This course examines the development of global summit governance. It does so through a focus mainly on the Group of Seven (G7) and Group of 20 (G20) as informal "soft law" plurilateral summit institutions (PSIs) and their relationship with "hard law" multilateral organizations resting on binding treaties, like the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund. It begins with a review of the history and competing conceptions of global governance, the evolving role of informal international institutions, and the impact of transnational non-governmental actors. It then assesses alternative models describing and explaining the performance of the G7, G20 and other leader-level fora on key dimensions of global governance. Finally, it evaluates various proposals for improving compliance with agreements reached, and it reviews the G7 and G20 diplomacy of key summit members. Through focused readings, research, and open-minded discussion and debate, the course critically assesses the proposition that the G7 and G20 have emerged as effective and legitimate centres of global governance.

The first section of the course deals in turn with basic dimensions of global governance, summits, and compliance and reform. The second section then turns to assessing the G7 and G20 diplomacy of key members. In later weeks, each student will also give a brief in-class presentation of research work-in-progress.

Requirements and Grading

I. A critical book review essay of between 1,400 and 1,500 words. The essay will be delivered to the instructor’s Sidney Smith mailbox on paper and electronically on the course Quercus site, by 5:00 p.m., Thursday, October 19, 2022, for 25% of the overall course grade. Details below.

II. Active participation in all seminars and presentation of research work-in-progress for 25% of the overall course grade.

III. A research essay of 2,500-3,000 words, due in the instructor's Sidney Smith mailbox and by electronic copy to our course Quercus site by 4:00 p.m. on Thursday, December 7, for 50% of the course grade. Details below.
Late Penalty and Policy
Each assignment will be graded on a 0-100 scale. A late penalty of 5 points per calendar day will apply for all unexcused delays. Students should retain draft work and copies of their essays and assignments, until the marked work has been returned and the grades posted.

Academic Integrity: Honesty and transparency are fundamental to learning and scholarship at the University of Toronto. Participating truthfully, respectfully, responsibly, and fairly in this academic community ensures that the U of T degree that you earn will be valued as a true indication of your individual academic achievement, and will continue to receive the respect and recognition it deserves. Familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto’s Code of Behavior on Academic Matters. It is the rule book for academic behavior here, and you are expected to know the rules. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments
a) Using someone else’s ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
b) Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks.
c) Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
d) Making up sources or facts.
e) Including references to sources that you did not use.
f) Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment, including working in groups or assignments that are supposed to be individual work, and having someone rewrite or add material to your work while editing it.
g) Lending your work to a classmate who submits it as his/her own.

Misrepresentation:
a) Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including doctor’s notes.
b) Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the Code. The consequences for academic misconduct can be severe, including a failure in the course and a notation on your transcript. If you have any questions about what is or is not permitted in this course, please do not hesitate to contact the instructor. If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, seek out additional information from the instructor, or from other available campus resources like the U of T Writing Website. If you are experiencing personal challenges that are having an impact on your academic work, please speak to the instructor or seek the advice of your college registrar. (Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as
source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com website.)

**Generative AI technology is difficult to avoid, and its implications are being widely debated. The fact that it is currently being used by some for less than noble purposes is already clear. The use of generative AI technology for the final composition of work submitted to meet the requirements of this course is strictly prohibited and will be considered a violation of the Code by the instructor. The text of all component parts of essays, including footnotes, should be drafted and edited by you without assistance. Quiz questions should be answered by you. The use of generative AI technology remains difficult to hide. Why risk receiving a grade of zero on an assignment? Why prevent yourself from developing skills that will help you succeed in your future life? Do your own learning.**

**Accessibility Services:** Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach the instructor and/or Accessibility Services at (416) 978 8060 (accessibility.utoronto.ca).

**Course Outline and Weekly Readings:**

Required weekly readings are listed below. They must be read before coming to class.

Most readings will be posted on the course Quercus site. Others are on reserve in Trinity College's John Graham Library, located in the east wing of 1 Devonshire Place. Students may by appointment also 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 also available on the G7 Information Centre website at http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/scholar. Some may also be available on the G20 Information Centre website at http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/biblio. Many will also be accessible online through the UofT (Robarts) Library system.

**September 13: Introduction: Global challenges, global responses**

(Guest seminar leader: William O’Connell)

Orientation from the perspective of International Political Economy. What is global governance? Across the formal and informal institutions and networks now involved, where do the G7/G20 summits and related infrastructure fit in?

No readings are required for the first session, but Mark Mazower’s *Governing the world: the history of an idea, 1815 to the present* (Penguin Books, 2013) is recommended to provide context for the course.
PART A: GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND THE G7/G20

September 20: Global Governance: Institutions, Concerts, Clubs, and Forums

In the construction of global governing institutions, what is the role of a single dominant power, a ruling class, a balance of power, concerts among great powers, intergovernmental organizations, market and other societal processes, civil society actors, multi-stakeholder networks, epistemic communities, and dominant ideas and empowered individuals? What theories try to explain or understand such factors? How have summit institutions (SIs) operated historically? What were the motivations behind the UofT’s pioneering research programs on the G7 and G20?


September 27: Global Governance: Formal-Legal Institutions

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 system? 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?


October 4: G7 Governance
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 problems pre-empted? 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 performance (listed below).

the 1997 American leadership model of Putnam and Bayne;
the 1999 concert equality model of Kirton and Wallace;
the 1996 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.

Freytag, Andreas, John Kirton, Razeen Sally and Paolo Savona, eds. (2011). Securing the Global Economy: Global Governance for a Post-Crisis World (Farnham: Ashgate), Chapter 1,3-21.
October 11: G20 Governance
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?


October 18: G7/G20 Relationships with Other State-Led Groups

CRITICAL BOOK REVIEW ESSAY DUE

How, how well and for whom have the BRICS and other forums developed as governance instruments and why? How do they 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?


October 25: Compliance and Accountability in Informal Institutions

How much do G7, G20 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?


**November 1: Effective and Legitimate Governance in a Global Civil Society**

To ensure optimal performance, what frequency, length, location, facilities, format, schedule, membership, participation, agenda, preparatory process, communiques, 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 MEMBER STATES

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

November 15: Comparative Foreign Policy: The Place of the G7 and G20 in Key Member-State Strategies


November 22: Comparative Foreign Policy: The Place of the G20 in Key Member-State Strategies


November 29: Alternatives to Summit Governance?

December 6: Global Summits and the Future of Multilateralism: Where to from here?
Ivo Daalder and James Lindsay (2022). “Last Best Hope: The West’s Final Chance to Build a Better World Order,” Foreign Affairs, July/August, pp. 120-130.

Written Assignments

BookReview

Early in the term, each student will be assigned one of the following books to review.


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


A critical book review essay should follow the general form of a major book review typically found in scholarly journals, like *International Journal, Foreign Affairs, World Politics,* or *Global Governance.* It should deal with the book in a balanced fashion but with a clear overall argument. It should state the author’s or authors’ purpose(s), central thesis, and explicit or underlying analytical or causal model. It should evaluate that thesis and the evidence presented to sustain it. How well is the argument or model supported by the evidence as assembled and interpreted by the author? What anomalies or puzzles arise? How does the argument compare, in quality and substance, with alternative explanations you have encountered in your reading for the course to date? What are your major criticisms and corrections? How adequate is the author's argument as a general model of G7/G20 performance? How well does it relate to, draw from or contribute in turn to more general theories of international institutions and global governance?

**Research Essay**

The Research Essay of 2,500-3,000 words will focus on G7 and/or G20 performance in dealing with a major global challenge. Early in the term we will divide key topics among seminar participants. Topics will include: climate change, biodiversity loss, international financial stability, ocean and atmospheric pollution, free and fair trade, international tax fairness, investment regulation, the architecture of global security, terrorism, pandemics and public health, international monetary arrangements, sovereign debts, management of outer space, the generation of nuclear energy, economic development, transnational money-laundering, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.
With a specific global challenge in mind, the essay will outline discussions and evolving agreements negotiated by the G7 and/or G20 over time. It will assess progress made and intentions for the future. It will note the roles, if any, assigned to formal or informal international institutions. It will evaluate the compliance of members with specific commitments made and note who led, who supported, who resisted, and who adjusted to produce any results achieved in principle and in practice. It will suggest the dimensions of collaborative work yet to be done. It will discuss any domestic constraints faced by leading member-states, and it will outline evident international impediments to future progress. Throughout the essay, a clear theoretical stance should be taken. In the end, that stance should be justified and juxtaposed with obvious alternatives. A concluding comment should be made on the adequacy or inadequacy of the G7 or G20 forum itself in tackling the issue at hand.

Bibliographies should include at least twenty relevant scholarly sources. Students may exchange ideas and data but not text with others, but each essay should be written independently.

Information Sources

Most of the books and weekly readings are on reserve at Trinity College's John Graham Library. All published material should also be accessible on-line or physically through the UofT (Robarts) Library System. Occasional pieces will be uploaded to the course Quercus site.

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 also 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; see Graham Library staff. For an overview of G7 and G20 documentation see the books by Peter Hajnal from Ashgate Publishing. In addition to texts noted above, a partial listing of relevant journals, books and published studies is provided on the course Quercus site.