THE DANISH INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

BACKGROUND PAPER FOR A VIRTUAL EXPERT MEETING ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS IMPACTS OF NORDIC INVESTMENTS IN RENEWABLE ENERGY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

JULY 2021

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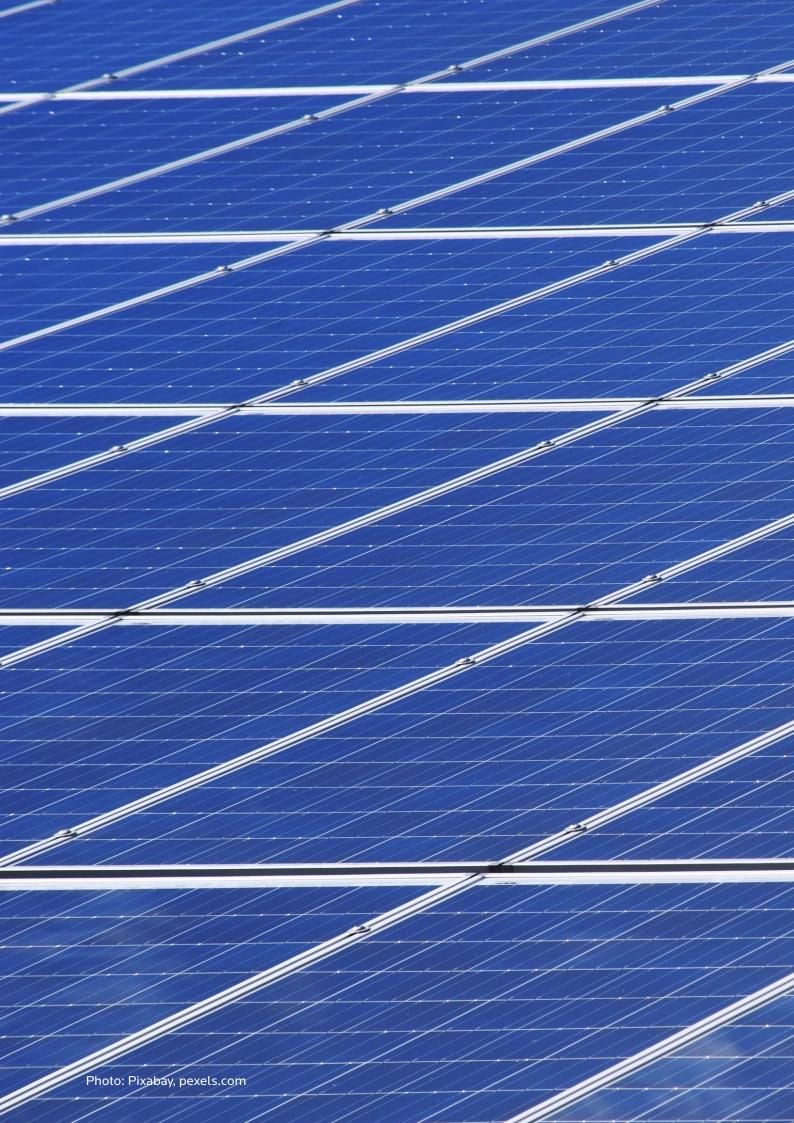
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1 OVERVIEW

This short briefing has been prepared to serve as a background paper for a virtual expert meeting on the human rights impacts of Nordic investments in renewable energy developments in the Global South. Convened by the Danish Institute for Human Rights (DIHR), the expert meeting will gather a group of key experts and stakeholders working in the field of Nordic renewable energy, investment and human rights to map out key human rights issues, questions, impacts, challenges, opportunities and ways forward to ensure that Nordic companies and financiers, of renewable energy projects fully integrate respect for human rights in their endeavour to contribute to the transition to clean energy sources which at the same time is respectful of human rights. The background paper has been prepared based on desktop research only and seeks to provide a non-exhaustive introduction to some of the issues that may be discussed during the roundtable, rather than comprehensive research on the subject matter.

2 INTRODUCTION

It is becoming increasingly apparent that climate change (also referred to as "climate emergency") poses a huge threat to human rights. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Michelle Bachelet "the world has never seen a threat to human rights of this scope". In order to address the climate crisis, a transition to an economy respectful of the planet is urgently required. As part of this green transition, moving away from fossil energy sources, accounting for 75% of the world's CO2 emissions, to renewable energy is critical to the sustainability of the planet and the protection of people.

The transition to renewable energy is a key part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (the Sustainable Development Goals, or SDGs). In support of this, in March 2021, over twenty ministerial-level "Global Champions" from UN Member States issued messages calling for urgent action to achieve affordable, clean energy for all by 2030. This call was joined by Denmark, which also serves as a "Global Champion" on the dedicated working group focusing on Energy Transition. In order for the energy transition to contribute to the realisation of human rights and the SDGs, the renewable energy sector must also be sustainable in itself – economically, environmentally and socially.

At present, the global Covid-19 pandemic is exposing and exacerbating existing inequalities with a devastating effect on vulnerable groups and societies. The crisis has severely impacted progress on energy access, and lockdown measures have put off-grid developments at risk. Policy-makers are having to make consequential decisions in a very short space of time. These decisions will shape economic and energy infrastructure for decades to come and will almost certainly determine whether the world has a chance of meeting its long-term energy and climate goals.

The latest findings, published in the Tracking SDG 7: Energy Progress Report 2020, show that international public investment to the Global South in support of renewable energy has been increasing steadily in recent years, growing by around USD 1.6 billion per year. The broad trend shows a fifteenfold increase in annual international public flows over the period 2000-2017, reflecting an increasing focus of development aid on renewable energy. In 2017, almost half of international public support went to hydropower projects, followed by solar (which received 19%), wind (7%) and geothermal (6%). The private sector remains the main provider of capital for renewables projects, accounting for 86% of investments in the sector between 2013 and 2018. Project developers provided 46% of private finance, followed by commercial financial institutions at 22%. Public finance, representing 14% of total investments in renewables in 2013-2018, came mainly via development finance institutions.

In 2019, Global South countries outweighed Global North countries in renewable energy capacity investment for the fifth year running, reaching USD 152 billion. Renewable energy investment varied by region, rising in the Americas, including the United States and Brazil, but falling in all other world regions including China, Europe, India, and the Middle East and Africa.

In light of the above, this background paper sets out some of the key human rights impacts associated with the energy transition and describes a number of the existing standards and initiatives which aim to address these impacts, paying specific attention to Nordic renewable actors with broad human rights impacts in the Global South. The background paper complements DIHR's work related to the energy transition, such as the Responsible Business Conduct in Sub-Saharan Africa Energy Transition track and is consistent with DIHR's internal prioritisation of the energy transition as a key sectoral focus.

3 GENERAL OVERVIEW OF HUMAN RIGHTS IMPACTS AND RENEWABLE ENERGY

SPECIFIC IMPACTS

As with any other parts of the energy sector, the renewable energy sector is associated with a number of social and human rights related challenges. These include respecting labour rights, ensuring decent work and conflict free mineral supply-chains, and addressing adverse impacts on local communities, including indigenous communities. There are already examples and ongoing cases where conflicts have delayed and/or stopped major renewable projects.

Corporate actors working in renewable energy are facing enhanced scrutiny, including through the Business and Human Rights Resource Centre's (BHRRC) recent benchmarking of the human rights policies and practices of the largest publicly traded wind and solar energy companies in the world. The results of the benchmark suggest that none of the companies analysed are currently fully meeting their responsibility to respect human rights, as expected by the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UNGPs). Nearly half the companies benchmarked (7/16) scored below 10%, with three quarters (12/16) scoring below 40%. The average score was just 22%, indicating that, as a whole, the industry has a long way to go to demonstrate its respect for the human rights of communities and workers in their operations and value chains. In addition, the findings showed that a slim majority of companies (9 of 16) have a public commitment to human rights across all its activities and that these same nine companies also commit to respect for basic international labour rights. Thus, the benchmark analysis revealed that most renewable energy companies lack the essential human rights policies to avoid adverse impacts on the communities and workers on which a just transition depends.

In addition, since 2010, the BHRRC has identified 197 allegations of human rights abuses related to renewable energy projects and asked 127 companies to respond to these allegations. These allegations were related to: killings, threats, and intimidation; land grabs; dangerous working conditions and poverty wages; and harm to indigenous peoples' lives and livelihoods. The BHRRC noted that allegations have been made in every global region and across all five sub-sectors of renewable energy development: wind, solar, bioenergy, geothermal, and hydropower. The region with the highest number of allegations is Latin America (121 allegations since 2010, 61% of allegations globally).

From a gender perspective, the BHRRC benchmarking included a specific focus on gender and noted that only two of the 16 companies assessed reported to have closed the gender wage gap and none of the companies committed to or achieved gender balance at the executive level or across the company. Further, a 2019 International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) survey of the renewable energy workforce highlighted that only 32% of employees are women. While this is an improvement compared to 22% in the energy sector overall, the report noted that within renewables, women's participation in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) jobs is far lower than in administrative jobs. Exacerbating this, the report noted that women working in the energy sector tend to lack access to support networks, role models and champions to help advance their careers as well as public and company policies to help them realise their goals.

As a whole, the industry still has significant progress to make in terms of implementing basic human rights due diligence obligations and responding to risks that are particularly relevant to the sector, such as a rights-respecting process for land access, use and acquisition. There is currently a need for host and home governments to adopt and enforce human rights safeguards and standards in national energy policies and in programmes that support the development of renewable energy projects, including government and finance institution programmes to promote energy access.

STANDARDS AND INITIATIVES

In 2019, the European Parliament approved an EU Regulation for Sustainability-related Disclosures in the Financial Services Sector, which calls on financial actors in the EU to report on their due diligence approaches. The new EU taxonomy regulation establishes a framework to facilitate sustainable investment, which notes that sustainable activity should be subject to minimum safeguards including the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises and the UNGPs. These new EU measures will have an impact beyond the geographical boundary of the EU region, shaping the financial system and flow of investments, as well as the working practices of professionals in the financial sector.

Simultaneously, the European Green Deal also presents a package of measures and actions for achieving the political ambition of "being the

world's first climate neutral continent by 2050" and ensuring a sustainable energy transition that is just and socially fair. Measures accompanied with an initial roadmap of key policies range from ambitiously cutting emissions, to investing in cutting-edge research and innovation, to preserving the natural environment. Yet, as evidence shows that renewable energy companies continue to be linked with human rights abuses, the European Green Deal would be substantially strengthened by integrating human rights standards and requirements throughout its legislative framework and implementation mechanisms. On 29 April 2020, the EU Commission announced plans to introduce EU legislation establishing mandatory corporate human rights and environmental due diligence in 2021 as part of the European Green Deal and the EU's Covid-19 recovery package.

Aside from the above initiatives, research has shown that the majority of existing governance frameworks are not specifically focused on the link between renewable energy and human rights. Rather they concern broad issues, including climate change and sustainability, renewables and socio-economic transformation. Similarly, actors and convenings addressing renewables are mainly concerned with governance issues generally, rather than human rights specifically. Some examples of prominent international frameworks related to renewables or the energy transition and human rights include: The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, the Africa Renewable Energy Initiative, and the World Bank's Environmental and Social Framework.

The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) entered into force on 21 March 1994. At present, it has near-universal membership. The 197 countries that have ratified the Convention are called Parties to the Convention. Preventing "dangerous" human interference with the climate system is the ultimate aim of the UNFCCC.

The Africa Renewable Energy Initiative (AREI) is an inclusive, transformative, Africa-owned and Africa-led effort to accelerate and scale up the harnessing of the continent's huge renewable energy potential. Under the mandate of the African Union and endorsed by the Committee of African Heads of State and Government on Climate Change (CAHOSCC), the initiative is set to achieve at least 10 GW of new and additional renewable energy generation capacity by 2020, and at least 300 GW by 2030.

Finally, the World Bank's Environmental and Social Framework sets out the World Bank's commitment to sustainable development, through a Bank Policy and a set of Environmental and Social Standards that are designed to support borrowers' projects, with the aim of ending extreme poverty and promoting shared prosperity.

Photo: Bruno Scramgnon, pexels.com

4 INTRODUCTION TO THE NORDIC RENEWABLES SECTOR

KEY ACTORS, INCLUDING FINANCIAL ACTORS

At present, Nordic and Scandinavian actors are active in the renewable energy sector of Global South countries as developers and investors, equipment/ technology suppliers, financial institutions/investors, advisors, and public agencies. The below graphic from Nordic Energy Research, presents a mapping of the most prominent actors from the Scandinavian region:

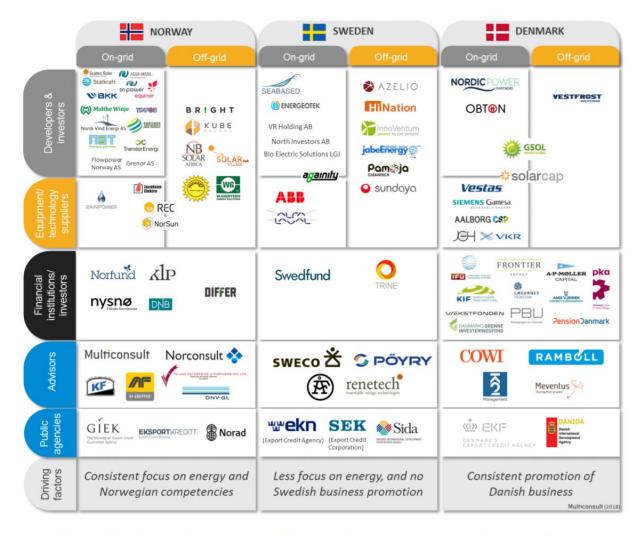


Figure 2 Mapping of active companies in the renewable energy sector in developing countries

The development finance institutions Norfund, Swedfund, the Danish Investment Fund for Developing Countries (IFU) and Finnfund (in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland respectively) are among the Nordic countries' main channels for commercial investments into the Global South, also when it comes to renewable energy. For instance, Finnfund has invested about USD 14 million in Valle Solar in rural Honduras together with development finance institutions like the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and Austria's Development Bank OeEB. Schneider Electric collaborated with Amundi, European Development Finance Institutions (EDFI) and Norfund to create the Schneider Electric Energy Access Asia Impact Fund, which aims to provide energy access to some 350 million people in Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Myanmar and the Philippines.

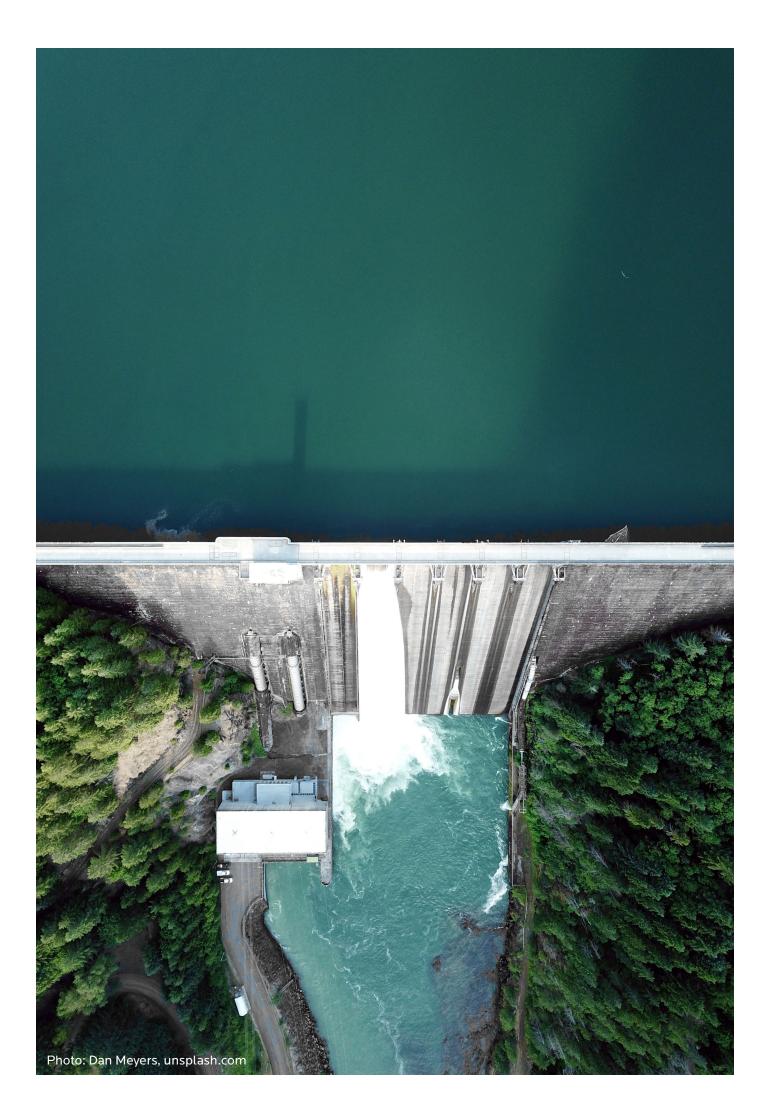
Renewable energy has also become a primary focus area of the Nordic development agencies. For example, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) expanded its USD 50 million Beyond the Grid Fund for Africa Facility to provide electricity access to 5-15 million people in Burkina Faso, Liberia and Mozambique. The Danish Development Agency, Danida, alongside IFU and Danske Bank, invested approx. EUR 95 million in the Assela Wind Farm project in Ethiopia that is expected to supply sustainable power to over three million people.

The Nordic countries are also known for having highly developed solutions in areas of clean energy and are working through Nordic co-operation on the export of green technology. Besides having a presence in their own region, many Nordic companies have large-scale projects globally. Icelandic companies participate in geothermal and hydropower projects worldwide, and have contributed to work in Indonesia, the Philippines, Hungary, Djibouti, Eritrea, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. The Danish wind company Vestas has been part investor and supplier for Lake Turkana wind farm in Kenya, a project that was co-financed with the development funds of Finland, Norway and Denmark. Vestas has also entered the Colombian wind energy market by supplying wind turbines in the La Guajira 1 wind park. SN Power, a Norwegian renewable energy company focusing primarily on hydropower, has power plants in Panama, Zambia, Uganda and more. The Nordic Council of Ministers is also working closely with national export councils and embassies to promote Nordic clean tech solutions and companies globally, for instance, through the initiative "Nordic solutions to global challenges", focusing on electricity markets in East Africa.

STANDARDS AND INITIATIVES

While the political framework for tackling the climate crisis has been strengthened at the European level, the Nordic countries have also set ambitious climate goals and energy policy objectives, paving the way forward in negotiations on the global green transition. However, while some policy frameworks underscore that the global green transition must be socially fair and consider the rights of vulnerable groups, there is little to no explanation of how these ambitious goals for the renewables sector align with human rights standards.

Further, no specialised initiatives were identified during the preliminary research undertaken for this background paper. However, the Nordic co-operation may be relevant going forward within the framework of energy transition and human rights. It is one of the most extensive forms of regional co-operation anywhere in the world, involving Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden as well as the Faroe Islands, Greenland and the Åland Islands. Its vision is to make the Nordic region the most sustainable and integrated region in the world. The cooperation maintains a dedicated Working Group for Renewable Energy whose mandate includes supporting the work done by the Nordic countries on this topic by exchanging information and running projects. The Group also markets Nordic technology and know-how on renewable energy to neighbouring countries, to the EU and elsewhere around the world. As part of the efforts to reduce dependency on fossil fuels and cut emissions of greenhouse gases, all of the Nordic countries have made considerable efforts to develop and increase the use of renewable energy in recent years.



5 HUMAN RIGHTS IMPACTS OF NORDIC RENEWABLE ENERGY COMPANIES IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH: CASE STUDIES

The below case studies related to Nordic renewable energy actors in Africa, South/Central America and Asia are included to provide illustrative examples of the types of human rights impacts and issues that may be associated with renewable energy endeavours. They are presented as high-level illustrated examples, rather than in-depth case studies.

CASE STUDY: LAKE TURKANA WIND POWER PROJECT, KENYA

In 2019, Kenya launched the Lake Turkana Wind Power Project, Africa's largest wind energy project and the biggest public-private investment in Kenyan history. The Project consists of 365 wind turbine generators, each with a capacity of 850 kW and a total wind farm capacity of 310 MW. It is located 600 kilometres from Nairobi in the Loiyangalani District, Marsabit County. Construction of the facility started in October 2014 and it began full commercial operations in March 2019.

Lake Turkana Wind Power is a consortium comprising KP&P Africa B.V and Aldwych International as co-developers, Investment Fund for Developing Countries, Vestas Eastern Africa Limited, Finnish Fund for Industrial Cooperation Ltd, KLP Norfund Investments AS and Sandpiper, and was financed by a number of international investors, many of which were from the Nordics, including Finnfund, Norfund, IFU, the Danish Export Credit Agency (EKF), Vestas and Sandpiper Ltd.

The project has been marked with allegations of negative human rights impacts, including allegations of inadequate consultations with local communities, and failure to garner indigenous peoples' free, prior and informed consent (FPIC). In furtherance of this, publications by the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs and Danwatch presented detailed allegations of inadequate consultation with indigenous communities and increased alcoholism, prostitution, and violence due to an influx of migrants into the area. In response, Lake Turkana Wind Power claimed that it recognised the principle of FPIC, but believed that the groups affected by the project are not indigenous and therefore FPIC was not necessary.

In 2014, residents from Laisamis Constituency and Karare Ward (the impacted communities) filed a lawsuit against the project as well as the county government, the National Government and the National Land Commission for illegal land acquisition. The lawsuit was resumed in January 2020 after pending for five years, and according to journalists is "slowing down" the project while the conflict between the local communities and government "continues to threaten stability in the area."

CASE STUDY: LOS PRADOS SOLAR PROJECT, HONDURAS

Norwegian renewable energy company Scatec Solar entered the solar market in Honduras in 2014 to build a solar power plant called Agua Fria. Scatec Solar partnered with Norfund and KLP, one of the largest pension funds in Norway. Agua Fria is in the municipality of Nacaome in Valle Department of Honduras, providing clean energy for approximately 80,000 households. Scatec Solar together with Norfund, acquired a second project in Honduras at the end of 2015, the Los Prados Solar Project, with the environmental approvals from the Honduran authorities. The first phase of the project started operation towards the end of 2018.

At present, the Choluteca community of Honduras has vocalised their opposition to the Los Prados Solar Project, expressing that the project will greatly impact their community, including through divesting key resources such as food and water, and that the local communities were not adequately consulted. In April 2019, eight individuals, Félix Pedro Pastrana Escobar, Erasmo de Jesús Pastrana, Kelvin Edilberto Gómez, Noésis Gómez Cruz, Juana Zulema Mendoza Reyes, Marlene Pastrana Escobar and Jenny Karina Aguilar who were summoned to the Police Investigation Directorate to provide testimony in opposition to the project, were accused of damaging the Los Prados photovoltaic company and were subsequently detained and transferred to the Choluteca courts. The local communities now allege that the company criminalised human rights defender

communities now allege that the company criminalised human rights defenders and that the project has not brought any benefit to the communities but rather environmental and social harm. Scatec Solar published a response to these allegations in January 2020, in which it stated that it is committed to conducting business in line with the UNGPs, that it had engaged in stakeholder dialogue with communities neighbouring the Los Prados Solar Project through an open Town Hall meeting, and that its efforts were met with hostility and violence. Regarding the detained individuals, Scatec Solar wrote that the company worked, through meeting with the individuals and their legal advisors, to reconcile the cases and that Scatec Solar provided legal counsel for them. Scatec Solar also noted examples of ongoing and/or completed efforts towards community development.

CASE STUDY: KHIMTI-DHALKEBAR TRANSMISSION LINE, NEPAL

The Khimti – Dhalkebar transmission line project was started with the objective of enhancing energy transmission capacity, improving energy supply reliability, reducing losses and voltage drop through construction of a 220kV double circuit line. The scope of the project included construction of the 75 km long Khimti-Dhalkebar 220kV transmission line as well as 132kV line bays extension work at Khimti and Dhalkebar substations. The transmission line project was jointly funded by the World Bank, the Government of Nepal and Nepal Electricity Authority (NEA).

The Khimti hydropower plant is located in the lesser Himalayan region at Kirne about 100 km east of Kathmandu. The power plant is owned by Himal Power Ltd (HPL) and accounts for nearly 15% of Nepal's total electricity production. The Norwegian state-owned

renewable energy company, Statkraft is the majority owner in the project with a share of 57.1%. The other owners are the Norwegian energy company BKK (26%) and local investor Butwal Power Company (16.9%). The Khimti power plant utilises a gross head of 684m in Khimti river, a tributary to the Tamakoshi river. The installation in the powerhouse consists of five double jet pelton turbines. The power is transferred to the outdoor transformers where the voltage is increased to 132 kilovolts for supply to the national grid and 33 kilovolts for

local supply. The NEA construction of the transmission line from Khimti to Dalkhebar gave NEA and Himal Power Ltd the option of dispatching energy from the Khimti power plant to the eastern parts of Nepal.

Nepal has no known major fossil fuel reserves, and its position in the Himalayas makes it hard to reach remote and extremely remote communities. Consequently, most people have historically met their energy needs with biomass, human labour, imported kerosene, and/or traditional water-powered vertical axis mills. Per capita energy consumption is thus "startlingly low" at one-third the average for Asia as a whole and less than one-fifth the worldwide average.

Nepal's development planners have long pinned their hopes on hydropower development as a source of foreign revenue and driver of national development. For instance, in partnership with ADB, Norway provides NOK 360 million to support the Government of Nepal's efforts to improve access, reliability and efficient power supply in Nepal through its "Power Transmission and Distribution System Strengthening Project". The project will also enhance the national grid capacity so that more hydropower projects can evacuate their power to the grid.

However, the hydropower projects proposed for various parts of the country since the 1990s have provoked resistance from civil society who have asserted the importance of conserving the natural environment, protecting local people's livelihoods and rights and safeguarding the economic and social sustainability of hydropower projects.

The Khimti Dhalkebar 220 kV transmission line project, for instance, was delayed for several years because of protests from local communities who say that they were not consulted in accordance with international guidelines and Nepalese law. The high-tension transmission line runs through five districts in central Nepal and has impacted more than 114,000 people from indigenous (Tamang, Magar and Newar) and local communities (Dalit, Chherti and Bhramhan) in Sinhuli district – that have sought a rerouting of the line away from their communities, homes, and schools. While HPL has no shares in the transmission line project, HPL's Khimti Hydropower Plant was instrumental in working together with the NEA technicians to provide space for bay extension in order to synchronize the line. This exemplifies the complexity of managing impacts across the full value chain of renewable energy projects, where consumer-level and infrastructure-related issues may be left unaddressed.

The concerns of the affected communities regarding the transmission line project's human rights and environmental impacts, include: appropriation of lands without adequate compensation or resettlement; impacts detrimental to local livelihoods including land devaluation, loss of economic opportunity and interference with agricultural activities; environmental impacts; health impacts; and impacts on historical, cultural, religious and sacred sites. ESCR-Net also alleged that the affected communities have been subjected to, and continue to face threats of, violence, intimidation and coercion by the State in connection with peaceful protests which, are reportedly taking place within a broader context of a lack of transparency and meaningful consultation. The Lawyers' Association for Human Rights of Nepalese Indigenous Peoples (LAHURNIP) and Accountability Counsel supported the communities in their complaint process. The inspection panel of the World Bank released an investigation report in 2015 that raises concerns about the Bank's compliance with its policies on Environmental Assessment, Involuntary Resettlement, Indigenous Peoples, Physical and Cultural Resources, Project Appraisal and Supervision. The affected communities also filed a case in Supreme Court of Nepal. The World Bank and Nepalese Electricity Authority (NEA) offered facilitated dialogue between affected communities and NEA to resolve the issues but this process did not address all of the communities' issues. Now that the line has been built, sources note that many have still not been adequately compensated.

CONCLUSION

As demonstrated throughout this briefing, while crucial to the sustainability of the planet and the protection of people, the energy transition can also present serious human rights impacts. While initiatives related to maintaining human rights standards within the energy transition are beginning to flourish, there is still a need for increased attention to human rights throughout the transition. We hope that the cursory information presented in this this background paper can contribute to further research and dialogue, including to inform the roundtable discussion, towards developing a more cohesive picture of the current status of human rights within the energy transition, particularly centring around Nordic actors and their impacts in the Global South.

Photo: Bhupendra Singh, pexels.com

Endnotes

1 Comprising Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, Greenland and the Åland Islands.

2 <u>https://www.unenvironment.org/explore-topics/climate-change/facts-about-</u> <u>climate-emergency</u>

3 Global update at the 42nd session of the Human Rights Council, Opening statement by UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Michelle Bachelet, United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 9 September 2019, available at: <u>https://www.ohchr.</u> <u>org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=24956&LangID=E</u>

4 The International Energy Agency defines renewable energy as energy derived from natural processes, for instance sunlight, water and wind, which are replenished at a higher rate than they are consumed. Examples of renewable energy resources are solar, wind, geothermal hydropower, bioenergy and ocean power (International Energy Agency, 2017). The OECD also includes energy derived from solid biofuels, bio gasoline, biodiesels, biogases and the renewable fraction of municipal waste (OECD, 2016). However, the sustainability of each of these different sources is contested.

5 SDG 7 aims to ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all with target 7.2 specifically calling for a substantial increase in the share of renewable energy in the global energy mix. Additionally, the development and advancement of renewable energy is closely linked to SDG 13 on urgent action to combat climate change, by supporting the development of low-carbon pathways to meeting global energy demands.

6 <u>https://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/news-centre/news/2021/20</u> <u>Minister_Call_for_Urgent_Action_Lead-up_Energy_Summit.html</u>

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9 <u>https://www.irena.org/-/media/Files/IRENA/Agency/Publication/2020/Nov/</u> IRENA_CPI_Global_finance_2020.pdf

10 REN21. 2020. Renewables 2020 Global Status Report

11 https://www.humanrights.dk/projects/responsible-business-conduct-sub-saharan-africa

12 Renewable energy impacts on communities: Managing investors' risks & responsibilities <u>https://media.business-humanrights.org/media/documents/files/Investor_briefing__Renewable_energy__Apr_2017.pdf</u>

See: Laurie Goering, As land conflicts rise, clean energy investors face financial risks, Thomson Reuters Foundation, 26 April, 2017, stating: "[In 2016], a planned \$150 million Kenyan wind park was cancelled after protests and land disputes, according to a report by the [BHRRC] and two investor group partners. Another wind farm in the Mexican state of Oaxaca, similarly, has been stalled for years after a dispute over access by local people to project land."

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22 <u>http://www.arei.org/#about</u>

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24 ZERO-Norfund-Solklyngen_Report.Pdf' https://www.nordicenergy.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/ZERO-Norfund-Solklyngen_Report.pdf accessed 4 November 2020

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