The Governance of Sustainable Development in the Caribbean

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It is difficult to find any authority that argues that sustainable development is even clearly in view (in the Caribbean states), let alone close at hand.[2]

Being between a rock and a hard place may be preferable to being under water.[3]

The small island developing states (SIDS) of the world are faced with multiple vulnerabilities and are especially exposed to the risks of climate change. Yet recently, and in the face of energy security and supply concerns in the North, the case for taking their problems seriously and affording them priority has been relegated within the global political agenda. There is also a perception that these vulnerable states are not doing as much as they could to help themselves and that if they showed greater capacity in, for example, designing and implementing strong governance arrangements of their own for sustainable development the case for vigorous external assistance would be more compelling.

This paper addresses three of the most basic issues that have to be confronted in the search for improved governance of environmental sustainability in SIDS. First, it looks at the problem of improving governance conceptually, arguing that improvement only makes sense if it is understood as something that occurs incrementally, rather than as something that needs to be, can be or is being done quickly. Approaching the improvement of governing capacity as a radical proposition is insensitive to the many opportunities for achieving this that can be found in the small island states themselves, as well as in the regional and global institutions that are in a position to help. While a comprehensive analytical framework is offered, it is

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[1] The paper reports on the results of exploratory interviews with key policy actors in three countries – Belize (2003), St Kitts and Nevis (2004) and Cuba (2004) – as well as discussions with experts on capacity analysis and international negotiating capacity of SIDS at the Mauritius International Meeting (2005). This is being further developed in application to specific issues, starting with integrated coastal zone management in partnership with the Commonwealth Human Ecology Council and UNESCO (Nicholas Watts, 'Capacity Development for Caribbean Small Island Developing States. Focus on Coastal Zone Management', in *The Shadows of Blue: Upgrading Coastal Resources for the Sustainable Development of the Caribbean SIDS. Perspectives from the Social and Human Science*, Kingston, Jamaica: UNESCO, 2008 forthcoming). For a related discussion of interdisciplinarity applied to analysis of the environmental issue, see Nicholas Watts, 'Area Studies', in John Canning (ed.), *Disciplines in dialogue: Disciplinary perspectives on interdisciplinary teaching and learning*, Southampton: Subject Centre for Languages, Linguistics and Area Studies, 2007, pp.51-6. I am particularly indebted to Geoffrey Wandesforde-Smith for his detailed comments, to Jonathan Curry-Machado for his meticulous editing, and to Paul Sutton and Jean Stubbs for their comments on earlier drafts.

[2] David R. Barker, 'Biodiversity Conservation in the Wider Caribbean Region', *Review of Economic Community & International Environmental Law (RECIEL)*, 11:1 (April 2002), p.83.

[3] Nicholas Watts, 'Multilevel Governance and Sustainable Development of Small Island States (SIDS) in the Caribbean. Progress on the Barbados Plan of Action, with examples from Belize, Cuba and St. Kitts', paper presented at the 29th Caribbean Studies Association, St. Kitts, 1-4 June 2004.

recognised that improvement in any of the dimensions of capacity for sustainable development is valuable, and merits analysis in terms of the criteria for transferable best practice.

The analysis then turns to the existing framework for multilevel governance of Caribbean SIDS. Here, the context is clearly one of multiple and complexly overlapping intergovernmental and non-governmental institutions. In the Caribbean, the governance architecture for sustainable development includes regional UN agencies and other international institutions, major regional intergovernmental institutions (such as the Association of Caribbean States, ACS; and CARICOM), as well as powerful international NGOs, notably the Caribbean Policy Development Centre (CPDC), the Caribbean Natural Resources Institute (CANARI) and the Caribbean Conservation Association (CCA). The paper asks what problems Caribbean SIDS have faced in coping with, and benefiting from, this architecture.

Third, the impact of this complex architecture on Caribbean SIDS is examined comparatively through two lenses: that of Anglophone Commonwealth countries (St. Kitts and Nevis and Belize); and that of the Hispanic Caribbean (Cuba). The scope and style of the response of Caribbean SIDS to environmental governance and sustainable development issues is examined in light of the experience in these different states.

To date, the mainstream literature on national environmental policy capacities has not paid much attention to SIDS.[4] Only Costa Rica, as a representative of small, megadiverse countries, has featured prominently. There is, however, a limited and recently growing Anglophone literature on environment and sustainable development in the Caribbean.[5] The work reported in this paper was carried out to explore the value of further, in-depth analysis of Caribbean SIDS that could enhance our understanding of the impact different governance systems, or policy styles, have on sustainable development in the region; and this might then help shape environmental outcomes and contribute to integration and harmonisation of policy across the region.

Background: Sustainable Development of Small Island/Developing States

Sustainability policy for SIDS is addressed in the main at specialist meetings of the UN Commission for Sustainable Development (CSD) and the major periodic global summits convened by the UN (Conference on Environment and Development, Rio 1992; World Summit for Sustainable Development (WSSD), Johannesburg 2002), as well as at the

[4] See, in particular, work undertaken by the Free University Berlin Environmental Policy Research Unit, in collaboration with the Science Centre Berlin and UNU-WIDER, in Martin Jaenicke & Helmut Weidner (eds), *National Environmental Policies. A Comparative Study of Capacity-building (13 countries)*, Berlin: Springer, 1997; Helmut Weidner & Martin Jaenicke (eds), *Capacity Building in National Environmental Policy. A Comparative Study of 17 Countries*, Berlin: Springer, 2002.

[5] See, for example, E. Bloomestein *et al.*, 'Sustainable development and small island states of the Caribbean', in G. Maul (ed.), *Small Islands: Marine Science and Sustainable Development*, Washington, D.C.: American Geophysical Union, 1996; W. Anderson, *Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEA) Implementation in the Caribbean: Report and Guidelines*, Mexico City: United Nations Environment Programme Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean, 2000; Winston Anderson, 'Implementing MEAs in the Caribbean: Hard Lessons from Seafood and Ting', *RECIEL*, 10:2 (July 2001), pp.227-33; Jonathan Pugh & Janet Henshall Momsen (eds), *Environmental Planning in the Caribbean*, Aldershot & Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006; Nicholas Watts & Geoffrey Wandesforde-Smith (eds) *Journal of International Wildlife Law and Policy*, 9:3, Special Issue *The Law and Policy of Biodiversity in the Caribbean* (2006).

international meetings exclusively set up to address SIDS issues (Barbados 1994, Mauritius 2005). SIDS are also included in all the Multilateral Environment Agreements,[6] and are targets of the Millennium Development Goals.[7] The international meetings are usually preceded by regional preparatory meetings. The concerns of SIDS are also a cross-cutting issue at the CSD, which was expected to devote a day to SIDS at each of its annual meetings and which put a major focus on SIDS issues at CSD12 (2004). In 1994, the Barbados Programme of Action (BPoA) on sustainable development for small island states was launched.

However, by 2002 the international climate of support for SIDS had changed, and at the WSSD little was done to enhance the prospects for SIDS of escaping their increased vulnerabilities. These stem from their susceptibility to the effects of global climate change, their need for a much more robust sustainable energy infrastructure, and the adverse economic impacts of failure to make required changes in the international regime of agricultural subsidies that obtains in the North. The Mauritius International Meeting (2005) did take initiatives for sustainable development of SIDS forward, but coincided, more or less, with a shift in the G8 development aid strategy to focus almost exclusively on Least Developed Countries and Highly Indebted Poor Countries, meaning mainly sub-Saharan Africa.[8] Many SIDS are now formally Middle Income Countries (MIC), with limited access to aid budgets, notwithstanding their particular vulnerabilities. Also, the Mauritius Strategy, like the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation agreed in 2002, is disappointing. Mauritius served to maintain awareness of BPoA issues, addressed new vulnerabilities, reaffirmed that SIDS had a special case for consideration in international sustainable development negotiations, and renewed emphasis on creating public-private ('Type 2') partnerships to move sustainable development initiatives forward;[9].but it included no new financial commitments.

The BPoA, WSSD and Mauritius deliberations have, nevertheless, engaged national governments and NGOs in SIDS in a series of capacity self-assessments,[10] as part of a multifaceted UN programme to facilitate capacity development in the public, voluntary, and, to a lesser extent, private sectors in SIDS. These reviews promised to provide an excellent first source for a comparative country-by-country analysis of achievements and capacity-development needs in Caribbean SIDS,[11] although as is shown below this promise is limited.

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[6] The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Convention on Biodiversity (CBD) in particular.

[7] For a description of the MDGs see http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/, with particular reference to MDG 7 Environment.

[8] The World Bank income groups, calculated on the basis of 2001 gross national income (GNI) per capita are: low income, $745 or less; lower middle income,$746–2,975; upper middle income, $2,976–9,205; and high income, $9,206 or more. Source: http://www.csirwebistad.org/pdf/classi.pdf. See source also for definition of degrees of indebtedness. SKN is upper middle income, less indebted; Belize lower middle income, moderately indebted, and Cuba lower middle-income, severely indebted.

[9] Type 2 Partnerships are project partnerships between government, the private and voluntary sectors that emerged as a key feature of the WSSD, given the lack of agreed targets and timetables and increased reliance on a voluntary approach to policy. See Liliana Andonova & Marc Levy, 'Franchising Global Governance: Making Sense of the Johannesburg Type II Partnerships', in Olav Schram Stokke & Oystein Thommessen (eds), *Yearbook of International Co-operation on Environment & Development 2003/2004*, London: Fridtjof Nansen Institute/Earthscan 2003, pp.19-31; and Carl Bruch & John Pendergrass, 'Type II Partnerships, International Law, and the Commons', *Georgetown International Environmental Law Review* 15 (2003), pp.855-86.

[10] The GEF/UNEP/UNDP National Capacity Self-Assessments in particular, which are slowly producing an understanding of the capacity development needs of all developing countries. Progress on the NCSAs can be followed at http://ncsa.undp.org/.

[11] For background reports see Albert Binger, *Capacity Development Initiative. Country Capacity Development Needs and Priorities. Report for Small Island Developing States*, New York:UNDP/GEF, 2000; Al Binger &

The Analytical Framework

While recognising the need to take an incremental approach to the analysis of capacity building for sustainable development, and of the value of identifying transferable best practice, the paper proceeds in the theoretical context of an ideal-typical twin-track approach, which treats both domestic environmental policy capacity and environmental foreign policy capacity in each selected country.[12] The underlying model is holistic and provides the general theoretical context underpinning the research that this paper draws upon. Such an approach is necessary, due to the current limitations of the research base, which reinforces the need to make incremental progress on a 'patchwork' basis to identify transferable best practices. At the same time, the model has the potential to contribute to a more intellectually rigorous and consistent framework, because each further attempt to profile a country's policy style in terms of the model builds a cumulative knowledge base.[13]

Analysing Domestic Environmental Policy Capacity

Environmental policy capacity at the domestic level depends on a number of factors. One is the relative strength and resources of proponents of sustainable development in all three sectors: public (state), voluntary ('Third Sector') and private. This is also influenced by a variety of obstacles, which can be both structural and interest-based, and stand in the way of improving capacity.

A second variable represents the degree to which, and the ways in which, policy integration has been achieved within the legal and institutional arrangements for pursuing sustainable development in each country. Indicators might be found in several sources, such as: National Environmental Action Plans; the size, remit and hierarchical location of Environment Ministries or Departments; and constitutional commitments to sustainable

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Runar Sigmarsson (eds), *UNEP's Assistance in the Implementation of the Barbados Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States (SIDS)*, Nairobi: UNEP, 2004; Enrique H. Bucher, *et al.*, *Capacity Development Initiative. Country Capacity Development Needs and Priorities. Regional Report for Latin America and the Caribbean*, New York: UNDP/GEF, 2000; UNDP, *Hands-on Action for Sustainable Development. The GEF Small Grants Programme 1992-2002*, New York: UNDP, 2002.

[12] This analytical framework was developed to guide the SEASCAPE approach to analysis and development of SIDS' capacity for sustainable development. The aim is to provide a context for inclusion of a range of smaller projects into a coherent whole that facilitates accumulation of knowledge on a systematic basis, and for reflection on the necessary and sufficient conditions for transfer of best practice across national and intra-national jurisdictions.

[13] The analysis of domestic environmental policy styles and capacities builds on the methods previously used by Jaenicke & Weidner (1997) and Weidner & Jaenicke (2002). The analysis of environmental foreign policy capacity draws on the approach developed by Paul F. Steinberg (*Environmental Leadership in Developing Countries: Transnational Relations and Biodiversity Policy in Costa Rica and Bolivia*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001; and 'Understanding Policy Change in Developing Countries: The Spheres of Influence Framework', *Global Environmental Politics*, 3:1 (Feb 2003), pp.11-32). Consideration of national policy styles draws on Jeremy Richardson & N. S. J. Watts, 'National Policy Styles and the Environment: Britain and West Germany Compared', *IIUG Discussion Paper* 85-16, Berlin: IUUG/Science Centre, 1999, reprinted in Wolfgang Rüdig (ed.), *Environmental Policy*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1999, pp.309-53. In the case of Caribbean SIDS, by definition small and vulnerable, the aggregation and mediation of national interests is critically important at the regional level (ACS, CARICOM and UN regional offices) and at the global level (with particular reference to AOSIS, the G77/China and European development partners, including the EU). Part of the research is, therefore, devoted to analysing the remit and effectiveness of regional intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations in support of sustainable development goals for Caribbean SIDS.

development, if any. Integration can also be evident in the existence and performance of National Commissions or Committees for Sustainable Development and their equivalents.

Third, in SIDS, as increasingly in the 'North', the increasing interdependence of public agencies and environmental NGOs is a factor affecting domestic capacity, especially when the NGOs bring major funding via international NGO collaboration. This influence of the civil society sector makes itself felt in the context of public awareness of environmental issues in each country. The level of environmental awareness is important, but so too is its substantive focus, which may be much more concerned with local and personal issues of environmental health, shelter, sustenance, and sanitation – so-called 'grey' issues – than with the 'green' issues more usually framed in the language of global environmental change, such as biodiversity conservation and climate change.

Fourth, domestic capacities for policy-relevant knowledge production and retention affect the pursuit of sustainable development goals. This is recognised in programmes designed by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and UN Environment Programme (UNEP) to offset the impacts on capacity of brain-drain, and also of the 'brain-drift' whereby skilled individuals stay in-country but move out of the environment sector. Such shifts of human resources further exacerbate what is already a serious lack of trained personnel in the Caribbean and helps explain why, when National Capacity Self-Assessments are conducted, they are often delegated to short-term consultants.

A fifth important factor is the nature and quality of public awareness that sustainable development is a significant and legitimate issue that needs to be addressed as a matter of priority. In the Caribbean, this raises questions about the impact of colonial history on citizens' responses to requests from the North that they protect the environment – an environment to which their ancestors were transported by colonial powers to strip the rainforest for sugar or tobacco plantations.

Sixth, opportunity structures are relevant to capacity. These include political, economic and behavioural variables. One question about political opportunity structures, for example, is the extent to which the policy process is open to sustainable development proponents. Economic or market-opportunity structures affect the prospects for sustainable production and consumption, and for green consumerism and investment. Behaviour-opportunity structures shape environmentally benign behaviours, like the use of low-energy light bulbs,[14] kerbside recycling or low-energy solutions for architecture and public transport.

Analysing Environmental Foreign Policy Capacity

The foreign policy context for sustainable development in the Caribbean is complex and changing. There is movement, for example, towards both a Free Trade Area of the Americas

[14] The transfer of energy efficient technologies such as low-energy light bulbs can have a dramatic effect on carbon budgets and affordability in SIDS, as shown by the work in the Dominican Republic, where all light bulbs were replaced, the first 10,000 on the initiative of the Climate Institute in the context of the Global Sustainable Energy Islands Initiative (GSEII) Climate Institute, and the rest by Cuba, with the light bulbs supplied by China. While the three countries considered below are not part of the GSEII, they do participate in the Caribbean Renewable Energy Development Partnership (CREDP), a 1998 initiative of CARICOM Energy Ministers with similar aims (http://www.caricom.org/jsp/projects/credp.jsp). See Caribbean Renewable Energy Development Program (CREDP), *Project Brief*, Project Number RLA/00/G31, no date, at http://insula.org/eurocaribbean/CREDP.pdf; R. R. Clarke, 'Update on the Caribbean Renewable Energy Development Programme', CREDP conference, *Implementing Energy Efficiency Projects in the Caribbean*, Kingston, Jamaica, 3-4 November, 2004.

and a Caribbean Single Market Economy concurrent with reductions in assistance from Europe.[15] At the same time, and more positively for sustainable development, the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) now works to harmonise environmental policy systems and approaches across the OECS member states, and CARICOM and the ACS both work towards environmental policy integration and harmonisation across the region.

As in the case of domestic capacity, several basic variables are at work. One factor involves changes in the dynamics of the UN system. Examples include the incumbency of the chairmanship of the CSD, the relative strength of SIDS and the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) within the G77/China group, the enhanced access of Major Groups to the UN process, and the increasing emphasis since the Johannesburg Summit on Type 2 partnerships in countries lacking strong domestic public sector partners. Human resources and knowledge networks are also relevant variables, affecting the degree of mobility of environment experts across domestic agencies and ministries and, more importantly in foreign policy terms, within the international system.[16]

There are also different dimensions of environmental foreign policy capacity that need to be distinguished. Bargaining power can affect interest aggregation and mediation at regional level (within the SIDS network, the ACS and CARICOM), as well as possibilities for trading in the Clean Development Mechanism. Another dimension of capacity is policy integration, or the extent to which effort is coordinated across government agencies, across policy sectors and across the public, private and voluntary sectors – as can be seen in, for example, the White Water to Blue Water Partnership.[17]

Another key aspect of capacity is the ability to conduct research and manage environmental data**.** This extends to the evaluation of research capacity in foreign ministries, environment departments/ministries, academic research institutes and NGOs. Increasing emphasis is being placed on monitoring and evaluation of policy outcomes, now that many countries have signed up for international agreements and are trying to adopt related policy

[15] For analysis of challenges facing regional economic integration and development, see Anthony Payne & Paul Sutton, *Charting Caribbean Development*, Gainseville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2001; and 'Repositioning the Caribbean within Globalisation', *CIGI Caribbean Paper* No. 1, Waterloo, ON: Centre for International Governance Innovation, 2007.

[16] Epistemic communities and foreign policy networks are also important, and particular attention needs to be paid to the relative balance of power in such networks between development partners, both governmental and non-governmental. These networks include the overlapping regional networks such as the ACS , CARICOM, *Sistema de la Integración Centroamericana*, Central American Secretariat for Economic Integration, the Latin American and Caribbean Economic System, OECS and the Caribbean Regional Negotiating Machinery. The NGO networks are similarly important – both the regional networks (CCA, CPDC, Island Resources Foundation) as well as the international NGO networks (the CSD NGO Steering Group, the Sustainable Development Issues Network and Stakeholder Forum, as well as the IUCN, WWF, Greenpeace etc.). CANARI, for example, has recently introduced network analysis to the study of policy networks in the region.

[17] In the Caribbean, this partnership should produce evidence for the participating countries of their capacity for policy integration in the implementation of international agreements (BPoA), the Montreal Declaration of the Global Programme of Action for the Protection of the Marine Environment from Land-based Activities, the Jakarta Mandate of the CBD, UNCLOS, the Cartagena Convention for the Protection and Development of the Marine Environment of the Wider Caribbean Region, the Protocol Concerning Co-operation and Development in Combating Oil Spills in the Wider Caribbean Region (the Oil Spills Protocol), the Protocol Concerning Specially Protected Areas and Wildlife (the SPAW Protocol) and the Protocol Concerning Pollution from Land-Based Sources and Activities (LBS Protocol), the International Coral Reef Initiative, the St George's Declaration of Principles, the FAO Compliance Agreement, the 1995 FAO Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries and the 1995 UN Fish Stocks Agreement, and the 2000 Convention on the Conservation and Management of Highly Migratory Fish Stocks in the Western and Central Pacific Region.

implementation programmes, which poses serious challenges for SIDS. Fundraising ability is also a factor affecting environmental foreign policy capacity, because some of it takes place in the context of UN programmes, especially Global Environment Facility (GEF) programmes – such as the GEF/UNDP/UNEP Small Grants Programme and the recently announced Protected Areas and Associated Livelihoods (OPAAL) project of the OECS.

External core functions also need to be taken into consideration, including the development of national policy positions for negotiations across environmental regimes, as well as the ability to secure an appropriate share of the government budget. To do these things the necessary human resources and analytical capacity have to be assembled. Internally, policy integration is a core function involving such things as constructive relations across departments and the effective running of national Commissions on Sustainable Development or their equivalents. An in-depth analysis of foreign policy capacity would also include the training needs of staff, either formal, in a higher education setting, or informal, in the context of key international meetings, global or regional. This training should interact with policy research and the development of analytic capability, because those targeted for training will typically be in key positions in environmental agencies and ministries and thus in a strategic position to inform policy.

Finally, the assessment of environmental foreign policy capacity in the Caribbean implicates generic variables that distinguish the global South from the global North. The South faces important structural constraints, especially poverty and economic dependence on the primary (agriculture and fisheries) and tertiary (tourism) sectors of the economy. The South faces generally high transaction costs in pursuing policy integration because of distances and poor communications infrastructure. There are also substantive issue differences between North and South, with the latter generally giving more priority to 'grey' issues, like waste treatment, than to 'green' issues like biodiversity conservation – though both these policy areas interact as when, for example, polluted waters damage biodiversity, including coral reefs.

Dealing with a Complex Architecture

There is evidence that SIDS are sensitive to their capacity weaknesses, particularly in the realm of foreign policy. At the 2005 Mauritius International Meeting, for example, limited capacities to implement Multilateral Environmental Agreements (in particular UNFCCC and CBD) was a key concern of SIDS delegates. Having managed to achieve about 70 percent of their obligations under the BPoA, SIDS delegates nevertheless pointed to the lack of funding and technology transfer in support of their efforts.

Indeed, this was a constant and legitimate refrain in Mauritius, even though the National Capacity Self-Assessment Programme (NCSA) financed by GEF/UNDP/UNEP created a key tool to address this problem, specifically providing a process for analysing country capacity for implementation of Multilateral Environmental Agreements. The continued strong demand for NCSA support, which provides up to $250,000 per country to conduct assessments and is especially attractive to smaller states, clearly indicates that SIDS governments are well aware of their capacity weaknesses.

SIDS often argue that they have done a great deal of capacity assessment already and should now concentrate on funding policy implementation. This is based, however, on too

narrow a view of what capacity assessment involves, and seems quite insensitive to the broader dimensions of capacity outlined above. It overlooks, for example, the opportunities that capacity assessment provides for integration and coordination in support of global environmental objectives, for the mainstreaming of such concerns, for addressing questions of attitudes and values, and for identifying critical capacity constraints in tackling issues of governance and poverty. Most existing capacity work also does little to raise awareness or develop participatory processes that can mobilise resources in the service of real national priorities.[18]

Given these omissions, SIDS face the risk that, if the GEF moves to performance-based evaluations as part of the fourth stage of the NCSA programme, projects would be delayed owing to lack of capacity for their implementation. The relevance of NGOs to capacity assessment also needs more thought.[19]

International Negotiations

SIDS face a number of issues in international negotiations. In particular, there is a disconnect between environment policy negotiations, on the one hand, and the pursuit, on the other hand, of national objectives for economic and foreign policy. SIDS made a conscious commitment in 1994 to the conservation of pristine environments. By 2005, however, the international policy context that made this commitment seem sensible had appreciably changed.[20]

Now, as Caribbean countries look to diversify their economic base, environment negotiations conducted by environment ministries may be poorly coordinated with the ministries in charge of foreign affairs, finance and development planning. In the context of the strictures of neo-liberal deregulation, privatisation and globalisation, these latter departments may not be receptive to commitments made by environment ministries at

[18] There is a further pathway by which Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and SIDS could get more out of capacity assessments, by using them to address community ownership issues, for example, to set priorities among NCSA findings, to set goals, milestones and indicators (important to the GEF), and to introduce a country-based approval process. Further, there are opportunities for SIDS in using the NCSA as a strategic positioning tool. Tom Twining-Ward's commentary was most helpful here.

[19] NGOs are sometimes left 'out of the loop' in capacity assessments in countries where they are outside established power structures. UNDP can ask that they be included, and in cases where NGOs conduct UNDP-funded projects their involvement is preceded by a capacity assessment of the NGO. As NGOs become more strongly integrated in governmental delegations and negotiations, pressure is growing for analysis of their transparency, accountability and performance.

[20] There is an extensive literature on governance for sustainable development in SIDS issues prepared in the context of the BPoA+10 preparations. See, for example: John Byrne *et al.*, 'Island Bellwether: Climate Change and Energy Policy Strategy for Small Island Developing States', *Toward Mauritius 2005 Paper Series*, 2005-2 (2005); B. P. Cicin-Sain *et al.*, *Mobilizing for Implementation of the Commitments made at the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development on Oceans, Coasts, and Small Island Developing States*, *Co-Chairs Report of the 2003 Global Conference on Oceans, Coasts, and Islands, UNESCO, Paris, November 12-14, 2003, and Subsequent Developments*, Newark, Delaware: Global Forum on Oceans, Coasts, and Islands, 2004; Global Forum on Oceans, Coasts and Islands, 'Development of Small Island Developing States', *Towards Mauritius 2004 Paper Series*, No.3, Newark, Delaware: Global Forum on Oceans, Coasts, and Islands, 2004; Christen E. Loper *et al.*, 'Global Multilateral Environmental Agreements and Small Island Developing States', *Toward Mauritius 2005 Paper Series*, 2004-2, UNEP/GPA & Global Forum on Oceans, Coasts, and Islands, 2004; Marian A. L. Miller, 'Protecting the Marine Environment of the Wider Caribbean Region: The Challenge of Institution-Building', in Helge Ole Bergesen & Georg Parmann (eds), *Green Globe Yearbook 1996*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996; Tullio Treves, 'The Protection of the Oceans in Agenda 21 and International Environmental Law', in Luigi Campiglio *et al.* (eds), *The Environment after Rio. International Law and Economics*, London: Graham & Trotman, 1994, pp.169-70; UNEP, *Regional Seas: Strategies for Sustainable Development*, Nairobi: UNEP, 2002.

international meetings on sustainable development, such as Rio, WSSD or Mauritius. Indeed, commitments made at international meetings by environment ministers can come to be seen at home as constraints on development; and this presents serious institutional obstacles to sustainable development. [21]

One way for SIDS with individually limited negotiating capacity to punch above their weight is for them to work in concert in the context of the UN voting system. But SIDS are heterogeneous and finding common ground is not as straightforward as might be assumed.[22]

The international/domestic intersection

At international meetings, given the small size of the Caribbean SIDS and the resulting heavy demands placed on a small number of government negotiators, NGO representatives play a significant role in both advising and supporting government negotiating positions, where these are consistent with the positions of the NGO representatives themselves. At national level, countries throughout the region are enhancing inclusion of civil society organisations in community level policy development.

Another issue in Caribbean SIDS is the recognition of community leaders' contribution to policy, and the need to facilitate their integration into policy. As Radzik puts it, it is important for the poor and unknown in the world to recreate concepts in their own words. [23]

Two final capacity issues for Caribbean SIDS at the intersection of international and domestic considerations are: the need for training of generalists at national level and specialists at a regional scale. Regional specialists can then be deployed on a needs basis in response to judgements by generalists who have the capacity to monitor and evaluate the specialists' contributions; and the development of electronic databases to secure the documentary basis for policy, since too often hard copies of consultancy reports and monitoring data are mislaid or destroyed in the course of extreme weather events.[24]

Strengthening regional institutions

At regional level, the UN is trying to strengthen the institutional framework to support small and poor states in exercising voice in international negotiations.[25] This is particularly important for SIDS dependent on a small number of export goods – agricultural monocultures, fish or tourism, for example – that may get 'picked off' individually in

[21] I am indebted to Alison Drayton for her insights on the performance of (especially Caribbean) SIDS in the international negotiating machinery. We also need to recognise that Environment is usually the weakest ministry in every government. If there is no prior coordination with Planning and Finance, domestic alliances will not be strong. At the Mauritius meeting, only two SIDS delegations were more than five strong. SIDS are good at working in teams, but cannot compete with the seamless team-working of the US, which never loses sight of the bottom line. SIDS delegations make effective use of NGOs' technical capacity, but arguably do too little to develop their own.

[22] Sir Ronald Saunders, *Crumbled Small. The Commonwealth Caribbean in Word Politics.* London: Hansib, 2005, makes the nice point that, lacking the threat of force, it is important for small states to be able to occupy the moral high ground in international diplomacy.

[23] Vanda Radzik, intervention at CHEC Side Event, Mauritius International Meeting, 2005.

[24] For example, this happened when the roof blew off the library in Belize City in hurricane conditions. I am grateful to Arthur Dahl for his insights on training and on information management.

[25] For useful overviews of the role of UN agencies, see Elizabeth R. DeSombre, *Global Environmental Institutions*, London & New York: Routledge, 2006; Zoe Young, *A New Green Order? The World Bank and the Politics of the Global Environment Facility*, London: Pluto, 2002.

international negotiations if they are not part of a prior agreed regional consensus. This happens, for example, when China and Taiwan compete over the 'one China' initiative of China at the UN,[26] but also when European or South-East Asian fishing interests enter into bilateral negotiations with small states. The result is frequently the sale of fishing rights with little guarantee of sustainability of fishing stocks or grounds, as bottom trawling over-fishes the resource and causes marine desertification.

The GEF funds regional environmental policy projects designed to meet the objectives of the UN Multilateral Environmental Agreements. It funds projects in partnership with the UNDP, through UNDP Regional and National Offices. The GEF also maintains national focal points. The UNEP runs the Caribbean Environment Programme (CEP). The United Nations Institute for Training and Research runs training programmes in partnership with other policy actors, and UNESCO has a brief for environmental education and awareness. UNESCO (Science) has a programme to involve all English-language Caribbean islands. The Coastal Systems in Latin America and the Caribbean programme – which seeks to improve management of beach resources and planning for coastline change in Caribbean islands and is more broadly directed at enhancing sustainable development and coastal management in SIDS – made contributions to the Mauritius international meeting.

Regional institution-building needs have also been addressed by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), which in 2004 saw a:

> need for a permanent and adequately resourced Regional Coordinating Mechanism to promote the more effective implementation of the SIDS Programme of Action and for the general promotion of sustainable development across the subregion.

The document refers to:

> *inter alia*, the perceived less than ideal performance of the Caribbean Model for implementation as formalised at the 1997 Caribbean Ministerial Meeting; the observation that the Caribbean Model stands in need of review; and the need to more generally review the issue of regional approaches to implementation.[27]

There is also an interesting and overlapping set of regional institutions that cut across the Anglophone and Hispanic Caribbean, as well as, more remotely, the Commonwealth.[28]

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[26] In preparations for the 2007 Cricket World Cup in the Caribbean, the islands managed to secure two new stadiums each from China and Taiwan, neither a notable cricketing nation, so this process is not always disadvantageous to SIDS!

[27] ECLAC, 'Caribbean Subregional Preparations for the International Meeting to Review the Implementation of the Barbados Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development Of Small Island Developing States', 20th Session of the Caribbean Development and Cooperation Committee, 22-23 April 2004, St. Croix, US Virgin Islands (LC/CAR/L.2, CDCC 20/Inf. 3, 1 March 2004).

[28] The actual and potential role of the Commonwealth in supporting sustainable development of Caribbean SIDS has been addressed elsewhere (Nicholas Watts, 'Progress on WSSD – Raising the Profile of the Commonwealth', *Commonwealth Ministers' Reference Book 2005*, London: Henley Media Group/Commonwealth Secretariat, 2005, pp.72-6). Janet Strachan and Maryse Roberts provide a valuable overview of the Commonwealth role in promoting sustainable development ('Poverty, Environment and Sustainable Development. How the Commonwealth Supports Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development', *The Round Table* 371 (Sep. 2003), pp.541-59). In particular, there is potential for strengthening the role of the Commonwealth Consultative Group on Environment, the regular meetings of Commonwealth Environment Ministers. The Commonwealth Foundation, the civil society agency of the

The main intergovernmental organisations with a general remit are CARICOM and the ACS. There are also several regional intergovernmental organisations with an environment-related remit or focus. These include the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States Environment and Sustainable Development Unit (ESDU) in St Lucia, the Caribbean Community Climate Change Centre (CCCCC, Belize), the Central American Biodiversity Corridor that includes Hispanic small states plus Belize, as well as sectoral initiatives such as the Caribbean Large Marine Ecosystem Project (CLME)[29] or the CREDP.[30]

Unfortunately, as discussed above, while this multiplicity of arenas for negotiation and decision superficially suggests that there is a rich framework of institutions to support sustainable development agendas in the Caribbean, it is exactly what small states need least. They simply do not have the personnel and other capacity resources needed to make them effective participants at the table for each of the relevant sets of meetings.

Although regional intergovernmental organisations repeatedly acknowledge the need for coordination, integration and harmonisations of policy for environmentally sustainable development across the Wider Caribbean, and have set up committees to design an appropriate institutional architecture, so far these remain paper plans. This may be attributable to lack of mutual understanding across countries with markedly different cultures and environmental problems, to lack of political will, to limited resources of time and personnel, or to some combination of these factors. It may be that, as in the case of the European Union, improved coordination of environmental regulation will follow economic integration. As yet, economic integration is also an aspirational goal of regional policy; and this integration is proceeding in several sub-groupings, rather than across the region as a whole.

Development of a regional regime for environmentally sustainable governance is unlikely to proceed, in any event, from a state-centric approach, when the states involved lack the resources to adequately support the institution building required for such a regime, when industrialised countries will not or cannot transfer the required resources, and when the region's most powerful actor, the United States, is intransigent in opposition to Kyoto and, by implication, cares little for the fate of its smaller neighbours. However, the region does have a number of substantive regimes for environmental governance – of the Caribbean Sea, through the CEP (one of the UNEP Regional Seas Programmes) – for energy policy, for coastal zone management, and for sustainable tourism,[31] as well as other initiatives to implement the Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs).

Commonwealth, is rapidly developing as a force integrating the themes of governance, culture and sustainability in the context of both marine and coastal zone issues, and climate change adaptation and mitigation.

[29] The $9 million CLME is run out of UWI's Centre for Resource Management and Environmental Studies (CERMES), a major regional environmental research institute.

[30] See CREDP (no date) and Clarke (2004).

[31] Protocol to the Convention Establishing the Sustainable Tourism Zone of the Caribbean (STZC).

Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in Caribbean Environmental Governance[32]

CSOs occupy a more influential role in both formulation and implementation of environmental policy in the region than in industrialised countries. They also embrace a more openly progressive agenda than do the champions of ecological modernisation and green capitalism in the global North, including a firm commitment to a bottom-up, participatory agenda and to development of the tools and methodologies to make this happen.[33] CSOs are more light-footed in the regional political arena than their governmental counterparts.

Here, I consider three Caribbean CSOs that have negotiated an effective division of labour across the three pillars of sustainable development, with a flexibility that the region's many governments would find hard to match. Generally, the need for regional integration of environment and sustainable development policy has long been reflected in the emergence of a range of non-governmental organisations working across the region. These three particular organisations stand out by virtue of their reputation and also because they have agreed to a functional division of labour on a regional basis. The three are CANARI, CPDC and CCA.

CANARI leads in policy research across the region. The focus of CANARI's work is on equitable and effective participation in natural resource management, including the institutional, governance and capacity requirements, addressing issues such as indicators, development of participatory skills, working across public, private and voluntary sectors and the role of the international policy context. The substantive focus ranges across natural disasters and climate change, integrated ecosystem management, sustainable livelihoods, land management and poverty alleviation. CANARI also works to integrate these issues into National Sustainable Development Strategies and to promote dissemination of the lessons learned. In essence, CANARI is the repository of best practice for this kind of research in the Caribbean, as demonstrated by a full range of policy reports.[34] These also show CANARI's links to international NGO partners that have pioneered research and training for capacity development for sustainability.

CPDC specialises in the economic aspects of sustainable development, in particular trade and foreign direct investment issues. It supports civil society organisations' positions in both World Trade Organisation and EU Economic Partnership Agreement negotiations, working with farmers, in particular the Windward Islands Farmers' Association, and taking a pro-poor position. CPDC also engages in promotion of activism in arranging demonstrations around trade issues that threaten livelihoods in the region.[35] This focus reflects the serious increases in poverty among farmers, especially in Commonwealth Caribbean SIDS, with the loss of their preferential trading status with the EU. In its trade advocacy work, CPDC has received financial support from Oxfam, Canada (CIDA) and the UK (DFID).

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[32] Fortunately, the regional NGOs maintain excellent websites as part of their commitment to community engagement, and these have been valuable sources, in addition to interviews with their principals. This contrasts with the limited comprehensiveness and accessibility of government websites in the three countries under analysis. The literature analysing NGOs, both regional and national, is very limited, although a recent, welcome addition is Sherrie L. Baver & Barbara Deutsch Lynch (eds), *Beyond Sun and Sand. Caribbean Environmentalists*, New Brunswick, New Jersey & London: Rutgers University Press, 2005, helpfully including work on the diaspora as well as in the region.

[33] For example, GIS-P mapping.

[34] See, for example, Vijay Krishnarayan, Yves Renard & Lyndon John, 'The SPAW Protocal and Caribbean Conservation: Can a Regional MEA Advance a Progressive Conservation Agenda?', in Watts & Wandesforde-Smith (2006), pp. 265-76. For a full list of project reports, see www.canari.org/subject.html.

[35] CPDC, *Coordinator's Report, January – December 2005*, Bridgetown, Barbados: CPDC, 2006. Also, Gordon Bispham, personal communication, June 2006.

While CANARI and CPDC have clear commitments to participatory approaches and an equity agenda, CCA, also committed to these aims, focuses more on education, communication (environmental awareness building and information management), and compliance with international conventions. CCA is forty years old and was established as part of an American philanthropic initiative to promote conservation in the region in the best tradition of US conservation.[36]

CCA, in effect an umbrella organisation rather similar in membership style to the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), including both state and civil society membership, works with and through its member organisations to implement regional regimes and has shown that it can work across the region. CCA highlights seven programme areas: marine and coastal areas; protected areas; water resources management; land-based sources of marine pollution; trade and environment; MEAs; and cultural heritage.[37] This includes implementing the Caribbean Regional Environment Programme, an instance of a civil society organisation stepping in to make policy effective in circumstances where, in industrialised countries or the EU, one might expect state agencies to take the lead.

There are other important regional CSOs, such as the Caribbean Network for Integrated Rural Development, the Caribbean Environmental Health Institute, the Island Resources Foundation, and the University of the West Indies Centre for Environment and Development and CERMES. They are not addressed here, given the intention simply to make the contrast with the effectiveness of state agencies in the region, and to highlight the complementarities of the roles of CANARI, CPDC and CCA. If one were to characterise the latter in UK or European terms, one might suggest that CANARI would come close to the International Institute for Environment and Development model, CPDC to Practical Action (formerly the Intermediate Technology Development Group), and CCA to WWF, RSPB, or perhaps more appropriately, as indicated above, to the IUCN.

Comparative Analysis of Three States[38]

Although one key basis for a comparison of Caribbean SIDS' performance in the governance of environmentally sustainable development ought to be the outputs of the NCSAs, the previous discussion shows that the countries most in need of such analyses are also most likely to be those lacking in the domestic capacity to conduct them.[39] As an alternative basis for comparative assessment and evaluation, the analysis now turns to the results of interviews with key policy actors in three countries: St. Kitts and Nevis, Belize, and Cuba.[40]

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[36] The Audubon Society or the Sierra Club, for example.

[37] CCA, *The Focus of Our Work*, 2007, at http://www.ccanet.net/workareas.shtml.

[38] The literature on policy aspects of environment and sustainable development in the region is limited. There has been some excellent work on geographical and planning aspects (see David Barker & Duncan F. M. McGregor (eds), *Environment and Development in the Caribbean. Geographical Perspectives*, Mona, Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 1995; also contributions to Pugh & Momsen (2006).

[39] For example, a number of reports so far available across the region have been prepared by one regional specialist consultant, Lloyd Gardner, who was previously a senior environment official in Jamaica.

[40] The interview evidence was gathered in the main from government officers and a small number of NGO representatives. It represents a snapshot of the three countries in the period running up to the Mauritius International Meeting in 2005. The contrasts that emerge give some support to the value of deploying a comprehensive model of capacity analysis as a background against which to seek examples of best practice, and to characterise national policy styles. In the two of the three cases that are small states (i.e. Belize and St Kitts and Nevis, rather than Cuba), the difficulties of analysing some topics are especially acute. The assessment of

These countries represent three contrasting perspectives on governance for sustainable development in the Caribbean. First, they differ in size and scale, ranging from one of the smallest states (St Kitts and Nevis) to one of the largest of all the SIDS (Cuba). These differences are important in terms of capacity. For example, St Kitts and Nevis has no university, Belize has one, plus outreach institutions of UWI and US universities, while Cuba has a network of 27 higher education institutions. The size and skills base of relevant ministries exhibits a similar range, with Cuba having a science base disproportionally larger than its size.

Second, Belize and St Kitts and Nevis are Anglophone members of the Commonwealth Caribbean, whereas Cuba is part of the Hispanic Caribbean. However, here we should also note the special position of Belize, which though politically a small island developing state is also part of an important larger regional environmental policy initiative, the Central American Biodiversity Corridor. As such Belize is integrated into both Central American and Commonwealth Caribbean policy communities in ways that are not typical for Caribbean SIDS.

As a result, we can expect contrasting policy styles between Belize and St Kitts, in spite of their only recently having gained independence from Britain and sharing the 'Westminster model' of general governance. For example, environmental policy in Belize is part of the Prime Minister's portfolio, signalling a core commitment to this agenda, and it does not have this status in St. Kitts; and both of these Anglophone countries contrast markedly with the socialist model of governance that prevails in Cuba. All three states share, however, problems of coastal zone management and challenges of sustainable tourism development, while Belize and Cuba have more biodiversity resources to protect than St Kitts and Nevis.

Policy Development and Implementation

St Kitts and Nevis (SKN)[41]

The national report on progress with the BpoA, prepared for the 2005 Mauritius review meeting (the 'Assessment'),[42] gives a comprehensive picture of the achievements, constraints and challenges faced by SKN, which is an almost ideal typical small island state in the context of globalisation, economic diversification through tourist and service industries, and vulnerability to extreme weather events – in particular hurricanes.

SKN is a federation of two small islands, with Nevis having a considerable degree of autonomy. Independent since 1983, the legacy democratic system is unicameral, based on the Westminster model, with eleven seats, eight in St Kitts, three in Nevis. The total land area is 269 km^2, of which St Kitts comprises 176 km^2 and Nevis 93 km^2, and both islands are of volcanic origin with central mountain ranges. However, development is mostly low lying in coastal areas. The population is 46,111 (2001), a recovery from 40,618 in 1991, but was

knowledge management, for example, is complicated by a need to keep previous analyses safe and accessible in circumstances of familiarity in which almost all decisions have been made by a friend or a relative and in which, therefore, anonymity in reporting is hard to guarantee.

[41] I would like to extend my particular thanks to Shirley Skerritt.

[42] Planning Unit, *Federation of St Kitts and Nevis. National Assessment of the BPOA+10. 1994-2003*, Basseterre: Ministry of Finance, Development & Planning, 2004.

50,833 in 1960, before a wave of emigration. Migratory patterns contribute to constraints on the domestic skills base for sustainable development.

SKN has a high score on the Human Development Index and 98 percent literacy, although 30 percent of the population lives in poverty. These people are predominantly working poor, rather than unemployed. The Assessment identifies the main challenge facing SKN as smallness, which limits domestic resources to respond to economic shocks, such as the removal of privileged trading relations in primary agricultural products or the drop in tourist numbers after 9/11, or to respond to the effects of hurricanes, which cost 85 percent and 140 percent of GDP in 1995 and 1998 respectively.[43] Also, SKN has graduated from LDC to MIC status, which increases the cost of financing future development.

The key issues in governance for environmentally sustainable development, on which the rapidly growing tourist industry and fisheries both depend, are biodiversity protection (especially turtles and coral reefs, but also mangroves and lagoons) and integrated coastal zone management. Freshwater supplies (both quality and quantity) present a further challenge.

The available data show substantial achievements in policy formulation, with an impressive range of documents created in response to the international environmental agenda, and strong integration of SKN in international, regional and subregional governance mechanisms, especially the OECS/ESDU. There is also clear evidence that attention has been paid to the emphasis CSOs place on a participatory approach to policy formation.

However, there is an almost equivalent down-side in terms of lack of capacity (financial, institutional and human resources and training are mentioned several times, as is the failure of the international community to meet its commitments under the BPoA, a complaint echoed by all SIDS at the Mauritius meeting), and in enforcement. In short, it appears that environmental ordinances are frequently honoured more in the breach than the observance in respect of fishing, dumping wastes in salt marshes, or mining sand for construction; and this in turn demonstrates problems of public awareness about, and acceptance of, policy. This may, of course, reflect economic necessity, given the poverty figures, as well as conflict between traditional fishing practices and sustainable fisheries policy. Nevertheless, it is fair to point out that the infrastructure for implementation, enforcement, monitoring and evaluation of environmental policy is tiny, and is dependent on international sources of finance and support.

The foundations for good environmental governance appear nonetheless to be present in SKN. A Department of the Environment (DoE) was established in 1996, building on the National Conservation and Environmental Protection Act (NCEPA), passed in 1987. The Act "provided for the establishment of marine and terrestrial protected areas". The DoE subsumed the National Conservation Commission introduced by the NCEPA. The DoE, now located in a larger Department of Health and Environment, has responsibility for environmental protection and resource conservation, environmental policy, including oversight of relevant activities in other departments, negotiation of regional and international environmental treaties, provision of monitoring data, and working with other departments and NGOs.[44]

[43] Planning Unit (2004), p.13.
[44] Planning Unit (2004), pp.24-5.

A National Environment Action Plan (NEAP) was introduced in 1994. This integrates activities across economic and governmental sectors,[45] and within the regional and international institutional architecture.[46] The key related environmental and sustainable development policy documents are the National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (NBSAP), the NCEPA and the National Environmental Management Strategy (NEMS). The National Medium Term Economic Strategy is also significant in its attempt to achieve inter-sectoral collaborative integration in pursuing the development goals and objectives articulated at the Earth Summit.[47] The main substantive areas of focus are land degradation, watershed/forestry management, coastal area management, energy conservation and solid waste management.[48]

SKN is quite well integrated in the global environmental regimes, having ratified the UNFCCC (1993) and completed its first required communication under that agreement. It has acceded to the Vienna Convention (1992) and the Montreal Protocol (1992) on protection of the ozone layer. The NBSAP is a response to the Biodiversity Convention and another important indicator of external influences on the domestic politics of environmental change.

SKN is also an active regional player in the Caribbean Project for Adaptation to Climate Change (CPACC) and its follow-up, Mainstreaming Adaptation to Climate Change. The main threats to SKN from climate change are drought, floods, saltwater intrusion into coastal aquifers, soil erosion, and land-based pollution of rivers and marine areas. However, the Assessment lists a daunting set of constraints to effective implementation here, too, in terms of the institutional framework, legislative capacity, ability to adopt appropriate fiscal measures, coastal zone management, public awareness, land-use planning, fisheries and freshwater management, natural resources, integration of the CPACC into national and sectoral planning activities, and research capacity.

This, again, illustrates awareness of the issues in SKN, but a lack of capacity in such a small state to take the steps needed effectively to protect terrestrial and marine ecosystems. In the case of the latter, five coastal habitats are listed as of 'critical importance': freshwater lagoons, saltwater lagoons, mangroves, coral reefs, and sea grass beds. They provide habitat, nutrients for fish species, and coastal protection barriers. Hawksbill and green sea turtles and a number of migratory bird species also depend on these coastal resources.

SKN ratified the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) in 1992, the CBD in 1993, the international Convention for the Regulation of Whaling in 1992, and the Basel Convention in 1994, among other international commitments. But only in disaster management, which is not a focus of this paper, has international assistance enabled an effective institutional response.

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[45] For example, the Medium Term Economic Strategy, the Integrated Strategic Development Plan and the National Physical Development Plan (Planning Unit, 2004, p.vii).

[46] The Assessment (Planning Unit, 2004, p.28) lists the following regional projects: Building Capacity for Sustainable OECS Fisheries; Cooperation with the OECS in the Field of Protection and Natural Resources; the Environmental Capacity Development Project; the Eastern Caribbean Coastal Resources Management Initiative; the OECS Solid and Ship Waste Management Project, and Promoting Long-Term Sustainable Use and Conservation of Marine Resources in the Eastern Caribbean.

[47] Planning Unit (2004), p.29.

[48] Planning Unit (2004). See also, for Nevis, the 2001-2005 Integrated Strategic Development Plan.

It is also clear from the available evidence that some attention has been given to the promotion and measurement of public awareness in SKN.[49] The NEMS, for example, included public consultations (three on St Kitts and two on Nevis) and a radio call-in programme to elicit general public attitudes about environmental protection and related policy activities. A previous survey of public attitudes to public policy issues by students in St Kitts and Nevis, which did not mention 'environment', but rather left identification of issues to the respondent, showed that people were more concerned about the social aspects of the 'sustainability triangle'. This underlines the danger of trying to treat the environment in isolation, and the risk that environment can come to be seen as an issue 'for rich people'. In this case, the main direct source of environmental concern would appear to have been the air pollution over Basseterre from processing in the sugar cane season.

This analysis of public awareness is all too rare in the Caribbean, and it is a weakness that needs to be remedied.[50] This will probably require development of a cadre of social scientists with the skills to use both quantitative and qualitative methods of eliciting public awareness, concern and behaviours. Without such analysis, any policy initiative based on assumptions about changes in public behaviour, affecting for example energy efficiency and waste recycling, is bound to have uncertain effects.

In practice, there is some evidence of fragmentation of policy across departments within St Kitts, and across the administrations of St Kitts and Nevis, problems that may have led to the formulation of policies that address policy integration. Also, local politics can play a key role. The electorate of St Kitts returns eight Members of Parliament, with each one in the governing party expecting a Cabinet post. When at the 2004 elections the Labour Party returned all eight MPs, a reorganisation of ministries took place. Environment, which had previously been part of Tourism, Environment and Culture, moved to become part of the Ministry of Health and Environment under a Minister, Dr Asim Martin, who is a medical doctor, so that a new Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports could be set up for the new Minister, Jacinth Henry-Martin. This also meant that the Permanent Secretary for environment also changed to Elvis Newton, with an acting Head of the Environment Department within the Department of Health and Environment (June Hughes until May 2004, then Randolph Edmeade), so that problems of continuity and institutional memory arise as a direct result of the need to create a new ministry to accommodate the result of electoral change.

Some have argued that the new departmental structure prioritises health and marginalises environment, treating it as waste disposal policy. This view may also be because of the lack of a clear division of labour on environment and sustainability between the

[49] Lenrik Lake, *Give a Voice. Nationals of St Kitts and Nevis Offer their Views on Matters Pertaining to Environment and Health*, Report for St Kitts and Nevis Small Islands Voice Co-ordinating Committee, 2002.

[50] One exception is the work of the University of the West Indies Sustainable Economic Development Unit (SEDU), reported by Dennis Pantin (Coordinator, SEDU for SIDS, University of the West Indies St Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago) (CHEC Mauritius Meeting, 2005). SEDU has conducted research on public and expert opinion on environmental concerns in an exercise in priority setting for environmental management. Pantin outlined ways in which SIDS researchers can draw on lessons from other international studies and import appropriate methodologies, especially from other SIDS. He underlined the importance of needs analysis as a basis for any training programme. A SEDU review of NGO and CBO participation in sustainable development processes in the context of WSSD showed that less than 20 percent of these organisations had participated, indicating a need for capacity building for participation. The OECS OPAAL project also includes an environmental awareness survey.

Department of Environment in the Ministry of Health and Environment, and the Planning Unit in the Ministry of Development and Planning, which is responsible for Environmental Impact Assessment, and also for preparation of the GEF-funded National Capacity Self-Assessment.

In contrast to the fragmentation (and resulting discontinuity of delivery) in the government sector, the NGOs represent a tight-knit community, with multiple overlaps of membership and office-holders. This is frequent, of course, across NGOs, but is thrown into particular relief in a small country, where, for example, Larry Armony is Treasurer of the Museum, Director of the Brimstone Hill Fortress Trust, his wife Jackie Armony is Director of the St Christopher Historical Society (SCHS) and Kate Orchard holds an administrative position at Brimstone Hill and is Treasurer of SCHS. As might be expected, it is from this small core of activists and other volunteers that representatives from the NGO sector for international meetings have to be recruited. With multiple calls for such involvement with the growing inclusion of NGO and Major Group voices at UN meetings, this places some strain on the volunteer resources of NGOs in SIDS, especially the smaller ones.

The Assessment, when set against the exploratory interviews conducted during the period when it was under preparation, serves to underline national commitment to environmentally sustainable development strategies, but highlights the problems of resource mobilisation in a small state faced with the shift of aid away from the region, the economic challenges of globalisation and simple lack of legal, institutional, financial and human resource capacities. Effective regional policy integration would appear of critical importance for SKN if the environment is to retain its quality and biodiversity on which its tourist industry, as well as sustainable livelihoods, will depend. This picture also raises once more the special position of SIDS in the international architecture of sustainable development. As the economic impact of the 1995 and 1999 hurricanes showed for SKN, the attainment of MIC status is precarious.

Belize

Belize faces many of the same challenges as SKN, but enjoys a better location in the geopolitics of environmentally sustainable governance, straddling the Central American and Caribbean policy communities. Globalisation and natural disasters threaten Belize as they do SKN. Belize has also developed a comprehensive set of plans and strategies to address sustainable development, described in its Medium Term Strategy 2003-2005.[51] Belize is a member of AOSIS. It has signed the UNFCCC, but has not ratified the Kyoto Protocol, owing to capacity problems in mitigation and adaptation.[52]

There are other strong indicators of institutional capacity. Belize has adopted, for example, a natural disaster response system that includes a National Emergency Management Organisation. It has a Coastal Zone Management Authority and Institute and an Integrated Coastal Zone Management Strategy, although the latter also has capacity problems, in particular in legislative and financial capacity, in its implementation. Institutional networks provide a comprehensive national energy strategy, including plans, some of them controversial, for new hydro-electric facilities.[53] Tourism in Belize is growing rapidly, but

[51] Government of Belize, *Medium Term Strategy for the Government of Belize for 2003-2005*, Belmopan: Government of Belize, July 2002.
[52] Government of Belize, *National Assessment Report for Barbados + 10*, September 2003, at http://www.sidsnet.org/docshare/other/20040219145451_Belize_NAR_2004.pdf.
[53] The Chalillo Dam project.

the economy is still heavily dependent on agriculture. In response to the shifting terms of trade at the global level, the government has been promoting non-traditional crops; the traditional ones being sugar, bananas and citrus. It has also taken an holistic approach to sustainable development through a National Poverty Elimination Strategy and Action Plan.[54]

Belize covers a territory of 46,620 km^2, much of it land but also including some 1,060 cays and 280 km of coastline that includes the world's second largest reef, the Belize Barrier Reef. The land area includes low-lying plains in the north and east, and the Maya Mountains in the south, with karst landscapes to their north and west. Its 18 rivers and 32 watersheds and aquifers mean that Belize has the best water supplies in Latin America. In this, it contrasts markedly with the Caribbean islands. It has a population of 273,700 (2003) at a density of 12 per km^2, radically less than its similar sized neighbour, Ecuador. Belize is 60 percent covered in forest or vegetation, although this is being depleted rapidly (at a rate of 25,000 ha per annum between 1989 and 1994).[55]

Independent since 1982, Belize has a bicameral Westminster-style government following a two-party model, with 29 members elected to the House of Representatives and 12 nominated members in the Senate. As well as belonging to the Commonwealth, Belize is a member of the Organisation of American States, the ACS, the Central American Integration System, AOSIS and CARICOM. As such, it is an important axis of transmission between the two communities of the region.

One of the key tests of the institutionalisation of environmental governance is the existence of an effective and inclusive National Sustainable Development Council, or similar organisation. Belize took the steps to draft legislation for such an entity in 1999, but did not form one.[56] There is, though, a National Human Development Advisory Council and Economic Advisory Council, and a National Task Force for Sustainable Development, chaired by the Prime Minister.[57] Belize joined the Central American Alliance for Sustainable Development after the Rio meeting, a commitment that included creation of the Central American Council for Sustainable Development, a Heads of Government level organisation.

In 2003, Belize still did not have what could reasonably be called a comprehensive national sustainable development policy, probably because of the capacity problems involved. This presents an interesting contrast with the readiness in SKN to adopt policies and strategies even in the knowledge that resources will not suffice for effective implementation. We see here, perhaps, a reflection of the different policy cultures of Central America and the insular Caribbean.[58] Belize does, though, have NARMAP (Towards a National Protected Areas Systems Plan for Belize), a National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan, and a Land Management Programme. Belize has also joined the CARICOM initiative for establishment of a CARICOM Sustainable Development Task Force.[59] Overall, then, it can be argued that Belize has done more to institutionalise the social than the environmental pillar of sustainable development, but the commitment of Prime Minster Said Musa to environmental institutions satisfies the leadership criterion for domestic policy capacity.

[54] Government of Belize (2003), pp.2-3.
[55] Government of Belize (2003), p.6.
[56] Government of Belize (2003), p.10.
[57] Government of Belize (2003).
[58] Government of Belize (2003).
[59] Government of Belize (2003), p.11.

Belize ratified the UNFCCC in 1994 and acceded to the Kyoto Protocol in 2003. It now hosts the CCCCC. Like SKN, Belize participated in the CPACC project and prepared its first communication to the UNFCCC in 2002. It will follow up its CPACC involvement with a project for Mainstreaming Adaptation to Climate Change, as well as participation in the Adaptation to Climate Change in the Caribbean project.

Like SKN, Belize identifies lack of resources from the international community as a constraint on the conduct of vulnerability studies. It has also pointed to problems with data collection, analysis and storage as a constraint on preparation of National Communications to the UNFCCC Conference of the Parties.

In the coastal and marine policy areas, Belize has ratified UNCLOS but not the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety. It is working on a National Biosafety Framework.[60] At national level, the GEF/UNDP and EU have funded a project on Sustainable Use and Conservation of the Belize Barrier Reef Complex. Regionally Belize is part of the Meso-American Barrier Reef System Project with Mexico, Guatemala, and Honduras; and it participates in the CARICOM Regional Fisheries Mechanism.[61]

However, the data available on Belize shows that while it has a National Integrated Coastal Zone Management Strategy there are problems with inter-institutional coordination, as well as legislative uncertainties that have hindered implementation. That having been said, Belize has established thirteen marine protected areas, with seven of these gaining World Heritage Site status in 1996, and six marine reserves as part of the Conservation and Sustainable Use of the Belize Barrier Reef project, all of them strengthened and fully staffed.[62] Thus Belize is a Central American state, but one with cognate problems to those found in Caribbean SIDS in terms of low-lying coastal areas, economic dependence on tourism and agriculture, and a rich reef system that attracts global conservation interest.

In Belize, government officials believe the public is ready for a clear environmental message,[63] and Belize Audubon, the Zoo, and government departments are working together to promote public awareness. Historically, Belize has striven to coexist in harmony with nature, aware of her dependence on forestry and marine resources. Belize was first in the region to engage in agricultural set-asides (removing land from production to enable nature conservation) and legislation for sustainable harvesting.

Institutionally, the NEAP was not the responsibility of the Environment Department but of the government as a whole, with consultation across departments. This may be viewed as evidence of a conscious attempt at policy integration, as well as of commitment to environment at the highest level of government – one of the key prerequisites of policy success.[64] NGOs access policy via coordinating committees at national level, and NGOs also engage in functional partnerships; for example, Belize Audubon manages protected areas in a co-management arrangement. In the villages, Community Based Organisations are involved in forestry projects in the Central American Bio-Corridors Initiative, and in the UNDP Climate Change Programme. The GEF National Capacity Assessment for Belize recognises

[60] Government of Belize (2003), p.16.
[61] Government of Belize (2003).
[62] Government of Belize (2003), p.17.
[63] Ismael Fabro, Forestry Department, personal communication, June 2004.
[64] Jaenicke & Weidner (1997).

that there is a proliferation of Multilateral Environmental Agreements, in which the government has interest but lacks the capacity to engage.

Environmental and sustainable development policy content, then, is externally skewed in Belize, as it is in many SIDS, in favour of 'greener' issues, while the 'grey' issues of urban air and water pollution, sanitation, and sewage treatment – the ones with the most direct impacts on local communities – are relatively neglected. This skewing is linked to delivery of assistance from the North, which is also mainly directed at the greener issues. However, the grey issues are now becoming a higher priority, with pollution prevention required to avoid threats to the economy. Pollution from land-based sources, for example, means that coral reefs are still impacted by pollutants outside the control of the CBD and related protocols, such as the Cartagena Convention and its derivatives, as well as by coral bleaching attributed to global warming. However, the national government has seen to it that an impressive 42 per cent of the land in Belize is protected, putting Belize at the forefront of natural resource conservation initiatives in the region.

In Belize, capacity building takes place at national level, across departments. The first National Environmental Action Plan (Legislative and Institutional Framework) was developed in 1996, and resulted in some important changes, with the setting up of a Coastal Zone Management Authority and a Fisheries Ministry responsible for Marine Protected Areas, although their share of the public budget is still limited compared to employment, health and education policies.

Countries in Central America are generally better organised than those in the Caribbean to deal with the national and regional capacity issues addressed in the preceding analysis, and have been pushing for government meetings with CARICOM. There are some outstanding issues, as when Caribbean SIDS complain that Guyana and Belize are 'mainland' countries. In fact, Belize functions very much as a bridge between the Central American and CARICOM environment communities.[65] The Commonwealth has also played a constructive role in enhancing capacity in Belize, providing training workshops in environmental legislation by judges and magistrates, prosecutors and enforcement officers, as well as scholarships that have sent students to India for training.

Cuba[66]

The 'greening of the red' in Cuba has been an object of some fascination to the environmentalist community worldwide, particularly as a counterpoint to US intransigence on the climate change issues that threaten livelihoods and survival on SIDS. Indeed, according to the 2006 WWF Living Planet Report, Cuba is arguably the world's only country developing sustainably:

[65] While Belize is integrated into CARICOM, CARICOM itself is poorly integrated, dealing with everything at one level, rather than having an organisational structure for the subsectors. The Central American Commission for Environment and Development (CCAD) is developing regional projects on a consensus basis and is strengthening the organisation with resources spent on regional coordination and coordinators. As the ACS includes all countries in the region, with contrasting histories, cultures and dominant political forces, this is more difficult to manage. From July to December 2003, Belize held the presidency of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, with the Belize environment minister in charge of CCAD. The national highlights for this term were sustainable tourism and coastal zone management.

[66] I am particularly grateful to Gisela Alonso, Orlando Rey, Teresita Borges, Javier Cabrera and Armando Fernandez.

> Countries' progress towards sustainable development can be assessed using the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI) as an indicator of well-being, and the [ecological] footprint as a measure of demand on the biosphere. The HDI is calculated from life expectancy, literacy and education, and per capita GDP. UNDP considers an HDI value of more than 0.8 to be "high human development". Meanwhile, a footprint lower than 1.8 global hectares per person, the average biocapacity available per person on the planet, could denote sustainability at the global level. ... No region, nor the world as a whole, met both criteria for sustainable development. Cuba alone did, based on the data it reports to the United Nations.[67]

A new era was ushered in during the 'Special Period', after the collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in the sudden removal of support for Cuban sugar exports (at five times market prices) to the Soviet Union and subsidised prices for imported equipment and chemicals that had supported a Soviet-style industrial agriculture. Building on some pre-existing in-country expertise, Cuba shifted quickly, out of necessity, to an organic model of agriculture, and to promotion of urban horticulture, using all available land to grow food.[68]

This new era found its political expression in Fidel Castro's speech embracing environmental protection and sustainable development at the Rio Earth Summit, and was institutionalised in revisions to the constitution, new legislation and a new Ministry of Science and Technology (CITMA).[69] This sea-change in policy is consistent with a shift to tourism as a major component in the newly mixed Cuban economy, coupled with recognition that Cuba's terrestrial and marine biodiversity are key components of Cuba's attractiveness to tourists, while integrated management of the coastal zone is also a prerequisite of sustainable fishing. Cuba is well integrated into the international system of environmental treaties, and is a party to the Convention on Biodiversity, the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol, the Desertification, Endangered Species, Hazardous Wastes, Law of the Sea, Marine Dumping, Ozone Layer Protection, Ship Pollution and RAMSAR Wetlands treaties. Cuba has signed, but not ratified, the Marine Life Conservation Treaty.[70]

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[67] WWF, *Living Planet Report 2006*, Gland, Switzerland: WWF International, 2006, p.19.

[68] For an introduction, see special issue of *Tulane Environmental Law Journal*, on *Environmental Law and Sustainable Development in 21st Century Cuba*, 16 (2003), in particular: Oliver A. Houck, 'Thinking about Tomorrow: Cuba's "Alternative Model" for Sustainable Development', pp.521-32; and Carmen Gonzalez, 'Seasons of Resistance: Sustainable Agriculture and Food Security in Cuba', pp.685-732. See also Peter M. Rosset, 'Cuba: A Successful Case Study of Sustainable Agriculture', in Fred Magdoff, John Bellamy Foster & Frederick H. Buttel (eds), *Hungry for Profit: The Agribusiness Threat to Farmers, Food and the Environment,* New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000, pp.203-13.

[69] Daniel Whittle & Orlando Rey Santos, 'Protecting Cuba's Environment: Efforts to Design and Implement Effective Environmental Laws and Policies in Cuba', *Cuban Studies*, 37 (2006), pp.74-103. There is also an ideologically based literature on environmental policy in Cuba that was arguably appropriate as a critique of the pre-greening period, but does not appear to recognise recent achievements. See, for example, Sergio Diaz-Briquets & Jorge Perez-Lopez, *Conquering Nature: The Environmental Legacy of Socialism in Cuba*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburh Press, 2000. There is always room for debate over local implementation, of course, when access or lack of resources for monitoring and evaluation prevent detailed analysis, but the present author has yet to find grounds for lack of confidence in Cuban data on environment, acknowledging, for example, that Cuban marine biologists enjoy a global reputation second only to those of the United States, so are in a better position to provide accurate monitoring services than Belize or SKN.

[70] CIA, *World Factbook 2007*, Washington DC: CIA, 2007. For details of Cuba's status in international treaties on the environment, see also http://www.medioambiente.cu/convenio.asp?convenioId=4.

Institutional Arrangements. Cuba has an extensive National System of Protected Areas, a National Environmental Strategy,[71] adopted Agenda 21 in 1993, formed CITMA in 1994 and a National Environment Strategy and Law of the Environment in 1997.[72] The centralisation of authority in CITMA, which quickly started an assessment of the state of Cuba's environment, led predictably to some concerns in other parts of government about possible constraints on economic development. The Law of the Environment (Law 81) was approved in 1997, and included:

> laws and regulations, including laws, decree laws and resolutions on coastal zone management, the protection of natural areas, the protection and sustainable use of genetic resources, water management, hazardous wastes, chemicals, and other issues commonly addressed by national-level environmental laws.[73]

Importantly, the law also integrates Principle 10 of the Rio Declaration (public right of access to information, participation and justice). CITMA contains the Environmental Directorate (DMA), responsible for legislative drafting and monitoring relevant activities of other departments and agencies; the National Centre for Protected Areas; the Centre for Environmental Management, Education and Information; and, since 2002, the Regulatory Office, integrating regulatory entities across a number of substantive areas, and the Environment Agency responsible for scientific research and environmental services in support of CITMA.[74] The picture that emerges is one of institutional arrangements that should be in a position to provide an integrated, evidence-based approach to policy formulation and implementation.

However, it is worth noting that MINVEC (*Ministerio per la Inversion Estranjera y la Colaboracion Economica* – Ministry for Foreign Investment and Economic Cooperation) is more powerful than CITMA, and all international cooperation runs through MINVEC. This does mean that economic considerations may, on occasion, prevail. Indeed, CITMA also has some discretion in deciding whether or not to apply strict environmental regulations nationally, if this would mean closing down a factory with outdated plant and therefore unable to meet emission standards.

Sectorally, protection of coastal areas is implemented in part through Decree Law 212 Coastal Zone Management, which enforces setback of new building from the coast, protecting fragile coastal ecosystems. The DMA has identified interlinked problems in coastal degradation, deterioration of sanitation, pollution, damage to vegetation and loss of biodiversity.[75] DMA also works with the National Group of Coastal Zones, over 20 agencies and issues across eleven ministries, to deliver integrated coastal zone management on the ground. Also, Cuba has eighteen Marine Protected Areas.[76] New developments are subject to Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), but on substantive, not just procedural grounds, meaning that projects with adverse environmental impacts may be required to mitigate these.

[71] Republic of Cuba, *National Environmental Strategy*, 2nd Issue, Havana: CITMA, 2000, cited in Whittle & Rey Santos (2006).
[72] Whittle & Rey Santos (2006), p.77.
[73] Whittle & Rey Santos (2006), p.80.
[74] Whittle & Rey Santos (2006), p.81.
[75] Whittle & Rey Santos (2006), p.86.
[76] Whittle & Rey Santos (2006), pp.87-8.

This contrasts with many countries in the North, where EIA is a procedural obligation, but the results of the EIA do not necessarily have to be acted upon.

The current National Environment Strategy runs for the period 2004-10. There is a (perhaps surprising) longstanding cooperation with US institutions in this area.[77] There is a mixed economy of environmental protection, which perhaps owes much to the mixed economy of tourist development, but indicates an awareness of, and aspiration to, international standards. There is some variation in capacity across substantive policy areas. Cuba is well advanced on research into water pollution from organic sources. Air pollution is more problematic, given the legacy of ageing public transport infrastructure, but is moving forward gradually, with tourism meeting requirements of the highest level (i.e. leading development). CITMA is working with the Washington Environment Defence Fund on a sustainable transportation strategy, via the Institute for Transport Research.

In energy policy, there is a complex mix of developments of photovoltaics in mountain areas, for schools and offices, and also of wind energy. The GEF is funding development of a major project proposal on renewable energy on Isla de la Juventud. There is also potential for 20-25 percent of Cuba's energy needs to be met from the use of sugarcane by-products.

In the agricultural sector, there are major efforts in development of biofuels from sugar industry wastes, and Cuba is famous for developing its agriculture since 1991 during the 'Special Period' on an organic basis, when the end to Soviet subsidies made fertilisers and pesticides too expensive. AEPA (Ecological Association for the Environmental Protection of the State) is the environmental side of the agriculture ministry, and Cuba is looking for a balance of environment and production interests. The sugar industry is restructuring and converting to biofuels; however, although half the sugar mills have closed, so far they lack the resources to convert to biofuels. This is a huge issue for Cuba as for St Kitts.

The institutional arrangements for environmental governance go some way to integrating policy across both sectors and regions. The National Plan includes soil conservation, renewables and biodiversity,[78] as well as sectoral environment strategies for fisheries, transport, tourism, agriculture and mining. Each sector has its own environmental plan as does each of the fourteen territories/provinces, with the level of province/sector interaction depending on the province: for example, Holguin is more important for mining, Matanzas for tourism; but differences between territories are limited. Cuba's Committee on the Environment oversees policy actions on all MEAs. Its main goals include integral environmental management, pollution reduction, enterprise management and environmental education. A hydrographical basins programme integrates policies on soil degradation, deforestation, waste, water management, biodiversity, natural disasters, climate studies, health, education and employment. The Cartagena Convention and its Protocols are managed through the Ministry, not the DMA.[79]

[77] See, for example, the Special Issue of the *Tulane Environmental Law Journal* devoted to 'Environmental Law and Sustainable Development in 21st Century Cuba', 16 (Summer 2003).
[78] http://www.medioambiente.cu.
[79] UNFCCC Workshops on Synergies and Cooperation with other Conventions, 2-4 July 2003 (source International Institute for Sustainable Development, *Earth Negotiations Bulletin*, 12:220 (7 July 2003), at http://www.iisd.ca/linkages/climate/cespo/).

Despite the capacity for centralised coordination of policy, there are some clashes in government priorities. Tourism has higher priority than environment, but problems in the Cays (lifeless saltwater lakes resulting from impermeable coastal strip development – Cayo Coco, Cayo Largo) have focused attention on environmental problems as putting the tourism 'golden egg' at risk. Increasing interest is being shown in ecologically sustainable tourism. One other issue in the clash, however, may be the 'glass wall' effect of Cuba's mixed economy, as tourism is a hard currency economy with controlled access for employees. This may be a factor in reducing the amount of policy integration, but the competition between economic development and environment is almost universal, except for in a few vanguard states, or where environmental regulations and concerns have resulted in development of competitive clean economies.

Community Engagement. One issue in comparing socialist Cuba with other countries in the Westminster-model Anglophone Caribbean is of public and civil society access to, and engagement in, environmental decision making – a major feature of the work of the regional NGOs. The adoption of Principle 10 of the Rio Declaration is an important indication of intent. However, in Cuba NGOs are few, have limited capacities and are quite closely linked to the state. Projects that have an environmental component include Save the Children UK's work on environmental education in the rural environment of Cuba, led by their Peruvian director. There is a further project monitoring environmental standards and educating adults focused on Holguin province. Foreign NGOs must work with the Government to make their project a priority. The key Cuban environmental NGO is the Antonio Núñez Jiménez Foundation, which has some independence on projects and international collaboration, but which works within government-set priorities.[80] The Foundation is active in nature conservation, research into natural resource management including the coastal zone, and also publishes a (more or less) annual journal reviewing environmental policy issues on the island.[81] Núñez Jiménez, its founder, fought under Che Guevara in the Rebel Army, and may be seen as a symbolic and substantive link to the Cuban Revolution, perhaps rendering Cuba's greening less surprising.

Popular participation is enabled by the local Popular Power bodies, and "[u]nder this approach, decentralised neighbourhood units must evaluate issues regarding water supplies, solid wastes, and sanitation, and present a report on their findings to local citizens".[82] Participatory governance is part of the core of green value systems outside Cuba, and an evidence-based comparison of the way this works in Cuba would be of great value in consideration of the relationship between democracy, socialism and legitimacy in environmental policy. It is interesting to note a complementary development in Cuba, the innovation of Municipal University Centres (*Sedes Universitarias Municipales* - SUM), which in part enable communities to explain what they think they need from universities in support of sustainable development. Universities will then be required to deliver this support. This initiative could complement the role of the University Consortium for Small Island States (UCSIS), launched at the Mauritius International Meeting to support sustainable development of SIDS, with its headquarters at the University of the West Indies.[83] These two initiatives, UCSIS and SUM, reflect the call for universities to rediscover their role in place,

[80] WWF Canada is one of the foreign NGOs active in Cuba.
[81] *Ilé:. Anuario de Ecologia, Cultura y Sociedad,*edited by Armando Fernandez.
[82] Whittle & Rey Santos (2006), p.90.
[83] For a detailed consideration of the potential contribution of UCSIS, see Nicholas Watts, *The University Consortium for Small Island States and the Commonwealth*, report for the Commonwealth Secretariat, 2006.

as advocated by M'Gonigle and Starke in *Planet U*.[84] It is important that the academy does not lose its role in critical reflection on society, and is not relegated merely to a technical vehicle for economic growth. In SUM, we see an interesting twist on the instrumentalisation of the academy in the service of the economy, as here it is placed at the service of the community. This is an interesting variant on models of community engagement with sustainable development elsewhere in the Caribbean.

On the other hand, given the centralised and hierarchical national policy style, great importance attaches to pilot projects as, if successful, they may be readily extended across the country. For example, the University of Pinar del Río first introduced greening the curriculum as an experiment in 1994. In 1998, this programme was rolled out to Cuba's other universities; and it may be asked whether there is a trade-off between participatory democracy and dealing with environmental challenges.

Looking beyond these particular projects and organisations, Cuba's overall approach to the management of environmentally sustainable development is distinct inasmuch as it tries to address the problems of a poor country while at the same time using state-of–the-art tools of scientific analysis. Cuba also has a distinctively different approach to civil society engagement to that of the Anglophone countries.

In view of the US trade embargo on Cuba, the international linkages in support of Cuban environmental projects are impressive. This is perhaps in part because of the international importance of Cuba's biodiversity resources, and in part a product of international fascination with Cuba's transition to a relatively organic agricultural system. It also reflects Cuban governmental concern that the mixed economy of tourism can retain a reputation for sustainability. On the deficit side, and directly related to the relative poverty of the country, the 'green agriculture' achievements contrast with a relatively high impact of water and air pollution from urban waste water and transport, owing to the high cost of replacing infrastructure.

External Project Support. Funding comes from various sources. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) is an important source of support for Cuba, as for many Caribbean SIDS. The UNDP's environment projects are key to sustainable development in Cuba, all of which have to be proposed by the Cuban Government. There is also a UNEP-funded project for an NCSA in environment.[85] GEF funds both UNEP projects (such as the National Biodiversity Study and the NCSA), as well as UNDP projects.

The UNDP projects are in three project blocks: biodiversity, protected areas and international waters. The biodiversity programme includes coastal management/coastal marine biodiversity, including a ten-year Savanna Camagüey project on tourism development, biodiversity values and fisheries. The first (1993) stage was for diagnosis and zoning, the second phase was on protected areas implementation through a Coastal Management Authority and a programme of environmental education. Funds were being sought at the time of interview from GEF for Phase III: monitoring, environmental sustainability and environmental education.

[84] Michael R. M'Gonigle & Justine Starke, *Planet U: Sustaining the World, Reinventing the University*, Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers, 2006.
[85] Note that while NCSAs are run by the UNDP elsewhere, in Cuba they are run by the UNEP.

Strengthening the national system of protected areas includes a project funded by GEF, the French *Fonds Francaises pour L'Environnement Mondiale* and WWF. This is a terrestrial biodiversity project in five demonstration areas, each presenting a different management challenge (fires/poaching/mining etc.) with the aim of strengthening institutions and coordinating bodies.

In Cuba, the International Waters project is targeted on Havana Bay, the most polluted in the Caribbean, and is devoted to conservation of the Bay, a mid-1990s GEF-funded project. This project is a regional initiative that also includes diagnosis of Cartagena, Kingston and Puerto Limón. A 2003 GEF project for Havana Bay included treatment plants, environmental education and houses with local treatment of wastes ('low-emission houses') scheduled to enter construction in 2004/5. This is based on a technology developed by the Agricultural University of Norway to produce zero-emission technology, assembled in Cuba with Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation and GEF support, and in cooperation with the *Centro Técnico para el Desarollo de las Materiales de la Construcción* in Cuba. Further water projects are in progress with Belgian and Italian partners (the latter, waste water treatment). In the 1960s and 70s, the UK funded and helped produce the Master Plan for Development of Havana, the only one so far – though work is now in progress on an environmental Master Plan for Havana Bay.

Comparing Policy Performance and Policy Styles in Belize, St. Kitts and Nevis and Cuba

Belize, situated at the Central America/Caribbean interface, demonstrates a proactive strategy, with high-level (Prime Ministerial) commitment and an approach integrated across government (National Environment Action Plan). The impact of the Central American Policy Community is marked, but Belize also gives something back. In Belize, the policy content is externally skewed, with internationally funded NGOs in implementation partnership with government. The NGOs, on the other hand, are divided over the dam project (Belize Audubon in favour, Belize Zoo against). Local NGOs depend heavily on international NGOs.

At national level, the key role Cuba could play is hampered by political and economic constraints. Cuba has a proactive government and a limited role for NGOs, but CBOs are encouraged to engage in 'green' initiatives (organic horticulture, for example). The top-down, centralised policy style means that innovations are easily disseminated, with the result that both regional and sectoral policies have, as far as possible, been 'greened'. This greening has taken place outside the ecological modernisation paradigm ('get rich first, then clean up'). Cuba also plays an active role throughout the wider Caribbean, having – compared to other, smaller states in the region – a relatively plentiful supply of qualified experts.

St Kitts and Nevis demonstrates policy fragmentation within St Kitts and across St Kitts and Nevis. NGOs are small, and well integrated on a personal basis by virtue of multiple memberships from a small core of volunteers. There is limited participatory capacity, however, owing to this very reliance on a small number of individuals.

This brings us back to the question of what it takes for small states, especially SIDS, to be effective and successful in the development and implementation of policies for sustainable development. What are the essential capacity requirements, both for success domestically and for effective participation in the increasingly complex architecture of governance for sustainable development at the regional and international levels?

We see that states in the region, and their international organisations, are aware of their lack of the resources of political will, skills and finance to prosecute an effective regional regime for sustainable environmental governance. However, this reflective analysis also demonstrates an awareness of the need for such a regime, and the frequent attempts to launch appropriate initiatives demonstrate genuine intent. Without the transaction costs faced by states in both negotiating a coordinated regime and in dealing with the bureaucratic politics of reform of existing institutions, likely to be no less tractable in the region than in the United Nations itself, CSOs can, given the resources, get on with the job in the vacuum left by states. In the post-Johannesburg world of Type II partnerships, this role fits the emergent norm for cooperation in sustainable development.

When reflecting on the three states chosen for this exploratory comparative analysis, where do they – and where does cross-national comparative analysis – fit in the regional institutional architecture for governance of sustainability? What lessons can we draw; or at least, what questions emerge to underpin further analysis?

Maximum difference comparisons are useful to identify common issues across diverse cases. What do St Kitts and Nevis, Belize and Cuba have in common? And what sets them apart? They share cognate problems of SIDS: they are on the 'wrong end' of globalisation, with Belize and St Kitts now experiencing, like Cuba, some of the effects of exclusion from historic markets; they all have integrated coastal zone management issues, including equitable management of competing uses by traditional communities and tourism; they are exposed to the risks of climate change; they face the challenge of resourcing commitments to the international agenda while addressing needs for clean water, electricity and sanitation in poor communities; they have similar energy policies,[86] including use of sugar by-products in bagasse; as well as prioritising disaster management.

What sets the three countries apart is, perhaps, more informative. Their institutional capacity fits quite neatly with their size. This is, of course, not inevitable. Compare, for example, Cuba with Haiti or the Dominican Republic, countries with similar size populations but radically different science bases. Belize and Cuba would appear, perhaps surprisingly, to share roles that straddle the Anglophone/Hispanic divide: Belize in the Central America/Commonwealth Caribbean communities; Cuba as a provider of environmental scientists and lawyers across the region, and in a working relationship with Anglophone Caribbean countries.[87] It will be interesting to see how the relationship between the Commonwealth and Cuba develops.

In terms of differences, size clearly does play a role. There is an ascending scale of formal institutionalisation as the states get bigger; and the capacities for policy development improve also. But poverty is one intervening variable, and political will another. The three cases of domestic environmental policy capacity do show instances of positive action – in the Cuban case, the capacity for scientific analysis, the benefit of harmonised, integrated policy and a high level of environmental awareness among key policy makers. In Belize, we see a key example of the Prime Minister adopting the environment agenda, demonstrating leadership and commitment, as well as the strong influence of experience of the Central American Biodiversity Corridor policy community, and exposure to a culture of leadership in

[86] These three states are not yet involved in the GSEII, led by the Climate Institute, another example of a Type II partnership, but are potential candidates.
[87] See, for example, the CARICOM-Cuba Trade and Economic Co-operation Agreement signed on 5 July 2000 (http://www.crnm.org/caricom_cuba.htm).

sustainable management of biodiversity (Costa Rica, especially); but in Belize, the effects of poverty are also evident in preventing the active adoption of proactive policies for which the political will does arguably exist. In St Kitts and Nevis, we find all the problems of the very small state, underscoring the importance of the 'meaning of small' in analysis of SIDS' governance, even though St Kitts is second only to Barbados in the region on the UN Human Development Index. A relatively prosperous country, if so small, will still have difficulty meeting its domestic and international goals for environmentally sustainable development.

Finally, what lessons can we draw for future research? First, the above demonstrates the usefulness of incremental work on individual case studies of best practice, especially if these can be placed in a coherent analytical framework. This will improve the chance of their contributing to an accumulating knowledge base. Second, future analysis could usefully concentrate on regional, horizontal cross-national or cross-jurisdictional analyses of policy integration by sector (energy policy, marine and coastal zone issues, sustainable tourism, forestry and terrestrial biodiversity). Third, studies are needed of vertical policy integration in the multi-level governance of specific sectors, but also of the interplay of institutions with responsibility for sustainable development from the global to the local level, with particular attention paid to the regional level of governance and the interplay of state and non-state actors. However, most useful in the short to medium term might be a series of national studies of capacity for governance of sustainable development, building on national reports to UN meetings and on the NCSAs, when these are available. Such a programme, if it contributed to the development of a broader regional base in the social science skills needed for the analysis of policy, and the public attitudes and behaviours that policy addresses, could have lasting value for the region.

Abbreviations

ACS	Association of Caribbean States
AOSIS	Alliance of Small Island States
BPoA	Barbados Programme of Action
CANARI	Caribbean Natural Resources Institute
CBD	Convention on Biodiversity
CCA	Caribbean Conservation Association
CCCCC	Caribbean Community Climate Change Centre
CERMES	Centre for Resource Management and Environmental Studies
CITMA	Cuban Ministry of Science and Technology
CLME	Caribbean Large Marine Ecosystem Project
CPDC	Caribbean Policy Development Centre
CEP	Caribbean Environment Programme
CPACC	Caribbean Project for Adaptation to Climate Change
CREDP	Caribbean Renewable Energy Development Programme
CSD	UN Commission for Sustainable Development
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DMA	Cuban Environmental Directorate
DoE	Department of the Environment
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
ESDU	OECS Environment and Sustainable Development Unit
GEF	Global Environment Facility
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
LDC	Least Developed Country
MEA	Multilateral Environmental Agreement
MIC	Middle Income Country
MINVEC	Cuban Ministry for Foreign Investment and Economic Cooperation
NBSAP	National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan
NCEPA	National Conservation and Environmental Protection Act
NCSA	National Capacity Self-Assessment Programme
NEAP	National Environment Action Plan
NEMS	National Environmental Management Strategy
OAS	Organisation of American States
OECS	Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States
OECS	OECS Protected Areas and Associated Livelihoods
SCHS	St Christopher Historical Society
SEDU	University of the West Indies Sustainable Economic Development Unit
SIDS	Small island developing states
SKN	St Kitts and Nevis
UCSIS	University Consortium for Small Island States
UNCLOS	UN Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNDP	UN Development Programme
UNEP	UN Environment Programme
UNFCCC	UN Framework Convention on Climate Change
WSSD	World Summit for Sustainable Development

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