

SECOND TECHNICAL REPORT



THE G20 ENERGY TRANSITION AGENDA: BRAZIL'S LEGACY FOR THE LATIN AMERICAN REGION IN THE RUN-UP TO COP30

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Introduction

As global society addresses the challenges of climate change while simultaneously securing its energy, the transition to low-carbon energy sources has become a key international agenda item.

Energy has been at the heart of the G20 agenda for more than a decade, driven by the pursuit of economic resilience and environmental sustainability. The establishment of the Energy Sustainability Working Group in 2013 marked a significant step towards addressing global energy challenges. However, despite notable progress in the adoption of renewable energy, significant disparities remain between developed and developing nations. The G20 has reflected these growing concerns by including the issue in the Working Group on Energy Transitions.


Over the past four years, the chairmanship of the group has shifted between major developing powers from the Global South that have prioritised the issue. Indonesia's 2022 chair prioritised just energy transitions; India's 2023 chair emphasised green innovation and scalable renewable energy solutions; Brazil's 2024 chair integrated socio-economic dimensions into clean energy strategies; and South Africa's 2025 chair is aligned with the African Union's (AU) Agenda 2063 and the Nairobi Declaration of the African Climate Summit, advocating for industrial growth, clean energy investments and just transitions.

Brazil held the pro tempore presidency of the G20 from December 1, 2023, to November 30, 2024. Seeking to continue these trajectories and project its global leadership, the South American country formulated three priorities in the G20 agenda linked to energy transition:

- Accelerate the financing of energy transitions, especially in emerging markets and developing economies.
- Add a social dimension to the energy transition, recognising the fundamental role of energy in securing human quality of life, livelihoods and economic prosperity.
- Providing innovative perspectives on sustainable fuels.

These goals were transformed into landmark achievements under the Brazilian presidency of the group, including the launch of the Global Alliance against Hunger and Poverty, the adoption of the Principles for a Just and Inclusive Energy Transition, and the advancement of Climate Finance Initiatives. This reflects the historic commitment of Brazilian foreign policy makers to recognising socio-economic inequalities, while setting a fundamental precedent on which future G20 presidencies will build.





The results obtained during Brazil's G20 presidency demonstrate that the country is a key actor in a position to provide solutions at the national level and catalyse progress towards just and equitable energy transitions (JET) at the global level. The objective of this report is to characterise Brazil's leadership capacity in the G20 by positioning the energy transition narrative as a way to observe changes and continuities within the processes at the BRICS Forum and COP30 in 2025. In addition to the governmental level, which civil society actors were involved? What level of coincidences or divergences were observed between the governmental and non-governmental level narratives? What lessons can we draw from Brazil's leadership in the Global South, specifically Latin America, in terms of TEJ?

This analysis is informed by the fact that Brazil will hold the presidency of the BRICS Summit and COP30 in 2025, representing a critical opportunity to move towards fairer, more equitable, and democratic energy governance. Brazil has a unique opportunity to build on its previous work in the G20.


1. Brief description of Brazil's track record in the G20 and its commitment to environmental and energy issues

The current prominence of the G20 as the primary forum for global discussion, as well as Brazil's role as a key player in this process, dates back to the establishment of this space in 1999. Initially limited to deliberations on possible reforms to be implemented in the international financial architecture to restore stability after a series of financial crises that began in the mid-decade, this multilateral negotiating space became increasingly complex in both its structure and institutional dynamics as the group's agenda expanded. Beyond participating in the G20 since its inception, Brazil's leadership in this and other multilateral forums began to consolidate within the framework of the 'Heiligendamm Process,' when G7 members recognised the need to incorporate emerging powers into discussions on major international issues. In fact, in 2003, during the French presidency of the then G8, Sarkozy decided to invite a small group of developing countries, including the Brazilian government (Myatt, Sayao, Torney and Zommers, 2007: 2).

At the 2005 Heiligendamm Summit, Brazil promoted discussion on two major issues: climate change and trade. Regarding the former, it emphasised three specific topics: post-2012 climate agreements, incentives to reduce global deforestation levels, and promotion of the global ethanol market (Sayao, 2007: 5).

Although this approach never aimed to turn the G8 into a G13, it undoubtedly paved the way for the incorporation of the emerging countries' perspective into global debates, and consequently that of Brazil, which crystallised with the worldwide relaunch of the G20 after the 2008 financial crisis.





Two premises are therefore clear that have persisted in Brazil's trajectory within the G20: its desire for global prominence and an agenda that has historically prioritised environmental issues.

In line with the high international profile promoted during the first term of the Workers' Party (PT), President Lula da Silva played a prominent role at the first meeting of G20 heads of state and government in November 2008 in Washington, requesting that emerging countries, such as his own, have greater participation in the decision-making mechanisms of a new global financial architecture (Peixoto, 2008).

This quest for international projection was not limited to economic and financial issues – the original focus of the G20 – but extended to multiple and diverse topics on its agenda.


In 2024, Brazil assumed the presidency of the G20 in a challenging context, both internally and externally. Domestically, the primary aspiration of Lula's third term in office, in the foreign policy area, was to resume 'active diplomacy,' which translated into an intention to end ideological alignment with the global far right and regain a proactive stance on the international stage after four years of Bolsonaroism, characterised by an apparent regional and global retrenchment. Internationally, Brazil hosted the summit in a global context marked by geopolitical tensions—the result of the wars in Ukraine and Gaza—which posed potential threats to consensus-building and, therefore, to the summit's success.

Despite these obstacles, 'the Brazilian government was able to navigate the turbulent waters of various geopolitical divisions and draft a final declaration that was accepted by all parties' (de Sá Guimarães, 2024:10). In this way, Brazil was able to reaffirm its position as a central player in global governance, expanding its capacity for dialogue with both traditional and emerging powers. Its presidency of the G20 also strengthened its image as a mediator in international conflicts and a promoter of multilateralism.

During its presidency, the Brazilian government developed an agenda that balanced continuity—by incorporating topics developed by previous hosts—with the introduction of new lines of work. In this regard, Brazil maintained its commitment to traditional G20 agenda items, including global economic stability, strengthening the international financial system, and supporting multilateral trade.

However, among issues outside the strictly economic sphere, the Brazilian presidency continued to emphasise the importance of international cooperation for climate change mitigation.





It is worth noting that this issue was first addressed at the 2009 Pittsburgh summit. On that occasion, G20 leaders recognised the need to phase out inefficient fossil fuel subsidies, marking a milestone in the inclusion of environmental issues on the group's agenda (The G20 Pittsburgh Summit, 2009). Climate change then became a recurring theme at subsequent summits, but in recent years, its treatment has become more in-depth.


Among the innovative themes proposed by Brazil for 2024, those related to environmental and energy issues are particularly notable. The theme of the Summit, held in Rio de Janeiro, was 'Building a fair world and a sustainable planet'. In this regard, the following topics were considered priorities: sustainable development, energy transitions, and climate action. Consequently, based on proposals suggested by the Brazilian presidency, the Task Force for Global Mobilisation against Climate Change (FT Clima) was established as a discussion group aimed at coordinating responses between the Sherpa and Finance channels concerning the climate emergency. This initiative aimed to address a gap in the governance of climate discussions, which had previously separated climate diplomats gathered in discussions on the Framework Convention from representatives of finance ministries and central banks participating in G20 financial debates (Netto, Rizzo, and Ribeiro, 2024: 45).

Another innovative proposal for the G20 was the fight against hunger (although this was already a long-standing goal for Lulismo in Brazil), with the proposal of a global plan to ensure food security through investments in sustainable agriculture and a more equitable distribution of food.

Ultimately, the establishment of the Bioeconomy Initiative (GIB) facilitated the adoption of ten key principles, including the recognition of the need to rethink the way we produce and consume, the importance of traditional knowledge, and the potential of technological innovation. In this way, Brazil promoted an environmental agenda linked to a commitment to a just energy transition, which must align the interests of emerging and developed economies (Netto, Rizzo and Ribeiro, 2024: 47).

In this way, the global bioeconomy has become a crucial pillar in the transition to a more inclusive, low-carbon, climate-resilient and nature-positive economy. The bioeconomy is a vital tool for sustainable development, playing a pivotal role in striking a balance between the exploitation of natural resources and environmental preservation. The rise of clean technologies presents a viable path to decarbonization, while the bioeconomy complements this movement by ensuring the sustainable and equitable use of biodiversity, a crucial requirement for a just transition to sustainability (Furtado, 2024: 75).





Therefore, in terms of energy, policies and regulations for expanding renewable energy capacity, widespread electrification, and promoting the use of bioenergy and biofuels were highlighted at this summit as priority measures (Ioschpe, 2024: 82).

Finally, the G20 summit held in Brazil demonstrated that it is not only a forum for diplomats and political officials but has also become a platform for the participation of organised civil society in bodies such as the C20, S20 or B20.

The agreements reached by the G20 leaders have served as a starting point for further discussions in the BRICS and COP30 forums, planned for 2025 and led once again by Brazil, with the intention of achieving gradual and progressive progress in climate and energy negotiations. It should not be forgotten, however, that such a consensus will not be automatic and will require coordination with a larger number of countries, taking into account all those states that did not participate in the G20 but will be included in the BRICS Plus and COP meetings.

2. The energy transition in the finance channel

The G20 has undergone various changes in its institutional structure and dynamics. Following these adjustments, mainly precipitated by the global financial crisis of 2007, the group's dynamics began to unfold in two parallel bands of action, which operate autonomously: the Finance channel and the Sherpas channel (Alexander, 2011). This section aims to provide an account of the narratives and initiatives deployed by Brazil within the Finance channel, particularly within the Sustainable Finance Working Group (SFWG), during its presidency of the G20.

Discussions on energy transition within the Finance Channel are carried out in the framework of the aforementioned Sustainable Finance Working Group (SFWG), which is tasked with 'identifying institutional and market barriers to sustainable finance, developing options to overcome such barriers, and contributing to better alignment of the international financial system with the goals of the 2030 Agenda and the Paris Agreement' (G20 SFWG, n.d.).

However, it acquired the status of a working group during 2021. The deliberations on issues that are the focus of this space date back to 2016, when, under the chairmanship of the People's Republic of China (PRC), the establishment of a Green Finance Study Group was proposed.

In line with the priority themes formulated for its presidency of the G20, Brazil proposed to conduct the SFWG discussions around four priority axes:




- Optimising the operations of international environmental and climate funds to provide sustainable financing.
- Promoting credible, robust and fair transition plans.
- Analysis of implementation challenges related to sustainability reporting standards, including for Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) and Emerging and Developing Economies (EMDEs).
- Financing nature-based solutions (G20 SFWG, 2024a).

This agenda of priority issues was addressed within the framework of four SFWG meetings held in 2024. Similarly, the presidency's work proposal for the group was substantiated through a series of roundtables with various private sector representatives, including financial institutions, corporations, and academia. At the opening of each of these events, the representatives of the host state provided an account of the country's expectations in advancing the proposed issues, aiming to 'build a fairer world and a more sustainable planet', as is the motto adopted by the country for its presidency of the group.

During the opening of the first meeting of the SFWG, the Brazilian representatives remarked that the country's richness in terms of biodiversity and the challenges of a national society marked by inequality drove their eagerness to achieve decisive results in each of these priority areas. In this context, it was emphasised that these realities were shared by a large part of the Latin American region and the Global South, which showed the need for the group's work to produce concrete results. Similarly, the representatives of the presidency insisted in the group's first meetings that the proposed priority points corresponded to the multi-annual roadmap approved in the institutionalisation of the working group¹.

With specific regard to the axis of 'promoting credible, robust and fair transition plans' - linked to the focus of this report - the Brazilian chair started from the premise that transition plans are of increasing relevance for actors in the financial system - private financial and banking institutions, central banks and supervisory bodies, among others - but that the diversity of approaches, scope and implementation of these plans affects the capacity of all stakeholders when assessing them. To overcome this difficulty, and consequently drive the transition to resilient, low GHG or net zero emissions economies that 'leave no one behind', the Brazilian presidency proposed that the SFWG (i) develop high-level principles for transition plans and (ii) reflect on the scope of the notion of "just" transition to guide financial institutions and corporations to deepen the 'just' component of transition plans (G20 SFWG, 2024a). It is worth recognising that although the opportunity to advance a consensual definition of "just" was emphasised, the Brazilian presidency did not fail to note that all transition plans should take into account the specific characteristics of each national reality.






In this regard, the document detailing the chair's expectations regarding the results of the group's work highlighted the desire to reach a consensus on 'a set of general principles for transition plans that would be adapted to different cases and recognise different jurisdictional frameworks'. The Brazilian chair also made explicit in the document the interest of the group's work to produce 'recommendations on just transition for jurisdictions and international organisations (IOIs), focusing on how to assess and mitigate the negative social and economic impacts of transitional activities and investments by financial institutions and companies' (G20 SFGW, 2024a).

It is worth adding that during the group's first working meeting, the Brazilian presidency added a third specific task or goal to the workstream inherent in the promotion of transition plans: to understand the applicability of the notion of 'just' transition in the steel and cement sectors (G20 SFGW, 2024b). The rationale revolved around their relevance as sources of industrial emissions. As highlighted in a paper prepared by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) for the SFGW, the steel sector is responsible for 8-10% of global greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. The cement sector, on the other hand, accounts for approximately 8% of global emissions. In parallel to their status as major emitters, both sectors have a very significant impact on global output and employment (ILO, 2024).

In line with developments since its institutionalisation, the consensus reached within the group's framework was made explicit in the corresponding report, titled the G20 Sustainable Finance Report (G20 SFGW, 2024c). This document details the contexts, challenges and recommendations for each of the priority areas of work proposed by the presidency. In terms of pushing for credible, robust and fair transition plans, the report finally systematised the high-level principles. Formulated as voluntary, these principles encompass various aspects of any transition plan, including goals and objectives, implementation strategy, governance and risk management, linkage to value chains, metrics and monitoring, transparency, and consideration of the 'fairness' component (G20 SFGW, 2024c). Regarding the latter, the report highlights the importance of transition plans that seek to mitigate negative effects and maximise opportunities to ensure a positive social impact.

The recommendations contained in the report above were generally endorsed in the communiqué of the fourth and final meeting of the Ministers of Economy and Finance and Central Bank Governors, held under the Brazilian presidency of the G20. This communiqué emphasises the importance of recognising the autonomy of states in the development and implementation of transition plans (G20 Brazil, 2024, 24/10/2024). In this context, the communiqué emphasises the voluntary nature of the high-level principles for transition plans. It also emphasises that transition plans should consider national and local circumstances, as appropriate.





These considerations, a product of the presidency's work, were partially addressed in the final communiqué of the leaders' summit.

3. Energy Transition in the Sherpa Track: ETWG and ECSWG

Within the Sherpa track, which addresses issues complementary to the group's financial track, Brazil promoted an active agenda within the Energy Transitions Working Group (ETWG), a successor to the Energy Sustainability Working Group (ESWG). Representing the Brazilian government, the designated Sherpa was Ambassador Mauricio Lyrio, Secretary of Economic and Financial Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Itamaraty) (G20 Brazil 2024, n.d.-b).

The ETWG's work was articulated through technical negotiations and the convergence of high-level political processes that generated guiding principles, including the Energy Ministerial Declaration and the G20 Leaders' Summit. With the core themes proposed by Brazil as its focus, one of the ETWG's achievements was the adoption, for the first time at the G20, of the Principles for Just and Inclusive Energy Transitions². This document, developed based on technical contributions and consultations among members and international organisations, establishes ten principles that guide energy transitions as a people-centred process, promoting sustainable development, the eradication of energy poverty, decent employment, social participation, and respect for national circumstances. These principles were recognised in the Ministerial Declaration on Energy Transitions, held in Foz do Iguaçu, and endorsed by G20 leaders in the Rio de Janeiro Declaration. All of which represents a demonstration of the South American country's significant political leadership in forging a minimum consensus toward a common agenda on the issue.

Furthermore, and in line with Brazil's priority of promoting an energy transition that takes into account the challenges of the Global South, the ETWG also supported the organisation of the Brazil-Africa Ministerial Dialogue on Energy Transitions – South-South Cooperation for Just and Equitable Energy Transitions³. This event brought together ministers and high-level representatives from the African Union (AU), Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Zambia and the Brazilian G20 Presidency, to discuss the need for closer cooperation between Africa and G20 members to accelerate a just and equitable energy transition in Africa that addresses energy poverty, promotes economic development and opens opportunities for diversified supply chains (G20 Brazil 2024, n.d.-c). The ETWG took up the outcomes of this Dialogue, particularly regarding the need for finance, tailored technological solutions and respect for national priorities.



In this sense, according to South Africa's 2025 Presidency, “Brazil’s energy policy served as a model for integrating socioeconomic dimensions into clean energy strategies, highlighting the importance of balancing renewable adoption with inclusive growth” (G20 South Africa 2025, 2024, p. 3).

In short, the ETWG's work during Brazil's G20 Presidency helped lay the groundwork for greater political alignment around a notion of energy transition centred on justice, inclusion, and development. It opened up new prospects for global cooperation, especially with countries in the Global South. However, this approach exhibits substantive limitations in its ability to translate the language of energy justice into concrete and operational commitments. The consensus on the adopted Principles leaves their implementation subject to the political will of each member state, with no monitoring mechanisms or common indicators. This reveals an unresolved tension between the discourse of a just transition and the dominant interests within the G20, which continue to prioritise attracting investment, technological expansion and energy security under a logic of conventional economic growth.


ETWG’s Documents	
Title	Author
<i>1.Ministerial Outcome Statement</i>	ETWG
<i>2.Principles for Just and Inclusive Energy Transitions</i>	ETWG
<i>3.Chair’s Statement of the Brazilian G20 Presidency</i>	Brazil
<i>4.Carbon Accounting for Sustainable Biofuels</i>	International Energy Agency (IEA)
<i>5.Towards Common Criteria for Sustainable Fuels</i>	IEA
<i>6.Communique to Brazilian G20 Presidency</i>	Ministers and high-level representatives from the AU, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Zambia and Brazil



ETWG's Documents	
Title	Author
<i>7.Clean Energy Investment in Emerging Markets and Developing Economies</i>	Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)
<i>8.OPEC Contribution to Roadmap for Brazil's G20 Presidency on Clean Cooking Strategy</i>	OPEC
<i>9.Roadmap for the Brazil G20 Presidency's Clean Cooking Strategy</i>	IEA, Sustainable Energy for All (SEforALL) and World Bank Group (WBG)
<i>10.A Just and Inclusive Energy Transition in Emerging Markets and Developing Economies</i>	International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA)
<i>11.Development Banks and Energy Planning. Attracting Private Investment for the Energy Transition</i>	IRENA and the National Bank for Economic and Social Development (BNDES, for its acronym in Portuguese)
<i>12.Energy Planning Programme Highlights</i>	IRENA
<i>13.From Knowledge to Action. IAEA Toolkit for Sustainable Energy Planning</i>	International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)
<i>14.Nuclear Energy for Net Zero Accelerating Investment in Clean Energy Transitions</i>	IAEA
<i>15.Roadmap to Increase Investment in Clean Energy in Developing Countries – an initiative by the G20 Brazil Presidency</i>	Brazil and IEA

As part of the ETWG's work, 15 documents were published, 11 of which were technical and almost entirely (except for two) prepared by international organisations⁴. Prepared based on information from the official G20 Brazil 2024 website (<https://g20.gov.br/>).





On the other hand, Brazil continued to participate in the Environmental and Climate Sustainability Working Group (ECSWG), which was established during the German Presidency of the G20 in 2017. During the Brazilian Presidency, the group's purpose was to address the core challenges of the environmental and climate agenda, promoting cooperation between member and guest countries through practical and innovative solutions (G20 Brazil 2024, n.d.-a).

Brazil prioritised four themes: preventive and emergency adaptation to extreme climate events; payments for ecosystem services; oceans; and waste and the circular economy (G20 Brazil 2024, n.d.-a), all of which have been addressed — to a greater or lesser extent — by previous presidencies. Four technical documents were developed in alignment with these priorities, and a ministerial declaration was subsequently published.

G20 declarations are adopted by consensus, which has led to a common practice in recent years where the presidency issues a specific statement on geopolitical issues alongside the ministerial declaration. These geopolitical issues often confront some member countries and have previously hindered agreement. This situation also occurred during Brazil's presidency⁵.


In the ECSWG's Ministerial Declaration, the word "energy" appeared only once, linked to the fact that G20 countries generate 80% of global greenhouse gas emissions and account for a large share of material and energy use.

It is worth clarifying that at the G20, working groups typically don't overlap in their topics, especially when there are specific spaces already dedicated to certain issues, as is the case with the ETWG. However, the ministerial declarations of the working groups on Labour: Women's Empowerment, Research and Innovation, and International Financial Architecture refer to energy and/or energy transitions.

Brazil also created a temporary group: the “Task Force for Global Mobilization Against Climate Change,” better known as TF-CLIMA, to consolidate the results of the different working groups and articulate coordinated responses between the G20 Sherpa and Finance tracks to the challenges of climate change, as well as strengthening international capacity to respond to the climate emergency and restoring confidence in multilateral action (G20 Brazil 2024, n.d.-b).

The TF-CLIMA represented an institutional innovation within the G20, as it was the first space to connect the Sherpa and Finance tracks on climate issues. Despite its temporary nature, the creation of this initiative signals Brazil's growing recognition of the need for more integrated and results-oriented governance structures.





TF-CLIMA's priorities focused on two significant themes: realigning action (transition planning and national platforms) and realigning financing (measures to align financial flows with climate action). In line with this, the following were published: a ministerial declaration; a specific statement on geopolitical issues; a document entitled "G20's Enhanced Ambition Agenda. Pursuing efforts to keep 1.5°C within reach in the context of the Paris Agreement" and the report "A Green and Just Plane," prepared by an independent group of experts established by Brazil.


The first document -"G20's Enhanced Ambition Agenda. Pursuing efforts to keep 1.5 °C within reach in the context of the Paris Agreement"- is the outcome document of the TF-CLIMA, "... a non-binding, forward-looking agenda that aims to help the G20 cooperate and demonstrate ambition in climate action, in a way that complements the multilateral process..." (The G20 Taskforce on a Global Mobilization against Climate Change, 2024, p. 1).

Despite this, the references to "energy" in the document echo findings from reports by the UNFCCC and the International Energy Agency (IEA); it establishes that the high cost of hedging currency risks hinders cross-border investment in developing countries, especially in projects with local currency revenues, such as renewable energy; and recommends learning from the experience of existing approaches of national platforms, such as the Just Energy Transition Partnerships (JETPs).

The group of academics and experts responsible for the report "A Green and Just Planet"⁶ produced practical proposals for aligning global macroeconomic and financial frameworks with the commitments of the Paris Agreement, particularly to limit global warming to 1.5 °C. The report -presented in October 2024 at the Annual Meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (UCL The Bartlett Faculty of the Built Environment, n.d.)- makes detailed recommendations in three broad areas:

- Adopt green industrial strategies aligned with Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), supported by inter-ministerial and cross-sector collaboration.
- Reform financial policies and institutions to facilitate access to affordable green finance and reorient investments toward a low-carbon future.
- Ensure equitable global governance of the green industrial and financial strategy so that all countries can benefit from sustainable growth (SOAS University of London, 2024).





Finally, it is worth highlighting that, in the TF-CLIMA, the following members of the Brazilian Government had significant roles: Luiz de Andrade Filho, Head of Climate Change and Environment at the Brazilian Embassy in Paris, who facilitated communication between the expert group and the Brazilian G20 Presidency. Likewise, André Corrêa do Lago, Secretary of Climate, Energy and Environment at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, coordinated the expert group's collaboration with the TF-CLIMA and representatives of G20 member countries. The Government also invited the Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning (CEBRAP, for its acronym in Portuguese⁷) to serve as the TF-CLIMA Executive Secretariat (G20 TF-CLIMA Group of Experts, 2024).

4. Role of Brazilian Think Tanks and Civil Society in Building an Energy Transition Narrative at the G20

4.1 B20: Energy Transition and Climate

During the Brazilian presidency of the G20, the Business 20 (B20), co-chaired by Dan Ioschpe (recently appointed High Level Champion of COP30) and Ricardo Alban (president of the CNI), structured its work under the motto “Inclusive Growth for a Sustainable Future” (B20 Brazil 2024, n.d.).

To channel the contributions of the business sector to the G20 agenda, seven task forces and an action council were formed, which developed, through the B20 Final *Communiqué*⁸, a total of 24 public policy recommendations, formally presented to the Brazilian Presidency (B20 Brazil 2024, n.d.).

Among those instances, the Energy Transition and Climate Task Force stands out, which organised its proposals around three key priorities or recommendations:

- Accelerate the development and utilisation of renewable and sustainable energy solutions as a means to advance decarbonization in both the short term (2030) and long term (2050), thereby ensuring energy security.
- Double the average global rate of energy efficiency improvement by 2030, also promoting resource efficiency and the circular economy.
- Promote effective natural climate solutions that can mitigate climate change and restore biodiversity.

Overall, the Task Force identified that accelerated development and adoption of clean energy solutions are critical to meeting climate goals.



The priority measures identified included strengthening regulatory frameworks to expand renewable energy generation capacity, widespread electrification of the economy, and promoting the use of bioenergy and biofuels. The urgent need to advance net-zero emissions technologies, such as carbon capture, utilisation, and storage (CCUS), clean hydrogen and nuclear energy, was also highlighted (Nassar and Nogueira, 2024).

It is worth noting that, of the 24 B20 recommendations, 15 were fully incorporated into the G20 Leaders' Declaration and another seven were partially integrated, meaning that 22 of the 24 recommendations were referenced to some extent (Nassar and Nogueira, 2024). According to the B20's "Responsiveness Report", 4 of the recommendations related to sustainable development, energy transitions and climate action were fully considered in the Leaders' Declaration.

B20 Recommendation on Sustainable Development, Energy Transitions and	Included in the G20 Río de Janeiro Leaders' Declaration?	Level of Incorporation
1.Promoting sustainable and resilient trade and investment	⚠️ Parcial	⚠️ Partially aligned
2.Accelerate private capital deployment to support the transition to a low-carbon economy	✅ Yes	✅ Totally aligned
3.Accelerate the development and use of renewable and sustainable energy solutions	✅ Yes	✅ Totally aligned
4.Double energy efficiency and promote resource efficiency and the circular economy	✅ Yes	✅ Totally aligned
5.Promote effective natural climate solutions	✅ Yes	✅ Totally aligned

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the "Responsiveness Report" (B20, 2024).



Likewise -and following the "Responsiveness Report"- the recommendations of the Energy Transition and Climate Task Force were reflected to varying degrees in the ministerial statements of the ETWG and the Research and Innovation Working Group (RIWG).

Recommendation of the Energy Transition and Climate Task Force (ET&C) of the B20	Included in the G20 Energy Transitions (ETWG) Ministerial Outcome Statement?	Included in the G20 Research and Innovation (RIWG) Ministerial Outcome Statement?	Level of Incorporation	Observations
1. Accelerate the Development and Use of Renewable and Sustainable Energy Solutions	✓ Yes	✓ Yes	✓ Totally aligned	
a. Devise policy schemes, regulations, and incentives to triple renewable energy capacity by 2030, expanding grid infrastructure, and accelerate broad electrification	✓ Yes	✓ Yes	⚠ Partially aligned	Aligned on average at 75%



Recommendation of the Energy Transition and Climate Task Force (ET&C) of the B20	Included in the G20 Energy Transitions (ETWG) Ministerial Outcome Statement?	Included in the G20 Research and Innovation (RIWG) Ministerial Outcome Statement?	Level of Incorporation	Observations
b.Establish mechanisms and incentives to leverage sustainable bioenergy and biofuel potential and readiness for decarbonization	✓ Yes	✓ Yes	⚠ Partially aligned	Aligned on average at 75%
c.Enable the expansion of other solutions necessary for the transition to net-zero emissions	✓ Yes	✓ Yes	⚠ Partially aligned	Aligned on average at 75%
2. Double Energy Efficiency and Promote Resource Efficiency and the Circular Economy	✓ Yes	✓ Yes	✓ Totally aligned	
a. Double the annual global average rate of improvements in energy efficiency by 2030	✓ Yes	✓ Yes	✓ Totally aligned	Aligned on average at 100%




Recommendation of the Energy Transition and Climate Task Force (ET&C) of the B20	Included in the G20 Energy Transitions (ETWG) Ministerial Outcome Statement?	Included in the G20 Research and Innovation (RIWG) Ministerial Outcome Statement?	Level of Incorporation	Observations
b.Promote the circular economy and efficient use of global resources	✓ Yes	✓ Yes	⚠ Partially aligned	Aligned on average at 75%
3. Promote Effective Natural Climate Solutions	✓ Yes	✓ Yes	✓ Totally aligned	
a. Ensure a thriving global market for natural climate solutions by 2030	✓ Yes	✓ Yes	⚠ Partially aligned	Aligned on average at 50%

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the “Responsiveness Report” (B20, 2024).

Thus, it can be seen that the recommendations formulated by the B20 on energy matters were reflected not only in the G20 Leaders' Declaration but also in the final documents of two working groups of the Sherpa track, demonstrating the B20's significant influence on both political and technical discussions on energy transition within the G20.

4.2 T20: Focus on Sustainable Climate Action and Just Energy Transitions






Within the framework of the G20, the T20 is the group that brings together research centres and think tanks from member and invited countries of the forum. In 2024, the Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA), the Alexandre de Gusmão Foundation (FUNAG), and the Brazilian Center for International Relations (CEBRI) were the institutions that coordinated the group. The T20 also has an International Advisory Committee, an International Advisory Committee Secretariat, a National Advisory Committee, and a National Advisory Committee Secretariat. Among the Brazilian members who made up these bodies during the Brazilian presidency were the following: the Brazilian College of Higher Studies, the Igarapé Institute, the Cipó Platform, Articulação Sul, the BRICS Policy Center, the University of São Paulo (USP), the Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning (CEBRAP), the Center for Innovation for Excellence in Public Policy (CIEPP), the Climate and Society Institute (iCS), the E+ Energy Transition Institute, among others (T20 Brazil, n.d.).

The T20 had six thematic groups in 2024, among which Working Group 2 (WG2) is noteworthy for this research, as it addressed “sustainable climate action and just energy transitions” (Think 20 Brazil, n.d.). The WG2 was led by Plataforma Cipó and the Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations (IDDRI).

Considering the active role of Plataforma Cipó in the working subgroup, it is essential to characterise its performance in the thematic area addressed here. Within the framework of its activities as a think tank, it has two areas of action: Climate Diplomacy and Just Transitions and Climate Justice. The Climate Diplomacy area focuses on strengthening Brazil's leadership in multilateral and regional forums, including the G20, and stimulating bilateral cooperation between Brazil and other countries in initiatives that leverage climate action and sustainable development. On the other hand, the area of Just Transitions and Climate Justice aims to drive structural, financial, and technological transformations that promote transitions toward sustainable economic models aligned with climate goals, thereby improving the socioeconomic situation of the most vulnerable sectors. In this regard, the Cipó Platform influenced the results of the T20 by providing technical inputs and promoting the strengthening of climate action, complementing the work carried out within the framework of the UNFCCC. Likewise, the Cipó Platform aimed to enhance Brazil's presence in the T20 and G20 processes, as well as to incorporate language that reflects the priorities of the Global South and the need to promote equity within and between countries. It should be noted that the Cipó Platform not only influenced the results of the T20 but also had an impact on the G20 Leaders' Declaration by promoting language favourable to female representation in the United Nations (CIPÓ Platform, n.d.).





This WG 2 focused on supporting the work of other G20 groups, such as the special working group for global mobilisation against climate change established under the Brazilian presidency. It also sought to inform other working groups of the G20 Financing Channel, in particular the sustainable finance and infrastructure working groups, as well as the following Sherpa Channel groups: Energy Transition, Sustainability, Climate and Environment, Disaster Risk Reduction, Agriculture, and Employment (T20 Brazil, n.d.).

Likewise, WG 2 worked on seven specific topics, three of which are directly linked to the energy transition (T20 Brazil, n.d.):


- Promoting sustainable, inclusive, and fair energy transitions.
- Accelerating the transition to a low-carbon economy and sustainable consumption and production.
- Investing in sustainable, inclusive, and resilient infrastructure.

Moreover, WG2 identified five challenges regarding the global transition to sustainable development and climate justice: inadequate institutional capacity to develop long-term transition plans, limited access to financing, unsustainable economic practices, inefficient participation and ownership by local communities, and lack of standardization and integration of social and biodiversity indicators in Environmental, Social, and Governance (ESG) metrics.

In its statement, WG2 made a series of recommendations addressing each of these challenges. Among these recommendations, we highlight the promotion of a justice-based approach in transition plans through institutional training, technology transfer, and adequate financing. It also calls on G20 members to lead the way in their transition plans by promoting the decarbonization of the economy and universal access to clean, secure, and affordable energy. In this regard, the forum countries should support capacity building for the design and implementation of long-term plans through financing and coordination mechanisms (T20 Brazil, 2024).

In turn, recommendations are provided to countries participating in the forum to work towards a fairer tax system that enables the redirection of fossil fuel subsidies towards just transitions. In this regard, it was proposed to develop a roadmap that includes an analysis of the sectors affected and the needs regarding professional adaptation implied by transition policies, a timetable for implementing these policies, and an accountability system. It was also proposed to promote international fiscal cooperation to modify the tax system, redirecting revenues from taxes on the most polluting sectors toward climate action and sustainable development (T20 Brazil, 2024).





Within the framework of the T20, 68 policy reports on strategic issues were developed and shared and discussed through the Sherpas and Financing channels, and by members of the Global Mobilization against Climate Change Working Group (CIPÓ, 2025). Among the topics addressed in the policy reports are the importance of liquid biofuels in accelerating the energy transition, decarbonization in industry through circular practices, the social role of clean energy, and a fair and inclusive energy transition strategy to alleviate energy poverty through solar energy (primarily in non-urbanized communities) and support from public development banks for coal phase-out (T20 Brazil, n.d.a).

The T20 also interacted with other G20 groups, such as the C20 (Civil 20), with which it issued a joint statement between the T20 WG2 and the C20 WG on Environment, Climate Justice, and Just Energy Transition. The statement is structured around four themes: just energy transition, climate ambition, climate justice, and climate finance. About a just energy transition, the joint statement echoes the recommendation of the T20 statement to promote a justice-based approach in transition plans through institutional capacity building, technology transfer, and adequate financing. It incorporates the need to prioritise regions and communities dependent on fossil fuels in transition plans by providing training programs to adapt the workforce in vulnerable and underrepresented populations. In addition, it calls on G20 countries to promote universal, equitable, and secure access to energy by expanding decentralised and distributed generation systems, without generating social exclusion, environmental inequality, and increased extractivism. To this end, they call for the mobilization of the necessary financial and technical resources, to ensure that mineral extraction does not lead to a repetition of colonialism patterns, to develop and implement environmental and social safeguards in renewable energy and mining projects, and to guarantee public participation and the protection of the rights of indigenous communities and other affected populations (C20 Brazil, 2024a).

Finally, we believe it is essential to highlight that in terms of climate ambition, they recommended establishing a permanent group dedicated to climate action to coordinate the work of the Sherpa and Finance Channels, monitor the implementation of commitments, recommendations, and initiatives of the different G20 groups related to climate change, lead a global commitment to phase out fossil fuels, serve as a forum to discuss strategies to develop and implement activities to achieve the 1.5°C scenario, and consider the negative impacts of the energy transition through global collaboration. They also promoted the alignment of the G20 climate agenda and international financial reform with the priorities of the UNFCCC (C20 Brazil, 2024a).



To assess the level of consideration given to the recommendations made by WG2 at the G20 government level, we analyse the outcome of this group in light of the Leaders' Declaration and the Ministerial Declaration on Energy Transition, with the aim of identifying whether the recommendations of WG2 were incorporated into these declarations.

T20 WG2 Recommendation	Included in Ministerial Outcome?	Included in Leaders' Declaration?	Level of Incorporation	Observations
1. Promote a justice-based approach to transition plans through institutional training, technology transfer, and adequate funding.	⚠ Partial. The importance of energy planning, capacity building, policy frameworks and strategies, as well as cooperation between governments to attract financing, is recognised. In addition, the Global Coalition for Energy Planning has been established, and the Principles for Just and Inclusive Transitions are to be included in policy design.	⚠ Partial. The "Principles for Just and Inclusive Transitions" are mentioned for the implementation of energy transition policies. The important role of energy planning, capacity building, policy strategies, and cooperation between different levels of government is also recognised. There is mention of financing for long-term plans.	⚠ Partial	There is no explicit mention of integrating a justice approach into energy planning, although it is recognised that there are inequalities in access to energy. There is a mention of the role of technology in the energy transition.



T20 WG2 Recommendation	Included in Ministerial Outcome?	Included in Leaders' Declaration?	Level of Incorporation	Observations
2. Promote affordable and accessible financing for climate and sustainable development through fairer and more effective multilateral development banks and multilateral climate funds.	⚠ Partial. The need to increase investments from all sources and channels of financing for global energy transitions is recognised. It does not mention MDBs and MCFs, nor does it address the need to reform their financial flows.	⚠ Partial. There is mention of reforming the architecture of international financing for sustainable development, but no explicit link is made to the energy transition.	⚠ Partial	There are references to the need for increased investment in sustainable development aligned with decarbonization , but no specific methods are mentioned to achieve this goal.





T20 WG2 Recommendation	Included in Ministerial Outcome?	Included in Leaders' Declaration?	Level of Incorporation	Observations
3. Ensure climate justice through a fairer international tax system and the reallocation of subsidies	✗ No. There is no mention of the international tax system.	⚠ Partial. The “Ministerial Declaration on International Tax Cooperation” and the role of progressive taxes in reducing domestic inequalities and facilitating the achievement of the SDGs are mentioned. However, there is no mention of reallocating fossil fuel taxes for a just transition.	⚠ Partial	The international tax system is only mentioned in the G20 leaders' statement.



T20 WG2 Recommendation	Included in Ministerial Outcome?	Included in Leaders' Declaration?	Level of Incorporation	Observations
4. Place the knowledge of indigenous peoples and traditional communities, participatory governance, and equitable benefit sharing at the centre of the design and implementation of the G20 High-Level Principles on Bioeconomy and other relevant G20 instruments, such as the G20 High-Level Principles on Lifestyles for Sustainable Development.	✗ No. There is no mention of ancestral knowledge or key concepts such as bioeconomy or circular economy.	⚠ Partial. The commitment to the Kunming-Montreal Global Biodiversity Framework and the need for financing for actions aligned with it are reaffirmed. The role of forests and the economic and social challenges of local communities and indigenous groups are recognised. The "High-Level Principles on Bioeconomy" are mentioned.	⚠ Partial	Indigenous peoples and traditional communities are only mentioned in the G20 leaders' declaration.



T20 WG2 Recommendation	Included in Ministerial Outcome?	Included in Leaders' Declaration?	Level of Incorporation	Observations
5. Effectively standardise and integrate social and biodiversity objectives into green taxonomies, sustainability disclosure standards and frameworks, and ESG indicators.	⚠️ Partial. The need to improve interoperability between national standards and methodologies for estimating greenhouse gases (GHG) is recognised.	⚠️ Partial. The use of mutually recognised methodologies for GHG estimation is encouraged.	⚠️ Partial	The statements make no mention of the standards used by the private sector, focusing solely on the methodologies used at the state level. There is no link between biodiversity indicators or green taxonomy.


Source: author's own elaboration

Based on this analysis, it is clear that although both declarations incorporate some aspects of the WG2 recommendations, the G20 Leaders' Declaration managed to include more elements of the WG2 recommendations than the Ministerial Declaration on Energy Transition. It is important to note that neither statement mentions fossil fuels and the need to redirect the funds collected from taxes on them towards actions that promote energy transitions. Likewise, the mention of the justice approach in the energy transition is not reflected in the statements either.

4.3 C20: Environment, Climate Justice and Just Energy Transition

The Civil 20 (C20), established in 2013 under the Russian G20 presidency, is one of the official G20 engagement groups designed to channel the voice of global civil society into the forum's policy-making processes. It aims to provide a platform for a wide range of non-governmental organisations, social networks, movements, and





community actors from G20 member countries to contribute in a structured and sustained way to the G20, acting as a bridge between these actors and G20 governments.

Regarding C20 governance, its structure consists of a Troika⁹, a C20 Chair and Co-Chair¹⁰, a C20 Sherpa¹¹, a Secretariat, an International Advisory Committee¹², and a Steering Committee¹³. In 2024, the C20 presidency was held by ABONG (Brazilian Association of NGOs), and the organisation Gestos was selected to act as the group's Sherpa, given its extensive experience in the G20 process and specifically in the C20 (G20 Brazil, 2024).


Among the C20 Working Groups (WGs) addressing different themes of the G20 agenda, the group on Environment, Climate Justice, and Just Energy Transition stood out. During the Brazilian presidency, this group was co-facilitated by three organisations: the Climate Action Network (CAN), the youth organisation Engajamundo, and the Climate Observatory. The first operates internationally, while the latter two are primarily active within Brazil. According to a key informant interviewed who participated in this working group, the selection of co-facilitators was carried out through a call and selection process led by the group's Sherpas, based on applications submitted by interested organisations.

This working group had the highest number of participants, with 700 organisations from various G20 member states. According to the key informant, this posed significant logistical and content-related challenges, particularly in terms of participation and consensus building. Firstly, technical problems arose due to the virtual meeting platform being unprepared for the large number of attendees. Language barriers were also a challenge, as many participants did not speak English. As a result, participants explicitly requested the use of Portuguese. Although this was resolved through interpreters, the meeting dynamics were affected and slowed down due to the lack of simultaneous interpretation.

Secondly, another challenge was achieving consensus among all organisations on the topics to be addressed by the group, given the diversity of agendas and interests. The co-facilitators resolved this through the presentation of a list of proposed topics, which was then reviewed and approved by the members. However, some organisations continued to push for the inclusion of issues not directly related to the group's central theme.

As for the group's outputs, two key documents were produced: the Policy Brief, developed by the group's members under the guidance of the co-facilitators, and the C20 Policy Pack, which consolidated recommendations from all working groups.





The Policy Brief from the Environment, Climate Justice, and Just Energy Transition WG was built around five key topics agreed upon by all participants after intense discussions: mitigation, climate finance, adaptation and loss and damage, just energy transition, climate justice, and environmental human rights defenders.

Specifically, regarding the energy transition, six core recommendations were made. Firstly, the transition must be just, inclusive, affordable, and democratic, respecting territorial rights, including non-property-based rights of local and vulnerable communities. Emphasis was placed on ensuring that the expansion of renewable energy does not lead to social exclusion, exacerbate extractivism in developing countries, or come at the expense of local communities or ecosystems.

Secondly, addressing energy poverty and access gaps, the group emphasised that access to energy—particularly renewable energy—must be equitable and affordable for all, including rural populations, isolated communities, and other vulnerable groups. The expansion of distributed renewable energy generation for social purposes should be prioritised. Parties were urged to mobilise financial, technical, and capacity-building resources to support clean energy production, while ensuring that the economic burden of transition does not fall on the poorest consumers.

Regarding critical minerals, the need to avoid repeating colonial patterns in the extraction of these resources was stressed. This included mechanisms to foster local technological development, capacity building, and financing, allowing developing countries to develop local green technologies rather than simply exporting raw materials. In the case of biofuel production, the group called for respect for environmental, social, and governance safeguards, including zero deforestation, to protect ecosystems and the rights of affected populations.

With a focus on the fundamental rights of people and communities, especially those living in areas rich in transition-related resources, the group urged the establishment and enforcement of exclusion zones and socio-environmental safeguards to protect ecosystems and community rights. This includes the Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) requirement, as mandated by ILO Convention 169, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and UN Human Rights Council Resolution 39/12.

In terms of climate policies related to the transition, the group called on member states to prioritise in their national energy transition plans the needs of regions and communities that have historically depended on fossil fuels. This includes the provision of social safety nets and job retraining programs for affected workers, particularly those identified in the group's introductory analysis.



Finally, the group emphasised the need for a regulatory framework for energy transition grounded in social justice.

To systematise these recommendations and assess the extent to which civil society proposals were incorporated into the G20 Energy Transitions Ministerial Outcome Statement¹⁴ and the G20 Rio de Janeiro Leaders' Declaration¹⁵, the following analysis was conducted:

C20 WG3 Recommendation	Included in Ministerial Outcome?	Included in Leaders' Declaration?	Level of Incorporation	Observations
1. Just, inclusive, affordable, and democratic transition. Respect for territorial rights and prevention of extractivism.	Mentioned within "Principles for Just and Inclusive Transitions" (voluntary).	Inclusion and commitment to "leave no one behind".	⚠️ Partial	General language, no explicit reference to collective rights, FPIC, or extractivism risks
2. Equitable access to renewables for rural and vulnerable communities. Financial support for distributed energy.	Universal access to clean cooking by 2030 and affordable energy are mentioned.	Linked to SDG 7 and to the "leave no one behind" principle	⚠️ Partial	No mention of distributed social-interest renewables or economic burden on the poor.



C20 WG3 Recommendation	Included in Ministerial Outcome?	Included in Leaders' Declaration?	Level of Incorporation	Observations
3. Avoid colonial patterns in critical minerals extraction. Foster local value addition. Safeguards for biofuels.	Local value added in mineral supply chains is acknowledged.	Local benefits and South-South cooperation are mentioned.	⚠️ Partial	Does not critically address the extractive model or highlight systemic/geopolitical (colonial) issues—no safeguards for biofuels.
4. Safeguards and FPIC. Ecosystem and Indigenous peoples' rights.	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not incorporated	No mention of FPIC, collective rights, or safeguards. No recognition of labour or territorial transition needs.
5. Prioritise fossil-fuel-dependent regions and workers. Safety nets and retraining.	✗ Not addressed	✗ "Just transition" mentioned without operational content	✗ Not incorporated	Absence of labour and a territorial approach to energy transition.



C20 WG3 Recommendation	Included in Ministerial Outcome?	Included in Leaders' Declaration?	Level of Incorporation	Observations
6. Regulatory framework with a social justice approach.	✅ Normative frameworks and inclusive energy planning mentioned.	✅ Social justice is mentioned as a cross-cutting principle.	⚠️ Partial	Lacks regulatory tools or specific operational mechanisms.

Source: author's own elaboration

Based on this analysis, it can be observed that both the Ministerial Outcome Statement and the Leaders' Declaration partially incorporate the discourse of a just transition, particularly through the voluntary framework of principles adopted by the energy ministers and the inclusive narrative expressed in the Leaders' Declaration. However, the substantive and structural recommendations of the C20 were not effectively incorporated or were diluted. These include: the guarantee of collective rights, territorial protection, binding mechanisms, and the recognition of communities affected by the prevailing energy model.


It is also important to note that, contrary to expectations, according to the key informant, no opportunities for engagement or access were granted to the Working Group's co-facilitators or other members during high-level meetings. This significantly hindered the potential for direct civil society advocacy and the delivery of the messages developed explicitly for those spaces.

In summary, civil society's recommendations were more strongly reflected in general principles (justice, inclusion, cooperation). Still, they were lacking in terms of concrete commitments, binding mechanisms, or recognition of historical inequalities.

4.4 S20: Energy Transition Process

The Science 20 (S20) is the G20's science and technology engagement group, established in 2017. It is composed of the national science academies of the G20 countries and aims to foster dialogue between the scientific community and policymakers.





The S20 serves as a forum with a rotating secretariat and holds annual summits, typically preceding the G20 summits.

Each year, its members address key topics, develop recommendations and concrete actions, and present them in an official communiqué to G20 leaders.

During Brazil's presidency, the Brazilian Academy of Sciences (ABC) served as the organising institution for this working group. This designation followed the protocol established since the creation of the S20, whereby the national science academy of the country holding the G20 presidency is responsible for coordinating the S20. In this context, ABC defined “Science for Global Transformation” as the theme for the 2024 edition of the S20. This broad perspective enabled the creation of five distinct task forces: Bioeconomy, Health Challenges, Artificial Intelligence, Social Justice, and the Energy Transition Process.

Álvaro Toubes Prata, a member of the Brazilian Academy of Sciences, coordinated the Task Force on the Energy Transition Process. This task force played a crucial role in formulating recommendations that took into account the environmental, economic, and social aspects of the energy transition.


The 2024 S20 Brazil recommendations document highlights the need to increase the share of renewable energy sources—solar, wind, hydro, and ocean energy—and to promote energy vectors such as green hydrogen and second and third-generation biofuels to ensure resilience and storage in the power grid. These guidelines align with the commitments adopted at COP28, specifically in the Global Stocktake, to triple renewable capacity and double energy efficiency by 2030—targets also included in the G20 Rio de Janeiro Leaders’ Declaration (G20, 2024).

Another significant contribution of the task force was its emphasis on the need for a truly just energy transition to generate broadly distributed social benefits, particularly for historically marginalised communities.

In this regard, the potential of the renewable energy sector to generate employment was underscored. From manufacturing to installation, maintenance, and technological development, these industries represent a significant source of decent and quality work. To ensure equitable benefits, the task force recommended involving all stakeholders—especially vulnerable communities—in decision-making processes and access to employment, thereby increasing social acceptance and legitimacy of energy projects.

An explicit call was made to protect labour rights and, above all, the livelihoods of people currently employed in fossil fuel-based industries.





The task force proposed implementing labour retraining programs, technical education, and social protection measures to support these workers in their transition to new jobs in the renewable energy sector. This just transition approach, which emphasises the principle of leaving no one behind, has been central to Brazil's narrative.

Moreover, the transition is expected to drive technological innovation, particularly in energy storage and intelligent grid management, due to increasing investments in research and development. These advancements have impacts beyond the energy sector, as they can help reduce the technological gap between developed and developing countries through technology transfer mechanisms and the strengthening of local capacities.

A key feature of Brazil's leadership was to place the fight against energy poverty at the centre. This is reflected in the task force's recommendations, which state that the transition must guarantee universal access to clean, affordable, and reliable energy—as a right, not a privilege. Proposals such as monitoring per capita energy consumption in urban, peri-urban, and rural areas aim to address energy access inequalities with accurate data and guide public policies that promote equity. The importance of community participation and social or community ownership models for renewable energy projects was also emphasised.

The document also identified a series of structural challenges that persist, especially in the Global South. These include limited access to climate finance, the lack of modern infrastructure to integrate renewable energy, institutional and regulatory weaknesses, the absence of open energy data, disparities in technical capacities, and limited community engagement.

To complement this analysis, it is crucial to assess the extent to which the S20's recommendations have been incorporated into the G20's statements and decisions. To that end, a comparative table is presented below, examining the level of inclusion of these proposals in both the Energy Transitions Ministerial Outcome Statement and the Rio de Janeiro Leaders' Declaration. This exercise helps to highlight progress and gaps in the political translation of demands arising from non-governmental participation spaces.



S20 Task Force Recommendation : Energy Transition Process	Included in the G20 Energy Transitions Ministerial Outcome Statement?	Included in the G20 Rio de Janeiro Leaders' Declaration?	Level of Incorporation	Remarks
1. Incorporation of renewable energies (solar, wind, hydro, ocean) to diversify the energy mix.	✓ Yes. Recognises the need to triple renewable energy generation capacity by 2030.	✓ Yes. Reaffirms the commitment to the renewable tripling target agreed at COP28.	✓ High	Aligned with multilateral commitments adopted by the G20, reflected in both the Ministerial and Leaders' Declarations regarding renewable energy promotion.
2. Promote vectors such as green hydrogen and second and third-generation biofuels.	✗ No. No mention of green hydrogen or advanced biofuels.	✗ No. No specific references to these technologies.	✗ Not included	While the documents refer to sustainable fuels and low-carbon technologies in general, they do not specifically mention green hydrogen or second- and third-generation biofuels.




S20 Task Force Recommendation: Energy Transition Process	Included in the G20 Energy Transitions Ministerial Outcome Statement?	Included in the G20 Rio de Janeiro Leaders' Declaration?	Level of Incorporation	Remarks
3. Invest in efficiency and innovation in energy storage and grid management.	✓ Yes. Highlights the need to expand and modernise electric grids and accelerate storage deployment.	✗ No. No references to electricity infrastructure.	⚠ Partial	This recommendation is reflected in the ministerial document, emphasising efficiency and innovation. However, the Leaders' Declaration does not mention energy infrastructure, not even in general terms.
4. Ensure universal, clean, reliable, and affordable access to energy.	✓ Yes. Highlights universal access to energy and clean cooking as a key target for 2030.	✓ Yes. It also highlights universal access to energy and clean cooking as a priority for 2030.	✓ High	Narrative convergence in all three documents, stressing clean cooking access as a top political and programmatic priority for 2030.



S20 Task Force Recommendation: Energy Transition Process	Included in the G20 Energy Transitions Ministerial Outcome Statement?	Included in the G20 Rio de Janeiro Leaders' Declaration?	Level of Incorporation	Remarks
5. Consider job retraining for fossil fuel workers.	Only mentions "Principles for Just and Inclusive Transitions" as voluntary.	Mentions job creation, just transition, and the "Principles for Just and Inclusive Transitions."	⚠ Partial	While the just transition principle and job creation are generally acknowledged, there is no specific mention of retraining workers from the fossil sector.
6. Promote decent and quality employment in the renewable energy sector.	✗ No. No mention of job creation in renewables.	⚠ Partial. Mentions decent work as part of inclusive development.	⚠ Partial	General language with no operational commitments or indicators.
7. Foster technology transfer and strengthen local capacities to advance the energy transition.	Acknowledges the importance of technological cooperation and capacity building.	Encourages international cooperation to attract investments for the energy transition.	⚠ Partial	References to cooperation and capacity building remain general. No concrete mechanisms or differentiated strategies for tech transfer.





S20 Task Force Recommendation: Energy Transition Process	Included in the G20 Energy Transitions Ministerial Outcome Statement?	Included in the G20 Rio de Janeiro Leaders' Declaration?	Level of Incorporation	Remarks
8.Importance of community-owned renewable energy projects.	✗ No. No mention of community participation or shared governance models.	✗ No. No reference to ownership or social governance schemes.	✗ Not included	Complete absence of this energy democratization approach.


Source: author's own elaboration

Based on the analysis conducted, it is evident that both the Ministerial Declaration and the G20 Leaders' Declaration partially incorporated the recommendations put forward by the S20 Working Group on the Energy Transition Process. While certain key areas—such as the promotion of renewable energy and universal access to clean energy—were clearly reflected, other substantive proposals related to social justice, employment, and local capacities were diluted or omitted altogether.

In particular, references to retraining fossil fuel sector workers, promoting employment in renewable sectors, or community-based renewable energy projects were addressed in vague terms or entirely disregarded. Similarly, mentions of technology transfer and capacity building appeared as aspirations lacking concrete mechanisms, which limit their practical implementation—especially in countries with lower levels of industrial development.

The explicit recognition of principles such as just transition and international cooperation represents a meaningful step forward. However, their voluntary nature and lack of operationalisation reveal a gap between the S20's scientific recommendations and the political framework adopted by G20 leaders. In this regard, the S20's contribution remains essential in advancing a technical narrative with a social lens, although its actual influence continues to be limited.





In sum, the S20's recommendations were more effective in introducing shared objectives at the discursive level than in being translated into binding commitments. Achieving a science-based just energy transition will require greater efforts from governments in the lead-up to COP30 to transform general principles into concrete policies that address the structural inequalities identified by this group.

4.5 Other Groups Focused on the Energy Transition: Oceans 20, Parliament 20, and Startup 20

During Brazil's 2024 G20 Presidency, other engagement groups addressed key aspects of the energy transition from various sectoral perspectives.

One such group was Oceans 20 (O20), established under Brazil's presidency to integrate the ocean agenda into global sustainability policies. The group was coordinated by the UNESCO Chair for Ocean Sustainability at the University of São Paulo, in collaboration with the World Economic Forum, the Brazil Network of the UN Global Compact, the Ocean Stewardship Coalition, the Brazilian Biodiversity Fund (FUNBIO), and the National Institute for Ocean Research (INPO) (G20 Brazil 2024, n.d.-d). Among its proposals, it highlighted the ocean as an integral part of the climate solution, emphasising the potential of marine energy sources—offshore wind, wave, and tidal energy—to contribute up to 35% of the emissions reductions needed to limit global warming to 1.5°C. The group advocated for a sustainable ocean economy as part of international climate and energy justice (G20 Brazil 2024, n.d.-d).

Parliament 20 (P20), in turn, called for the acceleration of legislative frameworks that facilitate an inclusive and sustainable energy transition, linking climate action with the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (P20 Summit Declaration, 2023).

In the private sector, Startup 20 underscored the role of startups in developing innovative solutions for the energy transition, highlighting technologies in efficiency, storage, and clean generation as drivers of change from within the entrepreneurial ecosystem (Startup Energy Transition, 2024).

Another key engagement group related to the energy transition was Urban 20 (U20), a G20 city diplomacy initiative promoted by C40 Cities and the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG). U20 aims to articulate recommendations on economy, climate, and urban development, seeking to strengthen the connection between the G20 and cities, bring urban issues into the global agenda, and build a unified voice among local governments (G20 Brazil 2024, n.d.-d).



In 2024, U20 was co-chaired by the mayors of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, who led two mayoral summits. The involvement of these two states in organising the events was no coincidence, given their significant influence in the national context, as identified by this research team. Both summits resulted in communiqués referencing a just energy transition, with the second placing greater emphasis on its social and territorial dimensions, underscoring the role of cities in ensuring an inclusive, equitable, and environmentally sustainable transition.

To assess the degree to which these proposals were received within the G20 intergovernmental process, a comparative analysis is presented below. It examines their level of incorporation into both the G20 Energy Transitions Ministerial Outcome Statement and the G20 Rio de Janeiro Leaders' Declaration.

U20 2024 Co-Presidency Declaration	Included in the G20 Energy Transitions Ministerial Outcome	Included in the G20 Rio de Janeiro Leaders' Declaration?	Level of Incorporation	Remarks
1.Include cities in national forums and mechanisms for a just transition, recognising mayors as key partners to meet the goals of tripling renewable energy and doubling energy efficiency by 2030.	✗ No. The role of cities in meeting the targets of tripling and doubling is not mentioned.	✗ No. Cities and mayors are not recognised as strategic actors in the transition.	✗ Not included	Neither declaration mentions local government participation mechanisms in the context of just transitions. The multilevel governance approach proposed by U20 is omitted.




U20 2024 Co-Presidency Declaration	Included in the G20 Energy Transitions Ministerial Outcome Statement?	Included in the G20 Rio de Janeiro Leaders' Declaration?	Level of Incorporation	Remarks
2.Leverage cities' experience in developing just transition programs, aligned with the UNFCCC JTWP and ILO guidelines.	✗ No. No mention of cities' roles, nor references to the JTWP or ILO guidelines.	✗ No. No recognition of multilateral frameworks such as the JTWP or local experiences in just transitions.	✗ Not included	No articulation with the JTWP or the ILO's Just Transition Guidelines.
3.Empower cities to close the global 'green skills' gap by delegating responsibilities and funding for education and workforce development.	⚠ Partial. Acknowledges the importance of green jobs and training, without reference to local governments.	⚠ Partial. Mentions decent work, but without a territorial focus or decentralisation of competencies.	⚠ Partial	Training is generally discussed, but without specific local funding mechanisms.



U20 2024 Co-Presidency Declaration	Included in the G20 Energy Transitions Ministerial Outcome Statement?	Included in the G20 Rio de Janeiro Leaders' Declaration?	Level of Incorporation	Remarks
4. Prioritise financing for a just and inclusive urban transition, proposing that 40% of national climate finance be allocated to local initiatives in vulnerable communities.	⚠ Partial. Recognises the urgency of climate finance for energy transition, but lacks local focus or specific funding allocations.	⚠ Partial. Acknowledges the need for energy transition finance, but without a territorial focus or budgetary figures.	⚠ Partial	Both declarations recognise the need for financing, but omit references to fund decentralisation or local allocation targets.
5. Redirect fossil fuel subsidies toward a locally driven, just and inclusive transition.	⚠ Partial. Refers to the need to eliminate inefficient fossil fuel subsidies.	⚠ Partial. Commits to rationalising fossil fuel subsidies.	⚠ Partial	Although subsidy elimination is addressed, there is no mention of redirecting them toward a just and inclusive transition at the national or local levels.

Source: author's own elaboration





Based on the comparative analysis conducted, it is observed that the recommendations of the Urban 20 (U20) 2024, which focused on a just energy transition from an urban and local perspective, were only partially incorporated into the official G20 documents. While the ministerial and leaders' declarations generally acknowledge principles such as justice, access, and the need for climate financing, the territorial, inclusive, and community dimension proposed by the U20 was not translated into concrete commitments.

The U20S' most innovative proposals—such as allocating 40% of national climate financing to local initiatives, including mayors in national just transition mechanisms, or redirecting fossil fuel subsidies toward localised social programs—were omitted. The role of cities as key players in implementing a just energy transition has been overlooked, despite being acknowledged in other multilateral forums, such as the Just Transition Work Programme (JTWP). As we approach COP30, global commitments must recognise local governments not just as implementers, but as active contributors in the design and execution of policies for a just energy transition.


Final remarks

Brazil has taken a leading role in positioning the just energy transition within the framework of the G20 in 2024. The level of commitment has been observed from both the top down and the bottom up. In other words, the postulates that guided the negotiations on the transition led to official declarations that bore a distinctly Brazilian imprint, fundamentally incorporating a social perspective. It is worth highlighting the activism of Brazilian civil society, which, with a committed and mobilised attitude and a focused interest in influencing the governmental level, made specific and detailed statements on its demands for a just energy transition. Companies, NGOs, think tanks, academia, and Brazilian municipalities, as well as the B20, the C20, the T20, the S20, and the U20, were particularly engaged in debating and positioning themselves on the issue.

However, we have observed that the group's official declarations have omitted critical references and recommendations made by Brazilian civil society in the various discussion forums. Or else, the incorporations were made partially.

Crucial references to the territorial rights of vulnerable communities, the guarantee of collective rights, the protection of territories, the inclusion of binding mechanisms, and the recognition of communities affected by the energy model were omitted from the official commitments.





On the other hand, proposals for distributed energy generation of social interest were not included, nor were specific mechanisms to protect vulnerable consumers from tariff increases or to guarantee job retraining for workers in the fossil fuel sector. The need to redirect funds collected from taxes on the hydrocarbon sector towards actions that promote energy transitions was omitted.

In short, it is evident that the incorporation of civil society recommendations was generally evident in principles (justice, inclusion, cooperation), but weak or non-existent in concrete commitments, binding mechanisms, or recognition of historical inequalities. In other words, the official declarations do not substantively challenge the dominant narrative of energy transition - understood primarily as a technological replacement of the fossil fuel-based energy matrix with renewable and low-carbon sources - without questioning production and consumption patterns and the concentration of economic power. In this sense, the level of alignment between the B20 recommendations and the leaders' declaration is striking, evidencing the porosity of corporate interests. This approach overlooks a critique of the risk that the Global South may be relegated to the role of supplier of raw materials, critical minerals, and 'transition' fossil fuels, without developing its technological capacities or redistributive mechanisms (Svampa & Bertinat, 2021).

Considering these caveats, the agreements reached by the G20 leaders have served as a starting point for the continuation of discussions in the BRICS and COP30 forums, planned for 2025 and once again led by Brazil, to achieve gradual and progressive progress in climate and energy negotiations. Such consensus will not be automatic and will require coordination with a larger number of countries, taking into account all those states that did not participate in the G20, but that will be included in the BRICS Plus and COP meetings.



Notes

(1) Officially referred to as the Sustainable Finance Roadmap, it is generally referred to as the ‘Roadmap’ in documents and working group meetings.

(2) As previously mentioned, these principles address: a just and inclusive energy transition; accelerating finance for energy transitions; the social dimension of the energy transition; and the prospects for sustainable fuel innovation (G20 Brazil 2024, n.d.-e). Principles for Just and Inclusive Energy Transitions. Available at <https://g20.gov.br/es/canales/canal-de-sherpas/transiciones-energeticas>

(3) “Communiqué to Brazilian G20 Presidency on the Brazil-Africa Energy Transitions Ministerial Dialogue – South-South Cooperation for Just and Equitable Energy Transitions, October 2024”, available at: <https://g20.gov.br/es/canales/canal-de-sherpas/transiciones-energeticas>

(4) It is worth clarifying that commissioning technical reports from international organizations on the topics of the working groups is a common practice of the G20 presidencies.

(5) The statement released by Brazil during the ETWG Ministerial Meeting (October 4, 2024, Foz do Iguaçu) reflected differences among G20 members regarding the conflicts in Ukraine and Gaza, and noted that these issues would be addressed at the Sherpa level leading up to the Rio Summit, reaffirming the consensus as the group’s central principle.

(6) The expert group responsible for the report was co-chaired by Mariana Mazzucato, Professor of Economics of Innovation and Public Value at University College London and Founding Director of the UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose; and Vera Songwe, Founder and Chair of the Liquidity and Sustainability Facility and Nonresident Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution. The group also included 10 other specialists in sustainable development, climate change, economics and finance, namely: Amir Lebdioui (Associate Professor of Political Economy of Development at the University of Oxford); Barbara Buchner (Global Managing Director of the Climate Policy Initiative); Carlos Lopes (Honorary Professor at the Mandela School of Public Governance, University of Cape Town); Daniela Gabor (Professor of Economics at SOAS University of London); Juliano Assunção (Associate Professor of Economics at PUCRio); Lucas Chancel (Associate Professor of Economics at Sciences Po); Luisa Palacios (Adjunct Professor at the School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University);





Ma Jun (Founder and President of the Finance and Sustainability Institute); Renu Kohli (Senior Fellow at the Center for Social and Economic Progress); and Ulrich Volz (Professor of Economics at SOAS University of London and Senior Research Fellow at the German Institute for Development and Sustainability) (G20 TF-CLIMA Group of Experts, 2024; SOAS University of London, 2024).

(7) CEBRAP is a multidisciplinary research institution founded in 1969 by a group of intellectuals, many of whom were professors at the University of São Paulo (USP, for its acronym in Portuguese) who were removed from their positions due to political repression during the military dictatorship.

(8) All B20 documents, including the Final Communiqué published on October 16, 2024, are available at: <https://b20brasil.org/documents>

(9) Replicating the operational structure at the governmental level, the Troika enables dialogue and coordination among the main civil society organizations from the current, previous, and upcoming G20/C20 host countries (C20 Brazil, 2024).


(10) The Chair and Co-Chair of the C20 are responsible for facilitating the C20 process, representing the C20, structuring the Secretariat, selecting the C20 Sherpa, making public statements, and engaging in dialogue with other stakeholders involved in the G20 (C20 Brazil, 2024).

(11) The Sherpa is appointed each year by the Chair and Co-Chair and serves as the main point of contact with external stakeholders (G20 representatives, international organizations, media, and other G20 interest groups). Alongside the Chair, the Sherpa is also responsible for ensuring smooth and effective dialogue among the Chairs of the C20 Working Groups, integrating relevant work areas, and developing the C20 program for approval by the Steering Committee and the Interim Advisory Committee (C20 Brazil, 2024).

(12) The International Advisory Committee is composed of representatives from international CSOs with experience working within the G20. Its main functions are to advise the Chair, the Sherpa, and the Steering Committee on strategic decision-making and to help disseminate the C20's recommendations among key stakeholders (C20 Brazil, 2024).

(13) The Steering Committee (SC) is the executive body responsible for ensuring that the C20 remains an open and diverse space that facilitates the integration of a wide range of civil society perspectives on the G20.





It leads the development of recommendations, ensures that the C20 Working Groups meet regularly with each other and with government representatives, and helps coordinate the agendas of C20 meetings. The SC collaborates with the International Advisory Committee and receives its guidance (C20 Brazil, 2024).

(14) G20 Energy Transitions Ministerial Outcome Statement, Foz Do Iguaçu, october 4th, 2024, available at: [https://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2024/2024.10.04 -
Ministerial Outcome Statement \(logo\).pdf](https://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2024/2024.10.04-_Ministerial_Outcome_Statement_(logo).pdf)

(15) Leaders Declaration, Río de Janeiro, november 18th and 19th, 2024, available at: <https://g20.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/G20-Rio-de-Janeiro-Leaders->



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