

The G8 and Women's Security

Julia Kulik, G8 Research Group

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Introduction

Significance

When the G8 leaders assemble in Lough Erne, Northern Ireland, on June 17-18, 2013, under the leadership of the United Kingdom and Prime Minister David Cameron, they will address a significant threat to women's security worldwide, sexual violence in conflict. On April 11, G8 foreign ministers (2013) met in London and made significant first steps to improve the prosecutorial process for trying crimes of sexual violence and to understanding the fundamental root causes of the issue. They did so under the leadership of British foreign secretary William Hague (2012), who had announced in May 2012 that preventing sexual violence in conflict would be on the G8 agenda at its summit in June. After the foreign ministers' meeting, G8 members together pledged \$36 million to prevent sexual violence in conflict, although thus far have not indicated how the funding would be spent (Smith-Spark 2013).

In the Declaration on Preventing Sexual Violence, released at the April meeting, G8 foreign ministers (2013) acknowledged that the promotion of women's rights and fundamental freedoms is critical to preventing crimes of sexual violence. While the fact that men and boys are also victims of such crimes should not be ignored, the majority of victims are women and girls, and thus crimes of sexual violence can be considered an issue of women's security. The G8 first recognized the need to integrate women into the economy at its summit in 1990 in Houston and has consistently addressed women's issues and gender equality throughout the 21st century (see Appendix A). However, 2013 marks the first year in which G8 leaders have chosen to prioritize a women's issue pertaining to international peace and security and human rights.

The Debate

This surprising addition and prioritization of preventing sexual violence in conflict on the 2013 G8 agenda has prompted a debate among a number of experts within the field.

Leymah Gbowee and Jody Williams (2013), co-chairs of the International Campaign to Stop Rape and Gender Violence in Conflict, see the foreign ministers as having set an admirable precedent for other leaders. According to them, Hague has helped women "break the iron door of an international all boys club." They argue that up until this point progress on this issue has been positive but slow. While they praise Hague and the other foreign ministers for their work so far, they warn that preventing sexual violence in conflict must remain a commitment and requires a comprehensive, long-term strategy to end the violence as it will not be solved in the near future.

In a policy paper written by InterAction, an alliance of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the authors put forth three recommendations to the G8 in order to successfully address crimes of sexual violence (Ruthrauff 2012). The first is that the G8 must promote gender equality and address the root causes of this issue in its state-building and conflict resolution efforts. The second is to provide response services and support for survivors in each country and region in which they operate. And the third is to develop a National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security and include it in its annual accountability report. The report by InterAction stresses that addressing these crimes requires prosecution and accountability efforts, as well as services for survivors, combined with initiatives to address the root causes of violence.

Lorna Read (2013) of War Child Canada considers the G8 Declaration on the Prevention of Sexual Violence in Conflict a “significant step forward.” War Child is looking forward to the G8 countries taking action on the priorities it has outlined. However, Read states that while international responses are important, concerted efforts at the local level are necessary to offer support for victims, engage local communities in prevention strategies and strengthen justice systems.

Amnesty International UK (2013) welcomed the G8 declaration but identified the gaps it contained. It also called on individual states to enact comprehensive laws to enable them to take the action necessary to ensure that the declaration results in more trials of the perpetrators of these crimes. It says that the declaration must not become “yet another piece of paper,” but an “impetus to renew their commitment to ending impunity” and prosecuting these crimes in their national courts.

Geoffrey Dennis (2013), Chief Executive of Care International UK, is more critical. While he supports the attempts of Hague and the other foreign ministers to tackle sexual violence in war, he says their approach is too narrow. This, he states, is because the violence that exists in many of these societies is due to a “blatant inequality between men and women.” For Dennis, survivors of these crimes need medical attention and psycho-social support as well as financial stability and legal advice in order to stop the impunity for these crimes.

Puzzles

It is important to acknowledge the importance of championing this issue, which a number of these experts have done. A severe lack of attention to crimes of sexual violence allows for them to continue and for perpetrators of these crimes to stay hidden. Those skeptical of the G8’s performance have failed to recognize that G8 has promoted women’s rights and gender equality since 1990. The success of this initiative depends on the G8’s ability to fully integrate gender equality into its action and other areas, while still emphasizing the need to pay particular attention to sexual violence. In order to determine whether the G8 can be successful, an analysis of its past performance on issues of women’s rights and gender equality is necessary.

The Argument

References to the importance of the promotion of women's rights and gender equality can be found within the G8's final outcome documents since the 1990 Houston Summit. For years, the G8 has highlighted the need to promote the economic and political participation of women, improve educational opportunities, and end the discrimination of women and girls and the violation of their human rights. However, with the exception of the 2010 Muskoka Initiative on Maternal, Newborn and Child Health, which contained elements of gender equality but was mainly designed to improve the health of women and children and encourage progress towards meeting Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 5, women's rights and gender equality have not been given significant attention (see Appendix A).

While the G8 has fairly consistently included the rights of women and girls in its final outcome documents and in the commitments it makes each year, it has remained for the most part an issue on the periphery. It has been relatively successful in integrating women and gender issues into the already established issue areas of the G8 since 1990, particularly on issues related to the economy, health and development. However, since there are still major violations of human rights based on gender in many parts of the world, successful action requires very explicit attention by all G8 members.

The Declaration on Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict is the first step to getting women's issues the attention they deserve. If the G8 leaders continue the work started by their foreign ministers in April, they have the potential to make significant improvements in the prosecution of these crimes around the world. However, crimes of sexual violence require a long-term, comprehensive strategy, one that tackles the fundamental root cause of the issue, namely gender inequality. If the G8's attention to this issue does not move beyond the two days in June at Lough Erne, it will fail to make any significant progress in ending the impunity for these crimes.

For the G8 to be truly successful in working for women's security, gender equality needs a permanent place on the agenda with particular attention paid to issues that result from such inequality, such as sexual and gender-based violence.

Plans and Preparations

The Host's Leadership

On May 29, 2012, William Hague announced that the UK, as part of its presidency of the G8, would launch an initiative to prevent sexual violence in conflict. The UK's Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative (PSVI) contains three components. The first is a UK commitment to assemble a team of experts, including criminal lawyers, gender-based violence experts, investigators and social workers, that can be easily deployed to gather evidence and testimonies to support the prosecution process. The second is a push from the UK government to have other G8 members come to a consensus on an international protocol for gathering such evidence. And the third is the recognition by

members that rape and sexual violence be considered “grave breaches” of the Geneva Conventions (Hague 2012).

As part of the hosting process, the G8 member holding the presidency typically chooses a small range of specific issues that it identifies as priorities to receive particular attention at the summit and its final outcome documents. It is also common practice for the host country to champion an initiative for an issue that it deems to be timely and important. The UK acknowledged the devastating effects of sexual violence on the well-being of individuals, the social fabric of communities, and the peace and security of states and committed to making it a priority when the leaders meet in June.

Preventing sexual violence will join a long list of predetermined priorities in Lough Erne first identified by Prime Minister Cameron on November 20, 2012. Cameron (2012) stated that through his presidency he sought to “support the development of open economies, open governments and open societies to unleash the power of the private sector; advancing trade, ensuring tax compliance, and promoting greater transparency.” In January, Cameron (2013) expanded the agenda to include the promotion of democracy in Arab Spring countries and fighting extremism and terrorism in Mali, Nigeria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia. Thus, with less than two full days together and a number of issues to tackle, it will be difficult for sexual violence prevention to get the time and attention necessary for its success.

The Foreign Ministers’ Meeting

In the lead-up to the leaders’ meeting in June, G8 foreign ministers met on April 10-11 to discuss global peace, security and prosperity and how the G8 can contribute during its 2013 summit year. In their Declaration on Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict released on April 11, they acknowledged the progress made by the relevant international organizations, NGOs and civil society groups. They publicly supported advancing the implementation of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions on women, peace and security and on children in armed conflict, recognizing that rape and sexual violence are serious violations of international humanitarian and human rights law (G8 Foreign Ministers 2013).

The foreign ministers also recognized the importance of the International Criminal Court and ad hoc and mixed tribunals in maintaining that acts of sexual violence are a crime against humanity. They noted that the weakened national justice systems in conflict and post-conflict states are contributing to the impunity for conflict-related sexual violence and the lack of punishment for the perpetrators. The ministers, largely led by the British government, agreed to identify rape and other serious forms of sexual violence in armed conflict as war crimes that constitute a grave breach of the Geneva Conventions (G8 Foreign Ministers 2013). This kind of identification can make it easier for individual G8 members to advocate for international humanitarian intervention under the existing international legal frameworks.

The G8 foreign ministers also acknowledged several issues that they were initially expected to ignore. When the UK’s PSVI was announced last year, it looked as if it

would heavily emphasize the prosecutorial aspect of sexual violence. And while this is an essential component to an effective response, it alone is not enough to prevent these crimes. In London, the ministers acknowledged the vital role that civil society organizations play in promoting women and children's rights and agreed to enhance the coordination of protection efforts for human rights defenders in conflict-affected states. Furthermore, the ministers highlighted the need for peaceful and effective post-conflict transition and promoted the full participation of women in the peacebuilding process (G8 Foreign Ministers 2013).

The statements made by G8 foreign ministers along with the \$36 million in additional funding to prevent sexual violence in conflict have the potential to make significant strides in ending the stigmatization of sexual violence victims, promoting the rights of women and girls, persecuting the perpetrators of these crimes, and fostering peace and security in volatile states. The G8 ministers highlighted the many fundamental components of this issue in a much more substantial way than was initially expected. The stage is now set for more effective action to take place at the leaders' meeting in June and in years to follow.

G8 Past Performance on Women

Domestic Political Management

The first measure of G8 performance is domestic political management. This is determined by the extent of domestic policies dedicated to promoting the rights of women and girls and improving gender equality both domestically and internationally.

Canada

In Canada, domestic policy is overseen by the Status of Women Canada led by the Minister for Status of Women. It is dedicated to advancing equality for women in three areas: women's economic security and prosperity, encouraging women's leadership and democratic participation, and ending violence against women (Canada, Status of Women Canada 2013). Internationally, through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Canada promotes equality between women and men in all of its programs and policies. This means promoting the equal participation of women and men in decision-making roles, supporting the rights of women and girls, and reducing the gap between men and women in access to resources. Canada supports the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform for Action, the MDGs and the UNSC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (CIDA 2013). More recently, in April 2013, foreign affairs minister John Baird announced that Canada would contribute \$5 million to the G8's efforts in addition to the \$18.5 million over five years it committed to prevent sexual violence in 2012 (Canada, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade 2013).

European Union

The European Parliament Committee for Women's Rights and Gender Equality is responsible for the promotion and protection of women's rights in the European Union. This includes an equal opportunities policy to promote equality between men and women at work, the removal of discrimination based on sex, and the implementation of international agreements and conventions involving the rights of women (European Parliament 2013). In 2011, the Council of Europe opened for signature the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (CAHVIO). The CAHVIO was the first legally binding agreement at the European level. The EU has also identified gender as a sub-topic of its humanitarian aid and civil protection foreign policy. The European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO) has committed to mainstreaming gender in its assistance (European Institute for Gender Equality).

France

In May 2012, when President François Hollande took office he reinstated the Ministry of Women's Affairs, which had been disbanded in the 1980s. Najat Vallaud-Belkacem heads the ministry, and women constitute 50 per cent of the ministers in Hollande's government (RFI 2012). In October 2010, France adopted a national action plan to implement women, peace and security resolutions, which sets out clear objectives for the government to increase the participation of women and protect women from violence. France's international commitments include €3 million from 2009 to 2012 to promote the economic empowerment of women in West Africa, €3.3 million between 2012 and 2013 to improve education for girls and fight against gender-based violence at school in Francophone Africa, and €500,000 between 2012 and 2013 to encourage employment for youth and young women in Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt. France played a critical role in the development of the Council of Europe's Convention to Prevent and Combat Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (France, Ministère des Affaires étrangères 2013).

Germany

In Germany, domestic policy is carried out by the Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth and works to ensure fair opportunities for women and men in all areas of society. This includes equal pay, equal employment opportunities and protection against poverty in old age. Policy issue areas include protecting women from violence, family planning, and equality and integration for new immigrants. Internationally, the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development prioritizes human rights, and within that, women's rights and gender equality. Gender equality is a cross-cutting issue in all areas of German development policy. At the G8 foreign ministers meeting in April, German foreign minister Guido Westerwelle announced that during Germany's G8 presidency in 2015 it will review progress made on the commitments on preventing sexual violence.

Italy

In Italy the Department for Equal Opportunities is dedicated to protecting human rights and taking a gender-based approach to the priorities of the national system of

intervention. It is also the national authority in charge of promoting action for the protection of trafficked persons (European Commission 2013). On March 8, 2013, International Women's Day, the Department for Equal Opportunity along with the staff at the British embassy in Rome promoted the UK's PSVI (UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office [FCO] 2013). Italy's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2011) has identified human rights as one of the priority areas of its foreign policy. Within that, the rights of women, particularly the fight against female genital mutilation and the rights of children especially those affected by armed conflict, were emphasized.

Japan

In Japan the Gender Equality Bureau in the Cabinet Office is responsible for the formulation and promotion of a basic plan for gender equality and instituting measures to eliminate all forms of violence against women. Japan's International Cooperation Agency (JICA) has named gender and development as one of its thematic issue areas. The goal is to achieve gender equality in all fields of society. In recent years, Japan has focused on what they identify as new issues in gender and development including trafficking and other forms of gender-based violence (Japan International Cooperation Agency 2013).

Russia

In the Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation released by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2013), women's rights and gender equality are not identified as priorities. There are, however, references made to the importance of promoting and protecting human rights more generally. Russia has agreed to support the G8's initiative to prevent sexual violence but has not announced any specific contributions thus far.

United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, the Gender Equalities Office (2013) led by the Women and Equalities Minister carries out domestic gender equality policies, works to remove barriers to equality, and leads on issues relating to women, sexual orientation and transgender equality. Internationally, among the priorities of the Department for International Development (DFID) are education, health, governance and conflict, which have specific commitments dedicated to women and girls. In 2012, the UK took the lead in launching the PSVI and encouraged other G8 members to do so as well. At the G8 foreign ministers meeting in April, the UK announced an additional £10 million in funding to prevent sexual violence in conflict, which follows the £1 million in support announced in 2012 (UK FCO and DFID 2013).

United States

Domestically in the United States, the Department of Labor's (2013) Women's Bureau is responsible for advocating for the equality and economic security of women and to develop policies in the interests of working women. Internationally, the Department of State's Office of Global Women's Issues works to ensure that women's issues are fully integrated in the formation and implementation of American foreign policy. Within the office, the US has designed a strategy to prevent and respond to gender-based violence around the world (US Department of State 2013a). The strategy was released in August

2012 and has four objectives. The first is to increase the coordination of prevention between the US and other stakeholders, integrate gender-based violence prevention efforts into existing government work, improve research and data on gender-based violence, and enhance US government programming that addresses gender-based violence. The Office of Global Women's Issues is currently providing \$1.2 million in small grants to NGOs dedicated to addressing gender-based violence globally. In addition, it is providing \$1.5 million in funding specifically to Iraq to reduce violence against Iraqi women and girls (US Department of State 2013b).

Deliberation

The second measure of performance is deliberation, which is measured by the number of references made to women and gender issues in the summit's final outcome documents. Supporting women's security in a major way will occur for the first time at Lough Erne, but it is certainly not the first time the G8 has addressed the importance of protecting women's rights and promoting their full economic and political participation. It happened for the first time at the 1990 Houston Summit when G8 members acknowledged the importance of improved educational opportunities and economic integration for women in developing countries (see Appendix A). Attention was absent until 1996 at the summit in Lyon, France, when members again acknowledged the importance of the advancement of women in promoting sustainable development. In 1997 in Denver, in the context of strengthening democracy, G8 members recognized the importance of expanding women's political participation to prevent societal conflict. By 2001, women had secured a spot on the agenda up until the most recent summit at Camp David in 2012. During this time leaders promoted education for girls, the equal participation of women particularly in Africa, achieving full gender equality, a gender-sensitive approach to HIV/AIDS programming, the financial inclusion of women, business training for Arab women, maternal, newborn and child health, and, finally in 2012, a condemnation of violence directed at women and girls.

Decision Making

The third measure of performance, decision making, is measured by the number of commitments the G8 members make on an issue. While it is important to see that women and girls and gender issues get a significant amount of attention in the summits' final outcome documents, successful intervention depends on the implementation of collective action-oriented commitments. There have been 28 commitments made by the G8 that include references to women, girls and gender issues (see Appendix B). Gender issues first appeared in a G8 commitment in 1996, when members committed to ensuring that women benefit fully and equally from the recognition of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Gender issues appeared again in 1998 when G8 members committed to combating the trafficking of women and children. Gender issues were absent from G8 commitments until 2002, but appeared in six commitments, focused mainly on gender equality in Africa and promoting the equal access to education for women and girls. There were six commitments again in 2004 on reducing female illiteracy, the launch of a microfinance initiative that would increase opportunities for women and enhancing business training for women. Since then there has been a slight decrease in the number of

commitments dedicated to gender issues with only three agreed to at the most recent summit at Camp David. These commitments included one specifically directed at supporting Afghanistan in its efforts to promote human rights including the rights of women and children. In addition, G8 members made two general commitments to advance the rights of all people including women.

Delivery

The fourth measure of performance is how well the G8 members comply with the decisions that they have made. Only three of the 28 commitments made by G8 leaders that have a gender component have been measured for compliance (see Appendix C). The first was a commitment made at the 1996 Lyon Summit in which leaders committed to ensure that women as well as men benefit fully from the recognition of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The U.S., Germany, UK, France and Canada all received scores of +1 and Japan a score of 0, for an overall compliance score of 0.83. The next commitment was made at the 1998 Birmingham Summit where the leaders committed joint action to prevent the trafficking of women and children. For this commitment, G8 members complied with a score of 0.33, just below the average compliance score for crime commitments of 0.45. Finally, at the 2006 St. Petersburg Summit, G8 members committed to scaling up efforts to address rising rates of HIV infection, particularly among women. On this commitment, G8 members scored 0.56, just above the average compliance for health commitments of 0.43.

Development of Global Governance

The fifth measure of performance, the development of global governance, is measured by the level of engagement with both ministerial and official level institutions. Since the G8 summit's inception, there has never been a meeting of the ministers responsible for the status and rights of women. Nor has there been a ministerial dedicated solely to gender issues. However, in the G8 summit outcome documents there are references to foreign, finance and justice ministers in conjunction with women's rights and gender issues. The foreign ministers' meeting in April 2013 also dedicated a significant amount of attention to women, gender and the prevention of sexual violence in particular. The G8 also consistently refers to outside international organizations when discussing women's rights and gender issues. The most commonly cited organization is the United Nations, followed by the World Health Organization (WHO) and the World Bank. These references support the ongoing work of these organizations in the field of gender and commit to support their recommendations and initiatives. This is important for the upcoming summit at Lough Erne and its efforts to prevent sexual violence in conflict as the UN has an already established entity, UN Women, dedicated to promoting women's rights and gender equality as well as the United Nations Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict. Therefore, effective and efficient action on this issue requires engagement with these institutions in order to avoid duplicating efforts, to take advantage of the programming already in place and to combine resources to reach more people.

Causes of Performance

The concert equality model of G8 performance is applied to determine why such a pattern of performance exists for the G8 and its action on women and gender issues and why 2013 was chosen as the year to champion preventing sexual violence in conflict.

Shock-Activated Vulnerability

Traditionally, shocks in the political-security field are known to spur more successful action by the G8. The announcement of widespread sexual violence in Syria just a few weeks prior to the foreign ministers' meeting may have contributed to their announcement to prevent sexual violence in conflict (Starr 2013). Furthermore, the gang rapes that occurred in Delhi, India, in December 2012, the rape of a five-year-old girl in the central Indian state of Madhya Pradesh and the gang rape of an American tourist in the Indian state of Himachal Pradesh have met with public shock and outrage and may spur more attention to the issue when the leaders meet at Lough Erne (Bagri and Timmons 2013). However, the absence of attention to this issue despite the shock of gender-based violence in Bosnia, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) among many other places is not explained. The most attention came in the early 2000s, and attention decreased slowly after 2006 until the 2012 summit at Camp David. The G8 communiqués do not mention any of the specific or shocking events that occurred in the last 20 years that required immediate attention.

Multilateral Organizational Failure

The second cause of multilateral organizational failure does not fully explain why the G8 has decided to champion preventing sexual violence in 2013. In March 2007, the UN launched UN Action, which unites 13 UN entities with the goal of ending sexual violence in conflict. Since then, the UN has made significant progress in getting sexual violence recognized and addressed. In 2008 the UNSC adopted Resolution 1820, which acknowledged sexual violence as a tactic of war and as a threat to international peace and security. It has also established UN missions to the DRC, Sudan, Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, Central African Republic, Columbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina (UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict). Thus, it would be incorrect to say that the UN has failed in addressing sexual violence globally. In fact, the G8 in its Declaration first recognized the efforts already made by the UN and other intergovernmental organization to prevent and respond to sexual violence in armed conflict. The G8 recognized the progress made on this issue and the need to coordinate efforts with the UN and other multilateral organizations in order to be successful. So while the UN has not failed to address this issue, efforts can be improved and advanced by coordination with the G8 and other bodies.

Predominant Equalizing Capability

The third cause of predominant equalizing capability contributes to the G8's attention to preventing sexual violence in conflict, which will be likely be financed by official development assistance (ODA) and carried out by either the members' international development agency or its foreign ministry. Despite the rise of China and other emerging

economies, the G8 is still predominantly the main contributor of development assistance. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the total amount of ODA disbursed by G7 members (G8 excluding Russia) is \$92.15 billion, which is 70% of the total of \$133.55 billion for all members of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee. Individually, in 2011, Canada contributed \$5.3 billion, Germany contributed \$14.5 billion, Italy \$4.2 billion, Japan \$10.6 billion, the UK \$13.7 billion and the United States contributed \$30.7 billion (OECD Library 2012).

Common Principles

G8 members' dedication to common principles has significantly contributed to the group's attention to gender equality and now to preventing sexual violence in conflict. The G8 remains an institution dedicated to promoting democracy and the rule of law, two principles that can be found in the policies of all members. Furthermore, all members except Russia have a ministry, department or office dedicated to promoting gender equality and promoting women's rights within the member's domestic policies. All members have identified the promotion of human rights as one of the main priorities of its foreign policies and again with the exception of Russia, all members have dedicated specific attention to protecting the rights of women and girls. Many members have also taken action against sexual violence and gender-based violence prior to the announcement of the G8's initiative.

Domestic Politics

Another contributing factor to the G8's attention to this issue is the fifth cause, democratic principles. In an Angus Reid Public Opinion Poll in 2010, more than half of Canadians, Americans and Britons believe that gender equality has not been fully realized in their country (Global Monitor 2010). These three countries have already established initiatives to prevent sexual violence in conflict and have committed new funding for the G8 initiative. Public support of gender equality in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom is likely to have contributed to the leaders' attention to the issue globally.

Compact Controlled Participation

The G8 summit was designed to be an isolated, private forum for leaders to have frank discussions and reach consensus on a number of global issues. Lough Erne will be no exception, as the leaders will assemble at a private golf course in Northern Ireland with very limited access for media (Kirton 2013). The sixth cause of performance, compact controlled participation, will allow leaders the forum to reach consensus on an issue that their foreign ministers have already prioritized and hopefully continue to make advances on.

Conclusion

The surprising prioritization of preventing sexual violence in conflict by the United Kingdom during its presidency of the G8 was met by the public and civil society with

both praise and skepticism. But when the foreign ministers met in April they delivered a declaration that was both thoughtful and promising. Not only did it recognize the previous work done on this issue by other international organizations and agreed that a coordination of efforts is necessary, but it also acknowledged that these kinds of crimes are fundamentally rooted in disparities of gender equality. The declaration also contextualized crimes of sexual violence as an issue of peace and security, and further, a breach of the Geneva Conventions, which makes it easier to justify an intervention to prevent them. The foreign ministers' meeting and its declaration took a significant first step in addressing this issue, bringing a voice and justice to victims, ending the cycle of impunity and improving services for those already suffering. It gives hope to victims and advocates of preventing sexual violence that substantial coordinated action against these crimes may come sooner rather than later. However, there is much to be done.

An analysis of the G8's past performance on issues related to the rights of women and girls and the promotion of gender equality shows that the G8 has paid particular attention to these issues at a number of its summits. In 1990, attention increased in the early 2000s and, since 2007, has declined but remained attention. In 2010, the Canadian-hosted summit in Muskoka championed an initiative on promoting maternal, newborn and child health, which acknowledged the importance of gender equality and women's rights. So attention to these issues is not new. But for the G8 to make a significant impact on preventing these crimes, sustained attention to gender equality is essential. Ending the stigmatization of these crimes allows the victims to speak out against the violence and identify the perpetrators. Improving the collection of data and evidence will allow for a more effective prosecutorial process. Without a doubt, these are necessary components of the G8's strategy. However, without addressing the fact that in many countries around the world women are still not treated as equal to men and understanding why rape is widely used as a tool to destroy the social fabric of communities in civil war, improvements will be minuscule and prevention will be difficult, if not impossible. Thus, if the G8 wants to be successful it should continue to advocate preventing sexual violence in conflict but first and foremost it should integrate the protection and promotion of women's rights and gender equality into all its work. And as a forum that has been dedicated to the promotion of democracy and rule of law since its inception in 1975, the G8 is in a good position to do.

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Appendix A: G8 Leaders' Conclusions on Women and Girls, 1975-2013

Summary of Conclusions on Women and Girls in G8 Leaders' Documents

Year	# of Words	% of Total Words	# of Paragraphs	% of Totals Paragraphs	# of Documents	% of Total Documents	# of Dedicated Documents
1975	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1976	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1977	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1978	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1979	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1980	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1981	217	6.9	1	1.9	1	25	0
1982	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1983	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1984	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1985	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1986	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1987	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1988	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1989	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1990	158	2.1	2	1.6	2	50	0
1991	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1992	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1993	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1995	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1996	203	1.3	2	1.2	2	40	0
1997	312	2.4	2	1.4	1	25	0
1998	394	6.5	3	5.3	2	40	0
1999	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2001	238	3.8	1	1.3	1	14.3	0
2002	831	6.9	19	16.7	3	42.8	0
2003	196	1.2	5	6.4	2	33.3	0
2004	1,002	2.6	19	19.2	4	33.3	0
2005	570	2.5	7	3.9	2	13.3	0
2006	56	.18	2	.89	2	15.4	0
2007	1,126	4.4	11	4.4	3	37.5	0
2008	492	2.9	3	2.2	1	16.7	0
2009	2,298	13.9	13	3.9	4	33.3	0
2010	376	5.3	5	9.4	1	50	0
2011	476	2.5	3	2.3	3	60	0
2012	434	11.9	4	10	1	50	0
Average	283.7	1.78	3.6	2.2	1	16.2	0

Notes:

Data are drawn from all official English-language documents released by the G8 leaders as a group. Charts are excluded.

"# of Words" is the number of women and girls-related subjects for the year specified, excluding document titles and references. Words are calculated by paragraph because the paragraph is the unit of analysis.

"% of Total Words" refers to the total number of words in all documents for the year specified.

"# of Paragraphs" is the number of paragraphs containing references to women and girls for the year specified. Each point is recorded as a separate paragraph.

"% of Total Paragraphs" refers to the total number of paragraphs in all documents for the year specified.

"# of Documents" is the number of documents that contain women and girls subjects and excludes dedicated documents.

"% of Total Documents" refers to the total number of documents for the year specified.

"# of Dedicated Documents" is the number of documents for the year that contain a women and girls-related subject in the title.

Appendix B: G8 Commitments on Women

1996-72. We will take care to ensure that women as well as men benefit fully and equally from the recognition of human rights and fundamental freedoms, which were reiterated on the occasion of the Beijing Conference, and that the rights of children be respected.

1998-55. We are deeply concerned by all forms of trafficking of human beings including the smuggling of migrants. We agreed to joint action to combat trafficking in women and children, including efforts to prevent such crimes, protect victims and prosecute the traffickers.

2002-42. Encouraging more effective coordination and cooperation among donors and international institutions in support of peace-building and conflict prevention efforts – particularly with respect to the effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, the collection and destruction of small arms, and the special needs of women and children, including child soldiers.

2002-43. Working to enhance African capacities to protect and assist war-affected populations and facilitate the effective implementation in Africa of United Nations Security Council resolutions relating to civilians, women and children in armed conflict – including by supporting African countries hosting, assisting and protecting large refugee populations

Supporting African efforts to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women including by:

2002-55. Supporting African efforts to achieve equal participation of African women in all aspects of the NEPAD process and in fulfilling the NEPAD objectives; and,

2002-56. Supporting the application of gender main-streaming in all policies and programmes.

Supporting efforts to ensure equal access to education by women and girls – including by: 2002-99. Providing scholarships and other educational support for women and girls; and,

2002-100. Supporting African efforts to break down social, cultural and other barriers to equal access by women and girls to educational opportunities.

2002-134. Supporting the main-streaming of gender issues into all agricultural and related policy together with targeted measures to ensure the rights of women for equal access to technology, technical support, land rights and credits;

2004-?? 7. We will focus our efforts to reduce illiteracy and increase access to education, especially for girls and women.

2004-?? 5. Launch a microfinance initiative to expand sustainable microfinance in the

region and increase financing opportunities for the region's small entrepreneurs, especially women, including by:

2004-?? 15. Expanding and improving education opportunities for girls and women, including by providing assistance to help local communities have access to learning centers and schools;

2004-?? 17. Enhance support for business, entrepreneurship, and vocational training programs to help young people, especially women, expand their employment opportunities, including by:

2004-?? 19. Sponsoring or supporting seminars for outstanding executives, especially women, to enhance their skills through short-term business programs and more focused, industry specific sessions;

2004-?? 20. Carrying out or sponsoring corporate apprenticeship programs, in cooperation with local businesses and chambers of commerce, to increase internship opportunities for the region's young men and women;

2006 – 27: [In our response to HIV/AIDS, we will adhere to the following principles:] scale up support to address the rising rates of HIV infection among young people, particularly young girls and women;

2007-225: The G8 countries will scale up their efforts to contributing towards the goal of universal access to comprehensive HIV/AIDS prevention programs, treatment and care and support by 2010 for all, and to developing and strengthening health systems so that health care, especially primary health care, can be provided on a sustainable and equitable basis in order to reduce illness and mortality, with particular attention paid to the needs of those most vulnerable to infection, including adolescent girls, women and children.

2007-229: Recognizing the growing feminization of the AIDS epidemic, the G8 in cooperation with partner governments support a gender-sensitive response by the GFATM, with the goal of ensuring that greater attention and appropriate resources are allocated by the Fund to HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment, and care that addresses the needs of women and girls.

2007-235: The G8 will emphasize the importance of programs to promote and protect human rights of women and girls as well as the prevention of sexual violence and coercion especially in the context of preventing HIV/AIDS infections.

2008-104: We will promote gender equality and women's empowerment as a principle in our development cooperation through mainstreaming and specific actions.

2009-129: We will promote gender equality as a key issue for aid effectiveness and to reduce poverty.

2010-8: Action is required on all factors that affect the health of women and children. This includes addressing gender inequality, ensuring women's and children's rights and improving education for women and girls. (health)

2011-2: [we renewed our commitment] to respond to the aspirations for freedom, including freedom of religion, and empowerment, particularly for women and youth. (human rights)

2011-64: [We are delivering our Muskoka commitments.] We will continue to monitor their implementation in coordination with all partners, including stakeholders in the Global Strategy for Women's and Children's Health. (health)

2011-65: [We support the recommendations of the Commission on Information and Accountability for Women's and Children's Health established by the WHO at the request of the UN Secretary General.] We will implement them, and urge others to do so. (health)

2012-50. We will also continue to support the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in its efforts to meet its obligation to protect and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms, including in the rights of women and girls and the freedom to practice religion.

2012-67. We reaffirm our commitment to advance human rights of and opportunities for women, leading to more development, poverty reduction, conflict prevention and resolution, and improved maternal health and reduced child mortality.

2012-68. We also commit to supporting the right of all people, including women, to freedom of religion in safety and security.

Appendix C: G8 Compliance with Commitments on Women

Issue area	Commitment	US	JAP	GER	UK	FRA	ITA	CAN	TOTAL
Human Rights	[1996-72] We will take care to ensure that women as well as men benefit fully and equally from the recognition of human rights and fundamental freedoms, which were reiterated on the occasion of the Beijing Conference, and that the rights of children be respected.”	1	0	1	1	1	N/A	1	.83
Crime	[1998-55] We are deeply concerned by all forms of trafficking in human beings including the smuggling of migrants. We agreed to joint action to combat trafficking in women and children, including efforts to prevent such crimes, protect victims and prosecute the traffickers. We commit ourselves to develop a multidisciplinary and comprehensive strategy, including principles and an action plan for future cooperation amongst ourselves and with third countries, including countries of origin, transit and destination to tackle this problem. We consider the future comprehensive United Nations organized crime convention an important instrument for this purpose.”	N/A	1	0	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	.33
Health	[2006-27] [In our response to HIV/AIDS, we will adhere to the following principles:] scale up support to address the rising rates of HIV infection among young people, particularly young girls and women;	1	-1	-1	1	1	1	1	.56