This course examines the development, participants, performance and reform of global summit governance. It does so through a focus on the Group of Seven (G7) and Group of 20 (G20) as informal “soft law” plurilateral summit institutions (PSIs) and their relationship with the “hard law” multilateral organizations of the United Nations and Bretton Woods bodies, especially in the intensely interconnected 21st-century world. It begins with a review of competing conceptions of global governance, the role of informal international institutions led by the G7 and G20, and their interaction and contrast with other PSIs, such as the BRICS of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, and with formal, legalized, multilateral, intergovernmental organizations. It then assesses the alternative models developed to describe and explain the performance of the G7, G20 and BRICS on key dimensions of global governance, and to evaluate various proposals for improving their compliance and institutional reform. It next examines the G7 and G20 diplomacy of key summit members. These actors come together at the end in a simulation of the German-hosted G7 summit in 2022.

The course critically assesses the proposition that the G7 and G20 are together emerging as effective, if still inadequate, centres of global governance. They do so in competition, cooperation and combination with hegemonic concentrations of state power, emerging outside countries and groupings, formal multilateral and regional international institutions, globalized markets, other private sector processes and networks, civil society and empowered individuals. Yet the G7 and G20 have moved through different phases of focus, approach, performance and effectiveness, have provoked questions about legitimacy and justice and have faced ongoing demands for reform. The core task is to explain these variations, in order to test and build better theories of PSI performance and international relations and on this basis to offer prescriptions for potentially far-reaching global governance action and change.
The first eight weeks of the course follow a fixed sequence, dealing in turn with basic dimensions of global governance, the G7, G20, BRICS, compliance and reform. The next three weeks examine the G7 and G20 diplomacy of key members, followed by the simulation in the final week. After the first seminar, students will present and lead the weekly sessions, with the instructor commenting primarily at the end of each seminar. Students will ballot for presentation topics in the first week.

Requirements
Each student will be responsible for:

1. A critical book review essay of 1,500 words on *G20 Governance for a Globalized World* (John Kirton, 2013) or on *The Global Governance of Climate Change: G7, G20 and UN Leadership* (John Kirton and Ella Kokotsis, 2015) or on *China’s G20 Leadership* (John Kirton, 2016), or on *Accountability for Effectiveness in Global Governance* (John Kirton and Marina Larionova, eds., 2018). The essay will be delivered to the instructor on paper and electronically, by 5:00 p.m., Thursday, October 14, 2021, for 25% of the overall course grade;
2. Active participation in all seminars, the simulation, and the presentation and chairing in of one seminar, for 25% of the overall course grade;
3. A major research essay of 2,500 words, normally based on the subject of your presentation, due in the instructor’s office in both paper and electronic copy by 4:00 p.m. on Wednesday, December 8, for 50% of the course grade.

Turnitin
Normally, students are required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purposes of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University of Toronto’s use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com website.

If, as a student, you object to using turnitin.com, please see the course instructor to establish appropriate alternative arrangements for submission of your written assignments.

Class ID = 30307552
Enrolment key = Drawer2tree

Late Penalty and Policy
The late penalty is 2% of the assignment grade per calendar day (without eligible cause, as approved by the instructor in advance). Eligible causes for extension are disruptions due to unforeseen medical and dental illness, unexpected non-curricular paid work-responsibilities and significant personal relationship setbacks. Students should keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays and assignments before and after handing them in to the instructor, until the marked assignments have been returned and
the grades posted. Note: Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism please see Writing at the University of Toronto, at http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources

**Basic Required Texts**
During the first few weeks, in addition to the weekly readings, students should buy at least one of, and read, the following *required* works, available for purchase at the University of Toronto Bookstore and directly from Routledge:


The following can be downloaded for free from http://www.g7g20.utoronto.ca/books:


**Core Monographs on Major Models of G7 Governance**
Bailin, Alison (2005). *From Traditional to Group Hegemony: The G7, the Liberal Economic Order and the Core-Periphery Gap* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (group hegemony)


**Core Books on G20 Governance**

*Monographs*


Cooper, Andrew F. and Ramesh Thakur (2013). *Group of Twenty (G20)* (Abingdon: Routledge).


*Editions*

Subacchi, Paolo and Andrew F. Cooper, eds. (2010). “*Global Economic Governance in Transition,*** Special Issue of *International Affairs* 86 (May).

Bradford, Colin and Wonhyuk Lim (2010). *Toward the Consolidation of the G20: From Crisis Committee to Global Steering Committee* (Seoul and Washington DC: Korea Development Institute and Brookings Institution).

Lesage, Dries, ed. (2010). *The Future of the G8 and G20* (Brussels: The Royal Institute for International Relations). (also in *Studia Diplomatica* 63(2)).


Note: Other useful books will become available. Ask the instructor for assistance or consult the G7 Information Centre and G20 Information Centre websites.

**Other Recommended Works on the G7 and G20**


**Core Books on the BRICS**


**Key Journals**

*International Organizations Research Journal*
*Global Solutions Journal*
*G20 Digest*
*Global Summitry Journal*
*Global Governance*

**Weekly Readings**

The weekly readings, of manageable length, are listed below. Start with the sections from the course texts, where listed. Publications marked with an asterisk are also required for the presenter. Presenters should avail themselves of further sources from the instructor, those listed in the Hajnal bibliography, the “Papers and Publications” section and the “Latest Citations” feature of the G7 Information Centre, the bibliography at the G20 Information Centre and the most recent journals.

Presenters should consult the instructor at least three weeks before their presentation. **One week before their presentation, they should email to the class the bibliography and handouts they have prepared for them, to give all a chance to read them before the class.** After the instructors’ announcements, presenters will present in the first 45 minutes and then after a break of ten minutes, lead a class discussion of 35 minutes, leaving 15 minutes for the instructors’ comments at the end.
The weekly readings are on reserve in Trinity College’s John Graham Library, located in the east wing of 1 Devonshire Place. Students may by appointment use the G7 Research Room on the second floor of the library. Graduate students can secure access to the G7/G8/G20 archives and artefacts for special projects. Many weekly readings are available on the G7 Information Centre website at http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/scholar (indicated below as “Web”). Some may also be available on the G20 Information Centre website at http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/biblio.

1. Introduction to the Course (September 9)
What is global governance, what are the G7/G20 institutions and why study them?

PART A: GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND THE G7/G20

2. Global Governance: Informal Institutions, Concerts, Clubs and the G7/G20 (September 16)
What is global governance? How is it created within an “anarchic” international system by the hegemony of a single dominant power or class, balance and concerts among great powers, intergovernmental institutions and legalized organizations, markets, societal processes, civil society actors, multi-stakeholder networks, epistemic communities, dominant ideas and empowered individuals such as celebrities? How much, how and why do international institutions matter under realist, liberal-institutionalist, constructivist and historical materialist theories? How have “soft law” informal institutions, particularly PSIs and concerts, operated since 1648? How have the G7 and G20 developed and performed since 1975 and 1999 respectively?


3. Formal Institutions, Multilateralism and the United Nations (September 23)
How and why have formal intergovernmental institutions, multilateralism and collective security approaches to global governance emerged, notably with the League of Nations and United Nations/Bretton Woods bodies? Are legalized intergovernmental organizations now more prevalent, effective and just as centres of global governance? How much has and can the multilateral intergovernmental system, established in the 1940s, perform and reform amidst the challenges of the 21st century world?

Making, Chapters 1-3, 3-62.


**4. G7 Governance (September 30)**

How, how well and for whom has the G7 governed and why? How has the G7 summit institutionally developed since its 1975 start? How well does it perform in its domestic political management, deliberation, direction setting, decision making, delivery, the development of global governance institutions, distinctive mission done and deaths delayed? When and why does it perform well? What are the essential features, strengths, and shortcomings of the ten major models developed to describe and explain G7/8 performance (listed below).

- the 1987 *American leadership* model of Putnam and Bayne;
- the 1989 *concert equality* model of Kirton and Wallace;
- the 1996 *false new consensus* model of Bergsten and Henning;
- the 1999 *democratic institutionalist* model of Kokotsis and Ikenberry;
- the 1999 *neo-liberal hegemonic consensus* model of Gill and Cox;
- the 1999 *ginger group* model of Hodges and Baker;
- the 2000 *collective management* model of Bayne;
- the 2001 *group hegemony* model of Bailin;
- the 2003 *meta-institution* model of Penttilä; and
- the 2005 *transformational governance* model of Kirton, et al.


5. G20 Governance (October 7)

How, how well and for whom has the G20 institutionally developed and performed and why? How does it compare with and relate to the G7? What are the essential features, strengths and shortcomings of the model of systemic hub governance. What other models are emerging to describe and explain G20 governance?


6. BRICS Governance/CRITICAL BOOK REVIEW ESSAY DUE (October 14)
How, how well and for whom has the BRICS developed and governed and why? How does it compare with and relate to the G7 and G20? What are the essential features, strengths, and shortcomings of the models emerging to describe and explain BRICS governance?

*Republic of South Africa (2013). BRICS: The Fifth BRICS Summit, Durban, South Africa (South Africa: Time Media).

7. Compliance and Accountability in Global Summit Governance (October 21)
How much do G7, G20 and BRICS members and other countries and institutions comply with the collective commitments, mandates, and the principled/normative consensus the leaders forge at the summit? How and why does the pattern of compliance vary by time, participating country and issue area? How have different accountability measures been used and affected compliance? Which ones can be added to increase compliance?


### 8. Reforming the G7/G20 (October 28)

To ensure optimal performance, what frequency, length, location, facilities, format, schedule, membership, participation, agenda, preparatory process, communiqués, institutions, media, engagement groups and other civil society and public diplomacy, should the G7 and G20 summits have? Importantly, how do their choices interrelate to affect performance? How can and should the G7/G20 reconcile the competing claims of representativeness, inclusiveness, legitimacy, trans-regional cooperation, open democratic values, and timely and effective global governance? What are the various empirical, ideal and prospective configurations of each body as an international institution? What should their relationship with each other and outside institutions be?


*Bradford, Colin and Wonhyuk Lim (2010). *Toward the Consolidation of the G20: From Crisis Committee to Global Steering Committee* (Seoul and Washington DC: Korea Development Institute and The Brookings Institution).


### PART B: G7/G20 DIPLOMACY OF THE MEMBERS

Part B shifts to a comparative foreign policy approach to examine the role of selected participating countries and organizations toward and within the G7/G8/G20. How important is the G7/G8/G20 to an actor, given the alternative international institutions and instruments available? What roles, issues and functions does the actor emphasize?
Who and what are the actor’s usual allies, adversaries, coalition strategies and tactics? How and how often does it prevail? Why?

9. Canada (November 4)

READING WEEK: No class or office hours (November 11)

10. United States (November 18)

11. Italy (November 25)

12. Simulating Germany’s 2022 G7 Summit (December 2)
To simulate the forthcoming G7 summit hosted by Germany in 2022, students assume the roles of members and participants in this G7 summit. A draft communiqué will be produced in advance by the host leader and sherpa for consideration, confirmation and revision during the seminar. The student who serves as the host and chair will not need to present another seminar this term. All students will be evaluated as part of their presentation and participation mark.

13. MAJOR RESEARCH ESSAY DUE (December 8)

Assignments

Critical Book Review Essay
The critical book review essay should follow the general form of book or literature reviews in scholarly journals. The existing reviews of the eligible books (see below) are weaker than what is required here. Your critical review should deal with the book in a balanced fashion but with a clear overall argument. It should address:

1. What is the authors’ stated purpose(s), central thesis, argument, and explicit or underlying analytical or causal model?
2. What is your overall thesis about or evaluation of the book?
3. How logically integrated, consistent and complete is the authors’ argument or model?
4. How well is the argument or model supported by the evidence as assembled and interpreted by the author? What anomalies, puzzles or alternative patterns arise?
5. How well does the argument/model account for other evidence from the same or a subsequent time period, as you know from other readings for the course to date?
6. How does the argument/model account for other evidence from the same or a subsequent time period, as you know from other readings for the course to date?
7. How well does the argument/model account for other evidence from the same or a subsequent time period, as you know from other readings for the course to date?
8. How does the argument compare, in quality and substance, with alternative explanations you have encountered in your reading for the course to date?
9. How would you refine (if you do not reject) the editor(s)'/authors’ argument to better account for the evidence? What are your major criticisms and corrections?
10. How well does it relate to, draw from or contribute in turn to more general theories of international institutions and global governance?
11. How logically related, practical and appealing are its judgements on the reform and future of the summit process?
11. How prescient have its predictions, projections and prescriptions (proposals) been?
12. How well have the stated purposes of the book been achieved and what is its overall contribution to G7/G20 literature?

You may wish to start by reading the (insufficiently critical) reviews by:

**G20 Governance for a Globalized World**

**The Global Governance of Climate Change**

**China’s G20 Leadership**

**Major Research Essay**
The Major Research Essay of 2,500 words is normally written on the same subject as your seminar presentation, using your recent research for, and feedback from your oral presentation. In exceptional circumstances the essay can be written on another first-term topic. In either case the essay will cover the entire topic, not just the section you presented in class. Your bibliography should have at least 20 scholarly sources. You may exchange ideas and data but not text with your presentation partner(s), to avoid any dangers of plagiarism.

Your paper and presentation will address in turn the following questions.

1. Introduction:
   a. What is the global challenge or problem, including past, present and projected death and destruction, and the policy and theoretical significance of this case?
   b. What is the debate among competing schools of thought that describe and explain the G7/G20’s role and performance and their causes in this specific issue area (cf. the major causal models that explain G7/G20 performance as a whole, and as you identify schools based on but not just reproducing what others have written)?
   c. What unexplained patterns or “puzzles” arise from these existing schools?
d. What is your thesis/central argument about G7 performance and its key causes?
e. How do you define the issue area for purposes of this analysis?

2. An Overview of Performance Patterns — What is the available systematic, often quantitative, evidence on the overall pattern of G7/G20 performance on this issue (following the G7RG’s Summit Performance Manual and updating as necessary the data sets that others have produced)? This includes:
   How well has the summit performed on this issue across its various functions at each annual encounter, in hosting cycle or within each phase?

3. Causes of Performance: What does the pattern, trend and phases of the performance across these eight dimensions show are the major most salient causes of this performance? In this input-output matching method, show which causes change in the right way, to the right degree at the right time to match, and thus plausibly cause the major changes in performance. How and how well are variations in G7/G20 performance explained by variations in the major causal factors at different levels of analysis, notably:
   a. Relative vulnerability, especially as activated by shocks, (global problem/demand, interdependence, connectivity, sensitivity, vulnerability, shocks);
   b. Relative international institutional capacity and performance of bodies outside and inside the G7/G20;
   c. Relative capability among members and outside actors in the global system;
   d. Common principles (charter, identities/values, epistemes, historical lessons);
   e. Political cohesion (leaders’ control, capital, continuity, competence, commitment);
   f. Constricted, controlled, club participation (membership, outside participation, civil society and summit format);
   g. Other factors (especially those offered in the literature beyond those in the concert equality model and systemic hub model) which you must specify and show the impact of.
   In each case you must directly connect the changes in the conditions of your chosen causes with the commensurate changes in the condition of the performance effects that you highlight. That is, did the causes change in the right way, at the right time, to plausibly cause (correlate with) the observed performance effects?

4. Critical Cases in G7/G20 Diplomacy: What critical cases in diplomacy on this issue have produced the peaks, depths and turning points in these patterns of performance and how did the diplomacy and negotiations for and at that summit produce the result? What are the cases at individual summits where the G8/G20 has produced its greatest successes and failures on this issue? In each case (usually between four to six), use the detailed process tracing or historical method, to identify the member’s initiative, alignment, and bargaining or persuasion dynamics that produced high or low performance, in the lead up to and at the summit itself. Focus on who led, supported, resisted and adjusted to produce the result. Identify what causes, especially in the consciousness of the participating actors, produced the observed results.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations
How well do the causes account for the performance, as presented in your opening thesis?
What puzzles and suggestions for future research arise?
a. What recommendations would you make for the next summit to adopt? Offer your recommendations as draft text for the communiqué for use in the summit simulation.

Information Sources
All the books and weekly readings are on reserve at Trinity College’s John Graham Library. They are on two-hour in-library reserve for the first copy, but there may be additional copies available for overnight takeout. A collection of published material should also exist in the Robarts Library.

A comprehensive, authoritative and up-to-date source of information and analysis on the G7 is available at the G7 Information Centre at http://www.g7.utoronto.ca on the G20 at the G20 Information Centre at http://www.g20.utoronto.ca and on the BRICS at http://www.brics.utoronto.ca. The first contains extensive bibliography of works on the G8, compiled by Peter Hajnal, plus other publications and citations, together with the full text of some pieces. It also contains the documentation issued by and at the annual G7/8 summit and some ancillary ministerial meetings, a list of delegations, media coverage and, since 1996, an evaluation of the performance of the annual G8 summit and its participating members. It contains links to other G7 sites.

The physical version of the materials on the G7 Information Centre website, together with additional documentation and audio recording of briefings at the summit, is available at the G7 Research Collection at Trinity’s John Graham Library. Special arrangements are required to access these materials.

For an overview of G7 and G20 documentation see the books by Peter Hajnal from Ashgate Publishing.

Version of August 14, 2021