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2025

HKS WOMEN'S ALUMNI NETWORK

From Advocacy to Implementation

A DECADE OF WOMEN20 INFLUENCE ON GLOBAL GENDER POLICY (2015 - 2024)

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH

SOUTH AFRICA
10 years of W20

From Advocacy to Implementation

A DECADE OF WOMEN20 INFLUENCE ON GLOBAL GENDER POLICY (2015 - 2024)

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THE HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL WOMEN'S ALUMNI NETWORK

FOR
WOMEN20 SOUTH AFRICA

IN CELEBRATION OF WOMEN20'S 10-YEAR ANNIVERSARY

OCTOBER 2025

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PREFACE

The Harvard Kennedy School Women's Alumni Network (HKSWAN) is honored to have been commissioned by the chairmanship of Women20 (W20) South Africa to work on this report. HKSWAN has had the privilege of collaborating with the W20 since 2023 when we were approached by the Indian presidency to become a Knowledge Partner, advising on policy recommendations and supporting thematic working groups in formulating policy draft inputs for negotiation and deliberation.

South Africa's presidency of the G20 marks 10 years since the W20 was established as an official engagement group for the now twenty-one member economies. With the African Union now integrating this critical economic bloc, South Africa's presidency also marks the first time an African country has assumed this role, aiming to represent the interests of the Global South and champion more inclusive global governance.

This report is the first of its kind since W20's inception and it marks an important milestone of the group which aims to quantify and measure the impact of this volunteer-led group of women working in civil society who have dedicated themselves to improving the lives of women and girls living in G20 countries and beyond. HKSWAN is proud to have supported South Africa's efforts this year.

We want to thank our wonderful drafting team -all members of the HKSWAN network- who, like us, voluntarily agreed to work on this report. Special thank you to the World Bank for their support and collaboration.

We hope the findings of this report will demonstrate the important role civil society plays in pushing policy change at a global scale and inspire others to take action. At a time of much global uncertainty, civil society's voice matters more than ever.



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This report is the result of a partnership between Women20 South Africa and the Harvard Kennedy School Women's Alumni Network.

Women20 South Africa: Celebrating a Decade of Civil Society Engagement for Women at the G20

W20, also known as Women 20, is an official engagement group of the G20 focused on promoting gender equality and women's economic empowerment. It was established to advise the G20 leaders on policies and actions that advance women's rights and inclusion in the global economy. W20 develops consensus-based recommendations on various issues affecting women, such as access to finance, education, healthcare, and entrepreneurship. In 2025, W20 is celebrating its 10th anniversary as a G20 engagement group. South Africa holds the G20 presidency in 2025, and W20 is actively involved in the discussions and events related to the presidency.

Professor Narnia Bohler-Muller BJuris LLB LLM LLD, Chair and Head of Delegation for Women20 South Africa. Professor Narnia Bohler-Muller the Divisional Executive of the Developmental, Capable and Ethical State (DCES) at the Human Sciences Research Council. She was an adjunct professor of law at the Nelson R. Mandela School of Law at the University of Fort Hare and is a Research Fellow at the Center for Gender and African Studies, Faculty of Humanities, University of the Free State. She is an admitted Advocate of the High Court of South Africa, and she served as a part-time Presiding Officer for the Private Security Regulatory Authority (PSIRA) for seven years until she left Port Elizabeth in 2010. She has represented South Africa as lead in international fora such as Women20; BRICS and the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA). This year she is Head of Delegation of W20 South Africa. With a career that spans more than 25 years, she has made significant strides in research and academia. Her research interests include international and constitutional law, gender, human rights, democracy, governance and social justice. In 2016 she was shortlisted for the position of Public Protector in South Africa.

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Harvard Kennedy School Women's Alumni Network

The Harvard Kennedy School Women's Alumni Network (HKSWAN) is proud to be a Knowledge Partner of Women20 South Africa. The HKSWAN is a non-profit 501(c)3 organization incorporated in the state of Massachusetts in the United States of America. Its mission is to connect, support and amplify alumnae of the Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) and to work collectively for the greater good in consistency with the ideals and mission of the school. Composed of graduates from the various programs at HKS[1], the network has over 8,000 members in over 100 different cities around the world and operates 100% on a volunteer basis. Learn more about the organizations at www.hkswan.org.



HKSWAN Report Drafting Team

Disclaimer: The volunteers listed below are members of the Harvard Kennedy School Women's Network (HKSWAN) who contributed to this report in a personal capacity. Their work was facilitated by the HKSWAN-W20 South Africa partnership but reflects their independent expertise, not official positions of Harvard University, Harvard Kennedy School, their employers, or affiliated organizations. Biographical details are included for identification only and do not imply endorsement of this report's content.

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[1] MPA = Master in Public Administration;
MPP = Master in Public Policy;
MC/MPA = Mid-Career Master in Public Administration;
MPA/ID = Master in Public Administration in International Development;
EE = Executive Education.

ing of transformative initiatives such as the Fashionomics Digital Platform and the Entrepreneurship and Innovation Lab—both focused on advancing women-led enterprises and innovation ecosystems across Africa. Prior to joining AfDB, Nathalie served as Executive Director for WEConnect International in South Africa, where she was instrumental in launching and executing the organization s' women's economic empowerment programs across the country. She holds a Ph.D. in Business Administration from Wits Business School (2013), an MBA Degree from Stellenbosch Business School (2008), and has completed executive development programs at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government (2021 & 2023). Her work continues to shape inclusive, sustainable growth for women and entrepreneurs in Africa.

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Farah Arabe, HKSWAN Co-President. Founder of itotheN | Intergenerational Impact. Global Advocate for Early Relationships and Intergenerational Development. New York, USA. HKS EE 2018. Farah Arabe is an international development and policy specialist with impactful contributions on economic policy research, strategy consulting and global development programs. After close to a decade of leading cross-border efforts in the private, public and non-profit sectors -and being a full-time parent for five years- she founded itotheN | Intergenerational Impact: an international policy consulting organization focused on early relationships, experiences and environments as engines of global development. Farah is also Representative to the United Nations of Make Mothers Matter, an international NGO that elevates the voices of 10M mothers in 30 countries, empowering them and their families locally while advancing their rights and well-being globally. In addition to co-presiding HKSWAN, Farah also serves on the advisory board of the Global Mental Health Action Network -the world's leading advocacy network for global mental health- where she champions infant, child and parental mental health. Prior to

this, she helped set up the Democracy & Governance practice at Deloitte Consulting U.S., led performance assessment and economic research projects at various UN bodies, and worked as an engineer in the US and abroad. Farah is a native Spanish speaker and holds a B. Sc. in Mechanical Engineering from Lafayette College, a M.Sc in International Economics, Business & Development from New York University and executive education from Cornell University and the Harvard Kennedy School.

Tatiana Der Avedissian, HKSWAN Co-President. Communications and Sustainability Expert | Consultant | Co-founder | Advisor. London, UK. HKS EE 2018 and 2019. Tatiana Der Avedissian is a communications and sustainability expert and is the head of business development for The Economist Group's World Ocean Initiative. Tatiana also runs her own consultancy and uses her expertise to advise and support organizations with their strategic communication and business needs. Tatiana recently co-founded Temis Fractal, an organization which is going to help female-led startups 'hack' the investment ecosystem. She has advised the G7's Women 7 (W7) and G20's Women 20 (W20) on climate and gender policy recommendations. In addition to HKSWAN, Tatiana serves on the board of other non-profits in the UK and globally. She is co-founder of The Armenia Project, co-president of Alkionides UK, chair of trustees of the Armenian Institute, and a board member of the UK-Cyprus Enterprise Council. She has also taught ethics and politics as a guest professor.

We would also like to thank our friend **Daniela Behr from the Women, Business and the Law (WBL) team at The World Bank Group** for her continuous presence and support, and for her advice on the application and analysis of the WBL indicators and data to this report.

Finally, we extend our appreciation to **W20 Delegates and Heads of Delegation** for their insight, inspiration and engagement with our team for this report. Capturing your 10-year journey in W20 was for us an experiential journey in itself. Best wishes for continued and successful collaboration and we look forward to accompanying you in future endeavors.



Photo Credit (background): Women Marching by Museums Victoria. W20 Logos by W20 delegations - websites

Table of Contents

Executive Summary 3

I. Introduction 4

II. Methodology Overview 6

III. Ten Years of the W20 Engagement Group & W20 Communiqués 8

IV. Adoption of W20 Recommendations into G20 Commitments 15

V. Implementation of Women-focused G20 Commitments by G20 Countries 27

VI. Key Findings/Messages: Recommendations for the Next Ten Years 37

VII. Conclusion 43

VIII. References 44

IX. Annexes 48

Executive Summary

The Women20 (W20) engagement group has influenced international gender policies for a decade. This analysis tracks how W20 advocacy drives actual policy change in the world's largest economies. Through analysis of all 220 W20 policy recommendations and their translation into G20 Leaders' Declarations and subsequent national reforms, this study shows how effectively civil society groups can influence international policies.

W20 was officially established during Turkey's 2015 G20 presidency. It emerged from the broader G20's goal of reducing the gender employment gap, particularly the "25 by 25" initiative aimed at closing the gap by 25% by 2025. The first W20 working meeting took place in Istanbul, under the Turkish presidency, marking the beginning of the group's focus on promoting women's economic empowerment within G20 nations.

Following Turkey's 2015 presidency, W20's work was continued and developed under subsequent G20 presidencies, including China, Germany, Argentina, Japan, Saudi Arabia, Italy, Indonesia, India, Brazil and South Africa 2025. The group's focus has remained on advocating for policies and initiatives that advance women's economic participation and strengthen their overall economic power and socio-economic wellbeing.

Over ten years, the W20 achieved adoption of 74 policy recommendations into G20 Leaders' Declarations, representing a 33.6% success rate. Peak effectiveness occurred during Germany's 2017 and Japan's 2019 presidencies, with adoption rates of 60% and 64.7% respectively. Since 2020, adoption rates have not exceeded 33.3%, with Brazil's 2024 presidency recording the decade's lowest rate at 22.2%. This decline coincides with the W20's evolution toward more comprehensive policy platforms, though adoption success varies across political contexts and advocacy strategies.

Implementation analysis using Women, Business and the Law indicators, which measure how laws, regulations, and policies affect women's economic opportunities, shows 84.2% of G20 countries enacted at least one gender-related reform between 2014–2024. Patterns vary dramatically: Saudi Arabia leads with 11 reforms (primarily post-2020 presidency), while Japan, Russia, and Mexico recorded zero reforms. Parenthood policies emerged as the most implemented area (15 reforms across 10 countries), followed by pay equity (8 reforms) and pension rights (7 reforms). Asset ownership represents a complete implementation gap with zero reforms across all countries.

G20 gender commitments expanded ten-fold—from 2 commitments in 2015 to 21 annually in 2023–2024. The evolution progressed from narrow economic frameworks (2015–2018) to comprehensive intersectional approaches linking gender equality to climate action, digital transformation, and economic policy. However, gender considerations remain secondary in the broader G20 agenda: only 16.4% of total commitments were gender-related, with just 8.5% containing actionable measures.

The W20 demonstrated adaptability to global challenges, increasing focus on care economy and health equity post-COVID-19, prioritizing digital inclusion during technological advancement, and integrating climate justice in 2023. Yet this responsiveness did not yield proportionally higher adoption rates, indicating global events create policy openings without overcoming structural adoption barriers. Legal equality matters because it creates the foundational framework for women's economic security and agency, which is a prerequisite for sustainable and inclusive economic growth—a core goal of the G20.

As the W20 enters its second decade under South African leadership, this analysis offers strategic guidance for improving effectiveness. The findings show that civil society groups can influence international policy but face clear limitations that must be addressed.

The timing is strategic: the Beijing+30 anniversary and SDG 5 deadlines in 2025 create opportunities for evidence-based improvements. Meanwhile, the new G20 Working Group on Women's Empowerment provides an institutional foundation for addressing the barriers this analysis has identified.

I. Introduction

To mark the 10th anniversary of the Women20 (W20) engagement group, the W20 Delegation of South Africa, in collaboration with W20 Brazil and W20 USA, commissioned this comprehensive assessment of the W20's achievements and impact over its first decade of existence.

This analysis arrives at a critical juncture. As we approach the 30th anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in 2025 and the 2030 deadline for SDG 5 (Gender Equality), the international community faces stark evidence that current progress is insufficient to meet global gender equality commitments. Establishing legal gender equality is not only a matter of rights but also a critical economic imperative, as it unlocks women's full productive potential, significantly boosting economic growth and resilience.

The W20's establishment in 2014-2015 emerged from recognition that the world's most powerful economic forum—the G20—lacked systematic gender analysis in its policy frameworks. Following the 2008 global financial crisis, which disproportionately affected women's economic security (International Alliance of Women, 2014; Center for Economic Policy Research, 2010), civil society leaders identified this critical gap. The timing was strategic: the 2014 Brisbane Summit had committed G20 countries to reduce the gender gap in labor force participation by 25% by 2025, creating an opening for sustained advocacy. Civil society leaders created the W20 to influence the economic policies of the world's largest economies—a significant challenge given the G20's traditional focus.

Over the past ten years the gender mandate of the G20 has strengthened. The G20 Empower Alliance was launched at the 2019 G20 Summit in Osaka, Japan (Arab News, 2023; Lioness Magazine, 2021), focused on accelerating women's leadership and empowerment, especially in the private sector. The Alliance aims to accelerate women's inclusion in the private sector through strategic interventions and knowledge exchange. The Empowerment of Women Working Group (EWWG) in the Ministerial track was established under India's presidency in 2023, especially focusing on promoting women's economic equality and autonomy, ensuring equal access to leadership roles, and closing the gender pay gap, as well as combating all forms of gender-based violence, especially online and digital threats (UN Women Asia Pacific, 2023).

Whilst the focus on gender equality is encouraging and assists in amplifying women's voices the existence of separate tracks makes navigating the complexity of the G20 landscape challenging, since the layers of negotiations and the influences may come from national interests versus multilateral priorities, as well as civil society advocacy efforts versus national priorities.

The W20's first decade unfolded against unprecedented global disruption that both created opportunities and revealed structural challenges. The digital revolution created new economic opportunities while threatening to deepen gender divides. The COVID-19 pandemic (2020-2022) exposed and amplified existing gender inequalities, particularly in unpaid care work. Rising authoritarianism and attacks on women's rights made the W20's work simultaneously more difficult and essential. Growing recognition of climate change's gendered impacts transformed environmental policy into a core gender equality issue.

With five years remaining to achieve SDG 5, UN Secretary-General António Guterres stated that "the latest forecasts estimate that on our current track, it will take another 300 years to reach full gender equality" (United Nations Bangladesh, 2023). This sobering reality demands examination of all advocacy mechanisms, including the W20's approach. The Beijing+30 anniversary in 2025 represents a generational accountability moment, while the G20's expanded role in global governance creates both opportunities and challenges for gender advocacy.

This review examines the W20's performance across three critical dimensions: influence and agenda-setting, policy translation and adoption, and implementation impact. For the first time, all 220 W20 recommendations are systematically mapped against G20 commitments and national implementations, using the Women, Business and the Law project, which

measures equality of economic opportunity, enabling systematic comparison across countries and time periods.

This analysis is structured in three interconnected sections that trace the complete pathway from advocacy to implementation. Section III examines how W20 recommendations influence G20 Leaders' Declarations, measuring the extent to which civil society advocacy shapes international commitments. Section IV analyzes how G20 Leaders' Declarations drive policy reforms in member countries, tracking the translation of international commitments into national legislation. Section VI synthesizes findings from both analyses and provides strategic recommendations for strengthening gender equality progress over the next decade.

As the W20 enters its second decade, this assessment provides evidence for strategic adjustment. Early successes in areas like care economy recognition demonstrate civil society's capacity to influence global economic policy, while persistent gaps reveal the limits of current approaches. This analysis offers both celebration of achievements and honest assessment of constraints, providing the evidence base for more effective advocacy in an increasingly complex global environment.



Photo credit: Luwadlin Bosman

II. Methodology Overview

This study uses a two-stage analytical approach to track how civil society advocacy becomes national policy implementation within the G20 gender equality framework. The research design comprises two interconnected layers: first, measuring civil society influence by analyzing how W20 policy recommendations are adopted into G20 Leaders' Declarations; second, assessing implementation effectiveness by tracking how G20 commitments translate into national reforms using the Women, Business and the Law framework.

Data sources include W20 communiqués containing policy recommendations, G20 Leaders' Declarations representing official international commitments, and the Women, Business and the Law database documenting legal reforms across G20 member countries. The analysis involved identifying each W20 recommendation, mapping corresponding commitments in G20 declarations through keyword analysis and content review, and tracking subsequent legal changes across ten policy indicators: Safety, Mobility, Work, Pay, Marriage, Parenthood, Childcare, Entrepreneurship, Assets, and Pensions.

Key terms are defined as follows: 'Recommendation' refers to any statement in W20 communiqués proposing specific policy actions, reforms, or commitments that G20 leaders should adopt. These include both explicit calls for action and implicit policy suggestions embedded within broader discussions. 'Adoption' indicates that W20 recommendation themes or concepts are reflected in G20 Leaders' Declarations, requiring thematic alignment rather than identical language. This includes both direct incorporation of W20 proposals and G20 commitments that address the same policy areas through different approaches. 'Implementation' represents documented legal or policy changes in G20 member countries within the study timeframe (2014-2024) that align with areas addressed in G20 gender commitments.

In addition, 12 semi-structured interviews were conducted with W20 Head and Co-Head of delegations representing 8 of the G20 members. The Discussion guide used during the interviews focused on these main areas: 1) Creation and adoption of W20 recommendations; 2) Implementation on the Ground of G20 gender-related commitments; and 3) Impact and lessons learned for future W20 delegations. The average time for each interview was 50 minutes.

The analysis acknowledges several important limitations. The Women, Business and the Law framework measures minimum legal standards and formal rights rather than comprehensive equality outcomes or lived experiences. It cannot assess the quality of law enforcement, actual access to legal protections, or the gap between legal rights and practical realities. Additionally, in 2024 the WBL methodology was expanded by introducing two new indicators— Safety and Childcare—and incorporating evaluation of implementation systems and expert perceptions of enforcement to better capture the gap between legal rights and lived reality (World Bank, 2024). This methodological evolution means that 2024 data is not directly comparable to previous years. Finally, the analysis cannot establish definitive causal relationships between G20 commitments and national reforms, as policy changes may result from multiple domestic and international influences beyond G20 declarations.

Detailed methodological specifications, including expanded coding procedures, data validation protocols, interview schedule and comprehensive limitations discussion, are provided in Annex A.



Photo credit: Sierra Koder

III. Ten Years of the W20 Engagement Group & W20 Communiqués

A. W20 Governance, Communiqué Process & Outcomes

The Women20 (W20) is one of thirteen G20 engagement groups, composed of women from civil society working on a voluntary basis. Founded in Australia in 2014 and officially launched during Turkey's 2015 G20 presidency, the W20 aims to advance gender equality and women's economic empowerment within G20 policy frameworks.

> *"Listening to other women's organizations and civil society is one of the key results of the satisfaction and success of our W20 Italian Group. We have gathered more than 100 civil society organizations, in an inclusive and participatory process, where everyone felt heard and expressed their ideas, points of view and opinions."*
>
> — Linda Laura Sabbadini, W20 Italy Head of Delegation

The W20 operates through annual delegations that rotate with each G20 presidency. Each presidency recommends policies through consultative processes involving women's national, regional and international organizations, gender experts, and advocacy networks from G20 member countries, culminating in an annual communiqué presented to G20 leaders. These recommendations aim to influence G20 leaders to adopt gender-focused policies and translate them into laws advancing women's rights and prioritizing gender equality on agendas.

Building a communiqué': How it works

The W20's primary advocacy tool is its annual communiqué—a negotiated policy advisory document representing civil society consensus on gender priorities for global economic governance. The development process typically spans 8-12 months:

- **Thematic working groups** develop preliminary recommendations through research and expert consultation.
- Virtual consultations and regional meetings refine draft recommendations.
- Consultations with policymakers and decision-makers in the G20 space further fine-tune recommendations.
- **Annual W20 summit** finalizes the communiqué through delegate negotiations.
- **Formal presentation** to G20 leaders during the annual summit finalizes the process.

> *"The W20 Communiqué is our united voice and represents what all W20 delegations have agreed upon together, through consensus, on priority issues regarding women and girls in a given year."*
>
> — Anna Ravanona, W20 EU Delegate

> "Consensus, nuance in language, political sensitivity are of utmost importance in crafting communiqués. We need to collaborate with different stakeholders, including youth and religious groups, so that we are stronger together and we can advance the policy agenda and priorities, to reach gender parity, especially in the economic sphere."
>
> — Anne Simmons-Benton, W20 USA Co-Head of Delegation

Influencing G20 Policy

The W20 influences G20 policy primarily by engaging with country Sherpas—the personal representatives of

G20 leaders who coordinate negotiations, set the summit agenda and oversee the G20 core throughout the year. W20 heads of delegation and members engage regularly with Sherpas to advocate for their policy recommendations and themes and to ensure that gender equality remains a priority within the G20's work and ideally is mainstreamed into all processes.

This influence operates through direct engagement with Sherpas throughout the year, formal presentation of the communiqué to G20 leaders during the annual summit, coordination with other engagement groups, and public advocacy and media campaigns.

The G20 Sherpa Process

The G20 Process is coordinated by the Sherpas of the member countries, who act as personal emissaries of the leaders. Within the Sherpa Track, thematically oriented working groups operate, including the Women20 (W20) Engagement Group, which brings together civil societies representatives, parliamentarians, think tanks, women, youth, labor, businesses and researchers from G20 countries.

B. W20 Policy Recommendations: A Decade of Strategic Adaptation

Over the past decade, the **W20 has produced ten communiqués containing 220 policy recommendations across thirteen thematic areas.** Refer to Annex C for a full list of the 220 recommendations. Refer to Table 1 for a list of recommendation themes and their evolution over the ten-year period 2015-2024.

Strategic Evolution: From Economic Focus to Intersectional Advocacy

Over the past decade, analysis of W20 recommendations reveals a clear evolution from focusing narrowly on economic issues to addressing the full spectrum of structural barriers that prevent gender equality. This progression demonstrates both strategic learning and adaptability to changing global contexts. Each year the W20 thematic areas are chosen to speak to the priorities of the G20 presidency considering varying factors such as local and regional context.

Trend 1: Crisis-Responsive Policy Development

The W20 has demonstrated strong adaptability and resilience in responding to global crises and emerging challenges:

Digital Revolution Adaptation (2017-2024): Digital economy mentions began in 2016, expanding to comprehensive digital inclusion frameworks by 2020. The W20 recognized early on that without intentional intervention, digital transformation could exclude women from emerging economic sectors, making digital inclusion a core advocacy priority. In 2019, stress was put into closing the digital gender gap and ensuring that women can exercise their digital rights. By 2020, the emphasis shifted to equitable digital inclusion, securing digital access for women in an enabled and safe environment, by improving infrastructure, including remote and rural areas, ensuring access to STEAM education and training to improve digital skills and developing gender sensitive ethical guidelines on Artificial Intelligence (AI) and other digital technologies.

COVID-19 Pandemic Response (2020-2022): Health recommendations increased significantly from 2020 onwards, with emphasis on universal access to quality healthcare, affordable services for children and elder care, and addressing the rise in violence against women and girls. In 2020, with Saudi Arabia and following the COVID-19 pandemic, there has been a significant increase in actions dedicated to provision of equal access to high quality healthcare services, especially affordable and quality services for children, dependents and elders' care. Starting from 2021, emphasis has been on empowering and supporting the right to freedom from violence and offering quality services for survivors by increasing funding to support healthcare models providing trained health professionals and adequate, accessible and safe treatment.

Climate Crisis Integration (2023-2024): Climate justice emerged as a new concept in 2023, linking climate change and gender with calls for women to be at the heart of climate justice. In 2023, it is underscored that all climate-related policies must take an inclusive, equal and equitable gender approach, with equal representation and meaningful participation of women in climate decision-making mechanisms, e.g. COP28 et seq. In 2024, the investment in gender-just climate finance, and the implementation of direct funding to women-led climate projects and businesses has been emphasized, prioritizing gender-transformative climate funding directed at adaptation and resilience for women who are dependent on natural resources.

Table 1. Complete W20 Theme Evolution in W20 Communiqués (2015-2024)

THEME	2015 Turkey	2016 China	2017 Germany	2018 Argentina	2019 Japan	2020 Saudi Arabia	2021 Italy	2022 Indonesia	2023 India	2024 Brazil
1. Gender Pay Gap / Workplace Equality	★✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓
2. Women's Entrepreneurship & Financial Inclusion	★✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓
3. Education (STEM, Training)	★✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓✓
4. Digital Inclusion	★✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓	✓✓✓	✓
5. The Care Economy	★✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓✓✓
6. Violence Against Women	---	★✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓✓	✓	---	✓✓✓
7. Women's Health	---	---	---	---	---	---	★✓✓	✓✓	---	✓
8. Social Protection	★✓	✓	---	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
9. Climate Change & Environment	★✓	---	---	---	---	---	✓✓	---	✓	✓✓✓
10. Gender Considerations in Policy Mainstreaming	★✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓
11. Stereotypes & Cultural Change	---	---	---	---	---	---	★✓✓	✓	---	✓
12. Asset Ownership	---	---	---	★✓	---	---	---	✓	✓	✓
13. Mobility (freedom of movement)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Source: HKSWAN' analysis of W20 Communiqués (2015-2024)

Legend:

- ★ = First appearance of theme
- ✓ = Theme present with basic recommendations
- ✓✓ = Theme present with detailed/multiple recommendations
- ✓✓✓ = Theme present as major focus area with comprehensive framework
- — = Theme absent or not explicitly addressed

Trend 2: Core Themes: Evolution from Basic to Comprehensive Approaches

Several themes have remained central to W20 advocacy throughout the decade while evolving in sophistication:

Employment and Labor Force Participation: Present across all communiqués, beginning with the Brisbane commitment to reduce female labor force participation gap by 25% by 2025 (International Labor Organizations, 2014; Heinrich Böll Stiftung, n.d.). This evolved from basic participation metrics to focus on quality employment, working conditions, and benefits.

Women's Entrepreneurship and Financial Inclusion: Consistently emphasized across all communiqués, with evolution from basic access to finance toward comprehensive frameworks including e-commerce, digital tools, microfinance partnerships, and capacity building from informal to formal economy transitions.

Education: Demonstrates clear evolution from basic access concerns to specialized focus on STEAM training, innovation, and digital skills development. In 2017, not only the importance of full access to quality education has been highlighted, but a special emphasis has been placed on technical and vocational education, e-skills and life-long learning opportunities. In 2019, education on gender equality in schools and workplaces has arisen to eliminate gender stereotypes and unconscious bias. In 2020, greater space was made for STEM education and training to improve digital skills, as well as develop gender sensitive ethical guidelines on Artificial Intelligence (AI) and other digital technologies. In 2021, the investment in education has expanded to skills training and retraining to increase women's ecological and carbon literacy. In 2022, educational campaigns to reduce stereotypes about disabilities in the workplace emerged.

Trend 3: Implementation Lag and Delayed Recognition

The analysis reveals significant delays between W20 advocacy and formal recognition of key issues:

Care Economy: Despite focus since 2015 on infrastructure for social care, formal recognition only emerged in 2018 with calls for affordable, quality, and professionalized universal care services. In 2021 the issue of the care economy was spotlighted by emphasizing the high value needing to be placed on unpaid and domestic work. Recommendations specified investing a meaningful proportion of GDP, at least 2% in the care economy, to create gender-responsive public health and care services. The issue was also highlighted in 2023, by addressing the increased funding for a universal "Basic Care Basket" supported by actions to standardize, professionalize and formalize the care economy. In 2024, the focus expanded to promoting an equal redistribution of unpaid care work.

Violence Against Women: Evolution from basic workplace safety (2016) to comprehensive approaches addressing online violence (2018), social media violence (2019), and systematic data collection following UN guidelines (2024).

Trend 4: Emerging Themes: Technology and Social Change

Recent W20 communiqués have introduced entirely new advocacy areas that go beyond traditional economic empowerment themes.

Diversity, Equity and Inclusion: Focused attention to women with disabilities, including requirements for reasonable workplace adjustments, accessible infrastructure, and digital technology solutions designed with disability inclusion.

Artificial Intelligence: Introduction in 2018 with focus on women's participation in algorithm development to avoid gender bias, expanding to comprehensive ethical guidelines and gender-sensitive AI frameworks.

Cultural Changes and Gender Stereotypes: Formal recognition in 2021 of discriminatory norms as implementation barriers, with calls for communications campaigns, curriculum updates, and systematic awareness-building measures.

Trend 5: Measuring Results: Data and Monitoring Systems

Across the decade, W20 communiqués demonstrate increasing emphasis on measurement and tracking mechanisms, reflecting an increased strategic focus and recognition that policy adoption requires systematic monitoring and implementation frameworks.

The focus on gender-disaggregated data collection for evidence-based policymaking appears consistently across recent communiqués, with calls for gender im-

pact assessments in policy design and implementation. This evolution reflects the W20's understanding that effective advocacy requires robust evidence bases and that policymakers need concrete data to justify gender-focused interventions.

A significant breakthrough occurred in 2022 with calls for establishing a G20 Gender Data Network and W20 Outcome Dashboard for performance monitoring and evidence-based policymaking. This represents a shift from simply making policy recommendations to creating infrastructure for tracking implementation and measuring progress, demonstrating the W20's maturation from advocacy organizations to policy monitoring body.

Strategic Implications

This evolution shows the W20's capacity for strategic adaptation while maintaining core economic empowerment focus. The W20 successfully integrated emerging global challenges—digital transformation, climate change, pandemic response—into gender equality frameworks without losing coherence around fundamental economic participation goals. This is largely guided by the understanding that women's empowerment makes economic sense.

The implementation lag pattern suggests that W20 advocacy often precedes formal policy recognition by 2-3 years, indicating sustained influence that operates beyond immediate adoption cycles. This delayed impact pattern has important implications for assessing W20 effectiveness and planning future advocacy strategies.

C. W20 Today: Current W20 Priority Policy Areas

"We need to ensure equal access to opportunities, especially for women and young people. For nations to flourish, equality and prosperity must be available to everyone – regardless of gender, race, religious beliefs or economic status. The pursuit of equality is an imperative for wealthy and poor countries alike. That is why South Africa has placed solidarity, equality and sustainability at the center of its G20 Presidency" (Cyril Ramaphosa, 2025).

Today, W20 continues to be focused on the realization of its vision of addressing gender equality and women's economic empowerment issues despite a rapidly changing and challenging global context that threatens peace, security, and human rights, including those of vulnerable groups such as women and girls.

W20 South Africa enters its leadership at a critical global moment. While longstanding gender inequalities persist, there is also an intensifying backlash against women's rights worldwide — from the rollback of reproductive and legal protections to the spread of nationalist policies that devalue inclusion and diversity. In this context, South Africa has framed its W20 Presidency not only as a platform for progress, but as a moral and strategic imperative.

As the first African country, and fourth country in the Global South, to assume the G20 presidency (1 December 2024- 30 November 2025), South Africa has been deliberate in the choice of its theme: **Solidarity, Equality and Sustainability** which has at its core foundation the principle of UBUNTU: "I am because you are". Needless to mention that UBUNTU was introduced in the international relations discourse by the first democratically elected South African President, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

W20's theme, "Women in Solidarity towards Sustainable Socio-Economic Development," is rooted in the overarching G20 theme of Solidarity, Equality and Sustainability. As Prof. Bohler-Muller, Chair and Head of Delegation for W20 South Africa (2025) put it, *"This theme is rooted in South African, African and Global South identity aimed at fostering Humanity."*

The formulation of this year's theme emerged from a conscious desire to bring a different lens to global gender advocacy — one that centers collective responsibility and emphasizes shared progress over individual gain. As Irene Natividad, President of the Global Summit of Women and W20 USA Delegate, urged in her opening remarks at this year's W20 Inception Meeting: *"Power is never given – women must claim it."*

That call resonated throughout the Inception Meeting. W20 South Africa's framing of "solidarity" positions women not just as beneficiaries of development, but as co-creators of economic, environmental, and political systems. It also signals a shift from past W20 presidencies by rooting the agenda in community-driven models and emphasizing cross-border cooperation, particularly within the Global South. This strategic positioning is meant to foster alignment among G20 nations while amplifying the collective voice of countries often sidelined in global gender discourse.

W20 South Africa identified its six key priority areas through a process of national and multi-stakeholder consultations. This included outcomes from the May 2024 Financial Inclusion Conference, where senior officials and civil society leaders examined how financial systems exclude women and what reforms are needed.

The priorities include the top three gender-focused areas under G20 South Africa Presidency: **Care Economy** (both paid and unpaid care work, and including increasing women's labor force participation), **Entrepreneurship and Financial Inclusion for Women** (including closing the gender pay gap), and **elimination of Gender-based Violence and Feminicide**. Additionally, W20 South Africa recognizes that land reforms are pressing national and global issues, covered under the **Women, Land and Agricultural** track. Other areas identified as necessary to bring about gender equality include **Education, STEM and the Digital Divide**; **Climate Justice and the Environment**; and **Health Equity for Women and Girls**.

According to Wilhelmina Tshabalala, Deputy Director General of South Africa's Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities: "We are focusing on inclusive growth, poverty reduction, and ethical governance... with financial inclusion, care economy, and combating gender-based violence as critical themes."

The creation of a distinct track on Women, Land and Agriculture reflects South Africa's unique social and economic landscape. Rural land access remains a persistent challenge, and as Nontobeko Blasie, CFO of Women Investment Portfoilio Holdings (WIPHOLD), shared: *"We started by pooling money to buy listed stocks. But it was our farming investments in Eastern Cape — using communal land — that empowered rural women."*

The timing of the 2025 G20 Presidency allows W20 South Africa to link its advocacy to two key global milestones: the 30th anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the 25th anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. These moments provide not just symbolic alignment, but a strategic opportunity to demand accountability and push for renewed commitments to SDG 5.

At the Inception Meeting, speakers noted that despite widespread ratification of gender laws, implementation remains weak. Daniela Behr of the World Bank cited sobering statistics: *"Women globally have only two-thirds the legal rights of men... and only 40% of gender-equality laws are enforced."*

By tying its priorities to these global anniversaries, W20 aims to advance more enforceable and measurable policy shifts — particularly in care work investments, fiscal reform, and women's participation in peacebuilding. South Africa's position as the first African G20 president also lends added weight to its call to broaden the scope of peace and security to include economic justice, food systems, and climate resilience.

As the W20 process moves toward finalizing this year's communiqué, South Africa is focused on securing strong, action-oriented recommendations — including mandatory gender pay transparency, accessible financial products for women, and policy commitments on land and care economies. These priorities are being shaped not only by data, but by lived realities and tested models, especially from Africa and other Global South countries.

Success, for W20 South Africa, will be measured not just by inclusion in the G20 Leaders' Declaration, but by how well it can seed sustainable policy change and build alliances across G20 engagement groups. W20 is actively working with groups like the C20, B20, Y20 and G20 Empower to ensure gender is embedded across tracks — a move away from siloed engagement toward a more cohesive and collaborative ecosystem.

As Prof. Bonang Mohale powerfully reminded delegates in his closing remarks: "It's not enough to issue statements. We must build coalitions that can outlast presidencies."

In that spirit, W20 South Africa is not just shaping a one-year agenda — it is laying the groundwork for longer-term influence and a deeper integration of Southern perspectives in global gender policy frameworks. During its presidency, South Africa ought to work with all the G20 countries, ensuring that no one is left behind, to amplify the voices of women and girls in Africa and the Global South.

This evolution of W20 priorities and South Africa's strategic positioning raises a critical question: How effectively do these civil society recommendations translate into official G20 commitments? Understanding this requires examining the complex pathway from advocacy to policy adoption.


Photo credit: Nihal Thakur

IV. Adoption of W20 Recommendations into G20 Commitments

W20 policy recommendations can only be impactful if G20 country leaders first adopt them as commitments in their G20 Leaders Declaration, the official outcome of each G20 Summit. The objective of this section (Section IV) is to analyze how W20 Communiqué recommendations have been incorporated into G20 Leaders' Declarations in the last ten years, tracking the translation from civil society advocacy to official government commitments.

To ensure clarity throughout this analysis, we distinguish between two types of documents:

- W20 Communiqués: Annual policy recommendations developed by civil society through the Women20 engagement group and presented TO the G20 leaders.
- G20 Leaders' Declarations: Official commitments and policy positions adopted BY the G20 leaders at the conclusion of each annual summit.

This section will begin by discussing the process through which W20 policy recommendations can get adopted into G20 Leaders Declarations. Then it will analyze the last ten G20 Leaders Declarations to identify trends and evolutions in its commitments to women's policies - tracking all 109 gender commitments made by leaders, of which 74 originated from W20 recommendations. This section culminates in the measurement and analysis of adoption rates of W20 policy recommendations into the G20 Leaders Declaration in each of the last ten years.

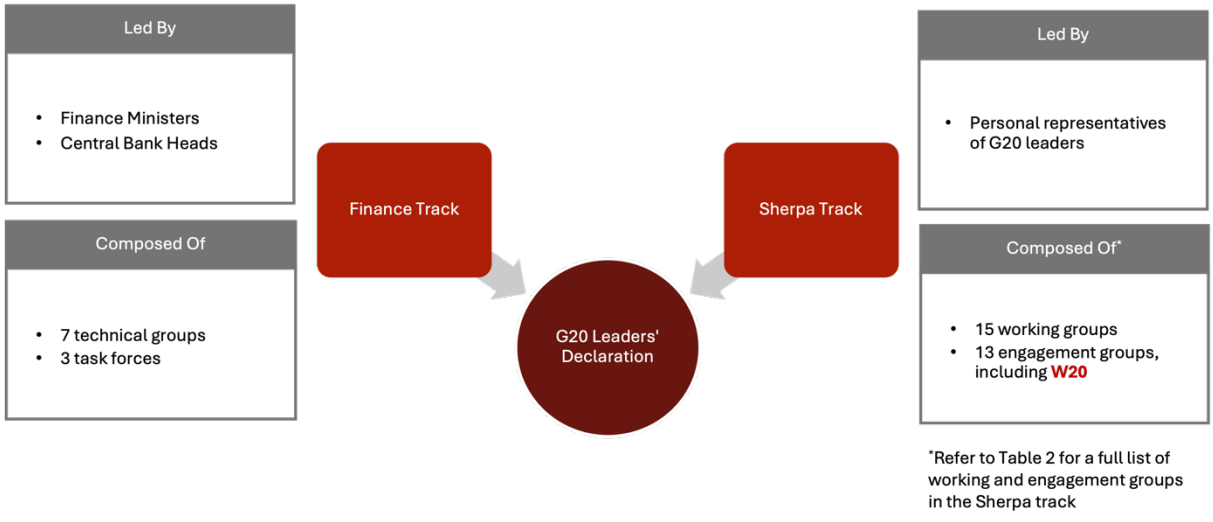
A. Leaders Declaration Process, Governance and Outcome

1. The G20 Leaders' Declaration Framework

The G20 Leaders' Declaration provides the framework for global economic strategies, resulting from extensive negotiations involving member nations and affiliated groups during annual summits. Its significance extends across several key areas:

- **Shaping Policy Direction**: The declaration influences international economic policies, affecting financial stability, trade regulations, and sustainable development programs.
- **Guiding Implementation**: It provides a roadmap for member nations, helping them

Figure 1- Pathway of Women-Focused Policies to the G20 Leaders' Declaration



Source: Derived by HKSWAN from multiple G20 sources and consultations

align their national policies with commitments agreed upon at the summit.

- **Ensuring Accountability**: Progress on these commitments is tracked through follow-up mechanisms, holding countries accountable for implementing the agreed-upon initiatives.

Within this ecosystem, the W20 occupies a unique position as the only engagement group focused exclusively on gender equality. Established to implement the 2014 Brisbane commitment to reduce gender gaps in labor force participation by 25% by 2025, the W20 has evolved into the primary mechanism for integrating gender perspectives into G20 economic policy.

> "W20 in itself is a success story, the words that we have been using in the Women's W20 communiqués address women's economic empowerment and leadership, the care economy, entrepreneurship, disability, diversity, women at work, equal research in health, words and concepts that are inclusive of women that had never been used before in the G20 Leaders' Declaration. We have been able to shape policy language to convey the message across the G20, so that policy makers can adapt policy, implement laws and create equity for women."
>
> — Anne Simmons Benton, W20 USA Co-Head of Delegation

While there are currently 13 engagement groups across the G20, some of which may offer gender-relevant recommendations, the W20 remains the central body acting on women's economic inclusion and empowerment through sustained policy advocacy and strategic engagement with G20 leadership.

Among other gender-focused efforts, there is the private sector alliance for the Empowerment and Progression of Women's Economic Representation (EMPOWER). EMPOWER is a G20 initiative, launched in 2019 with representation from government and private sector, that focuses on accelerating women's leadership and empowerment in the private sector across G20 countries. EMPOWER operates under the G20's broader governance system, providing recommendations and fostering collaboration on policies that promote women's economic participation, leadership, and decision-making across member nations. EMPOWER is distinct from the W20 in that it specifically emphasizes the economic empowerment of women in business, whereas W20 advocates for a broader set of gender-related issues, including equality and rights, through a more socio-political lens.

To fully understand the context of the G20 leaders' declarations, it is important to recognize the diverse range of sources and inputs that inform them. In addition to W20 and EMPOWER, the G20 operates within a broader ecosystem of policy contributions. Two key tracks—Finance and Sherpa—play pivotal roles in shaping the agenda.

> "Each working group works diligently to make clear policy recommendations on their key topic area, that are reviewed and finalized by the Communiqué Drafting Committee. This committee finalizes and polishes the final W20 Communiqué, that is then approved by the whole W20 and subsequently sent to the G20 leaders."
>
> — Anna Ravanona, W20 EU Delegate

2. The Gender Policy Ecosystem

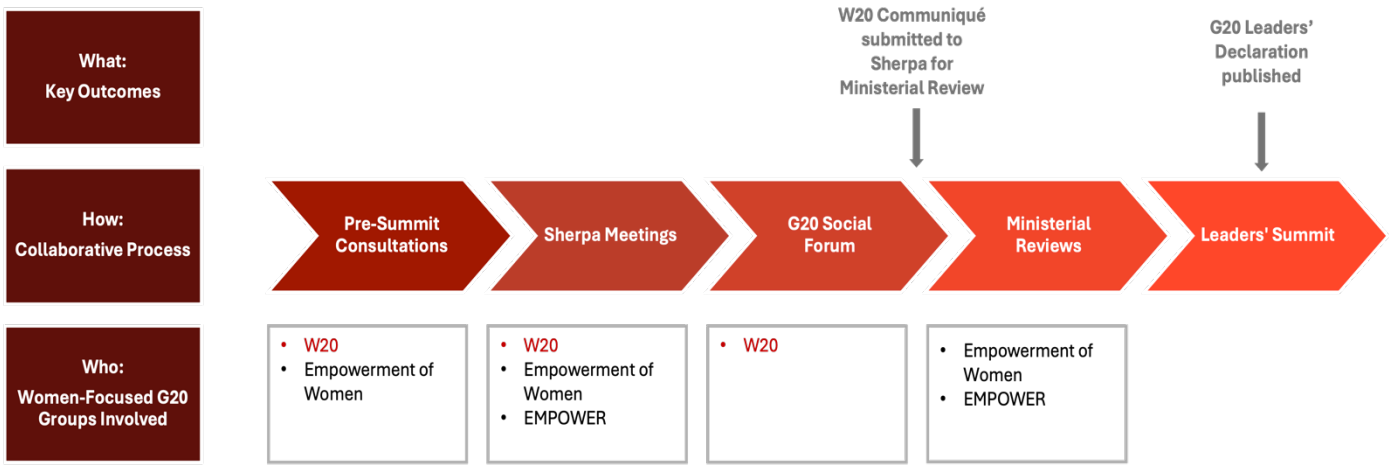
The G20 operates within a broader ecosystem involving two key tracks, the Finance track and the Sherpa Track. Refer to Figure 1.

The Finance Track addresses macroeconomic issues through seven technical working groups and three specialized Task Forces, focusing on financial stability, sustainable growth, and international monetary cooperation.

The Sherpa Track manages 15 working groups and 13 engagement groups, ensuring both technical expertise and civil society input reach the Leaders' Declaration.

The Sherpa Track plays a pivotal role in shaping the summit's agenda and driving consensus among member states. Led by the personal representatives of the G20 leaders, this track is responsible for overseeing

Figure 2 - Process through which women-focused policies reach G20 Leader's Declaration



Source: Derived by HKSWAN from multiple G20 sources and consultations

negotiations and coordinating the work that informs the final discussions at the summit of Heads of State and Government. The Sherpa Track manages 15 working groups and 13 engagement groups.[2] While the working groups, composed of experts and officials from relevant Ministries, focus on addressing technical and policy-specific issues, the engagement groups provide a platform for civil society and non-government institutions, ensuring that diverse perspectives are reflected in G20 deliberations. Through this structure, the Sherpa Track ensures both strategic alignment and inclusivity in the lead-up to the G20 Leaders' Declaration.

3. Process & Governance[3]

Developing the Leaders' Declaration follows a structured process that unfolds over several months:

- **Pre-Summit Consultations**: In the lead-up to the summit, various working groups, ministerial bodies, and engagement groups—including the W20—gather to discuss critical policy areas and draft recommendations. This phase ensures that a broad spectrum of perspectives is taken into account.
- **Sherpa Meetings**: Representatives known as Sherpas, appointed by each G20 member, play a crucial role in consolidating these discussions. They work to reconcile differing viewpoints and refine initial drafts of the declaration.
- **G20 Social Forum:** As an innovation introduced by Brazil in 2024, the G20 Social Forum is set to precede the Leaders' Summit in November 2025. This forum will bring together representatives from existing engagement groups, including the W20, and other civil society members to provide meaningful contributions to the G20. By fostering inclusive dialogue, the G20 Social Forum aims to enhance the perspectives and input of diverse stakeholders in shaping global economic and social policies (G20, 2025).
- **Ministerial Review**: Ministers from relevant sectors then assess key deliverables and issues of international relevance, contributing expert insights and building consensus before the final round of negotiations.

[2] In 2025, the South Africa Presidency supported the creation of a new engagement group, the Township20 (TS20). This new engagement group will focus on the creative, cultural, financial and innovative capacities of South Africa's township economies (G20, 2025).

[3] This information has been gathered from various sources including the G20 official website. Please see references for more details.

- **Leaders' Summit**: The final stage sees heads of state deliberating on the declaration's content, making last-minute adjustments, and ultimately reaching a consensus before its formal adoption.

> *"Being involved from the very beginning of the working groups of G20, hold regular meetings, be a good listener and mediator, use new concepts, explain definitions, involve ministries, civil society, media during the process and not only at the end with the communiqué, so that women's voices rise up."*
>
> — Linda Laura Sabbadini, W20 Italy Head of Delegation

This structured approach ensures that the final document reflects balanced consensus, accommodating the diverse priorities of all member nations. G20 engagement groups play a crucial role in shaping the G20 agenda through independent dialogue and extensive consultations. They formulate recommendations to present at the Leaders' Summit via the Sherpa Track process.

Within this framework, the W20 issues a "Communiqué" detailing key areas and recommendations, which it delivers to advocate for their inclusion in the final G20 declaration. In addition, during Brazil's G20 presidency, the W20 participated in the Social Umbrella initiative and presented its recommendations at key meetings. They collaborated with other engagement groups, including B20, C20, and T20, to align gender-focused recommendations across all themes.

By incorporating W20's recommendations, the G20 reinforces its recognition of gender-inclusive policies in global governance. This approach aligns with broader international consensus, as evidenced by the World

Table 2 - Overview of Ministerial and Engagement Groups Under the Sherpa Track

Working Groups led by Ministers Reporting to the Sherpas	Engagement Groups led by Civil Society Reporting to the Sherpas
1. Agriculture	1. Business (B20)
2. Anti-corruption	2. Civil Society (C20)
3. Culture	3. Innovation, Entrepreneurship, Collaboration (Startup20)
4. Development	4. Labor (L20)
5. Digital Economy	5. Ocean (O20)
6. Disaster Risk Reduction	6. Parliament (P20)
7. Education	7. Science (S20)
8. Employment	8. Supreme Audit Institutions (SAI20)
9. Empowerment of Women	9. Supreme Courts and Constitutional Courts (J20)
10. Energy Transitions	10. Think (T20)
11. Environmental and Climate Sustainability	11. Urban (U20)
12. Health	12. Women (W20)
13. Research and Innovation	13. Youth (Y20)
14. Tourism	
15. Trade and Investment	

Source: G20 Official Documentation

Bank Group's Gender Strategy 2024-2030, which identifies accelerating gender equality as essential to building 'inclusive, resilient, and stronger societies' and notes that adopting laws strengthening women's economic rights is 'an essential first step' toward these outcomes (World Bank, 2024).

B. G20 Leaders Declarations: Evolution and Trends in Women's Policy

Over the past decade, the G20 has increasingly included recommendations from the W20 in its Leaders' Declarations, reflecting growing commitment to gender equity and women's economic empowerment[4], as well as progressive recognition of the urgency and importance of gender-focused initiatives. The advocacy of the W20 has been key in emphasizing the need for policies that tackle the gender gap in labor force participation, equal pay, economic opportunities for women, and other gender-related issues in the global economy.

1. The 10-Year Evolution of Gender Commitments in G20 Leaders Declarations (2015-2024):

Analysis of G20 Leaders' Declarations reveals systematic evolution in how gender equality has been conceptualized and integrated into international economic policy over the past decade through three distinct phases.

Phase I: The Economic Foundation Years (2015-2018)

Early G20 gender commitments show a narrow understanding of gender equality primarily through an economic lens. During this phase, G20 leaders predominantly viewed women's empowerment as an economic imperative rather than addressing the complex structural and social barriers underlying gender inequality.

The 2015 G20 Leaders' Declaration from Antalya - notably the first year the W20 operated as an engagement group - offered only minimal mentions of women's issues, focusing almost exclusively on basic labor market participation without addressing the multifaceted barriers women face in accessing economic opportunities (G20 Leaders' Declaration, 2015, para. 12). The approach lacked nuance about the diverse experiences of women across different contexts.

Having established how the W20 operates within the G20 system, this analysis now examines the outcomes of this process by tracking how W20 recommendations have been adopted into G20 Leaders' Declarations over the past decade.

Despite the W20's establishment creating new advocacy mechanisms, the trajectory from 2015-2016 demonstrated the fragility of even these limited economic commitments. While the 2015 Antalya declaration did reaffirm the Brisbane commitment to "reduce the gap between the share of men and women in the workforce by 25 percent by 2025," this reaffirmation remained firmly within the economic participation framework without addressing systemic barriers. By 2016, the G20 Leaders' Declaration from Hangzhou represented a notable retreat, offering only vague references to "female labor participation" without explicitly mentioning the Brisbane targets (G20 Leaders' Declaration, 2016, para. 40). This weakening suggested that even narrow economic commitments remained vulnerable to shifting presidential priorities, with women's economic value still viewed as secondary to other policy concerns.

The 2017-2018 period marked a restoration and expansion of economic-focused commitments, though still within the same limited paradigm. The 2017 Hamburg declaration explicitly reaffirmed "our 2014 Brisbane commitment" while launching the $1 billion Women Entrepreneurs Financing Initiative (We-Fi), followed by Buenos Aires in 2018 continuing this emphasis by again referencing "our Brisbane commitment" and expanding related programming (G20 Leaders' Declarations, 2017; 2018, para. 12). While this period demonstrated greater institutional continuity through mechanisms like the W20 and We-Fi, the sustained focus remained narrowly concentrated on economic participation, perpetuating a paradigm that valued women primarily as untapped economic resources rather than addressing the deeper structural inequalities that constrain women's full participation in society.

Phase II: Expanding the Gender Equality Narrative (2019-2022)

Beginning in 2019, the G20 Leaders' Declarations show gradual but significant broadening of gender equality understanding. The 2019 G20 Leaders' Declaration

[4] Generally, these recommendations have centered around 13 key themes listed in Table Annex E.

from Osaka began addressing the digital gender gap alongside traditional labor force participation concerns, recognizing the emerging importance of digital inclusion (G20 Leaders' Declaration, 2019, para X).

The 2020 G20 Leaders' Declaration from Riyadh marked a notable shift with a more substantial section on women's empowerment that emphasized leadership positions and supported the EMPOWER Alliance for women's economic representation. This represented an important evolution from simply getting women into the workforce to considering their representation in decision-making roles.

The 2021 G20 Leaders' Declaration from Rome, developed within the pandemic context acknowledged COVID-19's disproportionate impact on women. This recognition coincided with more nuanced commitments addressing gender inequalities, economic participation barriers, entrepreneurship support, and the persistent gender pay gap.

By 2022, the G20 Leaders' Declaration from Bali - the first from the Global South - demonstrated a more comprehensive approach to gender equality across multiple dimensions. Significantly, it began addressing the unequal distribution of paid and unpaid care work—a fundamental structural barrier to gender equality that had been largely overlooked in previous declarations. The support for a future G20 Ministerial Conference on Women's Empowerment also signaled institutional commitment to gender issues.

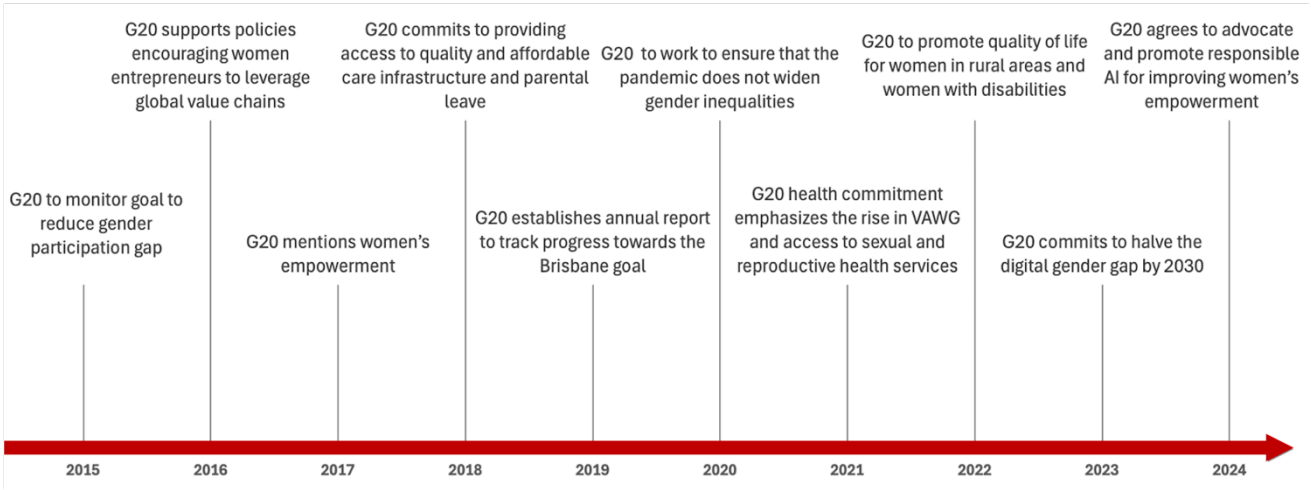
Phase III: Comprehensive and Intersectional Approaches (2023-2024)

The 2023 G20 Leaders' Declaration from New Delhi represents a pivotal moment in G20 gender commitments. For the first time, we see a truly comprehensive and intersectional approach that recognizes how gender inequality intersects with multiple policy domains and systemic barriers.

This declaration made groundbreaking commitments to digital inclusion with concrete targets to halve the digital gender gap by 2030 and eliminate online and offline abuse risks. Perhaps most significantly, it pioneered the explicit linking of gender to climate strategies, recognizing women's crucial role in climate action and the gendered impacts of environmental challenges.

The G20 New Delhi Declaration also addressed underlying structural barriers more directly than any previous declaration, committing to eliminate gender stereotypes and tackle barriers to digital technology accessibility. Its holistic economic empowerment approach

Figure 3 – Key Highlights of G20 Leaders Declarations (2015-2024)



Source: HKSWAN analysis of G20 Leaders' Declarations (2015 – 2014)

emphasized decent work, quality jobs, and —critically— investment in social protection and care infrastructure, acknowledging care work as a fundamental economic issue.

The establishment of a Working Group on Women's Empowerment could be seen as an institutionalization effort for gender equality within the G20 framework, suggesting a more sustained commitment to these issues.

The 2024 G20 Leader's Declaration from Rio de Janeiro consolidated and deepened this comprehensive approach with increasingly nuanced intersectional commitments (G20 Leaders' Declaration, 2024, para. 32). By recognizing gender equality's role in "shaping new frontiers" and embedding gender considerations across multiple policy domains, the declaration reflects a mature understanding that gender equality is not a standalone issue but integral to all aspects of economic, social, and political development. South Africa is taking the legacy of the Global South forward and adding an African lens.

The evolution of gender commitments in G20 Leaders Declarations from 2015 to 2024 reflects a remarkable journey from narrow economic framings to comprehensive, intersectional approaches. This progression demonstrates growing recognition that achieving gender equality requires addressing multiple, interconnected dimensions of disadvantage and embedding gender analysis across all policy domains.

The most recent declarations signal a promising shift toward understanding gender equality not merely as women's participation in existing economic structures, but as a transformative agenda requiring fundamental changes to those structures themselves. This evolution suggests that the G20's potential to drive meaningful progress on global gender equality by translating these increasingly sophisticated commitments into concrete action remains the critical challenge ahead.

2. Key Trends of Women's Policies in G20 Leaders' Declaration (2015 - 2024)

Trend 1: World Events shape Women's Policy Priorities

The inclusion of women's policies in the G20 commitments has been influenced by ongoing global events that underscore the challenges faced by women. For example, the COVID-19 pandemic drew increased attention to women's health, the care economy, and a rise in intimate partner violence (IPV). In response, starting with Italy's 2021 Presidency, there has been a discernible trend of increasing gender policy recommendations on health equity and gender-based violence, accompanied by a growing recognition within the G20 Leaders' Declaration of the need to implement targeted policies that prioritize women's health and safety in recovery efforts. With the rise of emerging technologies, starting in 2017, there was an increased focus on Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) for women, digital inclusion, and improving access to tech finance and markets in the G20 Leaders' Declarations, emphasizing technology's critical role in advancing gender equality.

Trend 2: Consistent Priority Areas

Most of the recommendations and broad mentions of gender equality and women's economic empowerment in G20 Leaders' Declarations have centered around key areas such as women's labor force participation, the quality of jobs, and fostering women entrepreneurs. The Brisbane Commitment, which aims to reduce the gender gap in labor force participation by 25 percent by 2025, has significantly influenced the G20's continued emphasis on ensuring that women have equal opportunities in the workforce, access to decent work, and the needed support to thrive as entrepreneurs.

Trend 3: Core Foundational Policy Tools Absent

Critical gender-responsive policy tools remain underrepresented in the G20 Leaders' Declarations. Notably, gender-responsive budgeting and sex-disaggregated data—both essential tools for measuring and addressing gender inequality—have not been adequately covered in the commitments. Gender-responsive budgeting ensures that policies and investments are prepared with a clear understanding of their impacts on different genders. Additionally, sex-disaggregated data is key for tracking progress and identifying gaps in efforts to achieve gender equality.

C. Measuring W20 Advocacy Influence: Adoption Rates of W20 Recommendations by G20 Leaders' Declarations

This section of the report analyzes the adoption of W20 policy recommendations into G20 leadership commitments. It is important to note that beyond the W20's recommendations, the G20 has also adopted additional gender-related commitments that were not included in W20 communiqués. This trend may reflect

the influence of other gender-focused engagement and stakeholder groups, such as the B20 (which established dedicated gender task forces during the 2022 Indonesian, 2024 Brazilian, and 2025 South African presidencies) in shaping gender-related G20 commitments (B20 Indonesia, 2022; B20 Brazil, 2024; B20 South Africa, 2025).

The analysis in this section focuses on the G20 leadership commitments derived from W20 recommendations. To measure the adoption rates of W20 recommendations into G20 leaders' commitments, explicit policy recommendations were extracted from W20 communiqués and mapped onto corresponding commitments in G20 Declarations; findings were triangulated through interviews with W20 delegates. Refer to Annex A for a more detailed description of the methodology for this section.

From 2015 to 2024, the W20 has made 220 recommendations, of which 74 have been adopted by the G20 Leaders' Declarations (refer to Annex C for the full list of W20 recommendations). Approximately one-third of all W20 recommendations were reflected in G20 Leaders' Declarations, suggesting significant room for strengthening the uptake of W20 policy priorities into G20 commitments.

Table 3 presents an analysis of the distribution of W20 policy recommendations and adoption rates across various thematic areas. As many paragraphs in the W20 communiqués contain multiple recommendations spanning different themes, our analysis distributes each of them into different thematic categories, for clarity and precision.

Thematic Adoption Patterns: Between 2015 and 2024, Women's Entrepreneurship and Financial Inclusion was the policy theme with the highest number of recommendations adopted by G20 leaders (16). The second highest theme is Gender Pay Gap and the Workplace with 14 recommendations adopted by G20 leaders. These numbers reflect the consistent prioritization of labor force participation as a primary pathway to women's economic equality.

When looking at the adoption rates (proportion of W20 recommendations adopted relative to recommendations made), however, the top performing theme is Social Protections with an outstanding 75% adoption rate. This adoption rate suggests that Social Protections could be a policy theme in need of greater emphasis in W20 deliberations, as it has one of the lowest



220

Total Number of W20 Policy Recommendations (2015 – 2024)



74

Number of W20 Policy Recommendations Adopted into G20 Leaders' Commitments (2015 – 2024)



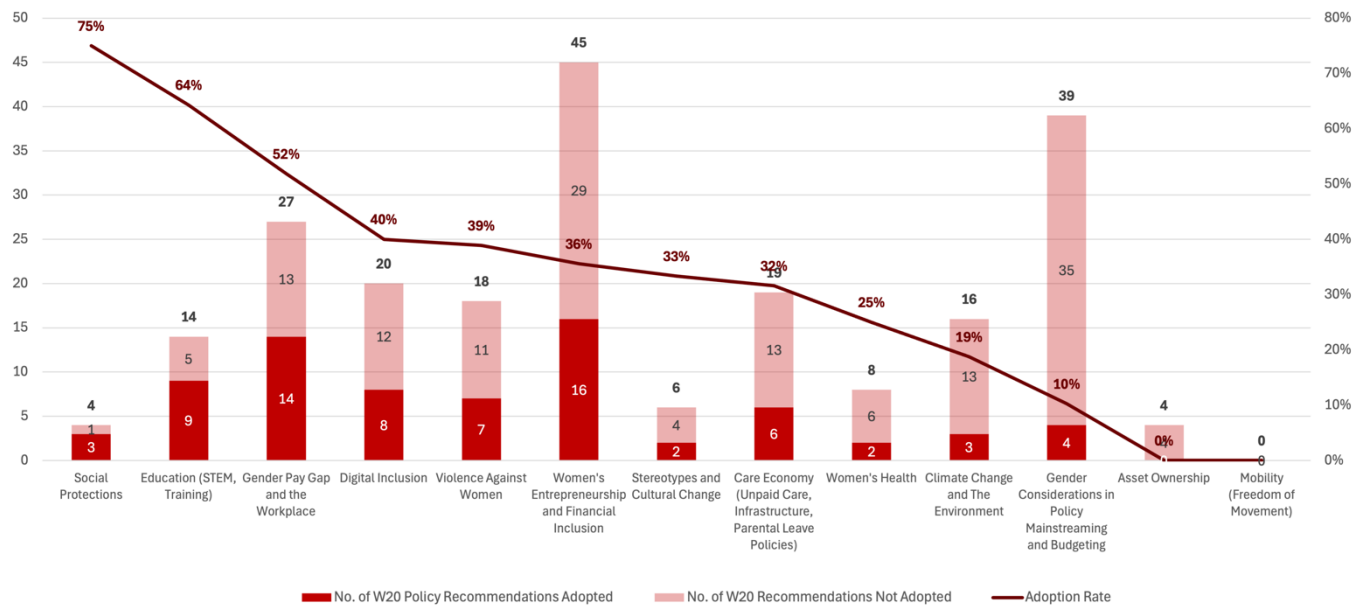
33.6%

Percentage of W20 Policy Recommendations Adopted into G20 Leaders' Commitments

numbers of recommendations made by W20 in the last decade. Education (STEM, Training) has the second highest adoption rate at 64%, followed by Gender Pay Gap and the Workplace at 52%. The high adoption rates in Education (STEM, Training) and Gender Pay Gap and the Workplace recommendations indicate growing recognition of the role of the workplace environment and technology in women's economic advancement.

Despite having the highest absolute number of recommendations adopted, Women's Entrepreneurship and Financial Inclusion had a 36% adoption rate, which is merely on par with the overall adoption rate of 36.6% for the decade. This suggests that factors other than volume of recommendations may more strongly influence adoption rates by G20 leaders. This pattern is further exemplified by the Gender Considerations in Policy Mainstreaming and Budgeting theme, which has the second highest number of recommendations made by W20 while also having one of the lowest adoption rates in the last ten years.

Figure 4. Adoption of W20 Recommendations into G20 Leadership Commitments (2015 - 2024), By Policy Theme



Source: HKSWAN analysis of W20 Communiqués and G20 Leaders' Declarations, 2015-2024

Notably, Mobility received zero W20 recommendations -and, therefore, zero G20 leaders' adoptions- throughout the decade. Asset Ownership received only four W20 recommendations and none were adopted by G20 leaders. While this may reflect a lack of political appetite for these policies at the national level, it also highlights the need for greater attention from W20 advocacy efforts.

Adoption Trends Over Time The trends outlined in the presidency analysis indicate an average adoption rate of 37.5% of W20 policy recommendations into G20 leadership commitments. Over the years, the Japan (2019) Presidency achieved the highest adoption rate at 64.7%, followed closely by Germany (2017) at 60%. Notably, over the second half of the decade (since 2020), adoption rates have remained low, not exceeding 33.3%. This trend suggests that the first half of the W20's existence saw higher policy adoption rates within G20 commitments compared to more recent periods.

Strategic Patterns in Advocacy Influence

Peak Influence Period (2017-2019):

Germany and Japan achieved the highest adoption rates at 60% and 64.7% respectively, suggesting strategic factors beyond recommendation volume drove successful policy integration. Germany's success coincided with a concise W20 communiqué that featured specific asks and compelling language, challenging the idea that gender-blind policies lead to gender-neutral outcomes. The communiqué included a clear call to integrate gender analysis and budgeting into the G20 agenda and policy frameworks, emphasizing the need for gender-disaggregated data. Additionally, it was the first time stereotypes and biases were identified as barriers to women's agency. Japan's high adoption rate occurred alongside the establishment of an annual report to track progress and actions taken by G20 members towards the Brisbane goal, including the quality of jobs and the incorporation of more nuanced language regarding the need to combat gender stereotypes, particularly raising awareness and eliminating stereotypes in education and training.

This progress was further reinforced by Chancellor Angela Merkel's personal advocacy: during the Berlin W20 summit, she explicitly committed to working towards the inclusion of W20 priorities in G20 outcomes, align-

ing her presidency's agenda with gender equality objectives (Bundesregierung, 2017; Financial Times, 2017).

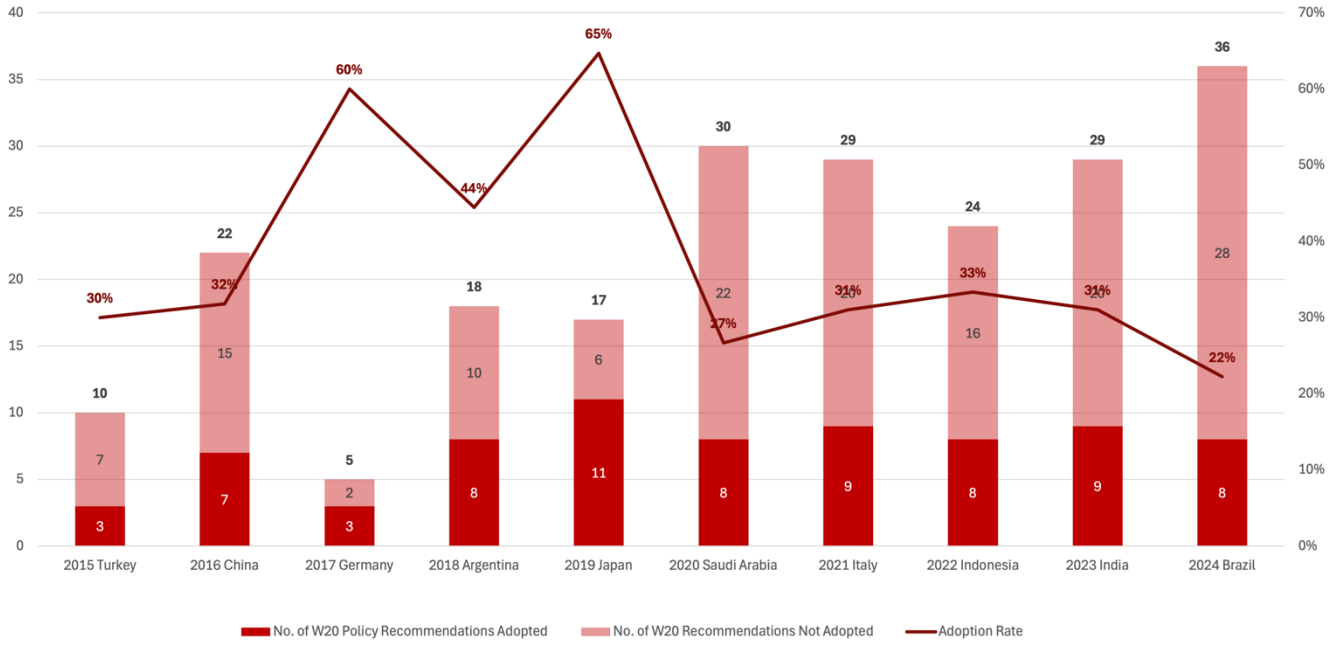
Similarly, Japan's high adoption rate occurred under Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, who promoted Womenomics and supported W20 deliverables, including an annual report tracking progress toward the Brisbane goal and incorporating nuanced language on combating gender stereotypes. Yet, despite this high adoption at the international level, domestic implementation of gender equality reforms remained limited, revealing how institutional constraints and conflicting political agendas can undermine the translation of global commitments into national action (Wilson, 2016; Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus [APJJF], 2023).

However, the correlation between adoption rates during a particular presidency and actual implementation in the host country appears unclear, suggesting that factors beyond institutional commitment—particularly political will—may more closely correlate with meaningful policy change. Japan's case exemplifies this disconnect: despite achieving the highest W20 recommendation adoption rate at 64.7%, domestic implementation of gender equality measures remained limited. This pattern indicates that while G20 presidencies can effectively facilitate international consensus-building around gender commitments, the translation of these commitments into substantive national action depends on deeper political and institutional factors within each country's domestic context (Chatham House, 2018).

Recent Decline (2020-2024):

Adoption rates have not exceeded 33.3% since 2020, indicating potential need for strategic adjustment in advocacy approaches and interrogating G20 receptiveness to gender policy initiatives. This decline is evident in the 2020 Saudi Arabia presidency, where the G20 did not incorporate key measures, such as adopting gender-responsive budgeting, ensuring women's representation in decision-making, and needed investments in social infrastructure and research, including the collection of sex-disaggregated data. The 2022 Indonesia presidency similarly did not include any specific recommendations from the W20 Communiqué around key themes, including non-discrimination, healthcare for women and girls, and the proposed monitoring and reporting mechanisms for assessing the results of G20 gender-relevant actions. By 2024, Brazil's presidency achieved only a 22.2% adoption rate, the lowest in the decade, despite the G20's acknowledgment of key themes from W20 recommendations and use of more inclusive language.

Figure 5. Adoption of W20 Recommendations into G20 Leadership Commitments (2015 - 2024), By Presidency



Source: HKSWAN analysis of W20 Communiqués and G20 Leaders' Declarations, 2015-2024

Volume vs. Impact and Consistency Challenges:

Adoption success varies significantly across presidencies, with factors beyond recommendation volume appearing to influence outcomes. Germany achieved 60% adoption with 5 recommendations, while Japan reached 64.7% with 17 recommendations and Brazil achieved 22.2% with 36 recommendations. This variation suggests that advocacy effectiveness depends on multiple factors including political context, timing, and strategy.

Despite this trend toward thematic inclusion, a critical gap emerges between broad acknowledgment and specific implementation commitments. While the G20 has increasingly recognized the commitment to addressing the gender digital divide, it has not included specific measures, such as the five-year plan proposed by the W20 in 2017. Similarly, the W20's 2018 proposal for 10 percent targets for public procurement programs, referenced in subsequent years including 2019, 2020, and 2022, were not incorporated by the Leaders' Declarations.

Persistent Implementation Gaps and Future Opportunities:

While the W20 has recorded significant achievements in areas such as labor force participation, critical gaps in foundational policy tools remain unaddressed. The G20 Leaders' Declarations have primarily focused on women's labor force participation and income gaps, as would be expected given the Brisbane Commitment. While many W20 recommendations have been incorporated into the declarations—particularly those related to education, digital inclusion, and finance—several critical issues remain unaddressed. Specifically, there has been insufficient attention to gender-responsive budgeting and sex-disaggregated data, despite their importance in ensuring that gender equality is effectively integrated into all policy areas. Over the past decade, there have often been delays in the adoption of key recommendations. For example, while the W20 has focused on care since 2015, it was only officially recognized in its narrow sense in 2018, underscoring a significant lag in acknowledgment. Although the content surrounding this issue has been enriched over the years, this sometimes reveals a disconnect between the agenda of the W20 and the G20. The collaboration and coordination mechanisms between engagement groups and the G20 have evolved significantly. There is a continued opportunity to ensure that discussions remain inclusive and timely. Additionally, efforts can better align and integrate W20 recommendations into the G20's commitments to promote gender equality and women's economic empowerment.

> *"Countries' politics and the proximity W20 has with the government can impact on the Leaders Declaration. In some countries, W20 has very strong relationships with Sherpas and the government. So, they have lobbying power, while in other countries, it's more focused on civil society and they could have less lobbying power. It's a matter of finding a balance."*
>
> — Narnia Bohler-Muller, W20 South Africa Head of Delegation

Section IV demonstrated that W20 recommendations achieve a 33.6% adoption rate into G20 Leaders' Declarations, with 74 of 220 recommendations reflected in international commitments. It also showed that Entrepreneurship and Financial Inclusion was the theme with the highest number of recommendations dopted by G20 leaders in the last decade, although Social Protections, Education and Gender Pay Gap had the highest adoption rates. The highest adoption rates were seen during the German (2017) and Japanese (2019) presidencies, with a notable decline in the second half of the decade.

The presence of commitments in G20 declarations, nonetheless, does not guarantee implementation at the national level. Section V examines the next critical stage: how these G20 commitments translate into actual policy reforms in member countries.



Photo credit: Arun Anoop

V. Implementation of Women-focused G20 Commitments by G20 Countries

While Section IV demonstrated that W20 recommendations achieve a 37.5% adoption rate into G20 Leaders' Declarations, the presence of commitments in international declarations does not guarantee implementation at the national level. This section examines the critical next stage: how these G20 commitments translate into actual policy reforms in member countries, tracing the pathway from international agreements to domestic legislative change.

A. How G20 commitments Become National Policy

The evolution of gender commitments in G20 Leaders Declarations can be evaluated using the Women, Business and the Law index's increasingly sophisticated measurement framework. G20 declarations have progressed from narrow economic focus (2015-2018) to comprehensive intersectional approaches (2023-2024), mirroring the index's own methodological advancement toward measuring both laws and their practical implementation and impact. This parallel evolution enables robust assessment of how leaders' commitments translate into concrete policy change.

The Women, Business and the Law index has evolved significantly from its 2014 to 2024 editions, marking a critical advancement in measuring women's economic opportunities globally. While the 2023 edition (the ninth in the series) focused on eight indicators tracking women's legal interactions throughout their careers—Mobility, Workplace, Pay, Marriage, Parenthood, Entrepreneurship, Assets, and Pension—the landmark 2024 edition (the tenth) expands this framework substantially. The latest edition introduces two crucial new indicators—Safety and Childcare—acknowledging these dimensions as fundamental to women's economic participation.

Step 1: Analyzing the Quality of Commitments

Our analysis employed a two-level approach to evaluate gender commitments in G20 Leaders' Declarations, moving beyond simple word counts to assess the presence of actionable gender commitments.

Level 1: Gender Term Frequency and Context Analysis involved systematic examination of key gender-related terms ("women," "girls," "gender," and "sex") across documents, providing a preliminary measure of how prominently gender issues were acknowledged over time. We systematically analyzed paragraphs by breaking them down into distinct commitments, rather than treating each as a single unit, recognizing that many paragraphs contained multiple pledges that required separation into different commitments.

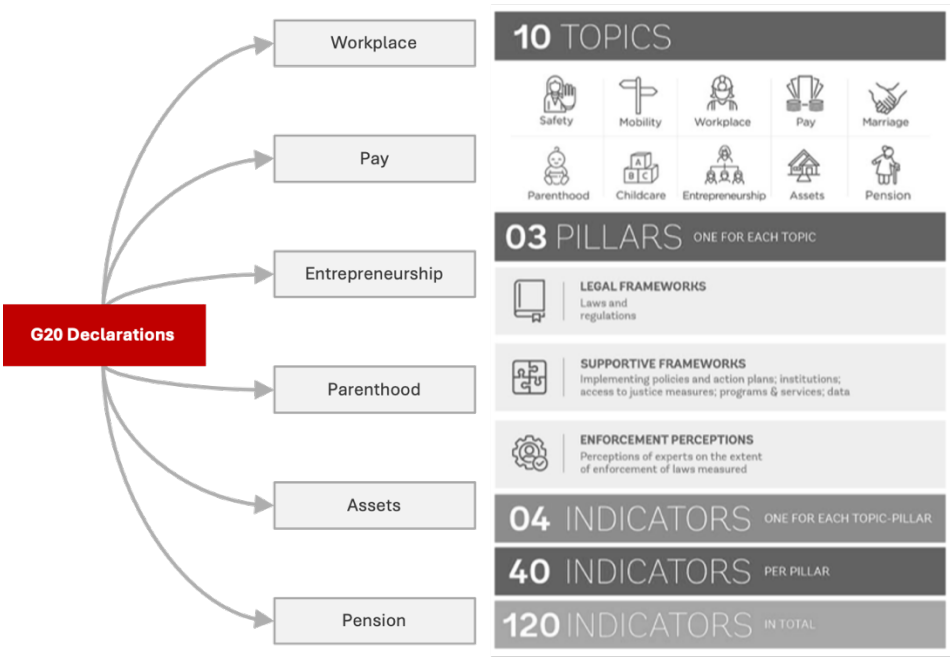
Level 2: Commitment-Based Gender Analysis moved beyond word frequency to identify specific language markers—such as "we commit to," "we will," "we endorse," "we reaffirm," and "we support"—to distinguish between paragraphs that merely reference gender-related terms without substantive commitments and paragraphs that contain concrete pledges to gender equality. These commitments with strong action-oriented language are classified as **"A-level" commitments**, representing the highest quality of institutional pledge within G20 declarations.

By focusing on actionable language rather than incidental mentions, this approach offers a more accurate representation of policy commitments to gender equality. It also mitigates potential overestimation of gender inclusion when multiple terms appear in a single commitment statement.

Step 2: Assessing Implementation with WBL Indicator Mapping

After evaluating commitment quality, we examined whether these rhetorical pledges translated into national policy reforms through **WBL Indicator Mapping**. This methodology systematically codes the presence or absence of post-declaration legal and policy reforms across different stages of women's working lives, analyzing how these reforms unfold over time.

Figure 6 – Simplified mapping of G20 Leaders Declarations commitment themes to Women, Business and the Law indicator framework



Source: Derived by HKSWAN using the Women Business and the Law 2025 Concept Note indicator framework developed by the World Bank Group

This approach, grounded in the WBL framework's lifecycle methodology, provides a robust evaluation of whether increasingly sophisticated G20 commitments translate into tangible improvements for women's economic participation. The assessment considers potential time lags between international commitments and national implementation, recognizing that legal reforms represent minimum standards rather than comprehensive measures of gender equality progress. By linking the quality of commitments (Levels 1 and 2) to subsequent reforms—or their absence, or even reversals—captured by WBL indicators, this methodology allows us to verify how rhetorical commitments evolve into meaningful economic opportunities for women.

1. The Evolution of G20 Gender commitments

Beyond W20 recommendations, the Leaders' declarations also adopt gender policy recommendations originating from other groups within the G20, as discussed in Section IV of this report. **Over the period 2015 - 2024, G20 leaders made a total of 109 gender commitments.** The presidencies of India and Brazil made the highest number of gender commitments at 21.

These 109 represent numbered paragraphs from G20 Leaders' Declarations that contain gender-related language ("gender," "women," "girls," or related terms), rather than 109 distinct policy commitments. Each paragraph may address multiple policy areas or contain several gender references but counts as one unit in this analysis.

Composition and Attribution: As discussed in Section IV, 74 of these paragraphs (67.9%) can be directly traced to W20 recommendations through systematic mapping and triangulation with W20 delegate interviews. The remaining 35 paragraphs (32.1%) reflect gender-related content from other sources, including:

- B20 gender task forces (established 2022 onwards in Indonesian, Brazilian, and South African presidencies)
- Other engagement groups (L20, Y20)

- Internal G20 processes and ministerial-level initiatives

- Sherpa negotiations and diplomatic processes

Measuring Influence vs. Implementation: This composition reveals W20's effectiveness at **agenda-setting**—ensuring gender issues maintain visibility in G20 declarations and serving as the primary driver of gender-related discourse. However, the relationship between paragraph mentions and substantive policy commitments varies significantly. A single W20 recommendation may influence multiple paragraphs across different policy domains, while some paragraph mentions may represent diluted versions of more comprehensive civil society proposals.

The Implementation Challenge: While maintaining gender visibility in international declarations is crucial for norm-setting, the critical test lies in whether these 109 mentions —regardless of their origin— translate into concrete national policy reforms that improve women's economic opportunities.

Refer to Annex D for a full list of these commitments and to Table 3 below for a breakdown of the number of commitments made by presidency.

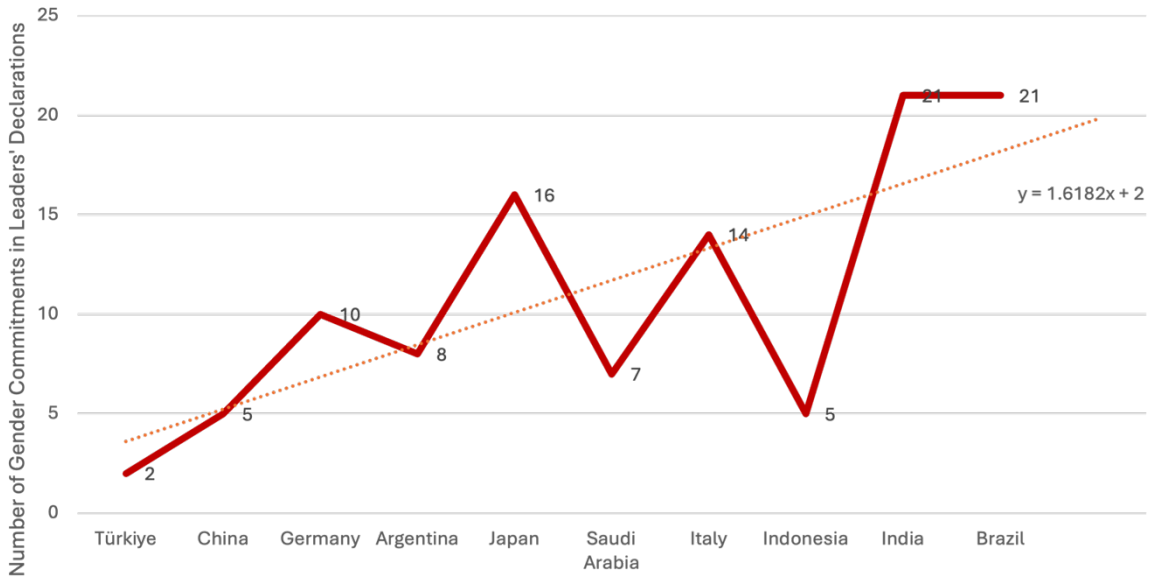
The evolution of all these gender commitments in G20 Leaders' Declarations reveals a dramatic transformation in both scope and institutional priority over the decade. Gender commitments increased from just 2 in Turkey's 2015 presidency to 21 each in both India's 2023 and Brazil's 2024 presidencies—a ten-fold increase that reflects the growing sophistication of the G20's approach to gender equality.

Table 3 - Distribution of Gender-Mentioning Paragraphs in G20 Leaders' Declarations (2015-2024)

Country Name	Presidency Year	Number of Gender Commitments in the Leaders' Declaration
India	2023	21
Brazil	2024	21
Japan	2019	16
Italy	2021	14
Indonesia	2022	14
Germany	2017	10
Argentina	2018	8
Saudi Arabia	2020	7
China	2016	5
Türkiye	2015	2
TOTAL commitments		**109**

Source: HKSWAN analysis based on G20 Leaders' declarations (2015-2024)

Figure 7. Number of gender commitments in the Leaders Declaration



Source: HKSWAN analysis of G20 Leaders Declarations, 2015 - 2024

This escalation in commitment volume establishes an expanding foundation of international agreements requiring national-level implementation. The data shows notable variation across presidencies, with some countries demonstrating stronger commitment to gender issues during their hosting tenure. Japan's 2019 presidency stands out with 16 commitments, while presidencies like China (2016) and Indonesia (2022) each produced only 5 commitments, suggesting differing national priorities and approaches to gender mainstreaming within the G20 agenda.

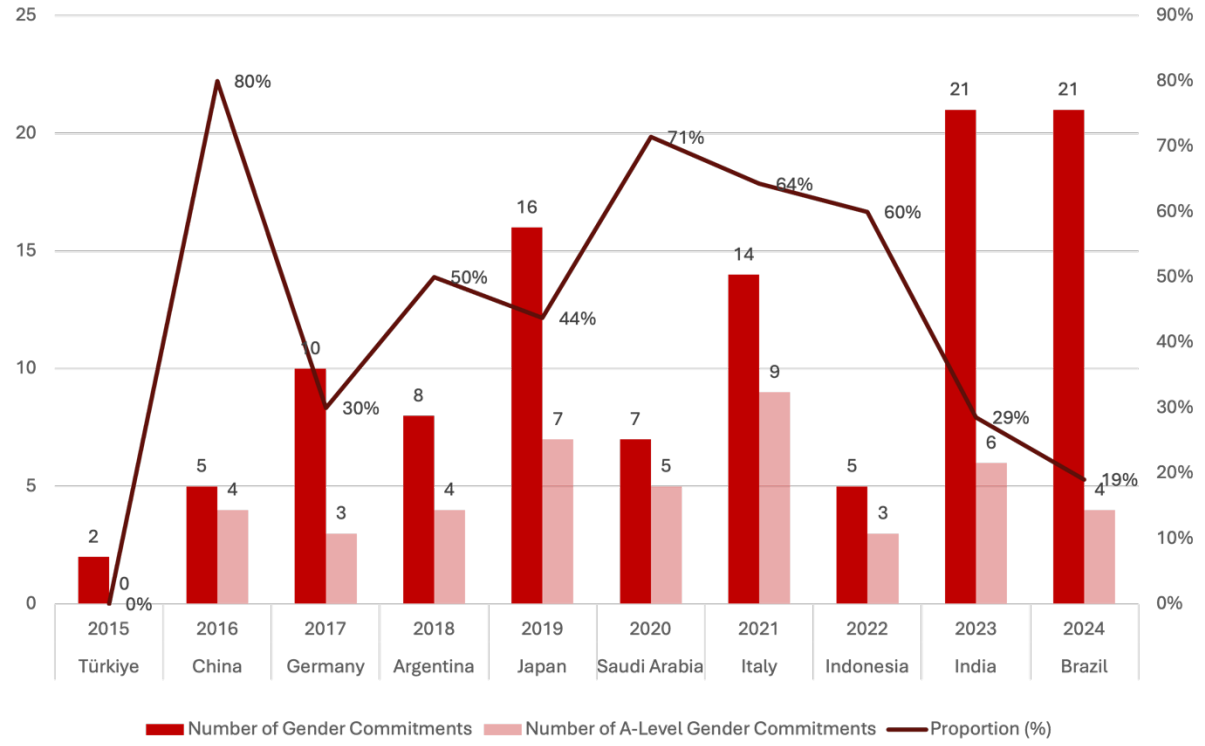
The substantial increase in commitments from 2018 onwards—with Argentina (8), Japan (16), Saudi Arabia (7), Italy (14), India (21), and Brazil (21)—indicates a fundamental shift in how G20 leaders frame gender equality within their broader economic and social policy frameworks. This trend reflects both the growing influence of civil society advocacy through the W20 and increased recognition that gender equality is essential for sustainable economic growth and social development.

This commitment escalation creates both opportunities and challenges for implementation, as the growing volume of international pledges requires corresponding increases in national-level political will, institutional capacity, and resource allocation to translate declarations into meaningful policy change.

Quality vs. Quantity: A-Level Commitments

While the overall volume of gender commitments increased dramatically, examining A-level commitments—those containing specific action-oriented language markers ("we commit to", "we will", "we endorse")—reveals important patterns in commitment quality alongside quantity growth. The A-level commitment analysis reveals that while Turkey's 2015 presidency produced no action-oriented gender commitments, subsequent presidencies increasingly incorporated stronger commitment language. Saudi Arabia and Italy's presidencies achieved the highest quality scores with 9 A-level commitments each, demonstrating that commitment quality does not always correlate directly with overall volume. Notably, India's 2023 presidency, despite achieving the highest total commitment count (21), produced only 6 A-level commitments, suggesting that quantity and quality represent

Figure 8. Proportion of Gender Commitments that are A-Level in G20 Leaders Declarations



Source: HKSWAN analysis of G20 commitments (2015 – 2024)

distinct dimensions of institutional commitment that require separate analytical attention.

While the evolution in commitment quantity and quality is encouraging, the critical test lies in whether these international pledges translate into actual policy changes at the national level.

2. From Declarations to Implementation: The Reality Gap

The Women, Business and the Law (WBL) initiative at the World Bank "produces data on laws, regulations, policies, and their enforcement across 190 economies, covering 10 topics relevant to women's economic opportunity" (World Bank, 2025). To measure actual policy changes stemming from G20 gender commitments, gender commitments were mapped to relevant WBL indicators (refer to Annex F for the full indicator questionnaires).

Implementation Overview: Our analysis of actual policy reforms using the Women, Business and the Law framework reveals a complex implementation landscape. While 84.2% of G20 countries implemented at least one gender-related reform between 2014-2024, the distribution and timing of these reforms illuminate significant patterns about the relationship between international commitments and domestic policy change.

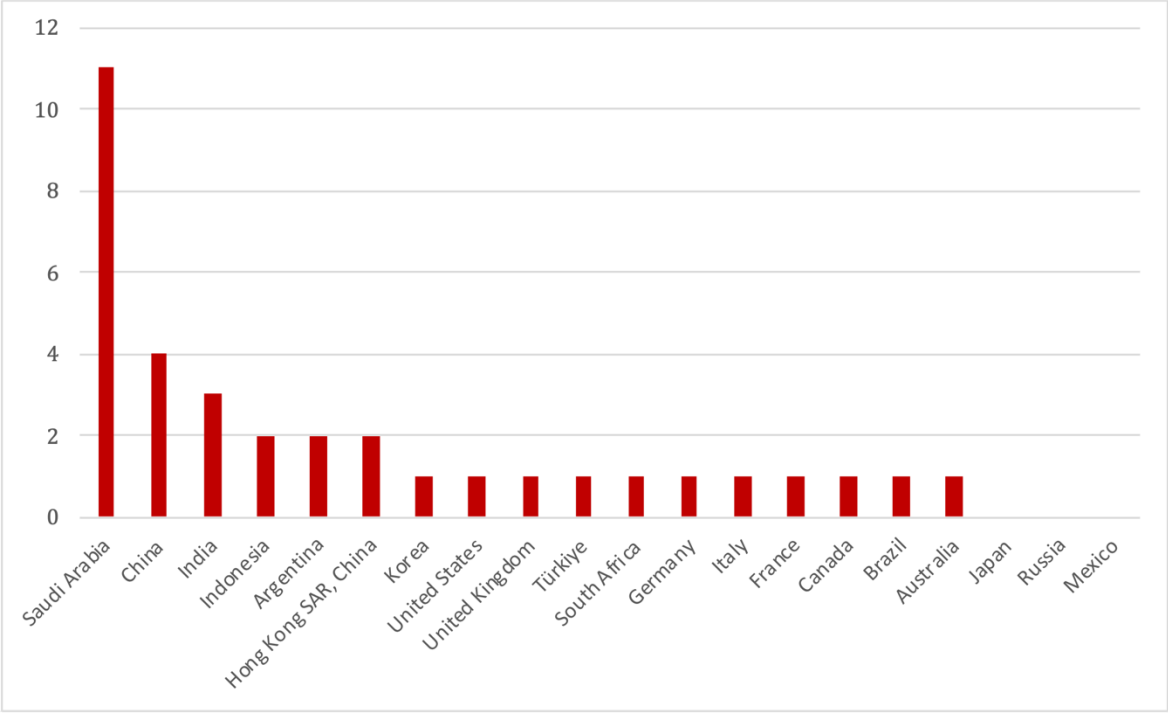
The relationship between G20 Leaders' Declarations and actual gender policy reforms reveals a complex picture when examined against countries' varying starting points. While collective declarations have evolved from narrow economic frameworks to comprehensive approaches, implementation records differ dramatically across member nations.

Saudi Arabia stands out with 11 gender-related reforms (2019-2023) (World Bank, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024), with an increase of reforms coinciding with its 2020 G20 presidency. This reform surge reflects a combination of its lower baseline in gender equality protections and the catalytic effect of its G20 hosting role. Many reforms represent fundamental changes bringing Saudi Arabia closer to international standards than other G20 members established decades earlier. Indonesia's reforms likewise align with its 2022 G20 presidency, when its declaration addressed "unequal distribution of paid and unpaid care work" and supported a Ministerial Conference on Women's Empowerment. Similarly, India's three reforms (2017, 2018, 2021) (World Bank, 2018, 2019, 2022) show progress from its starting point, with potential for additional reforms following its pivotal 2023 G20 presidency.

In contrast, several advanced economies show minimal reform activity. Japan, Russia, and Mexico implemented no measured reforms (World Bank, 2015-2024), while the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, and France each implemented only one. For advanced economies, this pattern likely reflects a "ceiling effect"—their high baseline of gender equality laws resulted in fewer remaining legal gaps and thus fewer formal reforms recorded. For middle-tier countries like Russia and Mexico, this inaction raises questions

> *"Evidence-based work is the way to approach the policymakers in Saudi Arabia. They appreciate analysis and systematic approaches... You need resilience and strength to adapt to resistance, continue the work, and not give up."*
>
> — Dr. Miznah Alomair, W20 Saudi Arabia Head of Delegation

Figure 9: Number of Gender Policy Reforms by G20 Country for the period 2015-2024



Source: HKSWAN analysis based on WBL indicators (2015-2024)

about their engagement with G20 gender commitments and gender equality more broadly.

Reform timing shows increased activity between 2019-2023, corresponding with the expanded scope of G20 Declarations during this same period. This correlation suggests a possible relationship between comprehensive declaration language and national policy priorities.

The Presidency Effect: Countries hosting G20 presidencies show notably higher reform activity during their tenure and immediate aftermath. Saudi Arabia exemplifies this pattern most dramatically, implementing 11 reforms between 2019-2023, coinciding with its 2020 presidency. This pattern may reflect increased domestic focus during hosting responsibilities and Saudi Arabia's unique position of advancing from a lower baseline in gender equality protections toward international standards.

The Baseline Effect: Implementation patterns vary dramatically based on countries' starting points. Advanced economies like Germany, France, and the United Kingdom show minimal reform activity—likely reflecting a "ceiling effect" where existing comprehensive gender equality frameworks leave fewer formal gaps to address. Japan, which also recorded zero reforms, presents a different case; its lower baseline score suggests that factors beyond a high starting point are at play. Conversely, countries with greater reform needs and lower starting baselines—such as Saudi Arabia (11 reforms), Indonesia, and India—demonstrate more visible reform activity, though this varies significantly in scope and consistency.

"Each country has its own systems. Each country is sovereign. It cannot dictate to any country how it will fulfill its commitment and provide everything it needs to do so. The heads of delegation are independent from government and come from different sectors, from business, academia, and civil society. Because it's a multilateral and consensus-based space, diplomatic solutions must be sought."

— Narnia Bohler-Muller, W20 South Africa Head of Delegation

B. Thematic Implementation Patterns: Where Progress Happens

The distribution of G20 gender reforms across the Women, Business and the Law indicators reveals telling patterns about priority areas and persistent gaps in the gender equality agenda.

The data shows that **Parenthood** emerges as the dominant focus, with 10 countries implementing 15 reforms (World Bank, 2015-2024)—nearly one-third of all measured changes. This concentration reflects growing recognition that parental leave policies serve as critical enablers of women's economic participation, aligning with the evolution in G20 declarations that increasingly acknowledged care work challenges, particularly post-2021.

Pay (5 countries, 8 reforms) and Pension (5 countries, 7 reforms) follow as secondary priority areas. The attention to Pay reflects increasing global focus on gender pay gaps, while Pension reforms indicate recognition of gender disparities in long-term economic security—issues that gained prominence in more recent G20 declarations.

Workplace reforms (4 countries, 7 reforms) represent modest progress in addressing discrimination in employment. The limited reforms in Marriage (2 countries, 5 reforms) and Mobility (1 country, 6 reforms) likely reflect both the sensitivity of these areas in some cultural contexts and the fact that many advanced economies had already reformed these areas pre-measurement.

Entrepreneurship shows similarly limited progress (3 countries, 3 reforms), despite entrepreneurship featuring prominently in G20 declarations since 2018 when the Women Entrepreneurs Financing Initiative was introduced.

Most concerning is the complete absence of reforms in Assets (0 countries, 0 reforms). While this may partly reflect that many G20 economies already had strong legal frameworks for property rights, it also reveals a critical blind spot regarding the enforcement of women's inheritance rights and control over assets—fundamental aspects of economic empowerment. Despite the evolution toward comprehensive approaches in recent G20 declarations, this implementation gap suggests that transforming property rights from law to practice remains a challenging area for policy reform.

The Implementation Challenge: From Rhetoric to Reform

When measured against the Women, Business and the Law framework, implementation gaps emerge between declaration rhetoric and policy reform. This highlights the complex relationship between international commitments and domestic priorities, underscoring the need for accountability mechanisms that consider countries' different starting points while ensuring all G20 members advance gender equality in alignment with their increasingly sophisticated declaration commitments.

The journey from commitments to implementation reveals a persistent reality gap in gender policy reform. There is a delay between high-level commitments and concrete reforms. As an example, India's G20 presidency in 2023—which secured an unprecedented number of gender commitments—and the absence of any implemented reforms by the end of 2024 illustrates a critical implementation lag that characterizes the journey from international commitments to domestic policy change.

This is not unique to India but represents a systemic challenge in translating G20 declarations into national legislative action. It's important to recognize that the

"The implementation of gender commitments relies on the willingness and specific circumstances of each country. Currently, there is no unified accountability mechanism in place. However, efforts are being made to establish one during South Africa's presidency, with the aim of creating a system to monitor the commitments adopted."

— Mabel Bianco, W20 Argentina Head of Delegation

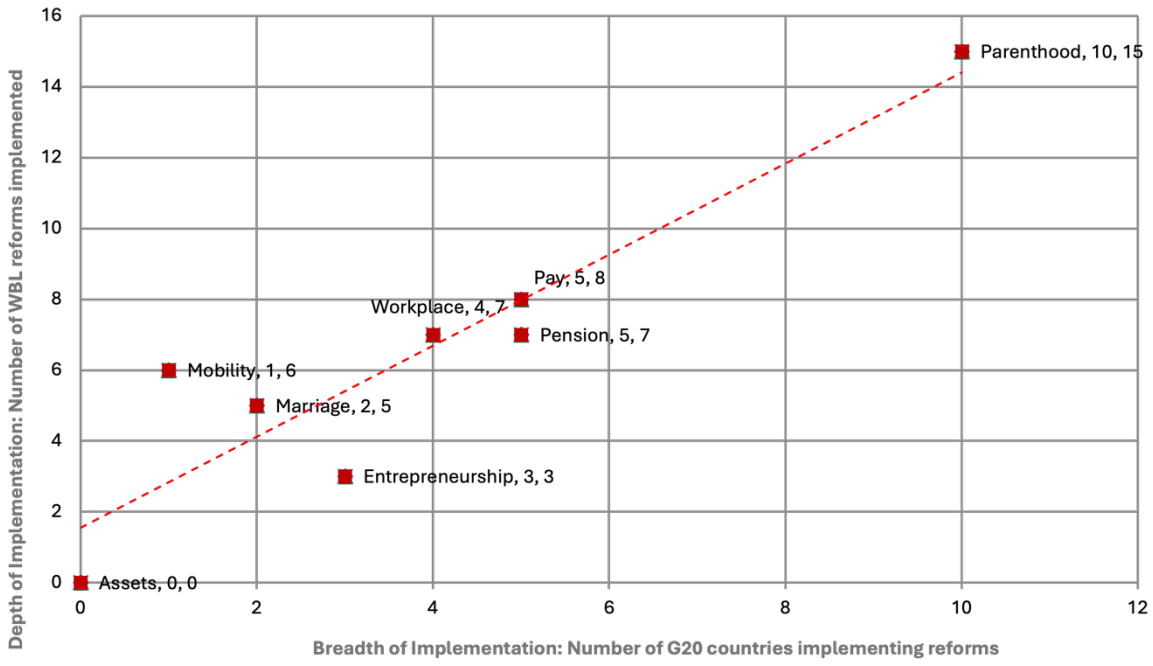
Women, Business and the Law indicators represent minimum standards—the legal floor, not the ceiling, for gender equality. They measure basic legal protections rather than the comprehensive policies needed for substantive equality. Furthermore, the reform patterns reveal a significant distinction in implementation difficulty: reforms that *remove* explicit discriminatory provisions (such as eliminating workplace restrictions) are

Table 4 - Distribution of G20 Gender Reforms Implementation Across Women, Business and the Law Indicators

	World Bank's Women, Business & the Law Gender Indicator Categories							
Reform Implementation	**Mobility**	**Workplace**	**Pay**	**Marriage**	**Parenthood**	**Entrepreneurship**	**Assets**	**Pension**
Countries Implementing	1	4	5	2	10	3	0	5
Reforms Implemented	6	7	8	5	15	3	0	7

Source: HKSWAN analysis

Figure 10. Breadth vs. Depth of WBL Policy Implementation in G20 Countries , 2015 - 2024



Source: HKSWAN analysis of Women, Business & the Law World Bank indicators, 2015 - 2024

generally implemented more swiftly than *enabling* reforms that require positive action and resource allocation (such as establishing childcare infrastructure or property rights protections). This implementation hierarchy helps explain why certain indicators show greater progress than others, with countries often prioritizing the removal of overt discrimination before addressing structural barriers that require more significant institutional change and financial investment.

This uneven distribution highlights the translation gap between G20 commitments and actual policy implementation. While declarations have evolved to address intersectional barriers to gender equality, reforms remain concentrated in specific domains, with critical gaps in others. This pattern underscores the need for more comprehensive implementation strategies that address the full spectrum of legal barriers to women's economic empowerment -particularly in politically challenging areas like property rights and structural economic inequalities- and developing the tools to measure them.

Section V revealed that while 84.2% of G20 countries implemented at least one gender-related reform, significant gaps remain, with zero implementation in critical areas like asset ownership. Having examined both how W20 recommendations influence G20 commitments and how G20 commitments drive national reforms, Section VI synthesizes these findings to identify strategic opportunities for strengthening the complete pathway from advocacy to implementation.



Photo credit: Tatiana Zanon

VI. Key Findings/Messages: Recommendations for the Next Ten Years

Having examined both how W20 recommendations influence G20 commitments (Section IV) and how G20 commitments drive national reforms (Section V), this analysis reveals systematic patterns in the pathway from civil society advocacy to policy implementation. These findings provide the foundation for strategic recommendations designed to enhance the W20's influence and strengthen the translation of international gender commitments into meaningful national action.

A. Critical Patterns in W20-G20 Gender Policy Dynamics

The Advocacy-Implementation Paradox: Success and Systematic Limitations

The most striking finding from this ten-year analysis is the significant gap between W20 advocacy efforts and G20 policy adoption. Of the 220 policy recommendations made by the W20 from 2015 to 2024, 74 were incorporated into G20 Leaders' Declarations, representing a 33.6% adoption rate. This figure reveals that two-thirds of W20's carefully crafted policy recommendations failed to gain traction at the highest levels of international economic governance. While this demonstrates that the W20 has achieved meaningful influence—securing adoption of nearly one-third of its recommendations and shape gender policy—it also highlights substantial room for improvement in advocacy effectiveness and raises questions about the barriers preventing broader policy uptake, including the global political climate.

Beyond the adoption gap lies an even more significant implementation challenge. Analysis using Women, Business and the Law indicators reveals substantial delays and gaps between G20 declarations and actual national policy reforms. Countries that actively participated in drafting gender-focused G20 commitments often failed to implement corresponding domestic policies (World Bank, 2015-2024), with some showing no measurable reforms despite years of declarations. This pattern suggests that the journey from international commitment to national implementation faces systemic barriers that may be more formidable than the initial challenge of securing G20 adoption of W20 recommendations.

Country-specific implementation patterns reveal the critical importance of domestic political context and starting baselines. Saudi Arabia stands out with 11 policy reforms implemented between 2019-2023, coinciding with its 2020 G20 presidency, suggesting that hosting responsibilities may reflect increased focus during domestic hosting responsibilities. However, several countries including Japan, Russia, and Mexico implemented zero measurable reforms throughout the entire decade despite participating in G20 gender commitments. Advanced economies generally showed fewer reforms, likely reflecting higher baselines of existing gender equality protections rather than lack of commitment, while the zero-reform countries raise questions about the disconnect between international participation and domestic implementation.

> *"Beyond submitting a strong communiqué, our main strategy was to focus on practical, on-the-ground initiatives that delivered real value to people. We didn't want our presidency to be limited to policy papers—we wanted to demonstrate impact."*
>
> — Dian Siswarini, W20 Indonesia Co-Head of Delegation

Policy change is inherently slow, and the full impact of W20 advocacy—particularly from recent presidencies—may not yet be fully captured in this analysis. The care economy exemplifies this challenge, requiring years of sustained advocacy to achieve recognition. Progress is also non-linear; some countries have experienced reversals in areas like sexual and reproductive health rights. The Women, Business and the Law index captures these dynamics by tracking all legal changes over time—both reforms and rollbacks—though reversals are not explicitly categorized separately. Instead, they appear in subsequent database updates, providing a comprehensive view of how gender-related legislation evolves, including both progress and setbacks.

Strategic Patterns and Effectiveness Over Time

The W20's advocacy effectiveness has varied across the decade, with peak performance followed by sustained decline. The group achieved its highest success rates during the Germany (2017) and Japan (2019) presidencies, with adoption rates of 60% and 64.7% respectively. However, since 2020, no presidency has achieved an adoption rate exceeding 33.3%, with Brazil's 2024 presidency marking the lowest point at 22.2%. This decline corresponds with the W20's evolution toward more comprehensive, intersectional approaches, though the relationship between advocacy approach and adoption success appears complex.

Adoption rates varied significantly across presidencies regardless of communiqué length. Germany achieved 60% adoption with 5 recommendations, Japan reached the highest rate of 64.7% with 17 recommendations, while Brazil achieved 22.2% with 36 recommendations. This variation shows that factors beyond recommendation volume influence advocacy effectiveness.

The W20's thematic evolution clearly responds to global events and emerging challenges, demonstrating the group's adaptability and relevance. Following the COVID-19 pandemic increased attention to care economy and health equity issues emerged. Climate justice emerged a priority area in 2023, coinciding with increased climate urgency. However, this thematic responsiveness has not led to proportionally higher adoption rates. This suggests that while global events create openings for new policy discussions, they do not automatically overcome the structural barriers to adoption and implementation.

Systemic Barriers and Structural Opportunities

The analysis reveals stark disparities in implementation success across different policy areas. Parenthood policies emerged as the clear success story, with 15 reforms implemented across 10 countries, followed by meaningful progress in pay equity (8 reforms) and pension rights (7 reforms). These areas appear to represent politically feasible reform areas where international commitments translate more readily into national action. Conversely, asset ownership rights represent a complete blind spot, with zero reforms implemented across all G20 countries despite the area's fundamental importance for women's economic empowerment. This pattern suggests that some policy domains may be more conducive to international advocacy and implementation than others, offering strategic insights for future W20 prioritization.

Despite a decade of advocacy, critical gaps persist in areas fundamental to women's economic empowerment. Gender-responsive budgeting and sex-disaggregated data collection—essential tools for measuring and addressing gender inequality—remain consistently underrepresented in G20 declarations despite repeated W20 recommendations. Similarly, the complete absence of asset ownership reforms across all countries represents a significant oversight, as property and land rights form a foundation for women's economic security. These persistent gaps suggest either that W20 advocacy in these areas has been insufficient or that these topics face particular resistance within G20 frameworks, considering the diversity of the nations represented.

The W20's experience over the decade illuminates both the potential and limitations of civil society engagement within multilateral governance frameworks. The group's ability to secure adoption of one-third of its recommendations demonstrates meaningful influence and suggests that engagement groups can effectively shape international discourse. However, the declining adoption rates, significant implementation gaps, and persistent blind spots by leaders and governments indicate structural barriers that may be inherent to the G20 system rather than simply reflecting advocacy shortcomings. This mixed record provides valuable insights for other civil society groups seeking to influence global governance processes and highlights the need for continued innovation in advocacy approaches within multilateral frameworks.

B. Strategic Framework for Enhanced Impact: Ten Recommendations for the Next Decade

The analytical patterns identified above reveal specific intervention points where strategic action can enhance W20 effectiveness. The declining adoption rates since 2020, implementation gaps across countries, and persistent blind spots in critical policy areas suggest systematic barriers that require targeted responses. The following recommendations directly address these evidence-based findings while building on observed success factors from high-performing presidencies prior to the global pandemic.

Institutional and Governance Reforms: Addressing the Structural Barriers that Limit Advocacy Effectiveness

1. **Institutionalize the W20 in G20 Governance and Processes**: The analysis reveals significant fragmentation between W20 advocacy efforts and G20 gender-focused programs (such as the Women Entrepreneurs Financing Initiative and EMPOWER Alliance), while adoption rates have declined from peak performance of 60-64.7% to consistently below 33.3% since 2020. Establishing a formalized role for the W20 within G20 decision-making processes may address this pattern. This would create structured engagement mechanisms that embed gender considerations at every policy development stage, moving beyond ad hoc advocacy approaches. This recommendation directly aligns with insights from W20 practitioners. As Linda Laura Sabbadini, Head of Delegations W20 Italy, emphasized: "Being involved from the very beginning of the working groups of G20, hold regular meetings, be a good listener and mediator, use new concepts, explain definitions, involve ministries, civil society, media during the process and not only at the end with the communiqué, so that women's voices rise up." This perspective validates the need for systematic rather than ad hoc engagement mechanisms.

> *"W20 is in a pivotal phase of growth, with exciting potential to enhance its impact. Establishing a dedicated secretariat, developing a robust governance framework, building capacity among delegates, and introducing accountability mechanisms are important steps that can strengthen its role as a trusted platform for advancing gender equity globally."*
>
> — Katharina Miller, W20 EU Delegate

2. **Strengthen Accountability Mechanisms**: The finding that 84.2% of G20 countries implemented reforms but with dramatic variation—from Saudi Arabia's 11 reforms to zero implementation in Japan, Russia, and Mexico—demonstrates the need for systematic tracking. An annual G20 Gender Accountability Framework addresses this implementation inconsistency through country-specific assessments and tailored recommendations, directly responding to the evidence that domestic political context often matters more than international commitments. The importance of accountability resonates throughout W20 leadership experience. As Adriana Carvalho, W20 Brazil Head of Delegation, noted: "In the long-term, our role as women of the W20 is to be the guardians and protectors of women's empowerment, human rights and women's social & economic rights. One of our roles is to monitor governments' policies, so that they are held accountable for the progress and advancement of women's conditions around the world." This accountability function becomes increasingly important as implementation gaps persist across member states.

3. **Align G20 Gender Initiatives with W20 Recommendations**: The analysis identifies a gap between existing G20 gender-focused initiatives (Women Entrepreneurs Financing Initiative, Business Women Leaders' Taskforce) and W20 advocacy priorities. Only 74 of 220 W20 recommendations achieved adoption, suggesting coordination mechanisms could enhance policy adoption. This recommendation directly addresses the fragmentation that limits policy uptake by creating structured feedback loops between W20 priorities and G20 implementation programs. The necessity of coordination is emphasized by W20 practitioners. As Uli Silalahi, Head of Delegation W20 Indonesia, noted: 'Collaboration is crucial and cannot be overstated—it is essential for achieving any meaningful progress. Future W20 presidencies must continue to prioritize collaboration across all levels.' This reinforces the importance of creating structured coordination mechanisms between W20 advocacy and G20 implementation programs.

Targeted Country and Implementation Support: Responding to Uneven Implementation Patterns and the 'Presidency Effect'

4. **Targeted Support for Countries with Minimal Progress**: The analysis reveals that Japan, Russia, and Mexico recorded zero measurable reforms throughout the entire decade despite participating in G20 gender commitments, while advanced economies generally showed fewer reforms due to higher baseline protections. This recommendation provides differentiated support—technical assistance and peer learning for countries showing genuine implementation gaps, while recognizing that minimal reform activity in some advanced economies may reflect existing comprehensive frameworks rather than lack of commitment.

5. **Mandate Gender Impact Assessments for G20 Policies**: The finding that only 109 of 571 total G20 commitments (19.1%) were gender-related, with just 49 (8.5%) containing actionable measures, demonstrates that gender considerations remain secondary in broader policy agendas. Mandatory Gender Impact Assessments directly address this marginalization by requiring systematic gender analysis across all G20 economic policies, ensuring gender considerations become integral rather than peripheral to policy development.

Addressing Identified Policy Gaps: Targeting Persistent Blind Spots Revealed Through Thematic Analysis

6. **Increasing Policy Attention on Gender Considerations in Policy Mainstreaming and Budgeting**: The analysis identifies gender-responsive budgeting and sex-disaggregated data collection as consistently underrepresented in G20 declarations despite repeated W20 recommendations. These represent essential foundational tools for measuring and addressing gender inequality yet remain critical gaps after a decade of advocacy. This recommendation directly addresses this persistent oversight by institutionalizing these mechanisms across all member states.

7. **Increasing Policy Attention on Women's Mobility**: The complete absence of mobility recommendations throughout the decade—zero policy recommendations across all presidencies—represents a major gap in addressing women's freedom of movement. This finding reveals a critical blind spot in W20 advocacy priorities, despite mobility being fundamental to women's economic empowerment. The recommendation responds by establishing comprehensive frameworks to address legal, cultural, and safety barriers that restrict women's movement.

8. **Increased Policy Attention on the WBL 'Marriage Indicator'**: The analysis reveals that marriage-related policies received minimal attention, with only 2 countries implementing 5 reforms in this area and just 1 policy recommendation over the past decade. Given that marriage rights form a foundation for women's economic security, this represents a significant underemphasis. The recommendation addresses this gap by advocating for elimination of discriminatory marriage laws that affect women's economic participation.

Structural and Strategic Enhancements: Leveraging Successful Patterns While Building Capacity for Challenging Areas

9. **Expand Public-Private Sector Collaboration**: While traditional government-focused advocacy achieved meaningful influence, the implementation gaps—particularly where countries participate in G20 commitments but fail to translate them into domestic reforms—suggest that alternative pathways may enhance effectiveness. The analysis shows that parenthood policies achieved the highest implementation success (15 reforms across 10 countries), often involving workplace policies where private sector engagement is crucial. Expanding corporate partnerships builds on this demonstrated success pattern while creating additional pressure points for policy implementation. The value of inclusive approaches is reflected in successful W20 experiences. As Linda Laura Sabbadini noted: "Listening to other women's organizations and civil society is one of the key results of the satisfaction and success of our W20 Italian Group. We have gathered more than 100 civil society organizations, in an inclusive and participatory process, where everyone felt heard and expressed their ideas, points of view and opinions." This collaborative model provides a framework for expanding private sector engagement while maintaining the inclusive principles that have driven W20 success. As Prof.

Narnia Bohler-Muller, W20 South Africa Head of Delegation stated: *"Sustainability and continuity of W20 can be fully realized with the mobilization of additional resources (finance, people, partners from the private sector), a well-managed W20 online platform for knowledge sharing and a collaboration space which is provided by iSAW."*

10. **Promote Legislative Commitments for Gender Equality**: The implementation analysis reveals that legal reforms represent the foundation for measurable progress, with the Women, Business and the Law framework tracking concrete legal changes that create minimum standards for women's economic participation. However, the variation from Saudi Arabia's 11 reforms to zero implementation in several countries demonstrates that aspirational declarations alone are insufficient. This recommendation responds by advocating for legally binding commitments that create enforceable obligations rather than relying solely on voluntary compliance with international declarations.

These recommendations directly address the evidence-based findings while building on observed success factors from the Germany and Japan presidencies, the presidency effect that catalyzed Saudi Arabia's reform surge, and the politically feasible reform territories like parenthood policies that show consistent implementation success. The framework recognizes both the W20's demonstrated capacity to influence international discourse and the need for enhanced mechanisms to bridge the persistent gap between international commitments and national implementation.

Beyond the specific recommendations outlined above, this study also underscores that the W20's ability to drive change depends on its own sustainability. The establishment and operationalization of a well-resourced Secretariat, coupled with strengthened partnerships, continuous knowledge sharing, and robust advocacy, were repeatedly identified as critical factors by W20 leaders. Investing in these elements will not only secure the W20's continuity but also amplify the impact of its recommendations over the next decade.

> *"We must advocate based on persuasive facts, build stronger coalitions, share recommendations and knowledge with other stakeholders' engagement groups, utilize social media channels, and promote best practices to advance entrepreneurship and economic opportunities for our communities and our countries. We must strategically position our agenda so that it is perceived as beneficial to all of society, and not seen as a zero-sum game."*
>
> — Virginia Littlejohn, W20 USA Co-Head of Delegation



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VII. Conclusion

This comprehensive analysis of the W20's first decade provides evidence of both significant achievements and areas for strategic improvement. The establishment of the W20 as a response to the 2014 Brisbane commitment has demonstrated the capacity of organized civil society engagement to influence multilateral economic governance frameworks. An opportunity exists during the W20 South African presidency to revisit the Brisbane goals.

The data reveals measurable impact: the W20 secured adoption of 74 of its 220 recommendations (33.6%) into G20 Leaders' Declarations, while 84.2% of G20 countries implemented at least one gender-related reform between 2014-2024. Early successes in areas like care economy recognition, digital inclusion advocacy, and parenthood policy reforms demonstrate the effectiveness of strategic engagement. The W20's adaptation to emerging challenges—from the COVID-19 pandemic response to climate justice and artificial intelligence policy development—illustrates organizational responsiveness and policy sophistication.

The analysis also identifies specific opportunities for enhanced effectiveness. Implementation patterns vary significantly across countries and policy domains, with parenthood reforms showing the highest success rates (15 reforms across 10 countries) while areas like asset ownership remain unaddressed. The concentration of reforms during hosting presidencies indicates that presidency engagement represents a strategic opportunity for catalyzing implementation.

The findings reveal a multi-stage pathway from W20 recommendations to G20 commitments to national implementation, with distinct success factors at each stage. Peak adoption rates during the Germany (2017) and Japan (2019) presidencies provide models for effective advocacy strategies, while implementation leaders like Saudi Arabia demonstrate how international commitments can drive substantial national policy reform.

Looking toward the next decade, the analysis identifies clear strategic directions. The establishment of the G20 Working Group on Women's Empowerment in 2023 and the evolution of G20 declarations toward comprehensive, intersectional approaches create institutional foundations for enhanced W20 influence. The Beijing+30 anniversary and SDG 5 assessment deadlines provide strategic timing for implementing the evidence-based recommendations emerging from this analysis.

The W20's first decade establishes a foundation of influence within global economic governance while identifying specific pathways for enhanced effectiveness. The strategic recommendations developed from this analysis provide actionable approaches for strengthening advocacy impact, improving accountability mechanisms, and addressing implementation gaps. As W20 South Africa takes the lead at this critical juncture, these findings offer guidance for maximizing the W20's contribution to global gender equality progress in its second decade of operation.

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IX. ANNEXES

A. METHODOLOGY 49

B. **HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE 10-YEAR JOURNEY OF W20 RECOMMENDATIONS BY PRESIDENCY** 53

2015 - The Presidency of Türkiye 53

2016 - The Presidency of China 53

2017 - The Presidency of Germany 53

2018 - The Presidency of Argentina 53

2019 - The Presidency of Japan 54

2020 - The Presidency of Saudi Arabia 54

2021 - The Presidency of Italy 54

2022 - The Presidency of Indonesia 55

2023 - The Presidency of India 55

2024 - The Presidency of Brazil 55

C. W20 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS BY PRESIDENCY AND THEME (2015-2024) - COMPLETE DATASET OF 220 RECOMMENDATIONS 57

D. GENDER-RELATED PARAGRAPHS FROM G20 LEADERS' DECLARATIONS (2015-2024) - COMPLETE DATASET OF 109 PARAGRAPHS 78

E. LIST OF KEY THEMES 89

F. WOMEN BUSINESS AND THE LAW FULL QUESTIONNAIRE 90

G. TESTIMONIALS FROM W20 LEADERS 93

A. Methodology

Research Context and Rationale

This research stems from the 2014 Brisbane G20 Summit, where leaders committed to reducing the gender gap in labor force participation by 25% by 2025, aiming to bring 100 million women into the workforce and promote gender equality and inclusive economic growth. The W20 (Women 20) was established as a result of this commitment to advocate for gender equality and women's economic empowerment. Since then, W20 has continuously recommended gender-focused policies to G20 leaders, creating a decade-long dataset for analyzing how effective civil society advocacy is within multilateral frameworks.

The analysis focuses on G20 recommendation commitments, examining gender-related declarations and policies from 2015 to 2024 and how they were translated into G20 countries' national policies. This assessment addresses a critical gap in understanding how international advocacy translates into concrete policy outcomes by tracking the pathway from civil society recommendations to national implementation.

Layered Analytical Approach

This study uses a layered analytical approach with two interconnected analytical layers that trace the complete pathway from advocacy to implementation. This methodology recognizes that effective gender advocacy requires success at multiple points within the international policymaking process. Civil society organizations must first influence international commitments, which must then drive national policy changes that ultimately improve women's economic opportunities and rights. By examining both translation points systematically, this research provides insights into how effective engagement group advocacy is within multilateral frameworks and contributes to understanding civil society influence in global governance.

Data Sources and Document Types

This study analyzes two distinct types of policy documents representing different stages in the international policymaking process. The analysis examines W20 communiqués and G20 Leaders' Declarations from each G20 presidency over the past ten years, focusing specifically on how W20 policy recommendations are adopted into G20 leadership commitments.

W20 communiqués show the consolidated advocacy positions of civil society organizations, developed through extensive consultation processes involving women's organizations across G20 member countries (Women 20, 2015-2024). These documents articulate policy recommendations that the W20 network seeks to influence into official G20 commitments through engagement with Sherpa processes, ministerial meetings, and direct advocacy during summit negotiations.

G20 Leaders' Declarations are the official policy outcomes of annual summits, reflecting negotiated agreements among heads of state from the world's major economies (G20, 2015-2024). These declarations represent the highest level of political commitment within the G20 framework and serve as the main indicator of whether civil society recommendations achieve adoption into international policy commitments.

As noted throughout this analysis, beyond W20 recommendations, the G20 has also adopted additional gender-related commitments not included in W20 communiqués, reflecting influence from other engagement groups and stakeholder organizations. However, this methodology focuses specifically on G20 leadership commitments derived from W20 recommendations, measuring the direct pathway from civil society advocacy to international policy adoption and subsequent national implementation.

The analysis draws on the Women, Business and the Law database to provide objective measurement of national policy implementation through systematic tracking of legal reforms affecting women's economic opportunities across all G20 member countries during the study period (2015-2024). Launched in 2010, the WBL project systematically tracks the legal environment affecting women's economic participation across countries and over time, capturing both progressive reforms and any reversals or backtracking of policies. Rather than explicitly labeling backtracking as a separate category, rollbacks are reflected in subsequent database updates, ensuring that WBL data reflects the most current legal context and enables observation of both progress and setbacks in gender-related laws.

The WBL framework has evolved significantly during the study period. From 2015-2023, it employed a de jure methodology analyzing laws "on the books" across eight indicators: Mobility, Workplace, Pay, Marriage, Parenthood, Entrepreneurship, Assets, and Pension. In 2024, WBL expanded to ten indicators with the addition of Safety and Childcare, while fundamentally shifting

methodology to include de facto assessment examining policy and institutional frameworks supporting implementation and expert perceptions of legal enforcement extent.

Layer One: Document Analysis and Commitment Identification

The first layer involved detailed document review and familiarization with relevant materials, including identification of additional resources beyond Women, Business and the Law. This process analyzed G20 Leaders' Declarations and W20 communiqués from 2015 to 2024 through systematic keyword scanning using terms such as "equality," "women," "gender," "girls," and "sex" to assess gender-related commitments across all documents.

W20 recommendation extraction involved identifying all policy proposals within communiqués, applying broad inclusion criteria to capture both explicit recommendations and implicit policy suggestions regardless of their location within documents. This approach recognizes that advocacy documents often embed policy proposals within contextual discussions rather than presenting them solely as formal recommendation lists. Each identified recommendation was coded as an individual analytical unit to enable systematic comparison with G20 commitments.

The keyword scanning process facilitated identification of women-specific commitments and key themes in both W20 communiqués and G20 Leaders' Declarations. Qualitative content analysis determined substantive alignment between W20 recommendations and G20 commitments, applying consistent adoption criteria across all presidencies that required thematic alignment rather than identical language while maintaining rigorous standards for determining meaningful correspondence between advocacy positions and international commitments.

Layer Two: Commitment Quality Assessment and Implementation Tracking

The second layer evaluated commitment strength, distinguishing between strong commitments that contain concrete policy specifications and actionable measures, and weak commitments that offer rhetorical support without substantive policy content. This assessment used systematic identification of action language markers within G20 declarations, such as "we commit to," "we will," and "we endorse," to differentiate between aspirational statements and concrete policy pledges.

Commitments were categorized into thematic areas including women's empowerment, sustainable livelihoods, and globalization benefits, with systematic identification of trends including changes in vocabulary, scope, and thematic inclusion over the decade. This categorization showed the evolution of G20 gender commitments from narrow economic frameworks toward comprehensive, intersectional approaches addressing structural barriers to gender equality.

Implementation Assessment Through WBL Indicator Mapping

National implementation assessment employed a comprehensive mapping framework that systematically tracks how international commitments translate into national legal and policy reforms. This framework utilizes the WBL's life-cycle approach to examine how laws and policies affect women as economic actors across different stages of their working lives, providing a rigorous mechanism for assessing the real-world impact of international gender equality commitments.

The mapping process employs binary coding to indicate the presence or absence of reforms related to specific commitment areas, while acknowledging the complex nature of policy implementation and potential time lags between international declarations and national policy changes. Timeline analysis examined the relationship between G20 declaration content and subsequent national reforms, recognizing that policy implementation may extend beyond immediate timeframes following international commitments.

This approach recognizes that legal reforms represent minimum standards rather than comprehensive measures of gender equality progress, while providing consistent comparison of implementation patterns across countries and time periods.

Data Quality and Validation Procedures

Content analysis consistency was improved through systematic coding protocols applied consistently across all documents, with particular attention to maintaining consistent standards for recommendation identification and adoption determination across different presidencies and political contexts.

Data triangulation involved cross-verification of findings with multiple sources where available, supplemented by qualitative interviews with W20 chairs and key stakeholders involved in communiqué drafting and G20 engagement processes. These interviews provided contextual understanding of advocacy strategies, negotiation dynamics, and perceived factors that enabled or inhibited adoption of W20 recommendations into G20 commitments.

Bias mitigation strategies included systematic inclusion of all W20 recommendations regardless of policy domain or perceived political feasibility, consistent application of adoption criteria across all presidencies without regard to geopolitical considerations, and transparent acknowledgment of measurement limitations inherent in the analytical framework. The research maintains explicit documentation of coding decisions and analytical choices to enable verification and replication of findings.

Qualitative On-line interviews with Heads and Co-Heads of Delegations of the W20 2015-2024

As part of the Methodology, online interviews were conducted with Heads and Co-Heads of Delegations from W20 presidencies spanning Argentina, Brazil, the European Union, Indonesia, Italy, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, and the United States of America. The objective of these interviews was to obtain first-hand perspectives on advocacy work during the G20 Summits. Interviewees shared their overall experiences, feedback, and reflections on strategies that proved effective—or less so—in influencing global leaders to incorporate W20 policy recommendations into G20 leaders' declarations. The discussions also highlighted lessons learned and avenues for future improvement.

Limitations and Methodological Considerations

This methodology has several important limitations that inform how findings should be interpreted. The Women, Business and the Law framework measures minimum legal standards rather than comprehensive gender equality indicators, potentially underestimating the full scope of gender policy progress while providing consistent measurement. The analysis captures formal legal reforms but cannot assess implementation effectiveness, enforcement quality, or real-world impact on women's lives.

The significant evolution of the WBL framework during the study period creates important considerations for comparative analysis. The 2024 expansion from eight to ten indicators and methodological shift from de jure to de facto assessment means that final-year data represents a more comprehensive assessment measuring both legal existence and practical implementation, while the preceding nine years focus solely on legal frameworks. For this study's purposes of tracking legal reform adoption following G20 commitments, this evolution is acknowledged while recognizing that the focus on legal reform adoption remains consistent across the measurement period.

Determining causation presents challenges in policy research, as national reforms may result from multiple influences beyond G20 commitments, including domestic political dynamics, international legal obligations, civil society pressure, and economic incentives. The binary coding system necessarily simplifies complex policy phenomena, potentially missing nuanced degrees of influence or partial adoption.

The focus on formal declarations and documented legal reforms may underestimate informal influence pathways and policy changes occurring outside formal legal frameworks. Finally, policy implementation lags may extend beyond the study timeframe, potentially underestimating the impact of more recent G20 commitments on national policy development. Future research examining longer timeframes would provide more complete assessment of advocacy influence, particularly given WBL's enhanced capability to assess actual implementation rather than solely legal frameworks.

HKSWAN – W20 Delegates - Interview Schedule

Year of Presidency	Country/ Delegation	Full Name of Person for 10-Year Report	2025 Title/Role	Point of Contact HKSWAN Team	Invitation Sent (date)	Interview Scheduled (Date)	Interviewers	Interview Done (Y/N)
2015	Turkiye	Gulden Turktan	Head of Delegation	Meriem	04/11/2025			No
2016	China	Lyu Manzhu	Head of Delegation	None	Unable to Contact			No
2017	Germany	Caroline Ausserer	Head of Delegation	Carmen	04/11/2025			No
2018	Argentina	Mabel Bianco	Head of Delegation	Carmen	04/11/2025	April 24, 11am Buenos Aires time (10 am ET)	Carmen	Yes
2019	Japan	Ayaka Matsuno	Co-Head of Delegation	Meriem	04/11/2025			No
2020	Saudi Arabia	Miznah Alomair	Head of Delegation	Meriem	04/11/2025	April 24, 3pm Paris time (9am ET)	Meriem, Gaia	Yes
2021	Italy	Linda Laura	W20 Delegate	Gaia	04/11/2025	April 23, 18pm Paris time (12pm ET)	Gaia	Yes
2021	Italy	Katia Petrini	Head of Delegation	Gaia	04/11/2025			
2022	Indonesia	Uli Silalahi	Head of Delegation	Eniola	04/11/2025	April 23, 9.30am Lagos time (4:30am ET)	Eniola, Nathalie	Yes
2022	Indonesia	Dian Siswarini	Co-Head of Delegation	Eniola	04/15/2025	April 23, 9.30am Lagos time (4:30am ET)	Eniola, Nathalie	Yes
2023	India	Sandhya Purecha	Head of Delegation	Gaia	04/11/2025			No
2024	Brazil	Adriana Carvalho	Head of Delegation	Gaia	04/11/2025	April 23, 19.30pm Paris time (1:30pm ET)	Gaia	Yes
2025	South Africa	Narnia Bohler Muller	Head of Delegation & Co-Chair	Nathalie	04/11/2025	April 17, 1:00 PM SAST (7am ET)	Nathalie, Meriem	Yes
2025	South Africa	Sibulele Poswayo	Co-Chair	Nathalie	04/11/2025	April 24, 8:30 AM SAST (3:30 am ET)	Nathalie	Yes
2026 (expected)	United States	Virginia Littlejohn	Co-Head of Delegation	Nathalie	04/11/2025	April 25, 10:00 AM ET	Nathalie, Gaia	Yes
2026 (expected)	United States	Anne Simmons-Benton	Co-Head of Delegation	Nathalie	04/11/2025	April 25, 10:00 AM ET	Nathalie, Gaia	Yes
N/A	European Union	Tamara Dancheva	Head of Delegation	Nathalie	04/23/2025	N/A	N/A	
N/A	European Union	Katharina Miller	W20 Delegate	Nathalie	04/23/2025	April 25, 07:00 AM GMT	Nathalie	Yes
N/A	European Union	Anne Ravanona	W20 Delegate	Nathalie	04/23/2025	April 28, 10:00 AM GMT	Nathalie	Yes
N/A	African Union	Chioniso Michelle (TBC)	TBC	Nathalie	04/15/2025			No

Source: HKSWAN Drafting Team

B. Highlights from the 10-Year Journey of W20 Recommendations by Presidency

2015 - The Presidency of Türkiye

In 2015, with its first policy recommendations, the W20 made significant progress in highlighting key issues, such as the need to develop infrastructure for social care and promote women's leadership in green growth, with a strong focus on women's work. The W20 also introduced a monitoring framework. While the G20 Leaders' Declaration welcomed the establishment of Women20, it didn't provide concrete steps for advancing the gender equity goals advocated by the W20. The G20 recognized the need to reduce the gender participation gap and the challenges faced by rural women and youth. However, it did not include specific targets or scorecards to measure progress on these issues or mention girls or women's economic empowerment.

2016 - The Presidency of China

In 2016, the W20 Communiqué maintained a strong focus on women's employment and a specific section addressing women's role in the digital economy. For the first time, the W20 called for the integration of gender mainstreaming into macroeconomic policies and the introduction of gender-responsive budgeting.

In their Leader's Declaration, the G20 highlighted the importance of women in relating that economic growth generates quality jobs, addresses inequalities, and helps alleviate poverty. There was also a strong emphasis on women and youth regarding equitable access to finance and industrialization efforts. Notably, the W20 encouraged inclusive sourcing policies to incorporate more women as suppliers in local and global value chains. While the G20 did not set a target for this recommendation, it did express support for policies encouraging women entrepreneurs to fully leverage global value chains.

2017 - The Presidency of Germany

In 2017, the G20 Leaders' Declaration made multiple achievements in recognizing gender issues in their commitments. It was the first time the Declaration mentioned women's empowerment and identified it as a prerequisite for sustainable and inclusive growth.

A concise W20 communiqué featured specific asks and compelling language that challenged the idea that gender-blind policies lead to gender-neutral outcomes. This communiqué had a clear call to integrate gender analysis and budgeting into the G20 agenda and policy frameworks, emphasizing the need for gender-disaggregated data. Additionally, it was the first time stereotypes and biases were identified as barriers to women's agency.

The Leaders' Declaration reflected multiple W20 recommendations, including the Brisbane commitment and further actions to enhance the quality of women's employment through education and training, and providing women with protection from all forms of violence. The G20 acknowledged the need to bridge the gender digital divide; however, there was no adoption of a five-year plan as recommended by the W20. Similarly, the G20 recognized the role of digitalization and access to ICT and STEM training and occupations in advancing women's and girls' empowerment. They also introduced two initiatives to support women's financial inclusion and access to capital and markets aligned with W20 recommendations to tap into the potential of women entrepreneurs.

2018 - The Presidency of Argentina

In 2018, the G20 recognized that gender equality is essential for economic growth and sustainable development. One of the pillars of the G20 work in that year was a focus on gender mainstreaming strategy across the G20 agenda. The W20 called for the creation of specific implementation plans, and statistical systems with gender-disaggregated data that considered women in all their diversity. The Communiqué also had a dedicated section to the development of rural women, which did not reflect the G20 commitments.

For the first time, the G20 committed to providing access to quality and affordable care infrastructure and parental leave, aligned with the W20 recommendations to increase and improve women's labor force participation. The G20 also pledged to promote women's access to leadership and decision-making positions,

take initiatives aimed at tackling all forms of discrimination and gender-based violence, and support girls' education.

As in previous years, the G20 reiterated the need to bridge the digital gender divide and committed to developing digital skills and increased participation in STEM for women and girls. However, while the G20 committed to continue working on artificial intelligence, they missed the opportunity to incorporate the W20's call for ensuring women's participation in the development of algorithms to avoid gender bias.

2019 - The Presidency of Japan

In 2019, the G20 reaffirmed the importance of gender equality and recognized it as a cross-cutting issue. One key achievement was establishing an annual report to track progress and actions taken by G20 members towards the Brisbane goal, including the quality of jobs.

The G20 continued to acknowledge the gender gap in unpaid care work, highlighting it as a significant barrier to women's labor force participation. The Declaration included more nuanced language regarding the need to combat gender stereotypes, particularly raising awareness and eliminating stereotypes in education and training. This was a key recommendation in the G20 Communiqué, which called for promoting education on gender equality in schools and workplaces to eradicate gender stereotypes and biases.

Furthermore, the G20 incorporated a focus on the needs of women living in poverty and rural areas when addressing access to digital technology. There was also mention of gender-based violence within the digital context; however, there were no other specific commitments related to violence against women and girls (VAWG), which had been a focus area in the G20 2019 Communiqué.

During this year, the W20 introduced the notion of women's access and control over resources and services when discussing financial inclusion and entrepreneurship. It also encouraged the incorporation of gender factors in investment analysis and decisions. While the G20 did not delve deeply into this theme, they did recognize the private sector's efforts in advancing women's leadership and making gender-responsive investments.

2020 - The Presidency of Saudi Arabia

In 2020, the W20 called on G20 leaders to pave the way for equitable economic recovery. The Declaration recognized the disproportionate economic and social effects on women. It also reaffirmed the importance of women's and girls' empowerment as a cross-cutting issue and driver of economic growth. However, it did not incorporate key measures such as adopting gender-responsive budgeting, ensuring women's representation in decision-making, and needed investments in social infrastructure and research, including the collection of sex-disaggregated data.

The Declaration's gender-relevant commitments focused on women's empowerment and education. The G20 committed to protecting and promoting decent jobs and adaptive social protection for all, as well as removing barriers to women's economic participation and entrepreneurship. The Declaration stressed the actions to mitigate the COVID-19 pandemic impacts and the key role of quality education for girls in unlocking economic opportunities and tackling inequalities. While the Declaration mentioned efforts to combat stereotypes and address unequal distribution of unpaid work and care responsibilities, it did not include specific recommendations, such as the proposed implementation of mandatory paid parental leave schemes or actions to foster a transformative shift in stereotypical social norms and gender norms.

2021 - The Presidency of Italy

In 2021, the G20 Leaders' Declaration emphasized the need to address the adverse impacts of the pandemic, particularly on those most impacted, including women, and recognized women's role across various cross-cutting themes. For instance, the W20 provided concrete recommendations regarding environmental sustainability, which the G20 partially addressed by committing to support intermediary cities in empowering women, youth, migrants, and refugees.

The G20 committed to ensuring the continuity of health services and national health systems, emphasizing the rise in violence against women and girls. One key achievement was the incorporation of providing access to sexual and reproductive health services, with a focus on women and girls. This aligned with the G20's focus on health equity and gender medicine. However,

the Declaration did not mention specific recommendations related to gender medicine or gender-sensitive public healthcare systems.

The G20 briefly reaffirmed multiple commitments around gender equality and women's empowerment, mentioning that women and girls would be at the center of recovery efforts. They briefly acknowledged four out of seven focus areas of the W20 Communiqué: women's entrepreneurship, elimination of gender-based violence, overcoming cultural stereotypes, and the recognition of unpaid care and domestic work. However, there is an opportunity to incorporate more specific recommendations from W20, such as encouraging men and boys to take action on gender equality. Lastly, although the Declaration had a dedicated section on data for development and recognizing existing data gaps, it did not incorporate the W20 cross-cutting recommendation to use gender-sensitive and disaggregated data.

2022 - The Presidency of Indonesia

In 2022, the G20 continued to recognize the disproportionate impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and other crises on women. One key achievement was the G20's commitment to promoting quality of life for women in rural areas and women with disabilities. The W20 identified these two groups as two of the five priority areas in their Communiqué.

The Declaration reaffirmed the G20's commitment to set gender equality and women's empowerment at the center of efforts to achieve an inclusive recovery and sustainable development. In particular, the Declaration had a strong focus on financial inclusion and access to digital technologies. For instance, it underlined the need to mitigate the adverse impact of automation and digital technologies on the labor market and the need to leverage digital technologies to promote gender equality.

Although the Declaration mentioned women and girls as a cross-cutting priority, it did not include any specific recommendations from the W20 Communiqué around key themes, including non-discrimination, healthcare for women and girls, and the proposed monitoring and reporting mechanisms for assessing the results of G20 gender-relevant actions taken on commitments.

2023 - The Presidency of India

In 2023, the W20 Communiqué outlined five key priority areas, and this was the first occasion grassroots leadership had a dedicated focus. The G20 Leaders' Declaration emphasized three of the W20's priority areas: enhancing economic and social empowerment, bridging the gender digital divide, and driving gender-inclusive climate action. The G20 also decided to establish a new Working Group on the Empowerment of Women, representing a positive step forward in their commitment to gender equality.

A significant milestone was the G20's commitment to halving the digital gender gap by 2030, which included several of the W20's specific recommendations, such as addressing gender norms and barriers and addressing potential risks from increased digitalization for women and girls. Another achievement was the G20's acknowledgment that gender equality must be central to climate action, alongside its first reference to gender-responsive policies in relation to climate action, the digital economy, and food systems.

Despite these advancements, gaps still exist. While the Declaration frequently mentioned women's participation and decision-making, it did not address women's grassroots leadership or include specific commitments in this theme. For instance, the W20 recommended implementing a minimum quota for one-third of women's representation to progressively achieve the 50 percent representation goal for 2030.

2024 - The Presidency of Brazil

In 2024, the G20 supported women-led development in line with the W20's request to put women at the center of all development processes. The Leaders' Declaration reaffirmed their commitment to closing the gender pay gap and directly included three of the five priority areas from the W20 Communiqué: the care economy, women in STEM, and ending violence against women and girls. For instance, they agreed to advocate and promote responsible AI for improving women's empowerment. In addition, the G20 reaffirmed its commitment to policies to dismantle discriminatory social and cultural norms and legal barriers to ensure women's participation, aligning with the W20 ask to change norms, attitudes, and behaviors that perpetuate gender inequality.

While the G20 acknowledged key themes from the W20 recommendations and used more inclusive language, it did not include specific proposals from the W20. For example, the G20 did not commit to measuring the progress of G20 investments in women, ensuring the collection of sex-disaggregated data, or making investments or policy changes such as the paid parental leave schemes. Additionally, while the G20 recognized that all women and girls face specific barriers, they failed to recognize Afro-descendant and Indigenous women, as well as women from rural communities and with disabilities.

C. W20 Policy Recommendations by Presidency and Theme (2015-2024) - Complete Dataset of 220 Recommendations

Year	Presidency	W20 Recommendation	
	Country	Section/Category	Policy Recommendation
2015	Turkey	Women's Economic Empowerment	1- Address women's economic empowerment through strengthening linkages between education, employment and entrepreneurship
2015	Turkey	Social Care	2- Support work and life balance by developing and/or improving infrastructural mechanisms for social care (child, elderly, sick and disable care)
2015	Turkey	Women's Leadership	3- Increase the number of women both in public and private sector leadership positions
2015	Turkey	Access to Finance and Markets	4- Ensure women's access to financial and productive assets as well as to markets
2015	Turkey	Women's Work	5- Eliminate workplace discrimination, enforce legal rights and promote equal opportunities
2015	Turkey	Women's Networks	6- Strengthen women's economic, social and political networks
2015	Turkey	Women Entrepreneurs	7- Support women-owned enterprises and innovation
2015	Turkey	Sustainable Development	8- Promote women's leadership in creating sustainable consumption patterns and green growth
2015	Turkey	Social Protection	9- Deliver adequate social protection and improve working conditions for women
2015	Turkey	Monitoring Framework	10- In order to develop a monitoring framework, based on available data sets and empirical studies, the G20 should develop a scorecard (using the following indicators…)
2016	China	A Gender Equality Perspective in Global Economic Governance	1-Eliminate all forms of discrimination against women, promote women's economic empowerment and participation, and work to integrate gender perspectives into all activities of G20;
2016	China	A Gender Equality Perspective in Global Economic Governance	2- Integrate gender mainstreaming into macroeconomic policies, and gender perspectives into global economic governance, and implement and advocate for gender-responsive budgeting;
2016	China	A Gender Equality Perspective in Global Economic Governance	3- Study the negative impacts and cost of violence against women on national economy, and adopt and ensure the implementation of laws and measures to prevent and eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls and to ensure safety in public and private spaces to facilitate their economic participation,
2016	China	A Gender Equality Perspective in Global Economic Governance	4- Take effective measures to increase opportunities for equal representation of women in decision-making and leadership positions in both public and private sectors and in the composition of G20 delegations.
2016	China	A Gender Equality Perspective in Global Economic Governance	5- Significantly increase financing for gender equality and women's empowerment to reduce the gender gap in development policies as called for in the Addis Ababa Action Agenda;

2016	China	A Gender Equality Perspective in Global Economic Governance	6- Take special measures to encourage inclusive sourcing policies by governments and by corporations to include more women as suppliers in local and global value chains by establishing baseline data, setting targets and reporting on progress.
2016	China	Women's Employment and Entrepreneurship and Social Protection	7- Request G20 Labor and Employment Ministers to work with the W20 on the implementation of the agreed target of reducing female labor force participation gap by 25% by 2025, and urge member states to publish their strategies towards the target and adopt a transparent and rigorous monitoring process
2016	China	Women's Employment and Entrepreneurship and Social Protection	8- Strengthen the legal framework and its enforcement in order to eliminate the gender wage gap, improve women's employment opportunities, working conditions and benefits, promote reconciliation of work and family life and strengthen the social security systems in order to increase female labor force participation, recognise and regulate all forms of new and flexible work and ensure adequate social protection;
2016	China	Women's Employment and Entrepreneurship and Social Protection	9- Continue to increase social infrastructure investments for care of children, the elderly, the disabled and the sick. Take active measures to encourage equal sharing of family responsibilities between women and men;
2016	China	Women's Employment and Entrepreneurship and Social Protection	10- Make a commitment to systematically recognizing and measuring all forms of work and embark on national income accounting that includes unpaid care work;
2016	China	Women's Employment and Entrepreneurship and Social Protection	11- Encourage the B20 to foster gender equality and good governance in the private sector, including, inter alia, calling on companies to implement the United Nations Women's Empowerment Principles and report on progress;
2016	China	Women's Employment and Entrepreneurship and Social Protection	12- Support entrepreneurship and launch specific programs to help women overcome business start-up barriers, grow and sustain their businesses, including through trade. Improve women's access to credit and other means of production, and the provision of relevant training, information services and technical support;
2016	China	Women's Employment and Entrepreneurship and Social Protection	13- Ensure women's equal access to and ownership of land and assets, and their access to water and energy, food security and nutrition, quality infrastructure. Encourage rural women's role in the improvement of global food security by promoting investment in agriculture and food systems;
2016	China	Women's Employment and Entrepreneurship and Social Protection	14- Encourage women and girls in the study of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM), finance, entrepreneurial, green and creative industries, including life-long learning in STEM jobs;
2016	China	Women's Employment and Entrepreneurship and Social Protection	15- Enable women's engagement in cross-border trade and participation in global economic development;
2016	China	Women's Employment and Entrepreneurship and Social Protection	16- Provide economic and trade incentives for businesses that are at least 51% owned, managed and controlled by one or more women.
2016	China	Women's Employment and Entrepreneurship and Social	17- Provide incentives to investors, and in particular to women investors, who support women-owned or led companies.

		Protection	
2016	China	Women's Role in the Digital Economy	18- Encourage and support women and girls in their efforts to seize the opportunity brought by the New Industrial Revolution and to actively participate in and benefit from the digital economy;
2016	China	Women's Role in the Digital Economy	19- Invest in the digital empowerment of women and girls and encourage public and private investment in women-led digital ventures;
2016	China	Women's Role in the Digital Economy	20- Conduct gender analysis of the impact of the digital economy on the labor market and on labor rights, and implement policies favorable to women for their entrepreneurship and employment in the digital economy era.
2016	China	Interconnected and Innovative Women's Network	21- Support and strengthen capacity building of women's networks nationally, regionally and internationally;
2016	China	Interconnected and Innovative Women's Network	22- Strengthen trans-national and cross-regional exchanges between women's organizations and women's professional associations as well as their cooperation with governmental institutions, workers' and employers' organizations and relevant intergovernmental organizations.
2017	Germany	Putting Gender Equality at the Core of the G20	1- Systematically integrate gender analysis and gender budgeting into all its agenda, growth strategy and policy frameworks.
2017	Germany	Putting Gender Equality at the Core of the G20	2- Advance member state policies towards the '25 by 25' target set by G20 for reducing the gender labor participation gap, resulting in a 25 per cent improvement by 2025, by putting forward national plans of actions and monitoring its progress with support from the OECD and the ILO.
2017	Germany	Putting Gender Equality at the Core of the G20	3- Supports women entrepreneurs and female cooperatives to start up and scale their operations, build capacity, ensure their equal access to finance and markets, and accord them their fair share in global value chains.
2017	Germany	Putting Gender Equality at the Core of the G20	4- Bridge the widening digital gender divide and take inspiration from the 'Women's Initiative in Developing STEM Career (WINDS)' by setting up a comprehensive 5-year plan for gender-equal digital transformation,
2017	Germany	Putting Gender Equality at the Core of the G20	5- Ensure access to the G20 negotiation tracks and G20 Sherpa meetings. We will remain a driving force for accelerating progress on the G20 commitment of "women's full economic and social participation"
2018	Argentina	Increase and Improve Women's Participation in the Labor Force	1- Accelerating the pace of implementation of the 2014 Brisbane commitment to reduce the gender gap in labor force participation by 25 percent by 2025 by developing and funding National Plans and reporting the progress on an annual basis.
2018	Argentina	Increase and Improve Women's Participation in the Labor Force	2- Investing public funds to ensure affordable, quality and professionalized universal care services for people with dependents, including those in the informal sector.
2018	Argentina	Increase and Improve Women's Participation in the Labor Force	3- Implementing policies for mandatory paid parental leave schemes by 2025 that include non-transferable entitlements for a second caregiver to promote shared responsibility of care work and a better work-life balance.

2018	Argentina	Increase and Improve Women's Participation in the Labor Force	4- Eliminating all forms of discrimination against women, particularly in laws and regulations on access to and control of land, assets and resources and promoting mechanisms to guarantee equal pay for work of equal value.
2018	Argentina	Increase and Improve Women's Participation in the Labor Force	5- Strengthening and enforcing regulations, ensuring equal access to justice, as well as supporting international processes leading to setting standards on “ending violence and harassment in the world of work” in order to protect women from all forms of violence, including online violence.
2018	Argentina	Increase and Improve Women's Participation in the Labor Force	6- Analyzing the Future of Work from a gender perspective and design policies to ensure equitable impact. Major trends such as the gig economy, automation and machine learning should be addressed in terms of their gender-specific impact, focusing on the social protection and labor rights of women workers.
2018	Argentina	Guarantee Women's Financial Inclusion	7- Ensuring equal access to credit, financial services, equity and markets for women, and designing initiatives to improve women’s financial and legal literacy and entrepreneurial capacity.
2018	Argentina	Guarantee Women's Financial Inclusion	8- Enhancing transparency and supporting measures for public procurement contracts awarded to women-owned and women-led businesses and increasing their share by a minimum of 10 percent taking into consideration the situation of each G20 country.
2018	Argentina	Guarantee Women's Financial Inclusion	9- Using and promoting alternative forms of credit scoring, including alternative data to evaluate MSMEs credit worthiness in order to increase women's access to financial services.
2018	Argentina	Ensure Women's Digital Inclusion	10- Developing holistic and cross-sectoral policies that abolish the barriers to women's access and use of digital technologies and the internet, especially in rural and remote areas. Improve access, affordability, safety and security of digital services, broadband and connectivity plans, and the availability of relevant content and services, while taking into consideration women in all their diversity.
2018	Argentina	Ensure Women's Digital Inclusion	11- Guaranteeing inclusive educational programs through the promotion and investment in initiatives that boost equal participation of women and girls in STEAM studies (Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts and Mathematics) and support women’s digital rights and citizenship.
2018	Argentina	Ensure Women's Digital Inclusion	12- Ensuring women's participation in the development and modification of algorithms in artificial intelligence in order to avoid gender bias.
2018	Argentina	Foster the Development of Rural Women	13- Securing women’s access to comprehensive and gender responsive social services, including education, health and legal services in rural areas.
2018	Argentina	Foster the Development of Rural Women	14- Investing in infrastructure for rural development and ensuring the participation of women in all stages of the process, taking into account their specific needs and work opportunities. Infrastructure projects should also incorporate gender violence protocols.
2018	Argentina	Foster the Development of Rural Women	15- Allocating or increasing funds for women living in rural areas to strengthen their cooperatives, entrepreneurships, organizations and value chains, promoting access to credit and training, enabling women’s economic participation and inclusion in decision making and governance.
2018	Argentina		16- To ensure sustainable development, it is imperative to adopt a comprehensive human rights perspective on gender equality and to develop evidence-based policies that recognize and address structural differences. In this regard, G20 should support gender budgeting and together with international partner organizations and relevant national partners develop statistical systems based on indicators that are gender disaggregated and consider women in all their diversity.

2018	Argentina		17- To ensure continuity and efficiency of the W20, we urge G20's Presidencies to engage with the W20 network by ensuring access to the G20 negotiation tracks and continue to mainstream gender in all their engagement groups.
2018	Argentina		18- The W20 urges the G20 to act on these recommendations by developing implementation plans with timelines and targets, facilitating the participation and cooperation of women's organizations, measuring and monitoring progress and reporting publicly on outcomes.
2019	Japan		1- Request labor and employment ministers to present a mid-term report on the 2014 Brisbane commitment to reduce the gender gap in labor force participation by 25 percent by 2025 during the 2020 G20.
2019	Japan	Remove systemic legal and social barriers in the labor market and provide solutions for achieving gender equality.	2- Enact and implement legal measures to achieve gender equality in all aspects of employment practices. In particular, take further action to close gender income gaps such as wages, pensions and other earnings in line with the SDGs.
2019	Japan	Remove systemic legal and social barriers in the labor market and provide solutions for achieving gender equality.	3- Invest public funds in quality, accessible and affordable care infrastructure for children and elderly, and put in place mandatory paid parental leave to promote shared responsibility.
2019	Japan	Remove systemic legal and social barriers in the labor market and provide solutions for achieving gender equality.	4- Incentivize employers in the public and private sectors to implement evidence-based policies and publicize progress on gender equality, leading to more women in decent and quality work and in leadership positions.
2019	Japan	Close the digital gender gap and ensure that women can exercise their digital rights.	5- Take urgent measures to promote equal participation of women in the design and development of digital technologies with due consideration to ethics, and prevent amplification of gender discriminations by biased data-sets, models, and algorithms in Artificial Intelligence (AI).
2019	Japan	Close the digital gender gap and ensure that women can exercise their digital rights.	6- Boost equal participation of girls and women of all ages in Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts, and Mathematics (STEAM).
2019	Japan	Close the digital gender gap and ensure that women can exercise their digital rights.	7- Provide women in urban and rural areas with affordable, reliable, and safe internet and mobile services.
2019	Japan	Ensure financial inclusion, promote women's entrepreneurship, and accelerate access to investment and markets.	8- Ensure women's equal rights to economic resources and access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, and natural resources.
2019	Japan	Ensure financial inclusion, promote women's entrepreneurship, and accelerate access to investment and markets.	9- Develop a policy framework and action plan to strengthen the business, financial and digital capacity of women's enterprises, including e-commerce.

2019	Japan	Ensure financial inclusion, promote women's entrepreneurship, and accelerate access to investment and markets.	10- Create conditions for public procurement contracts awarded to women-owned and women-led businesses to increase their share by a minimum of 10 per cent, taking into consideration national circumstances.
2019	Japan	Ensure financial inclusion, promote women's entrepreneurship, and accelerate access to investment and markets.	11- Incentivize investors to proactively incorporate gender factors into investment analysis and decision-making.
2019	Japan		12- Promote life-long learning, and education on gender equality in schools and workplaces, to eliminate gender stereotypes and unconscious bias.
2019	Japan	End all forms of violence against women and girls in the public and private spheres, including social media.	13- Establish effective legal frameworks, ensure access to justice, and strengthen law enforcement to end all forms of violence against women and girls in all spheres.
2019	Japan	End all forms of violence against women and girls in the public and private spheres, including social media.	14- Support the adoption of the ILO's proposed convention and a recommendation concerning the elimination of violence and harassment in the world of work, as well as ratify international conventions related to violence against women.
2019	Japan	Establish effective and transparent governance and accountability mechanisms for achieving gender equality.	15- Develop mechanisms to monitor the implementation of G20 commitments on gender equality, together with international organizations, relevant national partners and in collaboration with the W20, and report progress on a regular basis.
2019	Japan	Establish effective and transparent governance and accountability mechanisms for achieving gender equality.	16- Jointly review progress, within G20, for achieving gender parity in leadership and all levels of decision making in the public and private sectors by 2030.
2019	Japan	Establish effective and transparent governance and accountability mechanisms for achieving gender equality.	17- Strengthen the mandate and capacity of national gender machinery to ensure that gender impact assessments are conducted on legislation, standards, and policies.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	Key Measures to Support Economic Recovery	1- Ensure equal representation of women at all levels of decision-making in national and global political and economic bodies including in the private and public sectors.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	Key Measures to Support Economic Recovery	2 - Adopt gender-responsive budgeting, informed by gender impact assessment, to ensure that pandemic recovery measures foster a gender-inclusive workforce.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	Key Measures to Support Economic Recovery	3 - Significantly increase investment in social infrastructure to create jobs and build resilience: → Provide affordable and quality child, dependents, and elders care. → Increase the provision of and the equal access to high-quality healthcare services. → Ensure access and participation of women and

			girls in education, including online, and training with special attention to technical and vocational education, e-skills, and lifelong learning opportunities.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	Key Measures to Support Economic Recovery	4 - Implement social and income protection mechanisms for alternative employment models to ensure appropriate coverage for all workers in the formal and informal economy, with special attention to essential workers, part-time workers, the self employed, and vulnerable groups particularly those in low-income countries.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	Key Measures to Support Economic Recovery	5 - Develop and fund action plans to stimulate women's participation in entrepreneurship and innovation ecosystems by supporting the start-up, scale-up and sustainability of women-owned businesses, particularly in ecommerce and the digital economy.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	Key Measures to Support Economic Recovery	6 - Increase women's and girls' access to digital technology, especially in remote and rural areas, by investing in infrastructure, high-speed connectivity and training to improve skills.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	Key Measures to Support Economic Recovery	7 - Develop, in partnership with public and private financial institutions and banks, innovative and easily accessible digital financial products to increase women's access to financial services.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	Key Measures to Support Economic Recovery	8 - Fund the research and the collection of sex-disaggregated data on the course of the pandemic.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Legal And Social Reforms	9 - End all forms of gender-based discrimination and violence; and enact legal and social reforms to achieve gender equality.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Legal And Social Reforms	10 - Use all levers of policy and political will to enable a transformative shift in stereotypical social norms and gender roles, including men's responsibility for care work, that deter women from achieving their full economic potential.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Inclusive Decision-Making	11 - Achieve gender equality in public political decision-making.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Inclusive Decision-Making	12 - Increase the number of women decision-makers in business by taking the necessary steps, including targets and quotas to ensure full gender parity on the boards of public and listed companies by 2030, and providing incentives for employers that achieve gender parity in decision-making positions.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Equitable Labor Inclusion	13 - Significantly increase public funding towards affordable, quality, and professionalized childcare and long-term care so that by 2030 these services are available to all women in or re-entering the labor market.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Equitable Labor Inclusion	14 - Implement by 2030 policies for mandatory paid parental leave schemes - including non-transferable entitlements for a second caregiver to promote shared responsibility of care work and a better work-life balance.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Equitable Labor Inclusion	15 - Invest in education infrastructure to ensure access to, and participation of women and girls in primary and secondary education, at the very least; and bolster technical and vocational training, digital skills, and lifelong learning online or otherwise- to enable women to secure quality employment.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Equitable Labor Inclusion	16 - Take further action to close gender gaps in income, wages, pensions, and other earnings, to align with the SDGs, including recognizing, reducing, redistributing, and measuring the value of unpaid care and domestic work and its estimated contribution to the economy and valorize care work with equitable pay.

2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Equitable Labor Inclusion	17 - Develop and implement social protection mechanisms for alternative employment models to ensure appropriate coverage for all forms of work, in particular in the informal sector where women are over-represented
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Equitable Labor Inclusion	18 - Ratify by 2025 ILO Conventions No. 156 on Workers with Family Responsibilities, No. 189 on Domestic Workers and No. 190 on Violence and Harassment in the World of Work.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Equitable Financial Inclusion	19- Develop and promote innovative and easily accessible financial solutions and products, including digital tools and microfinance, in partnership with public and private financial institutions to increase women's access to finance.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Equitable Financial Inclusion	20 - Develop and promote financial education programs, especially for disadvantaged women and girls, to improve women's financial literacy, skills, confidence, and entrepreneurial capacity.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Equitable Financial Inclusion	21 - Mandate public and private financial institutions to collect sex-disaggregated data with the purpose of understanding different gender implications on financial outcomes and investment decision making.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Equitable Digital Inclusion	22 - Secure digital access for women in an enabled and safe environment by improving infrastructure, including remote and rural areas; ensure access to STEM education and training to improve digital skills; and develop gender sensitive ethical guidelines on Artificial Intelligence (AI) and other digital technologies.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Equitable Digital Inclusion	23 - Engage women in STEM education and employment by providing funding and incentives to public and private sectors for their training and career development in STEM industries. Require technology institutions and companies to include women in the research, design, and development of digital technologies.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Equitable Digital Inclusion	24 - Apply a gender lens to measure the digital economy by tracking the impact of AI and technology led shifts in the demand for jobs, skills, and growth for women.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Women's Entrepreneurship	25 - Develop policy frameworks and action plans, and provide financial support, training, and programs to strengthen women's participation in entrepreneurial and innovation ecosystems and to build women's capacity.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Women's Entrepreneurship	26 - Offer incentives and targeted programs to increase the number of women-owned and women-led companies, including in ecommerce and STEM.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Women's Entrepreneurship	27 - Incentivize the investment community to incorporate a gender lens in their decision-making across all asset classes, and foster the development of gender responsive business loan officers and investors (including women angel investors and venture capitalists) with a view to increasing women›s access to capital.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Women's Entrepreneurship	28 - Create conditions to build capacity and increase opportunities for women-owned and women-led businesses to access markets by setting national year-on-year goals with regard to procurement, international trade and ecommerce. Set a target of a minimum 10 per cent increase in public procurement by 20301. Report on annual progress on women's access to these markets.
2020	Saudi-Arabia	On Women's Entrepreneurship	29 - Collect sex-disaggregated data to facilitate evidence-based policy to improve women's entrepreneurial research and development as well as international comparison.

2020	Saudi-Arabia	On G20 Accountability	30 - Strengthening G20 monitoring and evaluation frameworks and indicators: → Systemically review policies implemented and progress made by calling upon the OECD and ILO to continue reporting annually to G20 Leaders on the Brisbane 25x25 commitment, based on each G20 member's annual employment plan reporting. → Call on the OECD to provide comparable sex-disaggregated G20 data to establish baselines, measure progress and report on gender equality related commitments stemming from G20 communiqués and declarations, leveraging existing multilateral frameworks and reporting mechanisms.
2021	Italy	Cross-cutting Recommendation	1 - Place gender equality at the heart of budgeting decisions by creating inclusive and innovative economic models that work for women and focus on achieving human well-being
2021	Italy	Cross-cutting Recommendation	2 - Ensure equal representation of women at all levels of decision making in public and private, national and global, political and economic bodies by 2030; adopt multi-year plans to achieve this goal and monitor progress annually
2021	Italy	Cross-cutting Recommendation	3 - Collect, analyse, and report on all areas identified in this Communiqué using gender-sensitive and disaggregated data
2021	Italy	Cross-cutting Recommendation	4 - Develop gender impact assessments, leaving no one behind, in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all legislative, political, strategic and programmatic initiatives including post-pandemic reconstruction plans, and climate response strategies
2021	Italy	Cross-cutting Recommendation	5 - Promote education by investing in infrastructure to ensure women and girls have access to and participate in pre-school to tertiary education, including early education and STEAM programs; bolster technical and vocational training, digital, financial and entrepreneurial skills, and lifelong learning. This is to enable women to secure quality employment with continuing education and progression during career breaks.
2021	Italy	Cultural Changes and Gender Stereotypes	6- Discriminatory social norms, gender stereotypes and unconscious biases, including those potentially captured in new technologies, produce a distortion in all aspects of life which reinforces and sustains gender inequalities in education, the workplace, family, and broader society. G20 governments need to formulate national plans to tackle gender stereotypes within the next three years, support organizations addressing these issues, and allocate funds for policy implementation. 1)Develop lifelong learning programmes and campaigns to address gender stereotypes by a) introducing curricula that aim to eliminate unconscious biases and stereotypes, in all professional fields, and from pre-school to tertiary education; b) developing age-appropriate content with a focus on human rights, equality, respect, financial education, caring skills, and critical use of the internet, social media and artificial intelligence; c) updating and revising school texts including women's history; d) implementing actions for empowerment and diverse role-modelling;
2021	Italy	Cultural Changes and Gender Stereotypes	7 - 2) Provide systematic awareness-building measures to combat sexism and gender biases by a) mobilising all key multipliers (educators, researchers, politicians, doctors, among others) to enhance full participation of women in all aspects of society; b) encouraging media players and publishers to apply a gender lens, establish frameworks, guidelines and guaranteeing equal representation in media content creation; c) encouraging men and boys to take action on gender equality.
2021	Italy	Health Equity and Gender Medicine	8 - Universal access to quality health care is an essential prerequisite for a better and sustainable future. The successes of recent decades in reducing levels of maternal and child mortality must not be

			set back and access to services for sexual and reproductive health rights must not be diminished. COVID-19 recovery planning provides an opportunity to use planetary health as a guiding development narrative, given the widely recognised interconnection between safeguarding of the earth's ecosystem and human health (One Health). 1)Guarantee health and care for all by a) ensuring adequate and equitable financing of infrastructure and services; b) strengthening gender sensitive public health care systems; c) offering the best prevention and universal health care including people with disabilities and older people; d) ensuring strong development of local public health services for primary and secondary health prevention, including mental health issues; e) taking advantage of artificial intelligence and telemedicine; f) ensuring sexual and reproductive health services, specified as essential services by WHO 2020, as well as modern and free contraception, and dissemination of comprehensive information and guidance;
2021	Italy	Health Equity and Gender Medicine	9 - 2)Promote free, universal, accessible, and affordable health care systems to combat COVID-19 and halt the pandemic and other globally significant existing and potential future diseases by a) guaranteeing equitable access to all control tools, drugs including vaccines and medical devices, supporting research to produce thermostable vaccines and drugs that do not need low temperatures for transporting and distributing to isolated regions; b) supporting the temporary waiver of patent rights of the Trade and Intellectual Property Rules to enable the production of COVID-19 vaccinations in more countries and accelerate the global effort to contain the pandemic and to address health globally as one nation;
2021	Italy	Health Equity and Gender Medicine	10 - 3)Develop and fund multidisciplinary strategic plans on Gender Medicine by a) investing in research that considers biological and gender differences in essential risk factors, biomarkers, mechanisms and outcomes of diseases, drug metabolism and response, and in relation to specific lifecycle requirements.
2021	Italy	Women's Entrepreneurship and Finance	11 - Women have been hit harder than men in this pandemic crisis, in particular entrepreneurs. G20 members must develop a strategic policy to reinforce and relaunch female entrepreneurship, that generates multiplier effects to create jobs, drive innovation, and reduce inequalities, including sectors impacted by the pandemic and climate change. Women entrepreneurs have the potential to add $13 Trillion USD to the global economy by 2030 (McKinsey, 2020) to help humanity build forward better, and contribute to government tax revenues. We call on G20 leaders to implement OECD suggestions for a strategic policy framework. 1)Ensure equal rights to ownership of assets and remove barriers to financial inclusion for all women by a) legislating for equal rights for women to finance and investments, ownership of land and assets, inheritance rights, pensions and insurance, mobile and cryptocurrency bank accounts, and devices for access to these assets, achieving financial independence and self-sufficiency;
2021	Italy	Women's Entrepreneurship and Finance	12 - 2)Facilitate access to finance, and capacity building for all, in particular for solopreneurs and microenterprises by a) developing and promoting inclusive financial solutions, in partnership with public, private and civil society institutions, including microfinance, credit schemes and alternative systems of collateral to increase women's access to finance; b) supporting access to digital banking, mobile money accounts, mobile commerce, and blockchain-enabled assets and technologies; c) providing

			incentives and an enabling environment for training to enable women to transition from solopreneurs to employer businesses, and from the informal to the formal economy;
2021	Italy	Women's Entrepreneurship and Finance	13 - 3)Create policy frameworks and strategic growth initiatives by a) creating and/or updating overarching policy frameworks to support women's entrepreneurship, including sectors that have been hit the hardest by the pandemic; b) developing actionable strategies with funding to overcome gaps in entrepreneurial ecosystems with innovative support services; c) creating incentives to fund innovative sectors poised for growth;
2021	Italy	Women's Entrepreneurship and Finance	14 - 4)Create public procurement and access to markets initiatives by a) implementing policies to promote public procurement spend with women-owned SMEs and providing incentives for large government contractors to subcontract contract value to women-owned SMEs, by a minimum of 10% increase in improvement for each country according to its own baseline by 2030, using a "step by step" plan that will be piloted for 2 years and refined; d) researching and reporting progress on private and public procurement, international trade, ecommerce, for women-owned businesses of various sizes;
2021	Italy	Women's Entrepreneurship and Finance	15 - 5)Promote private and public investment by a) incentivising private and public investment communities and philanthropists to incorporate a gender lens into their funding decisions across all asset classes; b) allocating a minimum of 1 percentage point of the new global minimum tax of at least 15% on corporations, endorsed by the G20, to fund women-owned and led SMEs and scale-ups, to help close the estimated several trillion dollar funding credit gap; c) incentivising all investors to invest in more women-founded and female/male co-founded employer companies.
2021	Italy	Digital Empowerment	16 - The pandemic has hastened digital transformation, dramatically deepening gender inequalities. It is imperative to halt the digital marginalisation of girls and women impacted by this disruption, and urgently take action to ensure a just digital transformation where girls and women are fairly, meaningfully and equally engaged as digital citizens. 1)Ensure safe access to and use of digital technologies for all women and girls in G20 economies by 2026 by a) removing barriers such as prohibitive costs, insufficient infrastructure, unsafe online environments and harmful gender stereotypes; b) facilitating the use of the internet, mobile telephony and other digital tools by women and girls for health, education, financial, employment and other purposes; c) developing gender-sensitive ethical guidelines on artificial intelligence (AI) and other digital technologies;
2021	Italy	Digital Empowerment	17 - 2)Guarantee foundational digital skills for all women and girls of G20 members, with pathways to future work and expertise in disruptive technologies by 2026 by a) upskilling and reskilling women to address the skills shortage in digital and STEAM jobs; b) providing funding and incentives to public and private sectors to provide training and career development in digital fields to women and girls; c) implementing skills programmes that promote women's financial inclusion and entrepreneurship, focused on and enabled by digital technologies to support women's economic development;
2021	Italy	Digital Empowerment	18 - 3)Ensure that women hold equal leadership roles in digital fields in G20 economies by 2030, including technology organizations, start-ups, policy-making and academia, by a) ensuring women are equally represented in fields of technology research and development; b) creating more visibility of women in high level positions in the ICT sector; c) providing fiscal and other incentives to achieve gender-balanced leadership in the technology sector, including academia and research institutions;

2021	Italy	Digital Empowerment	19 - 4)Adopt and implement comprehensive and coordinated policies encompassing all relevant measures to identify, prevent and prosecute cyber violence and threats of violence by a) promoting awareness-raising programmes throughout society on how to prevent harmful online gender-based violence; b) legislating for prevention and punishment of online violence.
2021	Italy	Labor	20- The COVID-19 pandemic increased the entrenched gender inequalities that are prevalent in labor markets. To counteract the current regression, which is holding back the global economy, interventions are urgently needed. Equal access to full and productive employment, including decent work with social protection for women and men is fundamental for a better future where everyone has an adequate standard of living and equal access to opportunities to realise their full potential. G20 leaders must accelerate the implementation of national gender equality plans towards and beyond the Brisbane 25x25 commitment, as mentioned in the G20 Labor and Employment Ministerial Declaration (2021). 1)Increase women's employment rate and quality of work by removing structural barriers by a) promoting women's economic autonomy and rights, ensuring decent work conditions and equitable remuneration, social protection and pensions; b) addressing gender and pensions gaps; c) creating new career opportunities for women; d) fostering standards and tools for remote working guaranteeing privacy, safety, security, work-life balance, and the right to disconnect from work; e) guaranteeing fiscal stimulus and recovery plans ensuring women's access to jobs in traditional and non-traditional sectors, including those that were impacted by COVID-19;
2021	Italy	Labor	21 - 2)Reduce the gender pay gap and the horizontal and vertical segregation of women in the labor market by a) implementing equal pay for work of equal value and pay transparent measures; b) implementing policies for affirmative action including temporary special measures to remove employment systems biases; c) developing new organizational structures based on fair and just employment practices for all; d) adopting gender responsive public procurement awarding organizations with certified gender equality performances together with at least 40% of women in decision making positions and welfare programmes;
2021	Italy	Labor	22 - 3)Value unpaid care and domestic work in the definition of economic and social policies by a)recognising, reducing and redistributing women's unpaid care and domestic work; b) investing a meaningful proportion of GDP, at least 2%, in the care economy, in accordance with national baselines, to create gender-responsive public health and care services, ensuring universal, free and accessible care for children, older people, and people with disabilities; c) securing paid maternity, paternity and shared parental leave, promoting shared responsibility among partners, in the national legislations and promoting its implementation.
2021	Italy	Violence Against Women and Girls and Gender Based Violence	23 - Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) is a violation of human rights and one of the most serious forms of discrimination against women. VAWG affects the fundamental right to freedom, silencing voices, creating barriers and preventing equal and just participation in public and private spheres. VAWG manifests itself as physical, sexual, psychological, economic and other forms of violence including stalking, in homes, workplaces and public spaces. VAWG is a global emergency. Its eradication is a step on the road to gender equality.

			1)Develop integrated and coherent public policies to ensure the right of every woman and girl to live free from violence by a) preventing, punishing, and providing reparation for all acts of violence; b) allocating funds for training for professionals involved in the multi-agency response (in the law enforcement, judicial, social, and health sectors) with the aim of reducing the risk of secondary victimisation;
2021	Italy	Violence Against Women and Girls and Gender Based Violence	24 - 2)Empower and support the right to freedom from violence and offer quality services for survivors by a) increasing funding and allocating appropriate public financial resources to women's specialist support services; b) supporting healthcare models that provide trained health professionals, and adequate and accessible safe treatment; c) providing women survivors of violence with access to economic means and upholding their right to decent work, access to legal services, social, economic and environmental justice and to support child witnesses, especially orphans of femicide, and addressing the issues of forced early marriages and female genital mutilation;
2021	Italy	Violence Against Women and Girls and Gender Based Violence	25 - 3)Provide safe and welcoming workplaces by a) supporting ratification and full implementation of the ILO Convention n. 190; b) ratifying all international and regional conventions related to VAWG;
2021	Italy	Violence Against Women and Girls and Gender Based Violence	26 - 4)Combat human trafficking and modern slavery of women by a) paying particular attention to migrants, asylum seekers and refugees and other marginalised groups; b) providing quick access to non-exploitative employment, residence status when needed, restitution of unpaid salaries and compensation, and personalised assistance and support.
2021	Italy	Environmental Sustainability	27- The Paris Agreement, brokered by women, underpins a global economic transformation needed to both limit climate change and foster human and planetary well-being. Women are most frequently first responders to crises, including health, food and water security. Women have also proven to be agents of change in the areas of resource sustainability and driving forces behind the shift to a wellbeing economy. It is essential that G20 members engage the wealth of ingenuity and ability that lies with women leaders and experts, including grassroots women's organizations. 1)Prevent and mitigate the effect of climate change and environmental degradation on women by a) providing more effective mitigation and adaptation measures through gender-responsive interventions, and health equity with the One Health approach; b) providing measures to guarantee education and decent work opportunities for women affected by natural disasters and other effects of climate change; c) strengthening equal access to environmental justice and tackling discrimination that affects women's rights and their ability to adapt to climate change and other forms of environmental degradation; d) ensuring all climate finance is gender-just; e) ensuring that women have equal representation in decision-making positions;
2021	Italy	Environmental Sustainability	28 - 2)Provide equal opportunities in the climate, environment and energy sectors, including green, blue and circular economies for a socially just transition by a) supporting inclusive job creation and entrepreneurial business, investing in education, up-skilling and reskilling to increase women's ecological and carbon literacy; b) promoting strategies for sustainable food and water security and building resilience of women to climate change;
2021	Italy	Environmental Sustainability	29 - 3)Build and redesign sustainable and inclusive intermediary cities and other communities by a) rethinking or adapting urban design and planning considering women's and girls' needs in terms of well-being, lifestyle, health and security, including public transportation and e-mobility solutions; b)

			planning gender budgeting and gender procurement for the development of rural, indigenous and other communities with the provision of access to essential services such as education, health and renewable energy.
2022	Indonesia	Cross-cutting Recommendation	1- Act on their commitments to implement the "G20 Roadmap Towards and Beyond the Brisbane Target", also referred to as the Rome Roadmap - included in the 2021 G20 Leaders' Declaration, increasing the quantity and quality of women's employment.
2022	Indonesia	Cross-cutting Recommendation	2- Create a G20 Gender Data Network and W20 Outcome Dashboard that encompass both data transparency and performance monitoring that will demonstrate the best areas for action and improve evidence-based policymaking.
2022	Indonesia	Cross-cutting Recommendation	3- Develop or improve National Strategies on Gender Equity and Equality (NSGEE) in line with human rights treaties, using a whole-of-government approach to increase women's impact on their families, society, and the economy, and bring about parity in G20 countries and beyond.
2022	Indonesia	Non-discrimination and equality	4- Remove discriminatory laws, policies, systems and services that hinder women and girls in all sectors of advancement including: education, work, entrepreneurship, health, technology, energy, as well as in their private, public and political lives.
2022	Indonesia	Non-discrimination and equality	5- Provide support and infrastructure to reduce the burdens of unpaid work and care responsibilities for women and adopt policies and incentives for equal shared parental responsibilities for child and elder care. Take concrete measures to address the gender pay gap.
2022	Indonesia	Non-discrimination and equality	6- Eliminate gender-based violence and recognize and address gender bias and norms that hinder and harm women and girls. Develop and enforce laws and regulations to prevent and end impunity for physical, sexual and psychological violence. Adopt and promote anti-violence legislation and ratify the International Labor Organizations (ILO) 190 convention on sexual harassment.
2022	Indonesia	Non-discrimination and equality	7- Update educational pedagogy for boys and girls, women and men, to eliminate biases and stereotypes and ensure equal participation of women and girls in STEAM and employment.
2022	Indonesia	Non-discrimination and equality	8- Ensure that digital technology/AI does not create, perpetuate, and amplify all biases in data and algorithms.
2022	Indonesia	Non-discrimination and equality	9- Monitor and report the results of G20 actions taken on commitments on non-discrimination and equality and across the 5 priority areas.
2022	Indonesia	Women-owned and led MSMEs	10- Promote women entrepreneurial policy frameworks and ecosystems that will accelerate women-owned and led MSMEs' growth. Provide access to finance (including alternative systems of collateral) and access to markets (corporate and public procurement, international trade and ecommerce). Provide opportunities and incentives for women-owned and led MSMEs to participate in emerging opportunities (digital innovation, AI, green and blue technologies, green energy, and STEAM).
2022	Indonesia	Women-owned and led MSMEs	11- Allocate a minimum of 1% of the new global minimum tax of at least 15% on corporations, endorsed by OECD and G20 in 2021, to fund women-owned and led MSMEs and scale-ups, to close the USD $1.7 trillion-dollar funding credit gap, stimulate GDP growth and job creation.
2022	Indonesia	Women-owned and led MSMEs	12- Commit $350 million USD additional funding to the Women Entrepreneurs Finance Initiative (We-Fi), launched by G20 Leaders in 2017. Implement We-Fi's Women Entrepreneurs Finance Code in G20 countries.

2022	Indonesia	Women-owned and led MSMEs	13- For G20 countries with mature Gender-Responsive Public Procurement (GRPP) programs, establish targets for women-owned and led MSMEs for each country, and increase procurement by 1% a year to a minimum of 10% by 2032. For other countries, work with knowledge partners and W20 members to build a step-by-step process to facilitate GRPP development.
2022	Indonesia	Gender equitable health response	14- Increase affordable access to healthcare for women and girls. Create new health and welfare services that include care, living conditions, water, sanitation, and hygiene, that impact women and girls' health disproportionally. Advance global distribution of vaccines and medicine with WTO/TRIPS waivers.
2022	Indonesia	Gender equitable health response	15- Provide Sexual Reproductive Health and Rights services for women and girls as specified by World Health Organizations (WHO): provide comprehensive sexuality education; affordable and accessible range of services, as well as antenatal and postnatal care to reduce maternal mortality. Invest in advancements and increase utilization of digital tools (telemedicine, Femtech and services).
2022	Indonesia	Gender equitable health response	16- Require that all future medical research includes both men and women, recognizing the biological and social differences. Invest in additional medical research and technology focused on women and girls, in all their diversity.
2022	Indonesia	Gender equitable health response	17- Include women at all levels of decision-making and leadership in medical research, development and implementation of health products and services. Guarantee the presence of 50% women in high-levels of decision making and support the growth of women leaders in the health sector.
2022	Indonesia	Gender equitable health response	18- Increase formal employment benefits for healthcare workers to create more resilience and equality, understanding that employment of women is dominant in this sector.
2022	Indonesia	Rural women	19- Remove inequities in access for rural women's meaningful participation in the economy and an added focus on inequities for women engaged in agriculture: increase inclusive infrastructure investments in rural areas by 25%, ensure women's access to transportation, water, electricity, clean energy, agricultural inputs and subsidies, connectivity, digital services, education and healthcare, by 2030.
2022	Indonesia	Rural women	20- Ensure rural women's equal rights to resources (including equitable rights to access, control, management and ownership of land and assets) and finance, for rural women to build the green and blue economies. By 2030, develop and invest in G20-wide gender-responsive biodiversity, climate action and adaptation measures, and green skills programs.
2022	Indonesia	Rural women	21- Provide access to and usage of digital technologies that support and advance rural women's life goals and needs: internet and mobile money, digital and financial literacy, content and services, safety, and security concerns. By 2030, halve the mobile internet gender gap in low and middle income countries, match or exceed private sector investment in initiatives to close the digital gender gap, and mainstream gender equality in all official development assistance (ODA) related to digital transformation, especially ensuring rural women's participation in the decision-making process.
2022	Indonesia	Women with disabilities	22- Require employers to make reasonable adjustments to promote participation of women with disabilities in the labor force. This includes mandated sex-disaggregated quotas in hiring and retaining persons with disabilities in the public sector of no less than 3%, providing additional benefits and incentives (such as tax exemptions and incentives) for private sector companies to provide accommodations.

2022	Indonesia	Women with disabilities	23- Provide safe (free from gender-based violence and harassment) and accessible infrastructure for persons with disabilities in public transport, access to buildings, equal opportunities to education, employment, civic, political, economic, and cultural spheres. Provide digital technology solutions and connectivity. Include women and girls with disabilities in the decision-making, design and implementation of these solutions and launch educational campaigns to reduce stereotypes for people with disabilities that include women.
2022	Indonesia	Women with disabilities	24- Train women with disabilities in technology, AI, and communications. Train educators, government leaders, frontline and emergency workers and the private sector, to help create more accessible spaces to learn, work and prosper, and launch educational campaigns to reduce stereotypes about disabilities in the workplace. Protect human rights and sexual and reproductive health and rights of persons with disabilities.
2023	India		1- Advance their previous commitments in the 2022 Bali Leaders' Declaration, the "G20 Roadmap Towards and Beyond the Brisbane Target", also referred to as the Rome Roadmap - included in the 2021 G20 Leaders' Declaration, increasing the quantity and quality of women's employment and previous G20 Leaders' Declarations regarding equality and equity for women.
2023	India		2- Develop and improve National Gender Strategies that are funded and tracked using gender-sensitive and sex disaggregated data. Each G20 government to establish a national Annual Review Mechanism and bring in all key stakeholders and respective members of national W20 delegations to evaluate the progress, gaps and challenges.
2023	India		3- Create an Annual G20 Reporting & Review Mechanism to track implementation and the impact of the commitments made to women and girls and the results at the G20 level.
2023	India	Climate Change	4- Guarantee equal representation and meaningful participation of women in climate decision-making mechanisms, e.g., COP 28 et seq., and a gender-responsive approach in all climate change policies, including Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs).
2023	India	Climate Change	5- Commit that the UN Loss and Damage Fund (COP27) and adaptation finance have a stronger gender focus to provide fiscal space for gender-just climate action and infrastructure, including climate disaster risk reduction management.
2023	India	Climate Change	6- Leverage the Green Climate Fund and commit direct funding to women-led projects, such as investing in climate entrepreneurship and technologies supporting net zero goals.
2023	India	Climate Change	7- Protect and support women and children affected by climate change and climate change-induced migration and the consequences on their human rights; and track impact.
2023	India	Climate Change	8- Mandate gender strategies for energy infrastructure planning and decision-making to guarantee access to renewable energy for all to enable a just energy transition.
2023	India	Entrepreneurship	9- Facilitate, promote, and incentivize access to markets (domestic and international) including: public and corporate procurement, national and international trade, e-commerce, access to corporate value and supply chains, and new technologies; with particular attention to sustainable and emerging sectors (space, blue, green, circular, digital technologies).
2023	India	Entrepreneurship	10- Increase access to finance, collateral, and capital, for women entrepreneurs, and incentivize private, institutional, and public investors to invest in opportunities through a gender lens.

2023	India	Entrepreneurship	11- Promote women entrepreneurial policy frameworks and ecosystems that will accelerate women-owned and led MSMEs' growth through all stages, encourage every country to create and fund Women's Business Centers, facilitate women entrepreneurs to move from informal to formal sectors in order to unleash growth and increase tax revenues.
2023	India	Entrepreneurship	12- Encourage Gender-Responsive Public Procurement (GRPP) programs in G20 countries and establish their own national targets for procurement for women-owned and led MSMEs; increase gender procurements by minimum one percentage point a year with a goal of 20% by 2030.
2023	India	Entrepreneurship	13- Allocate a minimum of 5% of the new Global Minimum Corporate Tax, endorsed by OECD and G20 in 2021, to fund women-owned and led MSMEs in growth sectors.
2023	India	Entrepreneurship	14- Implement We-Fi's Women Entrepreneurs Finance Code; create and leverage blended finance mechanisms for women such as the Global Blended Finance Alliance; continue to provide the remaining funding for the $350 million USD commitment in 2022 to We-Fi.
2023	India	Gender Digital Divide	15- G20 Member States must publish an annual national G20 Digital Gender Equality Report to demonstrate progress.
2023	India	Gender Digital Divide	16- By 2030, halve the digital gender gap (including mobile) by addressing barriers around affordability, literacy and digital skills, accessibility, online safety, and lack of relevant content in usage and adoption of digital technologies.
2023	India	Gender Digital Divide	17- Guarantee and put in place policies and procedures to correct and prevent digital technology/AI from creating, perpetuating, and amplifying gender biases in data and algorithms.
2023	India	Gender Digital Divide	18- Provide a minimum 15% tax break, or other equivalent incentives for women-led technology and tech-enabled start-ups; and relevant incentives/subsidies for women entrepreneurs.
2023	India	Gender Digital Divide	19- Strengthen institutional capacity and mechanisms to protect, monitor, investigate, and prosecute reports of online abuse and violence against women and girls.
2023	India	Grassroots Leadership	20- Promote women's leadership by applying a minimum quota for one-third of women representation at all levels of governance and decision-making in leadership, with an emphasis at the grassroots levels and sustained career progression to achieve the 50% representation goal for 2030.
2023	India	Grassroots Leadership	21- Guarantee that all recommendations/benefits for women extend and are tailored to the remote, rural and indigenous areas, particularly important areas are: education, healthcare, gender-based violence (including online) infrastructure, climate change, agriculture, financial and digital literacy.
2023	India	Grassroots Leadership	22- Ensure the G20 Annual Reporting and Review Mechanism for women's leadership includes women at grassroots level especially from remote and rural areas from each country.
2023	India	Education, Skill Development, & Labor Market Participation	23- Provide equitable access to primary, secondary, vocational, and tertiary education; increase retention in school; and deliver lifelong learning, including upskilling, for women and girls of all ages in emerging sectors and STEM/STEAM.
2023	India	Education, Skill Development, & Labor Market Participation	24- Mandate anti-bias and unconscious bias training in the education and wider social ecosystems for all, and fund media campaigns to change gendered conceptions of care, work, and stereotypes of women and men.
2023	India	Education, Skill Development, &	25- Provide free sanitary hygiene products and safe and sustainable sanitation practice education, in schools and higher education facilities; supported with comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) as

		Labor Market Participation	specified by the World Health Organizations (WHO); and provide an affordable and accessible range of services, including antenatal and postnatal care to reduce maternal mortality.
2023	India	Education, Skill Development, & Labor Market Participation	26- Guarantee that all research regarding health, medical devices and pharmaceuticals is conducted and analyzed equally, and includes women at all stages of their development, including pregnancy, which influences future generations as well.
2023	India	Education, Skill Development, & Labor Market Participation	27- Adopt and enforce anti-violence legislation and workplace safety as provided for in ILO Convention 190, and extend that protection to all other gendered violence - at home or elsewhere.
2023	India	Education, Skill Development, & Labor Market Participation	28- Legislate gender pay gap reporting for the public sector, private sector and publicly-traded firms and end gender-based discrimination in the workforce.
2023	India	Education, Skill Development, & Labor Market Participation	29- Commit to increased funding for a universal "Basic Care Basket" supported by actions to standardize, professionalize and formalize the care economy; deliver on prior UN commitments by G20 donor countries to provide 0.7% of GNI to develop and improve care infrastructure; and implement policies that protect and improve maternity/parental benefits and support gender- equitable care responsibilities, including family leave programs.
2024	Brazil		1- Implement the 2014 Brisbane commitment (25x25) to reduce by 25% the participation gap of women in the labor force by 2025.
2024	Brazil		2- Implement additional agreed upon commitments to advance women's equality including: (a) halve the digital gender gap by 2030, (b) increase women's participation in STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics), (c) implement Women Entrepreneurs (WE) Finance code, (d) end violence against women, and (e) invest in social protection, care infrastructure and services.
2024	Brazil		3- Fulfill G20 Leaders commitment to enhanced Women Led Development and put women at the center of all development processes.
2024	Brazil		4- Measure, track and publicly report on an annual basis the progress of G20 investment in women at both a collective G20 level and at a national level by tracking and reporting the funding initiatives agreed to in the Leaders' Declaration.
2024	Brazil		5- Create a standardized G20 Gender Outcome Dashboard which can be used for evidence-based policymaking and prioritize initiatives to advance G20 gender equality.
2024	Brazil		6- Dedicate funding to National Statistics Offices and related ministries for collection and analysis of gender-sensitive and sex-disaggregated data, tracking unpaid care work and tracking violence against women (including unreported) and measuring total economic cost.
2024	Brazil		7- Achieve Sustainable Development Goal #5 (SDG-5) Gender Equality by 2030 by meeting and raising current commitments, such as: Reduce the participation gap of women in the labor force by 50% (instead of 25%);
2024	Brazil		8- Develop at least mandatory minimum paid parental leave schemes assuring all countries are in compliance with a minimum of 14 weeks maternity leave (a standard used in ILO Convention 183) contributing to long-term economic growth; and 4 weeks (include non-transferable entitlements) for a second caregiver to promote shared responsibility and a better work-life balance;

2024	Brazil		9- Identify, recognize, and address the specific barriers to women, including afro descendent and Indigenous, those from rural communities and those with disabilities, to ensure no woman is left behind.
2024	Brazil		10- Increase and dedicate funds for current and prior G20 Gender Equality Commitments.
2024	Brazil	Entrepreneurial Women: Access To Financing, Capital, And Markets	11- Design financial instruments, and supportive entrepreneurial policy, law, and frameworks that utilize blended finance to engage public, private, philanthropic, and multilateral banks and institutions to advance business and financial equality for women of varied racial and ethnic backgrounds. A strong proven framework that exemplifies this is the Women Entrepreneurs (WE-Fi) Finance Code.
2024	Brazil	Entrepreneurial Women: Access To Financing, Capital, And Markets	12- Commit to collecting and tracking sex-disaggregated data collection on grants, loans, debt finance, gender bonds and equity-based finance. Develop methodologies for credit scoring and loans without the requirement for collateral, or alternative collateral requirements. Include digital and financial literacy in programs for women entrepreneurs.
2024	Brazil	Entrepreneurial Women: Access To Financing, Capital, And Markets	13- Increase women's access to domestic and international markets through public (Gender-Responsive Public Procurement, GRPP) and corporate procurement. Facilitate women's engagement in external markets through trade fairs and targeted interventions (capacity building, mentorships, networking, etc.) to build their knowledge and ability to meet international standards in international trade, e-commerce and e-procurement.
2024	Brazil	Entrepreneurial Women: Access To Financing, Capital, And Markets	14- Ensure tax incentives for investors (including microfinance, angel investors, venture capitalists, and private equity) to support women entrepreneurs, including tax deductions, credits, capital gains tax concessions, and government co-contributions. Provide tax incentives and/or credits for female entrepreneurs and their businesses.
2024	Brazil	Care Economy	15- Reduce and promote an equal redistribution of unpaid care work by implementing government policies that integrate education, healthcare, and social services to support caregivers and provide inclusive, high-quality, and affordable care that is accessible to all, with a focus on children, older persons, persons with disabilities, and other dependents.
2024	Brazil	Care Economy	16- Recognize, measure and value care work, particularly unpaid and informal care work, by systematically collecting and sharing quality, sex-disaggregated, and comparable data.
2024	Brazil	Care Economy	17- Reward paid care work and provide greater dignity for providers by actions and policies that promote fair employment practices, decent work, and social protection.
2024	Brazil	Care Economy	18- Commit to increasing critical and sustainable public investments in comprehensive care services and infrastructure, work towards affordable care systems, and support public-private funding models and innovative technological solutions, while also advancing policies that ensure equitable access to care and address systematic disparities across different communities.
2024	Brazil	Women in STEM	19- Build gender-equitable AI technologies through funding research and collaboration, emphasize accurate and gender-neutral data-cleaning processes, and adopt ethical AI guidelines across sectors. Ensure women serve in leadership roles so that AI has positive benefits that reach all, especially women and girls.

2024	Brazil	Women in STEM	20- Invest in the development of impactful, inclusive digital tools and public services to decrease existing inequalities and reach underserved communities.
2024	Brazil	Women in STEM	21- Provide equitable access to primary and secondary education to girls and lifelong learning for women and girls of all ages. Allocate scholarships and funding, especially for those in disadvantaged circumstances, in order to pursue education at all levels in STEM.
2024	Brazil	Women in STEM	22- Create employment opportunities (including return to work). Develop recruitment, retention and career advancements strategies to foster women leaders in STEM for public and private sectors to motivate more women to opt for STEM education.
2024	Brazil	Women and Climate Justice	23- Guarantee a gender-responsive approach in all climate change policies, strategies, tactical plans, actions and Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), ensure meaningful representation of all under-represented and underserved women, and secure inclusion of Indigenous women knowledge.
2024	Brazil	Women and Climate Justice	24- Invest in gender-just climate finance and implement direct funding to women-led climate projects and businesses. Prioritize gender-transformative climate funding directed at adaptation and resilience for women who are dependent on natural resources.
2024	Brazil	Women and Climate Justice	25- Redress loss and damage with a strong gender focus and commit to guarantee an equitable financial recovery pathway ensuring fiscal space for gender-just climate action.
2024	Brazil	Women and Climate Justice	26- Integrate a gender lens into disaster risk reduction and management by implementing early warning systems. Train more women in disaster response mechanisms and move them into leadership roles for evacuation efforts. Develop Women as First Responders in Climate Action programs that will train women as the frontline workers in disasters and emergencies and enable gender responsive plans and actions.
2024	Brazil	Women and Climate Justice	27- Ensure equitable representation of women at the table as decision-makers and negotiators at the Conference of the Parties (COP) and all other multilateral meetings for climate change. Every G20 Member needs to have female leaders present at COP.
2024	Brazil	Women and Climate Justice	28- Mandate gender strategies for energy infrastructure planning and decision-making to guarantee access to renewable energy for all to enable a just energy transition
2024	Brazil	Ending Violence Against Women and Girls	29- Develop, review and enforce policies, legislation regulations and support structures to protect women and girls and prevent impunity and secondary victimization in femicide and gender-based violence in all forms – home, transport, work, in-conflict settings, economic, and technology-facilitated gender-based violence (TFGBV).
2024	Brazil	Ending Violence Against Women and Girls	30- Invest in evidence-based and gender transformative educational policies and programs starting from early childhood that change harmful gender norms, social norms, and stereotypes such as those perpetuated in entertainment and social media, so that everyone in society respects gender equality issues and prevents all forms of gender-based violence and femicide (GBVF).
2024	Brazil	Ending Violence Against Women and Girls	31- Maintain and increase ongoing and well-coordinated financing and funding for prevention, protection, early intervention, and response services to make a sustained impact on reducing the prevalence and incidence of GBVF.
2024	Brazil	Ending Violence Against Women and Girls	32- Ensure the collection, analysis, and dissemination of official national data, following the UN guidelines on femicide and all forms of GBVF considering intersectionality, including race/ethnicity that reflect each country's context, to measure the impacts of GBVF.

2024	Brazil		33- Each G20 Member must guarantee that women across the generations, including rural and Indigenous, are represented and have voice in decision-making roles at all levels, including in multilateral meetings, regional economic forums, the WTO, the United Nations, etc. as well as in national forums that shape agendas and set priorities.
2024	Brazil		34- Guarantee that all research regarding health, clinical trials, medical devices and pharmaceuticals is conducted and analyzed equally, and includes women and girls at all stages of their development. Women's and girls' health, by default, influences future generations.
2024	Brazil		35- Holistically address disadvantages that women face in the labor market by removing barriers and thereby increasing the employment rate. These include addressing: the gender pay gap, the lack of adequate child care and other care, access to benefits in the formal sector (insurance, pensions) and quality jobs with employment advancement.
2024	Brazil		36- Address gender stereotypes and biases, and change norms, attitudes and behaviors that perpetuate gender inequality.

D. Gender-Related Paragraphs from G20 Leaders' Declarations (2015-2024) - Complete Dataset of 109 Paragraphs

Year	Presidency	G20 Leaders Declaration	
	Country	**Women-focused Commitment**	**First level of analysis (equality, women, girls, gender, sex)**
2015	Türkiye	7. We will continue monitoring the implementation of our Employment Plans as well as our goals to reduce gender participation gap and to foster safer and healthier workplaces also within sustainable global supply chains.	gender
2015	Türkiye	20. We will pay particular attention to the needs of smallholder and family farmers, rural women and youth.	rural women
2015	**under Turkiye's leadership**	**Total number of commitments**	**2**
2016	China	6. We will work to ensure that our economic growth serves the needs of everyone and benefits all countries and all people including in particular women, youth and disadvantaged groups, generating more quality jobs, addressing inequalities and eradicating poverty so that no one is left behind.	note:NOLB
2016	China	12. We commit to pursue pro-innovation strategies and policies, support investment in science, technology and innovation (STI), and support skills training for STI - including support for the entry of more women into these fields - and mobility of STI human resources.	women
2016	China	13. We are committed to supporting our workforces throughout this transition and to ensuring that the benefits of the NIR extend to all, including women, youth and disadvantaged groups.	women
2016	China	30. We also support policies that encourage firms of all sizes, in particular women and youth entrepreneurs, women-led firms and SMEs, to take full advantage of global value chains (GVCs), and that encourage greater participation, value addition and upward mobility in GVCs by developing countries, particularly low-income countries (LICs).	women
2016	China	35. We launch the G20 Initiative on Supporting Industrialization in Africa and LDCs to strengthen their inclusive growth and development potential through voluntary policy options including: promoting inclusive and sustainable structural transformation; supporting sustainable agriculture, agri-business and agro-industry development; deepening, broadening and updating the local knowledge and production base; promoting investment in sustainable and secure energy, including renewables and energy efficiency; exploring ways to develop cooperation on industrial production and vocational training and sustainable and resilient infrastructure and industries; supporting industrialization through trade in accordance with WTO rules; and leveraging domestic and external finance and supporting equitable access to finance - with a focus on women and youth; and promoting science, technology and innovation as critical means for industrialization.	women

2016	under China's leadership	Total number of commitments	5
2017	Germany	28. Recognising the importance of financial inclusion as a multiplier for poverty eradication, job creation, gender equality, and women's empowerment, we support the ongoing work of the Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion and welcome the 2017 G20 Financial Inclusion Action Plan.	women
2017	Germany	29. Women's Empowerment: Enhanced equal access to the labor market, property, quality employment and financial services for women and men are fundamental for achieving gender equality and full realisation of their rights as well as a prerequisite for sustainable and inclusive growth. We are making progress in achieving our 2014 Brisbane commitment to reduce the gender gap in labor force participation by 25 percent by 2025 but agree that more needs to be done.	women
2017	Germany	29. We also commit to take further action to improve the quality of female employment and eliminate employment discrimination, and reduce gender compensation gaps and provide women with protection from all forms of violence.	gender
2017	Germany	29. We will improve women ś access to labor markets through provision of quality education and training, supporting infrastructure, public services and social protection policies and legal reforms, where appropriate.	women
2017	Germany	30. Digitalisation and access to ICT serve as powerful catalysts for the economic empowerment and inclusion of women and girls. Access to STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) related trainings and occupations is therefore key to establish an enabling environment for women's empowerment. We welcome the launch of the #eSkills4Girls initiative to promote opportunities and equal participation for women and girls in the digital economy, in particular in low income and developing countries (see Annex).	women
2017	Germany	31. In order to scale up support for women ś entrepreneurship, we welcome the launch of the Women Entrepreneurs Financing Initiative (We-Fi), housed at the World Bank Group (see Annex). The We-Fi will support ongoing G20 efforts to reduce barriers to financial inclusion and increase women ś access to capital, markets and technical assistance as well as contribute to achieving the goals of the G20 Africa Partnership and the G20 Entrepreneurship Action Plan. We	women
2017	Germany	31. We will also establish a Business Women Leaders' Taskforce, which will, in close cooperation with the W20 and B20, bring together business women from G20 countries to examine ways to increase women ś participation in the economy and will make recommendations at next year's summit on the implementation of G20 commitments regarding the economic empowerment of women.	women
2017	Germany	35. Africa Partnership: We launch the G20 Africa Partnership in recognition of the opportunities and challenges in African countries as well as the goals of the 2030 Agenda. Our joint efforts will foster sustainable and inclusive economic growth and development, in response to the needs and aspirations of African countries, contributing to create decent employment particularly for women and youth, thus helping to address poverty and inequality as root causes of migration. The Partnership includes related initiatives, such as #eSkills4Girls, Rural Youth Employment, African Renewable Energy and facilitates investment Compacts, as outlined in the Annex.	women
2017	Germany	42. We commit to addressing the distinct needs of refugees and migrants, in particular close to their region of origin and, when applicable, to enable them to return home safely. At the same time, we place special emphasis	women

		on vulnerable groups, including women at risk and children, particularly those unaccompanied, and to protecting the human rights of all persons regardless of their status.	
2017	Germany	10. Harnessing Digitalisation: Digital transformation is a driving force of global, innovative, inclusive and sustainable growth and can contribute to reducing inequality and achieving the goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. To this end, we need to bridge digital divides along multiple dimensions, including income, age, geography and gender. We will strive to ensure that all our citizens are digitally connected by 2025 and especially welcome infrastructure development in low-income countries in that regard. We will promote digital literacy and digital skills in all forms of education and life-long learning.	gender
2017	**under Germany's leadership**	**Total number of commitments**	10
2018	Argentina	12. Gender equality is crucial for economic growth and fair and sustainable development. We are making progress in achieving our Brisbane commitment to reduce the gender gap in labor force participation rates by 25% by 2025 but affirm that more needs to be done.	
2018	Argentina	12. We will continue to promote initiatives aimed at ending all forms of discrimination against women and girls and gender-based violence.	
2018	Argentina	12. We commit to promoting women's economic empowerment, including by working with the private sector, to improve labor conditions for all, such as through access to quality and affordable care infrastructure and parental leave, and reducing the gender pay gap.	
2018	Argentina	12. We also commit to promote women's access to leadership and decision-making positions, the development of women and girls' digital skills and increasing their participation in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) and high-tech sectors.	
2018	Argentina	12. We welcome the continued implementation of the Women Entrepreneurs Financing Initiative (We-Fi), and we thank the Business Women Leaders' Taskforce for its work. Drawing from this experience, we will consider how to better engage with women entrepreneurs.	
2018	Argentina	8. Access to education is a human right and a strategic public policy area for the development of more inclusive, prosperous, and peaceful societies. We underline the importance of girls ́education. To equip our citizens to reap the benefits of societal and technological innovations we will promote coordination between employment and equitable quality education policies, so we can develop comprehensive strategies that promote key competences such as learning to learn, foundation and digital skills, in a lifelong learning perspective from early childhood. We acknowledge the need to foster evidence-based innovative pedagogies and methods for all levels of education.	
2018	Argentina	9. To maximize the benefits of digitalization and emerging technologies for innovative growth and productivity, we will promote measures to boost micro, small and medium enterprises and entrepreneurs, bridge the digital gender divide and further digital inclusion, support consumer protection, and improve digital government, digital infrastructure and measurement of the digital economy.	
2018	Argentina	2. This year we have focused on the following pillars: the future of work, infrastructure for development, a sustainable food future and a gender mainstreaming strategy across the G20 agenda.	

2018	under Argentina's leadership	Total number of commitments	8
2019	Japan	13. Infrastructure is a driver of economic growth and prosperity. We endorse the G20 Principles for Quality Infrastructure Investment as our common strategic direction and high aspiration. These emphasize that quality infrastructure is an essential part of the G20's ongoing efforts to close the infrastructure gap, in accordance with the Roadmap to Infrastructure as an Asset Class. We stress the importance of maximizing the positive impact of infrastructure to achieve sustainable growth and development while preserving the sustainability of public finances, raising economic efficiency in view of life-cycle cost, integrating environmental and social considerations, including women's economic empowerment, building resilience against natural disasters and other risks, and strengthening infrastructure governance. We look forward to continuing advancing the elements to develop infrastructure as an asset class, including by exploring possible indicators on quality infrastructure investment	women
2019	Japan	21. Population ageing is progressing in G20 members at different rates. Taking into account the commonalities and differences among G20 demographics, we recognize the importance of promoting an healthy and active ageing society that enables workers to participate in the labor market at older ages, while continuing to increase participation of youth, women and persons with disabilities in economic activities.	women
2019	Japan	22. Gender equality and women's empowerment are essential for achieving sustainable and inclusive economic growth. We reconfirm their importance in all aspects of our policies and as a cross-cutting issue at upcoming Summits.	gender equality women
2019	Japan	22. We note that further progress has been made towards the Brisbane Goal, to reduce the gap in labor force participation between men and women by 25 per cent by 2025.	women
		22.We take note of the progress report Women at Work in G20 Countries prepared by the International Labor Organization (ILO) and OECD, and acknowledge the need to accelerate our efforts. Building on the continued efforts by Labor and Employment Ministers, we will exchange our respective progress and actions taken in the G20 towards the Brisbane Goal, including the quality of women's employment, on the basis of the annual report.	women
2019	Japan	22. We will also address the gender gap in unpaid care work which remains a major obstacle to women's participation in the labor market.	gender
2019	Japan	22. We commit to take further action to improve the quality of women's employment, reduce gender pay gaps, and end all forms of discrimination against women and combat stereotypes	women gender
2019	Japan	22. and to recognize women as agents of peace, and in the prevention and resolution of conflict.	women
2019	Japan	23. We commit to continue support for girls' and women's education and training, including providing quality primary and secondary education, improved access to STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) education and raising awareness toward eliminating gender stereotypes.	girls women gender
2019	Japan	23. In order to close the digital gender gap, we will continue enhancing girls' and women's access to digital technology with a focus on the needs of those in poverty and rural areas.	girls women gender
2019	Japan	23. We reaffirm the importance of taking measures to eradicate all gender-based violence, abuse and harassment, including in the digital context.	gender

2019	Japan	23. We welcome efforts, particularly by the private sector, to promote women's access to managerial and decision making positions and foster women business leaders and entrepreneurship.	women
2019	Japan	23. We reaffirm the importance of taking measures to support skills development and provide access to funding to promote women's entrepreneurship and welcome the continued implementation of the Women Entrepreneurs Finance Initiative (We-Fi) in support of women's entrepreneurship in developing countries including in Africa.	women gender
2019	Japan	23. We recognize the importance of encouraging efforts by the private sector including by acknowledging companies that are taking measures to increase the number of women in management and decision making positions and making gender responsive investments. We welcome the launch of the private sector alliance for the 'Empowerment and Progression of Women's Economic Representation (EMPOWER)' and call upon the alliance to advocate for the advancement of women in the private sector, and we will take stock of their progress and share their concrete efforts at our upcoming Summits.	women
2019	Japan	24. We will work to maximize the sector's contribution to the creation of quality jobs and entrepreneurship, especially for women and youth and in the creative industry; economic resilience and recovery; the preservation of natural resources through sustainable tourism planning and management; and the achievement of inclusive and sustainable development.	women
2019	Japan	25. We also encourage innovation, skills training and lifelong education for all, in attracting new entrants and empowering youth and women in the agro-food sector.	women
2019	**under Japan's leadership**	**Total number of commitments**	**16**
2020	Saudi Arabia	24. Tackling the devastating impact of the pandemic on labor markets remains our priority as millions of workers continue to face job and income loss. We recognize the importance of protecting and promoting decent jobs for all, especially for women and youth.	women
2020	Saudi Arabia	24. We support access to comprehensive, robust, and adaptive social protection for all, including those in the informal economy, and endorse the use of the Policy Options for Adapting Social Protection to Reflect the Changing Patterns of Work. We recognize the importance of employment policies and programs in supporting job creation, and promote the use of social dialogue. We will continue to support workers through training and reskilling policies.	social protection for all
2020	Saudi Arabia	24. We acknowledge the report from the ILO and the OECD on the Impact of COVID-19 on Global Labor Markets. We endorse the G20 Youth Roadmap 2025 in support of achieving the G20 Antalya Youth Goal to reduce the share of young people who are at most risk of being permanently left behind in the labor market by 15 percent by 2025. We call upon the ILO and the OECD to continue monitoring these matters. We will continue our efforts to eradicate child labor, forced labor, human trafficking, and modern slavery in the world of work.	human trafficking
2020	Saudi Arabia	25. As many women have been disproportionately affected by the crisis, we will work to ensure that the pandemic does not widen gender inequalities and undermine the progress made in recent decades. Recalling relevant UN declarations, processes, and calls to action to empower women and girls, we reaffirm the importance of women's and girls' empowerment as a cross-cutting issue in all aspects of our policies and recognize that women are a key driver of economic growth.	women

2020	Saudi Arabia	25. We will continue to promote gender equality, as well as combat stereotypes, reduce pay gaps, and address the unequal distribution of unpaid work and care responsibilities between men and women.	gender equality women
2020	Saudi Arabia	25. We will step up our efforts towards achieving the Brisbane Goal to reduce the gap in labor force participation between men and women by 25 percent by 2025 along with improving the quality of women's employment; we call on ILO and OECD to continue providing input to support our progress; and look forward to a roadmap under the next Presidency.	women
2020	Saudi Arabia	25. We will take steps to remove the barriers to women's economic participation and entrepreneurship.	women
2020	Saudi Arabia	25.We welcome the commencement, under the Saudi Presidency, of the Private Sector Alliance for the Empowerment and Progression of Women's Economic Representation (EMPOWER) for women's advancement in leadership positions.	women
2020	Saudi Arabia	26. We have taken actions to mitigate the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on education. We stress the importance of continuity of education in times of crisis through the implementation of measures to ensure safe in-person learning, effective quality distance and blended teaching and learning, as appropriate. Inclusive, equitable and quality education for all, especially for girls, remains key to unlocking a brighter future and fighting inequalities. It is the foundation of personal development as it provides children, youth, and adults with the knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes necessary to reach their full potential. We affirm the importance of improving the accessibility and affordability of the quality early childhood education, and building and retaining a qualified workforce. We recognize the value of fostering internationalization in education, while respecting national and sub-national laws, rules and policies.	equitable , girls
2020	**under Saudi Arabia's leadership**	**Total number of commitments**	**7**
2021	Italy	3. We remain determined to use all available tools for as long as required to address the adverse consequences of the pandemic, in particular on those most impacted, such as women, youth, and informal and low-skilled workers, and on inequalities.	women
2021	Italy	8.We reaffirm the importance of ensuring the continuity of health services beyond COVID-19 and of strengthening national health systems and primary health care services, in light of the repercussions of the pandemic on mental health and well-being, due to isolation, unemployment, food insecurity, increased violence against women and girls and constrained access to education as well as health services, including sexual and reproductive health, paying special attention to women and girls and to the needs of the most vulnerable.	women; girls; violence against women; sexual and reproductive health
2021	Italy	9. ... women and youth empowerment...	women
2021	Italy	20. We will support intermediary cities...fostering empowerment and decent work for women...	women

2021	Italy	33. We reaffirm our commitment to gender equality and emphasize the pivotal role of women's and girls' empowerment and leadership at all levels for inclusive and sustainable development	gender equality women girls
2021	Italy	33. We commit to put women and girls, who have been disproportionately affected by the pandemic, at the core of our efforts to build forward better	women girls
2021	Italy	33. We will work on key factors such as equal access to education and opportunities, including in STEM sectors, the promotion of women's entrepreneurship and leadership, the elimination of gender-based violence, the enhancement of social, health, care and educational services, the overcoming of gender stereotypes, and the uneven distribution of unpaid care and domestic work.	gender
2021	Italy	34. We welcome the hosting of the first G20 conference on Women's Empowerment ... tools. 34. We will work on ... upcoming Presidencies. 34. We acknowledge the Women Entrepreneurs Finance Initiative as an important partnership to support women-led SMEs. 35. while paying special attention to addressing the digital gender divide and intergenerational inequalities. 36. We commit to ensure access to quality education for all, with particular attention to women and girls and vulnerable students.	
2021	**under Italy's leadership**	**Total number of commitments**	**14**
2022	Indonesia	6. We will also implement the One Health approach, intensify research on food science and technology, and improve stakeholders' capacity along the food supply chains, particularly women, youth, smallholder, and marginal farmers as well as fishers.	women
2022	Indonesia	25. We encourage international collaboration to further develop digital skills and digital literacy to harness the positive impacts of digital transformation, especially for women, girls, ...	women, girls
2022	Indonesia	26. It is essential to ensure that no one is left behind in our effort to digitally transform our society, by involving all stakeholders, including the youth, women, business sector, audit institution, parliaments, scientists, and labors.	women
2022	Indonesia	28. We endorse the G20 Financial Inclusion Framework on Harnessing Digitalization to Increase Productivity and Foster a Sustainable and Inclusive Economy for Women, Youth and MSMEs or Yogyakarta Financial Inclusion Framework guided by the G20 2020 Financial Inclusion Action Plan.	women
2022	Indonesia	38. We note the Preliminary Findings Report on Gender Inclusive Approaches in Private Participation in Infrastructure in promoting gender considerations during the infrastructure lifecycle and look forward to the final report.	gender
2022	Indonesia	39.Adding to the situation, the COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated pre-existing inequalities in many countries and continues to disproportionately affect women, youth, older workers, persons with disabilities and migrant workers. We underline that it remains our utmost priority to mitigate the adverse impact of the current trends on the labor market, reduce inequalities while responding effectively to the opportunities that automation and digital technologies present and promote gender equality.	women
2022	Indonesia	41. continue our work to integrate persons with disabilities, women, and youth across sectors	women

2022	Indonesia	44.We will empower relevant actors within and beyond G20 to remove barriers to education, improve teaching and learning environments, and support transitions within and across all stages of education, with emphasis on women and girls.	women girls
2022	Indonesia	46. As women and girls continue to be disproportionately affected by the COVID-19 pandemic and other crises, we reaffirm our commitment to put gender equality and women's empowerment at the core of our efforts for an inclusive recovery and sustainable development.	women girls
2022	Indonesia	46. We commit to implement the G20 Roadmap Towards and Beyond the Brisbane Goal foster financial inclusion and access to digital technologies, including to address the unequal distribution in paid and unpaid care and domestic work, with a focus on closing the gender pay gap.	
2022	Indonesia	46. We commit to the elimination of gender-based violence, the enhancement of social, health, care and educational services, and the overcoming of gender stereotypes	gender
2022	Indonesia	46. We will continue to advance women's and girls' equal access to inclusive and quality education, including participations in STEM education, women entrepreneurship through MSMEs, and women's and girls' access in leadership positions.	women
2022	Indonesia	46. We will promote quality of life for women in rural areas and women with disabilities.	women
2022	Indonesia	46. We welcome the work that has been done by the EMPOWER Alliance and its engagement with the G20, and support the future convening of G20 Ministerial Conference on Women's Empowerment.	women
2022	**under Indonesia's leadership**	**Total number of commitments**	**14**
2023	India	5. As Leaders of G20, the premier global forum for international economic cooperation, we resolve to act in concrete ways through partnerships. We commit to: k. Close gender gaps and promote the full, equal, effective and meaningful participation of women in the economy as decision-makers.	
2023	India	63. The G20 reaffirms that gender equality is of fundamental importance, and that investing in the empowerment of all women and girls, has a multiplier effect in implementing the 2030 Agenda.	
2023	India	64. We encourage women-led development and remain committed to enhancing women's full, equal, effective, and meaningful participation as decision makers for addressing global challenges inclusively and in contributing as active participants in all spheres of society, across all sectors and at all levels of the economy, which is not only crucial for achieving gender equality, but also for contributing to global GDP growth.	
2023	India	64. i. Reaffirm our commitment to achieving the Brisbane Goal to reduce the gap in labor force participation and implementing the G20 Roadmap Towards and Beyond the Brisbane Goal '25 by 25' and ask the ILO and OECD to report progress annually.	
2023	India	64. ii. Ensure equal access to affordable, inclusive, equitable, safe and quality education from early childhood through higher education to lifelong learning and support the greater enrolment, participation and leadership of all women and girls, including those with disabilities, in STEM fields and in emerging digital technologies.	

2023	India	64. iii. Take steps to promote the full and meaningful participation of women in a transitioning world of work by enabling inclusive access to employment opportunities, with a focus on closing the gender pay gap and ensuring women's equal access to decent work and quality jobs.	
2023	India	64. iv. Promote investment in the availability and accessibility of social protection, and to affordable care infrastructure to address the unequal distribution in paid and unpaid care and domestic work and to promote the continued participation of women in education and employment.	
2023	India	64. v. Commit to eliminate gender-based violence including sexual violence, harassment, discrimination and abuse against women and girls both online and offline, and ensure safe workplaces in this regard.	
2023	India	64. vi. Promote women's inclusion into the formal financial system by strengthening their access to economic resources, particularly through digital finance and microfinance.	
2023	India	64. vii. Eliminate gender stereotypes and biases, and change norms, attitudes and behaviours that perpetuate gender inequality.	
2023	India	65. We commit to halve the digital gender gap by 2030.	
2023	India	65. i. Address gender norms and barriers to accessibility, affordability, adoption, and usage of digital technologies.	
2023	India	65. ii. Promote regulatory policy frameworks that enable all women and girls to actively participate in the formulation and implementation of national digital strategies, including enhancing digital literacy and skills.	
2023	India	65. iii. Identify and eliminate all potential risks that women and girls encounter from increased digitalization, including all forms of online and offline abuse, by encouraging the adoption of safety-by-design approaches in digital tools and technologies.	
2023	India	65. iv. Promote and implement gender-responsive policies to create an enabling, inclusive, and non-discriminatory digital economy for women-led and -owned businesses, including MSMEs.	
2023	India	65. v. Encourage and support initiatives by identifying, funding, and accelerating proven solutions, thereby improving women's livelihoods and income security.	
2023	India	65. vi. Welcome initiatives to support women empowerment in the digital economy.	
2023	India	66. Acknowledging the disproportionate impact of climate change, biodiversity loss, desertification and pollution on all women and girls, accelerating climate action must have gender equality at its core.	
2023	India	66. i. Support and increase women's participation, partnership, decision-making and leadership in climate change mitigation and adaptation, and disaster risk reduction strategies and policy frameworks on environmental issues.	
2023	India	66. ii. Support gender-responsive and environment-resilient solutions, including water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) solutions, to build resilience to the impact of climate change and environmental degradation.	
2023	India	67. Women's food security and nutrition is the cornerstone of individual and community development as it lays the foundation for women's health, as well as that of her children, family and general well-being of the community.	

2023	India	67. i. Encourage investments in inclusive, sustainable and resilient agriculture and food systems. Support accessible, affordable, safe and nutritious food and healthy diets in school meal programmes. Promote innovation for inclusive agri-value chains and systems by and for women farmers.	
2023	India	67. ii. Support gender-responsive and age-sensitive nutrition and food system interventions by leveraging innovative financing instruments and social protection systems in ending hunger and malnutrition.	
2023	India	68. We agree to create a new Working Group on Empowerment of Women to support the G20 Women's Ministerial and look forward to the convening of its first meeting during the Brazilian G20 Presidency.	
2023	**under India's leadership**	**Total number of commitments**	**24**
2024	Brazil	29. We acknowledge the contribution of digital public infrastructure to an equitable digital transformation and recognize the transformative power of digital technologies to bridge existing divides and empower societies and individuals including all women and girls and people in vulnerable situations.	
2024	Brazil	31. We recognize the importance of creating quality jobs and promoting decent work for all to achieve social inclusion. We reaffirm our commitments to ... (v) to develop and implement comprehensive policies that dismantle discriminatory social and cultural norms as well as legal barriers to ensure women's equal, full and meaningful participation in our economies...	
2024	Brazil	32. We celebrate the inaugural convening of the G20 Empowerment of Women Working Group in 2024 and reaffirm our full commitment to gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls.	
2024	Brazil	32. We encourage women-led development and will promote the full, equal, effective and meaningful participation and leadership of women in all sectors and at all levels of the economy, which is crucial to the growth of global GDP.	
2024	Brazil	32. We recognize that all women and girls face particular barriers because of various factors, such as lack of access to health care, education, career development, equal pay, and leadership opportunities.	
2024	Brazil	32. Acknowledging that gender-based violence, including sexual violence against women and girls, is alarmingly high across public and private spheres, we condemn every form of discrimination against women and girls and recall our commitment to end gender-based violence including sexual violence and combat misogyny online and offline.	
2024	Brazil	32. We commit to promoting gender equality in paid and unpaid care work to ensure equal, full and meaningful participation of women in the economy, by promoting social and gender co-responsibility, encouraging and facilitating men's and boys' equal involvement in care work and challenging gender norms that prevent equitable distribution and redistribution of caregiving responsibilities.	
2024	Brazil	32. As we approach the 30th anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, we will strengthen our efforts to fulfill its implementation, including the outcome documents of its review conferences	
2024	Brazil	32. We commit to implementing the G20 Roadmap Towards and Beyond the Brisbane Goal and look forward to our Ministers developing proposals with a view to establishing new G20 commitments for the post-2025 period, in particular regarding closing the gender pay gap.	

2024	Brazil	32. We recognize the role of women as agents of peace.	
2024	Brazil	63. We commit to invigorate the General Assembly through the strengthening of its role, as the chief deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the United Nations, to uphold the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, including on questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, through an improved and intensified interaction with the Security Council. We also commit to invigorate the Assembly through transformative procedures and practices that recognize its authority and enhance its effectiveness and efficiency, in line with the UN Charter, and increased nominations of women candidates for President of the General Assembly.	
2024	Brazil	67. We will work towards a more representative UN Secretariat through transparency, equitable geographical distribution, rotation of nationalities, merit and gender balance in filling positions, and increasing the nomination of women for senior positions, including Secretary-General, while reaffirming that no post should be considered the exclusive preserve of any member state or group of states.	
2024	Brazil	78. We acknowledge that the development, deployment and use of emerging technologies, including artificial intelligence, can provide many opportunities to workers, but also poses ethical concerns and risks for their rights and well-being. As AI and other technologies continue to evolve, it is also necessary to bridge digital divides, including halving the gender digital divide by 2030, prioritize the inclusion of people in vulnerable situations in the labor market, as well as ensure fairness respect for intellectual property, data protection, privacy, and security. We agree to advocate and promote responsible AI for improving education and health outcomes as well as women's empowerment.	
2024	Brazil	26. We acknowledge that access to safe drinking water, sanitation, and hygiene is a prerequisite to health and nutrition and is critical to sustainable development outcomes. In this regard, mobilizing resources to build sustainable and resilient water and sanitation systems is essential for a healthier and more equitable future for all. We, therefore, support the promotion of water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) systems that are inclusive, integrated, sustainable, and gender-responsive to build resilience to the impacts of biodiversity loss, climate change, environmental degradation, water-borne diseases, disasters, and pollution. To this end, we welcome the Call to Action on Strengthening Drinking Water and Sanitation and Hygiene Services.	
2024	**under Brazil's leadership**	**Total number of commitments**	**21**

E. LIST OF KEY THEMES

Key themes from W20 Recommendations and G20 Leaders Declarations
1. Gender Pay Gap and the Workplace 2. Women's Entrepreneurship and Financial Inclusion 3. Education (STEM, Training) 4. Digital Inclusion (technology and innovation, digital divide) 5. The Care Economy (unpaid care, infrastructure, parental leave policies) 6. Stereotypes and Cultural Change 7. Violence Against Women 8. Women's Health (Access to healthcare services, Reproductive health, Mental health support, Pandemic response considerations) 9. Social Protection 10. Gender considerations in policy mainstreaming and budgeting 11. Asset Ownership (land, resources) 12. Climate Change and the Environment 13. Mobility (freedom of movement)

F. Women Business and the Law Full Questionnaire

Comparison of WBL 1.0 and WBL 2.0 Legal Questions

This table compares the original Women, Business and the Law (WBL) 1.0 questions with the 2024 revised WBL 2.0 framework, highlighting retained, modified, and new questions for each indicator.

Safety

WBL 1.0 Questions	WBL 2.0 Status / New Questions
(No indicator in WBL 1.0)	Does the law address child marriage? Does the law address sexual harassment? Does the law address domestic violence? Does the law address femicide?

Mobility

WBL 1.0 Questions	WBL 2.0 Status / New Questions
Can a woman choose where to live in the same way as a man?	Retained
Can a woman travel outside her home in the same way as a man?	Retained
Can a woman apply for a passport in the same way as a man?	Retained
Can a woman travel internationally in the same way as a man?	Retained
(No equivalent in WBL 1.0)	Do a woman and a man have equal rights to confer citizenship on their spouses and their children?

Workplace

WBL 1.0 Questions	WBL 2.0 Status / New Questions
Can a woman get a job in the same way as a man?	Retained
Does the law prohibit discrimination in employment based on gender?	Retained
(No equivalent in WBL 1.0)	Does the law explicitly prohibit discrimination in recruitment based on marital status, parental status, and age?
(No equivalent in WBL 1.0)	Does the law allow employees to request flexible work?

Pay

WBL 1.0 Questions	WBL 2.0 Status / New Questions
Does the law mandate equal remuneration for work of equal value?	Retained
Can a woman work at night in the same way as a man?	Retained
Can a woman work in a job deemed dangerous in the same way as a man?	Retained
Can a woman work in an industrial job in the same way as a man?	Retained

Marriage

WBL 1.0 Questions	WBL 2.0 Status / New Questions
Is the law free of legal provisions that require a married woman to obey her husband?	Retained

Can a woman be head of household in the same way as a man?	Retained
Can a woman obtain a judgment of divorce in the same way as a man?	Retained
Does a woman have the same rights to remarry as a man?	Retained

Parenthood

WBL 1.0 Questions	WBL 2.0 Status / New Questions
Is paid leave of at least 14 weeks available to mothers?	Retained
Does the government administer 100% of maternity leave benefits?	Rephrased: Are leave benefits for mothers paid solely by the government?
Is paid leave available to fathers?	Retained
Is dismissal of pregnant workers prohibited?	Retained

Childcare

WBL 1.0 Questions	WBL 2.0 Status / New Questions
(No indicator in WBL 1.0)	Does the law establish the provision of center-based childcare services? Does the law establish any form of support for families for childcare services? Does the law establish any form of support for nonstate childcare providers? Does the law establish quality standards for the provision of center-based childcare services?

Entrepreneurship

WBL 1.0 Questions	WBL 2.0 Status / New Questions
Does the law prohibit discrimination in access to credit based on gender?	Retained
Can a woman sign a contract / register a business / open a bank account like a man? (grouped in 1.0)	Reframed: Can a woman undertake entrepreneurial activities in the same way as a man?
(No equivalent in WBL 1.0)	Does the law prescribe a gender quota for corporate boards?
(No equivalent in WBL 1.0)	Does the law include gender-sensitive procurement provisions for public procurement processes?

Assets

WBL 1.0 Questions	WBL 2.0 Status / New Questions
Do men and women have equal ownership rights to immovable property?	Expanded: Do a woman and a man have equal administrative power and ownership rights to immovable property, including land?
Do sons and daughters have equal inheritance rights?	Retained
Do male and female surviving spouses have equal inheritance rights?	Retained
Does the law provide for the valuation of non-monetary contributions?	Retained

Pension

WBL 1.0 Questions	WBL 2.0 Status / New Questions
Are the ages at which a woman and a man can retire with full pension benefits the same?	Retained
Are the ages at which a woman and a man can retire with partial pension benefits the same?	Retained
Is the mandatory retirement age for a woman and a man the same?	Retained
Are periods of absence due to childcare accounted for in pension benefits?	Retained

G. Testimonials from W20 Leaders

The appearance of the quotes follows the order of Presidency
2015 Turkey, 2016 China, 2017 Germany, 2018 Argentina, 2019 Japan, 2020 Saudi Arabia, 2021 Italy, 2022 Indonesia, 2023 India, 2024 Brazil.

G20, 2018 - Argentina: Mabel Bianco, W20 Argentina - Head of Delegation



"Argentina did not have a formal delegation until 2017, when the German W20 called on civil society organizations to create one. We had organized meetings with trade unions, academics, and women from women's rights organizations to spark interest in participating. During a meeting in 2017, the delegation was established and has kept its independence ever since. We participate in the W20 through various committees, contributing to the communiqué, and greatly value the opportunity to express ourselves freely and have an autonomous voice that reaches beyond."

"The implementation of gender commitments relies on the willingness and specific circumstances of each country. Currently, there is no unified accountability mechanism in place. However, efforts are being made to establish one during South Africa's presidency, with the aim of creating a system to monitor the commitments adopted. This unified accountability mechanism is a fundamental responsibility of the W20."

"There has been a growing recognition of entrepreneurship and the benefits of representing women entrepreneurs. That's a reality. There has been an increasing recognition that well-being and economic empowerment are closely linked to other rights, such as women's rights to sexual and reproductive health. This year, we will convene a health group. I find it very interesting given my background in healthcare. We can discuss how well G20 countries provide health coverage that includes women."

"We must insist on one thing: that our countries support, follow, and respect the decisions made at the global level, such as those made at the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW). In recent years, our participation at the CSW has not only been about making our presence known, but also about actively contributing through proposals. This is crucial, especially at a time when we must work to strengthen multilateralism."

G20, 2020 - Saudi Arabia: Miznah Alomair, Ph.D., W20 Kingdom of Saudi Arabia - Head of Delegation



"It's not just about women's rights as a separate issue. Women's rights should be embedded in everything that we do."

"Backlash always occurs at the beginning of change... People become conditioned to these changes and adapt over time."

"The care economy will definitely be a huge focus because it's something we need to think about proactively."

"Evidence-based work is the way to approach the policymakers in Saudi Arabia. They appreciate analysis and systematic approaches... You need resilience and strength to adapt to resistance, continue the work, and not give up."

"I'm not a politician—none of us went into this for political reasons. If we remain focused on why we're here and what we're doing, we can make a compelling argument that leaders won't have grounds to refuse."

G20, 2021- Italy: Linda Laura Sabbadini, W20 Italy - Head of Delegation



“An excellent teamwork with high skills within the delegation and externally, the credibility, authority and influence of the chair in our presidency has been of extreme support to help us move forward the issue of women's rights, empowerment, economic sustainability and women, the road map on labor beyond Brisbane, combating gender-based violence and pushing for cultural changes through tackling gender norms and stereotypes"

"Our continuous presence in the media, as well as our deep involvement in the process of the working group methodology of the Italian presidency during the G20, step by step, formally and informally, has been instrumental in successfully passing some of our recommendations to G20 leaders, especially on labor sexual and reproductive health rights, violence against women"

"Listening to other women's organizations and civil society is one of the key results of the satisfaction and success of our W20 Italian Group. We have gathered more than 100 civil society organizations, in an inclusive and participatory process, where everyone felt heard and expressed their ideas, points of view and opinions to reach a world where all the women's potential is unleashed. In this way, we could best represent and express the needs and desires of women, in our W20 group, to the G20 leaders".

"My advice to you and for the future of W20: Being involved from the very beginning of the working groups of G20, hold regular meetings, be a good listener and mediator, use new concepts, explain definitions, involve ministries, civil society, media during the process and not only at the end with the communiqué, so that women's voices rise up, holding ideals high, high objectives and never bend for less rights, less voice, less space"

G20, 2022 - Indonesia: Uli Silalahi, W20 Indonesia - Head of Delegation

“Collaboration is crucial and cannot be overstated—it is essential for achieving any meaningful progress. Future W20 presidencies must continue to prioritize collaboration across all levels.”





Dian Siswarini, W20 Indonesia - Co-Head of Delegation

“Beyond submitting a strong communiqué, our main strategy was to focus on practical, on-the-ground initiatives that delivered real value to people. We didn’t want our presidency to be limited to policy papers—we wanted to demonstrate impact.”

G20, 2024 - Brazil: Adriana Carvalho, W20 Brazil - Head of Delegation



“In the long-term, our role as women of the W20 is to be the guardians and protectors of women's empowerment, human rights and women's social & economic rights. One of our roles is to monitor governments' policies, so that they are held accountable in the progress and advancement of women's conditions around the world"

" I was deeply and actively involved in the Care Economy Working Group, which, for the first time, was established as a priority thematic area. We achieved significant results and advancements in promoting the valorization and recognition of unpaid care work and caregivers’ rights and dignity, as well as advocating for fair employment practices, decent work, and social protection. "

“I have deeply valued the multicultural richness and diversity of the women engaged in advancing gender equality and women's empowerment during our presidency. Consensus and dialogue are both essential and challenging — they are critical for successful negotiations and for bringing together diverse perspectives and actions to craft a strong, well-refined communiqué”

G20, 2025 - South Africa: Narnia Bohler Muller, W20 South Africa - Head of Delegation



"Each country has its own systems. Each country is sovereign. It cannot dictate to any country how it will fulfill its commitment and provide everything it needs to do so. The heads of delegation are independent from government and come from different sectors, from business, academia, and civil society. Because it's a multilateral and consensus-based space, diplomatic solutions must be sought."

"Countries' politics and the proximity W20 has with the government can impact on the Leaders Declaration. In some countries, W20 has very strong relationships with Sherpas and the government. So, they have lobbying power, while in other countries, it's more focused on civil society and they could have less lobbying power. It's a matter of finding a balance."

"Sustainability and continuity of W20 can be fully realized with the mobilization of additional resources (finance, people, partners from the private sector), a well-managed W20 online platform for knowledge sharing and a collaboration space which is provided by iSAW."

G20, 2026 - United States of America: Anne Simmons-Benton, W20 USA – Co-Head of Delegation



"W20 in itself is a success story, the words that we have been using in the Women's W20 communiqués address women's economic empowerment and leadership, the care economy, entrepreneurship, disability, diversity, women at work, equal research in health, words and concepts that are inclusive of women that had never been used before in the G20 Leaders' Declaration. We have been able to shape policy language to convey the message across the G20, so that policy makers can adapt policy, implement laws and create equity for women"

"Consensus, Nuance in language, Political Sensitivity are of utmost importance in crafting communiqués. We need to collaborate with different stakeholders, including youth and religious groups, so that we are stronger together and we can advance the policy agenda and priorities, to reach gender parity, especially in the economic sphere"

G20, 2026 - United States of America: Virginia Littlejohn, W20 USA - Co-head of Delegation



"Our deepest relationships are with the OECD, the World Bank including We-Fi, the International Trade Center in Geneva (a joint agency of the UN and the World Trade Organization), and the Harvard Kennedy School Women's Alumni Network."

" Increasingly, we're also building strong relationships in Digital, Artificial Intelligence (AI), and the Care Economy. But we need to develop additional partnerships with regard to data, climate change and green and blue jobs, rural and indigenous women, girls' and women's health, and violence against women including technology-based violence. And increasingly, I believe that we need to embrace AI, and ensure that it works for us in ways that augment and benefit all of humanity."

"Several of my mega-priorities are creating a Global Showcase of Women Entrepreneurial Best Practices; unleashing a tidal wave of finance for women-owned businesses, starting with every country adopting the superb Women Entrepreneurs Finance Code, housed at the World Bank and managed by We-Fi; catalyzing public, private and institutional procurement for women-owned businesses; getting countries to realize that "norming" universal health on men's health doesn't work for women and girls, because their bodies are so different; and launching a powerful global initiative called Women Unlocking Trillions, focused on unlocking upward of $28 trillion globally via women in the workforce, entrepreneurship, STEM, the Care Economy, and the enormous economic contributions that women can make to GDP, job creation, prosperity and innovation."

W20 Delegation - European Union, Anna Ravanona



"The W20 Communiqué is our united voice and represents what all W20 delegations have agreed upon together, through consensus, on priority issues regarding women and girls in a given year."

"On the adoption process of W20 Communiqué: Each working group works diligently to make clear policy recommendations on their key topic area, that are reviewed and finalized by the Communiqué Drafting Committee. This committee finalizes and polishes the final W20 Communiqué, that is then approved by the whole W20 and subsequently sent to the G20 leaders."

"There is a lot of goodwill and willingness within the W20. However, because we currently do not have a clear overall governance, we often lack clear processes and structure within the Working groups meetings, which can hinder efficiency."

"In order to be more impactful in the future, we need sound governance, be better structured and have clear goals, tools and processes for our organizations."

W20 Delegation - European Union, Katharina Miller



"Each country brings its unique economic, cultural, and geopolitical context to the table, which shapes how W20 recommendations are considered and implemented. These diverse perspectives present valuable opportunities to adapt and localize strategies, fostering more inclusive and context-sensitive outcomes".

"W20 is in a pivotal phase of growth, with exciting potential to enhance its impact. Establishing a dedicated secretariat, developing a robust governance framework, building capacity among delegates, and introducing accountability mechanisms are important steps that can strengthen its role as a trusted platform for advancing gender equity globally."

"W20 can aspire to become a modern-day Kgotla – a vibrant, inclusive forum where voices from all walks of life come together to shape and drive policies that uplift women and girls around the world. By fostering open dialogue and mutual respect, W20 can lead the way in co-creating impactful, people-centered solutions."

NOTES



HKS WOMEN'S ALUMNI NETWORK

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