DEBT, DISPLACEMENT, AND BIODIVERSITY LOSS
Assessing the Gender, Environmental, and Human Rights Implications of China’s Belt and Road Initiative

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report exposes the human rights and environmental impacts of China-backed infrastructure projects in Kenya, Indonesia, and Argentina, focusing on women in all their diversities. The projects are all part of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), an immensely ambitious global development strategy led by China which aims to promote connectivity and economic cooperation across participating countries. Through case studies of projects in these three countries, this report demonstrates the significant adverse effects of the BRI’s implementation on human rights and the environment.

Firstly, the report highlights the human rights implications of BRI projects, specifically on women in all of their diversities. It examines the unequal power dynamics and social structures that exacerbate gender inequalities, leading to violations of women’s rights. The research reveals instances of forced displacement, gender-based violence and other rights violations, particularly against Indigenous and local communities. The report also exposes the limited and unequal access to economic opportunities from these development projects, inadequate consultation processes and insufficient safeguards for women’s rights during project planning and execution. Furthermore, cultural norms, discriminatory practices, and a lack of gender-responsive policies further marginalise women, particularly those from vulnerable and marginalised communities.

Secondly, the report sheds light on the environmental impacts of BRI projects. It identifies the widespread ecological damage from large-scale infrastructure development, including deforestation, habitat destruction, water pollution, and increased carbon emissions. These environmental consequences have far-reaching implications for local communities, biodiversity, and the global climate. As primary stakeholders in natural resource management and household well-being, women are disproportionately affected by the degradation of their environments.

The research report also emphasises the interconnectedness between human rights and environmental concerns. It underscores the importance of adopting a gender-responsive and rights-based approach in BRI project planning, implementation, and monitoring; this includes engaging women and diverse stakeholders in decision-making processes, conducting gender and environmental impact assessments, promoting sustainable livelihood options for affected communities, and ensuring access to justice and remedies for rights violations.

The report proposes policy recommendations to address the identified challenges based on the findings. It calls for enhanced coordination and cooperation among stakeholders, including Chinese and host country governments, civil society organisations, and international institutions. The report advocates integrating gender justice, human rights, and environmental sustainability principles into the BRI framework and project-specific guidelines. Additionally, it stresses the need for capacity-
building initiatives, knowledge-sharing, and monitoring mechanisms to implement these recommendations effectively.

Overall, this research report serves as an overview of the human rights and environmental impacts of China’s Belt and Road Initiative on infrastructure projects in Kenya, Indonesia, and Argentina. It highlights the urgent need for a holistic and inclusive approach to address the concerns of women in all their diversities and mitigate the negative consequences on human rights and the environment. By adopting the proposed policy recommendations, stakeholders can work towards ensuring that BRI projects contribute to sustainable development, gender justice, and the protection of human rights and the environment.
In a world grappling with the repercussions of unjust and unequal development and multiple crises, many are proposing solutions to save the future from devastation. Amidst this global race for infrastructure and technology, China strives to be at the forefront of change. The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is China’s global monumental investment scheme to transform trade and transport. It encompasses diverse infrastructure projects spanning transportation networks, digital connectivity, and more, with over 149 countries joining as of 2022. Since 2019, the Global Forest Coalition (GFC) has been actively involved in researching the darker side of the BRI: as a continuation of our previous research, this report focuses on the negative influence of BRI projects in Kenya, Indonesia, and Argentina, highlighting the wide-array of negative impacts, especially those on women in all their diversities, Indigenous Peoples and local communities, human rights, and the environment. Ultimately, the question becomes: Is the BRI helping, or is it ultimately part of a system of false solutions and money-making schemes that continue to harm the most vulnerable?

Our study used a wide range of secondary sources, including academic papers, reports, and official documents. Despite the limitations of relying solely on existing data, our findings reveal compelling evidence of detrimental consequences associated with BRI projects in Kenya, Indonesia, and Argentina. By highlighting the gaps and limitations of the current approach, our research underscores the need for more extensive and context-specific assessments to guide future developments.

Acknowledging the limitations inherent in BRI research, including biases prevalent in Western narratives and limited availability of information reported directly by China in English, is important. We aim to present unbiased information and highlight underrepresented stories indicative of broader patterns. While limitations exist, such as difficulty forecasting outcomes for upcoming or recently completed projects, especially given the lack of transparency of investments and project impacts, our objective is to inform and inspire future research on the extensive impacts experienced by vulnerable communities. Furthermore, the intricate link between infrastructure development and socio-political relations/nation-building projects and the power struggles among international superpowers warrants scepticism of motives when a state expands its reach. With that, it is vital to understand how the harmful effects of these projects disproportionately impact vulnerable communities while mainly benefiting the privileged, especially when states are fully cooperative and invested in collaboration with China at the expense of their people. Lastly, it is crucial to recognise that states do not represent their entire populations, and the actions of a state should not be equated with the people it governs.
Gender Reporting Remains Neglected

The gendered impacts of the BRI have long been a subject of concern, yet despite increasing awareness, progress in addressing these disparities remains insufficient. As GFC noted in previous research in 2022, analyses of the gendered impacts of BRI projects still need to be completed. The situation remains unchanged, and comprehensive impact assessments focusing on how the BRI affects women in all their diversities still need to be included. As a reminder: China is a signatory to vital United Nations (UN) human rights treaties such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and is a proponent of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 5 on “Gender Equality,” and thus it should be expected to provide data on the gender impacts of its BRI projects. However, the reporting is scarce, and there is a significant gap in understanding. The analysis becomes more complex because China as a state is not the only financier of BRI projects. As many projects are funded by Chinese banks or privately, impact information, in general, is often not made publicly available.

Previous studies and publications, including GFC’s 2019 report and recent research on deforestation-free commodities, have highlighted the detrimental effects of the commodity trade dominated by men, impacting forests and disproportionately affecting women globally. This information will help us understand the country contexts of the regions we examine below and allow us to apply this crucial information to other unconsidered contexts. Women are undoubtedly negatively impacted by these projects, and being able to map the precise impacts would provide the necessary insight to mitigate these harms.

Moving forward, we emphasise that ongoing research efforts are necessary to understand and address the gender disparities within the BRI. Without this informed research, gender disparity and negative gendered impacts will continue. Extractivism, in particular, continues to harm women and exploit lands, and violence against women and gender-diverse people is intricately connected to violence against the land. By highlighting the experiences of women in all of their diversities in various BRI projects and analysing the broader socio-economic and environmental implications, we can advocate for gender-responsive policies and practices which are imperative to gender justice.
Kenya is involved with several BRI projects, but one BRI project, in particular, exemplifies the troubles of these projects. The Standard Gauge Railway (SGR) project is a railway transport system and the most significant infrastructure development project in Independent Kenya. The first phase was completed in 2017, another in 2019, and the rest is in development or deferred. It is partially funded by Chinese banks (the leading funder being China Road and Bridge Corporation) and the Government of Kenya. It aims to connect Nairobi to the coastal city of Mombasa and extend through Uganda and other East African countries. The Kenyan government has enthusiastically engaged in its creation, citing it as part of its 2030 plan to become an industrialised, middle-income country. Sections of it are complete, others are not, but the economic viability frequently comes into question, and there are concerns that its revenue will not cover the costs. Furthermore, studies show that the project has created further inequality and human rights issues; environmental concerns have also been documented.

Historical experiences with colonialism and railway systems in Kenya have left an after-effect. One study took an in-depth look at opinions on the ground, recording one community member stating, “Our ancestors thought that the railway was an iron snake that was going to colonise them. The SGR is no different. It was the British back then – now it’s the Chinese. The history is repeating itself.” The study notes how this project may be part of an “imperial haunting” that railway infrastructures still have. Despite the complex entanglements between Kenya, China, and neoliberal globalisation, many still worry that China is partaking in neocolonialism. These concerns arise because, since 2021, 20.5% of Kenya’s external debt has been to Chinese banks and the Chinese government. Large-scale investments are advancing the socio-economic disparities, and the brunt of these problems is faced by those made the most vulnerable.

Is Kenya acting in the best interests of its people when it comes to development and BRI implementation? Reports from China indicate that its construction has created 46,000 jobs for Kenyans and has allowed for substantial economic growth. However, this study shows that only privileged groups with financial resources (which comprise only 0.1% of the population) experienced benefits, while disadvantaged groups have faced increasing economic hardships. The study found that rural Kenyans especially say the route directly impacts their mobility and access to vital resources, family, and community, often causing people to migrate to Nairobi.
Gender Impacts

Human rights and negative economic impacts are especially significant for women, who undoubtedly bear the brunt of these changes. According to the UN, 80% of Kenyan women live rurally. Before the construction of the SGR, transport was already an issue for economically marginalised Kenyans, regardless of gender, due to a lack of infrastructure and access to funds to benefit from public transport. If the railway impinges on rural communities’ abilities to access resources, this would devastate many rural women’s activities, such as collecting wood, food, medicines, and water. This can manifest in multiple ways, but if we look at previous studies, a few inferences can be made. For example, women in Kenya are generally responsible for water and fuel collection and are responsible for the majority of unpaid agricultural labour. They often do not have access to land, which makes them unable to access credit, increasing financial dependence. While growing transport infrastructure can seemingly address this problem, the previous study notes how the new railroad disrupts rural routes, and only those with more financial resources have benefitted. As further stated, the economic growth from the railway is not likely to remedy this.

The disparities are especially true for women displaced by the SGR, who have either lived or worked along the railway or had their routes disrupted by the project. Displacement leads to a loss of livelihood for women, who are deeply connected to their local environments, as displacement disrupts access to land, water, and markets and jeopardises their ability to sustain themselves and their families. As the primary water collectors, women especially rely on access to the land. Being removed from communities and familiar lands also puts them at higher risk of gender-based violence. Finding income after displacement is difficult, and many rural and Indigenous women in Kenya already face discrimination and stereotyping, which acts as yet another barrier. This leaves them vulnerable to further economic hardships and potential exploitation. Further, women’s access to compensation has been a process many call discriminatory due to social norms, limited access to resources, and exclusion from decision-making.
Environmental impacts

Negative environmental impacts have also been observed. This is due to various reasons, including poor construction practices and the SGR route traversing pastoral rangelands and important conservation areas. Figures estimate that approximately 25% of the Kenyan population are pastoralists, many of whom are Indigenous. Kenyan Indigenous women especially face multifaceted challenges and constraints due to being minorities and social and cultural prejudices, and because of this, they have higher rates of poverty. The railway’s construction has degraded land, destroyed critical ecosystems, caused flooding, contaminated waters, and affected wildlife movement. Oil spills have become a concern because of the inevitability of transport accidents, and there was already a devastating spill in the Thange River which can no longer be used for domestic purposes or land irrigation, with the land itself rendered unsuitable for cultivation. While environmental impact assessments reportedly complied with international standards, this study argues that it is clear that these standards still need to be fully implemented.

Harmful BRI projects are not without opposition, and a case that provides inspiration for those actively working against these harmful developments is the shutdown of a coal-fired power plant in Lamu. The project, which would have disrupted rich biodiverse and culturally relevant areas, was effectively shut down by Kenya’s National Environmental Tribunal because of an insufficient environmental and social impact assessment. In 2020, the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China, a major financier, announced plans to withdraw financing. While the tribunal stated that this was not a case against coal, the decision was at least partially influenced by on-the-ground protesting and campaigning. The influence of these movements sets a precedent for the future of harmful investments (like that of coal, oil, and gas) and sends an important message to those of us who are invested in a green and liveable future for all. While it may not have been the push away from coal that halted the project, the effective use of campaigning and protesting demonstrates that people can make a difference in harmful policies and projects.

Wildlife grazing near homesteads in the Kimintet community, where people coexist with wildlife. Photographer: Edna Kaptoyo, Indigenous Information Network (IIN)
BRI projects are proliferating all across Asia, and our previous research focused on South East Asia and Central Asia. While mentioned briefly in our earlier reports, this report will focus on Indonesia and aim to underscore the ongoing negative impacts and shed light on any observed changes, or lack thereof, that have transpired. Indonesia is projected as one of the top beneficiaries of the BRI, and in 2022, new coal-related projects were announced, including a captive coal-fired power plant and coal mining.

During an Asian regional capacity-building workshop with GFC in 2020 which examined the effects of the BRI on forests and human rights throughout various places in Asia, participants raised numerous concerns regarding Indonesia’s engagement with Chinese investors. Particular attention was drawn to the Bandung high-speed railway project, funded by the Chinese Development Bank. Organisations such as GFC member group the Indonesian Forum for Living Environment (WALHI), the largest and longest-established environmental NGO in Indonesia, expressed opposition to the project on multiple grounds. They highlighted the destruction of forests, waterways and biodiversity resulting from its implementation and human rights concerns, including the destruction of housing and agricultural lands. Further, they underscored the absence of community consultation at both the planning and execution stages.

Furthermore, WALHI took legal action, monitored and traced the banks funding the projects, and attempted to initiate a dialogue with Chinese authorities by writing to the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia. Regrettably, these attempts were met with disregard by the Chinese authorities, and as of 2023, the project is undergoing test runs, despite the need for sufficient community involvement. With the lack of consultation, questions around who this project benefits, especially in the wake of destruction, arise, mirroring similar problems with the BRI railway project in Kenya.

By critically examining the case of the Bandung high-speed railway project, it becomes evident that the BRI’s repercussions extend beyond economic considerations. Fundamental issues related to environmental degradation, community participation, and social justice emerged as critical concerns. As outlined by WALHI in this case, one commonality that continuously arises in many BRI cases is a democratic deficit where interests of “development” are prioritised over the well-being of the communities on the ground and where privileged groups are prioritised over others. WALHI emphasises the need to form strong movements capable of advocating against harmful ventures. This is especially relevant to gender issues in Indonesia, as they note that women have become pivotal actors in these campaigns.
However, increased visibility and activity on the frontlines put women at risk. As highlighted in our previous work, women on the frontlines of climate justice are frequently targets of gender-based violence. Women are additionally more susceptible to environmental harm and economic disparity caused by development and extractivism. The necessity of resistance and the danger it causes remains another reason BRI projects need to work heavily to include gendered impact analyses in consultation with communities on the ground if they are to uphold their human rights commitments and achieve an “ecological civilisation” for all. Women and gender-diverse people are imperative to creating change and need to be at the forefront of consultation rather than an afterthought or excluded, which, based on the lack of gender reporting, is the case so far.

A Just Transition

While this railway has garnered considerable attention, the transition from oil, gas, and coal is also reflected in BRI projects such as hydropower projects or mineral mining for batteries. Furthermore, while China has committed to transitioning away from coal and fossil fuels, this is not reflected in China’s practices abroad, as there are still BRI industrial parks and building processes which require intensive coal and fuel resources to build, as well as shipping and trade which requires coal and gas. Most of Indonesia’s energy comes from coal, and the government pledged to retire all coal plants by 2040 to reach “net zero” in 2050 (a plan already not good enough, as governments need to achieve real zero). However, there are still coal parks in production, one of which will pollute enormously, and there are no clear guidelines for what constitutes a “green project.”
Transition energy projects also cause significant harm to people and the environment. In 2022, we emphasised human rights and environmental problems with a hydropower dam in Indonesia that even the World Bank – with its insidious record of funding harmful projects – and the Asian Development Bank refused to finance due to concerns. Unfortunately, this dam is still under construction, despite being placed near primary forests, threatening local Indigenous populations with displacement because of flooding, and threatening a rare and endangered Tapanuli orangutan, among other keystone species. The lack of change and regard for these grave biodiversity concerns, the lack of regard for impacted communities, and the continuation of its construction highlight a trend in some of the BRI projects and drives to the energy transition that is not at all just.

The mining of transition materials for batteries and other materials for technology is also causing a problem globally, with BRI projects contributing significantly to this. Indonesia is a hotspot for energy transition materials mining, driving a wide range of environmental and human rights concerns related to extractivism.

For example, the Indonesia Morowali Industrial Park (IMIP), a nickel extraction site indirectly linked to the World Bank through the IFC and funded by multiple Chinese banks, is causing massive environmental destruction, including through waste disposal that negatively impacts fishing communities, biodiversity loss, air pollution from coal, and an increase of deforestation. The project has seen a militarisation and increased police presence in the area, and workers face poor conditions, whilst local communities are struggling with negative impacts on agriculture, all of which affect women disproportionately. The switch from harmful energy processes needs to include a transition that does not harm the environment and human rights; yet, this is not often the case.
CASE STUDY: ARGENTINA

Latin American countries are relatively new to the BRI, yet reports of human rights and environmental concerns are already emerging. Mongabay highlighted a report from the Collective on Chinese Financing and Investments, Human Rights and the Environment that looked at 26 projects in different countries and found that almost all of these projects contributed to deforestation, water pollution, and human rights violations that impacted Indigenous and local communities especially. Based on these reports, another red thread with BRI projects is whether China is willing to consult and improve in light of the current human rights and environmental concerns or just continue with harmful business as usual.

Further, as in the cases above, there is also an alarming lack of transparency and access to information with ongoing projects causing large-scale damage. This was highlighted in the report in the case of Venezuela, where impacted Indigenous communities could not obtain necessary information about a gold mining project they did not consent to. CICDHA (Colectivo sobre Financiamiento e Inversiones Chinas, Derechos Dumanos y Ambiente) could not update on the situation due to so little information being available. This is a deeply troubling trend in BRI reporting not only related to gender but also to human rights and environmental concerns.

China is also undertaking extensive transition materials projects in Latin America. Specifically, the Cuchari-Olaroz lithium mine in Jujuy, Argentina, is of concern. The report from CICDHA indicated backers of the project did not undertake thorough environmental impact studies, leading to gaps in information regarding impacts on wetlands and drinking water. Six of the communities nearby are Indigenous, and there was no consultation with them.

We know that lithium mining and battery production cause horrific environmental impacts. For example, lithium-ion battery production causes more CO2 emissions than the production of gas-powered vehicles. They are also notoriously difficult to dispose of, and 40% of the emissions created come from mining processes. Argentina is scaling up its lithium projects, and China is also involved through the BRI – with Argentina set to become the world’s largest lithium producer. The growing focus on “fuels of the future that generate zero polluting emissions” raises important questions about how that reconciles with the massive amount of emissions created through mining remains to be seen.

The historical implications of mining extractivism echo through to the modern-day colonialism taking place in Latin America. Argentina has a rocky history with colonisation and has been one of the leaders in neoliberal extractivism that expands into every region of the country. Indigenous Peoples and local communities are impacted most by mining and extractivism, which remains the case with lithium mines.
Women are deeply impacted by extractivism, and in Argentina, Indigenous women have borne the brunt of the impacts brought forth by the lithium rush, as noted in this investigative report by the *Washington Post*. These women, who often play crucial roles within their communities, have become frontline defenders of their ancestral territories, engaging in protests and advocacy efforts to protect their rights, lands, and the environment. However, they face numerous challenges, including systemic marginalisation, gender-based violence, and limited access to resources, exacerbating their already precarious circumstances. Their stories underscore the urgent need to address the social, environmental, and gender dimensions of extractive industries.

One article theorises that resource extraction for export has been instrumental in Latin America’s socio-economic development, often called a “treadmill of production,” where more social and environmental decline occurs as it becomes more intensive. It is crucial to learn from the historical implications of extractivism and the ongoing neocolonial dynamics at play. The extractive industries have historically perpetuated social and environmental decline in Latin America, and the expansion of lithium mining through Chinese investment further exacerbates these challenges. As Argentina and China intensify their involvement in lithium extraction, addressing the inherent environmental and human rights consequences associated with its production is essential.
CONCLUSION

The Belt and Road Initiative, while aiming to change trade and infrastructure for the better, still has significant and unignorable negative impacts on women, Indigenous Peoples, local communities, human rights, and the environment, which can be seen through the research analysis of BRI projects in Kenya, Indonesia, and Argentina. It is also clear that the push for an energy transition is causing high emissions, human rights violations, and environmental destruction. We must remain vigilant in this push for a “green” future, especially as there are no clear guidelines or sanctions for breaches.

The exclusion of gendered impact analyses and consultation with affected communities remains a concern. Overall, the BRI’s negative impacts on women, Indigenous Peoples, local communities, human rights, and the environment are evident. The lack of gender reporting, community consultation, and environmental and social justice consideration highlights the need for comprehensive impact assessments, gender-responsive policies, and inclusive decision-making processes. Addressing these disparities and advocating for a just transition prioritising the well-being of affected communities and the environment is essential.

Going forward, China and the countries involved with BRI projects should consider and actively include the most historically excluded and exploited populations when agreeing to these projects. For this, gender analysis is essential, and consultation with Indigenous Peoples through free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) is mandatory as Indigenous Peoples safeguard most of the world’s biodiversity. Any “green” changes that do not engage with and consider Indigenous livelihoods are not green solutions but are instead actively harmful. Furthermore, project developers must undertake proper environmental impact assessments for all projects, including industrial parks, which often have loopholes, and their guidelines must be strengthened so that they cannot be brushed aside or ignored. Those opposed to projects causing harm should continue to pressure governments and officials and, further, seek more hidden information behind these projects’ funding when it is unavailable.

Students at Eor-Ewuaso Primary School in Narok County have put up signs throughout the area to remind the community to conserve and protect the local forests. Photo credit: Jeanette Sequeira. Originally published on Intercontinental Cry.
RECOMMENDATIONS

To the Chinese Government

- Enhance Environmental and Social Safeguard Policies: Strengthen regulations to ensure BRI projects adhere to robust environmental and social standards, including conducting thorough environmental and social impact assessments (ESIAs) and adopting measures to mitigate negative impacts on Indigenous Peoples and women.

- Promote Gender Justice: Integrate gender-responsive approaches into BRI project planning, implementation, and monitoring. Ensure women’s meaningful participation in decision-making processes and provide access to economic opportunities, education, and healthcare.

- Uphold Indigenous Rights: Recognise and respect the collective rights of Indigenous Peoples, including their rights to land, resources, and self-determination. Facilitate inclusive consultations with Indigenous communities, ensuring their free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) in project planning and implementation.

To Host Country Governments

- Strengthen Legal Frameworks: Develop or enhance national legislation that protects the rights of Indigenous Peoples and women in all their diversities, aligning with international human rights standards. Ensure effective enforcement mechanisms and monitoring of project compliance.

- Promote Participation and Consultation: Facilitate meaningful and inclusive consultation processes with Indigenous Peoples and women’s organisations during project planning, implementation, and evaluation. Respect Indigenous Peoples’ traditional knowledge and decision-making processes.

- Strengthen Environmental Governance: Build the capacity of environmental agencies and regulatory bodies to effectively monitor and enforce environmental regulations. Encourage transparency, public access to information, and independent oversight of BRI projects.

Global Forest Coalition | www.globalforestcoalition.org | gfc@globalforestcoalition.org
To Chinese and Host Country Enterprises

- Implement Due Diligence Measures: Conduct comprehensive human rights and environmental due diligence assessments for BRI projects. Identify and address potential negative impacts on Indigenous Peoples and women, ensuring compliance with relevant international standards and guidelines.

- Engage in Responsible Business Practices: Adopt and promote responsible business practices prioritising respect for human rights, including Indigenous Peoples’ rights and gender justice. Establish grievance mechanisms to address complaints and provide remedies for affected communities.

- Support Capacity-Building and Sustainable Development: Invest in local capacity-building programs to enhance the skills and knowledge of local communities, including Indigenous Peoples and women, to actively participate in and benefit from BRI projects. Promote sustainable livelihood options and support income-generating activities.

To the International Community

- Foster Multilateral Collaboration: Strengthen international cooperation and coordination among governments, civil society organisations, and international institutions to address environmental and human rights impacts of BRI projects. Facilitate knowledge sharing, best practices exchange, and peer learning.


- Provide Technical and Financial Assistance: Allocate resources to support capacity-building initiatives and technical assistance programs in host countries. Focus on strengthening the capacity of Indigenous Peoples and women’s organisations to engage in decision-making processes and hold relevant stakeholders accountable.

By implementing these policy recommendations, relevant stakeholders can work towards mitigating the negative environmental and human rights impacts of projects under China’s Belt and Road Initiative. Emphasising the rights of Indigenous Peoples and women in all their diversities will contribute to more sustainable and inclusive development outcomes.
Additional Resources

- Briefing Paper: Is the BRI Congruous with COP15’s Promise of an “Ecological Civilisation”?

- Forest Cover #60: How is the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) impacting women and forests?

- Report: GFC’s Extractive Industries, Tourism and Infrastructure (ETI) campaign’s Asian regional workshop on the Belt and Road Initiative