

DEVELOPMENT CORRIDORS PARTNERSHIP

IMPACT ASSESSMENT FOR CORRIDORS: FROM INFRASTRUCTURE TO DEVELOPMENT CORRIDORS

Edited by: Jonathan Hobbs and Diego Juffe Bignoli **2022**

The Development Corridors Partnership

The Development Corridors Partnership (DCP) is a research and capacity development initiative. It is a collaboration between institutions from China, Kenya, Tanzania and the UK. The main objective is to deliver effective research and capacitybuilding to help improve corridor planning and management. It aims to ensure that development corridor decision-making is based on sound scientific evidence and effective use of available planning tools and procedures, to ensure that risks are avoided and opportunities exploited. The DCP comprises partners from the University of York, the University of Cambridge, London School of Economics, Sokoine University of Agriculture, the University of Nairobi, as well as the UN Environment Programme World Conservation Monitoring Centre (UNEP-WCMC), African Conservation Centre, the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences and the Chinese Academy of International Trade and Economic Cooperation (CAITEC).

DCP Partners:



For the purposes of this publication, DCP collaboration was extended to experts representing Netherlands Commission for Environmental Assessment, the Centre for Energy, Petroleum and Mineral Law and Policy at the University of Dundee, the University of Queensland, the Columbia Centre on Sustainable Investment, the GOBI

Framework for Sustainable Infrastructure Initiative (comprising the University of Oxford, University of Central Asia and the Independent Research Institute of Mongolia), The Biodiversity Consultancy, the Wildlife Institute of India, the Endangered Wildlife Trust and Ecotecnia Ingenieros Consultores SRL.

Expert Organisations:



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Foreword

In the course of a long and varied working life, I have been privileged to work with, or learn from, a stimulating panoply of individuals who are committed to contributing to the economic, social, and environmental development of all aspects of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.

Jon Hobbs and Diego Juffe-Bignoli are, thankfully, two of these individuals. I was delighted to learn that they had come together to produce, for the Development Corridors Partnership, a rich and stimulating collection of research reports, case studies and assessments relating to the array of efforts made under the rubric of 'development corridors'. They were determined to express the conviction that decisions made, primarily by governments, regarding the planning and building of Corridors, really must be informed by an evidence-based understanding of the consequences - positive or negative - of these decisions. And they have succeeded. But Jon Hobbs will never read these words. He was hospitalized after the bulk of the work was complete, and, to the deep sadness and regret of all who knew him, he passed away at the end of September, 2021.

Jon and Diego sought out and recruited a daunting array of researchers, scholars and stakeholders to shed light on the processes currently underlying the world of development corridors today. They certainly succeeded.

The work was initiated before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, and as governments turn to the formidable challenge of restoring

economic vitality without further damage to the climate, it becomes even more imperative that impact assessment be understood, embraced and improved. Jon and Diego have shown us the way forward for a journey which absolutely must be embarked upon.

They would be first to recognise that the Development Corridors Partnership as a whole must be commended for showing - in many different ways and places - that, not only is the need for impact assessment clear and present, but so are the skills and commitment of researchers, scholars and stakeholders. These are to be found in an impressive coming together of universities, civil society organizations and business groups, and communities.

All are part of an outstanding initiative, funded by the UK Research and Innovation Council, and managed by the UNEP-WCMC. This initiative has been embraced by some of the best minds that have been turned to the task of ensuring that - while we attempt to bring economic and social benefits to people, in line with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals - we do not risk significant environmental and social costs, and thus actually undermine long-term development successes.

So, I urge you to read this book, and figure out how you might improve your own contribution to the challenges ahead. Jon and Diego have set out a case. It needs to be taken up, not set aside; acted on, not just talked about. It is in your hands.

John Harker

Chair of the Development Corridors Partnership Independent Advisory Board, Nova Scotia, Canada.

Dedicated to the memory of Jon Hobbs who was the architect and driving force of this book

Executive Summary

globalisation, Driven bv increasing the development aspirations of nations, and the need to access resources, an infrastructure boom is impacting many regions of our **planet.** New infrastructure projects are traversing diverse landscapes over hundreds of kilometres, often crossing international borders and penetrating into remote areas previously unaffected by industrialisation and urbanisation. These large-scale projects, mostly spanning several regions in a same country, but often linear and transnational in nature, are generically called corridors. Depending on the nature and objectives, they can be transport, infrastructure, growth, resource or economic corridors.

The rapid development of corridors globally presents environmental planning professionals with numerous challenges. The primary need is to ensure that decisions about these developments are informed by an evidence-based understanding of their consequences - both positive and negative. This will enable infrastructure development to meet development needs without adversely impacting ecological systems or human welfare. Improving the quality of infrastructure policies, plans, programmes and projects, by ensuring they include the necessary environmental and social scrutiny, is urgently required now - and will be for the foreseeable future. This challenge is the unifying theme of this publication.

Using insights from Africa, Asia and South America, this sourcebook compiles 24 contributed papers written in 2021, covering many facets of the opportunities and challenges presented by the rapidly growing number of infrastructure and corridor developments around the world. Prevailing planning practices through case studies are reviewed along with the efficacy of some of the available tools to conduct systematic and comprehensive impact assessments. The latter includes Strategic Environmental Impact Assessment (SEA) and Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA).

As the title suggests the underlying thesis of this publication is that, where they are justified, there are significant benefits in ensuring that corridors that contain single purpose infrastructure developments (utility, infrastructure or transport) progress through a carefully planned sequential process of diversification and expansion to ensure the maximisation of benefits in full-blown 'development corridors'. In this book, development corridors are therefore aspirational. They comprise areas identified as priorities for investment to catalyse economic growth and development. They should be developed with multiple stakeholders and social, economic and environmental interests and interdependencies in mind. With the integration of sustainability principles and appropriate environmental and social standards, development corridors could become true (sustainable) development corridors'. They should be planned to maximise positive opportunities and minimise negative risks. Without this, today's shortterm successes will become tomorrow's challenges and long-term human welfare and ecosystem integrity will be undermined.

Overview of contents

This book brings together a wide range of perspectives from experts, researchers, and practitioners around the world with the purpose to foster greater collaboration and increase our global understanding of corridors and their benefits and potential negative impacts. 13 of the 24 chapters are written by independent experts and researchers from Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, China, India, Kenya, Mongolia, South Africa, Tanzania, UK, and the USA. The book also includes 11 chapters containing material gathered by the Development Corridors Partnership, a programme of work led by UN Environment Programme World Conservation Monitoring Centre (UNEP-WCMC) and funded by the UK Government via their Global Challenges Research Fund.

The collection of papers in this sourcebook is divided into five sections. First an introductory section where we introduce some key terms and definitions that underpin this work (Chapter 1). We then explore some key principles and aspirations of corridors Sustainable such delivering as the Development Goals (Chapter 2), ensuring practice align (Chapter theory and 3), ensuring financial sustainability (Chapter properly assessing environmental 4), sensitivity (Chapter 5) respecting human

rights (<u>Chapter 6</u>), or maximising, co-benefits (<u>Chapter 7</u>).

In the next three sections, we present 15 case studies from three continents: Africa, Asia, and Latin America. These case studies explore challenges key and lessons learned from specific planned, already implemented ongoing, and They are presented as developments. individual stories that readers can explore.

The final and fifth section aims to summarise lessons learned from a 4-year research and capacity building programme specifically aiming to understand the key challenges and opportunities around corridors and that has been the major driving force of this work: The Development Corridors Partnership project (DCP). DCP is a collaborative partnership across UK, Kenya, Tanzania and China, funded by the UK Research and Innovation Global Challenges Research Fund (see <u>Chapter 23</u>).

The book finishes with an overview of the lessons learned from the contributed papers included in this book and develops ten principles for corridor planning and delivering a meaningful and comprehensive impact assessment (<u>Chapter 24</u>), which we summarise here as ten key messages.

Key messages

1

Corridors must seek to achieve positive sustainability outcomes:

The mindset underwriting environmental planning of most infrastructure developments has been to mitigate negative impacts. The planning of few existing corridors is based on their role in supporting a sustainability vision for a country or region in which they are situated. Corridor developments must therefore be based on sustainability principles and support progress towards national, regional and international sustainable development goals. A true development corridor will seek to do good, as well as to mitigate negative impacts.

Integrated and inter-disciplinary approaches are needed:

Corridor developments are extensive, complex, multifaceted features traversing many landscapes. They can bring about significant transformational change to physical, economic, social, and cultural systems, and serve as interconnecting features. Yet engagement in corridor planning is often constrained by limited disciplinary and institutional involvement, with projects often superimposed upon communities. Corridor developments need diverse expertise and experience in their planning and management, including local stakeholder knowledge, avoiding disciplinary, institutional, or sectoral silos, that can result in policy conflicts, contradictions, and inconsistencies.

Corridor proponents should clearly demonstrate consideration of alternatives:

Corridor options should not be limited to a preferred proposal favoured by an elite. Corridor developments must consider all feasible alternatives (including maintenance of the status quo and no corridor development) and make the risks and opportunities of each option explicit and transparent through meaningful consultation. An important requirement in all corridor planning is to justify the need for a wide choice of options and an explanation of the potential benefits it will bring and to whom, in comparison with the alternatives. Any necessary trade-offs and how any significant potential negative impacts will be effectively managed, and opportunities created must be explained.

Public participation and stakeholder engagement should be at the core of corridor planning:

Corridor planning frequently fails to include meaningful participation of all stakeholders. Corridors can profoundly affect the lives and rights of indigenous peoples and local communities, potentially for generations. A common failing is that the first opportunity for local stakeholders to engage arises only after all strategic decisions have already been made and the only option remaining is for them to react negatively to a fait accompli. The meaningful engagement of all stakeholders is necessary to ensure their role is more than reactive. The way corridors are viewed by different stakeholders must be identified, understood, and addressed. Corridor developments must ensure that all interested and affected people are provided with adequate information about a proposal and have meaningful ways to engage in decision-making processes from the outset of strategic planning.

Mainstreaming and tiering are fundamental for corridor success:

Corridor planning requires a tiered assessment process, ensuring that environmental and social issues are considered alongside financial and technical considerations from the start of strategic planning or programme development, right though to project specifics. Conceptual corridor planning is frequently dominated by technical and financial suitability criteria with environmental, social, cultural, and human rights sensitivity issues being considered, at best, as externalities, retrospectively, once issues and problems arise. Strategic planning is important because it is when the full range of options is still open for discussion. It also establishes the parameters that will frame and implement a corridor plan or programme. Environmental and social considerations (and the interactions between them) should be considered early in strategic decision-making alongside (and to inform) technical, financial, and economic considerations.

An iterative process is needed:

Corridors exist in dynamic environments and need to be responsive to changing circumstances and priorities. Planning must adjust as circumstances and available information changes. The process should identify, map, and engage all interested and affected stakeholders from the earliest stage of corridor planning and throughout the planning and management of the corridor. New concerns and evidence will likely emerge as a corridor development progresses. Corridor planning frequently places undue emphasis on the production of a report (Environmental Impact Report) and its influence on the decision to proceed. The process may not be so linear in nature. It may involve many adjustments and decisions as new evidence emerges and predictions improve. A good-quality report and recommendations is necessary, but they are dependent upon a comprehensive process of ongoing dialogue and engagement with all stakeholders.

2

5

Corridors must ensure effective use of available tools:

Many corridor environmental impact assessments fail to meet required international standards. Corridor planning and management should make systematic and adequate use of available impact assessment procedures, methods, techniques, and tools to ensure good-quality decisions. The available procedures discussed in this publication (notably Strategic Environmental Assessment and Environmental Impact Assessment) and their associated methods, tools and techniques should be used when appropriate to help ensure that a systematic process identifies all significant potential benefits and development outcomes, and that they outweigh the costs and risks to affected people and their livelihoods and environments. The objectivity and quality of corridor decisions are dependent upon the effective use of the available tools.

Plan corridors with resilience and adaptability in mind:

Prevention will always be better than cure in addressing the negative impacts of corridors, and this should be the priority. However, some circumstances dictate an inevitability of negative impacts. Corridors, therefore, need to be designed to be made resilient to anticipated changes and adaptation measures may be necessary as 'coping' mechanisms or to offset unavoidable impacts, such as the impacts caused by climate change. The suitability of measures will require ongoing monitoring and adaptation as needs arise.

Seek impact, influence, and implementation capacity:

The decision to proceed with a corridor is ultimately the responsibility of decision makers. They are usually the representatives of all stakeholders' interests and custodians of their natural resources. Any impact assessment report must provide adequate information to ensure sufficiently good-quality decisions. If they are to be effectively implement the recommendations provided. Attempts to improve the performance of planning and associated assessment processes of corridors must tackle the ways in which outcomes are shaped by political contexts and institutional capacities. Approaches to working on assessment processes should integrate political economy analyses and institutional capacity assessment from the outset and on an ongoing basis. Resulting insights should inform the design and implementation of interventions intended to improve planning practice.

Evolve from Infrastructure to Development Corridors:

The prospects for linear infrastructure projects to evolve into comprehensive development corridors are often left to chance and spontaneity. Infrastructure projects are often developed in isolation and in an incremental way. For infrastructure projects to progress and become true development corridors, the transition must be systematically sequenced into planning from the start. Assessments must include consideration of potential induced, secondary, synergistic, transboundary, and cumulative impacts likely to result from the corridor development. The progression from infrastructure to development corridors must be based on a systematic, comprehensive, and integrated assessment of the potential positive environmental, social and economic opportunities and the rigorous avoidance or management of negative impacts.

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Asian Case Studies

Environmental Safeguards for the Belt and Road Initiative: Current Status and Future Prospects

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ABSTRACT

Encompassing eight transcontinental corridors that span 71 countries, China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has been dubbed the largest infrastructure development programme in history. While China's five cooperation priorities for the initiative, namely, "policy coordination, facilities connectivity, unimpeded trade, financial integration and people-to-people bonds" go well beyond mere infrastructure building, whether BRI's corridors will emerge as true development corridors will depend on the quality of environmental and social safeguards in place. This chapter makes an inquiry into the potential environmental impacts of BRI projects and the safeguards used to manage those impacts. The environmental impacts typical of infrastructure development are likely to be more pronounced in the case of BRI, given its scale and proximity to ecologically-sensitive areas. Environmental safeguards with requirements for impact assessment and mitigation for BRI can be brought to the table by various actors including Chinese regulators, host country governments, international bodies, projects developers and financiers. Content analysis reveals that, while the policies issued by regulators, industry associations and international multi-stakeholder bodies include broad plans on environmental protection and some even project-level quidelines, none offer binding operational requirements, something that can go a long way in making project outcomes sustainable. Fine-tuned through decades of international application and regular stakeholder consultations, the safeguard standards of multilateral development banks (MDBs) can act as useful templates for improving environmental standards for the BRI.

16.1 Belt and Road Initiative: scale and scope

China's BRI envisages eight economic corridors connecting population centres across 71 countries (referred to as corridor countries) in Asia, Europe and Africa (Kenderdine 2017; National Development and Reform Commission 2015). Among the corridors

are six overland ones, that connect China to Central Asia, Southeast Asia and Europe (together called the Silk Road Economic Belt), and one maritime corridor that connects China to Africa via the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean (referred to as the 21st-century maritime silk road) (Fig. 16.1). Another recent addition is the 'polar silk road', which would involve developing new shipping lanes along the Northern sea route (connecting China to Northern Europe) that is likely to open up with the rapidly melting Arctic. More than 12,000km of roads and 31,000km of railways (both new and upgrades) along the overland corridors (Losos *et al.* 2019) and 70 ports along the maritime corridor (Turschwell *et al.* 2020) are already underway. These transport infrastructure projects being built along BRI's corridors are acting as axes of future economic growth, catalyzing hundreds of energy, industrial and resource extraction projects around them (Teo *et al.* 2019).

Figure 16.1 Corridor countries along six overland, and one maritime corridor

The overland corridors include the Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar economic corridor (BCIM), the China-Central Asia-West Asia economic corridor (CCWAEC), the China-Indochina Peninsula Economic Corridor (CICPEC), the China-Mongolia-Russia Economic Corridor (CMREC), the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and the New Eurasian Land Bridge (NLB).



Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Since BRI was announced in 2013, China has signed Memorandums of Understanding (MoUs) with 144 countries (including most of the 71 corridor countries) and 30 international organizations to participate in the initiative (Belt and Road Portal 2020; Coenen *et al.* 2020). According to the World Bank, BRI investment is already worth US\$ 575 billion, with 75 per cent of it having gone into the high-environmental-footprint sectors of energy and electric power (46 per cent), transportation and shipping (25 per cent), and mining sinfrastructure (4 per cent) (Ruta et al. 2019).

Some commentators have interpreted BRI as China's attempt to boost regional connectivity, promote energy security and stimulate local industrialization, with a view to lifting host country populations out of poverty and isolation (Chan 2018; Zhao et al. 2019). Others have dubbed it China's attempt to cement its regional influence in Central and Southeast Asia, invest its surplus capital, internationalize its currency (the renminbi), deploy its excess manufacturing capacity, find business for its state-owned enterprises (SOEs), access new reserves of energy and natural resources, and even to relocate its polluting industries to pollution havens (Bradshaw *et al.* 2009; Tracy *et al.* 2017; Cai 2018; Coenen *et al.* 2020; Liang 2020; Tracy *et al.* 2017). While the geopolitical and geoeconomic drivers of BRI remain open to interpretation, what is incontrovertible is its sheer scale and potential for social and ecological transformation. In its vision statement for the BRI, China outlines five cooperation priorities for the initiative: promotion of "policy coordination, facilities connectivity, unimpeded trade, financial integration and people to people bonds" (National Development and Reform Commission 2015). While these priorities go well beyond infrastructure building, whether BRI's corridors will emerge as true development corridors will depend on the extent to which environmental and social considerations are taken on board. This chapter makes an inquiry into the potential environmental impacts of BRI and the safeguards in place to manage them.

16.2 Environmental impact of infrastructure development

Construction of infrastructure can have a range of environmental externalities, including air and water pollution, hydrological and topographical damage, soil contamination and erosion, and destruction of wildlife and its habitat (Coffin 2007; Silde, Stokes and Ghesthem 2014; Laurance *et al.* 2015). Infrastructure categories – nodal versus linear, roads versus rail, new versus upgrades – vary in terms of the extent, intensity and type of impact they cause (Losos *et al.* 2019).

Nodal infrastructure, such as dams, mines and oil rigs, have ecosystem impacts resulting from pressures such as deforestation and submergence (Butt et al. 2013; Lees et al. 2016). However, potentially more deleterious are linear infrastructure such as roads, railway lines and transmission lines, as they can lead to cascading landscape-scale impacts of fragmentation and edge effects, isolating species populations and exposing forest edges to the risk of droughts and fires (Coffin 2007; Bruschi et al. 2015; Alamgir et al. 2019). Shipping routes can be equally damaging. As marine roads, concentrating the movement of vessels between multiple locations, new shipping routes increase the risk of vessel collisions with marine animals, the impact of low-frequency underwater shipping noise (causing

behavioural modifications in animals), chemical pollution from emissions/discharges, and spread of invasive species through ballast water (Pirotta *et al.* 2018).

The impact of new infrastructure is considered to be higher than that of upgrade/expansion of existing infrastructure, as the former may make the first cut into intact landscapes, exposing them to a slew of secondary pressures such as poaching, illegal logging, wildlife trafficking, encroachment and land speculation (Laurance et al. 2014). Impact also varies with the type of infrastructure. For instance, with their narrower, straighter paths, rail lines tend to have a lower environmental footprint than roads (Losos et al. 2019), although this also means that there are fewer options for alternative routing around sensitive areas.

While the construction-induced impacts of infrastructure can in themselves be very substantial, often more profound are the growth-induced impacts resulting from the increased industrialization, agricultural expansion, urbanization, trade and better access to markets that are triggered after the infrastructure becomes operational. These impacts manifest in the form of increased consumption, emissions and waste generation (Losos *et al.* 2019; Johnson *et al.* 2020).



16.3 Environmental impact of BRI

The environmental impacts typical of infrastructure development are likely to be more pronounced in the case of BRI, given its extensive geographical scale and the proximity of its corridors to some of the world's most ecologically-sensitive areas (World Wide Fund for Nature 2017). An analysis by Hughes (2019) found that several areas of conservation priority, such as key biodiversity areas and protected areas, as well as hotspots of particularly threatened taxa, existed in close proximity with the proposed rail and road routes. Another recent study by Narain *et al.* (2020) found that more than 6,000km² of critical habitat (as defined by the International Finance Corporation) occurred within 1km of BRI's road and rail infrastructure (Fig. 16.2). Turschwell *et al.* (2020) assessed the intersection of marine species ranges with ports being built along the 21st-century maritime silk road (using different buffer distances for different types of impacts), and found that over 400 threatened species are imperilled by the impacts of construction and dredging, while over 200 are affected by an increase in shipping traffic and noise pollution. Figure 16.2 Spatial overlap of BRI's road and rail routes (within three buffer zones of 1km, 5km and 25km, respectively) with critical and natural habitats at the global scale



Source: Narain et al. (2020).

In addition to the typical constructioninduced impacts on species and their habitats, a number of secondary pressures are expected to be created by BRI's projects. The new trade and transport routes are likely to intensify the risk of biological invasion. Several such invasion hotspots have been identified along the overland corridors by Liu et al. (2019). Likewise, BRI is also expected to exacerbate illegal wildlife trade by opening up new supply routes in West and Central Asia through the China-Pakistan economic corridor (CPEC) corridor (Farhadinia et al. 2019) and by increasing the demand for wildlife-based ingredients of traditional Chinese medicine, promoting which is an objective of the initiative (Hinsley et al. 2019).

BRI's growth-induced impacts triggered by the increase in trade, transport, manufacturing and higher disposable income are likely to be more enduring and significant than the immediate impacts of infrastructure building. According to the World Bank, the transport infrastructure being built under the BRI is likely to increase the trade flows among BRI countries (including China) by 4.1 per cent (Baniya, Rocha and Ruta 2019). The infrastructure-induced economic growth in host countries could drive up greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, jeopardizing their Paris Agreement targets (Zhou et al. 2018). According to a 2019 Tsinghua University study (Ma and Zadek 2019), commensurate with the growth in their gross domestic products (GDPs) (attributable in part to BRI investments), host countries could account for 66 per cent of global GHG emissions by 2050, which alone could catapult the world on a 2.7-degree rise pathway (Ma and Zadek 2019). On the other hand, future -appropriate energy investments in these countries could present an opportunity to set them on a lowcarbon course.

Conversely, there are certain factors that may contribute to reduction of these potential negative impacts. For example, fewer road projects (by length) are being built than rail projects, and there is a significant proportion of upgrades among the projects rather than new roads. Therefore, the amount of habitat that is impacted likely to be smaller (Losos *et al.* 2019, Narain *et al.* 2020). Another factor for a potentially diminished impact is that BRI road and rail routes (except for a few projects in China-Mongolia-Russia economic corridor [CMREC], the China-Indochina Peninsula economic Corridor (CICPEC) and the polar silk

road corridors) are not located in the proximity of intact forest landscapes (seamless stretches of natural areas [>500km²] devoid of any human disturbance [Potapov *et al.* 2017]) as they are designed to connect population centres (Losos *et al.* 2019).

16.4 Environmental impact-related risks of BRI projects

Failure to pre-empt and address environmental impacts of projects can result in a range of physical, regulatory, financial and reputational risks for project developers that often spill over to project financiers (Bauer and Hann 2010). These risks usually begin with pushback from environmental groups or local communities, often translating into litigation or regulatory action that leads to project delays, cost-overruns, asset devaluation and even project closure. Consequently, developers are confronted with reduced stock value and credit ratings and financiers with loan defaults (World Resources Institute 2013; World Economic Forum 2019). In case of overseas investments, such risks can arise both in the host (investee) and the home (investor) countries (Table 16.1). Some of these eventualities are already playing out in the case of BRI. According to a 2018 study, 14 per cent of BRI projects in 66 countries have faced some kind of local opposition (RWR Advisory 2018).

Myanmar's Myitsone hydropower project is a prominent case, wherein a BRI project was suspended mid-construction due to its potential environmental impact, locking-in investor funds indefinitely. The project is slated to be the largest in the region and the 15th largest in the world (Hadfield 2014). The dam was feared to have inhibited upstream migration of fish to spawning areas and enrichment of downstream agricultural deltas, thus threatening the livelihoods of vulnerable fishing and agricultural communities in the Burmese state of Kachin (International Rivers 2011). With construction starting in 2009, several villages were already displaced before the dam was suspended by the government, following sustained opposition from local Kachin leaders, as well as Burmese and international NGOs. The project developers were the China Power Investment Corporation (CPI) (a major Chinese state-owned hydropower developer) and the investor China EXIM bank (one of the two Chinese state-owned policy banks). While CPI's Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) report was found by independent experts to have underestimated the damage (International Rivers nd), the real clincher is believed to have been the government-commissioned Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) of the overarching impact of hydropower projects on Myanmar's major rivers, which warned against the Myitsone dam: "if constructed, Myitsone dam would break river connectivity, trap sediment, and alter the river flow on a wide scale" (Fawthrop 2019). Myitsone dam is not the only BRI project to have faced environmental impact-related risks. Kenya's Lamu coalmine and port project, proposed on an ecologically-fragile island, was halted by a court ruling amid protests from land defenders (Ullman 2019). Another example is that of a hydroelectric dam in the Batang Toru ecosystem of the Indonesian island of Sumatra, funded by the Bank of China. The dam threatens the only habitat of the rare and critically endangered Tapanuli orangutan (one among eight extant species of great apes) and has faced protests and litigation (Leahy 2019). These examples point to a need for robust risk management frameworks incorporating environmental safeguards to be put in place for BRI projects.

While the environmental impacts of BRI can be considerable, their early assessment and effective mitigation can limit both their probability of occurrence and their magnitude (Sánchez and Gallardo 2005), resulting in sustainable outcomes for BRI projects. President Xi Jinping emphasized this in his address during the April 2019 Belt and Road Forum, when he called for "building high-quality, sustainable, risk-resistant, reasonably priced, and inclusive infrastructure" (Goh and Cadell 2019). The Mitigation Hierarchy (MH) offers a best-practice approach for managing environmental impacts. Application of the MH involves sequentially avoiding, minimizing and offsetting of environmental impacts (see Chapter 4 and Chapter 8 for more details). Integral to and intertwined with the application of the MH is EIA, a tool that allows for incorporating environmental considerations into project decision-making and entails identification of direct, indirect and cumulative impacts of the proposed project (and its alternatives) on the environment (Ekstrom, Bennun and Mitchell 2015). Due to

the multi-jurisdictional nature of BRI projects, transboundary EIAs become relevant, requiring putting in place bilateral/multilateral reciprocal legal frameworks for transboundary information exchange and consultation (Schrage and Bonvoisin 2008). Another approach relevant to a multi-project programme like BRI is SEA, which involves impact assessment at the broader scales of plans, programmes and policies (Fischer 2003).

Environmental safeguards encompassing requirements on EIA and impacting mitigation in the context of the BRI can be brought to the table by: (1) Chinese regulators through state-issued policies and guidelines for BRI projects; (2) host country governments through national EIA regulations; (3) financiers through their investment requirements; (4) project developers (primarily SOEs) through their environmental policies; and/or (5) industry associations through their industry-specific guidelines (Fig. 16.3) (World Resources Institute 2013; Skinner and Haas 2014).

Figure 16.3 Regulatory landscape governing BRI projects



China's overseas investments take three forms: (1) projects funded by governmental agencies using fiscal revenue and routed through foreign aid programmes (grants, zero-interest loans or concessional loans); (2) projects funded through trade finance loans (non-concessional loans, commercial loans and export credits) provided by Chinese banks, primarily its two policy banks, China Development Bank (CDB) and China Exim (CHEXIM); and (3) projects sponsored by China's SOEs (Hale *et al.* 2020). The type of project determines the involvement of each actor and, by extension, the influence they can exert on project environmental performance (Hale *et al.* 2020). For example, safeguards brought to the table by Chinese policy banks and SOEs are likely to be more relevant for trade finance loan-funded projects, which constitute the bulk of Chinese overseas development projects, while Chinese state-issued guidelines would be more relevant for foreign aid-funded projects. Similarly, when an SOE is involved as a project sponsor (Joy-Perez and Scissors 2018), it is likely to have a greater control over what EIA and mitigation measures are applied to the project than when it is involved as a contractor (International Rivers 2012).

16.6 MDB safeguards as a benchmark

Environmental safeguards of MDBs provide a useful benchmark for assessing the safeguards in place for BRI projects, as they have been fine-tuned through decades of international application and regular updating, often after extensive stakeholder consultations. Safeguards of MDBs such as the World Bank Group specify operational requirements on conducting EIA and application of the MH. A key example is the International Finance Corporation (IFC)'s Performance Standards, which are regarded as international best practice. Several other financial institutions (e.g. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, European Investment Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, US Exim, Caribbean Development Bank, Kreditanstalt Für Wiederaufbau, Agence Française De Development) have aligned their safeguards to IFC's Performance Standards, with only subtle adjustments (Gallagher and Yuan 2017).

Applicable to all projects financed by IFC, Performance Standard 1 (PS1) requires clients (as a pre-condition to investment) to carry out an EIA and apply the MH. Other Performance Standards are triggered based on the impacts identified. IFC's Performance Standard 6 (PS6): Biodiversity Conservation and Sustainable Management of Living Natural Resources, for example, has to be applied if the proposed project potentially impacts certain elements of biodiversity such as critical habitat or natural habitat (see <u>Chapter 4</u> for more details on IFC Performance Standard 6). Accordingly, IFC PS6 has specified biodiversity impact mitigation requirements. For example, it requires clients to achieve a net gain of biodiversity in impacted critical habitat (International Finance Corporation 2012b). To demonstrate how they will mitigate (i.e. avoid, minimize, restore and offset) the identified impacts, clients are required to prepare environmental management plans and to implement them through the establishment of environmental and social management systems and put in place procedures for its monitoring and review (International Finance Corporation 2012a).



Image credits: Rob Marchant

16.7 Assessing BRI safeguards

Here, we examine whether the various regulatory frameworks applicable to BRI offer operational environmental safeguards with project-level requirements in line with MDB safeguards.

Policies and guidelines that set the overall vision and principles for environmental protection under the BRI are available. Table 16.2 lists these various applicable policies and guidelines in three ways: (1) BRI-specific policies and quidelines; (2) policies on overseas investment focused on environmental protection and (3) green credit quidelines as well as policies on overseas investment focused on environmental protection; and industry-specific guidelines issued by industry associations. The content analysis of these policies and guidelines shows that, while most of them include broad vision/plans for environmental protection and even project-level guidelines, none offer binding requirements. The various guidelines for overseas investments and green credit policies make the case for green lending and encourage environmental risk management, but they do not make specific project-level provisions (Table 16. 2). A study by Gallagher and Qi (2018) of China's policies encouraging responsible overseas investment concludes that all such guidelines are voluntary, with little explicit accountability and no penalties for non-compliance.

Ultimately, BRI policies defer to host countries on the issue of environmental safeguards (Coenen et al. 2020). For example, the Guidance on Promoting Green Belt and Road urges "businesses to observe international regulations on economy and trade and the laws, regulations, policies and standards of the host countries on eco-environment protection" (Belt and Road Portal 2017). However, scholars point to the weak institutional capacities and poor regulatory climate in many BRI host countries, arguing that they are often ill-equipped to offer adequate safeguards (Tracy et al. 2017; Masood 2019; Coenen et al. 2020). A similar pilot attempt by the World Bank, dubbed the 'country systems' approach, which involved using a country's own environmental

and social safeguard systems, where they were assessed as being equivalent to the Bank's systems, received limited acceptance (Larsen and Ballesteros 2013). Recent assessments of the EIAs of 65 BRI countries (including China) show that, while all countries have legal frameworks for EIA in place, they are at various stages of evolution. Only four countries, namely, Lithuania, Moldova, Hungary and Latvia, rank better than China on a composite indicator of EIA legislation, administration, procedure, decision-making and support. SEA has been institutionalized in several of the BRI countries (e.g. in several European BRI partners through the EU SEA directive and in the Middle Eastern partners through the Mediterranean Environmental Technical Assistance Program), while it is driven by donor requirements in many others (e.g. several SEAs have been supported by the World Bank in Southeast Asia). However, only a few European BRI partners have signed up to the United Nations' Espoo Convention and have put in place legislation requiring transboundary EIAs (Aung and Fischer 2020).

Principles and guidelines for greening the BRI have also been developed jointly by international stakeholders (Table 16.3). Even though they have been widely accepted, these policies and guidelines remain nonspecific, conveying a broader vision on environmental protection. Another set of actors that can offer safequards for BRI projects are companies that implement the projects. China's overseas investment space is dominated by centrally-owned SOEs that act not only as project developers or construction contractors, but also as project sponsors (non-financial sources of FDI⁸⁴) (International Rivers 2012). Many Chinese SOEs are involved in project design (when engaged as Engineering Procurement Construction/ Built Operate Transfer contractors, rather than only as construction contractors) and can potentially influence project environmental performance by requiring Environmental Impact Assessment and mitigation as a part of their Corporate Social Responsibility

policies (International Rivers 2012). However, reviews of such policies of Chinese SOEs investing abroad have found them (especially those focused on environmental protection) to be not at par with global standards, with their implementation marked by *ad-hocism* and inconsistencies (Tan-Mullins and Mohan 2013).

In the absence of operational project-level safeguards from Chinese regulators and SOEs, project financiers can mandate Environmental Impact Assessment and mitigation. The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), a MDB that was initially conceived to fund the BRI (NDRC 2015) has an environmental and social framework that shares many features with that of the World Bank (Gransow and Price 2019). Although AIIB has specific requirements on EIA and mitigation, it has been a marginal investor until now, having invested only about US\$ 1 billion in BRI-related projects (Hameiri and Jones 2018). China's two policy banks CDB and CHEXIM, the key financiers of BRI projects do require ex ante and ex post EIAs (Hale et al. 2020). However, a recent examination of biodiversity-specific safeguards of 65 key financiers of BRI (35 led by China and 30 international) found that 26 had published environmental policies and, of those, 17 had project-level requirements for biodiversity impact mitigation. While 16 of the 30 international financiers had biodiversity impact mitigation requirements, only one (China-ASEAN Investment Cooperation Fund) of the 35 Chinese/China-led financiers had such requirements (Narain et al. 2020). It can be argued that it is not common for national development banks of donor countries have MDB-like evolved safeguards. to However, CDB and CHEXIM, unlike other national development banks, are increasingly internationalized; overseas investments by these banks are now on a par with that of the World Bank (Gallagher and Ray 2020). An internationalization of investment to such a degree calls for a commensurate internationalization of environmental standards.

⁸⁴ Foreign Direct Investment or FDI involves direct investment by a foreign company in projects implemented in a host country. This is distinct from official development financing (ODF) which involves official lending by financial institutions of a foreign company (e.g., by China's twin policy banks CDB and CHEXIM) to governments or projects in the host country.

The BRI is likely to result in significant economic benefits for host countries. It is expected to boost the GDP of host countries by 3.4 per cent (De Soyres et al. 2020), lifting 7.6 million people from extreme poverty and 32 million from moderate poverty (Maliszewska and Van Der Mensbrugghe 2019). However, whether it will lead to equitable and sustainable development pathways for host countries will be determined by how its impacts on the environment and society are assessed and managed (Ascensão et al. 2018). Environmental safeguards are seen as an important tool for reconciling the conflict between economic development and environmental protection (Gallagher and Yuan 2017; Morgado and Taşkın 2019). Based on the evidence provided in this study, it seems the current requlatory framework for BRI seems to fall short in terms of project-level operational safeguards.

There is a need for various actors namely, Chinese state agencies, regulators, industry associations, SOEs and financial institutions to evolve their own safeguards so that they can provide multiple lines of defence against environmental impacts and risks. International safequards systems such as those of the World Bank Group can provide a useful template for developing such safeguards for use by Chinese entities. At the same time, it is important for China to build institutional capacities and transfer good practice within host countries where possible, so that country systems can eventually be brought on a par with international standards. It is only when they are planned, implemented and managed according to the principles of sustainability that BRI's infrastructure corridors can become development corridors.

Type of risk	In host country	In home country
Regulatory approval - failure or delay of approvals	\checkmark	\checkmark
Regulatory/legal action - permit withdrawal, penalties, compensation liabilities, litigation tightening of requirements	\checkmark	
Political - opposition to development projects or sectors	\checkmark	
Financing - withdrawal or delay of financing, tightening of requirements		\checkmark
Project construction - delays, cost overruns due to regulatory/legal action	\checkmark	
Project operation - disruption due to regulatory/legal action	\checkmark	
Reputational risk - impact on brand image	\checkmark	

Table 16.1 Environmental impact-related risks faced by project developers

	Title	Year	Issuing authority	Vision/plan of environmental protection	Project-level EIA and mitigation guidelines	Project-level biodiversity impact assessment and mitigation requirements (binding)
BRI	Specific					
1	Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21 st Century maritime Silk Road ⁸⁵	2015	National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM)	Yes	No	No
2	Vision for Maritime Cooperation under the Belt and Road Initiative ⁸⁶	2017	NDRC and State Oceanic Administration	Yes	No	No
3	Guidance on promoting a green Belt and Road ⁸⁷	2017	Ministry of Ecology and Environment (MEE)	Yes	No	No
4	The Belt and Road Ecological and Environmental Cooperation Plan ⁸⁸	2017	Ministry of Environmental Protection (MEP) (now MEE)	Yes	No	No
5	Building the Belt and Road: Concepts, Practices and China's Contributions ⁸⁹	2017	Office of the Leading Group for the BRI	Yes	No	No

Table 16.2 Chinese policies and guidelines on BRI: examining the presence of operational safeguards

⁸⁵ http://en.ndrc.gov.cn/newsrelease/201503/t20150330_669367.html

⁸⁶ http://www.china.org.cn/world/2017-06/20/content_41063286.htm

⁸⁷ http://english.mee.gov.cn/Resources/Policies/policies/Frameworkp1/201706/t20170628_416864.shtml

⁸⁸ https://eng.yidaiyilu.gov.cn/zchj/qwfb/13392.htm

⁸⁹ https://eng.yidaiyilu.gov.cn/wcm.files/upload/CMSydylyw/201705/201705110537027.pdf

6	The Guidance for the Central Enterprises to Disclose Their Social Responsibility ⁹⁰	2017	The State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission of the State Council (SASAC)	No	No	No
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Guidelines on overseas investment focused on environmental protection and guidelines on green credit applicable to overseas investments

1	Green Credit Guidelines (and related KPIs) ⁹¹	2012	China Banking Regulatory Commission (CBRC)	Yes	No	No
2	Guidelines on Environmental Protection for Overseas Investment and Cooperation ⁹²	2013	MOFCOM and MEP	Yes	Yes	No
3	Guidelines for Establishing the Green Financial System ⁹³	2016	People's Bank of China (PBOC) with NDRC, CBRC, MEE, the Ministry of Finance (MOF), China Securities Regulatory Commission, and China Insurance Regulatory Commission	Yes	No	No
4	Measures for the Administration of Overseas Investment of Enterprises ⁹⁴	2017	NDRC	No	No	No
5	Guidelines to Chinese state-owned enterprises on fulfilling corporate social responsibilities ⁹⁵	2008	State-Owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission of the State Council	No	No	No

^{90 &}quot;http://www.gov.cn/zwgk/2008-01/04/content_850589.htm"

⁹¹ http://www.cbrc.gov.cn/EngdocView.do?docID=3CE646AB629B46B9B533B1D8D9FF8C4A

⁹² http://english.mofcom.gov.cn/article/policyrelease/bbb/201303/20130300043226.shtml

⁹³ http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/business/2016hangzhoug20/2016-09/04/content_26692931.htm

⁹⁴ http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2018/content_5280579.htm

⁹⁵ http://www.sasac.gov.cn/n2588030/n2588939/c4297449/content.html

6	Regulations on Outbound Investment and Business Activities of Private Enterprises ⁹⁶	2017	NDRC and MOFCOM	No	No	No
7	Guide to Strengthen Risk Prevention and Control ⁹⁷	2017	CBRC	No	No	No
Gui	delines issued by	, indust	ry associations			
1	Environmental Risk Management for China's Overseas Investment guidelines ⁹⁸	2017	Green Finance Committee (GFC) of China Society for Finance and Banking, Investment Association of China, China Banking Association	Yes	No	No
2	Guidelines of Sustainable Infrastructure for Chinese International Contractors ⁹⁹	2017	China International Contractors Association	Yes	Yes	No
3	Guidelines on the Corporate Social Responsibility of Banking Institutions of China ¹⁰⁰	2009	China Banking Association	Yes	No	No

Source: List of policies compiled using Coenen et al., (2020) and Gallagher and Qi (2018); Sector-specific guidelines not included

⁹⁶ https://www.ndrc.gov.cn/fggz/lywzjw/zcfg/201404/W020190909440616023780.pdf

⁹⁷ https://www.mee.gov.cn/gkml/zj/wj/200910/t20091022_172469.htm

⁹⁸ https://www.ghub.org/en/environmental-risk-management-manual-for-china-overseas-investment/

⁹⁹ http://images.mofcom.gov.cn/csr2/201707/20170713103213247.pdf

¹⁰⁰ http://www.lawinfochina.com/display.aspx?lib=law&id=7296&CGid=

	Title	Year	Developed by	Vision/plan of environmental protection	Project-level EIA and mitigation guidelines	Project-level biodiversity impact assessment and mitigation requirements (binding)
1	Guiding Principles on Financing the Belt and Road ¹⁰¹	2019	Chinese Ministry of Finance and its counterparts in 27 countries	Yes	No	No
2	Green Investment Principles ¹⁰²	2017	Developed by Green Finance Committee of China Society for Finance and Banking and the City of London Corporation's Green Finance Initiative; the World Economic Forum, UNPRI, Belt & Road Bankers Roundtable, the Green Belt and Road Investor Alliance and the Paulson Institute; Signed by all major Chinese banks and financial institutions	Yes	No	No

Source: [List of policies compiled using] Gallagher and Qi (2018); Coenen et al. (2020). Sector-specific guidelines not included.

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¹⁰¹ https://en.imsilkroad.com/p/314204.html

¹⁰² https://green-bri.org/green-investment-principle-gip-belt-and-road-initiative/

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