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MAINSTREAMING CLIMATE CHANGE INTO DEVELOPMENT POLICIES IN MALAWI Policy vol 8 issue 1, March 2012

ceive local support is by identifying its existing and potential local impacts and the incentives local communities and authorities can leverage.



Poor families like these feel the pinch of limited policy mainstreaming

6.0 Conclusion

Malawi has made considerable progress in developing policy instruments that have addressed climate change and its impact. As the country moves towards preparing a comprehensive climate policy, a major consideration should be the elements that will facilitate the integration of climate change issues in development planning.

Thus it has been observed that adaptation and mitigation actions though often coordinated by institutions that are not perceived as developmental such as the EAD in Malawi essentially achieve development objectives. The only justification for the differentiation between the two disciplines is the inevitable departmentalization of services which has informed policy development as well as budgeting. Nevertheless the policy interface needs to be leveraged for purposes of mainstreaming. This requires a fairly robust institutional framework that facilitates harmonized policy development and implementation. In particular, the coordination agency needs to have the political authority and capacity to champion policy positions and implementation strategies that will facilitate policy coherence and resource mobilization.

It is in this regard that the development of new institutions and emergence of new climate champions based on sector resource capture needs to be reviewed. Policy makers need to consider the need to develop capacity in institutions that have over the years addressed climate change issues and should seek to strengthen the available resources instead of developing new centres of knowledge and policy mandate. Mainstreaming efforts will not be successful where institutional mandates overlap or conflict.

It has been argued therefore that the best way a global and often technically misunderstood issue such as climate change will re-

MAINSTREAMING CLIMATE CHANGE INTO DEVELOPMENT POLICIES IN MALAWI

A review of key issues



Limited mainstreaming of policies results in challenges such as flooding

5.0 Mainstreaming Climate Change in Infrastructure Development

Malawi like most African countries still use urban planning legislation and regulations created under colonial rule. This has contributed to expanding squatter settlements or informal housing structures. Land-use planning and regulations in any city influence the supply of land for housing (Pelling et al 2007). Thus, how land-use planning measures respond to climate-change risks have very large implications for the possibilities of poor households to afford homes that are safe from floods. Therefore the extent to which extreme weather events and other likely climate-change impacts pose problems, however, relates not only to settlement location but also to the quality and level of infrastructure and service provision.

Malawi's high density suburbs are poorly planned and most of them are an environmental health hazard with little or no sanitary facilities or drainage systems. The City Assemblies which are responsible for planning and sanitary control seem to be overwhelmed and operating under fast dwindling budgets. Hence the Public Health Act and the regulations made there under do not seem to provide any solution to increasing sanitary and waste disposal problem. Uncontrolled housing unable City Assemblies to provide the necessary facilities. Much of the land in these peri-urban areas is under customary authorities. Traditional authorities allocate land to land seekers who build without any permission from planning authorities. It is a situation that is out of hand and the regulatory system is unable to cope. The infrastructure comprising public roads, drainage systems such as storm drains are poorly maintained making them vulnerable to flooding and run offs. It is important that specific policy measures anticipating climate risks be developed and implemented including incorporating in infrastructure legislation.

MAINSTREAMING CLIMATE CHANGE INTO DEVELOPMENT POLICIES IN MALAWI Policy vol 8 issue 1, March 2012

Executive Summary

Mainstreaming climate issues in development policy addresses the need to integrate adaptation and mitigation issues in overall development policy planning to ensure long-term sustainability of investments as well as to reduce the sensitivity of development activities to both today's and tomorrow's climate.

This process requires policy harmonization and coordination in environment and natural resources management as well as in development. The key challenge however remains weak institutional coordination and limited capacity which has been exacerbated by the proliferation of new climate change institutions with no clear policy or legal mandate to coordinate climate change.

Any new climate policy therefore needs to address the conflicts in institutional mandates and strengthen the agency for coordinating climate change so as to facilitate mainstreaming climate change into development policies.

Introduction and Background

Malawi is one of those countries most at risk from drought and floods arising from global warming (UNDP 2007). The combination of higher temperatures and less rain will translate into a marked reduction in soil moisture, affecting Malawi's rural population which is dependent rain-fed farming. The sectors mostly affected by the impacts of climate change include agriculture, fisheries, livestock, infrastructure, energy, health, forestry, water, wildlife and gender (EAD, 2006). The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has concluded that developing countries will incur higher damage costs arising from impacts of climate change than developed ones (IPCC 2007). These costs arise due to higher social and economic vulnerability of populations.

Malawi has experienced a number of adverse climatic hazards over the last several decades including dry spells, seasonal droughts, intense rainfall, riverine floods and flash floods. As a country that is heavily dependent on agriculture, the country is very vulnerable to adverse effects of climate change because it is seasonally affected by natural disasters. Further, poverty and limited financial and technical capacity to deal with the impacts of climate change (EAD, 2001). Clearly, Malawi requires a coordinated and integrated approach in the development of climate policy that pays special attention to adaptation in order to deal with the scale and urgency of climate change impacts.

MAINSTREAMING CLIMATE CHANGE INTO DEVELOPMENT **POLICIES IN MALAWI** Policy vol 8 issue 1, March 2012

On the other hand, the National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework, 2010 - 2015 highlights some constraints to effective disaster risk reduction which include inadequate policy, strategy and budgetary process for disaster risk reduction; insufficient institutional capacity and weak planning process for DRR; and slow progress in shifting of mindset from 'disaster response' to integrating disaster risk consideration into development planning at all levels and in all sectors. These concerns highlight the very real challenges of translating policy rhetoric into tangible actions that can be implemented. The draft National Disaster Risk Management Policy seeks to address these constraints; though the main challenge remains that policy instruments in Malawi heavily rely on donor funding for implementation; there is no clear integration of policy instruments into the budget (CEPA 2008).

The National Decentralization Policy and the Local Government Act 1998 sought to empower local stakeholders through local authorities who are elected and accountable to the electorate. These local authorities would generate local resources for local activities and receive grants from central government to implement programmes and projects identified and demanded at local level. The decentralization framework however remains partially accomplished not only due to the absence of elected local leaders, but the pace of devolution of mandates and authority has not matched policy expectations. The centralization of development mandate at district level would have facilitated faster mainstreaming compared to central government level where ministerial and departmental interests are more entrenched and therefore much more defended leading to inefficient policy implementation.

It would seem the main problem has to do with the conceptualization of the climate question: whether it is an environmental problem or a development issue. The answer to this may be given based on the institution responsible for formulating requisite response measures. Hence the United Nations Development Programme responsible for donor funding on climate change in Malawi so far has addressed the climate response as a development project. The UNDP has naturally sought a 'developmental' government institution and given the responsibility to the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development. This clearly ignores the existing policy and legal framework on climate change management in Malawi and takes policy making back to the drawing board despite progress made since the Rio Summit and the World Summit on Sustainable Development advocating for sustainable development.

Further, according to Cohen (1998: 342) the reason for the different approaches is rooted in the different conceptions 'to science, politics and practice associated with the separate discourses and research cultures' of climate change and sustainable development. Cohen argues that the environmental institution is the coordinating agency for climate change. Environmental departments are not considered as 'developmental' and have limited development practice and experience; this leads funding agencies to channel funds elsewhere. This may explain why adaptation actions under the NAPA have not been effectively implemented; irrespective of the fact that EAD is merely the coordinator, NAPA activities are supposed to be implemented by relevant sector agencies.

Malawi has undertaken needs assessments for human resources as well as technology transfers to develop local capacity for climate change management (EAD 2003b). The challenge remains to retain staff morale and implement technologies across the sectors that can bring tangible benefits on a sustainable basis.

2.0 The Concept of Mainstreaming Climate Change

2.1 The Rationale for Mainstreaming Climate Change into Development Policies

The World Summit on Sustainable Development (Johannesburg, August/September 2002) provided a strong impetus to the linkage between climate policy and development. The concept of climate mainstreaming has evolved to address the need to integrate climate change issues into development policy. It has been pointed out that the extent to which people and communities are vulnerable to climate change depends not only on the magnitude and rate of climate change and its consequent impacts but also on their adaptive capacity (Klein et al 2007).

Climate mainstreaming seeks to enhance adaptive capacities in the daily routine of development activities so that climate impacts do not cause damage or expose development outcomes to climate risks and other disasters. There has been a heightened sense of urgency and seriousness by the international community to address adaptation challenges since the Bali Action Plan was adopted (UNFCCC 2007). This has in turn sparked the need to integrate adaptation measures into all development policies so that they are not considered an 'add on' or extra requirement.

The need to mainstream climate change into development planning and ongoing sectoral decision-making is increasingly recognized by governments and development partners working in various areas affected by climate change. Klein et al (2007) point out that the links between greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs), mitigation of climate change and development have been subject of intense study; there is however general consensus that global warming due to increased atmospheric concentrations of GHG is inevitable (Smith et al 2003); hence development patterns must align to the reality that development business will no longer be the same. Accordingly, it has been

argued that climate change will be pivotal in redefining development in the twenty-first century and the prevalence of climate variability means that development interventions that do not attend to vulnerability, adaptive capacity, and resilience of communities often end up worsening the situation of those they seek to benefit (Agarwal 2008).

Finance and Economic Development when the focal point has always been the Environmental Affairs Department (Chadza & Tembo 2011). Chadza and Tembo further note that the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development has demonstrated keen interest to aggressively control donor resources 'at the expense of implementation of well-coordinated and effective collaborative climate change adaptation programmes at the community level'.

2.2 Policy and Institutional considerations in Climate Mainstreaming

The logical institution is Environmental Affairs Department (EAD) not only because it is the custodian of policy and legislation framework related to climate change, such as the National Environmental Policy 2004, the National Strategy for Sustainable Development 2004 and the EMA 1996; the EAD has a multi sectoral coordinating body established under the Environment Management Act 1996 to address environmental issues in general and cross sectoral mandates such as climate change in particular. The National Council for Environment and the Technical Committee for Environment created under EMA 1996 have the requisite stakeholder space for addressing cross sector ENRM issues and therefore can better handle climate mainstreaming in development policies than an ad hoc Steering Committee with no clear policy or legislation mandate. EMA 1996 has a number of mechanisms through which climate change can be mainstreamed in the development process. These include Environmental Impact Assessment and Environmental Audits. provision of fiscal incentives and disincentives to promote environmentally friendly development activities including technologies; powers to issue pollution and development control orders to achieve clean development and prohibit activities that are deleterious to the environment. It follows therefore that there is no compelling reason to establish new institutions for climate change; as instead of strengthening capacity in institutions that are clearly mandated under existing policies and legislation, these new experiments divert resources.

Mainstreaming climate change into development planning must provide individuals, households, sectors, systems and the entire economy with the requisite capacity to adjust to climate variability, their impacts and the means to cope with climate change impacts. According to Cannon (2000) the fact that environmental vulnerability is derived largely from a political, economic and social context and not merely a result of exposure to environmental catastrophe means that effective adaptation to climate change should not be limited to addressing vulnerability in terms of extreme weather conditions. These include issues of equity and environmental justice, governance and the role of institutions in giving people the capacities to act. This is because institutional arrangements structure does not consider risks and sensitivity to climate hazards, facilitate or impede individual and collective responses, and shape the outcomes of such responses.

In addition to the role of central policy making institutions, Satterthwaite et al (2001) argue that successful adaptation to climate change is inextricably linked to successful local development. Therefore well governed communities are capable of reducing hazards suffered by poor and vulnerable communities; on the other hand poorly governed ones may actually increase the risks and inequality of the vulnerable groups. In addition, although poverty is the main cause of vulnerability among local communities, local authorities also

4.0 Institutional Framework for Climate Main streaming

The MGDS has identified not only the defining role of climate change in development planning, it has gone further to highlight the need to strengthen institutional capacity for managing and mainstreaming climate change issues. Some of these issues include:

- Improving weather and climate monitoring, prediction systems and databases;
- Promoting dissemination of climate change information for early warning, preparedness and response;
- Developing and harmonizing climate change policies and legislation:
- Mainstreaming climate change issues in sectoral policies, plans and programmes;
- Promoting climate change related education, training, awareness and capacity building

The above strategies provide a fairly comprehensive framework for developing a harmonized policy and institutional framework for mainstreaming climate change issues. However, the real test of government commitment is in realizing implementation of these strategies. In particular, despite recognizing institutional weaknesses in addressing climate change issues, no concrete measures have been outlined for addressing this challenge. If recent experiences are anything to go by, climate change activities continue to be addressed by a multitude of institutions depending on who has more voice to convince donors to channel resources through such an institution even though the institution has no policy mandate or even capacity to implement climate change activities. A clear example is the establishment of a Steering Committee on Climate Change within the Ministry of

contribute to this vulnerability as they often lack capacity to deal with disasters.

The lack of adaptive capacity has been attributed to the failure of national governments and international agencies to support policies and governance systems that ensure preparedness for extreme weather patterns infrastructure is in place. Most importantly is the unwillingness of many local authorities and governments to work with the poor and this undermines effort to build resilience to climate change impacts. Agarwal (2008) and Lankao (2011) points out that adaptation to climate change is highly local and its effectiveness depends on local and extra-local institutions through which incentives for individual and collective action are structured.

Urban institutions and local governance structures play an important role in integrating climate change adaptation and risk reduction into development planning. Through urban planning governments can also include climate change considerations to make sure that buildings and infrastructure take account of climate-change risks; facilitating access to information on climate change and its local impacts and coordinating disaster risk reduction and preparedness and addressing the factors that generate both vulnerability and poverty.

It is also important that a global issue such as climate change should be relevant for the actors involved in policy making and implementation at the local level. Thus mitigation and adaptation can only be prioritized when local authorities have fully understood the range and extent of climate change and its impacts (Roberts 2008). A number of factors have been identified as influencing the extent to which the rhetoric of climate change policy can be translated in effective action among local authorities. These include presence of local political champions, financial resources, local government competencies and capacity, local history of engagement with environmental issues,

and political will to address emerging conflicts (Bulkeley and Betsill 2003: 452). It is for national governments, civil society and citizen groups to mobilize these to ensure local authorities are aware.

GHG emissions involving a few sectors such as transport, energy and agriculture. The practical consequences are that decisions have to be made by several sectors with sector specific interpretations of what constitutes or works as adaptation. It also explains the budgetary dilemma of whether to provide separate funding so as to ensure focused attention on adaptation or integrate this in the usual sectoral budget lines. Hence a budget analysis for NAPA sectors in Malawi has shown that budget allocations have been on the decrease over the past four years in tandem with decreasing allocations to the ENRM sector (MEJN et al 2011); suggesting that no separate attention has been given to NAPA measures even though quite a number of those measures continue to be funded in the usual way.

2.3 The Policy Interface between Adaptation and Mitigation for Mainstreaming

Mitigation and adaptation to climate change have evolved separately and often perceived as contradictory to each other; this has mainly resulted from the overriding western interest to emphasize mitigation at the expense of adaptation largely because their economic conditions provide the necessary adaptive capacity. At the national and sectoral level, adaptation and mitigation actions and policies tend to involve different sectors, so decisions on adaptation are not well integrated into comprehensive 'climate change' strategies. Mitigation actions tend to focus on the energy, transport and industry sectors, while the sectors most vulnerable to climate change and of concern to adaptation decision makers are usually agriculture, land use, forestry, and coastal zone management (Huq and Grubb 2007).

The synergies and complementarities of mitigation and adaptation can however facilitate mainstreaming in several ways. Successful mainstreaming requires identifying and leveraging the interface between adaptation and mitigation actions; recognizing the dual need for both and encouraging policy makers to explore the synergies and tradeoffs between them (Klein and others 2007). Many adaptive actions have consequences for mitigation, and mitigation actions can have consequences for adaptation (Klein and others 2007); for example, through the maintenance of forest cover, encouraging regeneration and reducing land clearance that can also sequester carbon (Huq and Grubb 2007). This calls for institutional coordination based on legislative mandates and political will as

change policy as well as the related sector policy instruments so that they have the requisite political and budgetary support.

In terms of mitigation actions, a number of technology and market based options have been proposed to address GHG emissions despite Malawi being an insignificant emitter of these gases. They include use of mud or ceramic stoves that reduce biomass usage; use of biowaste to produce biogas for lighting and cooking; and enhancing rural electrification and use of energy saving bulbs; and renewable energy such as solar power (EAD 2001). These are also repeated in the Mitigation Analysis and Abatement Report for Malawi (EAD 2002) as well as the Technology Transfer and Needs Assessment Report for Malawi prepared for the UNFCCC (EAD 2003).

It is worth noting however that these proposals have already been made in a number of existing policy instruments such as those addressing energy, forestry, environment and biodiversity. What is clearly lacking is coordinated implementation and political will to translate these into field operations and budget allocations. A good example is the Environment Management Act (EMA) 1996 which gives power to the Minister responsible for environment in consultation with the Minister of Finance to give tax incentives for environmentally friendly activities and impose tax disincentives for those activities that degrade the environment. This provision has not been utilized to date but can facilitate a number of adaptation and mitigation technologies and therefore facilitate climate mainstreaming in the development process.

It is also worth noting that mainstreaming and integrating a broad framework such as adaptation involving a multitude of sectors such as agriculture, health, forestry, fisheries, water, land and other natural resources is much more challenging than is the case with a discreet and a measurable issue such as mitigation of well as governance practices that emphasize stakeholder mobilization, networking, partnership and learning.

The interface between mitigation and adaptation can also enable policy makers to embrace the variability in levels of vulnerability across regions; hence the need to develop context specific policies and interventions. Therefore while mitigation might be undertaken through top down approaches at the global level those of adaptation require bottom up approaches and interventions. This is because even if different greas within a region are exposed to the same climate risks, the sensitivity and vulnerability of different groups to climate impacts varies enormously depending on their institutional links, material endowments, occupational patterns and asset portfolios, and social networks (Agarwal 2008). Thus mitigation policy primarily involves reduction of GHGs and interaction with large emitting sectors such as energy and transport sectors and may focus mostly on urban based stakeholders. In contrast policy making in adaptation involves wide variety of stakeholders that are vulnerable to impacts of climate change and operate at a range of scales, from national planning authorities down to individual building owners and small scale farmers. Moser and Satterthwaite (2008) indicated that addressing social dimension of climate change adaptation requires roles government, individuals and civil society organizations.

Mitigation and adaptation are also linked in terms of spatial, temporal, and socioeconomic scales (Jones et al 2007). Thus the benefits of mitigation are perceived to be greater at the global scale and external to a local area. On the other hand, adaptation necessitates locally appropriate actions that have context-specific benefits for the communities that implement them. In addition, adaptation reduces vulnerability to immediate and medium term climate risks while the effects of mitigation are only apparent over longer time scale. It is important to note that mitigation actions, though requiring collective global action, are

also generally taken at local level (Lankao 2011). Mitigation actions must have the support of local communities in relation to increasing carbon sinks in forestry management or local industries in relation to reducing GHG emissions. It follows therefore that mitigation strategies need to be grounded in local context just as adaptation strategies. Mainstreaming mitigation into local development plans must therefore generate the requisite resources to ensure that the reduction of GHG emissions provides local benefits. A community will readily forego the exploitation of forest resources to act as carbon sinks given viable alternatives that increase local incomes. Implementation of clean development mechanisms (CDM) projects needs to factor community benefits to obtain local support and the development of alternative energy sources receive community support if they provide tangible and sustainable incomes to reduce poverty and support livelihoods.

It has also been argued (Goklany 2009) that while adaptation measures are short term investments for short term solutions to climate change, mitigation measures comprise short term measures for long term climate benefits. These strategies are relevant for the poor for improving their economic situations and therefore promise local support. In general, more mitigation would imply less adaptation; however because the benefits of mitigation take long time periods to manifest, the poor are unlikely to participate in such measures. Thus although both approaches seem to be complementary from a temporal perspective short-term intervention actions are needed to integrate both to avoid trade-offs or missed opportunities for synergies (Biesboek ibid). Mainstreaming strategies need to factor these tradeoffs and opportunities to ensure that local communities are given appropriate incentives to participate in mitigation efforts.

MAINSTREAMING CLIMATE CHANGE INTO DEVELOPMENT POLICIES IN MALAWI Policy vol 8 issue 1, March 2012

climate change activities needs to be addressed in the context of the overall environment and natural resources management framework. The MGDS needs to reflect this framework so that the ensuing climate policy development has the requisite budgetary allocations. In particular, any institutional capacity building efforts for climate change management must be addressed in the context of institutional framework for ENRM.

Malawi has made considerable progress in climate policy related review and a number of issues have been outlined that need to be mainstreamed in the development process. For example, the Initial National Communication of Malawi outlines climate scenarios that will affect ENRM; and the impacts of those scenarios on various sectors have been analyzed. They include increased temperature, uncertain rainfall patterns which will affect surface and ground water levels and thereby impacting on soil moisture, fish resources, among others. In relation to forestry the scenarios show species composition in favour of tree species better suited to drier environments; and maize yields may be affected as a result of increases in temperature and reduced rainfall (EAD 2001).

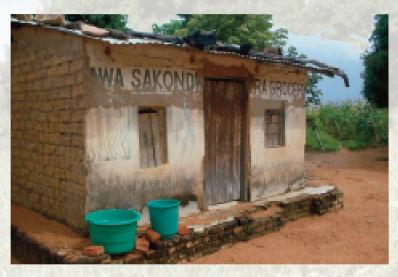
On the other hand, the Vulnerability and Adaptation Assessments for Climate Change in addition to recognizing these climate scenarios and their impacts provides some adaptation actions that can also mitigate climate change impacts. They include agricultural practices requiring changes in land use, crop and livestock management strategies, changes in cultivated land area, types of crops, among others. It calls for coordinated systems of management for soil, water and nutrients taking into account climate change that may exacerbate fluctuating rainfall patterns (EAD 2003). These actions have the potential to address development needs that are climate proofed and need to be championed in that light rather simply as climate responses that may not be immediately appreciated. These measures however need to be formally entrenched in a comprehensive climate

Change (UNFCCC). NAPA highlights eight important sectors that are interlinked to climate change. These sectors are crucial for the achievement of economic growth and sustainable development; they are agricultural, human health, energy, fisheries, wildlife, water, forestry and gender. These same sectors have also been specifically highlighted in the MGDS II which has outlined the following strategies to address these concerns in order to achieve sustainable economic development:

- Improving coordination of environment and natural re source programmes;
- Developing capacity for Environment and Natural Resource Management;
- Enforcing compliance to environmental and natural resource management legislation;
- Enhancing mainstreaming of environment and natural resource management issues in sectoral policies and programmes at national and local levels;
- Promoting biodiversity conservation programs;
- Promoting development and implementation of Clean Development Mechanism projects;
- Promoting projects on waste management and air pollution; and
- Harmonizing environment and natural resources management policies and legislation.

It is important to note that the thrust of the strategies for addressing environment and natural resources management are not very different from those addressing climate change management. They focus on policy and institutional harmonization, capacity building and enhancing enforcement and implementation of the regulatory framework. Clearly enhancing the institutional framework and mainstreaming

2.4 Vulnerability and Assets Accumulation for Climate Proofing



The mainstreaming of climate policy should seek to build local people's adaptive capacity. Climate change will increase risks and most of those who face the most serious risks have very limited incomes (Satterthwaite et al 2007). A research by Oxfam in Malawi observed that poor communities are the worst affected and least able to cope with climate change impacts. Therefore the foundation of any initiative to address climate change hinges on communities being aware of the issues, owning the process of adaptation and having the capacity to undertake and maintain adaptation (www.oxfam.org). In all instances, people's capacity to avoid the hazard, to cope with it and to adapt (to reduce future risk) is influenced by individual/household resources such as incomes, asset bases and knowledge, community resources for coping, the quality and inclusiveness of community organizations that provide or manage safety nets and other short- and longer-term responses (Pelling et al 2007).

It is also important to note that equity has a special constitutional resonance as it is specifically entrenched under section 13(d) of the Constitution of Malawi which requires Government to manage the environment responsibly in order to 'accord full recognition to the rights of future generations by means of environmental protection and the sustainable development of natural resources'. Thus specific consideration must be given to intragenerational and intergenerational equity in addressing climate policy so as to ensure that all groups of the population are accorded the requisite capacities to confront climate risks and take advantage of climate opportunities as they arise.

MAINSTREAMING CLIMATE CHANGE INTO DEVELOPMENT POLICIES IN MALAWI Policy vol 8 issue 1, March 2012

3.0 Climate Change and the Development Nexus in Malawi

Adaptation to the impacts of climate change is a major priority for Malawi in view of the increased vulnerability of a large percentage of the population. Climate change is posing a challenge to meeting important development objectives; and adaptation should be consistent with development priorities (Sperling, 2003). The Malawi Growth and Development Strategy (MGDS) I (2006 – 2011) which is Malawi's major development policy instrument identified Managing Climate Change, Environment and Natural Resources as one of the nine priorities of the Government underscoring the central importance of environment and natural resources in general and climate change in particular to the country's development efforts.

The MGDS I recognizes that sustainable socio-economic development cannot be achieved without effective climate change as well as environment and natural resources management. The MGDS II (2011 – 2016) has further noted that despite some progress to deal with the country's environmental problems, there are still teething issues that need to be addressed. In particular the MGDS II identifies climate variability, weak institutional capacity for managing climate change, inadequate mainstreaming of climate change issues; weak enforcement capacity of laws and regulations; accelerated deforestation and poor land use management practices as requiring special attention. Mainstreaming climate issues needs to address these issues for here is policy harmonization and coordination across relevant sectors.

In addition to the MGDS, the link between climate change and Malawi's development was highlighted in the National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPA) adopted by the Malawi Government in 2006 as part of the country's obligations under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate