

How the G20 Has Escaped Diminishing Returns

John Kirton
Co-director, G20 Research Group
University of Toronto
john.kirton@utoronto.ca

International Cooperation in Times of Global Crisis:
Views from G20 Countries
Moscow, October 18–19, 2012

G20 Summit Performance

	Attendance	Domestic Political Management		Deliberation			Direction Setting		
		# compliments	% members complimented	# days	# documents	# words	Democracy	Liberty	Total
2008 Washington	100%	0	0%	2	2	3,567	10	2	12
2009 London	100%	1	5%	2	3	6,155	9	0	9
2009 Pittsburgh	100%	0	0%	2	2	9,257	28	1	29
2010 Toronto	90%	7	15%	2	5	11,078	11	1	12
2010 Seoul	95%	3	15%	2	5	15,776	18	4	22
2011 Cannes	95%	11	35%	2	3	14,107	22	0	22
2012 Los Cabos	95%	6	15%	2	2	12,682	31	3	34
Total	N/A	28	N/A	14	22	72,622	129	11	140
Average	96.42%	4	12.14%	2.00	3.14	10,375	18.43	1.57	20

G20 Summit Performance

	Decision Making	Delivery	Development of Global Governance			
			Internal		External	
	# commitments	Compliance score	# references	Spread	# references	Spread
2008 Washington	95	0.53	0	0	40	11
2009 London	88	0.42	12	4	116	27
2009 Pittsburgh	128	0.28	47	4	117	26
2010 Toronto	61	0.28	71	4	171	27
2010 Seoul	153	0.50	99	4	237	31
2011 Cannes	282	0.54	59	4	251	29
2012 Los Cabos	180	N/A	65	4	143	22
Total	987	N/A	353	28	1075	173
Average	141	0.43	50.43	4	153.57	24.71

G20 Leaders' Conclusions on Financial Crises

	# words	% total words	# paragraphs	% total paragraphs	# documents	% total documents	Total dedicated documents
2008 Washington	1,865	50.9	25	35.2	1	100	1
2009 London	2,135	34.1	30	32.6	3	100	3
2009 Pittsburgh	3,118	33.4	33	30.2	1	100	1
2010 Toronto	3,082	27.3	46	31.9	2	100	0
2010 Seoul	3,536	22.3	42	19.2	5	100	0
2011 Cannes	1,947	13.7	33	17	3	100	0
Average	2,614	30.2	34.8	27.7	2.5	100	0.83

G20 Leaders' Conclusions on Financial Regulation

	# words	% total words	# paragraphs	% total paragraphs	# documents	% total documents	Total dedicated documents
2008 Washington	2,877	78.6	59	83	1	100	0
2009 London	2,948	47.1	38	41.3	2	66.6	1
2009 Pittsburgh	2,022	21.6	19	17.4	1	100	0
2010 Toronto	3,419	30.2	48	33.3	1	50	0
2010 Seoul	2,005	12.6	26	11.8	2	40	0
2011 Cannes	2,451	17.2	27	13.8	3	100	0
Average	1,708	47.0	15	37.5	2	100	0

G20 Leaders' Conclusions on Development

	# words	% total words	# paragraphs	% total paragraphs	# documents	% total documents	Total dedicated documents
2008 Washington	651	17.8	9	12.6	1	100	0
2009 London	1,726	27.6	28	30.4	3	100	1
2009 Pittsburgh	2,292	24.5	20	18.3	1	100	0
2010 Toronto	3,899	34.5	61	42.3	2	100	1
2010 Seoul	9,195	58.1	105	47.9	5	100	2
2011 Cannes	2,545	17.9	33	16.9	3	100	0
Average	4,021	31.3	49	33.3	2	100	0

G20 Summit Equality Affirmations by Number of References

	2008 Washington	2009 London	2009 Pittsburgh	2010 Toronto	2010 Seoul	2011 Cannes	2012 Los Cabos
Principle							
Fair(ness)	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Broadly shared	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Equitably shared	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Social equity	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Equal partners	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Gender equality	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Equal(ity)	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Total affirmations	0	2	2	0	3	1	1
Total principles affirmed	0	0	2	0	3	1	1

G20 Summit Equality Affirmations by Number of References

	2008 Washington	2009 London	2009 Pittsburgh	2010 Toronto	2010 Seoul	2011 Cannes	2012 Los Cabos
Problem							
(Un)Employment	1	2	12	10	6	11	18
Discrimination	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Social exclusion	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Youth unemployment	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Total affirmations	1	2	14	10	6	13	18
Total problems affirmed	1	1	3	1	1	2	1

G20 Summit Equality Affirmations by Number of References

	2008 Washington	2009 London	2009 Pittsburgh	2010 Toronto	2010 Seoul	2011 Cannes	2012 Los Cabos
Group							
Poorest	1	9	13	8	6	3	3
Most vulnerable	-	2	2	5	3	6	2
Most at risk	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Unemployed	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Total affirmations	1	11	17	13	9	9	6
Total groups affirmed	1	2	4	2	2	2	3

G20 Summit Equality Affirmations by Number of References

	2008 Washington	2009 London	2009 Pittsburgh	2010 Toronto	2010 Seoul	2011 Cannes	2012 Los Cabos
Policy							
Social protection	-	2	2	2	2	4	2
Social support	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Social safety net	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
Employment insurance	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total affirmations	0	3	3	2	2	5	3
Total policies affirmed	0	2	2	1	1	2	2

How the G20 Has Escaped Diminishing Returns

John Kirton
Co-director, G20 Research Group
University of Toronto
john.kirton@utoronto.ca

International Cooperation in Times of Global Crisis:
Views from G20 Countries
Moscow, October 18–19, 2012