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Policy issues: Emerging policy issues

**POVERTY AND ECOSYSTEMS: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK
A SYNTHESIS**

Note by the Executive Director

The present document provides a conceptual framework to analyse the linkages between poverty and the environment, in keeping with Governing Council decision 21/15 of 9 February. The document has been revised to reflect recent development in this area. The text of the following paragraphs has been produced without formal editing.

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Poverty and Ecosystems: A Role for UNEP

Executive Summary

In February 2001, the twenty-first Governing Council of UNEP/Global Ministerial Environment Forum adopted Resolution 21-15. This Resolution requests the Executive Director of UNEP to develop and promote understanding of the linkages between poverty and the environment, the means of making people's livelihoods more productive and environmentally sustainable and appropriate policy options for governments.

Already in 1972, at the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment (UNCHE), Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India and the only head of government other than from the host country to attend UNCHE, identified the significance of the environment and poverty linkages when she declared that "poverty is the worst pollution."

In recent years, several major international declarations have underlined the need for poverty eradication together with sustainable development, with particular emphasis on Africa. The United Nations Millennium Declaration stated "We will support the consolidation of democracy in Africa and assist Africans in their struggle for lasting peace, poverty eradication and sustainable development, thereby bringing Africa into the mainstream of the world economy." The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) represent an important part of the "road map towards interpreting the [Millennium] declaration." In addition to its economic goals for poverty eradication, the MDG articulate the related environmental goals, establishing a linkage between poverty eradication and environmental sustainability.

This linkage has long been recognized. The World Commission on Environment and Development elaborated on its classic definition of sustainable development by stating: Sustainable development "contains two key concepts: the concept of 'needs,' in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs." Chapter 3 of Agenda 21 further developed these concepts.

The World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) articulated a substantial agenda for poverty eradication. It made explicit the link between poverty and biodiversity in stating "Biodiversity, which plays a critical role in overall sustainable development and poverty eradication, is essential to our planet and to the livelihood and cultural integrity of people." It called on countries to "implement the Convention [on Biodiversity] and its provisions, including active follow-up of its work programmes and decisions through national, regional and global action programmes, in particular in national biodiversity strategies and action plans, and strengthen their integration into relevant cross-sectoral strategies, programmes and policies, including those related to sustainable development and poverty eradication, including initiatives which promote community-based sustainable use of biological diversity." WSSD opened the door to better integration of the goals of poverty eradication with other multilateral environmental agreements, the Convention on Desertification and the Framework Convention on Climate Change in particular. WSSD also focused on the needs of Africa.

A common theme of all these declarations is the need to situate poverty eradication within national strategies for sustainable development and national plans to implement the international environmental agenda.

The Declaration of the Doha Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organisation outlined an ambitious program of negotiations to be undertaken in the coming years. The Declaration opens with an emphatic restatement of the commitment to sustainable development that is part of the Uruguay Round Agreements that established the WTO. The program for negotiation is characterized by the inclusion of environment and development issues, which are to be found in all sections of the Declaration. Identification of the specific

contribution of the process of economic liberalization within a framework of sustainable development to poverty alleviation remains a priority concern.

The most important efforts undertaken thus far with respect to poverty alleviation are those initiated by national and subnational authorities in the countries themselves. This is the point of departure for any international efforts in this area, and for UNEP's work in particular.

In recent years, several other international organizations have undertaken important work on issues relating to poverty, notably the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme. This work has given rise to tools to identify possible responses to the need for poverty alleviation.

There is a growing literature on poverty and the environment, based on academic studies and the background studies undertaken by UNDP and the World Bank. This literature underlines the critical interdependencies between ecosystem services, human development, and poverty reduction. The long standing assumption that the poor are the main perpetrators of environmental degradation has been refuted by many of the new studies and the evidence points to a much more complex nexus of social and economic exclusion as well as institutional failure as the main drivers of both environmental degradation and poverty. It is therefore imperative that an approach that fully integrates the human as well the ecological dimension be adopted to address the problem of poverty world-wide.

UNEP GC Resolution 21-15 responds to the concern for the need to take into account the linkages between poverty and the environment. The central challenge for UNEP is to contribute to a strengthening of the environmental management capacity at national and local levels. This requires a sound scientific basis and reliable information on the conditions of ecosystems, consequences of ecosystem change on social and economic processes, and analysis of options for policy and implementation responses.

The work done by UNEP draws on the experience of these studies as well as on the work of Amartya Sen, Nobel Laureate in Economics, widely recognized as one of the foremost economic analysts of the phenomena of poverty. It also draws on experience with participatory natural resource management. UNEP's contribution to the continuing international debate about poverty is the development of an ecosystem approach that gives equal treatment to all services ecosystems provide while remaining rooted in a significant body of economic thought.

The attached document "Poverty and Ecosystems: A Conceptual Framework" develops an approach that fully integrates the environment into the task of poverty alleviation. It complements existing analyses and strategies. Assessment of poverty alleviation strategies, drawing on a wide range of economic and social research, indicates that consideration of the environmental dimension is essential in such strategies and that additional measures are needed to ensure that this dimension is properly integrated.

The Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA) provides definitions of ecosystems and ecosystem services that have been used in UNEP's work on poverty and the environment. Ecosystems provide three essential services to humans—provisioning (food, fiber, fuels), regulating (purification, detoxification, mitigation of droughts and floods), and enriching (spiritual, aesthetic, social). The constituents and determinants of well-being of the poor are closely linked with these ecosystem services. The poor have limited financial resources to purchase ecosystem services and therefore rely heavily on their natural availability. Any poverty alleviation strategy must take into account the contribution of ecosystem services to the well-being of the poor. This requires a consistent approach capable of recognizing the circumstances under which specific groups of poor draw on essential ecosystem services and where preservation of these services may contribute more to their well-being than modest increases in incomes. As a rule, the poor are acutely aware of their dependence on these ecosystem services and consequently capable of identifying priority actions to conserve them.

The Conceptual Framework identifies barriers to the access of the poor to ecosystem services and drivers of degradation of these ecosystems. The barriers are economic, social, governance, and ecological in nature. Market and non-market instruments, formal and informal institutions, and public, private, or public/private organizations can be used to address these barriers. It is striking to note that the conditions required to

address the poverty and environment linkage are congruent with the institutions that have been developed in many countries to address other environmental problems: economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, ecological security, and participative freedom are the conditions that permit the poor to prioritize investment in the preservation of ecosystem services and to balance such investment against other possible measures to improve their well-being.

The Conceptual Framework shows that in addition to the provisioning services there is a strong need for incorporating the regulating and enriching constituents—the life-supporting services—of ecological systems into poverty reduction strategies of developing countries. The services provided by these two components are indispensable for the poor who need them to achieve basic capabilities—the ability to be adequately nourished, the ability to have access to clean water and air, the ability to prevent avoidable diseases—that they value if they are to achieve the well-being they desire.

By focusing on capabilities, the Conceptual Framework emphasizes the need to make the poor themselves as “agents of change” and not the traditional attitude towards them as clients needing help. The Framework also stresses the concept of choice by focusing on “value” rather than “requirement” or “need”. The uniqueness of this approach is that it lays out very clearly the trade-offs that may have to be made with respect to the three services provided by ecosystems and the various capabilities that individuals value. It underlines that the process by which these trade-offs are made is not through market mechanisms but through a social process. The market plays its role in identifying efficient outcomes but only after the social processes has assigned values and generated priorities in an open and participatory manner.

The next steps envisaged by UNEP, based upon Resolution 21/15 and the work undertaken thus far, is to operationalize the conceptual framework and to test this approach in a number of country studies, focusing on Africa. The plan is to approach five member countries in Africa and initiate a national dialogue over the poverty-environment links. The point of departure will be the policies and plans of these countries.

National workshops will be convened in cooperation with the respective governments. These workshops will serve a number of purposes. First, they will bring explicit attention to the importance of the poverty-environment nexus. Second, they will provide a forum to discuss the ecosystem-capability approach and to solicit feedback for revisions and amendments to the initial template. Third, it ensures that implementation is rooted in the priorities of the respective countries.

Following the national workshops, a detailed country assessment exercise will be carried out. This will involve facilitating the various stakeholders in particular from local communities, civil society organizations, district officials, and government ministries. Task forces will be formed around the poverty-environment linkages highlighted as being the most critical in the country. These task forces will be responsible for carrying out assessments on their respective linkages and documenting opportunities that need to be strengthened and barriers that need to be overcome. The country assessment will integrate existing poverty reduction strategies in the respective countries into its work and conclusions. In this manner, policy coherence will be maintained. The final report will comprise chapters addressing specific poverty-environment linkages as well as a chapter discussing trade-off issues that may arise among the various capabilities and/or ecosystems that were identified in the exercise.

This work is scheduled to take three years and will result in an operational approach to poverty and the environment. The final output will be a poverty-environment strategy designed by each country, integrated with other poverty alleviation measures and that has a good fit with the national and local social, economic, political and ecological conditions—a long-standing goal of UNEP.

Poverty and Ecosystems: A Conceptual Framework

A Synopsis

Introduction

The twenty-first Governing Council of UNEP/Global Ministerial Environment Forum adopted Resolution 21/15 in February 2001 requesting the Executive Director of UNEP to “develop and promote:

- understanding of the linkages between poverty and the environment,
- means of making people’s livelihoods more productive and environmentally sustainable, and
- appropriate policy options for Governments, a significant priority which should be to assist governments in integrating environment in central social and economic processes, including the poverty reduction strategies and the comprehensive development frameworks.”

This resolution is a response to general concerns about environmental degradation and increasing poverty. The literature on poverty and the environment underlines the critical interdependencies between ecosystem services, human development and poverty reduction. A complex nexus of social and economic exclusion as well as institutional failure emerge as the main drivers of both environmental degradation and poverty. It is crucial to adopt an approach that integrates fully the human and the ecological dimensions.

The first stage of the work is the development of a conceptual framework to understand the linkages between poverty and the environment. Consideration of the environmental dimension is essential in poverty reduction strategies and additional measures are needed for this dimension to be properly integrated. The conceptual framework complements existing analyses and strategies. This document presents a synopsis of the paper “Poverty and Ecosystems: A Conceptual Framework”. The paper aims to i) demonstrate how the poor depend on ecosystem services for achieving basic constituents or capabilities of well-being, ii) identify barriers and drivers that prevent the poor from using those services, iii) identify policy response options to remove the barriers, redesign or introduce new drivers to allow the poor to improve their well-being, and iv) to ensure policy coherence among policy frameworks developed at the local, national and international levels. The proposed framework aims to meet the criteria of specificity, clarity and practicality.

Poverty is multi-dimensional and can be defined as the deprivation of basic capabilities.

The significance of the contribution of the ecosystems approach to the international debate lies in its i) use of a multidimensional concept of poverty based on capability deprivation, ii) development of an integrated framework of instruments, institutions and organizations to address the provision of freedoms, and iii) focus on poverty-environment linkages. The proposed framework aims to meet the criteria of specificity, clarity and practicality.

Understanding the links between ecosystems and ecosystem services and basic capabilities is situation-dependent, reflecting local geography, culture, and ecological circumstances.

Ecosystems and Ecosystem Services

The concept of ecosystems is used to cover a range of issues related to the environment. Ecosystems, as defined by the MA, refer to “A spatially explicit unit of the earth that includes all of the organisms, along with all components of the abiotic environment within its boundaries”. The paper is interested in ecosystems from the perspective of well-being. Ecosystem services are the conditions and processes through which natural ecosystems, and the species that make them up, sustain and fulfill human life. Ecosystems provide several services that can be categorized into the following components:

Ecosystems and ecosystem services provide more than just commodities for human wellbeing—they provide the life support systems essential for life itself.

- i) provisioning: natural resources that are primarily used for economic activities, such as food, micro-organisms, plant and animal products, genetic material, fuels/energy, fiber, non-living materials and fresh water;
- ii) regulating: actual-life supporting functions provided for the existence of humans, such as purification of air and water, mitigation of floods and droughts, detoxification and decomposition of wastes, generation of renewal of soil and soil fertility, etc;
- iii) enriching: cultural and religious services that are important to many people in developing countries, such as spiritual components, aesthetic values, social relations and education and scientific values.

It is also important to note the interdependency between the components of ecosystem services. Over-harvesting, overuse, misuse or excessive conversion of ecosystems into human or artificial systems “damages” the regulation service which in turn reduces the flow of the provisioning service provided by ecosystems.

Constituents of Well-Being Related to Ecosystems

All people depend on services provided by ecological systems. Yet, the poor are more heavily dependent on these services than the rich, since the rich can buy clean water or air-cleaners or build appropriate shelters to isolate themselves from

environmental degradation. Ecosystems do affect well-being. The concept paper identifies 10 basic constituents of well-being. These 10 were identified through an extensive review of the poverty-environment literature. The 10 basic constituents of well-being are:

1. being able to be adequately nourished
2. being able to live in an environmentally clean and safe shelter
3. being able to be free from avoidable disease
4. being able to have adequate and clean drinking water
5. being able to have clean air
6. being able to have energy to keep warm and to cook
7. being able to use traditional medicine
8. being able to continue using natural elements found in ecosystems for traditional cultural and spiritual practices
9. being able to cope with extreme natural events including floods, tropical storms and land slides
10. being able to make sustainable management decisions that respect natural resources and enable the achievement of a sustainable income stream

This list is not meant to be complete. The final selection of well-being constituents and their relevance must be determined by the communities or individuals concerned, ideally from a participatory process. It is also important to note here that there is a large degree of complementarity and synergy among these 10 constituents of well-being. The focus on capabilities means that the poor are at the center as the agents of change.

Poverty-Environment Linkages

The linkages are established by relating the 10 relevant constituents of well-being to the three services that ecosystems provide:

- i) being able to be adequately nourished: the provisioning of natural food -wild resources- is essential to improving diets, providing relief during times of famine, crop failure, pest attack and drought;
- ii) being able to be free from avoidable diseases: many diseases are linked to ecological conditions, such as man-made malaria caused by irrigation projects, standing water and poorly drained areas, and respiratory diseases. The impacts of these diseases are much greater on poor people than rich people;
- iii) being able to have adequate and clean drinking water: destruction of watersheds and over-harvesting of water tables for human activities has caused serious disruptions in

The concept of 'being able to' or 'capabilities' hands the poor control over their well-being.

'Ultimately, the focus has to be on what life we lead and what we can do or cannot do, can or cannot be.'
(Sen, 1987)

Many basic capabilities are dependant on ecosystems and ecosystem services.

water supply. Poor people, particularly the rural poor, still do not have access to clean water; this leaves many with no option but to drink contaminated water or spend a large portion of their income on buying water;

- iv) being able to live in a clean and safe house: poor people often have no choice but to live in undesirable habitats like next to disposal dumps, industrial plants, major highways, polluted lakes or rivers, or in areas that are constantly prone to landslides and floods;
- v) being able to have clean air: with the excessive release of pollutants into the atmosphere and a disproportionate conversion of the natural ecosystem into a human dominated system, the poor have been overexposed to air pollution. To be able to have clean air, people will also need to improve ventilation within the house and switch to cleaner fuels;
- vi) being able to have sufficient clean energy to keep warm and to cook: the poor use firewood because it is cheaper than cleaner fuels and it has been freely available. Yet, biomass stoves have traditionally been inefficient and contribute to indoor pollution. The increasing scarcity of firewood has a more pronounced impact on women and children who need to walk longer distances to search for firewood;
- vii) being able to use traditional medicine: the reduction of biodiversity and the increasing scarcity in supply have affected the use of traditional medicine, that plays an integral part in the health care systems of the poor. Traditional medicine is relatively cheaper and of easier access to the poor who have been able to go to the traditional medicine doctors without fear of intimidation;
- viii) being able to continue using natural elements found in ecosystems for traditional cultural and spiritual practices: the decision to change or convert ecosystems, especially those that have spiritual and cultural values, has often been taken by a small-elite in developing countries at the expense of the traditional and spiritual interests of many of their inhabitants;
- ix) being able to cope against extreme natural events like floods, tropical storms and landslides: the removal of forest cover for commercial and/or subsistence activities leaves hillsides vulnerable to soil erosion and increases the probability of landslides as well as floods. This affects the poor disproportionately because they live in areas and in shelters that are more susceptible to these extreme events. Moreover, they do not have the resources to cope with these events or access to safety nets;
- x) being able to make sustainable management decisions that respect natural resources and enable the achievement of a

There are critical interdependencies among the various basic capabilities and the provisioning, regulating and enriching services that ecosystems provide.

The poor bear most of the brunt of ecosystem degradation, produced in the majority by the 'non poor'.

Focus on creating the enabling conditions to increase the capability of the poor to achieve well-being.

sustainable income stream: natural resources are one of the main sources of income for the poor (e.g. subsistence farming). With the pursuit of unsustainable activities, like over-harvesting, there has been a reduction of flow from the provisioning component.

Freedoms

There are many reasons, or “drivers” that inhibit the poor from accessing ecosystem services. In order to provide a systematic framework the concept paper classifies the drivers into four broad categories: 1) economic drivers, 2) governance drivers, 3) social drivers and 4) ecological drivers. Freedoms, as conceptualized by Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen, enable people to make sound decisions on the type of tools, institutions and organizations that they want or need in order to define policy intervention strategies to achieve desired well-being. The five freedoms that address the four broad categories of drivers are:

- i) participative freedom: when people have the freedom to take part in an active manner in the deliberations on the use of ecosystems in which they live, they can define and address their own needs and aspirations. In order to facilitate participative freedom, we need to have not only the necessary instruments to facilitate participation, but also the institutions and organizations. People –and particularly poor people- need assistance in getting organized and articulating their views and positions on issues;
- ii) economic facilities: individuals need enabling conditions for converting the provisioning services (natural resources) for production and/or exchange. In order to earn a sustainable income from the provisioning services offered by ecosystems, the poor need 1) a clear ownership of and transparent access to a variety of resources and 2) help in facing higher transaction costs for transforming the provisioning services into income. Among the most important economic facilities we could mention, financial help (e.g. micro-credit schemes) and access to information (e.g. environmentally sound technologies). A combination of instruments (land titles), institutions (land tenure acts) and organizations (land office) will be necessary to address the issue of ownership status of natural resources;
- iii) social opportunities: the arrangements that society makes for education and health are critical instruments in the improvement of the agency aspect of women. It is widely acknowledged that poor women and children are much more susceptible to becoming impoverished from ecosystem degradation due to social and cultural values inherent in the society. Women and children are allocated many of the

Women cannot benefit from economic facilities if they face social barriers that impede access and lack of participative freedom to promote change.

traditional chores involving ecosystem uses, like subsistence farming and collecting firewood, but in spite of this they do not have control and ownership of these resources;

- iv) transparency guarantees: high levels of corruption and inefficiency in the bureaucracy, the polity, the judiciary and business prevent societies from achieving openness and trust in their social relations. Corruption increases the costs for the poor, being one of the driving forces for the breakdown of the social fabric within societies. Inefficiency has also adverse impacts on ecosystem management, affecting environmental restrictions and the possibility of sustainable farming in poor countries. Improving the level of trust will involve a concerted action by all stakeholders in the community; it will focus primarily on poverty reduction by addressing sustainable ecosystem management;
- v) ecological security: the provision of ecological safety nets is important to individuals who depend on ecosystem services for achieving many of their constituents of well-being. The specific form of an ecological safety net would depend on the community and its links with the ecosystems. The actual specification of the ecological safety net should of course be determined by all individuals within the community. The intrinsic difficulty in portioning the ecosystem into its three services provides a challenge for society to determine the critical levels or safe minimum standards necessary if ecological security is to be seen as an instrumental freedom.

The five freedoms are not mutually exclusive; in fact they complement each other. These freedoms are meaningful from the perspective of the integration of instruments, institutions and organizations necessary for the implementation and improvement of policy options.

Policy Options and Response Strategies

In order to correct or remove the drivers that are causing the destruction of ecosystems and the subsequent deprivation of the poor from achieving the 10 constituents of well-being it is necessary to elaborate an integrated approach. A response strategy would comprise two elements: i) the tools of intervention and ii) the enabling conditions needed for the successful development as well as implementation of the tools.

We classify instruments, institutions and organizations as tools. The difference between the approach taken here compared to other existing policy frameworks is the integration of instruments, institutions and organizations within a single frame of reference. In many cases instruments do not work because the institutions and organizations needed to implement the instrument were not put in place or are

Building trust among the public, private and communities is essential if poverty is to be reduced through the sustainable management of ecosystems and ecosystem services

It would be difficult to have ecological security without participative freedom.

Institutional failure, lack of appropriate instruments and inefficient government agencies are major drivers that influence the poverty-ecosystems nexus.

inefficient in allowing the successful implementation of the policy. We use here an overarching framework to provide the enabling conditions for the successful development and implementation of the tools.

Policy intervention or response strategies to reduce poverty through sustainable management of ecosystems and ecosystem services should be developed in a framework that embraces the five freedoms through an integrated approach.

Participative Freedom

- ⇒ Establish democratic processes to allow individuals decide on issues related to well-being and ecosystem management
- ⇒ Allow a process for value formation and the creation of an environmental ethic through public discussion
- ⇒ Provide the means by which the poor and the impoverished can organize and articulate their views and position on ecosystem management

Economic Facilities

- ⇒ Clear ownership or use rights and transparent access to ecosystems and ecosystem services
- ⇒ Reduce transaction (processing, administrative, information) costs for converting ecosystem goods into economic products
- ⇒ Provide financial resources in the form of micro-credit
- ⇒ Provide information on prices, technology and market opportunities in a timely and consistent format

Social Opportunities

- ⇒ Promote women's agency by providing support for women networks and the creation of informal institutions
- ⇒ Provide basic health facilities
- ⇒ Provide clean water
- ⇒ Provide safe and clean shelter
- ⇒ Provide basic education on ecosystems and their links with human well-being

Transparency Guarantees

- ⇒ Reduce corruption in public and private sector
- ⇒ Increase efficiency and effectiveness in bureaucracy, polity and judiciary
- ⇒ Improve policy coherence among local, national and international environmental, economic and social policy frameworks

Some ecosystem services can be substituted with technological solutions but the poor lack the economic and social capabilities to secure entitlements to these substitutes.

Ecological Security

- ⇒ Allow communities greater participative freedom to determine sustainable management of ecosystems and ecosystem services
- ⇒ Establish formal institutions to protect ecological safety nets established by local communities
- ⇒ Ensure coherence among multilateral environmental agreements with national and local environmental policies
- ⇒ Build capacity among local communities for establishing ecological security and ecological safety nets
- ⇒ Promote institutions to ensure fair distribution and use of ecological safety nets by local communities

Ecological security— An ecological safety net that provides the necessary supporting services required to provide a sustainable flow of provisioning, regulating and cultural services needed by local communities to meet their basic capabilities.

The UNEP Poverty-Environment Road Map

The road map presented below gives a step-by-step description of the process that policy-makers need to undertake if they want to incorporate ecological systems into poverty reduction strategies. It is simply an illustration of how the conceptual framework can be operationalized.

- Stage 0 - Setting the Stage: review of existing initiatives on the poverty-environment nexus to identify what has been done and what information is available and what further information is needed;
- Stage 1 - Poverty Assessment: use of Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) and avoidance of macro or aggregated statistics to collect information on the poor;
- Stage 2 - Ecosystem Assessment: map out the ecological system the community depends on for the constituents of its well-being;
- Stage 3 - Poverty-Ecosystem Mapping: overlap of the poverty maps and the environmental resource maps to identify “hot spots” that need attention;
- Stage 4 - Poverty-Environment Assessment Analysis: identification of the main drivers from the PPA, carrying out an analysis of trade-offs or synergies among the three ecosystem services and the various constituents of well-being. Then, formulation of responses with respect to instruments, institutions and organizations, with the primary objective of ensuring that the constituents are provided by the ecosystem. Finally, compilation of appropriate indicators that will provide information on the success of the policy interventions;

An open and transparent participatory process is essential if the critical poverty-environment linkages are to be identified and analyzed.

Stage 5 - Integration into local, regional and national policy frameworks: evaluate and appropriate the funds needed for implementing the recommendations. Next, decisions will need to be made on what flows can be financed by the public sector and those that need to be supported by the private sector and the international community. The work concludes with the determination of the composition of funding and a budget process.

Integration of poverty-environment policy responses into local, national and international policy frameworks is essential if poverty reduction strategies are to be successful.

Ecosystem Services

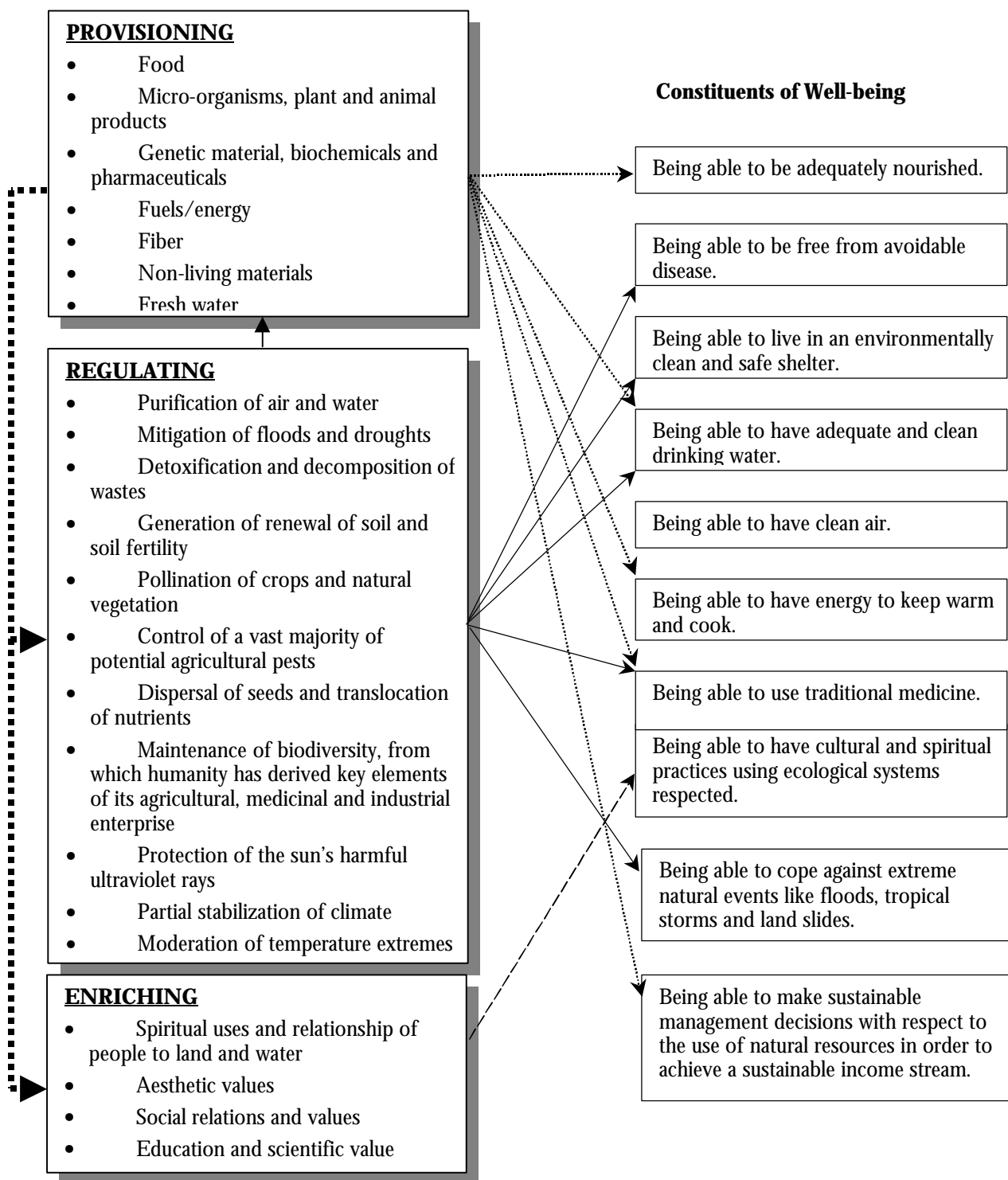


Figure 1. The links among ecosystem services and between human well-being