatly influenced by an existing global policy context. In general, CEDAW and BPfA, in combination with the Millennium Declaration and Development Goals and subsequent SDGs determined the international framework which framed how both the international community as individual countries should approach issues of gender equality and women's rights. Together, these international policy documents framed women's rights in and after conflict not only in terms of protection, but also in terms of political and economic participation, empowerment and sustainable development. This wide approach towards women in conflict would in 2000 be re-emphasised by UNSCR1325 and subsequent WPS resolutions as well, which further strengthened the policy path.

Further entrenching this particular approach to WPS are the various national policy documents, such as *The Global Island*, the DFAT's *Statement of Strategy* (2011-2014) *A Framework for Action for One World, One Future* and *a Better World*, in which due regard has been given to gender equality, women's rights and empowerment, and the WPS-Agenda (Hinds & Donnelly, n.d.). As such, WPS "has a central place in Ireland's foreign policy and development policy and programmes" (Hinds & Donnelly, n.d., p. 17).

Smoking-Guns. So, already before UNSCR1325, Ireland had become familiar with a specific approach towards women in conflict, based om four pillars, which would be reiterated through the different NAPs and additional foreign policy documents. In addition to that the Irish NAP included an additional fifth pillar, focusing on international advocacy and promotion. Over the years, however, the fourth WPS pillar of relief and recovery would be removed as a lack of (political) will and resource-allocation resulted in Ireland not delivering anything substantial on this particular objective (Hinds & Donnelly, n.d.). This development suggests that, as such, the Irish policy context is only to a certain extent path dependent, leaving ample of space for changes to be made to the direction and content of the consecutive NAPs.

A further important element that points towards the same openness lies in the Irish response – in contrast to the UK – to the Island's experience with conflict and peacebuilding and the role of women. In the run-up to the Good Friday/Belfast Peace Agreement of 1998 that ended the decade long ethnonational violent struggle between Unionists/Protestants and Nationalists/Catholics, women's peace organisations, such as the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, played an important role in the process of peacebuilding. Yet, women's experiences during the conflict and the expertise of these organisations were not taken into account during the initial stages of NAP consultation and formulation (Hoewer, 2012). In both countries, as a response, women's organisations and activists have advocated to include these perspectives. In the UK, this has yet to lead to changes in its approach to WPS and the

outward-looking character of the four consecutive NAPs. In Ireland, on the other hand, the DFAT was open to the advocacy efforts, as a result, changed its course, and already from the first NAP, it acknowledged the role and experiences of women in general and women's peace organisations in particular in delivering an effective and holistic NAP (Hoewer, 2012). With every NAP, in response to further advocacy efforts, consultative sessions and the mid-term and final reviews, Ireland strengthened the NAP's inward and outward-looking character. Arguably, in the Irish openness to change, we can clearly identify a smoking-gun observation, underlying the relative weaknesses of path dependency within the DFAT.

Confessions. We see this lack of strict path dependency coming back in various expert, academic and activist reflections, who had been send in as to provide the DFAT with input for the creation of the first, second and third NAP. In their submission to NAP II, the Northern Ireland Assembly All Party Working Group on UNSCR1325 Women Peace and Security (NIA APG) highlighted the lack of gender equality provisions in Irish policies after the Belfast Accords, despite the fact that the government publicly underlined the important role of women in peacebuilding (NIA APG, 2014). The NIA APG, however, also talked with gratitude of the Irish development in terms of incorporating both an inward and outward dimension and promoting lesson-learning through consultative talks with organisations from Norther-Ireland, Timor-Leste and Liberia (NIA APG, 2014). Arguably, this strengthened the NAP, and ensured smoother implementation.

The above-described empirical evidence suggest that the character of path dependency indeed had consequences for the character and implementation of the Agenda. This study, however, considers it to be a necessary rather than sufficient condition. This is based on the comparison between policy development in Ireland versus in the UK. Hence, the expectation does not hold.

6.5 Mode of Incremental Change

This study has, further, formulated a fourth expectation, namely, that the mode of incremental change has an impact on the success of WPS-implementation. Evidence from the literature suggests that a strategy of layering is most successful, but that it is not a necessary condition.

Storyline. An analysis of the three NAPs shows that every new NAP builds onto the older ones, building forth on existing policies that are deemed successful and effective, whilst replacing others when the consultative sessions, evaluations and reviews show that new or other policies are needed. Pertaining to the NAPs in particular, we are, hence, dealing with a strategy of layering.

Looking at the wider policy context, we see a similar mechanism. More specifically, the Irish NAPs are layered onto existing international treaties and frameworks, respectively, CEDAW, the BPfA and the MDGs/SDGs, continuing a holistic approach that focuses not only on protection, but also political empowerment and participation, and prevention (McMinn, n.d.).

Similarly, the NAP's whole-of-government (WOG)-approach is an approach that comes back in Ireland's wider approaches to international development, to gender equality and to the elimination of GBV, whereby different ministries share responsibilities of implementation, taking action and achieving results (Department of Justice and Equality, 2017; UN Women, 2015). In its NAPs, Ireland has continued this, introducing the approach to gender equality and women's rights in the field of (post-)conflict. With this, it also underlies the above-mentioned holistic character of gendered insecurities in war which ask for an approach that takes into account multiple different and complex dynamics, and hence different formal institutions.

Smoking-Guns. In the above-described mechanisms, respectively the holistic pillar-structure and a WOG-approach, we, arguably, can elucidate two smoking gun observations that confirm the process of layering, as they show how the consecutive NAPs not only build onto each other, but also on existing treaties and approaches.

Confessions. This, further, comes back in speeches by political figures from within DFAT and wider government, wherein they address how the WPS-Agenda is both embedded in and forming a pillar of the wider developmental and gender equality agenda of the Irish government, wherein the multiple different departments each have a role to play (Cannon, 2019) Importantly, all underline how this has strengthened the NAPs and their implementation, as this strategy led to NAPs that were holistic in nature and had a large support-base.

Taken together, the analysis points towards a strategy of layering. Importantly, the NAPs extended the existing mechanisms into the relatively new policy area of (post-)conflict settings. The success of layering in promoting the implementation of a holistic, widely supported NAP is, however, not solely grounded in this strategy. It is dependent on the relative openness of the DFAT's structure to new gender equality policies and the presence of feminist actors within the Department willing to push for the Agenda's implementation. This study, hence, argues that layering is a sufficient condition, meaning that the expectation does hold.

7. Discussion

This chapter sets out to provide the reader with an interpretation of the results, after which it discusses the limitations. The aim of the study was to identify the necessary and sufficient conditions for successful WPS-implementation in the Netherlands and Ireland. Based on the analysis, we can conclude that a (feminist) constellation of actors and the level of path dependency are necessary conditions. The logic of appropriateness and mode of incremental change are considered to be sufficient causal mechanisms.

7.1 Interpretation of Results

The record on WPS-implementation within and outside the UN system is at best mixed. While an increasing number of countries, UN departments and regional organisations have worked to incorporate the Agenda into their institutional and operational structures, Kaptan (2020), Kreft (2017) and Puechguirbal (2010) have shown how within and outside the UN system, a one-sided and biased image of women as mothers and victims has led to an overemphasis of protection against SGBV, thereby obscuring the importance of tackling the economic, social and political marginalisation that are exacerbated during conflict. According to Charlesworth (2005) and True (2016b) this points towards a more substantial issue, namely that key actors within the UN system and within member-states remain systematically opposed to the transformative nature of the Agenda, and adopt gender-mainstreaming merely as an empty signifier. As such, related policies fail to capitalise on the transformative potential of the Agenda in breaking the continuum of gendered violence. According to Swain (2017) and Barrow (2016), there are a number of factors that would stimulate successful WPS-implementation within states, respectively, the inclusion of CSOs and other stakeholders, the respective responsible state authority, the amount of transparency on progress indicators, the adoption of a clear gender analysis and the organisation of regular evaluations. Together these factors strengthen both the content and support-base of the Plan, thereby promoting smooth implementation of the Agenda.

Looking in-depth at Ireland and the Netherlands, this study has established that both countries – to a large extent – live up to these factors. Both countries have systematically included actors from CSOs, from other departments and other stakeholders into the formulation, implementation and evaluation of the Plan, through a process that is systematically transparent and open to scrutiny. As a consequence, the Plans are holistic in nature, looking at both short-term protection, and long-term participation and political and economic empowerment. As such, they fit both True's (2016b) transformationalist model. The case-studies have, furthermore, showed that the WPS-Agenda is in the process of becoming highly institutionalised. Evidence from the interviews and desk-research further

suggest that informal institutional change is also occurring – albeit more slowly than formal institutional change. On the level of the EU, the FI approach has identified multiple indictors that could explain successful WPS-implementation or the lack thereof. From these case studies, this study has derived four theoretical expectations.

The first expectation postulated that a constellation of (feminist) actors is a necessary condition for successful WPS-implementation. Woodward (2004), Guerrina et al. (2018) and Joachim et al. (2017) had shown in their analyses how networks of actors from inside and outside the CSDP were able to put WPS on the agenda and promote institutional change. This study went beyond the question of agenda-setting to research the impact of such networks on implementation. In the Netherlands and Ireland, a network of actors from inside the Foreign Affairs Department, from parliament, and from CSOs proved to be decisive during all phases of implementation, confirming the study's expectation. They, furthermore, had an enormous influence on the content of the Plans, thereby strengthening the NAP's holistic and inclusive character, which in turn impacts positively on the success of WPS-implementation. Evidence from these case studies, hence, suggests that our understanding of (feminist) constellations to have a decisive impact on raising awareness and agenda-setting is a limited view of their role, as it obscures the impact they potentially can have on the other stages as well. Both case studies, further, show the importance of actors within the responsible department, in providing actors from outside with the opportunity to influence the process. Herein we see a similar dynamic as described in relation to the CSDP (Joachim et al. 2017; Guerrina et al., 2018).

The openness of the institutional system to questions of gender and women in relation to peace and security is not only dependent on the presence of actors within the system, but also on the logic of appropriateness (Minto & Mergaert, 2018). The second expectation, hence, posited that the logic of appropriateness is a necessary condition, meaning that if an institution has a gendered logic of appropriateness, it will become more difficult to implement the WPS-Agenda. In their analysis of the implementation of gender-mainstreaming in the Commission, Minto & Mergaert (2018) identified the gendered logic of appropriateness as one of the key mechanisms undermining the institutionalisation of that policy. This confirms the research by Chappell (2006) and Chappell & Waylen (2018) wherein it was argued that the conventional logic of appropriateness of bureaucratic neutrality had perpetuated a gendered normative 'way of doings things', thereby making it difficult to induce informal institutional change, even when combined with formal rule change.

Contrary to the literature, the analyses of the Netherlands and Ireland show that a gendered logic of appropriateness has not obstructed the Agenda to become highly institutionalised within the Department's formal and informal structures. While it remains difficult to change the idea of gender-mainstreaming as an administrative add-on, which can be discarded when new developments are deemed more important or urgent, the WPS-Agenda has gained ground within an increasing number of

departments, as more and more staff members have come to see the added value of the Plans. The paradoxical nature of this dynamic suggests that within Member States a gendered logic of appropriateness does not function as the defining factor in hampering WPS-implementation. Openness to change and scrutiny seem to be more important.

This relates to the third expectation. In their work, Minto & Mergaert (2018) have shown how critical junctures can bolster implementation. The level of path dependency, however, determines to what extent these junctures can then lead to institutional change. Minto & Mergaert's (2018) study of the institutionalisation of gender-mainstreaming in the Commission explains why a combination of favourable critical junctures proved to be insufficient in promoting formal and informal institutional change. The third expectation set forth the argument that the level of path dependency within the responsible Ministry is, hence, a necessary condition in explaining the degree of WPS-implementation.

The case-studies confirm this expectation. In both cases, critical junctures in the form of changes to the global policy context steered the countries in a particular direction, with the later NAPs building forth on these initial steps. Yet, in both countries, the level of path dependency still provided enough space for changes to the set policy path. This combination of stability and openness helped to institutionalise the Agenda, but also to align it better to practices and experiences on the ground, which is an important cornerstone to successful WPS-implementation (Barrow, 2016).

Next to the degree of openness, the mode of institutional change is argued to also have an effect. From the four identified mechanisms, layering is considered to be best suited to promoting incremental change in the policy area of gender equality (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010; Waylen, 2014; Minto & Mergaert, 2018). Having said that, the impact of the chosen mode of change is confined by the logic of appropriateness, the political context and the discretionary space provided by the existing structures and rules (Waylen, 2014). As such, the fourth expectation posited that the mode of incremental change is a sufficient condition in promoting WPS-implementation. Evidence from the Netherlands confirms this expectation, showing that the success of institutional change was not dependent on layering, but more on the status quo within the different departments and on their openness to institutional change. Herein, it underlines the dynamics as explained by Waylen (2014), showing that layering as a strategy could have an impact on the embeddedness of a policy within the formal institutional structure, but to promote informal institutional change, the logic of appropriateness and the level of path dependency have to be 'right' as well. The case of Ireland, however, paints a somewhat different picture. There, the embeddedness of the NAPs into both an established policy context and operational structure have greatly impacted the success of the implementation efforts, meaning that layering as a strategy has added value. The extent of this 'added value' is, however, dependent on the discretionary space provided by existing structures and departments.

All in all, the findings shows that a (feminist) constellation of actors and the level of path dependency are necessary conditions in inducing WPS-implementation. The logic of appropriateness and mode of incremental change are considered to be sufficient causal mechanisms, wherein the impact is determined by other factors.

7.2 Limitations of Results

As explained in the Methodology section, the external validity of this study is relatively low, as the study used a case-study analysis. Blatter and Haverland (2012), however, point towards possibilistic generalisation as a means to overcome the problems with external validity. More in general, Blatter and Haverland (2012) have argued that CPT can contribute to the detailed articulation of a set of causal configurations that make a specific outcome possible. By focusing on identifying the necessary and sufficient conditions that have contributed to the realisation of WPS-implementation, the identified causal configurations can hence be researched in other cases as well.

While this study has used data triangulation as a means to ensure reliability, personal bias could have occurred whilst identifying and interpreting the smoking guns and confessions. This, ultimately, undermines the reliability and replicability of this study.

Another limitation of this study is the lack of available empirical evidence on Ireland, which has hampered data triangulation to be used as an appropriate tool to overcome biases, and validity and reliability concerns. Relatedly, this study had to work with less information to identify its storyline, smoking guns and confessions. As a consequence, the identified causal configurations are less strong for Ireland than for the Netherlands, where information was more available and easily attainable.

8. Conclusion

8.1 Conclusion of Results

Ultimately, this study has intended to identify the necessary and sufficient conditions of WPS-implementation in the Netherlands and Ireland. Using a FI perspective, it looked at the interactions between formal and informal institutions and the role of a feminist constellation, a gendered logic of appropriateness, the level of path dependency and the mode of bounded innovation in inducing implementation. Based on the analysis, this study has established that a (feminist) constellation of actors and a relative weak path dependency are both necessary conditions in promoting and sustaining the full institutionalisation of a NAP into the responsible authority's formal and informal structures. Importantly, the analysis shows that our view of (feminist) constellations as having strong awareness-raising and agenda-setting roles is a one-dimensional image of the impact they can potentially have during other policy-stages. In turn, the logic of appropriateness and the mode of incremental change are both sufficient conditions, as the extent to which they have impact is dependent on the openness of the system and the presence of actors within these structures open to change.

8.2 Implications of Results

The study has expanded the work done by Feminist Institutionalists on determinants of gender-mainstreaming and on WPS-implementation within the structures of the EU to individual member states, something that had not been done earlier. As such, the results provided in this study contribute to a better understanding of WPS-implementation in individual states through the exploration of potential necessary and sufficient conditions.

One of the strengths of the FI approach is that it focuses on uncovering the interactions between formal and informal institutions, explaining how this interaction supports or counters institutional change (Thomson, 2018). In our analysis, this interaction came best to the fore when contrasting the level of institutionalisation to the logic of appropriateness, the level of path dependency and the mode of bounded innovation. Crucially, this study has shown that the success of WPS-implementation is less dependent on the dominant logic of appropriateness within a formal institution, but more on the level of openness to change. Importantly, the evidence suggests that in the interaction between formal and informal institutions, the latter does not necessarily work as an insurmountable barrier to institutional change. Building further on this, this study postulates that actors from within the Department can play a decisive role in not only using this openness to introduce elements and perspectives from outside actors into the institutional structures, but also initially in promoting this openness.

Since the FI approach is, inherently, concerned with identifying strategies that could promote institutional change that favours gender equality, this study provides a starting point for further research into the strategies that could promote formal and informal institutional change, thereby contributing to the institutionalisation of the Agenda. A potential starting point would be to research the underlying dynamics of the influence of feminist actors within the institutional structure and the openness of that structure to new directions, external deliberations and advocacy efforts.

Starting this thesis, I was guided by the observational questions of what the mechanisms are that underlie the lack of resources and political will that have hampered the implementation of the WPS-agenda. But as the ultimate goal of UNSCR1325 is to promote transformative change and break the gendered continuum of violence, this study had decided to research the conditions that foster this change, with the hope that the uncovered configurations can be transposed to other contexts as well. By showing the success of networks of femocrats in initiating the creation of the Plans, in advocating for inclusive, holistic and transparent processes, and in promoting and scrutinising implementation, I hope this study can do just that.

Bibliography

1325 DUTCH NAP PARTNERSHIP (2020, July, 1). *Summaries NAP 1325-IV thematical consultations*. https://www.nap1325.nl/assets/Summaries-NAPIV-Consultations-2020.pdf

1325 DUTCH NAP PARTNERSHIP (2020). *Women, Peace and Security. NAP 1325-IV (2021-2025).* https://www.nap1325.nl/assets/Women-Peace-and-Security_NAP-1325-IV_2020_Eng_versie.pdf

1325 DUTCH NAP PARTNERSHIP (4 February 2021). *Learning Event NAP 1325 programming 4 February 2021.* https://www.nap1325.nl/assets/20210204-Learning-Event-NAP-1325-programming.pdf

Azari, J.R. and Smith, J.K. (2012). Unwritten rules: informal institutions in established democracies. *Perspectives on Politics, 10*(1), 37-55. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23327062

Baehr, P.R., Castermans-Holleman, M.C. and Grünfeld, F. (2002). *Human Rights in the Foreign Policy of the Netherlands*. Antwerp, Oxford, New York: Intersentia.

Barrow, A. (2016). Operationalising Security Council Resolution 1325: The role of National Action Plans. *Journal of Conflict & Security Law, 21*(2), 247-275. https://doi.org/10.1093/jcsl/krw002

Beach, D. (2017). Process-tracing methods in social science. *Oxford Research Encyclopedias.* https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.176

Blatter, J. and Haverland, M. (2012). *Designing Case Studies. Explanatory Approaches in Small-N Research.* Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. https://link-springer-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/book/10.1057%2F9781137016669

Blom, M. van,. (September 2020). Women, Peace and Security: het vierde Nationale Actieplan 1325. *De Veiligheidsdiplomaat*. https://magazines.rijksoverheid.nl/bz/veiligheidsdiplomaat/2020/09/01

Bouta, T. Frerks, G and Bannon, I. (2005). Gender, Conflict and Development. *World Bank Group*. https://doi.org/10.1596/0-8213-5968-1

Brosnan, K. (2013). *Gender Equality Audit*. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. https://www.dfa.ie/media/dfa/alldfawebsitemedia/newspress/publications/2014-Gender-Equality-Audit-DFAT.pdf

Cannon, C. (January 2019). *MoS Cannon's address at the consultative workshop on Ireland' 3rd National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325*. Department of Foreign Affairs. https://www.dfa.ie/news-and-media/speeches/speeches-archive/2019/january/mos-cannons-address-at-the-consultative-workshop-on-ireland-3rd-national-action-plan-on-unscr-1325.php

Chappell, L. & Guerrina, G. (2020). Understanding the gender regime in the European External Action Service. *Cooperation and Conflict* *55*(2), 261-280. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0010836719895296

Chappell, L. & Waylen, G. (2013). Gender and the hidden life of institutions. *Public Administration, 91*(3): p.599-615. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9299.2012.02104.x

Chappell, L. (2006). Comparing political institutions: Revealing the gendered "logic of appropriateness". *Politics & Gender*, *2*(2), 223-235. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X06221044

Charlesworth, H. (2005). Not waving but drowning: gender mainstreaming and human rights in the United Nations. *Harvard Human Rights Journal, 18*, 1-18. https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/hhrj18&i=7

Cohn, C. (2013). Women and wars: Towards a conceptual framework. in Cohn, C. (ed.), *Women & Wars* (p. 1-35). Cambridge: Polity Press

Collier, R.B., and Collier, D. (1991). *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labour Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Commissie voor Buitenlandse Zaken. (2021, Januari, 29). *Verslag schriftelijk overleg vierde nationaal actieplan* (no. 26150). https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/kamerstukken/2021/01/29/verslag-schriftelijk-overleg-vierde-nationaal-actieplan-1325-vrouwen-vrede-en-veiligheid-van-28-januari-2021

Davies, S.E. & True, J. (2017). Norm entrepreneurship in foreign policy: William Hague and the prevention of sexual violence in conflict. *Foreign Policy Analysis, 13*, 701-721. https://doi.org/10.1093/fpa/orw065

Deiana, M.A. & McDonagh, K. (2018). Translating the Women, Peace and Security agenda into Eu Common Security and Defence Policy: Reflections from EU Peacebuilding. https://doi.org/10.1080/13600826.2018.1474183

Department of Justice and Equality (2017). *National Strategy for Women and Girls 2017-2020: creating a better society for all.* http://www.justice.ie/en/JELR/National_Strategy_for_Women_and_Girls_2017_-_2020.pdf/Files/National_Strategy_for_Women_and_Girls_2017_-_2020.pdf

Dersnah, M. (2019). WPS inside the United Nations. In Davies, S.E. & True, J. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace and Security* (p. 293-301). New York: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190638276.013.22

Finnemore, M. and Sikkink, K. (1998). International norm dynamics and political change. *International Organization 52*(4), 887–917. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2601361

George, N. and Shepherd, L.J. (2016). Women, Peace and Security: Exploring the implementation and integration of UNSCR 1325. *International Political Science Review*, 37(3), 297-306. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0192512116636659

Government of Ireland. (2019). *Women, Peace and Security. Ireland's third National Action Plan for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions. 2019-2024.* http://1325naps.peacewomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Ireland-NAP-2019-2024.pdf

Guerrina, G. & Wright, K.A.M. (2016). Gendering normative power Europe: Lessons of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. *International Affairs, 92*(2), 293-312. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12555

Guerrina, R., Chappell, L. & Wright, K.A.M. (2018). Transforming CSDP? Feminist Triangles and Gender Regimes. *Journal of Common Market Studies, 56*(5), 1036-1052. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12705

Helmke, G. and Levitsky, S. (2004). Informal institutions and comparative politics: A research agenda. *Perspectives on Politics, 2*(4), 725-740. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592704040472

Herweijer, R. (2019). *Mid Term Review. National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2016-2019*. Learn2change2learn. https://www.government.nl/ministries/ministry-of-foreign-affairs/documents/reports/2020/02/28/mid-term-review-national-action-plan-on-women-peace-and-security-2016---2019

Hinds, B. and Donnelly, D. (n.d.). *Final Review of Ireland's Second National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325*. Government of Ireland. https://www.dfa.ie/media/dfa/ourrolepolicies/peaceandsecurity/NAP2_FINAL_English_Web.pdf

Hoewer, M. (2012). UNSCR 1325 in Northern Ireland: Opportunities, Challenges and Complexities. *E-International Relations*. https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/27829

IOB (2014). *Navigating a sea of interests: Policy evaluation of Dutch foreign human rights policy 2008-2013* (no. 398). Ministry of Foreign Affairs. https://english.iob-evaluatie.nl/publications/evaluations/2015/06/01/398---iob-evaluation---navigating-a-sea-of-interests-policy-evaluation-of-dutch-foreign-human-rights-policy-2008-2013

IOB (2015a). *Gender, peace and security. Evaluation of the Netherlands and UN Security Council resolution 1325* (no. 399). Ministry of Foreign Affairs. https://english.iob-evaluatie.nl/publications/evaluations/2015/04/01/399---iob-evaluation-gender-peace-and-security-evaluation-of-the-netherlands-and-un-security-council-resolution-1325

IOB (2015b). *Gender sense & sensitivity. Policy evaluation on women's rights and gender equality (2007 – 2014*) (no. 405). Ministry of Foreign Affairs. https://english.iob-evaluatie.nl/publications/policy-review/2015/07/01/405---iob-gender-sense--sensitivity-%E2%80%93-policy-evaluation-on-womens-rights-and-gender-equality-2007-2014

Ireland (2021, May 21). *Parliamentary Debates* (vol. 1006, no. 6) Dáil Éireann. https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/2021-05-11/

Ireland 1325. (June 2010). *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security: Towards an Effective and Inclusive Irish National Action Plan. A Good Practice Guide.* https://giwps.georgetown.edu/resource/un-security-council-resolution-1325-on-women-peace-and-security-towards-an-effective-and-inclusive-irish-national-action-plan/

Ireland. (2021, March, 23). *Committee Debates.* Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence. https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/joint_committee_on_foreign_affairs_and_defence/2021-03-23/2/

Joachim, J., Schneiker, A. & Jenichen, A. (2017). External networks and institutional idiosyncracies: the Common Security and Defence Policy and UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 30*(1), 105-124. https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2017.1313196

Jonjić-Beitter, A., Stadler, H. and Tietgen, F. (2020). Civil society and its role within UNSCR1325 National Action Plans. In Scheuermann, M. and Züm, E. (eds.), *Gender Roles in Peace and Security* (p. 177-199). Cham, Switzerland: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-21890-4_10

Kaptan, S. (2020). UNSCR 1325 at 20 years. Perspectives from Feminist Peace Activists and Civil Society. *Women's International League for Peace & Freedom.* https://www.wilpf.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/WILPF_UNSCR-1325-at-20-Years_Web.pdf

Keck, M.E., and Sikkink, K. (1998). *Activists Beyond Borders.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. https://doi.org/10.7591/9780801471292

Kenny, M. (2014). A feminist institutionalist approach. *Politics & Gender, 10*(4), 679-684. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X14000488

Kirk, J., and Miller, M.L. (1986). *Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research.* Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications. https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412985659

Kreft, A.K. (2017). The gender mainstreaming gap: Security Council resolution 1325 and UN peacekeeping mandates. *International Peacekeeping, 24*(1), 132-158. https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2016.1195267

Krook, M.L. & True, J. (2010). Rethinking the life cycles of international norms: the United Nations and the global promotion of gender equality. *European Journal of International Relations, 18*(1), 103-127. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066110380963

Levitsky, S. and Slater, D. (2011). *Ruling politics: the formal and informal foundations of institutional reform* [Paper]. Workshop on Informal Institutions, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. https://projects.iq.harvard.edu/files/ruling_politics/files/ruling_politics_intro-finalcompletedraft.pdf

Lowndes, V. (2014). How are things done around here? Uncovering institutional rules and their gendered effects. *Politics & Gender, 10*(4), 685-691. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X1400049X

Mackay, F., Kenny, M & Chappell, L. (2010). New institutionalism through a gender lens: Towards a feminist institutionalism. *International Political Science Review, 31*(5), p. 573-588**.** https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512110388788

Mahoney, J. and Thelen, K. (2010). A theory of gradual institutional change. In Mahoney, J. and Thelen, K (Eds.), *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power* (p. 1-37). New York, Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511806414.003

McMinn, K. (n.d.). *Final Review Report – Implementation of Ireland's National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (2011-2014).* https://www.dfa.ie/media/dfa/alldfawebsitemedia/ourrolesandpolicies/ourwork/empoweringwomen-peaceandsecurity/Final-Evaluation-of-Irelands-First-National-Action-Plan.pdf

Minto, R. & Mergaert, L. (2018). Gender mainstreaming and evaluation in the EU: comparative perspectives from feminist institutionalism. *International Feminist Journal of Politics, 20*(2), 204-220. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2018.1440181

Moser, C., & Moser, A. (2005). Gender mainstreaming since Beijing: A review of success and limitations in international institutions. *Gender and Development, 13*(2), 11-22. https://doi.org/10.1080/13552070512331332283

Noble, H., and Smith, J. (2015). Issues of validity and reliability in qualitative research. *Evidence Based Nursing, 18*(2), 34-35. https://doi.org/10.1136/eb-2015-102054

Northern Ireland Assembly All Party Working Group on UNSCR 1325 Women Peace and Security. (2014). *Submission to the Consultation on Irish NAP on Women, Peace and Security*. https://www.dfa.ie/media/dfa/alldfawebsitemedia/ourrolesandpolicies/int-priorities/conflictresolution/2014-Public-consultations-NI-assembly-all-party-group-on-women.pdf

Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women (OSAGI), (n.d.). Landmark resolution on Women, Peace and Security. https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/

Onwuegbuzie, A.J., and Leech, N.L. (2007). Validity and qualitative research: An oxymoron? *Quality & Quantity*, *41*, 233-249. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-006-9000-3

Puechguirbal, N. (2010). Discourses on gender, patriarchy and resolution 1325: A textual analysis of UN documents. *International Peacekeeping*, *17*(2), 172-187. https://doi.org/10.1080/13533311003625068

Risse T., Ropp, S.C. and Sikkink, K. (Eds.) (1999). *The Power of Human Rights.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Schuurman, M. (2018). *NAP signatory event 13-06-2018*. 1325 DUTCH NAP PARTNERSHIP. https://www.nap1325.nl/assets/NAP1325-Bi-annual-The-UN-Security-Council.pdf

Strop-von Meijenfeldt, T., Kesselaar, S., Kant, E., Suralaga, D. and Staarman, V.K. (2013). Netherlands. In European Peacebuilding Liaison office (Eds.). *UNSCR 1325 in Europe. 20 case studies of implementation* (p. 42-47). https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/features/features-working-women/working-with-women/docs/eplo-20-case-studies_en.pdf

Swaine, (2017). Globalising Women, Peace and Security: trends in National Action Plans. In Aroussi, S. (Ed.), *Rethinking National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security* (p. 7-27). Amsterdam: IOS Press. https://doi.org/10.3233/978-1-61499-763-4-7

Taylor, S. & Baldwin, G. (2019). Focus on 2020: Opportunities for the twentieth anniversary of Resolution 1325. *International Peace Institute*. https://www.ipinst.org/2019/10/focus-on-2020-opportunities-for-the-twentieth-anniversary-of-resolution-1325

Thomson, J. (2018). Resisting gendered change: Feminist institutionalism and critical actors. *International Political Science Review*, *39*(2), 178-191. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0192512116677844

Thomson, J. (2019). The Women, Peace, and Security Agenda and feminist institutionalism: A research agenda. *International Studies Review, 21*, 598-613. https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viy052

Tickner, J.A. (1992). *Gender in International Relations: Feminist perspectives on achieving global security*. Colombia University Press.

Tickner, J.A. and True, J. (2018). A century of International Relations Feminism: from World War I women's peace pragmatism to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. *International Studies Quarterly*, *62*, 221-233. https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqx091

True, J. & Riveros-Morales, Y. (2019). Towards inclusive peace: Analysing gender-sensitive peace agreements 2000-2016. *International Political Science Review*, *40*(1), 23-40. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0192512118808608

True, J. & Wiener, A. (2019). Everybody wants (a) peace: the dynamics of rhetoric and practice on 'Women, Peace and Security'. *International Affairs* *95*(3), 553-574. https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiz027

True, J. (2003). Mainstreaming gender in global public policy. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *5*(3), 368-396. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461674032000122740

True, J. (2016). Explaining the global diffusion of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. *International Political Science Review* *37*(3), 307-323. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512116632372

True, J. How effective is gender mainstreaming in international peace and security policymaking? In *Handbook on Gender in World Politics* (p. 457-466). https://doi.org/10.4337/9781783470624

Tunney, S. & McMinn, K. (2013). Ireland. In European Peacebuilding Liaison office (Eds.). *UNSCR 1325 in Europe. 20 case studies of implementation* (p. 27-31). https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/features/features-working-women/working-with-women/docs/eplo-20-case-studies_en.pdf

UN Women (2015). *IRELAND – progress report following the Global Leader's Meeting on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment.* https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/initiatives/stepitup/commitments-speeches/ireland-stepitup-commitment-followup-20160914-en.pdf?la=en&vs=4708

United Nations Development Programme. (2019). *A global handbook. Parliaments as supporting partners for the Women, Peace and Security agenda*. https://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/peace/conflict-prevention-peacebuilding/Parliament_as_partners_supporting_the_Women_Peace_and_Security_Agenda_-_A_Global_Handbook.pdf

Waylen, G. (2014). Informal institutions, institutional change, and gender equality. *Political Research Quarterly*, *67*(1), 212-223. https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912913510360

Waylen, G. (2018). A feminist institutionalist approach to IPE and gender. In Elias, J. & Roberts, A. (Eds.), *Handbook on the International Political Economy of Gender* (p. 113-124). https://doi.org/10.4337/9781783478842

Williams, M. (2011). *Evaluation of Irish Joint Consortium on Gender Based Violence (JCGBV).* DFAT Evaluation and Audit Unit. https://www.oecd.org/derec/ireland/gender-based-violence.pdf

WO=MEN (2015). *Reflection on Women, Peace and Security.* https://www.nap1325.nl/assets/Reflection-on-Women-Peace-and-Security-WOMEN-def.pdf

Woever, M. (2016). UN Resolution 1325 in Ireland: Limitations and opportunities of the international framework on Women, Peace and Security. In Buckley, F and Galligan, Y. (Eds.), *Politics and Gender in Ireland: The Quest for Political Agency.*

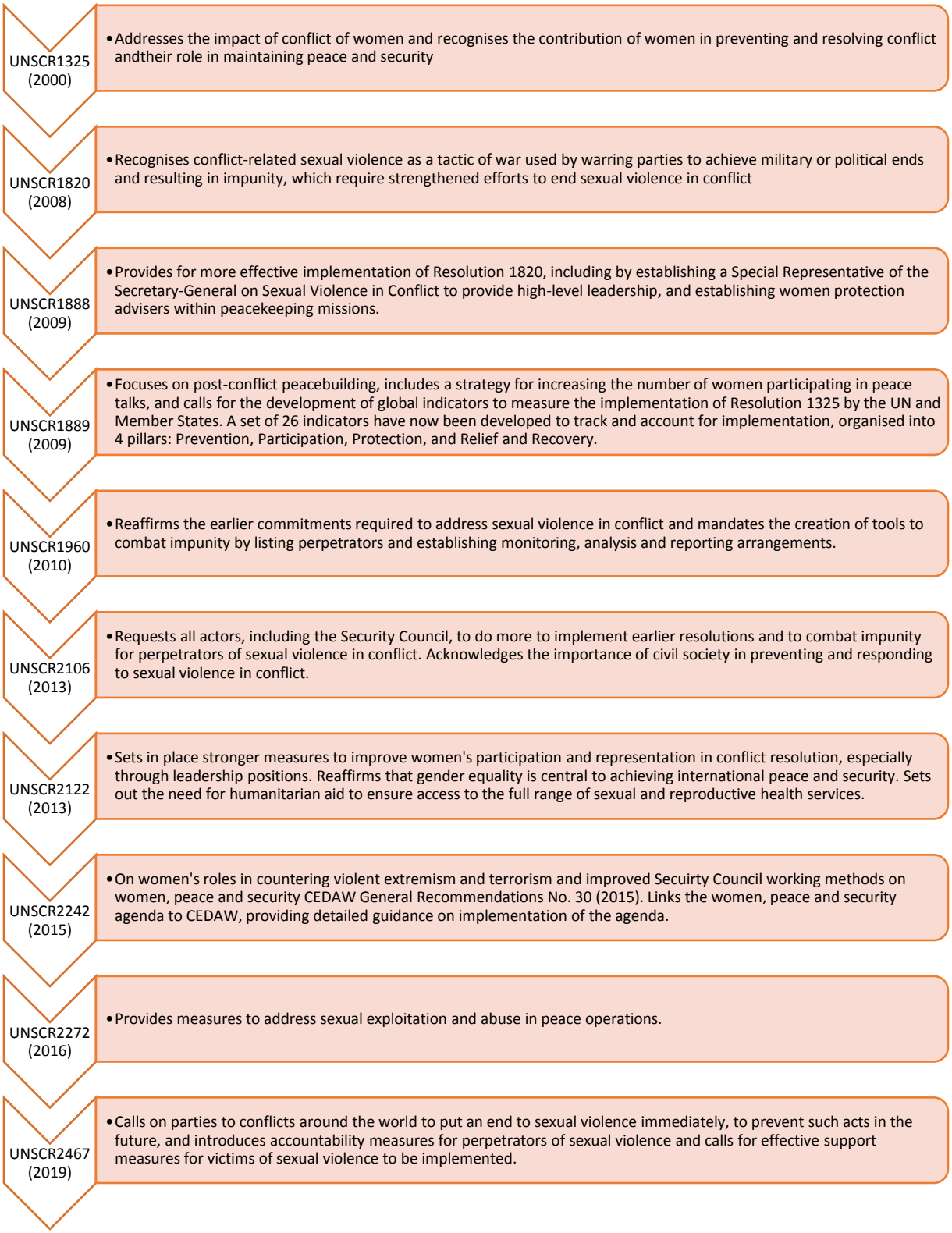
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). (n.d.). *1325 National Action Plans (NAPs). WILPF Monitoring and Analysis of National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security.* http://1325naps.peacewomen.org/

Woodward, A.E. (2004). Building velvet triangles: gender and informal governance. In Christiansen, T. and Piattoni, S. (Eds.), *Informal Governance in the European Union* (p. 76-93). https://doi.org/10.4337/9781843769729.00011

Yin, R. (2003). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods.* London: Sage Publications. https://books.google.nl/books/about/Case_Study_Research.html?id=BWea_9ZGQMwC&redir_esc=y

Appendix 1

Women, Peace and Security Agenda – All resolutions



Note. Adapted from *A global handbook. Parliaments as supporting partners for the Women, Peace and Security agenda*, by UNDP (2019). Copyright 2019 by UNDP.