

POL 458S/2258S

Version of September 3, 2021

Global Summit Governance Policy Performance

University of Toronto, St. George Campus
Spring 2022

Thursday 10:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.

Location: Larkin 213

Course websites: <http://www.g7g20.utoronto.ca>
and <http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/teaching>

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This course examines the performance of the major global summit governance institutions. 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 addresses how, how well and why the G7 or G20 governs key subjects across the finance-economic, social, ecological and political-security domains.

The course critically assesses the proposition that the G7 and G20 are together emerging as effective centres of global governance. They could be doing so in competition, cooperation and combination with hegemonic concentrations of state power, emerging non-member 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 and effectiveness, and have provoked questions about legitimacy and justice and 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

After the first seminar, students will present and lead the weekly sessions on a selected policy area of G7/20 governance, with the instructor commenting primarily at the end of each seminar. Students will ballot for presentation topics in the first week. The final seminar will be a simulation of the forthcoming G20 summit in Indonesia in 2022.

Requirements

Each student will be responsible for:

1. An assessment of the compliance of the member countries with one recent G7 or G20 commitment on the same subject as your presentation and major research essay, delivered to the instructor on paper and electronically. It is due by 10:00 a.m., Friday, February 18, 2022 (just before reading week), for 25% of the overall course grade;
2. Active participation in all seminars, the simulation, and the presentation and chairing in one seminar, for 25% of the overall course grade;
3. A major research essay of 3,000 words based on your presentation, due in the instructor's office in both paper and electronic copy by 4:00 p.m. on Friday, April 8, 2022, for 50% of the course grade.

Ouriginal

The University of Toronto no longer uses Turnitin as its plagiarism detection tool. Papers must now be uploaded using Ouriginal, accessible through Quercus.

Plagiarism

Normally, students will be required to submit their course assignments to the University's plagiarism detection tool website for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their material to be included as source documents in the University's plagiarism detection tool 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 University's plagiarism detection tool service are described on the company website.

Late Penalty and Policy

The late penalty is 2% of the assignment grade per calendar day, including weekends (without eligible causes, as approved by the instructor or teaching assistant in advance). Eligible causes for extension are unforeseen: a. medical and dental; non-curricular paid work-related; or c. disruptive personal relationship interruptions. Students should keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays and assignments before handing them in to the instructor. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned and the grades posted on ACORN. Note: Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism consult 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 if possible and read the following *required* works, available for purchase at the University of Toronto Bookstore and directly from Routledge:

Kirton, John (2013). *G20 Governance for a Globalized World* (Abingdon: Routledge).
("G20 Governance")

- Kirton, John and Ella Kokotsis (2015). *The Global Governance of Climate Change: G7, G20 and UN Leadership* (Abingdon: Routledge). (“Climate Leadership”)
- Kirton, John (2016). *China’s G20 Leadership* (Abingdon: Routledge). (“China’s Leadership”)
- Kirton, John and Marina Larionova, eds. (2018). *Accountability for Effectiveness in Global Governance* (Abingdon: Routledge).

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

- Kirton, John and Madeline Koch, eds. (2020). *G20 Saudi Arabia: The 2020 Riyadh Summit* (London: GT Media).
- Kirton, John and Madeline Koch, eds. (2021). *G7 UK: The 2021 Cornwall Summit* (London: GT Media).

Core Monographs on Major Models of G7 Governance

- Putnam, Robert D., and Nicholas Bayne (1987). *Hanging Together: Cooperation and Conflict in the Seven Power Summits*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press). (“Hanging”) (American leadership)
- Hodges, Michael, John Kirton and Joseph Daniels, eds. (1999). *The G8’s Role in the New Millennium* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (“Role”) (concert equality).
- Bergsten, C. Fred and C. Randall Henning (1996). *Global Economic Leadership and the Group of Seven* (Washington DC: Institute for International Economics). (false new consensus).
- Kokotsis, Eleonore (1999). *Keeping International Commitments: Compliance, Credibility and the G7, 1988-1995* (New York: Garland). (“Keeping”) (democratic institutionalism).
- Penttilä, Risto (2003). *The Role of the G8 in International Peace and Security* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). Adelphi Paper 355. (meta-institutionalism)
- Bayne, Nicholas (2005). *Staying Together: The G8 Summit Confronts the Twenty-First Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (“Staying”) (collective management)
- Bailin, Alison (2005). *From Traditional to Group Hegemony: The G7, the Liberal Economic Order and the Core-Periphery Gap* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (group hegemony)
- Fратиanni, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton, eds. (2005). *New Perspectives on Global Governance: Why America Needs the G8* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (“New Perspectives”) (transformational governance)
- Baker, Andrew (2006). *The Group of Seven: Finance Ministers, Central Banks and Global Financial Governance* (Abingdon: Routledge). (Ginger group)

Core Books on G20 Governance

Monographs

- Penttilä, Risto (2009). *Multilateralism Light: The Rise of Informal International Governance* (London: Centre for European Reform).
- Jokela, Juha (2011). *The G-20: A Pathway to Effective Multilateralism* (Chaillot Papers 125, Institute for Security Studies European Union, April).

- Postel-Vinay, Karoline (2011). *Le G20, laboratoire d'un monde emergent* (Paris: Les Presses de Sciences Po).
- Postel-Vinay, Karoline (2013) *The G20: a new geopolitical order* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Hermawan, Yulius, Wulani Sriyuliani, Getruida Hardjowijono, and Sylvie Tanaga (2011). *The Role of Indonesia in the G20: Background, Role and Objectives of Indonesia's Membership* (Jakarta: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung).
- Kirton, John (2013). *G20 Governance for a Globalizing World* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Cooper, Andrew F. and Ramesh Thakur (2013). *Group of Twenty (G20)* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Hajnal, Peter (2019). *The G20: Evolution, Interrelationships, Documentation* Second Revised edition (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Rewizorski, Marek (2014). *From Washington to St. Petersburg: Development of the G20 as a New Centre of Global Governance* (Berlin: Logos Verlag).
- Drezner, Daniel (2014). *The System Worked: How the World Stopped Another Great Depression* (Oxford University Press: New York).
- Kirton, John and Ella Kokotsis (2015). *The Global Governance of Climate Change: G7, G20 and UN Leadership* (Farnham: Ashgate). (“Climate Leadership”)
- Kirton, John (2016). *China's G20 Leadership* (Abingdon: Routledge). (“China's Leadership”)
- Luckhurst, Jonathan (2016). *G20 Since the Global Crisis* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Slaughter, Steven (2020), *The Power of the G20: The Politics of Legitimacy in Global Governance* (New York: 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).
- Larionova, Marina, ed. (2010). “G-X Summitry,” *International Organizations Research Journal* 5 (Moscow: International Organizations Research Institute, Higher School of Economics).
- Lesage, Dries, ed. (2010). *The Future of the G8 and G20* (Brussels: The Royal Institute for International Relations). (also in *Studia Diplomatica* 63(2)).
- Bradford, Colin and Wonhyuk Lim, eds. (2011). *Global Leadership in Transition: Making the G20 More Effective and Responsive* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution).
- Dervis, Kemal and Peter Drysdale, eds. (2014). *The G20 Summit at Five: Time for Strategic Leadership* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press).
- Callaghan, Mike and Tristram Sainsbury, eds. (2015). *G20 and the Future of International Economic Governance* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press).
- Slaughter, Steven, ed. (2019), *The G20 and International Relations Theory: Perspectives on Global Summitry* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar).

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

- Larionova, Marina and John Kirton, eds. (2015). *The G8-G20 Relationship* (Farnham: Ashgate). (“*Relationship*”)
- Freytag, Andreas, John Kirton, Razeen Sally and Paolo Savona, eds. (2011). *Securing the Global Economy: G8 Global Governance for a Post-Crisis World* (Farnham: Ashgate). (“*Securing*”)
- Savona, Paolo, John Kirton and Chiara Oldani, eds. (2011). *Global Financial Crisis: Global Impact and Solutions* (Farnham: Ashgate). (“*Crisis*”)
- Kirton, John, Marina Larionova and Paolo Savona, eds. (2010). *Making Global Economic Governance Effective: Hard and Soft Law Institutions in a Crowded World* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (“*Making*”)
- Larionova, Marina, ed. (2012). *The EU in the G8: Promoting Consensus and Concerted Actions for Global Public Goods* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Hajnal, Peter (2007). *The G8 System and the G20: Evolution, Role and Documentation* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (Also available in Russian and Chinese)
- Dobson, Hugo (2007). *The Group of 7/8* (New York: Routledge).
- Fратиани, Michele, John Kirton and Paolo Savona, eds. (2007). *Financing Development: G8 and UN Contributions* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Fратиани, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton eds. (2007). *Corporate, Public and Global Governance: The G8 Contribution* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Kirton, John and Radoslava Stefanova, eds. (2004). *The G8, the United Nations and Conflict Prevention* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Bayne, Nicholas and Stephen Woolcock, eds. (2003). *The New Economic Diplomacy: Decision-Making and Negotiation in International Economic Relations* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Fратиани, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton, eds. (2003). *Sustaining Global Growth and Development: G7 and IMF Challenges and Contributions* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Fратиани, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton, eds. (2002). *Governing Global Finance: New Challenges, G7 and IMF Contributions* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Kirton, John and Junichi Takase, eds. (2002). *New Directions in Global Political Governance* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Kirton, John and George von Furstenberg, eds. (2001). *New Directions in Global Economic Governance: Managing Globalization in the Twenty-First Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Kirton, John, Joseph Daniels and Andreas Freytag, eds. (2001). *Guiding Global Order: G8 Governance in the Twenty-First Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Kaiser, Karl, John Kirton and Joseph Daniels, eds. (2000). *Shaping a New International Financial System: Challenges of Governance in a Globalizing World* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Bayne, Nicholas (2000). *Hanging In There: The G7 and G8 Summit in Maturity and Renewal* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Oldani, Chiara and Jan Wouters, eds. (2019), *The G7, Anri-Globalization and the Governance of Globalization* (Abington: Routledge).

Mourlon-Druol, Emmanuel and Federico Romero, eds. (2014). *International Summitry and Global Governance: The Rise of the G7 and the European Council, 1974-1991* (Abingdon: Routledge).

Core Books on the BRICS

Cooper, Andrew F. (2016). *BRICS: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Larionova, Marina and John Kirton (2016). *BRICS in the System of Global Governance* (Abingdon: Routledge).

Stuenkel, Oliver (2015). *BRICS and the Future of Global Order* (London: Lexington).

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 at the Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy at 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 (January 13)

Starting on Thursday, January 20, 2022, each week explores G7/G20 governance of a specific subject, with 10 selected from the list of 15 below. Students will ballot for their choices in the first class and the instructor will assemble them into the top ten. Volunteers to present the first seminar are encouraged. To prepare, start by reading the relevant

chapters in *G20 Governance, Securing, Making and New Perspectives*. The presenters will circulate a reading list once the subjects have been selected.

January 20:

January 27:

February 3:

February 10:

February 17:

February 18: COMPLIANCE REPORT DUE

February 24: READING WEEK — No class or office hours

March 03:

March 10:

March 17:

March 24:

March 31:

April 7: SIMULATION

April 8: MAJOR RESEARCH ESSAY DUE

The citations below are where you can easily start your weekly readings. Equivalent article for G7 performance appear in John Kirton and Madeline Koch, eds. (2021), *G7 UK: The Cornwall Summit* (GT Media: London).

1. Global Financial Crises. The present or potential financial crises in Argentina, Turkey, Italy and China lead many to ask how well have and can the G7 and G20 prevent them from going global or control them if they do, given these bodies performance on financial crises in the past. Start by reading:

John Kirton (2017). “Securing Stability and Inclusiveness: G20 Summit Success in Controlling Financial Crises.” *International Organizations Research Journal*.

Drezner, Daniel W. (2015). *The System Worked: How the World Stopped Another Great Depression*. Oxford: (Oxford University Press).

2. Macroeconomic Policy. How well can the G7 and G20 coordinate their fiscal as well as monetary policy to produce strong, sustainable, balanced and inclusive economic growth?

Filipiuk, Jane (2020), “G20 Performance on Macroeconomic Policy,” in John Kirton and Madeline Koch, eds, *G20 Saudi Arabia: The Riyadh Summit* (GT Media: London), pp. 54-55.

3. International Taxation. What advances have the G7 and G20 made in governing these critical components of globalized economic growth?

Motala, Michael (2020), “G20 Performance on International Taxation,” in John Kirton and Madeline Koch, eds, *G20 Saudi Arabia: The Riyadh Summit* (GT Media: London), pp. 72-73.

4. Trade. Why have the G7 and G20 failed to conclude the Doha Development round of multilateral trade liberalization and how well have they prevented protectionism and produced liberalization through other means?

Marchyshyn, Maria (2020), "G20 Performance on Trade," in John Kirton and Madeline Koch, eds, *G20 Saudi Arabia: The Riyadh Summit* (GT Media: London), pp. 84-5.

5. Gender. How successful have and will the G7 and G20 be in enhancing women's place in the workplace, and education for employment in the new economy?

Kulik, Julia (2020,) "G20 Performance on Gender Equality," in John Kirton and Madeline Koch, eds, *G20 Saudi Arabia: The Riyadh Summit* (GT Media: London), pp. 102-3.

6. Development. How well has the G7 and G20 fostered development, especially as the United Nations transitioned from the old Millennium Development Goals to the new Sustainable Development Goals?

Dobson, Sonja (2020), "G20 Performance on Development," in John Kirton and Madeline Koch, eds, *G20 Saudi Arabia: The Riyadh Summit* (GT Media: London), pp. 110-111.

7. Climate Change and the Environment. Is G7 and G20 leadership helping to control climate change and bring an effective United Nations and global regime to life?

Warren, Brittaney (202), "G20 Performance on Climate Change," in John Kirton and Madeline Koch, eds, *G20 Saudi Arabia: The Riyadh Summit* (GT Media: London), pp. 122-23.

8. Health. How well has the G7 governed global health? Why was the G20 so late to help, until the Ebola epidemic struck in 2014? How well are they governing the COVID-19 pandemic starting in 2020?

Byrd, Meagan, "G20 Performance on Health," in John Kirton and Madeline Koch, eds, *G20 Saudi Arabia: The Riyadh Summit* (GT Media: London), pp. 40-41.

9. Digitalization. How well and why have the G7 and G20 governed digitalization, cyberspace, and information and communication technologies?

Williams, Meredith (2020), "G20 Performance on the Digital Economy," in John Kirton and Madeline Koch, eds, *G20 Saudi Arabia: The Riyadh Summit* (GT Media: London), pp. 150-1.

10. Crime and Corruption. Can the G7 and G20 effectively control crime and corruption, in a world where the United Nations lacks a dedicated organization to do this job?

Rudich, Denisse (2020), "G20 Performance on Anti-Corruption," in John Kirton and Madeline Koch, eds, *G20 Saudi Arabia: The Riyadh Summit* (GT Media: London), pp.160-1.

11. Terrorism. How, how well and why have the G7 and G20 countered terrorism in both its old and new forms, in a world where murderous movements such as al Qaeda and Islamic State and their successors seem to grow or spread?

12. Russia. How should the G7 and G20 deal with Russia after its 2014 invasion and annexation in Ukraine, based on the G7's success in bringing the democratic revolution to Russia and peacefully ending the cold war from 1975 to 1992?

13. Weapons of Mass Destruction. With nuclear proliferation continuing in North Korea and Iran now in doubt, and chemical weapons used in Syria, what should the G7 and G20 do, given their performance in the past?

14. Regional Security. How and why has the G7 dealt with deadly regional security conflicts in the Middle East, Iran, Afghanistan, North Africa, the Balkans and Ukraine with diplomatic inclusion or suspension, suasion, economic sanctions or military force, and what should it do now?

15. Democratization and Human Rights. How, how well and why has the G7 met its foundational mission of promoting democracy and human rights, now with the G20's help?

Summit Simulation: G20 Indonesia. To simulate the forthcoming G20 summit, students assume the roles of members and participants of the G20 summit (plus guests). A draft communiqué (chair's statement) will be produced in advance for consideration, confirmation and revision during the seminar. All students will be evaluated on their participation as part of their presentation and participation mark.

Assignments

1. Compliance Assessment

The Compliance Assessment begins with the choice of a commitment from a recent G7 or G20 summit that deals with the issue you select for your second-term seminar presentation. A G7/8 commitment prior to 2019 (but not yet done by anyone) will cover the compliance of its members (including the European Union) from the summit the commitment was made until the next summit. A G20 commitment prior to 2019 (but not yet done by anyone) will cover the compliance of the 20 members (including the EU) over the, sometimes shorter, period until the subsequent summit was held. Your assessment will follow the framework outlined in the Compliance Coding Manual and the

Compliance Reports prepared by the instructor and the G7 Research Group and listed at <http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/compliance>. Each assessment will cover in turn:

1. The *Commitment*, reproduced in its full text with its year and number and the compliance period by dates;
2. The *Summary Table* reporting the results;
3. The *Background and Context* of the commitment, ie its recent history and context;
4. *Definitions* of key terms in the commitment, from the manual or the dictionary;
5. *Concepts* of key phrases/concepts in the commitment, from the manual or internet search from reputable source (i.e. relevant international organization)
6. *General Interpretive Guidelines* (the “law”) from the coding manual that are relevant;
7. *Specific Interpretive Guidelines* that you specify for this commitment (if needed);
8. *Scoring Metric*, specifying what thresholds must be met to assign a -1, 0 or +1 score;
9. *Country Analysis*: The evidence by member;
10. An *Analysis/Conclusion* of the patterns in the results, including conjectures about their causes; and
11. An *Annex* of country compliance on your issue by commitment in chronological order.

For further guidance see the compliance assessments for over 500 G7/8 commitments and over 200 G20 ones on the G7 and G20 Research Groups websites. Should your compliance assessment be of sufficient quality, you will be offered an opportunity to have it published electronically, under your name in whole or part, as is or with revisions, on the website of the G7 Research Group or G20 Research Group. There will be a training session.

2. Major Research Essay

The Major Research Essay of 3,000 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 the topic of your first-term presentation. In either case the essay will cover the entire topic, not just the section you presented in class. In consultation with the instructor, you will deal with the G7 or the G20 (or in rare cases both) in the issue area you select. Your bibliography should have at least 29 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 G7/G20 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:
- a. Overall achievement (for evidence see, inter alia, Putnam and Bayne (1987); Bayne (2000, p. 195); the G7 Research Group Performance Assessments; the Kokotsis, Kirton, Juricevic scores on significant commitments; G8 Research Group Personal Evaluations and John Kirton's Summit Success Score);
 - b. The eight individual dimensions of performance, as follows:
 - i. Domestic political management (Communication);
 - ii. Deliberation (Public Conclusions and Private Conversation);
 - iii. Direction setting (Consensus on principles and norms);
 - iv. Decision making (Commitments);
 - v. Delivery (Compliance by members, as assisted by accountability mechanisms);
 - vi. Development of global governance inside and outside (Constitutionalization);
 - vii. Distinctive mission done;
 - viii. Deaths delayed or avoided (as a common metric of success).

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 G7/G20 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 G7/G20 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 G7/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**
 - a. How well do the causes account for the performance, as presented in your opening thesis?
 - b. What puzzles and suggestions for future research arise?
 - c. 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 summit and some ancillary ministerial meetings, a list of delegations, media coverage and, since 1996, an evaluation of the performance of the annual G7 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.