MEETING REPORT

Asia Civil Society Strategy Convening

Influencing the Republic of Korea's 2028 G20 Presidency



Participants at the convening, Dusit D2 Samyan, Bangkok

10–11 October 2026 · Bangkok, Thailand

Convened by Oxfam and the C20 Korea Platform

Executive summary

On 10–11 October 2026, Oxfam and the C20 Korea[1] Platform brought 42 civil society participants (12 from the Republic of Korea, 22 from 11 other Asian countries and 8 from the UK, US, South Africa and Kenya) to Bangkok to start building a shared strategy for influencing the Republic of Korea's 2028 G20 Presidency. The two days followed a "Learn, Prioritise, Plan" arc: lessons from the South African, US and UK presidencies; a read of the Republic of Korea's political context and early government signals; then priority-setting, stakeholder mapping and first action plans.

> **Outcome in brief.** Participants agreed six coalition themes and voted on 18 priority asks (three per theme), mapped the stakeholders to influence, produced first action plans from India, Indonesia, Republic of Korea and a regional group, and agreed in principle to form a small core group to keep the work moving.

Key takeaways

1. The window is 2026–2027, not 2028. Every troika speaker said planning must start two to three years ahead. Most of a leaders' declaration is shaped at sherpa and working level well before the summit, and South Africa's debt letter arrived after the finance agenda was locked. The Republic of Korea's priorities are being formed now.

2. Build what outlasts a presidency. South Africa's lasting gains were institutions, not statements: the International Panel on Inequality (IPI) and an African Union mechanism in the finance track with a mandate to 2030. The coalition's top ask, a permanent, funded, civil society-led C20, follows the same logic.

3. The finance track is where decisions are made, and where civil society is weakest. Debt, cost of capital and IFI reform are decided by finance ministries and central banks, which scored lowest on civic access in South Africa's year. Early, planned entry to the finance track was a repeated priority.

4. Put inequality inside the Republic of Korea's own agenda. The Republic of Korea is signalling inclusive AI, critical minerals, climate, food resilience and supply chains. Rather than run inequality as a separate track, the coalition should ask who gains and who pays under each of these.

5. Test the "bridge". The Republic of Korea's government is progressive on welfare, climate and inequality but strongly focused on growth and national interest, and its ODA is low. Participants want concrete, measurable tests of what the bridge-country role delivers for the Global South. The 2028 National Assembly election may shift the political space.

6. Fewer, sharper asks carried across presidencies. Long, unprioritised wish lists confuse decision-makers. A small set of shared priorities, carried from the UK in 2027 to the Republic of Korea in 2028 and possibly Mexico after, was preferred to a new policy paper every year.

7. Inside, outside and narrative together, with the loop closed. Technical lobbying needs grassroots legitimacy and public pressure. Plain-language framing (cost of living, the Republic of Korea's own 1997 IMF crisis), broad alliances with L20, W20, Y20 and social movements, media accreditation for civil society, and feedback to the communities who supply evidence were all seen as essential.

[1] In this document, "Korea" is used for brevity and refers to the Republic of Korea.

Priority asks by theme

The lead ask in each theme, as voted in the gallery walk, with the other two priorities in brief. Full wording is in "Thematic conversations".

Theme	Lead ask	Other priority asks
Democracy and civic space	A permanent, civil society-led C20 funded by G20 governments, with its own summits	More IFI voting power for Global Majority countries; more funding for CSOs, using the Republic of Korea's proposed Framework Act for Civic Participation
Debt and development finance	Reform MDB governance to shift voting power to Global South borrowers	Automatic debt-payment standstill in severe distress; parliamentary vote on MDB loan conditions
Inequality and social protection	G20 and Asian governments join and fund the IPI	National inequality action plans; inequality impact checks on MDB and IMF loans
Tax justice	Polluter-pays and progressive wealth taxes, with reform of global tax governance	Gender-just tax systems that recognise the gig economy; stronger tax administration and transparency for Big Tech, AI and crypto
Climate justice	Polluter-pays climate tax based on CBDR; shift military spending to climate finance and ODA	Direct access to adaptation funds with technology transfer; rules for AI data centres and adaptation finance for glacier-outburst countries
Digital governance and AI	Binding AI governance based on business and human rights, with mandatory due diligence	Regulate AI's use of water, power, land and minerals; tax Big Tech and expand public and open AI infrastructure

Three asks recur across themes and are natural candidates for consolidation: polluter-pays taxation (tax and climate), MDB and IMF governance and conditionality (debt, inequality and democracy), and AI's resource use and taxation (climate, tax and digital).

What was agreed

- **Six themes and 18 asks**, with theme names open to adjustment and the asks to be consolidated.
- **A core group of about five people** to coordinate follow-up (agreed in principle).
- **The existing Steering Committee continues in the interim** and will propose the core group's composition, with Republic of Korea and UK seats and regional and thematic balance.
- **The coalition's name** "G20 Civil Society Coalition" was the option most agreed with.
- **Country and regional plans:** Republic of Korea to set up a national steering committee and C20 working groups; India, Indonesia and the regional group to develop their plans further.

Priority actions

Actions recorded at the convening. Owners and dates marked "to set" were not recorded and should be confirmed by the Steering Committee.

Action	Owner	When
Circulate a two-page brief of the meeting	Facilitator with Oxfam	Within 2 weeks
Circulate the full meeting report after Steering Committee review	Facilitator with Steering Committee	Within 2 weeks
Decide the coalition's form, name and core group membership	Steering Committee	To set
Consolidate the 18 asks into a joint agenda and key messages	Steering Committee / core group	To set
Develop India's positions on the Republic of Korea's G20 agenda; follow-up CSO discussion	India group	Late October 2026
Develop the 2027–2028 activity plan and partners	Indonesia group	To set
Build the Korean coordination structure and C20 working groups	Korea group	To set
Plan UK–Republic of Korea–Mexico joint work and engagement around the IMF–World Bank meetings	Regional group	To set
Plan the 2027 Seoul convening and the C20 meeting in the Republic of Korea	Oxfam and C20 Korea	2027

Recommendations for the next 90 days

- **Lock in ownership.** Confirm the core group and put a named owner and date against every "to set" action.
- **Cut 18 asks to a short coalition agenda.** Merge the overlapping asks into five or six headline asks, each with a one-line public message.
- **Map the Republic of Korea's preparation calendar.** Identify when sherpa and finance-track priorities will be set, the lead ministries, and how the 2028 National Assembly election affects timing.
- **Connect to UK 2027 now.** Agree with UK partners which asks to carry through the UK presidency, starting with debt and polluter-pays taxation.
- **Plan the return loop and resourcing.** Decide how commitments will be tracked and reported back to communities, and how grassroots and smaller organisations will be funded to take part.

Meeting overview

Oxfam and the C20 Korea Platform convened Korean, Asian and G20 troika civil society in Bangkok on 10–11 October 2026 to build a shared strategy for influencing the Republic of Korea's 2028 G20 Presidency. The meeting ran on the theme "Learn, Prioritise, Plan" and took place the day before the World Bank–IMF Annual Meetings opened on 12 October.

Item	Detail
Dates	Saturday 10 – Sunday 11 October 2026
Venue	Dusit D2 Samyan, Bangkok, Thailand
Conveners	Oxfam and C20 Korea Platform
Participants	42 on the final list: 12 from the Republic of Korea, 22 from 11 other Asian countries, and 8 from the UK, US, South Africa and Kenya (final attendance to confirm)
Steering Committee	11 members from Japan, Indonesia, India, Mongolia, Nepal, the Republic of Korea, South Africa, the US and Pakistan
Facilitator	Anoop Sukumaran
Note-takers	Golf; Prim Kaosoontornkij

Why now. The 2026 US presidency has narrowed civil society space and recognised only the B20 as an official engagement group. The Republic of Korea has called itself a "bridge country" and, in 2010, put development on the G20 agenda through the Seoul Development Consensus. Most of a leaders' declaration is shaped at sherpa level well before the summit, so 2026–2027 is the window to shape the Republic of Korea's priorities.

Objectives (from the concept note):

1. Build lasting partnerships and trust between Korean and Asian civil society.
2. Learn from troika countries (South Africa, US, UK) and ensure continuity across presidencies.
3. Develop a shared policy agenda on inequality, development finance, debt, international tax cooperation and digital rights/AI governance.
4. Craft shared messaging so the Republic of Korea plays a real bridge-country role for Asia and the Global South.
5. Carry the work into a Seoul convening in 2027 and joint action through 2028.

KEY POINT

42 participants from 16 countries: 12 from the Republic of Korea, 22 from 11 other Asian countries and 8 from the UK, US, South Africa and Kenya.

Agenda and session flow

The agenda ran as a funnel: learn from the troika on Day 1 morning, map the Republic of Korea's context on Day 1 afternoon, then prioritise, strategise and commit on Day 2. Speaker inputs were capped at 10 minutes before participants responded, using Liberating Structures, World Café, fishbowl, power mapping and dot voting.

Day 1 — Saturday 10 October: Learn

Time	Session	Method	Planned output	Lead / facilitator
09:30–09:50	Welcome remarks	Plenary	—	John Samuel (Oxfam); Heejeong Han (C20 Korea Forum), Kate Pickett
09:50–10:10	Purpose, outcomes & working agreements	Co-created ground rules	Agreed norms	Anoop
10:10–10:30	G20 in 20	Plenary, pair buzz, "G20 Questions" wall	Shared baseline, primer	Steve Price-Thomas
10:30–10:55	Mapping our coalition	Human spectrogram, Impromptu Networking	Coalition map	Anoop
11:10–12:30	Continuity and change across presidencies	4 lightning talks, fishbowl, Keep / Avoid / Try cards	"Lessons for Korea 2028" wall	Charlotte Friar, Amir Bagherioromi, Maria Finnerty, Jean Mclean
13:30–14:45	Republic of Korea as a bridge country	2 inputs, 1-2-4-All	Top 5 "bridge tests"	Anselmo Lee, Amir Bagherioromi
14:45–15:30	Early signals from government	Briefing, Q&A, timeline wall	G20 calendar 2026–2028	Kyungyoung Chi
15:45–17:15	Shared direction	Front Page 2028, fist-to-five, Min Specs	3–5 shared goals, vision, principles	Anoop
17:15–17:30	Day 1 check-out	So What? Now What?	Evening synthesis	Anoop

Day 2 — Sunday 11 October: Prioritise and plan

Time	Session	Method	Planned output	Lead
09:00–09:10	Welcome back: our shared direction	Read-back, thumbs check	Confirmed shared goals	Anoop
09:10–10:20	Priority-setting	World Café, 6 themes, 3 rounds	2–3 ask cards and a key message per theme	Theme leads
10:20–11:00	Choosing our priorities	Gallery walks, dot voting (5 dots)	Ranked shortlist of 6–8 asks	Anoop
11:15–12:30	Mapping influence pathways	Power/interest grid; 3 level groups	Stakeholder map, entry points	Anoop
13:30–15:00	Action planning workshop	TRIZ, 5 workstream groups	Draft action plan per workstream	Anoop
15:00–16:00	Towards a shared roadmap	Timeline wall, 15% Solutions	Roadmap, individual commitments	Anoop
16:00–17:00	Sustaining the coalition	Fist-to-five, 1-2-4-All	Coordination model, Seoul 2027 seeds	Anoop
17:00–17:15	Closing and evaluation	Plus / Delta wall	Feedback	Anoop

World Café theme leads: inequality and social protection (Soonyoung Choi, Mustafa Talpur); debt and development finance (Ivan Enrile, Charlotte Friar); tax justice (Netra Timsina, Jati Pramono); climate justice (Amir Bagherioromi, Dong-real Kang); digital governance and AI (Rachel Arinii Judhistari, Lorenzo); democracy and civic space (Karel Antonio Galang, Yashasvi Kumud).

Proceedings — Day 1 (10 October): Learn

Day 1 established a shared baseline on the G20, drew lessons from the South African, US and UK presidencies, and examined what Korea's "bridge country" claim should mean in practice. It closed with a first set of shared directions. Sessions ran close to time; the coalition-mapping icebreaker was moved to 09:50.

Welcome remarks

- **John Samuel (Oxfam in Asia)** noted that Asian civil society faces shrinking civic space, surveillance and repression, but that regional solidarity remains a strong force. He asked the coalition to ground its G20 strategy in freedom, equality, human rights and justice.
- **Heejeong Han (Co-chair, C20 Korea Forum)** recalled 2010, when Asian civil society helped shape the Seoul Development Consensus and seeded the C20. Korea can only be a bridge country in 2028 if it listens to Asian CSOs.
- **Kate Pickett** committed to research that serves the public good and supports civil society on inequality, health, social cohesion and the environment.

Anoop then set the ground rules, and Avika gave a Thailand security briefing.

G20 in 20 (Steve Price-Thomas)

Steve covered the G20's background, structure, engagement groups, civil society's role and evidence of impact. Participants posted questions on a "G20 Questions" wall, reviewed at day's end:

- How can the coalition use internal G7 discord?
- Does engaging the G20 legitimise an undemocratic body?
- How can insider and outsider tactics be managed in restrictive spaces?
- What can be learned from the 2010 Seoul strategy?

Continuity and change across presidencies

Four speakers shared presidency experience, then six groups produced Keep / Avoid / Try cards for Korea 2028.

Presidency	Speaker	Key points
South Africa 2025	Amir Bagheriorom i	Added a media and digital track alongside insider and outsider advocacy. Kept: the independent International Panel on Inequality (IPI) built to outlast the presidency, and a "People's G20" national roadshow. Avoid: planning late (start 2–3 years ahead), weak finance-track access, no proper troika handover.
United States 2026	Charlotte Friar	Agenda narrowed to trade, deregulation, energy and AI; working groups cut from ~25 to 4; only the B20 recognised; South Africa not invited. Response: a domestic "Big Tent" alliance (L20, C20, W20), pressure through other G20 capitals, and a planned counter-summit with labour allies in Miami.
United Kingdom 2027	Maria Finnerty, Jean Mclean	New government open to a more ambitious agenda. Campaign reframes aid as solidarity against a broken financial system. Priorities: Common Framework reform with the African Union's 6 debt demands, UK law to stop private creditors suing in London courts, wealth and polluter-pays taxes, and a global summit on illicit financial flows.

The speakers' slide decks add the following detail.

> **IN THEIR WORDS**
>
> **"Continuity is not automatic."**
>
> *— Troika lesson from South Africa's 2025 presidency*

South Africa 2025: "Continuity and Change" (Amir Bagherioromi, Oxfam South Africa)

- **Keep:** turn a global report into a national lever. The Extraordinary Committee of Independent Experts on Global Inequality, chaired by Joseph Stiglitz, led to a report, a presidential launch and a proposed standing International Panel on Inequality. It worked because it combined political will, technical credibility and a concrete institutional ask.
- **Keep:** the "Towards a People's G20" roadshows put mining, housing, food and energy poverty on record across provinces, in people's own terms.
- **Avoid:** the G20's own civic engagement review found the Finance Track scored lowest of all tracks on civic access. Most recommendations could not be traced from submission to final text.
- **Avoid:** the civil society debt letter landed in October 2025, after the Finance Track agenda was locked. Many communities never heard what happened to the evidence they gave, which risks feeling extractive.
- **Troika lesson:** continuity is not automatic. South Africa was largely left out of 2026 planning, so what survived had to be reframed in each presidency's own language.
- **Try, for Korea 2028:** pick the frame early (inclusive AI, critical minerals, climate resilience); build a Finance Track access plan before the agenda hardens; design the feedback loop to communities from day one.

United States 2026 (Charlotte Friar, Oxfam US)

- **Context:** a "back to basics" presidency focused on the finance track and leaders' summit. Priorities are removing regulatory burdens, unlocking energy supply chains and new technologies. Its four working groups are trade; growth and deregulation; innovation; and energy abundance.
- **Oxfam's 2026 objectives:** strengthen engagement across G20 countries and the EU and AU offices; stop specific agenda items being lost from the G20 long term; grow US support for inequality-reducing international economic policy.
- **Working, to continue:** the "Big Tent" coalition (with leads from L20, W20 and C20), engagement across G20 countries, engaging Congress, an ambitious agenda, and pairing immediate crises with a long-term vision.
- **Challenges:** light-touch engagement is not enough. Erosion happens through narrative and political momentum rather than explicit policy change, which makes defensive advocacy hard. There is also a risk of simply returning to pre-Trump agendas.
- **Next:** build towards the December summit with a high-level counter-summit with allies, Oxfam's "Big Heads" public action, and media work on neglected issues.

United Kingdom 2027: "Fix the system" (Jean Mclean, Oxfam GB)

- **Aim:** a coalition campaign to mobilise the British public to press the Burnham government for a progressive international agenda and a once-in-a-generation uplift in finance for low- and middle-income countries.
- **Timeline:** UK G20 presidency in 2027, UK G7 presidency in 2028, and a general election due in 2029 (an early election is possible).
- **Three policy priorities:** significant debt relief, a fairer tax system, and an end to illicit financial flows.
- **Three public moments:** a campaign launch in January, a mass lobby of Parliament in June, and a cultural and political moment alongside the G20 Summit in Manchester in November.
- **Framework:** the campaign sits under Oxfam GB's goal of "feminist, just and sustainable systems", which also covers restoring UK aid to 0.7% of GNI and a feminist just transition.

Lessons for Korea 2028 (synthesis of the six groups)

Keep	Avoid	Try
Coordinate across countries for troika continuity	Long, unprioritised wish lists	Translate macro-policy into everyday terms (for example cost of living)
Link community realities and field evidence to negotiations	Fragmented working groups pushing isolated demands	Push rights-based AI governance covering labour, rights and gender
Broad coalitions linking C20, L20, W20 and movements	Planning late instead of 2–3 years ahead	Use Korea's 1997 IMF crisis to build empathy on Global South debt
Carry South Africa's climate and inequality agenda into 2027 and 2028	Ignoring the finance track	Gain access through care and youth issues, then push debt and tax reform
Timely interventions and post-summit tracking	Top-heavy processes that exclude grassroots movements	Align demands with Korea's presidential manifesto

The "Lessons for Korea 2028" wall added:

- **Keep:** big-tent, global, cross-sectoral CSO alliances; working with the sherpa process to push other agendas; a focus on economic system change, made relevant to the public; AI governance and its social impact; a common response by CSOs across countries; engaging parliamentarians; holding a long-term vision; moving from defence to a stronger alternative agenda; solidarity and timely engagement.
- **Avoid:** normalising Big Tech leaders' participation in ministerial meetings; normalising US restrictions on CSO engagement; treating visibility as influence; late letters and recommendations; long lists of asks; South Africa 2025's weak preparation on the finance track; bilateral priorities that undercut multilateralism.
- **Try:** issues that outlast a presidency, like the Panel on Inequality; roadshows that explain the G20 to people; working across capitals; talking to political parties; clarity of asks; reviewing what difference civil society has made in the last 15 years; a clear advocacy plan across countries; public mobilisation in Asia; engaging finance ministries as early as possible; rights-based framing, especially on AI; mobilising youth, drawing on recent Gen Z uprisings; a feedback loop for grassroots organisations; and starting with a "soft" agenda (care, youth) to open doors.

Two groups raised a core dilemma: whether G20 engagement legitimises an exclusive, unaccountable forum. Group 5 recalled India 2023, when civil society was placed under surveillance and sidelined by a state-run C20. Group 6 proposed using Global South scepticism as leverage: the G20 keeps its legitimacy only by delivering on debt and financial-architecture reform.

Republic of Korea as a bridge country

> IN THEIR WORDS
>
> **“A bridge is built before the crossing is needed.”**
>
> *— Amir Bagherioromi, Oxfam South Africa*

Amir Bagherioromi said a seat at the table does not guarantee influence. South Africa's lasting gains were the IPI and the Africa Engagement Framework, an AU-coordinated finance-track mechanism for 2025–2030. Bridge-building carries political costs, including US pressure on South Africa, so it needs risk management. He cited South African figures (the richest 1% own 55% of wealth and the bottom 90% just 14%; 56% of new wealth since 2019 went to the richest 1%; unemployment is 33.6% against a G20 average of 6.14%; 3.3 million workers are in jobs highly exposed to AI disruption) to show G20 decisions reach daily life. He urged combining insider access, outsider legitimacy and public narrative. South Africa's review found these tracks reinforced each other where its presidency was strongest and ran as disconnected streams where it was weakest: bridging is a coordination discipline. He warned that multilateralism is under strain from bilateral deals between the largest economies, yet multilateral channels still delivered the inequality committee, the Africa Engagement Framework and the C20 and T20 processes. His closing ask: "A bridge is built before the crossing is needed."

He proposed that civil society test each of Korea's emerging priorities against inequality:

Korea priority	Question civil society should raise
AI	Who benefits from AI adoption, and which workers lose their livelihoods?
Critical minerals	Who bears the environmental and labour costs of extraction?
Climate	Which countries and communities receive climate finance, and who stays exposed?
Food resilience	Whose food security is protected, and whose is overlooked?
Trade	Do trade rules give developing countries fair opportunities?

Anselmo Lee (C20 Korea Forum) set out Korea's position and ten issues for civic engagement with the G20. Korea hosted the G20 in 2010 and hosts again in 2028; it is a founding member of MIKTA (2013), joined the OECD in 1997 and the DAC in 2010, and hosted the 2011 Busan aid-effectiveness forum. He framed its role as "democratic" middle-power diplomacy, building on the 2010 Seoul Development Consensus and the global "AI-basic society" and AI hub that Korea proposed at the 2026 UN General Assembly. Energy-supply insecurity and the North Korean nuclear threat shape its outlook. His ten issues:

1. **Geopolitics:** use summit diplomacy across the C7, Civil BRICS, MIKTA, APEC, ASEAN, ASEAN+3 and EAS, and weigh middle-power diplomacy against the Bandung non-aligned tradition.
2. **Coordination:** connect grassroots groups, social movements, national and international NGOs, the C20, People's 20 and G20 Social.
3. **Broad coalitions:** work with G20 Social, Y20, L20, W20, T20 and the parliamentary P20.
4. **Global partnerships:** link to CSO coalitions on the UN (SDGs, Pact for the Future, UNFCCC, NPT/TPNW), IMF and World Bank, ILO, OECD and Global Summit Watch.
5. **Continuity:** use Keep / Avoid / Try, a national host organisation, the troika and international groups such as the C20 International Advisory Committee.
6. **Multi-year strategy:** plan 2026–2028 across the UK, Korea and Mexico presidencies, aligned with UN agendas, combining campaigning, advocacy and lobbying.
7. **Agenda-setting:** balance core economic and finance issues with emerging ones such as AI; cluster cross-cutting issues (human rights, peace, gender equality) instead of working in silos; consider a flagship campaign on inequality or civic space.
8. **Impact:** assess civic engagement across awareness, agenda-setting, consensus-building and inside-outside strategy.
9. **Media:** seek media accreditation for civil society during the summit.
10. **Funding:** secure sustainable, independent funding from the host government and from international public and private sources, including for grassroots participation.

Participants then drafted statements in the form "The Republic of Korea is a bridge country. It should do X, Y and Z for my constituency" and clustered them on a wall. The clusters were:

Cluster	"Korea is a bridge country if…"
CSO engagement	**Institutionalises a permanent mechanism for civil society engagement.** Opens early engagement with CSOs; allows meaningful CSO engagement in G20 working groups, including finance; strengthens civil society engagement and governance; opens civic spaces permanently; amplifies youth voice through the Y20.
Long-term funding	**Earmarks funding for civil society engagement.**
Inequality	Puts inequality at the centre of the G20 agenda and into all streams; maintains support for the IPI; facilitates a Social Summit; puts people's health first through people-centred universal health coverage.
Debt and IFIs	Democratises IFI governance; reduces developing-country debt; paves the way for fair, democratic development financing; puts a fair tax system on the agenda and in the final text.
Civic space	Makes a new global commitment on civic space; widens Global South engagement; builds Global South solidarity; ensures developing-country perspectives are fully reflected in G20 negotiations.

Cluster	"Korea is a bridge country if…"
Inclusive meetings	Brings inequality and social injustice into its emerging priorities (AI, critical minerals); secures human rights safeguards and strong global AI governance in G20 outcomes, centred on rights, equity and accountability; adopts a feminist foreign policy; acts as a global partner rather than a global leader; links local to global through wider multi-stakeholder platforms.
Learning from the past	Picks up earlier priorities such as the IPI; continues South Africa's issues (inequality, debt) and MDB reform; cuts all greenhouse gases; operates inclusively across North–South and geopolitical lines; checks who was invited and who actually took part.
Media	Gives CSOs access to the summit media centre. One caution: the government may want to host the IPI's headquarters in Korea for its own image.

Early signals from government (Kyungyoung Chi, Oxfam in Korea)

Korea's progressive government has a strong Assembly position and backs welfare, climate action, gender equality and "AI inclusion". It also puts national interest and growth first. Korea's ODA remains low against its economic weight. Signals for the presidency include AI and innovation, a North–South bridge role (not yet defined), critical minerals and supply chains, and multilateral cooperation, including with the UK. The 2028 National Assembly election may shift the political space.
She urged civil society to monitor government priorities, connect AI with inequality, demand concrete bridge commitments, link economic priorities to social outcomes, and plan around the political calendar.

Road to 2028 timeline wall (from participant sticky notes):

Year	Milestones posted
2026	Finalise the C20 preparatory meeting and road map; reactivate C20 in-country to build commitment; UN tax negotiations (Nairobi, November); COP31 (November); US–UK transition as a moment to engage media and set the narrative
2027	World Economic Forum (January); Digital Rights Asia-Pacific Assembly; UN Internet Governance Forum (TBC); International Women's Day; Korea SDG Voluntary National Review; Asia Democracy Assembly (May); community and CSO consultations for C20
2028	World Health Assembly (May); UN Ocean Conference (June); AIDS 2028; COP33 (November); OECD DAC peer review of the Republic of Korea; collective action on ODA expansion; C20 preparation

Summit calendar 2026–2029

Process	2026	2027	2028	2029
G20	United States	United Kingdom	Republic of Korea	Mexico
G7	France	United States	United Kingdom	Germany
BRICS	India	China	South Africa	
UNFCCC	COP31 (Australia and Türkiye)	COP32 (Africa)	COP33 (Asia)	
APEC	China	Vietnam	Mexico	
ASEAN chair	Philippines	Singapore	Timor-Leste	
Other milestones	UN Secretary-General selection; US midterm elections (November)	Third UN SDG Summit (September)		US presidential election (November); UK general election due

The post-SDG summit follows in September 2030.

Shared direction and Day 1 check-out

Check-out reflections: resist pressure to divert resources from health, education and public services; shift from drafting summit text to tracking past commitments and holding the World Bank, IMF and ILO to their mandates; and frame cost of living, floods and debt as structural crises in plain language.

Proceedings — Day 2 (11 October): Prioritise and plan

Day 2 turned the shared directions into 18 priority asks across six themes, mapped the stakeholders to influence, and produced first action plans from four country and regional groups. It ended with agreement to form a small core group.

Welcome back

Anoop confirmed six themes drawn from the Day 1 shared directions, with names left open for adjustment: inequality and social protection; debt and development finance; tax justice; climate justice; digital governance and AI; democracy and civic space.

Priority-setting (World Café) and vote

Each theme table developed asks over three rounds. A gallery walk and dot vote then chose the top three asks per theme. The notes list the themes in the order below; vote tallies were not recorded.

Theme	Table hosts	Top three asks (in vote order)
Democracy and civic space	Karel Antonio Galang, Yashasvi Kumud	1. A permanent, civil society-led C20 funded by G20 governments, with its own summits. 2. More IMF and IFI voting power for Global Majority countries. 3. More funding for CSOs, using Korea's proposed Framework Act for Civic Participation as a model.
Debt and development finance	Ivan Enrile, Charlotte Friar	1. Reform MDB governance to shift voting power to Global South borrowers. 2. An international agreement that automatically halts debt payments in severe distress. 3. National parliaments review and vote on MDB loan conditions before board approval.
Inequality and social protection	Soonyoung Choi, Mustafa Talpur	1. G20 and Asian governments join and fund the IPI. 2. National inequality action plans in every G20 country. 3. Mandatory inequality impact checks on MDB and IMF loans before conditions are set.
Tax justice	Netra Timsina, Jati Pramono	1. Polluter-pays and progressive wealth taxes, plus reform of global tax governance. 2. Gender-just tax systems that recognise the gig economy. 3. Stronger tax administration in developing countries, with country-by-country reporting and beneficial ownership rules for Big Tech, AI and crypto.
Climate justice	Amir Bagherioromi, Dong-real Kang	1. A polluter-pays climate tax based on common but differentiated responsibilities, and a shift of military spending ($2.8 trillion a year) to climate finance and ODA. 2. Direct access to adaptation funds for rural communities, with technology transfer. 3. Environmental, tax and labour rules for large AI data centres, and adaptation finance for glacier-outburst countries such as Nepal.
Digital governance and AI	Rachel Arinii Judhistari, Lorenzo	1. Binding AI governance based on business and human rights, with mandatory due diligence. 2. Regulate AI's use of water, power, land and critical minerals. 3. Tax Big Tech, expand public ownership of AI infrastructure, and support open-source and open-weight models.

Other asks raised but not voted into the top three included universal basic income to cushion AI-driven job losses, debt cancellation framed as climate reparations, a ban on military AI, and positioning Korea as Asia's convenor on democratic engagement. Participants noted strong links between themes that need to be consolidated.

Thematic conversations

The six World Café tables each hosted three rounds of conversation: the ask that moves the coalition towards its shared goals, the Asia and Korea angle and where to push, and a one-line message. The asks below are recorded as written up by the table hosts. The three asks under each theme marked as priorities are those chosen by participants in the gallery walk and dot vote; the remaining asks were discussed at the table but not voted into the top three.

KEY POINT

Six themes, 18 priority asks. Three recur across themes: polluter-pays taxation, MDB and IMF governance, and AI's resource use and taxation.

Democracy and civic space

Table hosts: Karel Antonio Galang, Yashasvi Kumud

Top three priority asks (voted)

- **Priority 1:** Establish a formal, civil society-led C20 structure funded by G20 governments, with dedicated C20 Summits, so civil society does not have to renegotiate its participation space every year.
- **Priority 2:** Reform global governance to expand voting rights and decision-making representation for Global Majority nations in international financial institutions such as the IMF.
- **Priority 3:** Champion greater funding and support for civil society organisations globally, using the Republic of Korea's proposed Framework Act for Civic Participation as a model and opportunity.

Other asks discussed

- Position the Republic of Korea as a regional convenor for Asia's vision and narrative on democratic engagement.
- Use G20 platforms to advocate for ending wars, which shrink democratic space, and advance the narrative that economies survive and thrive in healthy democracies.

Debt and development finance

Table hosts: Ivan Enrile, Charlotte Friar

Top three priority asks (voted)

- **Priority 1:** Reform multilateral development bank (MDB) governance to redistribute voting power and decision-making authority towards Global South borrower countries, ending dependency on wealthy donor nations.
- **Priority 2:** Create an international agreement, similar to bankruptcy protection, with a trigger that automatically halts debt servicing when a nation faces severe financial distress, so governments can prioritise health, fuel and social needs over external creditors.
- **Priority 3:** Require national parliaments to review and vote on MDB loan conditionality before MDB boards give final approval.

Other asks discussed

- Maintain high ambition for full debt relief and cancellation, framing debt relief as climate reparations rather than charity and addressing illegitimate debt.

Inequality and social protection

Table hosts: Soonyoung Choi, Mustafa Talpur

Top three priority asks (voted)

- **Priority 1:** Urge G20 and Asian governments to formally participate in, join and contribute to the International Panel on Inequality (IPI).

- **Priority 2:** Require G20 member countries to formulate comprehensive national action plans specifically aimed at reducing inequality.
- **Priority 3:** Establish a mandatory safeguard requiring inequality impact checks on MDB and IMF loans before conditionality is set.

Other asks discussed

- Invest public funds in universal health, education, care work, social protection, digital services and infrastructure to build equal opportunity.
- Explore bolder policy tools such as universal basic income (UBI) to respond to rapid economic and labour-market disruption driven by AI.

Tax justice

Table hosts: Netra Timsina, Jati Pramono

Top three priority asks (voted)

- **Priority 1:** Enforce a polluter-pays tax mechanism alongside progressive wealth taxes and an overhaul of global tax governance structures.
- **Priority 2:** Integrate gender justice into national tax systems and formally recognise the gig economy as a productive sector in budget allocations and revenue processes.
- **Priority 3:** Strengthen domestic tax administration in developing nations to curb corporate tax avoidance and evasion, while enforcing country-by-country reporting, beneficial ownership transparency and anti-evasion rules for Big Tech, AI and cryptocurrency sectors.

Other asks discussed

- Identify the UK 2027 tax asks that the Republic of Korea should carry forward into 2028.
- Ensure tax revenue is used equitably for public welfare and social transformation.

Climate justice

Table hosts: Amir Bagherioromi, Dong-real Kang

Top three priority asks (voted)

- **Priority 1:** Implement a polluter-pays climate tax grounded in the principle of Common But Differentiated Responsibilities (CBDR), while shifting global military spending (about US$2.8 trillion a year) towards climate finance and Official Development Assistance (ODA), in line with the New Collective Quantified Goal (NCQG).
- **Priority 2:** Ensure direct access to adaptation funds for rural communities and developing countries, while requiring developed nations to transfer advanced climate technologies to developing countries.
- **Priority 3:** Impose environmental, climate, tax and labour restrictions on large AI data centres, and broaden adaptation finance beyond LDCs and SIDS to glacier-outburst vulnerable countries such as Nepal.

Other asks discussed

- Establish a labelling system that categorises countries by their climate adaptation technology capacity (advanced, developing or under-developing) to target limited finance better. Participants noted that glacier-outburst risk affects 47 countries, including G20 members such as Italy, France and China.

Digital governance and AI

Table hosts: Rachel Arinii Judhistari, Lorenzo

Top three priority asks (voted)

- **Priority 1:** Move beyond the Republic of Korea's AI basic service model, which focuses mainly on access and skills, to binding regulation and governance grounded in a Business and Human Rights framework, with mandatory human rights due diligence and multistakeholder accountability.
- **Priority 2:** Regulate and account for the heavy natural-resource consumption of AI infrastructure, including water, electricity, land rights and displacement, and critical mineral extraction.
- **Priority 3:** Tax Big Tech monopolies, break up tech monopolies, expand public ownership of AI infrastructure, and support open-source and open-weight models.

Other asks discussed

- Apply an explicit inequality framework to AI regulation and public service delivery.
- Ban or strictly restrict the use of AI in military technologies and warfare.
- Maintain human control over AI and protect society's right to opt out of technologies that do not serve the public interest.

> **Cross-cutting observation.** Several asks recur across themes: polluter-pays taxation appears under both tax justice and climate justice; MDB and IMF governance and conditionality appear under debt, inequality and democracy; and AI's resource use and taxation appear under climate, tax and digital governance. Participants agreed these links should be explored and consolidated into a smaller set of coalition asks.

Mapping influence pathways

In plenary, participants named the stakeholders the coalition must reach:

Group	Stakeholders named
Parliaments	Legislators and MPs, including Japan's Diet, to influence both constituencies and government agendas
G20 leadership	Governments in capitals; troika and hosts (US, UK, Republic of Korea); working groups; sherpas; finance ministers and central banks; Japan's MoF, MoFA, METI and welfare ministry
Engagement groups	C20, L20, B20, T20, Y20 (youth as a pressure group on inequality)
Regional and multilateral	ASEAN and member states, EU, African Union, MDBs
Civil society and academia	Korean host-country CSOs, universities, faith groups, retired ministry staff, foundations (Ford, Gates, OSF), national human rights institutions
Media	National and international media, journalists, celebrities and influencers
Labour	Labour leaders, trade unions, ITUC
Private sector	Private sovereign creditors, Big Tech, ESG investors, major corporations such as Samsung
Public	Affected people, youth and marginalised groups, campaign organisations

The stakeholder flipchart (see Annex: flipchart photos) adds detail. Numbers written beside three clusters, likely priority votes, were 10 for G20 finance ministers and central banks, 9 for legislators and parliamentarians, and 8 for national parliaments including Japan's Diet. The board also names G20 guest governments, the ministries leading G20 working groups (labour, trade, gender), Japan's sherpa, private creditors (noted as "mostly invisible"), ESG investors as a lever on Big Tech, universities issuing public statements, international media to apply public pressure, and people's movements in G20 countries.

KEY POINT

Most-voted targets on the stakeholder board: G20 finance ministers and central banks (10), legislators and parliamentarians (9), national parliaments (8).

The planned breakout mapping of entry points by level (Korea, Asian G20 members, global) is not recorded separately in the notes; it was folded into the afternoon country work.

Action planning and shared roadmap

Instead of the five planned workstream groups, participants worked in four country and regional groups. Each reviewed the Road to 2028 wall and mapped stakeholders, approaches, actions and owners.

Group	Main proposed actions	Next step
India	Convene CSOs on development-finance research gaps (follow-up in late October); develop India positions on Korea's G20 agenda; mobilise Indigenous and grassroots communities on climate, debt and tax justice; engage youth through political education	Share outcomes with networks and draft a formal action plan with commitments
Indonesia	Mobilise CSOs and grassroots networks; coordinate with women's and youth engagement groups; run research-based policy dialogues; seek finance-track entry points; work with media; plan joint campaigns	Develop 2027–2028 activities, partners and concrete actions
Korea	Set up a steering committee to coordinate, raise resources and work with domestic platforms; build policy priorities (debt, tax, illicit flows; explore AI, climate, security) through C20 working groups with policy briefs; joint UK–Korea–Mexico work, starting online; broaden the Korean coalition and links to Y20, L20, W20, T20 and P20	Build the coordination structure and priorities, treated as a starting point
Regional (UK, US, Japan and others)	UK–Korea–Mexico narratives on debt justice and making polluters pay; use the IMF–World Bank meetings to convene UK and Korean policymakers; coordinate regional mobilisation; explore a middle-power coalition (UK, Canada and others); engage APEC and UN regional forums in Bangkok; connect youth movements; engage Japan's Ministry of Finance; side events (for example on budget transparency)	Agree shared priorities, map events, plan joint campaigns

Sustaining the coalition

- **Name:** "G20 Civil Society Coalition" was discussed as a possible name, with alternatives on cross-presidency cooperation. No name was finalised.
- **Core group:** participants agreed in principle to a small core group of about five people to drive follow-up.
- **Interim arrangement:** the existing Steering Committee continues for now and will propose the core group's make-up, with representation from the Republic of Korea and the UK and regional and thematic balance.

Key themes and insights

Six themes ran through both days and the speakers' presentations.

1. **Start early and build across presidencies.** Every troika speaker said planning must begin 2–3 years ahead. Lasting gains come from institutions that outlive a presidency, such as South Africa's IPI and the African Union finance-track mechanism. A few shared priorities, carried from the UK in 2027 to Korea in 2028 and possibly Mexico after, beat a new wish list each year.
2. **Inequality as the lens on Korea's agenda.** Korea is signalling AI, critical minerals, climate, food resilience and supply chains. The coalition's role is to ask who gains and who pays under each, rather than run inequality as a separate track.
3. **Define the "bridge".** Korea's bridge-country claim is not yet backed by concrete commitments, and its ODA remains low. Participants want measurable tests of what the bridge delivers for the Global South.
4. **Get into the finance track and track commitments.** Weak access to finance ministries and central banks was a repeated gap. Participants want to move from drafting summit text to monitoring past commitments and holding the IMF, World Bank and ILO to account.
5. **Inside, outside and narrative together.** Technical lobbying needs grassroots legitimacy and public pressure. Plain-language framing (cost of living, Korea's 1997 IMF crisis) and media accreditation for civil society were seen as essential.
6. **Close the loop with communities.** South Africa could not trace most recommendations into final G20 text, and many communities never heard what became of their evidence. Participation without a return loop risks feeling extractive, so the coalition should build tracking and feedback in from the start.

IN THEIR WORDS

"If you want the G20 to preserve its international legitimacy, you must deliver an ambitious, radical agenda on debt and global financial architecture reform."

— Group 6, Keep / Avoid / Try exercise

Open tension. Several participants asked whether G20 engagement legitimises an exclusive forum, citing the US 2026 restrictions and India 2023 surveillance. The proposed answer is to engage while making delivery on debt and financial-architecture reform the test of the G20's legitimacy.

Decisions, agreements and next steps

The convening agreed six policy themes, 18 priority asks, and an interim coordination arrangement. No coalition name or formal structure was finalised.

Agreements reached

#	Decision	Status
1	Six coalition themes: inequality and social protection; debt and development finance; tax justice; climate justice; digital governance and AI; democracy and civic space	Agreed; names open to adjustment
2	Top three asks per theme (18 in total), led by a permanent civil society-led C20, MDB governance reform, IPI membership, polluter-pays taxation and binding AI governance	Agreed by vote; to be consolidated across themes
3	Three shared directions: continue the IPI and fund public services; move beyond business inclusion on AI; define Korea's bridge role	Agreed on Day 1
4	Form a small core group of about five people to coordinate follow-up	Agreed in principle
5	Existing Steering Committee continues in the interim and proposes the core group, with Korea and UK seats and regional and thematic balance	Agreed
6	Coalition name: "G20 Civil Society Coalition" and alternatives discussed	Not decided
7	Korea to set up a national steering committee and C20 working groups producing policy briefs	Proposed by the Korea group

Next steps

Action	Owner	When
Circulate a two-page brief of the meeting	Facilitator with Oxfam	Within 2 weeks
Circulate the full meeting report	Facilitator with Steering Committee	Within 2 weeks, after Steering Committee review
Meet to decide the coalition's form and core group membership	Steering Committee	To set
Consolidate the 18 asks into a joint agenda and key messages	Steering Committee / core group	To set
Develop India's positions on Korea's G20 agenda; follow-up CSO discussion	India group	Late October 2026
Develop 2027–2028 activity plan and partners	Indonesia group	To set
Build the Korean coordination structure and C20 working groups	Korea group	To set
Plan UK–Korea–Mexico joint work and IMF–World Bank side engagement	Regional group	To set
Continue planning for the 2027 Seoul convening and the C20 meeting in Korea	Oxfam and C20 Korea	2027

Owners and dates marked "to set" were not recorded in the notes and should be confirmed with the Steering Committee.

Annex: presentations

Slide decks shared by speakers and used in this report; copies are in the Facilitation project.

Presenter	Presentation	Session
Amir Bagherioromi, Oxfam South Africa	Continuity and Change: what South Africa's G20 taught us, and a tip for Korea 2028	Continuity and change across presidencies
Charlotte Friar, Oxfam US	The 2026 US G20 Presidency: lessons, challenges and the road ahead	Continuity and change across presidencies
Jean Mclean, Oxfam GB	Fix the system: UK coalition campaign for the 2027 G20 presidency	Continuity and change across presidencies
Amir Bagherioromi, Oxfam South Africa	Republic of Korea as a Bridge Country	Republic of Korea as a bridge country
Anselmo Lee, C20 Korea Forum	Reflection and Suggestions about G20/C20	Republic of Korea as a bridge country

Closing

Anoop thanked participants, Oxfam colleagues and hotel staff. Mustafa Talpur set out next steps: a two-page brief for participants to share, a Steering Committee meeting on the group's form, continued planning for the C20 meeting in Korea, and distilling the two days into messages and an agenda. Kyungyoung Chi closed by noting that, against shrinking solidarity and civic space, the group had shown what diverse countries can build together towards the UK 2027 and Korea 2028 presidencies.

Annex: flipchart photos

Selected photos of the walls and flipcharts, in agenda order: Photos 1–10 are from Day 1 and Photos 11–18 from Day 2. Full-resolution photos are in the shared Flipcharts folder.

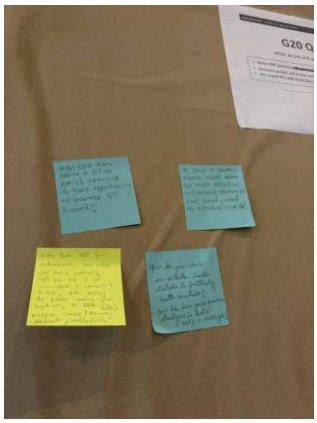


Photo 1. *Day 1. G20 Questions wall*

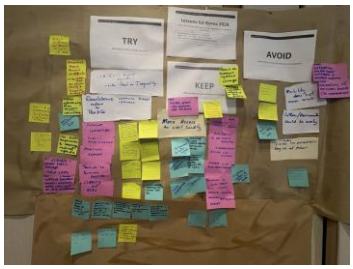


Photo 2. *Day 1. Keep / Avoid / Try: full wall*

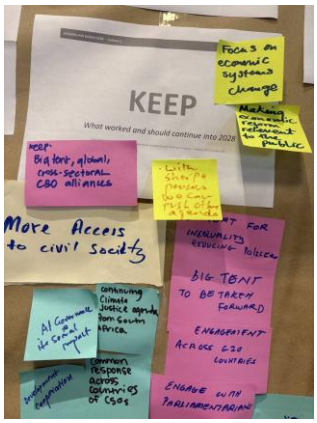


Photo 3. *Keep / Avoid / Try: Keep*

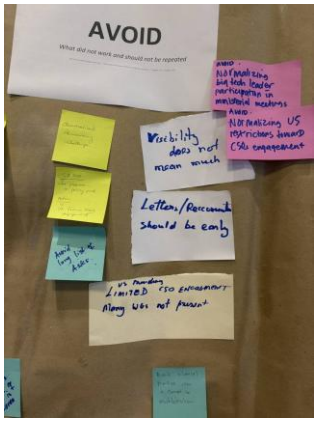


Photo 4. *Keep / Avoid / Try: Avoid*

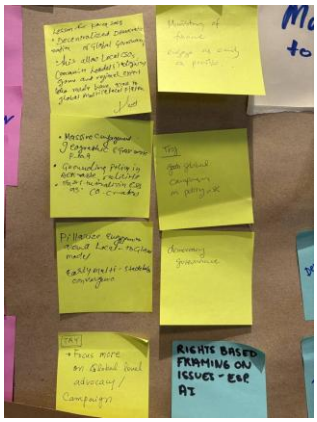


Photo 5. *Keep / Avoid / Try: Try (governance, finance ministries, AI)*

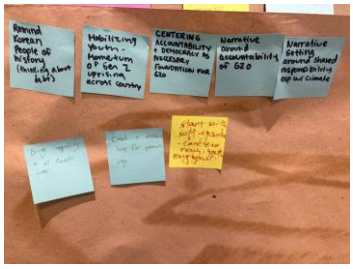


Photo 6. *Keep / Avoid / Try: Try (debt history, Gen Z, feedback loop)*

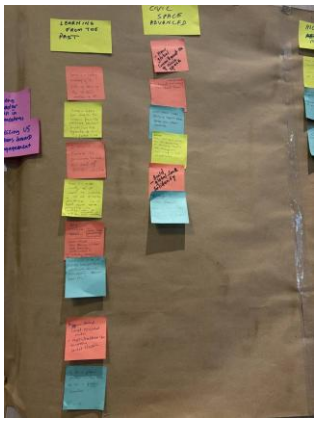


Photo 7. *Day 1. Bridge tests: learning from the past, civic space*

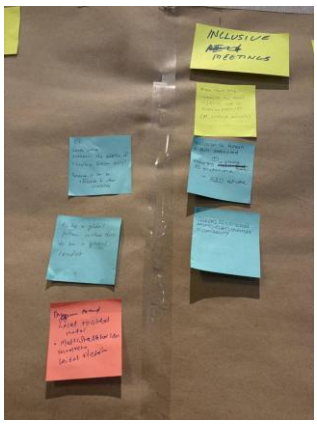


Photo 8. *Bridge tests: inclusive meetings*

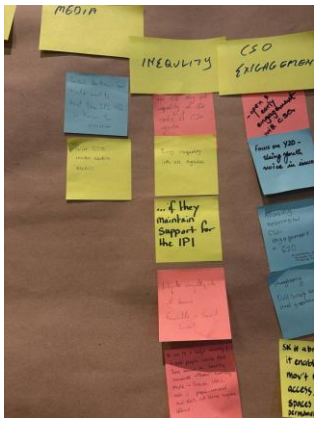


Photo 9. *Bridge tests: media, inequality, CSO engagement*

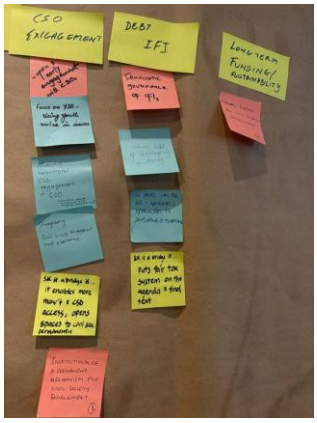


Photo 10. *Bridge tests: CSO engagement, debt and IFIs, funding*



Photo 11. *Day 2. Influence pathways: full stakeholder board*

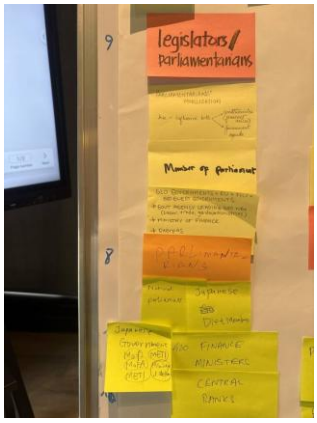


Photo 12. *Legislators, G20 governments, finance ministers*

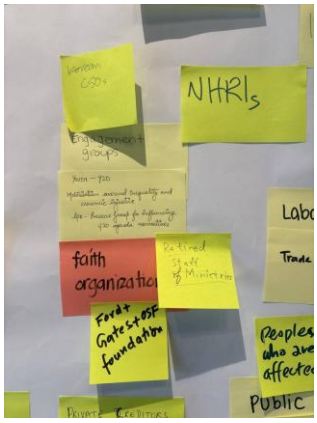


Photo 13. *Korean CSOs, engagement groups, faith, foundations*

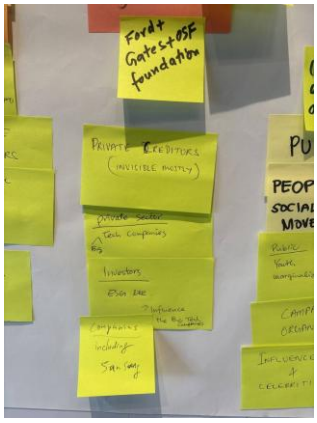


Photo 14. *Private creditors, Big Tech, investors*

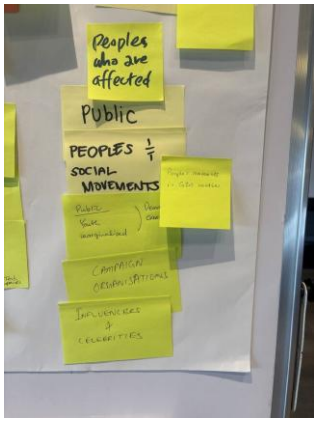


Photo 15. *Affected people, public, movements*

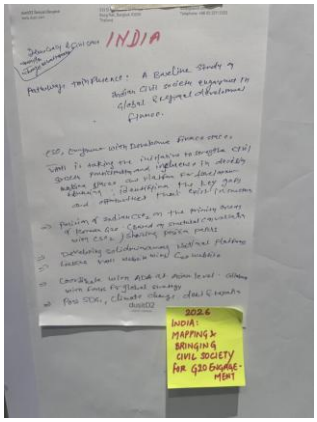


Photo 16. *Day 2. Action planning: India group*

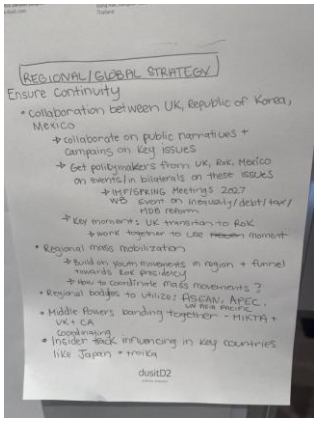


Photo 17. *Action planning: regional and global group*

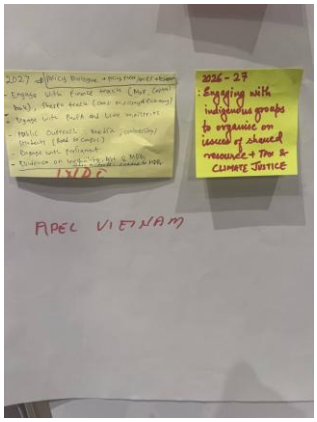


Photo 18. *Action planning: country sheet (2027 plans, APEC)*

Annex: participant list

From the final participant list; confirm against the sign-in sheet before circulation.

Name	Organisation	Country
Anselmo (Seonghoon) Lee	C20 Korea Forum	Republic of Korea
Soonyoung Choi	Korean Advocates for Global Health (KAGH)	Republic of Korea
Heejeong Han	Korean Advocates for Global Health (KAGH)	Republic of Korea
Jaeeun Shin	Korea NGO Council for Overseas Development Cooperation (KCOC)	Republic of Korea
Seon-Ah Oh	Institute for Green Transformation	Republic of Korea
Ohyeon Kweon	Parti Co-op	Republic of Korea
Dong-real Kang	SDSN Korea	Republic of Korea
Sungyong Heo	Africa Insight	Republic of Korea
Sunyoung Lee	Oxfam in Korea	Republic of Korea
Kyungyoung Chi	Oxfam in Korea	Republic of Korea
Yang Lee Hyun-kyung	KWAU	Republic of Korea
Lee Sunny	KWAU	Republic of Korea
Fahmida Khatun	Centre for Policy Dialogue	Bangladesh
Hemal Kamat	VANI	India
Yashasvi Kumud	Ekta Parishad	India
John Samuel	Oxfam in Asia	India
Jati Pramono	Prakarsa	Indonesia
Siti Khoirun Ni'mah	INFID	Indonesia
Sugiarto Arif Santoso	Penabulu	Indonesia
Karel Antonio Galang	Asia Democracy Network	Indonesia
Rachel Arinii Judhistari	Wikimedia Foundation	Indonesia
Masaki Inaba	JANIC	Japan
Jiro Adachi	JACSES	Japan
Oyunbadam Davaakhuu	Open Society Forum	Mongolia
Netra Prasad Timsina	SAAPE	Nepal
Abid Qaiyum Suleri	SDPI	Pakistan
Mustafa Talpur	Oxfam in Asia	Pakistan
Ivan Enrile	IBON Foundation	Philippines
Marian Ledesma	Fight Inequality Alliance	Philippines
Shubert L. Ciencia	Oxfam International – Asia	Philippines
APMDD representative	APMDD	Philippines
Rachel Ong	GFAN Asia-Pacific	Singapore
Nishan De Mel	Verité Research	Sri Lanka
Jennifer Ho	GFAN Asia-Pacific	Thailand
Amir Bagherioromi	Oxfam South Africa	South Africa

Name	Organisation	Country
Charlotte Friar	Oxfam US	US
Steve Price-Thomas	Oxfam International	UK/Vietnam
Jean Mclean	Oxfam GB	UK
Maria Finnerty	Bond	UK
Alex Farley	Bond	UK
Kate Pickett	University of York	UK
Deepak Xavier	Oxfam (Nairobi)	Kenya
Lorenzo	Oxfam	

Annex: meeting notes

These are the session notes taken by the convening's notetakers, Golf and Prim Kaosoontornkij. They have been lightly edited for grammar, consistency and length; the World Café asks are not repeated here because they appear in full under "Thematic conversations".

Day 1: Saturday 10 October 2026

Welcome remarks

Time: 09:30–09:50 | Format: Plenary | Speakers: John Samuel (Oxfam); Heejeong Han (Co-chair, C20 Korea Forum); Kate Pickett (IPI, UK) | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Prim

John Samuel welcomed participants to the two-day strategy gathering. He highlighted that, while civil society across Asia faces severe civic space constraints, surveillance, and government repression, collective regional solidarity remains a powerful force. He said the coalition's G20 strategy, aligned with Oxfam's values, should be grounded in freedom, equality, human rights, and justice.

Heejeong Han reflected on the 2010 Seoul G20 Summit, where Asian civil society helped shape the Seoul Development Consensus and planted the seeds for the C20. Looking ahead to the UK presidency in 2027 and the Republic of Korea's G20 Presidency in 2028, she said the Republic of Korea can only fulfil its role as a bridge country if it actively listens to Asian CSOs, and she encouraged regional partners to practise solidarity and push civil society's priorities and agendas together.

Kate Pickett expressed her enthusiasm for joining the strategy session to learn about cross-sectoral and cross-disciplinary collaboration. She highlighted her commitment as an academic to producing research that directly serves the public good and supports civil society in confronting global inequality across population health, social cohesion, and the environment.

S1: Purpose, outcomes and working agreements

Time: 09:50–10:00 | Format: Plenary | Speakers: Anoop, Avika | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Prim

Anoop welcomed all participants and set out the ground rules. Avika then briefed participants on overall security updates for Thailand.

S1: G20 in 20: what the G20 is and why it matters politically

Time: 10:10–10:30 (actual 10:17–10:40) | Format: Plenary | Speaker: Steve Price-Thomas | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Prim | Flipcharts: S1 Questions on G20

The plenary covered the G20's members and their weight in the world economy, how a presidency and the troika work, the Sherpa and Finance tracks, working groups, engagement groups (including the C20), and why Korea 2028 is a political opening for Asian civil society. A five-minute pair buzz followed, then questions were posted on a "G20 Questions" wall and answered during the day.

Steve introduced the G20: its background, structure, engagement groups, civil society engagement and importance, and evidence of impact.

Participants posted their questions on the G20 Questions wall in response to the prompt: "What is the one thing you still need to know to engage the G20?"

S1: Mapping our coalition

Time: 10:30–10:55 | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Prim

An icebreaker for participants to introduce themselves and start conversations with each other.

S2: Continuity and Change: Building Across Presidencies, Learning from Experience, and Adapting for 2028

Time: 11:10–12:30 (actual 11:00) | Format: Mixed (plenary, group discussion) | Speakers: Amir Bagherioromi (Oxfam South Africa); Charlotte Friar (Oxfam US); Maria Finnerty (Bond, Oxfam partner); Jean Mclean (Oxfam GB) | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Prim | Flipcharts: S2 Continuity and Change

South Africa Presidency

Amir introduced the session by sharing South Africa's presidency experiences.

Strategic framework

- Expanded traditional G20 advocacy beyond the standard Insider (direct government lobbying) and Outsider (public mobilisation) tracks
- Added a dedicated media and digital communications track to engage political and digital influencers and translate G20 topics for the broader public

Keep / Avoid / Try

- Keep:
  - Turn a global report into a national lever: Oxfam SA worked with the host presidency to establish the IPI, ensuring it operates independently of any single-year G20 presidency and carries forward into UN bodies
  - The "People's G20" national roadshow: visiting farmers, mining communities, etc. to break down what the G20 is and how it is relevant to or benefits them
- Avoid / challenges:
  - Avoid planning late; the planning process should start 2–3 years prior
  - High visibility across engagement groups (C20, W20, Y20) can backfire if grassroots recommendations are not systematically tracked or absorbed into national and G20 planning
  - Lack of access to the finance track
  - Not having a proper troika handover

US Presidency

Charlotte shared US G20 Presidency experiences.

Context

- The focus was narrowed to trade imbalances, removing regulatory burdens (including financial deregulation), energy abundance (fossil fuels, natural gas, nuclear), and AI/innovation
- Formal civil society engagement was limited
- G20 working groups were reduced from the typical ~25 to just 4, eliminating the Development, Employment, International Financial Architecture, and Women's working groups
- The US recognised only the Business 20 (B20) as a formal engagement group
- C20 was sidelined
- South Africa was not invited to key meetings

Objectives

- Strengthen Oxfam engagement across G20 countries
- Ensure agenda items are carried over in the long term
- Strengthen engagement by US actors

Keep

- The "Big Tent" coalition: formed an informal domestic US alliance linking the L20, C20, and W20 to conduct joint education, union engagement, and rapid advocacy
- Built parallel pressure across non-US G20 capitals to defend critical issues, push back against the non-invitation of South Africa, and ensure UK 2027 and Korea 2028 pick up dropped agenda items
- Educated US lawmakers and congressional staffers on the long-term economic and human impacts of G20 decisions to build sustainability and continuity

Challenges

- Sustained engagement: getting together early is more effective than a light-touch approach
- The challenge is moving from defence towards a stronger alternative agenda
- "Sidelined issues" such as gender and climate change
- Risk of returning to pre-Trump agendas; civil society should be more ambitious and look forward

Next steps

- Organising a major counter-summit with labour allies in Miami (coinciding with the Leaders' Summit at Trump's resort) to present an alternative vision for international economic policy
- Directly addressing current crises (such as the economic fallout of Middle East conflicts) while advancing long-term structural reforms in international development finance
- Drawing attention to issues being neglected

UK Presidency

Context

- The new government under Andy Burnham offers a more progressive and ambitious agenda (climate, AI integration, system reform)
- Civil society is actively intervening to shape priority policy selections

Public campaign strategies

- Shifting public discourse away from rich countries giving charity to poor countries, towards solidarity against a broken global financial system that exploits ordinary people
- Running a national roadshow
- Working across networks to campaign for public and community engagement, focusing on creating understanding and ownership
- Fix the system: reframing advocacy around global financial system reforms that would free up hundreds of billions for development and climate action at zero cost

Primary policy areas and priorities

- Debt relief
    - Reforming the G20 Common Framework for Debt Treatments (incorporating the African Union's six key debt demands)

    - Introducing updated English legislation to prevent private creditors from suing debt-distressed nations in City of London courts (where 90% of low-income countries' private debt contracts are governed)
- Fairer tax system and wealth taxation
    - Building on the 2024 Brazilian G20 legacy to advance global wealth tax agreements, polluter-pays taxes, country-by-country reporting, and public beneficial ownership registers
- Illicit financial flows
    - Leveraging the UK's unique role as a global financial hub by holding a global IFF Summit alongside G20 Finance meetings

Keep / Avoid / Try: Lessons for Korea 2028

Participants were divided into six groups. Each group identified what to keep, avoid, and try for the Republic of Korea's 2028 presidency.

Group 1

- Avoid: decentralised and fragmented governance; dozens of working groups and engagement groups pushing isolated agendas without democratic coordination, which is not effective
- Keep: systematic tracking and monitoring of whether past G20 declaration commitments are actually implemented
- Try:
    - Moving from national campaigns to unified, global campaigns
    - Focusing on executing agreed plans and engaging the Ministry of Finance (Finance Track) as early as possible

Group 2

- Keep:
    - Cross-capital CSO alignment
    - Linking local community realities with global policy
    - Sustaining South Africa's climate justice legacy into the UK 2027 and Korea 2028 agendas
- Try:
    - Focusing on post-summit accountability
    - Using human-rights-based framing for AI governance
    - Drawing on the Republic of Korea's own 1997 IMF crisis history to build public empathy around Global South debt distress
    - Channelling the energy of youth uprisings across Asia into formal advocacy
    - Setting shared-responsibility narratives around climate

Group 3

- Avoid:
    - Overwhelming decision-makers with unprioritised policy demands
    - Top-heavy alliances that exclude local grassroots movements
- Keep:
    - Delivering policy inputs at the exact moment text is being drafted (timely intervention)

    - Launching mass public education campaigns across the Republic of Korea on the G20 and global development
- Try: pushing for global AI governance within the G20 to challenge the Korean government's narrow drive for AI economic expansion, which overlooks labour displacement, gender inequality, and social impacts

Group 4

- Keep: the cross-sectoral coalition model (informally linking C20, L20 labour unions, W20, etc.)
- Avoid:
    - Normalising US-style restrictions on civil society engagement
    - Allowing Big Tech executives to set policy standards in the G20 process
- Try:
    - Framing policy asks around the cost of living so they resonate with grassroots communities and the public
    - Framing the UK Prime Minister as an inequality champion
    - Reviewing the Republic of Korea's presidential manifesto to align CSO demands with official political commitments

Group 5: key strategic reflections

- Impact check: reflected on whether 15–20 years of civil society G20 engagement had yielded real impact or merely legitimised state processes
- Reality of state control: shared the 2023 India G20 experience, where civil society was placed under police surveillance, locked in hotels, and sidelined by state-controlled C20 events
- Phased / soft-entry strategy: rather than starting with hard structural demands (immediate debt cancellation or wealth taxes), CSOs should build initial access through the care economy, gender justice, and youth investment, then use those footholds to push structural debt and tax reforms in the Sherpa and Finance tracks
- National alignment: aligning advocacy with host-country priorities (Japan on climate and social protection; Korea on climate and AI)

Group 6

- Core dilemma raised: does civil society engagement in the G20 inadvertently legitimise an exclusive, undemocratic, and unaccountable forum?
- Try:
    - Leveraging Global South scepticism towards the G20 to warn host governments: "If you want the G20 to preserve its international legitimacy, you must deliver an ambitious, radical agenda on debt and global financial architecture reform."
    - Focusing on systemic economic reform (reforming global financial rules) and communicating why those rules matter to ordinary citizens' daily lives
    - Coordinating advocacy across all troika capitals

Summary from all groups

Keep

- Coordinate between countries to maintain troika continuity

- Connect lived community realities and field evidence directly to high-level negotiations
- Maintain broad coalitions linking C20, L20, W20, and social movements
- Carry the prior presidency's agenda (e.g. South Africa's climate and inequality agenda) into UK 2027 and Korea 2028
- Timely action and intervention, and post-summit tracking

Avoid

- Long, unprioritised wish lists that confuse decision-makers and lack follow-through
- Fragmented governance and disconnected working groups pushing isolated demands without coordination
- Late planning instead of planning 2–3 years in advance
- Ignoring the finance track
- Top-heavy processes that exclude grassroots movements

Try

- Demystify jargon and translate complex macro-policy into everyday terms that resonate with the public
- Push rights-based G20 AI governance addressing labour displacement, rights, and gender impacts
- Use the Republic of Korea's 1997 IMF crisis history to build empathy for Global South debt distress
- Build initial access via care and youth issues before pushing hard debt and tax reforms

Key takeaway

Drawing on the South African, US, and UK presidencies, participants agreed that influencing the Republic of Korea's 2028 G20 presidency depends on early and effective planning, continuity, sustainability, and the solidarity of all stakeholders, especially the people. Conversations must centre on grassroots realities, and people's needs must be heard by governments, with civil society speaking with and on behalf of communities.

S3: Republic of Korea as a bridge country

Time: 13:30–14:45 (actual 13:37) | Format: Plenary | Speakers: Anselmo Lee (C20 Korea Forum); Amir Bagherioromi (Oxfam South Africa) | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Golf | Flipcharts: S3 Republic of Korea as a bridge country

Speaker 1: Amir Bagherioromi – South Africa: lessons from the 2025 G20 Presidency

1. A seat at the table does not guarantee influence

Amir explained that the G20 is not fully democratic or equally representative. Although having a seat at the table is important, it does not automatically mean a country or its civil society can influence decisions. Three key lessons emerged:

- Representation is not enough: participation must translate into real influence over policy and decisions.
- The finance track is especially important: major financial decisions are developed through processes where civil society and borrowing countries often have limited access.
- Bridge-building must be deliberate: countries need to actively connect perspectives from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, particularly on issues affecting global inequality.

Amir encouraged Korean civil society to push for greater access to the G20 finance track, especially for civil society organisations from borrowing countries.

2. What South Africa achieved

Amir highlighted two initiatives intended to continue beyond South Africa's G20 presidency.

- International Panel on Inequality: South Africa established an independent expert committee on global inequality, associated with economist Joseph Stiglitz and reporting to the South African President. It was proposed as a standing international panel on inequality, to sustain its work beyond South Africa's presidency and the G20 process.
- Africa Engagement Framework: South Africa helped establish an African Union-owned mechanism within the G20 finance track, giving African countries a more structured way to engage on financial issues. Its mandate runs from 2025 to 2030, helping preserve the initiative beyond an individual presidency.

Key takeaway: a successful presidency should create institutions and mechanisms that survive after the host hands over leadership.

3. The political cost of being a bridge country

South Africa's experience was not presented as an unqualified success. Amir described significant political pressure and hostility, including pressure from the United States related to bilateral disputes and South Africa's position on Israel. Countries taking principled positions on inequality, international justice, and multilateral cooperation may face political retaliation or exclusion.

Lesson for future presidencies: advocacy and diplomacy require risk management. Civil society and governments should anticipate political tensions and develop strategies for maintaining their priorities despite pressure from powerful countries.

4. Why global inequality matters to ordinary people

Amir connected global financial policy to South Africa's domestic inequality and unemployment. The statistics cited included:

- The richest 1% own approximately 55% of the country's wealth.
- The bottom 90% own only around 14%.
- Unemployment is approximately 34%, compared with a G20 average of around 6%.
- Approximately 3.3 million workers are in jobs significantly exposed to AI-related disruption.

These figures show that G20 decisions are not merely diplomatic discussions: they affect employment, public services, social protection, and economic opportunity. Amir linked these domestic challenges to global policy:

- Tax rules affect whether governments can collect revenue from concentrated wealth.
- Debt arrangements affect how much governments can spend on public services.
- AI governance affects who benefits from technological progress and who bears the costs.
- Climate finance affects which communities receive support and which remain vulnerable.

Key message: inequality should be built into discussions on AI, climate, finance, and economic policy rather than treated as a separate issue.

5. Combine three approaches to influence policy

- Inside strategy: engage governments, technical experts, officials, and formal G20 working groups to influence the language of policy documents and negotiations.

- Outside strategy: work with grassroots organisations, community groups, social movements, and affected populations so advocacy reflects real-life experience.
- Public narrative: communicate issues in ways ordinary people understand and care about, building wider public support for policy change.

None of these approaches is sufficient on its own. Technical expertise may open doors, community engagement gives advocacy legitimacy, and public communication builds pressure for change.

6. Recommendations for the Republic of Korea's 2028 presidency

The Republic of Korea has already indicated interest in inclusive AI, critical minerals, climate, food resilience, and restoring the functioning of the World Trade Organization. Amir recommended placing inequality at the centre of these issues:

Policy area	Questions civil society should raise
AI	Who benefits from AI adoption, and which workers risk losing their livelihoods?
Critical minerals	Who bears the environmental and labour costs of mineral extraction?
Climate	Which countries and communities receive climate finance, and who remains exposed?
Food resilience	Whose food security is protected, and whose needs are overlooked?
Trade	Do international trade rules create fair opportunities for developing countries?

Amir also encouraged stronger Asia–Africa cooperation in 2026 and 2027, before the Republic of Korea hosts the G20 in 2028: sharing evidence, building coalitions around common priorities, meeting regularly, and ensuring grassroots organisations have sufficient funding to participate meaningfully.

Speaker 2: Anselmo Lee – Republic of Korea

Anselmo shared his long experience of engaging with the G20 and the Civil 20 (C20). His presentation focused on how civil society can organise, coordinate, and maintain influence across successive G20 presidencies.

1. Start planning early and work across multiple years

The G20 is a continuous process, not a one-year event. Anselmo highlighted learning from previous presidencies, including Canada, the Republic of Korea, India, Indonesia, Brazil, and South Africa, and recommended:

> IN THEIR WORDS
>
> **"Do not start from zero every year."**
>
> *— Anselmo Lee, C20 Korea Forum*

- Begin engagement well before the host country's presidency.
- Learn from previous civil society engagement processes, including what worked and what failed.
- Establish relationships with the next host countries early.
- Build a multi-year strategy so policy priorities continue across successive presidencies.
- Preserve institutional knowledge instead of losing experience when leadership or staff change.

Civil society could use the successive UK, Republic of Korea and potentially Mexico presidencies to develop a longer-term advocacy strategy. Key takeaway: do not start from zero every year.

2. Understand the geopolitical landscape

The G20 operates within a wider geopolitical environment of powerful countries, regional groupings, and competing interests, including the G7, the G20, MIKTA (Mexico, Indonesia, Republic of Korea, Türkiye,

and Australia), and regional institutions and development banks. Civil society should understand which countries have influence, where alliances exist, and how institutions connect. The Republic of Korea can potentially use its position as a middle power to build bridges and support multilateral cooperation.

Key takeaway: effective advocacy requires political analysis, not just technical policy knowledge.

3. Build broad coalitions beyond C20

Anselmo warned against treating C20 as the only channel for civil society engagement, and recommended working with other engagement groups and like-minded networks: L20 (Labour 20), Y20 (Youth 20), W20 (Women 20), T20 (Think 20), and other civil society, parliamentary, academic, and social movement networks. Inequality can be connected to labour rights, youth employment, women's economic participation, climate justice, and AI governance. He also emphasised cooperation with international coalitions working on the SDGs, climate, peace, and related agendas.

Key takeaway: build alliances around common objectives rather than working in separate silos.

4. Coordinate inside and outside advocacy

Earlier G20 meetings sometimes saw major demonstrations and confrontations; over time civil society developed ways of engaging both inside and outside the official process. Recommendations:

- Maintain dialogue with government officials and formal engagement groups.
- Support peaceful public demonstrations and community mobilisation where appropriate.
- Ensure social movements and grassroots organisations can participate alongside established NGOs.
- Avoid treating insider engagement and external campaigning as competing strategies.

5. Maintain continuity and consistent policy priorities

Civil society spends substantial time producing new policy papers and negotiating priorities every year, leaving less time for campaigning. Anselmo recommended agreeing a small number of shared priorities; running campaigns for at least two years where possible; coordinating policy work across national and international networks; linking G20 advocacy with relevant UN processes; and developing a common strategy that can be handed to the next host. Organisations must integrate issues into shared priorities without competing endlessly over whose issue gets most attention.

6. Improve media access and public communication

Civil society should ask G20 host governments for a reasonable number of official media accreditations for civil society representatives. Other lessons: build relationships with media outlets before the summit; identify journalists covering development, inequality, climate, and economic policy; prepare clear public messages connecting G20 decisions to people's lives; coordinate communications across organisations; and make media access a formal advocacy demand.

Key takeaway: media access is part of meaningful civil society participation, not simply a communications activity.

7. Secure funding while protecting independence

Funding is a major challenge, particularly for grassroots organisations. Anselmo advised seeking funding from multiple sources; developing relationships with international donors and foundations; building a credible track record and clear proposals; ensuring donor support does not interfere with independence; and allocating resources so grassroots organisations can participate.

KEY POINT

Funding should enable meaningful participation, not determine whose voices are heard.

Key takeaway: funding should enable meaningful participation, not determine whose voices are heard.

8. Advocacy planning checklist (Anselmo's eight recommendations)

- Geopolitical strategy: understand the political interests, alliances, and decision-making structures surrounding the G20.
- Coordinate related groups: build cooperation among C20, L20, Y20, W20, T20, and other networks.
- Build broad coalitions: connect NGOs, trade unions, youth groups, social movements, academics, and grassroots organisations.
- Develop international partnerships: connect national advocacy with global CSO coalitions, the UN agenda, and climate and development processes.
- Ensure continuity: maintain shared priorities, institutional memory, and relationships across presidencies.
- Coordinate inside and outside advocacy: combine technical engagement with public campaigns and community mobilisation.
- Strengthen media strategy: seek media access, build journalist relationships, and communicate public messages effectively.
- Secure independent funding: diversify funding sources and make participation accessible to smaller and grassroots groups.

Closing exercise: what should Korea do for our constituencies?

Participants were asked to develop a statement along the lines of: "The Republic of Korea is a bridge country. It should do X, Y, and Z to advance the interests of [constituency]." The exercise moved the discussion from general lessons to specific demands. A suggested structure:

- Our constituency: which community or group do we represent?
- Our concern: what problem do they face?
- Our demand: what specific action should the Republic of Korea take through the G20?
- Expected impact: how would that action improve people's lives?

For example, an organisation working on employment might call for the Republic of Korea to promote inclusive AI policies that protect workers, support skills development, and ensure the benefits of technological progress are shared fairly.

S3: Early signals from government

Time: 14:45–15:30 | Format: Plenary | Speaker: Kyungyoung Chi (Oxfam in Korea) | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Golf

Kyungyoung explained the Republic of Korea's political situation, economic priorities, and early signals about what the government may prioritise during its G20 presidency, as well as the expected timeline for preparing the C20 process in 2028.

1. The Republic of Korea's political landscape

- The current government and governing party are progressive, with a strong position in the National Assembly.
- Progressive priorities include social welfare, redistribution, climate action, reducing inequality, and gender equality.
- The government also promotes AI inclusion: more equal access to AI technology and its benefits.

- Despite its progressive orientation, the government places significant emphasis on national interests and economic growth.

The 2028 National Assembly election is an important factor. Although the government is expected to remain in office until 2030, changes in the parliamentary balance could affect political support and the space for civil society advocacy.

2. Economic strength versus global responsibilities

The Republic of Korea performs strongly in semiconductors and AI-related technology, memory chips, smartphones and major technology brands, and has a growing role in the global economy. However, its economic strength is not matched by its contribution to international development: its ODA spending is relatively low compared with the international benchmark and some European countries, and growth does not automatically translate into greater equality or a stronger contribution to global society.

3. Signals on the G20 agenda

- AI and innovation: AI remains a major priority, with emphasis on inclusive AI. For C20, AI should be treated as cross-cutting, as it affects employment, inequality, gender equality, and economic opportunity.
- Bridging the Global North and South: the Republic of Korea may seek to act as a bridge between wealthier and developing countries, but it is unclear how it intends to fulfil this role in practice.
- Critical minerals and supply-chain security: growing interest in critical minerals and resilient supply chains for semiconductors and batteries, whose extraction and processing are concentrated in a few countries.
- International cooperation: support for multilateral cooperation and global responsibility; cooperation with the UK and others could be important in shaping the agenda.

4. What this means for C20 and civil society

It is still too early to conclude whether the government will fully support the C20 agenda. Civil society should therefore:

- Monitor the government's priorities, official statements, policy announcements, and G20 preparations.
- Connect AI with inequality, considering workers, vulnerable groups, gender equality, and unequal access to technology.
- Push for a meaningful Global North–South bridge, asking what practical commitments the Republic of Korea will make to developing countries.
- Link economic priorities with social outcomes: critical minerals, supply chains, and innovation alongside inequality, labour rights, climate action, and community impacts.
- Plan engagement around the political calendar, including the 2028 National Assembly election.
- Develop a coordinated civil society response: identify common priorities, develop recommendations, and decide how to engage with government.

The main challenge: the Republic of Korea's economic and technological priorities may dominate the G20 agenda. C20 needs to ensure that social justice, inequality, labour rights, climate, and the voices of affected communities remain part of the discussion.

5. Road to 2028 timeline wall

Participants added dates for 2026, 2027 and 2028 to a Road to 2028 timeline wall (see photos).

6. Main takeaway

The Republic of Korea's G20 presidency presents both an opportunity and a challenge. The government appears interested in AI, innovation, growth, critical minerals, supply-chain security, and international cooperation, and has spoken about inclusion and global responsibility, but how far this translates into support for the C20 agenda remains uncertain. Civil society should use the preparation period to engage early, monitor political developments, build common positions, and advocate for a G20 agenda that connects economic and technological progress with social justice. Kyungyoung's final point was to check that existing workshop plans and advocacy activities are timed and aligned with the emerging C20 process, so civil society can prepare a coordinated response before the government finalises its agenda.

S4: Shared direction: where are we heading together?

Time: 15:45–17:15 (actual 15:50) | Format: Group discussion | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Prim | Flipcharts: S4 Shared Directions

Shared Directions wall

- Continuing the IPI, addressing public debt, funding public services, and supporting gig-economy workers and youth
- Moving beyond business inclusion towards AI ethics, platform accountability, and labour rights
- Unpacking the Republic of Korea's bridge-country role, clarifying what "bridge" means in this context to ensure genuine Global South solidarity

Day 1 check-out

Time: 17:15–17:30 | Format: Plenary | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Prim

G20 wall: Anoop reviewed participants' questions on the G20 wall:

- Leveraging G7 internal discord
- Examining whether engaging the G20 legitimises an undemocratic body
- Managing insider/outsider tactics in restrictive and challenging spaces
- Reviewing 2010 Seoul strategy lessons

Reflections

- Push back on diverting resources away from health, education, and public services
- Move beyond drafting summit text to tracking past commitments and holding institutions (World Bank, IMF, ILO) accountable to their mandates
- Frame human struggles (cost of living, flooding, debt) as structural economic crises, and demystify multilateral jargon so people see how global rules affect their daily lives, which can lead people to hold their governments more accountable

Day 2: Sunday 11 October 2026

Welcome back: our shared direction

Time: 09:00–09:10 (actual 09:10) | Format: Plenary | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Prim

Anoop confirmed six overarching themes, drawn from the shared directions, with names open for adjustment: inequality and social protection; debt and development finance; tax justice; climate justice; digital governance and AI; democracy and civic space.

Anoop explained the day's agenda: a World Café to discuss key asks under the six themes, followed in the afternoon by action and timeline planning to keep the momentum from the meeting.

S5: Priority-setting: what should the coalition champion?

Time: 09:10–10:20 (actual 09:27) | Format: World Café | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Prim | Flipcharts: S5 Priority Setting

Each theme group discussed its priority asks and what should be done to move towards the shared goals. The full list of asks by theme, and the three voted priorities for each, are set out under "Thematic conversations" in the Day 2 proceedings.

S5: Choosing our priorities: gallery walk and vote

Time: 10:20–11:00 | Format: Gallery walk | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Prim

Participants voted on the top three priorities per theme (see "Thematic conversations"). The notes summarise the top priorities across themes as:

- Formalise a permanent, civil society-led C20 structure
- MDB governance reform
- Encourage G20 and Asian governments to formally join the IPI
- Enforce a polluter-pays tax mechanism
- Enforce CBDR-based taxation
- Enforce binding AI governance and regulation

There is a clear interlinkage between the themes to be explored and consolidated.

S6: Mapping influence pathways

Time: 11:15–12:30 | Format: Plenary | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Prim | Flipcharts: S6 Mapping Influence Pathways

Anoop prompted everyone to think about the shared goals and the main stakeholders to engage.

- Legislation and parliaments: legislators; parliamentarians; mobilising parliamentarians to influence both local constituencies and government agendas; national parliaments, including Japan's Diet
- G20 leadership: G20 governments in capitals; troika and host nations (US, UK, Republic of Korea), inter-ministerial bodies and domestic sectoral stakeholders; G20 working groups (labour, trade, gender ministries, ministry of finance, sherpas); Japanese government ministries (MoF, MoFA, METI, Ministry of Welfare); G20 finance ministers and central banks
- G20 engagement groups: troika and host; other engagement groups (L20, B20, C20, T20, Y20), e.g. Y20 mobilising youth around inequality and economic injustice as a pressure group on G20 narratives
- Regional and multilateral organisations: ASEAN and ASEAN member states; EU; AU; MDBs
- Civil society and academia: Korean host-nation CSOs; universities (pushing for public or press statements on key issues); faith organisations; retired ministry staff; philanthropic foundations (Ford, Gates, OSF); NHRIs
- Media: media and journalists; international media applying public pressure; celebrities and influencers
- Labour: labour leaders; trade unions, ITUC
- Private sector: private creditors in sovereign debt; Big Tech; investors/ESG; major corporations such as Samsung

- Public: the public; affected people; youth and marginalised groups; campaign organisations; influencers

S7: Action planning workshop

Time: 13:30–15:00 (actual 13:37) | Format: Breakout groups and plenary | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Golf | Flipcharts: S7

Participants were invited to review the Road to 2028 (milestones for 2026, 2027 and 2028), then:

- Review the Road to 2028: visit the roadmap and review proposed milestones and activities.
- Group by country: work with colleagues from the same country team to review the roadmap and add their perspectives.
- Map influence pathways: identify key stakeholders, how each can be influenced, and what actions are needed.
- Identify responsibilities: decide which individuals, country teams, or regional teams should lead or support each action.

Groups: India; Indonesia; Korea; and UK, US, Japan and other regional countries.

S7: Towards a shared roadmap

Time: 15:00–16:00 | Format: Breakout groups and plenary | Speakers: India, Indonesia, Korea and regional team representatives | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Golf

India group

- Civil society engagement on development finance: convene discussions on findings from existing research and surveys to identify gaps and opportunities in national and global development finance; a follow-up may take place in late October.
- G20 advocacy and policy engagement: develop and share India's positions on priority areas of the Korean G20 agenda, informed by consultation with partners and networks.
- National and regional coordination: strengthen solidarity among networks and coordinate advocacy at national, regional, and global levels.
- Community mobilisation and public engagement: mobilise indigenous communities and grassroots networks to bring local voices into advocacy on climate, debt, and tax justice and development finance.
- Youth engagement and political education: use existing political education programmes to engage young people on civic issues, constitutional rights, and international commitments.
- International networking and collective advocacy: use existing international alliances to build solidarity around shared priorities.

Next steps: share outcomes with networks, consult partners, and develop a more formal action plan with commitments and responsibilities.

Indonesia group

- Strengthen mobilisation of Indonesian CSOs and grassroots networks to engage with G20 priorities and advocate nationally.
- Coordinate with other engagement groups, including women's and youth networks, to align priorities.
- Organise policy dialogues and use research to inform advocacy on development finance, inequality, debt, and economic justice.

- Explore engagement with finance-track processes.
- Strengthen collaboration with regional and international networks, including the C20 process.
- Work with national and local media to raise awareness and amplify civil society perspectives.
- Identify opportunities for joint campaigns and mass mobilisation in Indonesia, linked to regional and global G20 advocacy.

Next steps: develop activities for 2027–2028, identify partners and networks, and set concrete actions linking national mobilisation with regional and global advocacy.

Korea group

- Establish a strong coordination structure: a steering committee to coordinate preparations, mobilise resources, and secure funding, working with domestic platforms including KCRC and international partners.
- Develop policy priorities: engage ministries and C20 working groups to build on existing priorities (debt justice, tax justice, illicit financial flows) and explore AI, climate, and security. Each working group will develop an action plan and policy briefs.
- Strengthen international cooperation: expand collaboration with regional and international networks, taking geopolitical challenges into account; explore joint advocacy with the UK and Mexico, starting online given limited resources.
- Build a broader coalition in Korea: engage grassroots organisations, social movements, and national networks beyond a small group of NGOs, and strengthen links with C20, Y20, L20, W20, T20, and P20.

Next steps: develop the coordination structure, identify policy priorities, strengthen partnerships, and broaden participation. These proposals are an initial starting point.

Regional group

- Strengthen UK–Korea–Mexico collaboration: shared public narratives and common priorities among UK and Korean CSOs; debt justice and making rich polluters pay highlighted for joint campaigns.
- Coordinate advocacy around key events such as the IMF–World Bank Annual Meetings, bringing together UK and Korean policymakers.
- Coordinate regional mass mobilisation, connecting national and regional campaigns (approach and responsibilities still to be developed).
- Build a coalition of middle powers (e.g. UK, Canada) to promote alternative policy approaches.
- Engage regional and international forums such as APEC and UN regional forums in Asia and the Pacific, including meetings in Bangkok.
- Connect youth movements across the region and link their advocacy to the G20 presidency.
- Strengthen engagement with Japan's Ministry of Finance through existing civil society relationships.
- Use international meetings for side events and panels; budget transparency was suggested as one topic.

Next steps: identify shared priorities, map influence opportunities and events, strengthen links among networks, and develop plans for joint campaigns and coordinated mobilisation.

S7: Sustaining the coalition: next steps

Time: 16:00–17:00 | Format: Plenary | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Golf

- Group name: "G20 Civil Society Coalition" was discussed as the new name; alternatives related to cross-presidency cooperation and civil society engagement were also considered.
- Core group: participants agreed in principle to establish a small core group of about five people to coordinate follow-up and keep the initiative moving.
- Existing Steering Committee: will continue in the interim and work on the composition of the core group, ensuring representation from the Republic of Korea and the UK and regional and thematic balance.

Closing remarks and evaluation

Time: 17:00–17:15 | Format: Plenary | Speakers: Anoop, Mustafa, Kyungyoung | Facilitator: Anoop | Notetaker: Prim

Anoop thanked everyone for their active participation and acknowledged Oxfam colleagues' help in preparing and organising the event, and the support of hotel staff.

Mustafa welcomed the fact that such an early gathering for G20 preparation had taken place. Next steps: a two-page brief of the meeting for participants to share within their groups and countries; a Steering Committee meeting to decide on the group's form; continued planning for the upcoming C20 meeting in Korea; and distilling the two days' discussion into messages and an agenda.

Kyungyoung closed by noting that the meeting began with concern about rapidly disappearing global solidarity and shrinking humanitarian and civic space, but the two days showed that a group from different countries and continents can bring diverse viewpoints and experiences to make the upcoming G20 more meaningful, bringing old but important values back to the platform. She hoped this would be the beginning of an inspiring process, continuing collaboration towards the G20 in the UK in 2027 and the Republic of Korea in 2028.