

Achieving Gender Equality through G7 and G20 Governance

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Introduction

Significance

In recent years gender equality and women’s rights have garnered more attention from some of the most powerful leaders in the world at their annual Group of Seven/Eight (G7/8) and Group of 20 (G20) summits and from other international organizations, most notably the United Nations. At its 2014 summit in Brisbane, Australia, the G20 made a commitment to reduce the gap in labour force participation rates between men and women by 25% by 2025. Half a year later, at their G7 summit in June 2015 at Schloss Elmau in Germany, G7 leaders committed to increase technical and vocational training for women and girls and to facilitate access to financing for female-owned business to encourage female entrepreneurship. There was sustained momentum for action on gender equality in the lead up to the 2015 G20 summit in Antalya. Under the leadership of the Turkish presidency, the Women 20 (W20) was established as an official engagement group. It held its first summit in Istanbul on October 16-17 to encourage G20 leaders to do more for gender equality and women’s economic empowerment and to monitor the implementation of the relevant commitments the leaders made. The UN simultaneously launched its Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) at its summit in September 2015 which included SDG 5 to “achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.” The key question now is how well and whether the G7/8, G20 and UN leaders can implement these bold summit promises they have made.

The first major advance in the fight for gender equality in global governance came in 1979 with the adoption of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The second major advance, again through the UN, came with the adoption of the Beijing Declaration at the Fourth World Conference on Women. The G7/8’s work on gender equality began in 1990. In the post-2008 financial crisis years the discussion shifted to emphasize inclusive growth as a way to build strong and sustainable economies and halt rising income inequality, with gender equality being a key component of both goals. Evidence shows that even the most developed countries, including all G20 members, experience major gaps in gender parity. It is clear that the issue requires a more sustained response from all international institutions and their member countries.

The Debate

The G7/8 and G20’s performance on gender has prompted an often under-developed, selective and prescriptive rather than descriptive and explanatory debate due to both institutions’ relatively recent and limited action in the area. The discussion is largely focused on the G7/8 and the single subject of sexual violence in conflict and often overlooks the broader realm that gender permeates.

The first school of thought on G7/8 and G20 performance on gender equality sees potential leadership. Alma Laiadhi (2014), the Minister of Justice in the German Delegation to the Youth Eight (Y8) and Youth 20 (Y20), argues that G7/G8 and G20 leaders must seize the opportunity to lead on gender equality and make it a key issue in global governance. To do so, Laiadhi suggests building on three pillars: 1) changing under-representation to positive discrimination; 2) terminating the gender pay gap; and 3) preventing and prosecuting sexual violence against women.

In a policy paper written by InterAction, an alliance of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the authors made three recommendations to the G7/G8 to successfully address crimes of sexual violence (Ruthrauff 2012). The first is that the G7/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 the G7/G8 operates. The third is to develop a National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security and include it in its annual accountability report. The InterAction report stresses that addressing these crimes requires prosecution and accountability efforts, services for survivors, and combined initiatives to address the root causes of violence.

The second school sees limited foreign minister leadership. Leymah Gbowee and Jody Williams (2013), co-chairs of the International Campaign to Stop Rape and Gender Violence in Conflict, argue that G8 foreign ministers have set an admirable precedent for other leaders. Gbowee and Williams credit Britain's foreign secretary William Hague with helping 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. The authors praise Hague and his foreign minister counterparts for their work, but warn that preventing sexual violence in conflict must remain a priority as it is an issue that cannot be solved in the short-term but rather requires a commitment to a comprehensive and long-term strategy. Paul Kirby discussing the G8 Initiative to End Violence in Conflict says that despite its promise the Initiative has thus far achieved little on its own technical terms and its approach to gender violence in conflict is limited.

The third school sees inconsistency due to the absence of accountability and a CEDAW link. Lucy Pedrick from the University of Sheffield (2015) writes that the G7/8 has been consistently inconsistent with gender, mysteriously appearing and disappearing from the agenda from year to year. This problem is compounded by the G7/8's lack of accountability mechanisms. Until it addresses gender equality more reliably and in direct fulfilment of CEDAW obligations, Pedrick argues the G7/8 will fall behind other international organizations.

The fourth school sees a significant first step forward on sexual violence in conflict. 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 G7/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 necessary action 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.

The fifth school sees a too narrow approach due to prevailing gender inequality. Chief Executive of Care International UK Geoffrey Dennis (2013), while supporting foreign ministers' efforts to reduce

incidents of sexual violence in war, argues that since violence in many societies is due to “blatant inequality between men and women” their approach is too narrow. 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 impunity for these crimes.

The sixth and final school sees G20 failure. James Heintz from the University of Massachusetts writing for Heinrich Boell Stiftung in 2013 argued that it was shocking that the G20 has paid so little attention to gender equality given its commitment to shared and inclusive growth (Heintz 2013). Heintz makes a number of recommendations including to establish a G20 task force on gender equality and to prepare a toolkit on economic policy and gender with the goal of integrating these issues into the overall G20 agenda.

Puzzles

Some credit has thus been given to the G7/8 and G20 for their work on specific gender issues, most notably their advocacy in 2013 on preventing sexual violence in conflict and in 2014 on reducing labour force participation gaps. Yet many correctly draw attention to the lack of comprehensive and sustained attention to gender issues. Those skeptical of the G7/8 and G20’s performance have, however, failed to recognize that the G7/8 has promoted women’s rights and gender equality since 1990 and that the G20 first addressed the topic at its summit in London in 2009. Thus far, there has not been a sufficient explanation as to why the G7/8 and G20 decided to take up particular facets of gender equality issues from year to year, or how to encourage both institutions to commit to and implement a longer term strategy that is built into their existing agenda. Nor has there been any systematic examination of how well and why they comply with their gender commitments even though most schools of thought highlight the importance of improving implementation. In order to determine the future potential of the G7/8 and the G20 to govern global gender policy an analysis of its past performance on the issue is required. This study takes up that task for the first time.

The Argument

This study argues that the G7/8 and G20 summits have had a small, selective performance on gender issues due to the changing priorities of the host leader each year. The importance of promoting women’s rights and gender equality has appeared in the G7/8’s final outcome documents since the 1996 Lyon Summit and has appeared consistently in the G20’s outcome documents since the 2010 Seoul Summit. For years the G7/8 has highlighted the need to promote women’s economic and political participation, to improve educational opportunities, and to end discrimination and human rights violations against women and girls. With the exception of the 2010 Muskoka Initiative on Maternal, Newborn and Child Health, which contained elements of gender equality but was primarily designed to improve women and children’s health and encourage progress on Millennium Development Goal (MDG) five, women’s rights and gender equality have not been given significant attention (see Appendix A).

While the G7/8 has fairly consistently included women and girl’s rights in its final outcome documents and in the commitments it makes each year, gender equality has largely remained a peripheral issue with attention centered on only one particular part of the problem from year to year.

The G20 has emphasized the economic side of gender issues focusing mainly on gaps in labour force participation, female financial inclusion and improving economic opportunities for women. Yet here too attention seems to be fleeting and there is no guarantee that gender equality as it relates to economic growth will end up in the communiqué in a meaningful way. The personality of the summit host appears to influence the degree of attention given to gender issues from year to year.

Compliance with gender commitments has been strong in the G7/8 and above average in the G20. As this compliance is matched by the predictors and potential causes of summit performance leaders can take several directly controllable, low cost, familiar measures to improve the compliance they seek.

G7/8 Performance on Gender

Domestic Political Management

The first measure of G7/8 performance is domestic political management. It is measured by the number of complimentary comments made to G7/8 members in the passages of the communiqué that contain references to gender equality. From 1975 to 2015 no such comments have been made (see Appendix A).

Deliberation

The second dimension of performance is deliberation in both private and public forums. The latter is measured by the number of references made to women, girls and gender issues in the summit's final outcome documents. It happened for the first time at the 1990 Houston Summit when G7 members acknowledged the importance of improved educational opportunities and economic integration for women in developing countries (see Appendix B). Attention was then 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, G7 members recognized the importance of expanding women's political participation to prevent societal conflict. By 2001 women had continuously secured a spot on the agenda through to the most recent summit at Schloss Elmau in Germany in 2015. In 2013 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, and maternal, newborn and child health. In 2014 leaders made references to issues like female labour force participation, and ending harmful practices like female genital mutilation and child, early and forced marriage. At the most recent summit at Schloss Elmau leaders made women's labour force participation a summit priority and there was a record number of 1,389 words dedicated to gender equality in the communiqué with a slight decrease from the year before in the overall percentage of words.

Direction Setting

The third dimension of performance is direction setting measured by the number of times gender equality is linked to the distinctive G7/8 mission to first advance open democracy and second to promote individual liberty. The connection was first made in 1996 when G7 leaders acknowledged the role of the UN in the advancement of women and the promotion of democracy and human rights (see Appendix A). In 1997, leaders encouraged the adoption of democracy in sub-Saharan African countries which they said laid the foundation for human rights and in particular the women's rights. The link was absent from 1998 to 2014 but appeared again in 2015. Leaders acknowledged that the economic disenfranchisement of women is a violation of their human rights and made reference to the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) countries in transition supporting their efforts to strengthen democracy and human rights, and the implementation of inclusive growth especially for women and youth.

Decision Making

While it is important that gender issues get a significant amount of attention in the summits' final outcome documents successful intervention depends critically on collective action-oriented commitments. There have been 89 commitments made by the G7/8 that include references to women, girls and gender (see Appendix A). Gender commitments first appeared in 1996 when members committed to ensure 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 when it appeared in nine commitments focused mainly on gender equality in Africa and promoting equal access to education for women and girls. There were seven commitments in 2004 including reducing female illiteracy and the launch of a microfinance initiative aimed at increasing economic opportunities and enhancing business training for women. There was then a slight decrease in the number of commitments made with zero in 2005 and one in 2006. Commitments spiked again to seven in 2007 at Heiligendamm. These focused on the impact of the HIV/AIDS crisis on women and girls and sexual and reproductive health, with one commitment on sexual and gender based violence. In 2008 six commitments were made that focused on maternal and child health, reproductive health and gender mainstreaming. There were then two made at L'Aquila, four at Deauville, four at Muskoka, four at Camp David and three at Lough Erne. At Brussels in 2014 there were seven commitments made on the economic empowerment of women, maternal and child health; sexual and reproductive health; early and forced marriage; and female genital mutilation. And finally at the most recent summit at Schloss Elmau commitments soared to an all-time high of 32, possibly a direct result of having gender issues prioritized on the agenda for the first time. The commitments at Elmau covered topics including vocational training for women and girls, maternal health, preventing sexual harassment and violence, and the economic empowerment of women and girls.

Delivery

The fifth dimension of performance is measured by G7/8 compliance with the decisions that they have made. The methodology used to measure G7/8 compliance with core and gender related commitments was developed by the G8 Research Group in 1996 and has since been adopted by the G20 Research Group. Compliance with commitments selected is measured on a three-point scale where each member is awarded a -1, 0 or +1 for each commitment. A compliance score of -1 indicates a failure to comply or actions taken that are opposite to the commitment's stated goal. A score of 0 indicates partial compliance or a work in progress and a score of +1 indicates full compliance with the commitment's stated goal (Global Governance Program, 2016).

Only 14 of the 89 commitments made by G7/8 leaders that contain a gender component have been measured for compliance (see Appendix C). Compliance has averaged +0.61 with a range from full compliance to -0.11 from 1996 to 2014. This is above the overall average of +0.50 for the 450 commitments assessed for compliance on all subjects since 1983. The first assessed gender commitment was made at the 1996 Lyon Summit, in which leaders committed to ensure that women as well as men benefitted 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 promised joint action to prevent the trafficking of women and children. G8 members complied with a score of +0.33, just below the average compliance score for crime commitments of +0.45. In 2002 G8 members fully complied with a commitment to support African countries in reducing maternal and infant mortality.

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 complied at +0.56, just above the average compliance for health commitments of +0.43. On a commitment to recognize the growing feminization of the AIDS epidemic G8 members scored full compliance. On the two health commitments made in 2007 compliance varied. On the commitment to promote knowledge about sexuality and reproductive health G8 members scored +0.33 and they received full compliance on the commitment to support a gender sensitive response to HIV/AIDS. On the 2009 health commitment to support maternal health through sexual and reproductive health care G8 members scored +0.22. On the 2010 health commitment to take action on all factors that affect the health of women and children members scored +0.78. On the 2011 health commitment to improve maternal health through the Muskoka Initiative members scored -0.11. On the two human rights commitments made in 2012 with a gender component G8 members scored +0.78 and +0.11. On the 2013 health commitment to advance action on malnutrition particularly for smallholders and women, G8 leaders scored +0.89. And on the two health commitments from 2014 G8 members received full compliance on the commitment to take action to ensure sexual and reproductive rights and received full compliance at +0.75 on the commitment reaffirming support for the Muskoka Initiative.

From a member-specific perspective the United States is the highest complier with gender related commitments. It has scored full compliance on all assessed gender commitments. The second highest complier is Canada which has scored +0.85 on gender related commitments. The lowest complier is Russia with +0.27, followed by Japan at +0.36 and Italy with +0.45.

Development of Global Governance

The sixth dimension of performance is measured by the level of engagement with both ministerial and official level institutions both inside and outside G7/8. Here performance has risen recently.

Since the G7/G8 summit's inception a ministers' meeting on the status and rights of women has never been held. Nor has there been a ministerial official body or civil society engagement group dedicated solely to gender issues. However, in the G7/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. At the most recent foreign ministers' meeting in Hiroshima on April 11, 2016, four paragraphs of the communiqué were dedicated to women, peace and security, and preventing sexual violence in conflict, showing a continuing commitment to the initiative launched in 2013.

The G7/8 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. In 2014 there was an increase in references to outside international organizations to nine with a drop to two in 2015.

These references support the ongoing work, recommendations and initiatives on gender led by external organizations. This is important for G7/8 initiatives, such as the one to prevent sexual violence in conflict, as the UN already has an established entity (UN Women) dedicated to promoting women's rights and gender equality in addition to the UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict. Effective and efficient action on advancing gender equality requires engagement with institutions and the programming already in place in order to avoid duplicating efforts, as well as combining resources to reach more people.

G20 Gender Performance

Across these dimensions of performance the G20 has failed to address gender equality in a substantial and sustained way until recently.

Domestic Political Management

On the first dimension the G20 issued no communiqué comments of a complimentary or critical kind to any of its members in passages of its communiqué that contain references to gender equality from 2008 to 2015 (see Appendix D). Communiqué compliments are often sought out by members as they can serve as evidence of their summit success to their government and public at home.

Deliberation

On the second dimension of performance the G20 has again performed poorly. Gender equality was absent completely in 2008 at Washington (see Appendix E). At London in 2009 G20 leaders referenced women, although the reference was not within the context of gender equality. The issue was absent again at the subsequent summits in Pittsburgh and Toronto. It finally appeared in 2010 at Seoul where G20 leaders noted that their Multi-Year Action Plan developed that year helped promote gender equality as well as “identify the links between education, health problems, gender gaps and life-long skills development.” At the Cannes summit G20 leaders made a relevant reference in one paragraph where they encouraged women’s participation in the labour market to strengthen medium-term growth. In 2012 at Los Cabos attention to gender equality increased and broadened through commitments to expand economic opportunities for women, advance gender equality in all areas and increase access to financial services. At St. Petersburg in 2013 attention to gender equality peaked. It focused on improving employment opportunities for women and endorsing financial education for women and girls. G20 leaders also outlined country specific action plans with structural reforms to increase the participation of women in the workforce. At the 2014 Brisbane Summit attention to gender equality decreased in the communiqué despite the prioritization of increasing female participation in the labour market. Attention to gender surged in 2015 at Antalya to a peak of 13.5% of the total words in the documents released by the leaders.

Direction Setting

The third dimension of performance is principled and normative direction setting, measured by the number of times G20 leaders make reference to the club’s foundational missions of financial stability (as a global public good) and making globalization work for the benefit of all (as a distributional principle) among the passages containing gender equality-related references. At the St. Petersburg summit G20 leaders began making the connection between gender equality and its foundational missions in the communiqué (see Appendix D). It made three references to the importance of making globalization work for the benefit of all in the context of gender equality with an acknowledgment that prosperity must be shared and that attention must be paid to ensuring financial inclusion of vulnerable groups, including women. At Brisbane leaders recognized that promoting increased participation by women in the labour market would lead to greater financial stability and growth. These connections were also made at the most recent summit at Antalya, indicating a general increase in recognition between gender equality and the G20’s first foundational mission.

Decision Making

The fourth dimension saw the G20 make 12 commitments on or related to gender equality since its first summit in Washington (see Appendix D). This compares to the 47 commitments the G7/8 summits made during this time. The first group of commitments categorized under gender in the G20 include those with an intended outcome to improve gender equality. Here the G20 made six

commitments — two at its 2012 Los Cabos Summit and four at its 2014 Brisbane Summit. The second group of commitments are categorized under various issue areas including “labour and employment” and “development” and contain terms related to gender equality. These categories have been included in this study because although the overarching target of labour and employment or development may not be to improve gender equality, G20 compliance with such commitments would simultaneously work to improve compliance with the directly focused gender ones. The G20 made six commitments in this regard: one at the 2009 London Summit, one at the 2011 Cannes Summit, one at the 2012 Los Cabos Summit, one at the 2013 St. Petersburg Summit and two at the 2015 Antalya Summit.

Delivery

The fifth dimension of performance has only two G20 gender commitments that have been assessed for compliance (see Appendix F). The first in 2012 was to take concrete action to overcome the barriers hindering women’s full economic and social participation. In the first year of implementation G20 leaders’ compliance was +0.55. On the second commitment from 2014 on reducing the gap in labour force participation by 25% by 2025, G20 leaders averaged +0.32.

Development of Global Governance

The sixth dimension of performance is the development of global governance. References and engagement with both internal and external institutions on gender were very limited until the 2013 St. Petersburg Summit. Here G20 leaders called upon their employment and finance ministers to ensure underrepresented and vulnerable groups were given incentives and help to find jobs with the support of the International Labour Organization, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and the World Bank. References were again limited in 2014, but expanded significantly in 2015 with the welcoming of the creation of the W20.

Causes of Performance

The concert equality model of G7/8 performance is applied to determine why a pattern of small selective performance with a recent rise exists for both the G7/8 and G20 and the overall higher performance of the G7/8.

Shock-Activated Vulnerability

Traditionally, shocks that activate member vulnerability are known to spur more successful action on similar issues by the G7/8. For instance, the announcement of widespread sexual violence in Syria just a few weeks prior to the G8 foreign ministers’ meeting in 2013 may have contributed to the G8’s announcement of its initiative to prevent sexual violence in conflict (Starr 2013). 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 met with viable public shock and outrage and may have spurred more attention to the issue when the leaders met at Lough Erne (Bagri and Timmons 2013). Yet the absence of attention to this issue despite gender-based violence shocks in Bosnia, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria with Boko Haram, and Syria and Iraq with ISIS’ system of sexual enslavement is not explained. Attention to gender-based violence was highest in the early 2000s, decreasing slowly after 2006 and rising again at the 2013 Lough Erne Summit. The G7/8 communiqués do not mention any of the specific shocking events that occurred in the last 20 years that required immediate attention. However, shock-activated vulnerability fails to explain why there was a significant increase in attention paid to gender equality, particularly as it relates to skills training and labour force participation, at the most recent summit in 2015.

For the G20, shock activated vulnerability has been cited as one of the main causes of its creation and success (Kirton 2013). The market-originated, Asian-turned-global financial crisis led to the creation of the G20 summit at the leader's level in September 2008. Two years later in 2010, the financial shock of the Eurocrisis caused the 2010 Toronto Summit to succeed in containing the crisis. Such financial shocks may help explain the G20's attention to gender in an economic context from 2008 to 2015, but not the recent rise as the 2008 and 2010 shocks wore off. Moreover, while there are major gendered gaps across a number of indicators (such as labour force participation, unemployment rates and wages) in all G20 countries these trends have been fairly consistent over time and thus would not be classified as shocks.

Multilateral Organizational Failure

The second cause of multilateral organizational failure does little to explain the G7/8's sporadic, peripheral and selective recently rising governance and why it has decided to champion certain gender issues from year to year. For this cause the assumption is that G7/8 and G20 attention to a particular issue area is spurred by a failure of other international organizations, notably the UN, to be successful in governing it. However, for gender equality issues it seems that UN action may help cause the G7/8 and G20 to prioritize it on their agenda.

In March 2007 the UN launched UN Action which united 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 UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1820, which acknowledged sexual violence as a tactic of war and threat to international peace and security. It also established UN missions to the DRC, Sudan, Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, Central African Republic, Colombia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina (UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict). It would therefore be incorrect to say the UN has failed to address sexual violence globally.

Moreover, the G8 in its 2013 declaration first recognized efforts already made by the UN and other intergovernmental organizations 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.

In 2015 G7 attention to gender equality significantly increased from the previous year and the scope of its attention shifted from focusing on women as victims (in a health or conflict context) to focusing on women as key drivers of economic growth. This shift occurred just months after the G20 made its commitment to increase female labour force participation at its 2014 Brisbane Summit and just months before the UN launched its SDGs which contained a comprehensive goal to improve gender equality in several ways including through employment. It seems that G7/8 and G20 action on gender equality is not spurred by inaction by other multilateral organizations but is influenced by other institutions' commitments and working with them to support their successes in a common cause.

Predominant Equalizing Capability

The third cause of predominant equalizing capability contributes to explaining the G7/8 and G20's attention to and compliance with gender equality commitments. The variables used to measure specialized capability in this area are the percentage of the population that is female, the female labour force participation rate and the number of parliamentary seats held by women.

The percentage of the population that is female in 2014 is highest in Russia at 53.6% and lowest in Saudi Arabia at 43.4% (see Appendix G). There does not seem to be much correlation between those

countries with slightly higher percentages of female populations and higher levels of compliance, even when Russia hosted the G8 summit in 2006 and the G20 one in 2013.

On the second variable, the female labour force participation rate, two noticeable trends appear. First, the countries with the highest rates of female labour force participation in 2014 are G7/8 members and they are the group with the highest gender compliance score (see Appendix H). Second, countries with economically empowered women as a result of high female labour force participation rates tend to also be high compliers with G7/8 and G20 commitments on gender, particularly Canada.

On the third variable, the proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments, the results are surprising. The countries with the highest rates of politically empowered women in 2014 — South Africa, Mexico and Argentina — tend to have lower rates of compliance with G20 gender commitments and G20 commitments more generally (see Appendix I). The high compliers with G7/8 and G20 gender commitments — Canada, the US and Australia — fall within the mid range of proportion of seats held by women.

Perhaps the Labour 20 does a better job than the Parliamentary 20 of linking its stakeholders' interests to what G20 government leaders debate, decide and deliver.

Common Principles

G7/8 members' dedication to common principles has significantly contributed to the group's attention to gender equality. The G7/8 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.

Political Cohesion

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 2016). 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, the Beijing Platform for Action, the MDGs and the UNSC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (CIDA 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 has committed to mainstreaming gender in its development 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, who in 2014 was the first woman in France appointed as Minister of Education, Higher Education and Research in 2014, heads the new Ministry. Additionally, 50 percent of Hollande's ministers are female (RFI 2012) and in October 2010 France adopted a national action plan to implement women, peace and security resolutions. The plan sets out clear objectives that seek to increase female participation in the workforce and to protect women from violence.

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.

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).

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 for 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 agreed to support the G8's initiative to prevent sexual violence in 2013, but following the illegal annexation of Crimea and its subsequent suspension from the club Russia's progress on implementing this commitment is no longer monitored.

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 are education, health, governance and conflict all of which have specific commitments dedicated to women and girls.

United States

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 U.S. 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 U.S. and other stakeholders. The others are to integrate gender-based violence prevention efforts into existing government work, improve research and data on gender-based violence, and to enhance U.S. government programming that addresses gender-

Domestic Politics

Another factor that may contribute to G7/8 and G20 attention to and compliance with gender equality issues and commitments is public opinion on the issue. A 2015 study by the Pew Research Center reported data on member countries' attitudes on equal rights between men and women (Wike and Simmons 2015). The countries that reported the highest percentage of people who believed that women have the same rights as men were, in order, Canada, the U.S., Germany, the UK and Australia (see Appendix J). All six countries reported figures over 90%. The members with the lowest percentages were Japan at 60%, Russia at 58%, Turkey at 48% and Indonesia at 44%. Data was unavailable for Saudi Arabia and China. 'Generally speaking, G7/8 member countries tend to have higher rates of public support for gender equality. This may help explain why G7/8 performance has been more sustained and comprehensive than G20 attention, but does not explain the recent rise for both.

These figures coincide directly with a perceptions poll of 370 gender specialists conducted by TrustLaw in 2012 which found that G20 countries are viewed as more favourable for women (Baldwin 2012). According to this poll, the worst G20 member country for women was India due to high rates of early and forced marriage, dowry-related violence, domestic abuse and sex selective abortion. The second worst was Saudi Arabia where women are legally and socially considered second-class citizens. Women in Saudi Arabia are banned from driving and there is no law against domestic violence. The G20 members that were regarded as the best places to live for women were Canada, Germany and the UK.

While data for G20 compliance is limited with only two assessments completed for the 12 commitments made, initial results tend to correlate with these perception polls. The member countries that seemingly value gender equality less tend to have lower gender compliance scores than those who value it more.

Compact Controlled Participation

The sixth cause of performance, compact controlled participation, asserts that the summit design allows leaders the facilitative forum to reach consensus on any given issue. The private, exclusive

setting is argued to be more conducive to consensus. This, along with their shared principles of democracy and human rights, may explain why the G7/8 has done more over the years for gender equality than the G20.

Accountability Mechanisms

Although the small dataset does not allow for any strong conclusions to be made there are some initial trends worth noting.

The first is the match between compliance and commitment concentration. Concentration commitments are commitments made in the same issue area in the same year. The top seven highest complied with commitments tend on average to have a higher number of concentrated commitments on gender (see Appendix K). In this case the top seven complied with commitments, averaging +0.89, are accompanied by an average of five gender commitments in the same year. Whereas the bottom seven, averaging +0.31, contain an average of 3.8 gender commitments. This implies that the more commitments that are made on gender equality in a given year encourages higher rates of compliance, although both may flow from another cause.

The second trend is less strong but still provides a basis for future research. The top seven complied with commitments tend to contain on average more compliance catalysts. These are specific elements embedded within commitments that are known to increase compliance, such as references to a commitment made at prior summits and hardline targets for implementation. The top seven complied with commitments have on average 0.86 embedded compliance catalysts and the bottom seven contain an average of 0.57.

The third trend is the relationship between compliance and iteration at subsequent summits, measured by the number of commitments with a similar outcome at all subsequent G7/8 summits. The top seven complied with commitments match with on average 4.6 commitments with a similar outcome in later years and the bottom seven match with on average 3.7 commitments.

The fourth trend is the relationship between surrounding summit support from G20 and G7/8 compliance. This is measured by the number of words in the communiqué dedicated to gender and released at the G20 summit of that same year. The top seven G7/8 complied with commitments are from years that the G20 dedicated more attention to gender with an average of 246 words. The bottom seven G7/8 commitments correspond with a G20 average of 87 words. This implies that compliance tends to be higher in years that the G20 also pays significant attention to the issue.

The fifth and final trend was an unexpected one. It was hypothesized that when the subsequent meeting of the G7/8 foreign ministers takes up the issue at hand the commitments made at the previous summit would have higher compliance. However, the top seven complied with gender commitments received less attention from the corresponding foreign ministers meeting than the bottom seven. One potential explanation for this is that once G7/8 leaders pass the responsibility of the issue down to the foreign minister level, it is regarded as less important and thus receives less attention from the leaders and all those who work for them.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This initial analysis of the G7/8 and G20's performance on gender equality indicates that progress has been slow, often sporadic and unsustainable but with a recent rise. The significant achievements in recent years may indicate that member countries now view issues related to gender equality as an essential component of both the G7/8 and G20 agenda. The introduction of the initiative to

preventing sexual violence in conflict in 2013 was a major advance in finally prioritizing what had been largely viewed as a women's issue and recognizing its impact on global peace and security. In 2014, by including a commitment to equalize labour force participation between men and women, the G20 finally recognized the role of women in the workforce as essential for strong, sustainable and balanced growth. The following year, in the lead up to the G20 summit in Antalya, the first ever Women 20 engagement group was launched in order to encourage the G20 summits now and in the future to incorporate and embed gender equality into its agenda.

However, these achievements are only first steps for both institutions' work in gender equality and much is still to be done, including in those member countries where massive human rights abuses are inflicted on women everyday. Furthermore, commitments made in previous years need to be fully implemented. The initial analysis conducted for this study indicates that there is a long way to go to reach the G7/8 and G20's intended outcomes.

There are some accountable measures that seem to help increase compliance, including companion commitment concentration, compliance catalysts and surrounding summit support. G7/8 and G20 performance and compliance tends to be higher in years in which other institutions have made significant achievements on gender. Thus, it may be useful to foster a more closely connected relationship between the G7/8 and G20 with the UN on gender equality issues.

The next opportunity for high G7 summit gender performance will come at the Ise-Shima summit in Japan on May 26-27, 2016. The Japanese host presidency indicated that Japan has been working towards a society in which women are actively engaged and is thus prioritizing gender equality as one of the summit's main agenda items. The Ise-Shima summit plans to build on the work done at Schloss Elmau last year and focus on empowering women through education and promoting greater engagement in natural sciences and technology. The G7/8 and the G20 have proven that their summits can take up the issue in a meaningful way. But both must prove that they remain accountable and improve implementation in order to be a genuine global governor of gender equality.

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Appendix A: G7/8 Gender Performance, 1975-2015

| Year | Domestic political management | | Deliberation | | | Direction setting | | Decision making | | Delivery | | Development of global governance | |
|------|-------------------------------|------------------------|--------------|-----|-----------|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------|------------|------------|----------------------------------|-----|
| | Attendance | Communiqué complements | Words | | Documents | Democracy | Human rights | # commitments | % overall | Compliance | # measured | In | Out |
| | | | # | % | | | | | | | | | |
| 1975 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1976 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1977 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1978 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1979 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1980 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1981 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1982 | 100 | 0 | 217 | 6.9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 1 |
| 1983 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1984 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1985 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1986 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1987 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1988 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1989 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1990 | 100 | 0 | 158 | 2.1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1991 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1992 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1993 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1994 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1995 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 1996 | 100 | 0 | 203 | 1.3 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 0.78 | 0.83 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| 1997 | 100 | 0 | 312 | 2.4 | 0 | 11 | 8 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 2 |
| 1998 | 100 | 0 | 394 | 6.5 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1.4 | 0.33 | 1 | 0 | 7 |
| 1999 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |
| 2000 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 |

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| Year | Domestic political management | | Deliberation | | Direction setting | | Decision making | | Delivery | | Development of global governance | | |
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|--------------|-----------|-------------------|-------|-----------------|-----------|------------|------|----------------------------------|------|------|
| | Attendance | Communiqué | Words | Documents | Democracy | Human | # commitments | % overall | Compliance | # | In | Out | |
| 2001 | 100 | 0 | 238 | 3.8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 1 | 3 | |
| 2002 | 100 | 0 | 831 | 6.9 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 3.7 | - | 0 | 0 | 8 | |
| 2003 | 100 | 0 | 196 | 1.2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 2 | 1 | |
| 2004 | 100 | 0 | 1,002 | 2.6 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 2.4 | - | 0 | 4 | |
| 2005 | 100 | 0 | 570 | 2.5 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 1 | 2 |
| 2006 | 100 | 0 | 56 | 0.18 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.31 | 0.56 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2007 | 100 | 0 | 1,126 | 4.4 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 0.91 | 1.00 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| 2008 | 100 | 0 | 492 | 2.9 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0.33 | - | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2009 | 100 | 0 | 2,298 | 13.9 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0.39 | - | 0 | 2 | 23 |
| 2010 | 100 | 0 | 376 | 5.3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2.2 | 0.78 | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| 2011 | 100 | 0 | 476 | 2.5 | 0 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 1.5 | - | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 2012 | 89 | 0 | 434 | 11.9 | 0 | 3 | 11 | 3 | 3.7 | 0.45 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 2013 | 100 | 0 | 645 | 4.8 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1.4 | 0.89 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| 2014 | 100 | 0 | 904 | 17.7 | 0 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 4.3 | 1.00 | 1 | 2 | 9 |
| 2015 | 100 | 0 | 1,389 | 16.6 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 29 | 7.7 | N/A | N/A | 2 | 7 |
| Total | N/A | 0 | 12,317 | N/A | 0 | 38 | 64 | 66 | N/A | N/A | 9 | 14 | 82 |
| Average | 99.7 | 0.00 | 300.41 | 2.8 | 0 | 0.93 | 1.56 | 1.61 | 0.76 | 0.73 | 0.69 | 0.34 | 2.00 |

Notes: Domestic Political Management – measured by the number of leaders in attendance and communiqué compliments, the number of times a country or leader was positively mentioned.

Deliberation – measured by the number of words on the subject, the percentage of words and the number of dedicated documents to the issue.

Direction setting – measured by the number of references to the G7/8 democratic principles and the number of references to human rights.

Decisions – measured by the number of commitments and the percentage of overall commitments (% overall).

Delivery – measured by compliance with priority commitments and the number of compliance reports (# measured).

Development of Global Governance – measured by the number of governance mechanisms developed within the G7/G8 (In) and the number of governance mechanisms developed outside of the G7/G8 (Out).

Overall: Overall grade.

N/A=Not applicable

- = Data not measured

Appendix B: G7/8 Leaders' Conclusions on Gender, 1975-2015

| Year | # words | % total words | # paragraphs | % total paragraphs | # documents | % total documents | # 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 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1982 | 217 | 6.9 | 1 | 1.9 | 1 | 25 | 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 | 0.18 | 2 | 0.89 | 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 |
| 2013 | 645 | 4.8 | 6 | 2.3 | 1 | 25 | 0 |
| 2014 | 904 | 17.7 | 8 | 11.3 | 1 | 100 | 0 |
| 2015 | 1,389 | 16.6 | 18 | 13.4 | 2 | 100 | 0 |
| Average | 300.4 | 2.84 | 3.3 | 2.9 | .95 | 19.6 | 0 |

Notes: Data are drawn from all official English-language documents released by the G7/8 leaders as a group. Excludes charts.

"# words" is the number of gender-related subjects for the summit, excluding document titles and references. Words are calculated by paragraph because the paragraph is the unit of analysis.

"% total words" refers to the total number of words in all documents for the summit specified.

"#paragraphs" is the number of paragraphs containing references to gender for the summit specified. Each point is recorded as a separate paragraph.

"% total paragraphs" refers to the total number of paragraphs in all documents for the summit specified.

"# documents" is the number of documents that contain gender subjects and excludes dedicated documents.

"% total documents" refers to the total number of documents for the summit specified.

"# dedicated documents" is the number of documents for the summit containing a women- and girls-related subject in the title.

Appendix C: G7/8 Compliance with Commitments on Gender

| Issue area | Commitment | United States | Japan | Germany | United Kingdom | France | Italy | Canada | European Union | Russia | 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 | | | 0.83 |
| 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 | | | 0.33 |
| Health | [2002-118] Supporting African countries in helping to promote more effective, and cost-effective, health interventions to the most vulnerable sectors of society – including reducing maternal and infant mortality and morbidity; | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 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 | | 1 | 0.56 |
| Health | [2007-223] "The G8 will take concrete steps to support education programs especially for girls, to promote knowledge about sexuality and reproductive health and the prevention of sexually transmitted infections." | 1 | 1 | 0 | -1 | 0 | -1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0.33 |

| Issue area | Commitment | United States | Japan | Germany | United Kingdom | France | Italy | Canada | European Union | Russia | Total |
|--------------|--|---------------|-------|---------|----------------|--------|-------|--------|----------------|--------|-------|
| Health | [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. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Health | [2009-151] "We will accelerate progress on combating child mortality, including through intensifying support for immunization and micronutrient supplementation, and on maternal health, including through sexual and reproductive health care and services and voluntary family planning." | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | -1 | 0.22 |
| Health | [2010-18] 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. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0.78 |
| Health | [2011-63] "We reaffirm our commitment to improving maternal health and reducing child mortality, most notably through the Muskoka Initiative for Maternal, Newborn and Child Health launched in 2010." | 1 | -1 | 1 | -1 | -1 | 1 | -1 | -1 | 1 | -0.11 |
| Human rights | [2012-49] 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. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | -1 | 0.78 |
| Human rights | [2012-66] We also commit to supporting the right of all people, including women, to freedom of religion in safety and security. | 1 | -1 | 1 | 1 | -1 | -1 | 1 | 1 | -1 | 0.11 |
| Health | [2013-136] We will build on the achievements of the US G8 Presidency by advancing action in four areas: Deepening impact – by ensuring that investments have a measurable impact on [malnutrition, particularly for smallholders and women, and are made responsibly and support the sustainable use of natural resources] | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0.89 |

| Issue area | Commitment | United States | Japan | Germany | United Kingdom | France | Italy | Canada | European Union | Russia | Total |
|------------|--|---------------|-------|---------|----------------|--------|-------|--------|----------------|--------|-------|
| Health | [2014-88] We remain committed to the Muskoka Initiative on maternal, newborn and child health." | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0.75 |
| Health | [2014-89/92] In addition we are committed to ensuring sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 |
| Average | | 1.00 | 0.36 | 0.64 | 0.62 | 0.50 | 0.45 | 0.85 | 0.73 | 0.27 | 0.61 |

Appendix D: G20 Gender Performance, 2008-2015

| Summit | Domestic political management | | Deliberation | | Direction setting | | Decision making | | Delivery | | Development of global governance | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|--------------|------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------|------------|----------------------------------|------|------|
| | Attendance | Communiqué compliments | Words | | Documents | Financial stability | Equality | Commitments | % overall | Compliance | # | In | Out |
| | | | # | % | | | | | | | | | |
| 2008 Washington | 100% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | - | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2009 London | 100% | 0 | 155 | 2.5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0.77 | - | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 2009 Pittsburgh | 100% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | - | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010 Toronto | 90% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | - | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010 Seoul | 95% | 0 | 177 | 1.1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | - | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2011 Cannes | 95% | 0 | 52 | 0.4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.35 | - | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2012 Los Cabos | 95% | 0 | 231 | 1.8 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1.67 | 0.55 | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| 2013 St. Petersburg | 90% | 0 | 1.015 | 3.5 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0.35 | - | 0 | 6 | 15 |
| 2014 Brisbane | 90% | 0 | 305 | 3.3 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1.95 | 0.32 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| 2015 Antalya | 90% | 0 | 1235 | 13.5 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1.8 | N/A | N/A | 18 | 16 |
| Total | N/A | 0 | 2156.02 | N/A | 0 | 6 | 10 | 12 | N/A | N/A | 2 | 25 | 37 |
| Average | 95% | 0 | 215.60 | 2.61 | 0 | 0.6 | 1 | 1.20 | 0.57 | 0.435 | 0.22 | 2.50 | 3.70 |

Notes: Domestic Political Management – measured by the number of leaders in attendance and communiqué compliments, the number of times a country or leader was positively mentioned

Deliberation – measured by the number of words on the subject, the percentage words and the number of dedicated documents to the issue.

Direction setting – measured by the number of references to the G20's foundational mission of financial stability and making globalization work for all/equality.

Decisions – measured by the number of commitments and the % of overall commitments made that year.

Delivery – measured by compliance with priority commitments and the number of compliance reports is represented by the number in the brackets.

Development of Global Governance – measured by the number of governance mechanisms developed within the G20 (In) and the number of governance mechanisms developed outside of the G20 (Out).

Appendix E: G20 Leaders' Conclusions on Gender, 2008-2015

| Year | # words | % total words | # paragraphs | % total paragraphs | # documents | % total documents | # dedicated documents |
|--------------------|---------|---------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 2008 Washington | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2009 London | 155 | 2.5 | 2 | 1.2 | 1 | 33.3 | 0 |
| 2009 Pittsburgh | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010 Toronto | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010 Seoul | 177 | 1.1 | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 40 | 0 |
| 2011 Cannes | 52 | 0.4 | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 33.3 | 0 |
| 2012 Los Cabos | 231 | 1.8 | 3 | 1.7 | 2 | 50 | 0 |
| 2013 St Petersburg | 1,015 | 3.5 | 13 | 2.4 | 5 | 45 | 0 |
| 2014 Brisbane | 305 | 3.3 | 4 | 1.8 | 2 | 40 | 0 |
| 2015 Antalya | 1235 | 13.5 | 13 | 5.9 | 4 | 80 | 0 |
| Average | 317 | 2.6 | 3.9 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 32.2 | 0 |

Notes:

Data are drawn from all official English-language documents released by the G20 leaders as a group. Charts are excluded.

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

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

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

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

"# documents" is the number of documents that contain gender subjects and excludes dedicated documents.

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

"# dedicated documents" is the number of documents for the year that contain a gender-related subject in the title.

Appendix F: G20 Compliance with Commitments on Gender

| Issue area | Commitment | Argentina | Australia | Brazil | Canada | China | France | Germany | India | Indonesia | Italy | Japan | Korea | Mexico | Russia | Saudi Arabia | South Africa | Turkey | United Kingdom | United States | European Union | Total |
|------------|--|-----------|-----------|--------|--------|-------|--------|---------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------------|--------------|--------|----------------|---------------|----------------|-------|
| Gender | [2012-41] We commit to take concrete actions to overcome the barriers hindering women's full economic and social participation and to expand economic opportunities for women in G20 economies. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | -1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | -1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0.55 |
| Gender | [2014-30] We agree to the goal of reducing the gap in labour force participation rates between men and women in our countries by 25 per cent by 2025, taking into account national circumstances. This will bring more than 100 million women into the labour force [and] significantly increase global growth | -1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | -1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | | 0.32 |

Appendix G: Percentage of Total Female Population in G20 Countries

| Country | 1996 | 2006 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 |
|----------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Russia | 53.1 | 53.5 | 53.6 | 53.6 | 53.6 | 53.6 | 53.6 | 53.6 | 53.6 |
| Italy | 51.5 | 51.4 | 51.4 | 51.4 | 51.4 | 51.4 | 51.4 | 51.4 | 51.4 |
| Japan | 51.0 | 51.2 | 51.3 | 51.3 | 51.3 | 51.3 | 51.3 | 51.3 | 51.4 |
| France | 51.0 | 51.2 | 51.3 | 51.3 | 51.3 | 51.3 | 51.3 | 51.3 | 51.3 |
| Argentina | 51.0 | 51.1 | 51.1 | 51.1 | 51.1 | 51.1 | 51.1 | 51.1 | 51.1 |
| Germany | 51.2 | 51.0 | 51.0 | 51.0 | 51.0 | 51.0 | 51.0 | 50.9 | 50.9 |
| South Africa | 50.7 | 50.9 | 50.9 | 51.0 | 50.9 | 50.9 | 50.9 | 50.9 | 50.9 |
| Turkey | 50.8 | 50.8 | 50.9 | 50.9 | 50.9 | 50.9 | 50.9 | 50.9 | 50.8 |
| Brazil | 50.5 | 50.7 | 50.7 | 50.7 | 50.7 | 50.8 | 50.8 | 50.8 | 50.8 |
| United Kingdom | 51.4 | 51.0 | 50.9 | 50.9 | 50.9 | 50.8 | 50.8 | 50.8 | 50.7 |
| United States | 50.8 | 50.6 | 50.6 | 50.5 | 50.5 | 50.5 | 50.5 | 50.5 | 50.4 |
| Canada | 50.5 | 50.4 | 50.4 | 50.4 | 50.4 | 50.4 | 50.4 | 50.4 | 50.4 |
| Korea | 49.9 | 50.1 | 50.2 | 50.2 | 50.3 | 50.3 | 50.3 | 50.3 | 50.3 |
| Mexico | 50.4 | 50.3 | 50.3 | 50.3 | 50.3 | 50.3 | 50.3 | 50.3 | 50.3 |
| Australia | 50.2 | 50.1 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 |
| Indonesia | 50.0 | 49.8 | 49.7 | 49.6 | 49.6 | 49.6 | 49.6 | 49.6 | 49.6 |
| China | 48.6 | 48.6 | 48.5 | 48.5 | 48.5 | 48.5 | 48.5 | 48.5 | 48.5 |
| India | 48.2 | 48.2 | 48.1 | 48.1 | 48.1 | 48.1 | 48.1 | 48.2 | 48.2 |
| Saudi Arabia | 44.4 | 44.1 | 43.9 | 43.8 | 43.7 | 43.6 | 43.5 | 43.5 | 43.4 |

Appendix H: G20 Female Labour Force Participation Rates

| Country | 1996 | 2006 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 |
|----------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Canada | 68 | 73 | 74 | 74 | 74 | 74 | 74 | 75 | 75 |
| Germany | 62 | 68 | 70 | 71 | 71 | 72 | 72 | 72 | 72 |
| Australia | 64 | 69 | 70 | 70 | 70 | 71 | 70 | 71 | 71 |
| United Kingdom | 67 | 70 | 70 | 69 | 69 | 70 | 70 | 70 | 71 |
| China | 78 | 72 | 70 | 70 | 69 | 70 | 70 | 70 | 70 |
| Russian | 64 | 69 | 69 | 69 | 68 | 68 | 68 | 69 | 69 |
| France | 62 | 65 | 65 | 66 | 66 | 66 | 66 | 67 | 67 |
| United States | 69 | 68 | 68 | 68 | 67 | 67 | 67 | 66 | 66 |
| Japan | 59 | 61 | 62 | 63 | 63 | 63 | 64 | 65 | 65 |
| Brazil | 56 | 63 | 63 | 64 | 65 | 65 | 65 | 65 | 65 |
| Korea, Rep. | 52 | 55 | 55 | 54 | 54 | 55 | 55 | 56 | 56 |
| Argentina | 47 | 56 | 56 | 56 | 54 | 55 | 55 | 55 | 55 |
| Italy | 43 | 51 | 52 | 51 | 51 | 51 | 53 | 54 | 54 |
| Indonesia | 53 | 52 | 53 | 53 | 53 | 53 | 53 | 54 | 54 |
| South Africa | 48 | 52 | 51 | 49 | 47 | 48 | 49 | 49 | 49 |
| Mexico | 40 | 45 | 46 | 46 | 47 | 46 | 48 | 48 | 48 |
| Turkey | 32 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 30 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 |
| India | 37 | 37 | 34 | 32 | 30 | 29 | 28 | 29 | 29 |
| Saudi Arabia | 17 | 19 | 19 | 18 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 21 | 22 |

Appendix I: Percentage of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments

| Country | 2006 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 |
|----------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| South Africa | 32.8 | 33 | 44.5 | 44.5 | 42.3 | 42.3 | 42.3 | 41.5 |
| Mexico | 22.6 | 23.2 | 27.6 | 26.2 | 26.2 | 36.8 | 36.8 | 37.4 |
| Argentina | 35 | 40 | 38.5 | 38.5 | 37.4 | 37.4 | .. | 36.6 |
| Germany | 31.6 | 32.2 | 32.8 | 32.8 | 32.9 | 32.9 | 36.5 | 36.5 |
| Italy | 17.3 | 21.3 | 21.3 | 21.3 | 21.6 | 21.4 | 31.4 | 31.4 |
| France | 12.2 | 18.2 | 18.9 | 18.9 | 18.9 | 26.9 | 26.9 | 26.2 |
| Australia | 24.7 | 26.7 | 27.3 | 24.7 | 24.7 | 24.7 | 26 | 26 |
| Canada | 20.8 | 22.1 | 22.1 | 22.1 | 24.8 | 24.7 | 24.7 | 25.1 |
| China | 20.3 | 21.3 | 21.3 | 21.3 | 21.3 | 21.3 | 23.4 | 23.4 |
| United Kingdom | 19.7 | 19.5 | 19.5 | 22 | 22.3 | 22.5 | 22.5 | 22.6 |
| Saudi Arabia | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 19.9 | 19.9 |
| United States | 16.3 | 17 | 16.8 | 16.8 | 16.8 | 18 | 17.9 | 19.3 |
| Indonesia | 11.3 | 11.6 | 17.9 | 18 | 18.2 | 18.6 | 18.6 | 16.9 |
| Korea | 13.4 | 13.7 | 14.7 | 14.7 | 14.7 | 15.7 | 15.7 | 16.3 |
| Turkey | 4.4 | 9.1 | 9.1 | 9.1 | 14.2 | 14.2 | 14.4 | 14.4 |
| Russian | 9.8 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 13.6 | 13.6 | 13.6 | 13.6 |
| India | 8.3 | 9.1 | 10.8 | 10.8 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11.4 |
| Brazil | 8.8 | 9 | 8.8 | 8.6 | 8.6 | 8.6 | 8.6 | 9.9 |

Appendix J: G20 Public Opinion on Gender Equality

| Member | % who view women equal to men | Average compliance |
|----------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| Canada | 94 | 0.5 |
| United States | 91 | 1 |
| Germany | 92 | 0.5 |
| United Kingdom | 92 | 1 |
| Australia | 92 | 0.5 |
| France | 83 | 1 |
| Italy | 82 | 0.5 |
| Argentina | 82 | 0 |
| Brazil | 82 | 0.5 |
| Mexico | 73 | 0.5 |
| India | 71 | 0 |
| South Africa | 67 | 0 |
| Korea | 64 | 1 |
| Japan | 60 | 0.5 |
| Russia | 58 | 1 |
| Turkey | 48 | -0.5 |
| Indonesia | 44 | -0.5 |
| China | N/A | 0 |
| Saudi Arabia | N/A | 0.5 |

Appendix K: G7/8 Compliance and Accountability Mechanisms

| Commitment* | Compliance score | Companion commitments | Compliance catalysts | Iteration at subsequent summits | Ministerial support | Official body support | Civil society | Surrounding summit support |
|-------------|------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| 2014-95 | +1.00 | 7 | 0 | 0 | Yes | No | No | 305 |
| 2007-229 | +1.00 | 7 | 2 | 2 | No | No | No | 0 |
| 2002-118 | +1.00 | 9 | 1 | 13 | No | No | No | 0 |
| 2013-136 | +0.89 | 3 | 1 | 0 | No | No | No | 1015 |
| 1996-72 | +0.83 | 1 | 1 | 5 | No | No | No | 0 |
| 2012-49 | +0.78 | 4 | 1 | 1 | Yes | No | No | 231 |
| 2010-18 | +0.78 | 4 | 0 | 11 | Yes | No | No | 177 |
| 2014-88 | +0.75 | 7 | 1 | 5 | Yes | No | No | 305 |
| 2006-27 | +0.56 | 1 | 0 | 6 | Yes | No | No | 0 |
| 1998-55 | +0.33 | 2 | 1 | 0 | No | No | No | 0 |
| 2007-233 | +0.33 | 7 | 0 | 5 | No | No | No | 0 |
| 2009-151 | +0.22 | 2 | 0 | 2 | No | No | No | 0 |
| 2012-66 | +0.11 | 4 | 0 | 1 | Yes | No | No | 231 |
| 2011-63 | -0.11 | 4 | 2 | 7 | Yes | No | No | 52 |

Notes: * See Appendix C for the list of commitments.

Companion Commitments are the total number of gender-related commitments from that same year.

Compliance Catalysts refers to the number of catalysts contained in that commitments.

Iteration at Subsequent Summits refer to the number of gender-related commitments that are similar in substance made at subsequent summits.

Ministerial Supports indicates to whether or not at the immediate subsequent ministerial meeting there were references to gender in the communiqué.

Official Body Support indicates whether there was an official level G7/8 body dedicated to gender equality created that year.

Civil Society indicates whether there was a gender-related civil society organization referenced that year.

Surrounding summit support refers to the number of words in gender-related paragraphs of the G20 communiqué from the same year the commitment was made.