



The search for a *new* economy in the Caribbean

Regional Dialogue as part of the Green Economy Coalition National Dialogues

Background Paper

1. Introduction

This background paper was prepared by the Caribbean Natural Resources Institute (CANARI), Green Park Consultants and the Sustainable Economic Development Unit (SEDU) of the University of the West Indies. The paper draws together material from literature reviews and interviews by key informants for the purpose of stimulating discussion at the regional conference on the search for a new economy in the Caribbean. It is not meant to be exhaustive, but rather to set the context and flag issues to be explored in more depth during the conference.

The conference kicks off a regional Dialogue that aims to engage stakeholders from throughout the Caribbean in defining the main elements of a new approach to economic development and governance that pays greater attention than in the past to key issues of environmental sustainability, social justice, equity and rights. The conference begins a process of consultation to formulate ideas and recommendations, and to develop a draft position paper that will be circulated widely throughout the region for review. The final version of the position paper will be disseminated to all relevant organisations, with the expectation that its contents will be used in policy and programme formulation at national, regional and international levels.

This Dialogue is being coordinated by CANARI and a range of regional partners under the auspices of the Green Economy Coalition (GEC), a grouping of international civil society, research, labour and business organisations with a shared interest in accelerating a transition to a new, more sustainable “green” economy¹.

GEC has been organising a series of national and regional dialogues on what ‘green economy’ might mean for lower and middle income countries, with the objective of enriching the debate, which is currently dominated by international and northern-based voices. Processes are also taking place in India, Brazil, Chile, and the Sahel region of Africa. Each dialogue also takes a global view and feeds a message into the next dialogue. The dialogues aim to prepare countries for, and feed into, key global processes including the Rio+20 Earth Summit in 2012. They also aim to build synergies with relevant ongoing national and regional initiatives.

¹ See the GEC website, www.greeneconomycoalition.org, for more information and a complete list of partners.

2. The Green Economy Concept in Development Discourse and Practice

The term “green economy” has recently come into widespread use in international development circles. The concept seeks to rationalise actions on three fronts:

- addressing climate change and other environmental challenges,
- recovery from the current global economic crisis, and
- the continuing quest for a more equitable and sustainable approach to development.

A range of definitions for a green economy have been proposed (see Figure 1); these generally incorporate principles of operating within ecological limits (using environmental goods and services sustainably and reducing the “ecological footprint” of economic activity), and creation of innovative sectors and technologies that reduce greenhouse gas emissions, produce new economic growth and employment opportunities (e.g., “green jobs”, renewable energy, organic agriculture), and do not impact negatively on the environment.

“A resilient economy that provides a better quality of life for all within the ecological limits of one planet.” (Green Economy Coalition vision and working definition, from Green Economy Coalition 2010)

“A system of economic activities related to the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services that result in improved human wellbeing over the long term, while not exposing future generations to significant environmental risks and ecological scarcities.” (UNEP’s “working definition” of a Green Economy, from Stone 2010)

An “economy which has reduced its negative impacts on nature – air, water, biodiversity and climate” (Mulgan and Salem 2008)

“An economic system that is dominated by investing in, producing, trading, distributing and consuming not only environmentally friendly but also environmentally enhancing products and services” (Fulai undated)

“At the most basic level, the green economy is the clean energy economy, consisting primarily of four sectors: renewable energy (e.g. solar, wind, geothermal); green building and energy efficiency technology; energy efficient infrastructure and transportation; and recycling and waste-to-energy. The green economy is not just about the ability to produce clean energy, but also technologies that allow cleaner production processes, as well as the growing market for products which consume less energy...” (Chapple 2008)

Figure 1. Green Economy: some definitions

The concept has spawned several initiatives to promote adoption of green economy principles by both industrialised and developing countries.

Industrialised and major industrialising countries have focused on the economic growth dimension of the concept. The Organisation for Economic Development Cooperation is developing a “Green Growth Strategy” outlining policy measures to help member countries make an economic shift towards “cleaner sources of growth, including seizing the opportunities to develop new green industries, jobs and technologies, while also managing the structural changes associated with the transition to a greener economy” (OECD 2010). The Government of Korea was at the forefront of the green economy movement, adopting a National Green Growth Strategy in 2008 (UNEP 2010). France recently announced a green economy strategy for the period 2010-2013 (République Française 2010). China has been moving aggressively into “green” energy technologies including wind, solar and biofuels, investing billions of dollars and creating over one million jobs (Bradsher 2010).

The concept is also being promoted to developing countries through international programmes such as UNEP’s Green Economy Initiative to “assist governments in shaping and focusing policies, investments and spending towards a range of green sectors”

(<http://www.unep.org/greeneconomy/>), and the World Bank-managed multidonor Clean Investment Funds “to help developing countries pilot low-emissions and climate-resilient development” (<http://www.climateinvestmentfunds.org/cif/>).

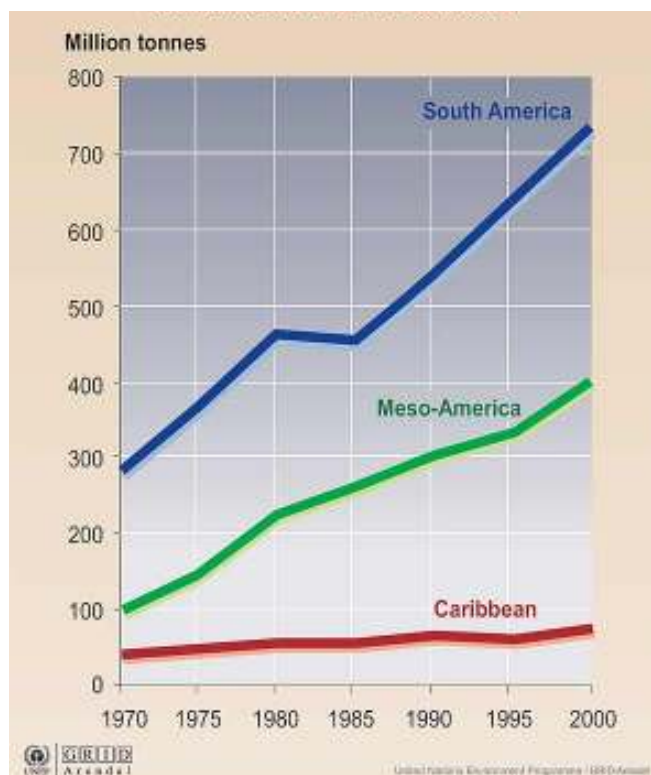
However, there has been less interest in developing countries themselves than there has been in more industrialised ones where the potential economic opportunities are most apparent. Many stakeholders from developing countries are in fact viewing the concept with scepticism. At the first meeting to prepare for the UN Earth Summit in 2010 (Rio+20) in May of this year, developing countries voiced reservations about making green economy a major theme of the Summit. The South-North Development Monitor reported concerns “including that the concept was new and complex and thus too early to be the subject of multilateral negotiations; that it should not distort or divert from the agreed and holistic concept of ‘sustainable development’ and that it should not be used to open the way to trade protection or new and finance conditionalities” (Ling and Iyer 2010).

3. Potential Relevance of the 'Green Economy' Concept to the Caribbean

Most Caribbean economies are dependent on natural resources, with agriculture and tourism being the two main sectors, and with both sectors being characterised by a comparable mix of externally driven production systems and markets (export crops such as banana and sugarcane in the case of agriculture, resorts in the case of tourism) on the one hand and somewhat "greener" systems and approaches on the other (small scale peasant agriculture, agro processing, fair-trade, nature and heritage tourism). A few economies are driven by non-renewable natural resources (e.g. bauxite in Jamaica and petroleum and natural gas in Trinidad and Tobago). Caribbean small island economies are highly vulnerable to natural disasters. Because of their heavy reliance on a few export sectors, they are also vulnerable to external market forces, as illustrated by the impact of the loss of preferential access of the Eastern Caribbean bananas on the European market.

In this context, the three converging issues that sparked the green economy concept -- climate change, the global economic crisis and sustainable development, are all highly relevant to the Caribbean.

Climate change: Small island states have been identified by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) as among the most vulnerable to climate change, particularly the impacts from sea level rise and increased frequency and intensity of hurricanes (UNFCCC 2007). The anticipated impact of climate change on the Caribbean is highly disproportionate to the region's small contribution to greenhouse gas emissions² (see Figure 2).



Source UNEP/Grid-Arendal 2005

Figure 2. Regional differences in CO2 emissions, Latin America and the Caribbean

² One exception is the emissions contribution of air travel to and from the region

Climate change poses a substantial threat to the Caribbean's main economic sectors, particularly tourism and agriculture. Both already suffer periodic collapses following hurricanes and other natural disasters. Coastal erosion has been costly for the tourism industry, and sea level rise will increase the impact. Climate change also poses a threat to scarce potable water resources on many islands.

A recent study by the Caribbean Catastrophe Risk Insurance Facility suggests that climate change could increase existing high losses from climate-related events in the region by 1-3% of GDP annually (CCRIF 2010). The report underlines the need and opportunity for urgent cost-effective adaptation measures; clearly there is also a need for diversification to reduce dependency on highly vulnerable economic activities.

The global economic crisis: Given their highly open economies and dependence on trade, it is unsurprising that most Caribbean countries have been severely affected by the crisis (see Figure 3).

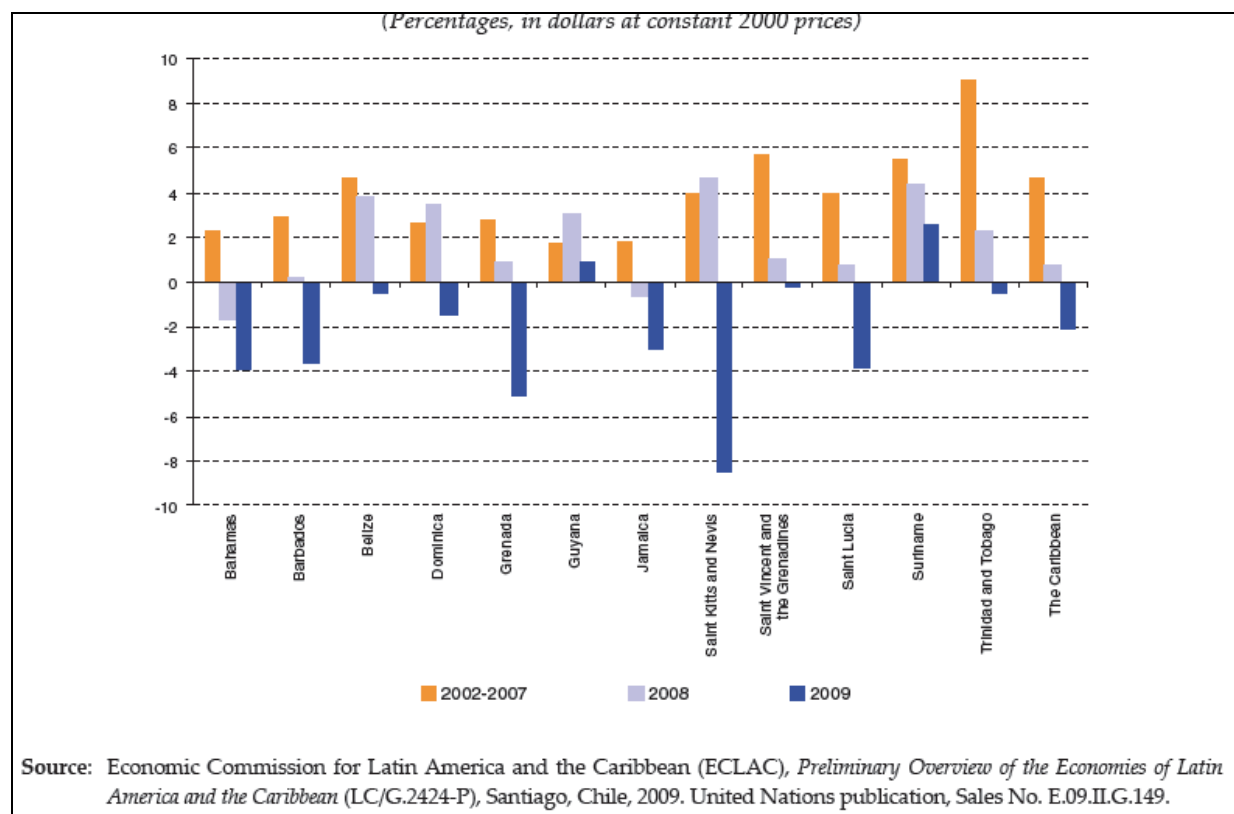


Figure 3. The Caribbean: GDP growth, 2002-2009 (IMF 2010)

An October 2010 report by the International Monetary Fund (IMF 2010) found that the situation was beginning to improve, but at a slow and uneven pace. After a 3% contraction in 2009, with severe negative impact on employment, the regional average growth rate in 2010 is projected to be only 1%. Much of this growth is due to investment in reconstruction in Haiti. The tourism industry is beginning to recover slowly in larger countries, but at a cost of reduced hotel prices. In the smaller islands, which were hit hardest in 2009, the sector has not yet begun to recover (see Figure 5). Extending beyond and compounding the current crisis, trade liberalisation and the forced reduction in tariffs have had dramatic impacts on the ability of Caribbean governments, especially in the smaller economies, to generate revenue. These factors have resulted in negative trends on many fronts of social development, including access to health care, education and sanitation, and in an escalation of social conflict and violence in many Caribbean societies.

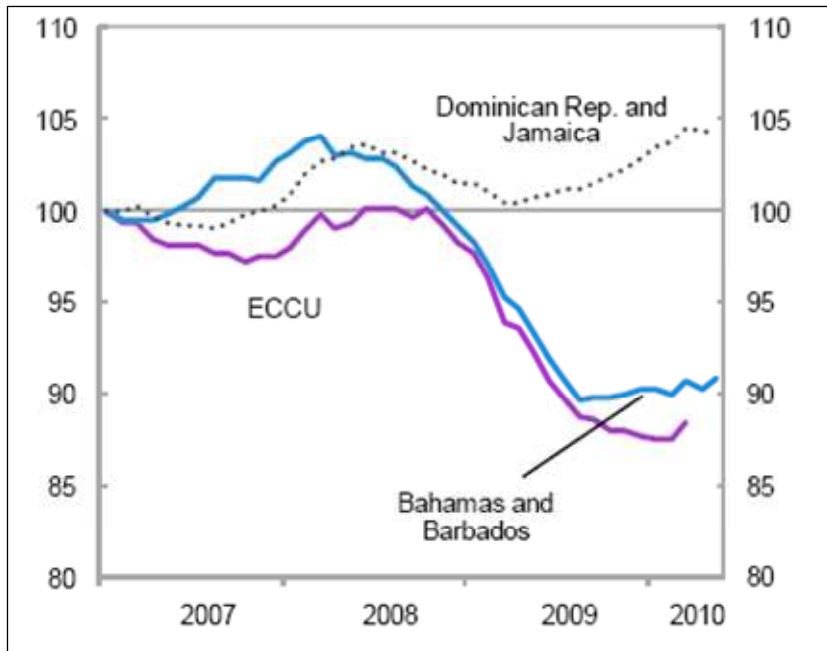


Figure 4. Caribbean tourist arrivals (Index: 2007=100) Source: IMF 2010

Sustainable development: Sustainable development is an approach to development that balances economic, social and environmental objectives with the aim of maintaining prosperity, reducing poverty and increasing equity over the long term. The concept was first articulated in the report of Brundtland Commission in 1987 and gained prominence at the first international Earth Summit in Rio in 1992. It has long been embraced by Caribbean countries and institutions as a guiding framework for development, given the region’s long history of overexploitation of natural resources and ecosystems, economic vulnerability and high rates of poverty. Despite the rhetoric, however, dominant economic models in the region continue to be characterized by unsustainable use of environmental goods and services, often driven by external market forces and inequitable trade relationships.

From the perspective of these three challenges, a new approach to economic development is clearly needed in the Caribbean. In order to provide a starting point for this regional dialogue, the rest of this paper looks at how Caribbean countries and societies are preparing for a post-crisis, climate-constrained, environmentally sustainable future, as well as the factors that drive pathways and decisions.

4. Stocktaking: Positions and Responses of Key Actors

This section looks at the reactions of governments, the private sector, civil society and other major development actors to current development challenges, and particularly at the roles they are playing or could play in a transition to more sustainable development pathways.

a. National policies and strategies

Virtually every government in the region has voiced the need for more sustainable approaches to economic development and for concerted responses to challenges such as climate change. Yet, none have yet taken radical or even major substantive measures to deal with the challenges discussed in the previous chapter. The drastic reductions in fiscal revenues brought on by the global economic collapse have limited public sector options, and political imperatives make it difficult for governments to push for major change. There are however a few initiatives that indicate that countries are looking for new approaches. Some of the more notable ones include these:

Barbados. “Building a green economy” is one of the six goals of the Barbados National Strategic Plan 2006-2025, and is also highlighted in its current medium-term planning framework. The country sees this goal as a continuation and reaffirmation of the long-standing aim to mainstream sustainable development principles of economic efficiency, equity, conservation of natural resources, participation, and quality of life. To develop concrete policies and actions to make this national economic shift, the country is now carrying out a “Green Economy Scoping Study” in collaboration with the University of the West Indies and UNEP. It intends to host a Caribbean Green Economy Conference later this year at which it will report on the results of the study (Government of Barbados 2010).

Guyana. The President of Guyana launched the first draft of a national Low Carbon Development Strategy (LCDS) in 2009. A period of extensive national consultation followed, and the draft has been revised twice in response to stakeholder input. The current draft was produced in May 2010. The strategy aims to transform the Guyana economy into one that is “low-deforestation, low carbon, [and] climate-resilient” (Republic of Guyana 2010). The strategy proposes preserving the country’s vast rainforests in order to take advantage of Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD+) financing through the World Bank-managed Forest Carbon Partnership Facility and other mechanisms; the LCDS is Guyana’s approved REDD+ plan. Financing generated through REDD+ certification will be used to realign the economy “onto a low-carbon development trajectory”. Progress on the next phase of LCDS implementation has however been stalled by the complex and cumbersome administrative requirements of international partners, including the World Bank and the Government of Norway, which is the first investor in the Guyana REDD+ Investment Facility. Some work at community level is being supported directly by the Government of Guyana and community institutions themselves in order to maintain the enthusiasm and momentum generated during the consultation phase.

Jamaica. The Government of Jamaica has mainstreamed elements of green economy policy into its “Vision 2030 Jamaica” National Development Plan (Planning Institute of Jamaica 2009), which integrates economic, environmental and social objectives in a single planning framework. The term “green economy” is explicitly used in describing outcomes and sectoral strategies. This is the first long-term development plan that the Government has prepared since 1990, when central economic planning fell out of favour with the encouragement of the international finance institutions. It marks an important step in returning to a more policy-driven approach to economic development, which is now being replicated in other countries of the region. There will be challenges in operationalising the Plan, however, given the existing structures in government and society, which still deal with economic, social and environmental issues through separate instruments and institutions.

Nevis. The Government of Nevis has adopted a sustainable energy policy that aims at energy self-sufficiency by 2020. To achieve that goal, the Government is promoting the use

of solar, wind and geothermal energy. The initiative is being championed by the Minister of Communications, Works, Utilities, Planning, Natural Resources and Environment for Nevis. The Organization of American States (OAS) has supported the development of the policy and measures being taken to implement it.

b. The private sector

Most of the region's main economic sectors are highly vulnerable to global economic downturns, natural disasters and other climate-related phenomena, and natural resource degradation. While the impacts and threats from these crises have increased greatly, the efforts from businesses to build their resilience through new practices, products and services have been limited. There have been niche markets, most notably in agriculture and tourism, that have incorporated environmentally sustainable business practices for many years, but have in most cases only captured a small percentage of the larger market in these sectors. Fair Trade bananas may be one exception; however this market is far smaller than the regional banana market was before the erosion in the 1990s of European trade preferences.

Despite limited substantive progress or evidence of private sector actors in the region taking the lead in a shift to a new economic vision, awareness has increased of the potential benefits of more sustainable business practices. A small handful of enterprises are starting to take approaches that reflect the "triple bottom line" theory that businesses can do best over the long term by generating social and environmental, as well as economic, benefits. The region now has a few successful tourism resorts that achieve high marks for their care for the natural environment, working conditions and linkages with the local economy. However, these are isolated cases, and are likely to remain so without policy incentives and rewards that can overcome the more general preoccupation with short-term profits.

While there have been many programmes and initiatives aimed at promoting micro and small enterprise in the region, there is not yet a full understanding and appreciation of the role that small business and the informal sector play in social and economic development. Initiatives to support new enterprise, for example in nature and heritage tourism, remain marginal, and important sectors such as cultural industries are not given the attention they deserve.

c. Civil society and academia

As this Dialogue demonstrates, there are many civil society organisations and academic institutions throughout the region that are deeply engaged in the search for a more just and sustainable future, in both theory and practice. Civil society activists and scholars from the region are often the strongest and most articulate voices for new policy approaches and ways of thinking about development. The intellectual rigour and moral courage of people like the late Prof. Dennis Pantin, founder of UWI's Sustainable Economic Development Unit (see for example Pantin 2008), have guided much of the region's debate on development pathways for decades.

At regional level, there are a number of organisations that have been in existence for a while and provide a mechanism for representation, communication and advocacy, notably the Caribbean Association of Industry and Commerce, the Caribbean Congress of Labour, the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action and the Caribbean Policy Development Centre. There are also new initiatives that aim at provoking and facilitating essential regional debates, such as the "*Construyendo el Gran Caribe*" programme of the Centro Leon in the Dominican Republic.

However, there is a broad sense that the leadership role that civil society and academia once played on issues of development policy has diminished over the past twenty years; that there are fewer new ideas and creative approaches coming out of these sectors; and that they have become less challenging of the *status quo*.

The growing complexity of the challenges the region faces has meant that NGOs and scholars tend, perhaps more than in the past, to concentrate on specific challenges or dimensions of sustainable development rather than the broad picture. This trend has been accentuated by current donor priorities and research funding opportunities. There are fewer opportunities than there were in the past for them to exchange ideas or mechanisms through which organisations can join forces, and it has become increasingly difficult to raise financial and technical resources for innovative development initiatives. Regional networks that once served as important platforms for debate and advocacy have either disappeared (e.g. CARIPEDA) or are largely inactive (e.g. Caribbean Conservation Association). Despite efforts to overcome regional fragmentation through collaborative programmes and institutions, language remains a major factor dividing the region's civil society and academic institutions. As a result, initiatives are too dispersed and piecemeal to achieve impact on policies, attitudes or behaviours.

Unions have lost membership in recent years and do not play a major role in development decision-making either nationally or regionally. Their weakened position is also reflected in their failure, in several instances, to adjust their agendas to current challenges and needs.

The dearth of younger activists and development scholars has been noted by many, and may be partially attributable to the more conservative political environment and neoliberal orthodoxy that has prevailed over the past twenty years and has reduced the exposure of younger generations to alternative discourses and paradigms. Nurturing a new generation of leaders is clearly one of the main priorities for civil society now.

d. Regional institutions and initiatives

Given the small sizes and interdependence of most Caribbean countries, regional institutions are prevalent and often influential. Many of these institutions are facilitating an analysis of and response to the global crisis, but this is not yet couched in terms of inventing a new economy. As with most of the region's governments and the private sector, it is approached more as "managing the implications of the crisis", and is looking more at specific sectors or dimensions (e.g. human security, financial sector or fiscal revenue/budget support) rather than at the whole picture. There is a sense that many of the regional initiatives are more reactive and driven by external agendas than truly emanating from the needs and realities of the region – climate change, energy and trade liberalisation being good examples.

While regional institutions may not be playing a leading role in transforming Caribbean development, there are many voices in these institutions that express the need for a new development paradigm, and this suggests conditions favourable for a wider and deeper debate and a more aggressive search for new approaches.

Some of the regional institutions that have the expertise and mandate to contribute to the development of a new economy and that have current programmes and initiatives relevant to that agenda include:

- CARICOM, whose regional initiatives include the Caribbean Single Market and Economy; the Caribbean Community Climate Change Centre, which is the official repository of climate information for the CARICOM member states; and the Caribbean Renewable Energy Development Programme;
- Caribbean Development Bank, which has poverty reduction, environmental sustainability and climate change as core themes for the Seventh Cycle of its Special Development Fund (2009-2012);
- UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, whose mission is "to strengthen the development process by achieving economic transformation, social resilience and environmental sustainability in the Caribbean sub-region and enhance the sub-region's cooperation with Latin America";

- UNEP's Caribbean Environment Programme, which has played a leading role in development of regional policies and programmes on the environment, and particularly on marine issues;
- OAS's Department of Sustainable Development, which supports Member States in to integrate environmental priorities with poverty alleviation and socio-economic development goals. It has been particularly active on sustainable energy and was a founding member of the Caribbean Renewable Energy, Energy Efficiency and Bioenergy Action Programme
- Caribbean Tourism Organisation, through its sustainable tourism development framework and annual Caribbean Conference on Sustainable Tourism Development;
- Caribbean Sea Commission, an initiative of the Association of Caribbean States (ACS), which has the potential to provide an integrated framework for the governance of the Wider Caribbean Sea.

Despite this plethora of regional expertise, at a political level there are few strong and credible pan-Caribbean voices. The ACS, which represents the widest range of countries, is not very present in the main debates and processes. CARICOM has a smaller geographic scope and has not been able to offer very strong leadership on and rapid response to either crises or opportunities. The OAS and the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas (ALBA) both link the Caribbean to Latin America, which offers both challenges and opportunities for the region, but have very different development visions and operate in distinct spheres, and neither is representative of all the governments of the region.

5. Drivers of and Obstacles to Change

The general economic policy environment: For the last twenty or more years the economies of the region, with the exception of Cuba's, have been guided by neoliberal principles introduced by international finance institutions, trade partners and development assistance agencies. Governments have had few instruments for guiding economic development; for example, long-term national development planning was abandoned by most countries in the early 1990s (although it is beginning to come back, partly in response to new practices and requirements of donor agencies). In place of comprehensive planning frameworks reflecting long-term national goals and objectives, governments have relied on tax and other, often piecemeal, incentives to keep the economy lurching forward.

In such a policy and economic environment, with the added uncertainties associated with the impact of disasters, the focus of the private sector, and particularly foreign companies, has been on short-term returns rather than longer-term socially, environmentally and economically sustainable investment strategies.

The investment and production environment is also affected by safety and security concerns. The region has one of the highest, and fastest growing, rates of crime and violence in the world, and the cost to businesses in terms of losses and security is extremely high (World Bank 2007). Concern is also being raised in several countries over the impact of crime on governance and public institutions. More broadly, there are accepted behaviours, for example, praedial larceny or irresponsible driving habits, that contribute to what can be perceived as "a culture of indiscipline", which discourages investment.

The institutional environment: While the discourse of both government and regional organisations reflects and promotes an integrated approach to development, in practice, their programmes and activities are often disconnected, with "sustainable development" often remaining separate from "economic development" (and sustainable development activities being limited, in many cases, to environmental work). Reductions in fiscal revenue and official development assistance have also reduced the capacity of public institutions to address development issues in a strategic and innovative manner.

The significant weakening of civil society institutions over the past two decades has resulted at community level in a weakening of social cohesion and of bottom-up, community-based responses to local development needs. Some programmes and institutions have sought, and are seeking, to address this issue, but the resources at their disposal are insufficient, especially when one considers the enormity of the challenge.

At all levels and in all sectors, institutions through which change can occur have been affected by the prevalence of the neoliberal paradigm, with a general diminishment of ideological debate and a marginalisation of alternative approaches.

Markets, investment and trade: Export markets have dominated the economy, and their structures, products and operations have been largely determined by trade partners and indirectly by northern consumers. This model has contributed to negative environmental externalities, employment insecurity, poor labour standards, and a host of social and economic problems. On the other hand, it has also driven some changes in a more positive direction – for example the introduction of markets for Fair Trade products, which mitigated to some extent the impacts of the loss of preferential markets in recent decades, and of demand for sustainable tourism practices, which has nurtured a niche market and also affected the practices of more mainstream tourism enterprises. These drivers may not however spur businesses to make holistic changes; for example, consumer demand for nature tourism and sustainable practices may contribute to reduced impact on the environment, but not necessarily to improved labour practices or increased local procurement.

Energy production and consumption: The rise in global oil prices, and the expectation that they will rise much higher, has stimulated businesses around the world to begin

investing in renewable forms of energy. Regional and global agreements on climate change mitigation targets and incentives are also driving investment in renewable energy, especially in the North and the large emerging economies. This trend is not occurring to nearly the same degree in the Caribbean, however. Mitigation is not a policy priority given the region's relatively low contribution to greenhouse gases and the exclusion of Caribbean countries from international target agreements. Trinidad, with its abundant gas reserves that permit popular subsidies on electricity and transport fuel, has little incentive to explore other options. However, even in Trinidad, government energy policies call for a move to a more diversified and sustainable energy mix, and in other countries there would be benefits from moving in that direction. The PetroCaribe agreement, which allows participating countries of the region to purchase oil from Venezuela at preferential lending rates, has limited demand for alternative energy options to an extent, but some options should be economically competitive. Reduced energy consumption would also offer benefits, especially in countries with very high electricity costs like Jamaica and the smaller islands, but in most countries there are few programmes or incentives to spur it on. Despite promising initiatives over the years, perhaps most notably in geothermal energy production, alternative energy projects have not attracted the scale of finance needed to make them viable alternatives. Some investment is however occurring through programmes such as the OAS's Caribbean Sustainable Energy Programme, and in a few cases (for example that of Nevis discussed above), there has been a real impact.

Migration and the Caribbean space: Caribbean societies have been built on the movement of people, to, from and within the region, but patterns of migration have changed significantly in recent years, with migration within the Caribbean often perceived as a threat by the host society, and with opportunities for migration to more affluent societies outside the region reserved to skilled labour (resulting in a continued brain drain that is effectively encouraged by the policies and regulations of recipient countries – the very same countries that are currently reducing their development assistance to the region). While there is little doubt that prosperity in the region cannot be achieved without the construction of a larger Caribbean space that includes all linguistic domains of the region as well as the diasporas, there are many forces at work at present that result in increased fragmentation.

Demand side factors: Years of sustainable development discourse in the Caribbean have had an impact on people's understanding of the inter-relationships between the economy and the natural and social environment. Despite the civil society weaknesses discussed above, growing awareness is contributing to some bottom-up demand. There have also been opportunities for people to be personally engaged in sustainable development actions, for example the involvement of fisher associations in coral reef management and community tourism initiatives. These have had very localized but nonetheless real and positive impacts that have sometimes created ripple effects to other geographic communities, and have influenced policy changes.

Cultural factors: Development is about people, and culture is a critical element of development, because it shapes the vision, priorities and strategies of given societies; it determines how institutions and businesses operate; and it guides the consumption choices that people make. While cultural realities vary greatly between Caribbean countries, there are significant tensions and trends that can be observed throughout the region, including the growth of consumerism, the growing influence of external media and cultural expressions, and the divisiveness of partisan politics. These realities are guiding change towards paths that are less sustainable and fair, but they are fortunately resisted by alternative voices and behaviours, however isolated these may be.

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