

Gender sensitivity: nicety or necessity in peace-process management?

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The phrase that dare not speak its name

The phrase ‘gender sensitivity’ is perhaps an unfortunate piece of jargon, but it is a convenient shorthand since a better, simpler and less loaded phrase does not yet present itself. As most people know, but many still do not fully grasp, ‘sex’ refers to biological differences, while ‘gender’ describes the characteristics that a society or culture defines as masculine or feminine. So in one sense, being sensitive to gender is not a matter of nicety or manners, but very much correlated with being sensitive to culture. It will help an analyst to understand where power lies and how it is operated, how things get done, or indeed prevented, in particular cultures.

Gender relations may not be intuitive but need to be learned by observation of and interaction with a culture. Further to that, women and gender are not synonymous any more than women are naturally more gender sensitive than men. The agenda of gender issues (across subjects and sectors) is still so largely driven by women because their participation in most arenas has been so unequal for so long that they are simply more motivated to be gender sensitive. However, this is changing as more men recognise both the value of paying attention to gender and equality, and the fact that this is not an exercise that exacts unbearable costs.

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A practical approach to sensitising peace processes to gender

This paper offers examples of how issues in peace processes can be treated in a gender-sensitive manner, an exercise that is surprisingly simple yet can yield rich analytical results. Being aware of gender in conflict mediation is not a silver bullet to cure the ills of peacemaking, but is an under-utilised practical tool that can open up opportunities and strengthen mediation's already strong interest in gathering and using good intelligence. This paper aims to explain: what gender sensitivity really means; what roles the currently excluded sex has played or could play in negotiations at and between different tracks; what substantive or process-enhancing inputs women can provide; and the mediation-support functions they can play, such as relaying messages to and from broader communities, helping to contain spoiling elements in communities, keeping the political middle ground alive, helping to get buy-in for a process, and preventing the dreaded slide back into conflict.

The arguments in this paper are based principally on the practical experience of professionals currently or recently involved in the management of peace processes in Aceh, Kenya, Kosovo, Liberia, the Middle East, Nepal, Northern Ireland, the Sudan/Darfur and Uganda,² together with some secondary academic research and analysis.³ This paper does not offer a discussion about the need for equality or fulfilling the requirements of international norms and instruments relating to gender, women, peace and security,⁴ although these issues are clearly important. Rather, the paper is an attempt to come at the subject from a fresh perspective that recognises the constraints under which peace-process actors work. It aims to help them find their own ways to internalise and operationalise these norms from a pragmatic perspective, rather than ignoring them, reducing them to box-ticking exercises, or simply despairing about what they should actually do about them in practice.

Thus, the paper explores what peace-process actors, including mediators, have done to make peace processes more sensitive to gender, what else might be done, and the benefits (and costs, if any) of such strategies. While it focuses principally on the agreement-crafting phase, the paper also touches on aspects of implementation in which gender sensitivity has played or could play a useful role.

Managing contributors and spoilers

Almost without exception, formal peace processes have strikingly low female presence, among both parties and mediators. Explanations for this, and suggestions on how to address it, have been rehearsed exhaustively elsewhere.⁵ One exceptional case recently was in Kenya,

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Hans Jacob Frydenlund, Ellen Margarethe Loej, Carla Koppell and Steve Krubiner (of the Hunt Alternatives Fund), John Paul Lederach, Ian Martin, Brendan McAllister, Meredith Preston McGhie, Jolynn Shoemaker, Johan Vibe, Sherrill Whittington. If I have misrepresented their ideas or arguments, the fault is entirely my own.

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As readers will see, apart from discussions with practitioners, my key resource has been Sanam Naraghi Anderlini's book, *Women Building Peace, What they Do, Why it Matters*, Lynne Rienner (2007). This book, which is concise, richly researched and well argued, is a quick must-read for anyone interested in this topic.

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Key instruments include: UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, 2000; the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 1995; Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women 1979.

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To give a few examples, Potter, Antonia, *We the Women: Why Conflict Mediation is not Just a Job for Men*, HD Opinion, October 2005; *Women in International Security (WIIS)* is about to bring out a detailed report, *Women in Peace Operations: Increasing Leadership Opportunities*, with recommendations looking specifically at the UN; the UN's Senior Leadership Appointments Section has initiatives on this, and various rosters are in operation (although the effectiveness of rosters is very much in question).

where there was an eminent female adviser (Graça Machel), two lead female negotiators (Martha Karua, Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, and Sally Kosgei, a former High Commissioner to the UK) and a female senior-level political adviser from the UN (Margaret Vogt) to the mediator Kofi Annan, as well as a female adviser from the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (Meredith Preston McGhie). In Nepal, by contrast, despite Maoist commitments to equality and the existence of at least a handful of politically powerful women, no females were seen around the table.

Although women rarely make it to peace tables, there are very few places with absolutely no women in prominent roles in public and/or political life. Several of the mediators interviewed for this paper argued strongly that mediation teams should invest more heavily in identifying both individual powerful women political actors, and the looser networks and groups of women which, again, tend to exist in almost all societies. Where possible, these women should have accessed positions of power directly and not through their identity as wife/mother/widow, the mediators felt. This status helps women to act as role models, and to make powerful cases on the issues they see as important, including but not limited to those affecting women, without vulnerability to accusations of illegitimacy. Just a few of the examples given include Nepal's Pampha Bhusal, Sudan's Anne Ito, and the Philippines' Teresita 'Ging' Deles.⁶

Discussants felt that when such women did draw attention to issues specifically affecting women their voices were immediately more powerful because these were not the only issues to which they referred. Examples of these issues include, perhaps inevitably, how to deal with sexual violence towards women both as an act of war and as an after-effect (as part of security, justice and community rehabilitation/reintegration concerns), and looking at disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) from the perspective not only of the men and women who are being demobilised but also of the communities which must reabsorb them. Both the communities and the demobilised individuals may have changed radically as a result of conflict and traditional roles may no longer be available, acceptable or possible for them. Another example is ensuring women's access to benefits that may ensue from any conflict settlement, including access to land (a major issue, as women's rights to own land are still circumscribed in many cultures), resettlement assistance, and access to employment and educational opportunities that are again frequently restricted by law and culture in some societies.⁷

⁶ Pampha Bhusal: Maoist politician, member of Central Committee, Minister for Women, Culture and Social Affairs; Anne Ito: Deputy Secretary General SPLM, Minister of State for Agriculture and Forestry; Ging Deles: former Presidential Advisor on the Peace Process.

⁷ For a discussion on the transformative potential of conflict and post-conflict periods on gender relations and the emancipation of women, see Potter, Antonia, 'Women and gender in civil wars', a chapter in Darby & MacGinty (eds) *Contemporary Peacemaking*, Macmillan, June 2008 (forthcoming).

It is also important to identify potentially powerful (even if not obviously visible) female spoilers. Women can organise aggressively around their identities as wives or mothers of fighters, or simply around their political or religious affiliation, to support their cause in the conflict, not to end it. A mediator in Northern Ireland recently recounted that some of the toughest negotiations he had over bitterly contentious issues like marching were with hard-line female community representatives. While on the one hand the renowned Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina banded together in the 1980s to lobby against the junta who had ‘disappeared’ their offspring, militantly pro-conflict mothers and wives of Ugandan fighters mobilised against the peace talks in Juba in 2008. It is important to understand that while women may not be spoilers in the classic, visible sense (like being an armed group which threatens violence if not included at the table), by playing roles like this in society, they indeed qualify for the title, and thus for being encompassed and hopefully neutralised by a mediation effort.

A gendered view of post-conflict stability

Kosovo mediator Martti Ahtisaari thinks it is beyond argument that more women should be represented at peace tables and that the views of women, as different from those of men and regularly unrepresented, should be sought. This is part of creating a vision for a post-conflict society that is not hidebound by all the institutional and systemic problems that bred a conflict in the first place – a particular challenge when the agreement is usually made between an established government and an established rebel force, neither of which want to give up power. Women whose views have not been traditionally sought can play a part in letting fresh air into such a vision.

In addition, as Ahtisaari and several others argue, the paramount short-term concern of agreement brokers, to create a situation of stability in which real peace might begin to be built, is undermined by a perception of that stability which is overly driven by male definitions. How can a concept of stability be taken seriously if it does not include, for example, the prevention of systematic rape (as in the Democratic Republic of Congo or Darfur)? This is a form of violence which seriously destabilises society, and while it garners much media attention, it still does not command much political space. A gendered perspective on what comprises stability might lead to a more nuanced concept of how that stability might be achieved, even allowing for the fact that not every issue and every nuance can possibly be fitted into a single cessation of hostilities or peace agreement.

A different gender lens for looking at stability focuses on the situation of young men, proven to be the group most affected by armed violence both in and out of conflict. They may have been militarised during the conflict, and in most cases excluded from normal educational and employment opportunities during war. Experience has shown that such groups, lacking employment and meaningful focus, more often than not turn to gang activity, criminality and can be part of a slide back into conflict. Stopping that before it starts requires an understanding

of how those young men came to be in that situation, how they perceive themselves in regard to their families and communities and what can practically be done through family, community, government, or international intervention to assist them to find a place in a peaceful society. That too, is a gendered analysis.

The problem Ahtisaari sees is lack of foresight, or, less kindly, laziness: if a mediation team and negotiation teams are pulled together in a hurry, and identifying critical women leaders or groups has not already been considered, then the chances are it won't be, or it will be done badly. But, he argues, what is to prevent research and reconnaissance in advance, in a period where dialogue seems imminent, about who might be the female leaders to include, or groups to consult? There is no argument anymore, he says, for saying there's not enough time. It is true that women may be organised in different ways (not only, for example, in accessible 'women's coalitions' but in looser networks based on any number of shared concerns), and thus slightly harder to track down; but there are very few places where for the price of a few intelligent questions, formal or informal women leaders or groups cannot be unearthed – alongside all sorts of other information which a mediation team might find valuable. For example, the women's health network in Nepal has provided a valuable means of communication with rural communities on issues ranging far beyond health concerns.

Fears expressed by other mediators that focusing on involving women might slow down a process to the extent that more civilians (in particular women and children) might be put at risk, can of course be applied to all arguments about broader inclusion. If the intelligence gathering and foresight suggested by Ahtisaari could be brought to bear, this narrowly utilitarian argument would have no significant purchase. It also belies the current thinking that the process is in many ways more important than the product.

Identity confusion and men's gender identity in conflict

The discussion above on understanding stability hints at the interesting question of the identity issues faced by men and women in conflict, challenging them to establish, often publicly, whether their first loyalty is to political party, ethnic group, religious group, or – though rarely in the case of men – gender group. An understanding of this is not just interesting psychology for the peace-process actor, but critical to working out how people are to fit back into a society no longer in conflict.

Even, or perhaps especially, in highly developed and sophisticated situations like the Middle East, there can be confusion about whether women are lobbying to have women's concerns represented at talks, or to have their own organisation present. This is exemplified by the positions taken by the International Women's Commission for a Just and Sustainable Israeli–Palestinian Peace⁸ in their approach to the recent Annapolis talks. A Northern Irish community mediator recently recounted, 'I've always thought of myself as an Irish Catholic woman, in that

⁸ A body made up in principle of one-third Israeli women, one-third Palestinian women, and one-third high-level international women.

order, and I now realise that has defined how I have approached my life and my work'⁹. By contrast, the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC) defines itself by nationality first, then gender, but not, of course, by religion. This identity conundrum is a problem of human nature, and of politics. Men share the same problems around ethnicity, religious and political affiliation, and nationality, but have not been burdened by the need to place their gender in that list as well, or, therefore, have their loyalty or competence questioned on those grounds.

The problem men face is that, while their gender does not necessarily bar them from having a say in peace negotiations (although all sorts of other political and socio-economic factors may do so), very few peace-process actors give psychology the weight they accord to politics. There is a growing literature¹⁰ about masculine identities and linkages with conflict and violence, suggesting that men need more assistance in adapting from a war psychology to one of peace. This is true for both leaders and others, especially given the roles that societies at war can ascribe to fighters and leaders. No one is surprised, while everyone is appalled, by the apparently inevitable spike in domestic violence in a post-conflict period. In today's Liberia, 10–15 rapes of women and children are reported every week, which is strongly suggestive of significantly higher actual rates. Peace brokers and implementers need to ensure space to care for the victims, to protect them and others from future attack, and to ensure accountability, but also to address the problems of identity confusion, shame, marginalisation, trauma or post-traumatic stress, misdirected pride and aggression which lead the perpetrators to act violently. And, as just demonstrated, a gender-sensitive analysis is required to spell this out.

Walking the walk: how women contribute substantive issues

The greater problem here is whether those women who do get access to live negotiations are well organised, focused and trained or supported enough to bring the right issues to bear at the right time in a process. An individual closely engaged in the recent Kenya talks expressed frustration that, while the consultations with women's groups were extensive, prioritised precisely because of the presence of high-level women on the advisory panel, and while their early contributions were rich and valuable, the quality of their inputs declined at the later stage in the talks when detailed, technical inputs were required. At this point they seemed to focus disappointingly on the one goal of female presence at the talks. A recent study on justice issues in Liberia¹¹ suggested that the advocacy of some women's groups centred on keeping talks alive, without specific platform or purpose.

Much more valuable, discussants suggested, is specific, substantive advocacy on critical issues relevant to the peace process, and all of which have interesting and important gender dimensions. Regular female civilians, women ex-combatants, prisoners or ex-prisoners, victims of sexual violence, displaced and refugee women, and the single-female-headed households, which are one of the most common and poignant products, especially of prolonged conflicts, have particular needs relating to DDR, land rights, employment opportunities and community

⁹ Workshop participant at European Mediation Conference, Belfast, April 2008.

¹⁰ Barker, Gary, *Dying to be Men: Youth, Masculinity and Social Exclusion*, Routledge, 2005; 'Hitting the Target: Men and Guns', Review Conference Policy Brief, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, June 2006 (for The United Nations Conference to Review Progress Made in the Implementation of the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects).

¹¹ Hayner, Priscilla, *Negotiating Peace in Liberia: Preserving the Possibility for Justice*, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2007. However, this paper also describes examples of women's ability to bring the reality – and urgency – of the conflict to peace-table delegates.

reintegration, for example. All these groups also have a bearing on the nature of post-conflict security and police forces and other key institutions such as the judiciary. Traditionally such issues and institutions have not included women or their specific needs, or recognised that their ability to access their rights and services is frequently constrained by national law, culture and practice, especially in less developed, war-torn societies.

To expand on one example, that of DDR, as an illustration: women may have been combatants but not registered as such, and hence they are not eligible for DDR programmes. Even where female ex-combatants are registered at national level, experience in El Salvador (where 30% of the combatants were women), for example, has shown they are still barred from accessing DDR-related benefits at local level because they are women. Women ex-combatants (or indeed camp residents) have different health needs, in particular reproductive and sexual health, and require separate provision for sanitation in, for example, cantonment situations. There is also the question of skill loss, where valuable technical and leadership skills gained during conflict are lost when women are required to return to solely traditional roles (which they themselves may not want). Additionally, it is not uncommon for male fighters to ‘marry’ several times during conflicts, creating legal and welfare issues about the status and support of multiple families.¹²

Technical advocacy on these issues will be most useful if it can prioritise the extent to which details need to be included a peace agreement, or can be developed under the implementation phase, to avoid over-freighting an agreement with exhaustive detail. While several of the mediators interviewed for this paper felt that there was still room for expressing some of the critical concerns of women in peace agreements themselves (over and above their normal inclusion in standard phrases relating to the care of vulnerable populations), no one argued that the detailed substance of an actual peace agreement outweighed the process itself in its importance for the eventual outcome.

There are, however, some positive examples of substantive advocacy on gendered issues. Northern Ireland is often cited as an example of a peace process that had at least some pretensions to gender sensitivity. This is not attributable, as it rarely is, to those in charge of the process as either mediators or principal parties, but essentially to politically active women themselves who famously formed a cross-party coalition (the NIWC) that was able to secure through election two delegate seats at the talks that led to the Good Friday Agreement. Their achievements, apart from mere survival in an atmosphere, which at the outset was clearly toxic in its male chauvinism, included demonstrating that cross-party unity on key peace issues was possible. The coalition also ensured the inclusion in the agreement of provisions related to critical issues for reconciliation and peacebuilding, such as integrated social-service and education provision.

¹² Anderlini, Sanam and Conaway, Camille, http://www.huntalternatives.org/download/31_disarmament.pdf. The Initiative for Inclusive Security (www.huntalternatives.org) contains a rich collection of discussions of this kind on the gendered aspects of various key issues in peacemaking, such as conflict prevention and transformation, DDR, justice and truth commissions.

In El Salvador, Liberia and Sri Lanka, for example, women delegations (and in the case of El Salvador women negotiators) have put forward specific recommendations on DDR, not only from the point of view of reintegrating female combatants, but from those of the now female-dominated communities to which former combatants return, and as relatives of former combatants.¹³ These included, for example, ensuring that female ex-combatants had the same level of technical and financial assistance as did their male counterparts, although skills training may need to be adapted to suit gender norms and practicalities.

Benefits: laying the groundwork for longer-term transformation

If you agree that peace agreements should not give the detailed blueprint for a better future, but create the space for a country to make plans for itself during the implementation period, then one great achievement of almost all peace processes deserves to be singled out. This is the imposition of constitutional quotas for female political participation, most recently in Nepal and stretching back to Rwanda, which still has the highest percentage of female parliamentarians in the world (48%).¹⁴ This is usually the result of pressure from women's groups backed up by support from the international community, and is one of the key arguments for how conflict provides opportunities for transforming gender relations, equality and female emancipation.

The piece of the picture currently missing is a study evaluating the record of those legislative bodies. What is the impact of the increased proportions of women on sustaining the peace? Do they need more technical capacity building to be able to participate to their fullest potential in these not necessarily friendly environments? Observers and mediators alike suggest that the international community has a tendency, having pushed for increased female political participation, to leave women politicians at the door of their parliament, to compete against or collaborate with others with, generally, much longer political experience.

Benefits: message-bearing potential

There are multiple examples of women's capacity for networking information, carrying messages and keeping channels of communication alive. Women are often found acting as informal mediators within the talks (leading in the Northern Irish case, as Monica McWilliams told the recent European Mediation Conference in Belfast, to accusations at times that they were 'Sinn Fein in skirts'). In Uganda also, Betty Bigombe recalls using women in camps as intermediaries between factions, a role they can play with more ease than men, making them a valuable resource. Similarly in Somalia, women are able to move physically between clans (especially due to intermarriage) with a freedom that men do not have, and hence have often been used as first-line diplomats and message carriers.

¹³ Ibid: Chapter 3, 'Getting to the Peace Table', provides a series of other examples, including from lesser-studied conflicts such as in Nagaland.

¹⁴ International Parliamentary Union.

In the Middle East, there is a long tradition of women trying to talk to ‘the other’ at the Track 2 level, which observers regard as vital for keeping the door open to the idea of dialogue being at least possible. Anderlini and Conaway quote the Executive Director of the Jerusalem-based Women’s Legal Aid and Counseling Service: “We want to explain to each other what it is like to live in Israel and Palestine, to develop transparent procedures so that any peace will be one between individuals and not politicians... If we leave it only to men we get Israeli generals and Palestinians who will not be defeated and there is no room to negotiate.”¹⁵

The problem is that, just as the intransigent Palestinian and the militant Israeli aren’t listening to other realities, the women are too often talking only among themselves. At the Global Peace Initiative of Women conference held in Jaipur, India, in March 2008, 450 such women gathered and shared ideas for strategically influencing conflict resolution, much of which would ring very familiar to mediators: talking to the other to ‘un-demonise’ them, trying to help people identify their real problem. To give an example, Hala Al-Saraf, head of the Iraq Health Access Program, described how the Shiite/Sunni divide splitting Iraq is in large part a religious cover for underlying economic and political competition among those vying for power. She runs a conflict-resolution programme for widows of husbands killed in sectarian violence, where the message is often ‘your problem is not your Sunni neighbour; it’s not having a job’, a message that she said needs to be broadcast more widely in the country.¹⁶

This focus on reality and locally based problem solving is topical, because of the nature of today’s conflicts. No longer are these usually the interstate wars for which many of our models of conflict prevention and resolution were built. They are often civil conflicts where neighbours may have to return, or simply remain, living next door to those who may have killed, raped or stolen from them. Not only can those who are aware of how those ‘real’ lives are led add critical observation to a peace table, they may also have a role in breaking down the paradigm of a peace process that suggests it is essentially a dividing of the immediate spoils for those who made it to the table.

Benefits: holding up the middle and reversing the slide back to conflict

Coming back to Northern Ireland, the process there also illustrates an interesting point about the potential for women in politics to keep the middle ground alive. The NIWC – its job with the agreement itself done – closed its doors in 2006 and the women returned to their parties, or simply their lives. While the participation of women in Northern Irish politics has remained greater than it was before the Coalition, it is still unimpressive (14% members of the 108-strong Assembly are women). What has been lost over the previous ten years, analysts argue, despite the obvious achievements in implementation of the agreement, is a true middle ground in Northern Irish politics.

¹⁵ Maha Abu Dayeesh Shamas, Executive Director of the Jerusalem-based Women’s Legal Aid and Counseling Service, in a speech to the UN Security Council, May 2007, quoted in Anderlini and Conaway, op. cit., p. 53.

¹⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, 11 March 2008.

Belfast-dwellers today, while living in a much more prosperous town bristling with developers' cranes, live segregated behind their peace walls while their politicians, they say, share power but no sympathy. Many now argue that greater involvement of the kind of women, and the kind of cross-party motivation, behind the NIWC throughout the agreement's ten-year childhood might have kept that middle ground alive, and thereby increased the potential for starting the long process of breaking down the deep sectarianism persisting in the province.

In Cambodia, a land where the promises of mediators and the international community were thoroughly broken in the early 1990s, human-rights abuses, political violence and economic hardship are still commonplace. Anderlini and Conaway quote a male Khmer politician who argues that this situation would not be so bad had Cambodian women played a greater role in politics. He claims that Cambodian women politicians have shown a greater commitment to moderation and practical, rule-of-law-focused problem solving, saying 'We want more Khmer women to be candidates because women don't solve problems by force and gunpoint'.¹⁷ In Guatemala, the peace process was notable for its inclusiveness, not only of women but also of indigenous groups, trades-union groups and more. There were years of wrangling about implementation after the lengthy agreement was signed but, critically, Guatemala has not slid back into conflict. Perhaps inclusiveness, time-consuming though it is, can indeed provide a bulwark to support a nascent democracy and to protect against decline back into conflict, through providing amplifying networks for key aspects of peace settlements to be discussed and shared.

Benefits: the use of alternative tactics

Women have often used different approaches from men in dealing with conflict situations; these approaches are not necessarily better and more effective (although they are frequently so). Again, the point is that the very difference is suggestive of the potential of more options being on the table if women are included. For example, in the Niger Delta in 2002, women changed the tenor of the stand-offs between local communities and international oil companies by staging a non-violent sit-in. This led firstly to more discussions between the companies and the communities, and then more concretely to the creation of a series of community-based programmes based on priorities suggested by the women. These included creating jobs for local communities, starting a micro-credit programme for women, and funding schools, clinics and water and electrical installations in the area.

This particular incident did not see the final end to that conflict, but indicates the potential of different forms of action for starting the process of transforming viewpoints in a way that can lessen, and hopefully stop, violence.¹⁸ In the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea, mediators called on women to disarm their men physically, which many of them did, a feat that armed peacekeepers might not have been able to achieve in a way that preserved dignity and allowed the broader process to continue.

¹⁷ Anderlini and Conaway, op. cit., p.127.

¹⁸ Anderlini and Conaway, op. cit., p. 41.

Nicety or necessity?

The mediator's trade depends on his or her belief in the potential of dialogue to render apparently monstrous 'others' into potential negotiating partners. The arguments of the peace-process actors and researchers in this paper are offered as the start of a dialogue with those mediators who still see concepts of gender as just such an 'other'.

Understanding the different experiences, perceptions, skills and attributes of the men and women involved in a conflict and a peace process expands the understanding, tools and options available to the actors who want to work in support of a sustainable peace. More effort, more foresight and more time may well be required, and so in particular may be more exposure to what it means to unpick a substantive issue from the points of view of the different genders in different cultures. However, so far, the evidence suggests that this is a low-risk investment that can yield long-term dividends for sustainable peace. Perhaps each reader's different personal bias will lead him or her to interpret such a conclusion to mean that gender sensitivity is more or less of a necessity. But surely the evidence shows that it is more than a mere nicety.

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