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PACIFIC SMALL ISLAND DEVELOPING STATES (PSIDS) AND CLIMATE-RELATED COOPERATION THROUGH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Pequenos Estados Insulares em Desenvolvimento do Pacífico (PSIDS) e cooperação relacionada com o clima através de organizações internacionais

Los Pequeños Estados Insulares en Desarrollo del Pacífico (PSIDS) y la cooperación relacionada con el clima a través de organizaciones internacionales

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RESUMO

Este artigo analisa o papel dos Pequenos Estados Insulares em Desenvolvimento do Pacífico (PSIDS) na cooperação global para a mudança climática. Ele examina sua vulnerabilidade, cooperação internacional por meio de organizações e participação estratégica. Por meio de cinco estudos de caso, ele explora como os PSIDS estão interessados em cooperação e quão representados eles são em 50 organizações encontradas.

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Palavras-chave: Cooperação, organizações internacionais, Pequenos Estados Insulares em Desenvolvimento do Pacífico.

ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the role of Pacific Small Island Developing States (PSIDS) in global cooperation for climate change. It examines their vulnerability, international cooperation through organizations, and strategic participation. Through five case studies, it explores how PSIDS are interested in cooperation and how represented they are in 50 found organizations.

Keywords: Cooperation, international organizations, Pacific Small Island Developing States.

RESUMEN

Este artículo analiza el papel de los Pequeños Estados Insulares en Desarrollo del Pacífico (SIDS) en la cooperación global para el cambio climático. Examina su vulnerabilidad, la cooperación internacional a través de organizaciones y su participación estratégica. A través de cinco estudios de caso, explora el interés de los PSIDS en la cooperación y su nivel de representatividad en 50 organizaciones.

Palabras clave: Cooperación, organizaciones internacionales, Pequeños Estados Insulares en Desarrollo del Pacífico.

1 INTRODUCTION

The study of climate change deals with ‘‘a change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods” (UNFCCC, 1992, p. 4). This can lead to several problems, such as rising sea levels, melting glaciers, changes in rainfall patterns, desertification, cyclones, droughts, storms, an increase in the number of hurricanes, among others. Also, the increase in global temperature can affect fishing activity, and may even leave the population without food, which is the starting point for the present work (Mycoo et al, 2022; Santos, 2018).

Pacific Small Island Developing States (PSIDS) are considered to be the most at risk of the consequences of global climate change, according to the IPCC (2022). Their vulnerability is increased by their underdeveloped economy, small population compared to other countries in the world, and geographic distance from the main continental centers. The risk of vulnerability is defined as the vulnerability and exposure of societies and local systems to climate-related hazards, which vary due to economic, social, demographic, cultural, institutional circumstances and governance of a country. Despite their small contribution to global greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, these countries have taken an active stance in international forums, seeking to strengthen global cooperation and secure climate finance mechanisms. Thus, the study of these countries is relevant because it contributes to the understanding of the role of these States in global environmental governance, assessing their influence on the development of climate policies and the challenges they face in transforming international commitments into concrete actions (Mycoo et al, 2022).

To deal with climate change, there are many studies on the vulnerability that the PSIDS facing these consequences, considering the effects that climate change may have on the particular territory and people, and what sort of conditions the government possesses to adapt the country (Mendes; Santos; Souza, 2020). This vulnerability means “the propensity or predisposition to be harmed’’ (IPCC, 2014, p. 22), which includes the country’s susceptibility to damage and lack of ability to cope and adapt, and depends on climatic factors, in addition to socioeconomic, physical and ecological factors that interact with each other (IPCC, 2022). Considering this scenario, PSIDS need international cooperation in order to develop and implement climate adaptation policies. Cooperation can be achieved through the assistance of IOs, that center the countries’ requests and promotes policy development in partnership, making it easier for donated resources to be taken to all countries and for an exchange of knowledge to occur between them. It is through negotiation between the

countries, that the actors' actions are coordinated in favor of their common interest (Keohane, 1984).

Organizations such as United Nation's Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) have developed joint programs with the SIDS group in general, to provide assistance to all the SIDS countries and promote cooperation amongst them. This cooperation can be understood as ''when actors adjust their behavior to the actual or anticipated preferences of others, through a process of policy coordination'' (Milner, 1992, p. 467). This concept complements the discussion about cooperation according to Keohane (1984), who understand that there is an adjustment of behavior on the part of the actors involved according to the preferences of others, within an international system. Some challenges facing the development of cooperation are mainly related to the difficulty of accessing some services in more remote parts of the territory of PSIDS countries, and the cost and need for efficiency that cooperation demands (Axelrod; Keohane, 1985; Lucas et al., 2017).

The objective of this work is to analyze the role of PSIDS in climate-related cooperation and highlighting cooperation through international organizations (IOs). The proposed research question is: How do PSIDS contribute to climate cooperation and how are they represented in IOs? The first section of the article maps the effect climate change has on PSIDS, the second presents how IOs work through the lenses of Complex Interdependence, and the third mentions specific contributions and programs IOs apply in PSIDS countries. In order to analyze the IOs, five case study countries were chosen as examples, based on the World Risk Report by Bündnis Entwicklung Hilft and Ruhr University Bochum (2019), and the PSIDS at the top of the vulnerability ranking - they are: Vanuatu, Tonga, Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea and Fiji. Finally, the conclusion wraps ups the findings during the research.

2 CLIMATE CHANGE AND PSIDS VULNERABILITIES

PSIDS' countries are the majority of the countries in Oceania. Their collectivity as a group (SIDS) arose in 1992, during the Rio Summit, and included island countries that were grouped in three geographic regions: the Caribbean, the Pacific, and the Atlantic, Indian Ocean and South China Sea (AIS). Because of their geographic proximity and shared colonial history, the 20 PSIDS share many similarities in culture, politics and environmental vulnerability (Robinson; Dornan, 2017). According to Fry and Tarte (2015), it was in 2009 that PSIDS' diplomatic role took a turn, and the group became a key for these countries' participation in the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) and the Group of 77. This is mainly due to the group's effort during UNFCCC's meetings, the UNCED that happened in 2012, and

the Third International Conference on Small Island Developing States that took place in Samoa in 2014.

The latest IPCC report (2022) confirmed that sea level rise and extreme sea level have direct impacts on small island countries, as it is the case of the PSIDS. Those are particularly vulnerable to climate change. Many of them are biodiversity hotspots, and experience a harder impact when climate-related natural hazards occur. Although they are diverse in physical and biophysical characteristics, political and economic systems, they share similarities such as: ‘‘geographical remoteness, isolation, narrow resource bases, heavy dependency on external trade, vulnerability to exogenous economic shocks, economic volatility, and limited access to development finance’’ (Mycoo et al, 2022, p. 2048).

Some climate induced problems in the PSIDS include: coastal flooding and submergence of coastal areas, erosion, reef destabilization, rainfall, drought tropical cyclones and depressions, loss of marine and coastal biodiversity and ecosystem services, landslides, mudflows, deforestation, slow-onset climate loss of terrestrial biodiversity, transcontinental dust clouds, water insecurity, economic decline and livelihood failure. Some indirect impacts are: unhealthy water quality, chemically contaminated groundwater, salt water intrusion, limited sediment production - all which can affect agriculture and the settlements. The population faces health risks related to the climate variability, extreme events and temperature and precipitation, such as vector-bone diseases (ex: malaria, dengue fever and the Zika virus), heat stress, allergic diseases and respiratory illnesses due to air pollution, diarrhea, and ciguatera fish poisoning (due to a toxic algae that affects reef fish) (Mycoo et al, 2022).

Climate-related migration, including planned resettlement, is also a concern for PSIDS. It already happens internally in most countries as a displacement of the population to reduce risks, usually from the center of the islands to the coast, and the IPCC projection is that the countries’ habitability will worsen with the increase of the consequences of climate change. To deal with these consequences, IPCC (2022) considers that culture and cultural resources are going to have an important role in the development of adaptation policies and the creation of adaptive capacities and resilience. Community solidarity and cohesion are related to place- based identity, and that will be important to develop the adaptive capacities. Because of this, migration and reduced habitability could become a hindrance to the development of adaptation policies. Also, as deterioration of land happens and women are the decision makers in some countries, the loss of land may implicate not only in economic deprivation, but also compromise the country’s cultural identity, as well as cultural sites and their tangible heritage (Mycoo et al, 2022).

3 COOPERATION AND IOS TO COMPLEX INTERDEPENDENCE

By cooperation, it is understood that there is an adjustment of behavior on the part of the actors involved according to the preferences of others, within an international system that is considered anarchic. Also, actors are willing to cooperate when they expect others to cooperate as well, as they need to be considered trustworthy. When considering a global dilemma, such as the consequences of climate change, actors are inclined to cooperate (Ostrom, 2000). An increase in the visibility of cooperative behaviors, also called "social interventions", can facilitate other actor's change of behavior (Carattini; Levin; Tavoni, 2019).

Being based on liberal theoretical ideas, Complex Interdependence proposes the analysis of relations in the system based on the mutual dependence created between actors of international politics by transactions that occur in the midst of international borders - economic and social flows - comparing the contemporary world to a tapestry of diverse relationships. When defining Interdependence, the theory also states that it only exists in relationships in which there are reciprocal transaction costs between the parties involved (Keohane; Nye, 2001).

It is in this context that the definition of the concept of asymmetry is presented, defined as the inequalities of capabilities between the actors of the system, as defining power relations. Power, which can be understood as a process, is expressed that the constant deepening of transnational exchange relations – whether of goods or knowledge, for example – makes the actors more vulnerable to reciprocal impacts. That is, when equating the causes and consequences of a State's attitude, it is not possible to take it as a unitary actor, but rather an entity inserted in a complex of other actors, demands, rules and expectations that will suffer the consequences of these acts at the same time, that are connected in a web of relationships. In turn, these generated expectations informed how this first State should outline its strategies and, therefore, at the same time that it generated an impact on third parties, its behavior is constrained by them (Keohane; Nye, 2001).

As PSIDS do not have a strong and developed industry, they depend heavily on imports from Australia and New Zealand. Thus, these two regional powers are an important source of exports for the island countries, reaching almost 60% of all imports from a country, as is the case of Fiji, which is very economically dependent on New Zealand. The two powers jointly send around 59% of the aid that the PSIDS receive, which mainly includes the transfer of financial resources. There are also seasonal migration programs in which the PSIDS population moves to Australia at harvest time (IPCC, 2014; Scollay, 2005).

Interdependence is asymmetrical, which means that dependence is not always mutual and balanced. This is important in the sense of sources of influence, meaning that one state

influences another that is more vulnerable to it. Some States are more dependent than others, which transforms dependence as an instrument of power, since being less dependent but having many dependents means that the State has greater bargaining power. More dependent countries are usually more likely to suffer spillover impacts, which means that there can be an impact of a domestic event in one country on another country's economy (Keohane; Nye, 2001).

It is important to emphasize the asymmetry of the relationship between Australia and New Zealand with the PSIDS, since, although the second group strongly depends on the exports of these regional powers, the volume of exports corresponds to little of what these powers could really send to the countries of the PSIDS, not only for goods but also for financial and technical cooperation. In addition, the economy of PSIDS, in general, depends significantly on tourism, and Australia and New Zealand are the main source of tourists they have. A distinction was made by Australia and New Zealand between economic policy and policy for development - only the first policy is encouraged, while aid for the economic-industrial development of the island countries is not sent much by the powers, since the relationship of these is focused on trade, and this may further increase the asymmetry between the two groups (Scollay, 2005).

The commercial relationship in Oceania becomes even more asymmetrical when considering that Australia and New Zealand are not the countries that receive the most of the few products that the PSIDS export, but there is still a lot of pressure from them within the scope of the World Trade Organization (WTO), for example when they demanded tax cuts and other facilitators of trade agreements in the early 2000s. This pressure even succeeded in increasing trade in the region when considering, for instance, that the fabrics produced in Australia were being sent to Fiji for clothing production, which was later returned to Australia (Tigerstrom, 2005; Scollay, 2005).

For Complex Interdependence, international institutions, such as IOs, are extremely important because they help organize the political agenda and determine government priorities, in addition to serving as a ''spokesperson'' to show the position of the weaker countries against the stronger ones. Also, It is worth noting that in Complex Interdependence it is not just the States that interact in international politics (transnationality), and this interferes with the role of the international agenda. Domestic issues can also have an impact on the construction of a state's identity (Keohane; Nye, 2001).

4 PSIDS IN CLIMATE-RELATED IOS

There are many adaptation policies that are developed through IOs that assist the PSIDS and also promote cooperation amongst the countries. Most of them are created and implemented through the intermediation of IOs. FAO, for instance, has the SIDS Solutions Platform, which is dedicated to promoting and replicating adaptation policies focused on overcoming food-related challenges. The Platform was launched after the Organization created, in 2021, a SIDS Solutions Forum that to improve nutrition and strengthen climate adaptation considering the problems that were accentuated with the COVID- 19 pandemic – and there were policies related to strengthening infrastructure to the fisheries sector, to develop a green growth recovery to fisheries products and to improve the quality and storage of the products (FAO, 2022a).

Besides this specific Program, in 2021, FAO also assisted SIDS' countries in sustainable policies related to fisheries, that includes projects to support small-scale fishers, training for alternative fishing methods through fish aggregating device (FAD) materials (FishFAD project), training for safety at sea, technical support for community-based fisheries management programs and support for strategies in aquaculture development. Another project currently taking place in the SIDS is the Sustainable Fish Value Chains for Small Island Developing States (SVC4SIDS) Project, that is focused on developing tuna fishing in Kiribati (FAO, 2022). FAO's programs include training for capacity building, diffusion of technologies for agriculture, and knowledge-sharing between the SIDS – all to increase food and nutrition security in the PSIDS. The Organization also helps in the occurrence of negotiations between countries, for example, the Pacific Small Island Developing States Solutions Forum that happened in Samoa in 2022, and the Pacific Week of Agriculture and Forestry that happened in Fiji in 2023 (FAO, s.d.).

UNESCO is another organization that has many programs dedicated to assisting the SIDS. UNESCO is considered one of the pioneering bodies of the UN to support SIDS in their sustainable develop. The Organization's first significant projects with SIDS include the implementation of the 1994 Barbados Program of Action, the 2005 Mauritius Strategy, and the S.A.M.O.A Pathway (SIDS Accelerated Modalities of Action). UNESCO's support for the group became more expressive in 2008, with the creation of an integrated platform called UNESCO-SIDS Intersectoral Platform (UNESCO, s.d.).

Cooperation between UNESCO and the SIDS group began with the Barbados Program of Action (BPOA). This was adopted during the United Nations World Conference on Sustainable Development of SIDS, which took place in Barbados, an island country located in the Caribbean region, in 1994. Also at that Conference, the Barbados Declaration was signed, which supported the commitments of Program. Following these steps, UNESCO worked with the SIDS group to develop the Mauritius Strategy. This Conference, which took place in 2005

in Mauritius, had the objective of reviewing the actions taken according to the BPOA, and also preparing the SIDS group as an actor that has vulnerabilities and, therefore, demands assistance measures, during Rio+20[1], which took place a few years later, in 2012 (UN-OHRLLS, 2015).

Also, it is important to mention the S.A.M.O.A Pathway, which was developed with the support of UNESCO in 2014 during the SIDS Conference that took place after UNCED. During the Conference, all island countries members of the SIDS group gathered to compile their vulnerabilities in a document, and this was used to prepare goals focused on development and poverty eradication in these countries. In addition, the project also considers the consequences of climate change in island countries, as well as to other topics such as renewable energy, disaster reduction, food security, vector diseases, basic sanitation, sport, education, among other topics (UN-OHRLLS, 2015).

Another program is the UNESCO-SIDS Action Plan 2016-2021. It was developed by UNESCO as a consequence of the Third International Conference on SIDS, which took place in Samoa in 2014. UNESCO involved several of its sectors in the planning of the Plan, in addition to other international partners, to assist in the establishment of long-term goals for that the countries of the SIDS group are able to develop capacities to adapt to their vulnerabilities. Thus, the Plan of Action was developed according to 5 priority areas: (1) increase countries' capacities to achieve sustainable development through education and institution building; (2) increase the resilience and sustainability of human interactions with the environment; (3) support the management of social transformations and the promotion of social justice; (4) preserve cultural heritage, promoting culture for sustainable development; and (5) increase the exchange of knowledge between island countries (UNESCO, 2016).

As for PIF, it is an IO whose main function is to promote conditions for cooperation between the island countries of Oceania, created in 1971, and facilitate regional trade with a free trade area, in addition to creating peacekeeping operations[2] with the intention of improving the economic and social well-being of the islands' population. In addition, island countries also maintain diplomatic relations with each other, through agreements mainly on fishing, such as the Nauru Agreement on Cooperation in the Management of Fisheries of Common Interest, export of agricultural resources and other foods, sending diplomatic missions and exchange of knowledge (PIFS, 2025).

AOSIS is also another grouping of developing island-countries, much like SIDS, but it is more structured as it has a formal office. It is a coalition of coastal states formed by small

[1] Rio+20 (United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development) took place from June 13 to 22, 2012 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. During the Conference, world leaders met to renew their political commitment to sustainable development.
[2] Peacekeeping is the most traditional way of carrying out peace operations, seeking to keep the parties in conflict apart so that it is possible to move towards the peace agreement process.

islands that are extremely vulnerable to climate issues, especially rising sea levels, and which has increasingly gained space in international negotiations as a representative and expression of the demands of the countries that make up the group, which are States that are more invisible in the system. It was created in 1990, during the Second World Climate Conference and it doesn't have a formal, written treaty (Yamin; Depledge, 2005).

AOSIS's actions revolve around three main objectives: climate change, sustainable development and ocean conservation. According to the first category, the Alliance's priority is to ensure that global carbon dioxide emissions are linked to the goal of reducing temperature rise. Also, AOSIS strives to ensure that the specific challenges that SIDS face are overcome. Furthermore, the Alliance is committed to continuing to work for international cooperation and new partners to develop capabilities to face the challenges posed by climate change, helping SIDS and other vulnerable States to ''amplify their voices and make an environmental impact, lasting socio-economic and geopolitical'' (AOSIS, s.d., s.p).

Therefore, SIDS can be considered as a less institutionalized grouping, and AOSIS as being more structured. SIDS has more members, as this grouping does not have a formalized institutionalization, and island countries are not subject to any type of treaty that leads to formal obligations. AOSIS, on the other hand, is not an IO like the UN, FAO or UNESCO, as it also does not require ratification by States in a treaty for its operation to be in force. However, AOSIS has its formal office and is more institutionalized (Santos, 2018).

Considering the five case study countries chosen, it is possible to notice that they are very active in IOs and Forums, as detailed in Table 1.

Table 1 – International and regional organizations (in alphabetical order)

International organizations	Vanuatu	Tonga	Solomon Islands	Papua New Guinea	Fiji
Amnesty International	X	X		X	X
Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum			X	X	X
Asian Development Bank (ADB)	X	X	X	X	X
Commonwealth Secretariat	X	X	X	X	X
Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations	X	X	X	X	X
Forum Fisheries Agency	X	X	X	X	X
Forum for India–Pacific Islands Cooperation	X	X	X	X	X

Gamelan Council		X	X	X	X
Group of 77	X	X	X	X	X
ICFTU Asia and Pacific Regional Organisation	X	X		X	X
Inter-Parliamentary Union	X	X		X	X
International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)	X	X	X	X	X
International Labour Organization (ILO)	X	X	X	X	X
International Maritime Organization (IMO)	X	X	X	X	X
International Monetary Fund (IMF)	X	X	X	X	X
International Organization for Migration (IOM)	X	X	X	X	X
International Organization for Standardization (ISO)	X			X	X
International Seabed Authority (ISA)	X	X	X	X	X
International Telecommunication Union (ITU)	X	X	X	X	X
International Trade Center (ITC)	X	X	X	X	X
Interpol	X	X	X	X	X
ITUC-Asia Pacific	X	X		X	X
Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA)	X		X	X	X
Organisation of African, Caribbean and Pacific States (ACP)	X	X	X	X	X
Pacific Aviation Safety Office (PASO)	X	X	X	X	X
Pacific Community	X	X	X	X	X
Pacific Island Farmers Organisation Network	X	X	X	X	X
Pacific Islands Development Program (PIDP)	X	X	X	X	X

Pacific Islands Forum (PIF)	X	X	X	X	X
Pacific Islands Forum Fisheries Agency	X	X	X	X	X
Pacific Islands Museums Association	X		X	X	X
Pacific Power Association (PPA)	X	X	X	X	X
Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP)	X	X	X	X	X
South Pacific Applied Geoscience Commission	X	X	X	X	X
South Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO)	X	X	X	X	X
UN	X	X	X	X	X
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)	X	X	X	X	X
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)	X	X	X	X	X
United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP)	X	X	X	X	X
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	X	X	X	X	X
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)	X	X	X	X	X
United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)	X	X	X	X	X
United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)	X	X	X		X
United Nations Population Fund (UNPF)	X	X	X	X	X

Universal Postal Union (UPU)	X	X	X	X	X
World Bank	X	X	X	X	X
World Health Organization (WHO)	X	X	X	X	X
World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)	X	X	X	X	X
World Meteorological Organization (WMO)	X	X	X	X	X
World Trade Organization (WTO)	X	X	X	X	X

Source: elaborated by the author with data from DFAT AU (2023), ForumSec (2023) and USIP (2017).

Were found 50 regional and IOs in which at least two of the case study countries are members. All of the countries are members in 40 organizations, which is 80% of them. In 8 of them, 4 of the five case study countries are members (16% of the organizations); and in 2 of them, 3 of the five case study countries are members (4%). This shows that the countries are members in the majority of the organizations and, therefore, have a high level of interest in cooperating with each other.

Also, it is possible to notice that Fiji and Papua New Guinea are very active in IOs and regional organizations, as they are members of 50 and 49 of them, respectively. Fiji's commitment to all of them could be because of the country's large population. As for the other countries, Vanuatu is a member of 48 organizations (96%), Tonga is a member of 46 (92%) and the Solomon Islands is a member of 49 (90%). This shows that all countries are interested in cooperation and are actively searching for platforms that could potentially assist them in developing climate adaptation policies.

5 CONCLUSION

All things considered, there is already a regional cooperation and an interdependence between the countries, which is asymmetrical. There are many adaptation and mitigation policies suggested by OIs and the countries themselves, and that a majority of the adaptation ones can assist PSIDS to deal with the consequences of climate change that impact directly on the fishing activity. There are projects currently implemented by the IPCC, FAO or UNESCO on the territories, but each policy needs to be specific to each island's characteristics, which means that they should involve the local community in the implementation. As PSIDS are more vulnerable to the consequences of climate change, they end up depending more of help. The IOs are developing more adaptation policies as these consequences are worsening.

However, the IOs face many challenges when implementing those policies, especially in more remote areas, which makes the implementation difficult.

Although there are many policies that can be adapted and implemented, they are still not fully successful because of many factors, such as governance-related limits, poor data availability and quality, low technical capacities, limited climate information, food insecurity, diseases, lack of financial resources, corruption, lack of healthcare and climate awareness in more remote rural communities, lack of attention to gender equality, among other factors. This means that, especially in remote rural areas, it's harder to implement the policies and this can explain why the PSIDS are having so many losses regarding the fisheries activity. All of those IOs also show that cooperation in Oceania have existed for a while, some even in the 1950s, and that the countries create organizations to support and further develop this cooperation. As the number of IOs increase through the decades, it is also possible to see that interdependence between the countries has been increasing.

For future research, it would be interesting to map the organizations that all PSIDS are members of and to compare which of the PSIDS countries choose to cooperate with themselves. Also, Fiji seems to have protagonism over the other countries, and a case study on the country could be very informative. Lastly, an analysis of these organizations in the International Climate Change Regime and the countries inside each organization could show the impact level these countries together have on environmental governance.

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