An introduction to Resolution 1325

Measuring progress and impact[1]

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Introduction

This book systematically explores the implementation of key gender policies in international peace and security. On October 31 2000, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325), the first thematic resolution on Women, Peace and Security. The resolution sought to address the lack of participation of women, both in peace processes and in peace operations, and the lack of awareness of the different needs of protection that men and women have during an armed conflict and its resolution. Moreover, UNSCR 1325 recognized that how a peace was implemented could have different effects for men's and women's respective access to resources and power. "Peace" should not be presumed to automatically have the same "quality" for women as it does for men (see Olsson forthcoming). Thereby, there was a need for gender mainstreaming, i.e., adapting all work to create peace so as to ensure that men and women benefitted more equally.[2] Since 2000, the Council has adopted a number of follow-up resolutions that have become increasingly concrete. In addition, a large amount of Security Council statements, Secretary-General Reports and implementation policies have been formulated to translate the emerging norm on the role of gender in peace and security into action. Diffusion outside the UN system also started rather early. By now, the norm has been translated into decisions and policies in many regional organizations and states. Civil society organizations, key member states and committed individuals have played crucial roles in this cascading process. In all, the normative approach encapsulating a number of developments under separate themes, such as the need to strengthen women's empowerment, forward more equal protection and make better use of the gender perspective through mainstreaming, have verbally become more established components of international peace and security debates.

Normative wordings in documents and strong speeches, however, do not automatically translate into concrete actions and results. The purpose of this book is to contribute to more systematically taking stock of progress on, and effects of, the actual implementation of the various themes and

issues identified in the resolution. This is a growing concern. As noted by Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, the gender, peace and security agenda has been negatively affected by a "lack of strong systematic empirical evidence" that could serve to make policy making and best practices better equipped to address real world problems (Kuehnast, de Jonge Oudraat and Hernes 2011; de Jong Oudraat 2013). As UNSCR 1325 approached its ten-year anniversary in 2010, the need to start measuring the progress of implementation became a central theme. For the anniversary, the UN developed performance indicators – covering everything from gender equality in state politics to more UN specific dimensions – in a consultative process. The Security Council, with certain members by then slightly wary of the implication of this emerging norm for individual states, recognized the existence of the indicators but reporting was restricted to the UN system. With the resolution celebrating 15 years in 2015, the need to more formally assess the development globally was therefore revived. While the UN Women led Global Review focuses on measuring progress and identifying obstacles, there is growing attention given to the idea of estimating also the impact of implementing UNSCR 1325. In its most condensed form; does realizing the content of the resolution actually contribute to peace and security? This has resulted in an increasing tug-of-war between the "right-based perspective," which seeks to push implementation for its own sake, and the functionalist "effectiveness perspective" which perceives implementation in the light of how useful the resolution is for securing international peace and security. Although these two perspectives have coexisted since the initiation of the resolution, the latter has become more pronounced as the time frame starts to allow for estimating actual impact. In short, by now the international community has arrived at two key questions. What is the progress of implementation of UNSCR 1325? And, in direct relation to this, what are the consequences of trying to realize the resolution in more daily practice? By addressing these problems, this book aims to connect to key trends and further both systematic empirical research and more fact-based policy decision making.

While measurement of progress and impact may be central, the contents of the resolution, particularly regarding the themes of participation, protection and gender mainstreaming, contain highly contested elements. To shed some light on these, this book brings forth theories and critical debates, central for our understanding of the themes concerned. At the basis of these debates lies the fact that from early on in the emergence of UNSCR 1325, an uneasy alliance formed between those who seek to understand and reform the international community's work to contribute to gender equality and those who strive for a more radical reorganization of the world structure where gender is considered an essential element. These intellectual fault lines, based on fundamental ontological differences, underlie the diverging understandings of UNSCR 1325 and are particularly observable in the epistemological differences between radical

feminist research and empirical research focused on conflict resolution (see Olsson and Gizelis 2014 for a discussion). As empirical research is now developing quickly, interesting debates between these contrasting perspectives are currently on the rise. This is not least true concerning findings on protection from sexual violence and women's participation in both conflict resolution and the political process related to peacemaking that this book reflects. In policy work, new challenges emerge as more and more organizations and countries, though very slowly, start to apply gender mainstreaming policies and adopt gender specific measures to improve equality. This has meant increased focus on how peace operations, conflict resolution programs and post-conflict reconstruction aid can contribute to a better future for both men and women. As de Jonge Oudraat (2013) notes, the gender, peace and security agenda "has [previously] suffered from the lack of integration into mainstream international relations and security studies." While increased use of a gender perspective in regular work can be seen as signs of a positive development which brings the issues closer to the mainstream work on peace and security, the reformist policy approach has partly developed at the expense of fundamentally transforming the gendered structures of the world with the help of women's organizations. This is what the more radical feminists have desired with the adoption of the resolution. Thus, the following years will no doubt see increased tensions in both areas of research and policy.

A systematic exploration of UNSCR 1325: the contribution of the book

The UN Security Council unanimously adopted UNSCR 1325 in October 2000 under a Namibian chairmanship.[3] The resolution was the result of a long political and historical process. It had its roots in the adoption of the UN Charter in 1945, which aims to realize the equal rights of men and women. From the "UN Decade for Women" (1975–1985), declared by the UN General Assembly, the question of women's situation and gender equality became increasingly connected to questions of international peace and security. During the decade, the role of women's organizations grew gradually stronger and more coordinated. The development was further enforced in the "Beijing Declaration and Plan of Action," adopted in 1995 at the ten-year follow-up to the UN Decade for Women. This plan formalized specific targets that the international community had to achieve on women and international security and build a continued active interchange between international organizations, member states and civil society organizations. From the late 1990s, the ongoing developments related to the role of gender for peace and security also began to influence the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, which needed to transform the normative developments into practical work. The transformation of UN peacekeeping operations to more complex organizational

structures to address a wider range of issues linked to peacebuilding further brought gender equality into the forefront for international peace and security. Subsequently, the UN launched a project called "Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations" resulting in the "Windhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action," adopted by the General Assembly and recognized by the Security Council, to further such integration. In parallel, women's organizations worked consistently together with UNIFEM[4] – itself a product of the UN Decade for Women – to forward the important role of women for peace. With the assistance of Namibia, they managed to arrange an Arria Formula meeting where women's organizations from conflict areas presented their concerns to the Security Council members. Thus, when UNSCR 1325 was finally adopted in October 2000, it rested on a substantive policy development involving member states – such as Bangladesh, Namibia, Canada and Jamaica – women's civil society organizations, not least from areas affected by armed conflict (for example, Guatemala and Somalia) and UN actors inside the UN system. The interchange between the international organizations, member states and civil society has remained a key component of the policy work on gender in relation to international peace and security; a work that has resulted in a number of follow-up resolutions: UNSCRs 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013) and 2122 (2013) (for an overview of this process, see, for example, Binder, Lukas and Schweiger 2008; Carey 2001; Cohn, Kinsella and Gibbings 2004; Fujio 2008; Olsson 2000; Tryggestad 2009).

How does this anthology then contribute to the substantive and wide-ranging debate that has followed on how we can implement the broad content included in the resolution? Moreover, what impact can the different strategies of implementations have? In order to contribute to furthering the practical work and to conduct research under this broad "resolution umbrella," the debate has been organized under themes where the various developments by a number of actors and levels can be discussed. This book uses the same approach and contributes with nuanced and novel research to the ongoing debate by developing our understanding of the implementation and impact of UNSCR 1325 on three central themes: participation, protection and gender mainstreaming.

Participation

Since to a large extent women's activism forced the adaptation of UNSCR 1325, a central goal of the resolution is to improve *participation* of women in all efforts related to creating peace. More specifically, the resolution states that the Security Council is:

> *Reaffirming* the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and *stressing* the importance of

their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution.

(UNSCR 1325)

UNSCR 1325 thus aims to ensure the inclusion both of individual women from the rival sides of the conflict and of women-dominated actors from the host society in the entire peace process – from prevention to peacebuilding – and on all levels, including decision making. While originating as a rights issue, the question of participation has thereafter meandered more strongly into an argument of an increased participation of women that might contribute to the sustainability of a peace process. This argument related to the "effectiveness," i.e., the functional argument, of women's participation in peacemaking also speaks to the empirical finding that inequality is related to risks of armed conflict (Caprioli 2000, 2005; Melander 2005a, 2005b) and is related to the results of peacebuilding (Gizelis 2009, 2011).

In this book, we will therefore first critically look closer at how we should understand women's participation and the sustainability and content of peace. Engaging with this theoretical debate by utilizing data on women's participation in East Asian countries Bjarnegård and Melander's chapter evaluates one of the commonly used measurements for participation: representation of women in parliament. It demonstrates that caution is called for when interpreting results where this variable is used, because parliamentary representation implies different things in different settings. Using East Asian countries as critical cases to problematize existing research results, they find that the statistical association with peace in this region is driven by authoritarian communist regimes. These regimes promote gender equality as a part of communist ideology but the representative chambers actually have little influence over politics. Hence, there is a need to nuance the picture painted in earlier research that women's participation automatically correlates with increased chance of peace. In addition, they argue, the suggestion that more women in parliament will lead to fewer armed conflicts runs the risk of being forwarded as an oversimplified solution to a complex problem. Instrumentalizing gender equality in peace and security research and in policy risks diverting focus from the core problems of inequality. It is central, they argue, to maintain a focus on the rights-based approach.

That said, the chapters in the anthology find that while mere representation does not appear to have an effect on peace, inclusion with voice can be a more relevant version of participation. Ellerby's chapter highlights the circumstances under which women are actually included in the processes that produce peace agreements and what effect this can have on the chance of mainstreaming the peace process. Thus, Ellerby makes one

of the first attempts to empirically evaluate the impact of UNSCR 1325 on enhancing women's participation in peacemaking and peace agreements, as previous research has been critical of the effectiveness of the resolution (see, for example, Barrow 2009; Bell and O'Rourke 2010; Binder *et al.* 2008; Chinkin and Charlesworth 2006 for discussions on these UNSCR 1325 developments). Her findings to some extent contradict the more pessimistic and cautionary position of Bjarnegård and Melander. Ellerby's study suggests that participation in the context of UNSCR 1325 is not just a game of numbers, but as a policy interacts with the broader goals of peace missions. Therefore, in order to be effectively assessed participation, as a policy, needs to be contextualized.

UNSCR 1325's theme on participation is not restricted to women and peace processes more broadly but additionally addresses the more specific aspects of the gender balance of peace operations. The issue of gender balance was included in UNSCR 1325 as women working in the UN system had long felt that they had been discriminated against in terms of work opportunities. Thus, they had actively pushed for change and they successfully managed to include the question of higher numbers of women among the operation personnel in the text of UNSCR 1325 (Carey 2001; Charlesworth 2005; Olsson 2000, 2009). Similar to the arguments in support of women's participation in a peace process, the inclusion of women in a peace operation has thereafter become rhetorically linked to the mission's effectiveness in achieving sustainable peace. So, has this rhetoric of functionality succeeded in increasing the numbers of female personnel? As Karim and Beardsley (2013) have shown, this is not the case; the number of female military peacekeepers remains quite low regardless of the needs on the ground where peacekeepers are deployed. As stated, they "do not see evidence confirming that the female peacekeepers are being sent to the conflicts with the highest rates of gender-based violence, gender inequality and gender insecurity."

How can we then understand the small numbers of female peacekeepers in peace operations? For a long time, research was hindered by the dearth of systematic data. While the temporal domain still remains restricted, the continued release of gender-disaggregated data on participation has resulted in empirical research being on the rise. To forward the research agenda, Olsson, Schlølset and Möller's chapter explores existing information on female participation in civilian, police and military components in the United Nations (UN), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), European Union (EU) and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) operations and missions. They find a small but steady increase in women's participation, particularly in the civilian components. That said, they observe similar trends in where female peacekeepers are (not) sent as those observed by Karim and Beardsley also in relation to civilian peacekeepers. Safer and more stable areas tend to have higher numbers of female personnel. Currently, there also exists an

argument that the reason for why few female military peacekeepers are not being sent to dangerous operating areas depends on the very low levels of females employed in state militaries. However, looking closer at existing NATO data on participation, they find that "increased participation of women nationally does not automatically lead to more women in international operations." This is in line with other existing research on the gender aspects of participation. Annica Kronsell (2012), observing trends in military peacekeeping in Europe, argues that the problem of women's participation is linked to military organizations not having dealt with norms of masculinity and the ideals of the protected and the protector. These norms of masculinity can potentially be relevant outside the military components as Olsson *et al.*'s chapter shows that just because a mission is dominated by civilian personnel does not automatically entail a better balance. Karim and Beardsley's chapter in this volume then dives deeper into the interesting puzzle of women's participation with a focus on the military contribution in UN peace operations. Exploring the greatly varying within-category trends in participation between operations, they look closer at the reasons why some countries send more female peacekeepers than others. They find that the degree of participation depends primarily on contributing countries' incentives. Three are the most relevant: "the availability of female personnel, a gendered protection norm in contributing countries, and gender equality within the contributing countries" speaking directly to the need to address both practical and normative limitations when seeking to increase women's participation.

Protection

If much of the earlier empirical research defines peace as lack of armed conflict, feminist research instead focuses on providing "peace" with a more "equal" content. Feminist theorists have even argued that research that uses a negative definition of peace – peace as absence of violent conflict – disregards the fact that there might not even be "peace" for women since their security and political roles have not been an integral part of the peace process. Hence, many women's civil society organizations have flagged the need to address the security of women as separate from that of men (see, for example, Aolain 2006; Bell and O'Rourke 2010; Carey 2001; Chinkin and Charlesworth 2006). In their view, peacekeeping might contribute to this by excluding women's participation and by not considering the gendered aspects of security.

UNSCR 1325 recognized the need to improve protection and highlighted that the broader effects of armed conflict affect not only men but also women by:

> Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed

conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation.

(UNSCR 1325)

With the adoption of follow-up UNSCR 1820 in 2008 (further enhanced by resolutions 1888, 1960 and 2106), the protection of women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence formalized and enforced a normative development on improving women's security during and after armed conflict. At the same time, criticism rose as to what this more victim-focused perspective might entail for forwarding women's participation in the work of peace and security – the latter being the primary reason for the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in the first place. Krause's chapter brings out the debates in research on the causes and motives behind sexual violence in armed conflict in order to highlight key challenges in this rapidly developing field. By now, she argues, there exists a global framework for protection from this form of violence. Unfortunately, this is to a large extent built on assumption about sexual violence that focuses on "rape as a weapon of war" and diminishes women's roles to that of the victim – the opposite of what UNSCR 1325 attempted to achieve.

As Krause argues, recent research has increasingly focused on conflict-related sexual violence. A narrowing focus is not only a problem in research. As noted by Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2010), the international focus on sexual violence against women in the Democratic Republic of Congo did divide donor attention away from, for example, maternal health care. Importantly, this is also an area where UNSCR 1325 becomes intertwined with the developments of the Post 2015 Agenda on development goals. To forward our understanding, this edited volume seeks to again broaden the discussion of UNSCR 1325 to include the more overlooked aspects of women's protection from the overall adverse effects of conflict. The chapter by Urdal and Che makes a direct contribution and find that a lack of public health is in fact a key dimension of security for women during conflict. They show that while men are the majority of direct conflict deaths, both military and civilian, women are vulnerable to the indirect health consequences of conflict. The authors attribute the increased vulnerability of women to the deterioration of health infrastructure and the increase of fertility rates during conflict. Both processes are adversely related to maternal health and survival. As they state, "armed conflicts appear to delay the fertility transition in the poorest countries, and are associated with higher levels of maternal mortality." However, conflict in a neighboring state does not affect material mortality and the authors suggest that this can be due to the improved awareness of international organizations, such as the UNHCR, and NGOs to consider both male and female health concerns in refugee camps.

In addition to addressing security during conflict as a gendered phenomenon, in UNSCR 1325 protection was linked to the behavior of the mission personnel toward the host population, more particularly to questions of misbehavior such as Sexual Exploitation and Abuse. However, until recently there was a dearth of systematic data that hindered continued research on the extent of the problem. In this book, Nordås and Rustad have begun to fill this gap. They examine why and how sexual exploitation varies across different local contexts and missions using a dataset on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in peace operations covering the 35 international peace operations undertaken in the period 1999–2010. Although noting the risk of underreporting, they find substantial variation among the examined operations. A disheartening finding from their study is that operations taking place in conflicts with reported sexual violence and in areas with very low economic development are found to be more likely to have a higher number of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse cases in spite of an expectation that peacekeepers are sent to such areas to improve women's security. They highlight the need for more data on the important question of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse and suggest that:

> it should also be a priority for future research to conduct systematic data collection at the micro-level to acquire more data on the characteristics of individual perpetrators and victims, as well as the context in which [Sexual Exploitation and Abuse] takes place.

Such a systematic approach to address this problem, while highly sensitive, needs to increasingly take place in international organizations.

Gender mainstreaming

If the inclusion of gender equality is as important for post-conflict recovery as research now suggests, what are the policy implications for sustainable peace? Are some approaches of mainstreaming more effective than others in improving gender equality? Gender mainstreaming, or as it can also be expressed, integrating a gender perspective, is therefore the last central theme from UNSCR 1325 addressed in this edited volume:

> Expresses its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peace-keeping operations, and urges the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component.
> (UNSCR 1325)

This formulation in UNSCR 1325 is based on the processes and decisions taken during the UN Decade for Women and therefore has wider implications also for states rather than merely being applicable to a UN

peace operation. This book follows this wider approach when seeking to increase our understanding of gender mainstreaming in conflict resolution processes. From the mid-1990s, gender mainstreaming became established as an approach to integrate a gender perspective in the policy frameworks and practices of states and organizations undertaking work on aspects of peace, development and security. During reconstruction, national policy processes, such as, budgeting and formation of police forces, should incorporate gender mainstreaming mechanisms and adjust government expenditures and practices to promote gender equality

In its essence, gender mainstreaming is the concept of assessing and addressing the potentially different implications of all decisions, policies and programs (large and small) for men and women. The aim of gender mainstreaming in the context of conflict resolution is to contribute to a more equal peace (Carey 2001; Chinkin and Charlesworth 2006). Nevertheless, Gizelis and Pierre (2013) highlight that despite the overall political interest on the topic there has been little systematic research and evidence on whether the current gender mainstreaming programs have any discernible impact on promoting gender equality. The research presented in the volume explores the concept of gender mainstreaming and possible ways of measuring the impact of gender mainstreaming. An elusive concept, gender mainstreaming is not easily captured by existing research and, therefore, it remains a vague and sometimes hollow policy prescription.

Gender mainstreaming policies are often related to the provisions included in the peace agreements. Unfortunately, few agreements include such specifications as Bell and O'Rourke (2010) suggest. Ellerby in this volume also finds that UNSCR 1325 has had a limited impact on this due to lack of political pressure and resource scarcity in the enforcement of the resolution. That said, she also shows that the number of agreements with any provisions for women is constantly increasing and there are more agreements which include dimensions of (en)gendered security. A critical point is that the majority of peace agreements with provisions of (en)gendered security are primarily focusing on protection from sexual violence. It is unclear what the long-term implications of focusing primarily on this form of violence at the expense of other security concerns will be. Moreover, to improve representation and inclusion are important in a peace process but, she states, "women's physical presence at formal talks is not enough to guarantee (en)gendered security, especially when there are norms and strategies used to marginalize their activities and ideas." Again, the difference between mere representation and actual voice is underlined. This is central as there are early indications that female participation – at least at the local level – in post-conflict reconstruction can help UN-led peace missions to overcome some of the many hurdles that frustrate the establishment of a durable peace. The policy implication is that by allowing women the opportunities to express a voice in the peacemaking process and eliciting broader domestic participation, UN-led operations can draw on additional forms of

social networks that often are quite distinct from social and political elites. In this sense, policies that address the concerns and needs of women can provide a good foundation for successful peacekeeping (Gizelis 2011).

Women's social status and capacity to organize reflects the existence of multiple horizontal social networks and clubs. These informal institutions are a form of domestic capacity that is not captured by purely economic measures of development such as GDP per capita. In societies where women have relatively higher status, women have more opportunities to express a voice in peacemaking and elicit broader domestic participation in externally led peacekeeping operations. This higher level of participation in turn implies that UN peacekeeping operations can reach broader segments of the population and have better prospects for success (Gizelis 2011). Gizelis and Pierre (2013) highlight the need for further research on the underlying structural conditions that develop during the post-conflict reconstruction process and how these conditions affect gender mainstreaming and gender equality policies. Formal and informal structures that emerge in post-conflict societies have a dramatic impact on individual women's choices and influence women's role in the economy and the society. Building on this observation, Gizelis and Krause (in this volume) point out that there is limited research on how gender relations interact with the underlying formal and informal social structures. Both researchers and policy makers know even less on the conditions that are supportive and permissive of gender mainstreaming policies. The lack of systematic data further complicates the ability of researchers to provide answers to these questions (Beardsley, Blair, Gilligan and Karim 2013; Duflo 2011; Olsson and Gizelis 2014).

The restructuring of the security sector during the post-conflict period is one of the key aspects of post-conflict reconstruction and a crucial moment for promoting gender equality and introducing gender balancing policies. An experimental study on gender balancing in the Liberian security forces by Beardsley *et al.* (2013) highlights that gender balancing can be counterproductive and reinforce gender stereotypes (Olsson and Gizelis 2014). This raises questions as to whether more pointed gender mainstreaming and balancing efforts can make a difference on gender equality without also taking into account and addressing the broader economic and other opportunities that are actually available to women and men in the context of which a project or program plays out. If the formal and informal institutions that prevail within a country remain untouched, progress from partial mainstreaming and balancing efforts risks becoming at best limited and short term. That said, when implemented in accordance with the UNSCR 1325, gender mainstreaming should be used to address all mandated assignments and policies. From this perspective, Basini critically examines the implementation process of Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DDRR) programs in Liberia using semi-structured interviews. She points out that while UNSCR

1325 is a valuable document in addressing gender inequality in a conflict and post-conflict context, its usefulness as an advocacy and implementation tool of structural gender equality has not been utilized fully. For example, gender mainstreaming was only used in the Disarmament and Demobilization section of the program in Liberia. There the, "program was successful at increasing participation of [Women Associated with the Fighting Forces]/ex-combatants through a targeted strategy." However, in the more developmentally focused Rehabilitation and Reintegration section of the program, gender specific situations and needs were not properly considered. Post-conflict reconstruction is an area under-researched from a gender perspective and the authors in this volume suggest concrete ways to move forward. This concerns both how reconstruction should be considered from a gender perspective and the need for further study of the policies adopted in order to obtain gender equality.

Conclusions

The purpose of this volume is to take stock of trends in progress and effects of implementing gender policy under the themes of UNSCR 1325 and its follow-up resolutions. And, in direct relation to this, can we identify some of the consequences of the realization of the different aspects of the resolution in more daily practice? The overall findings on progress are not entirely encouraging. Most notably, but not surprisingly, the book suggests that UNSCR 1325 has only been very sparsely and inconsistently implemented due to lack of political pressure and resource scarcity. Many challenges remain in all three thematic areas, of participation, protection and gender mainstreaming. Participation is very slowly on the rise in peace operations and women's inclusion in peace processes lags behind. Concerning potential consequences, there is a word of warning to oversimplify the connection between women and peace when we discuss participation as representation. Protection has drastically increased in importance but critique of the current approach to focus on sexual violence is on the rise. This is not least true regarding how it can affect perceptions about women as actors rather than consider them to be mere (potential) victims. Moreover, the book identifies that there is limited insight of the impact that prescribed policies of gender mainstreaming might have. In fact, often ignoring the context in which policies are implemented leads to adverse outcomes. To come to terms with these problems, it is vital to connect gender specific findings to the broader mainstream research field on peace operations and conflict resolution. The postscript chapter therefore makes a direct contribution to this neglected area. DeRouen and Newman find a number of areas where the gender perspective could fruitfully contribute. As they state; "[t]he gender dimension of state stability and peacefulness is much less explored, but when it is, the implications for peace

and security are huge." In addition, research focusing on human security, causes of armed conflict and the dynamics of conflict resolution processes are areas where gender potentially could provide central insights.

In conclusion, by engaging with empirics and critical theory, the authors of this anthology have made important contributions to the gender, peace and security agenda. They have identified some of the problems of implementing UNSCR 1325, including the complex relationships between the themes of participation and gender mainstreaming as well as between participation and protection. Many of the chapters are focused on operational aspects of UNSCR 1325 and empirical data that can inform best practices. Yet, all the chapters in this book also engage with the theoretical underpinnings of UNSCR 1325 and seek to communicate with related fields by bringing forth central debates on more fundamental challenges to the development of knowledge in the fields of gender, peace and security. Thereby, this anthology offers both a sobering assessment of progress of implementation and insights into how to advance our understanding through systematic research. The policy implications are many, not least if we wish to see the use of UNSCR 1325 increasingly result in concrete action. Continued engagement between research and policy are here a necessity when seeking to improve measurement and when we want more systematically to evaluate progress and impact.

Notes

1 This work is adapted from Louise Olsson and Theodora-Ismene Gizelis (2013) An Introduction to UNSCR 1325, *International Interactions*, 39(4): 425–434. Reprinted with permission of Taylor & Francis.
2 Gender mainstreaming originated in the discussion during the UN Decade for Women 1975–1985 and then became more specified as a concept at the Beijing conference in 1995 (Charlesworth 2005). The concept was then adopted as a strategy by the Economic and Social Council of the UN in 1997 (Barrow 2009). In short, gender mainstreaming is defined as:

> the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

> (Economic and Social Council 1997)

3 The Security Council members, apart from the permanent five (China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States), that unanimously adopted the resolution were Argentina, Bangladesh, Canada, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mali, Namibia, the Netherlands, Tunisia and Ukraine.
4 The UN Development Fund for Women, now a part of UN Women.

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