

SUPPORTING CLIMATE-SMART MARINE
SPATIAL PLANNING IN THE UK OVERSEAS
TERRITORIES

CASE STUDIES: ANGUILLA



TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS





INTRODUCTION

The following case-studies are based on the principles outlined in the accompanying document [A roadmap for action toward Climate-Smart Marine Spatial Planning in the United Kingdom Overseas Territories](#). Whilst framed around the specific context of emerging MSP processes in Anguilla and the Turks and Caicos Islands, the key enablers for CSMSP (climate evidence, resources, communication and governance) are highly relevant for incorporating climate change adaptation and mitigation strategies into other marine management approaches across the UKOTs.

What is known about climate change impacts in the Caribbean region?

The sixth Assessment Report for the Intergovernmental Panel for Climate Change² outlines the following regional trends for the wider Caribbean region, providing the backdrop for Anguilla and Turks and Caicos Islands future policy development:

- Observed warming (high confidence) will continue in the 21st century for all projected global warming levels and future emissions scenarios, further increasing heat extremes and heat stress (high confidence).
- Marine heatwaves and ocean acidification will increase further with 1.5°C of global warming (high confidence) and with larger increases at 2°C and higher.
- More intense but generally fewer tropical cyclones (medium confidence at a global warming level of 2°C and above).
- Sea level rise will cause shorelines to retreat along sandy coasts in the Caribbean, especially after 2050, at 2°C warming and above.

Such changes affect nature, as well as people and their livelihoods. For example, marine heatwaves and long-term warming threaten the future survival of corals in the Caribbean region, with tipping points having potentially already been surpassed². Consistent with local observations, future warming may have substantial impacts on coral-dependent biodiversity and ecosystem services, such that coral-associated wild-capture fisheries and tourism may become unsustainable³. Furthermore, projected sea level rise and other climate mediated changes to coastal dynamics will likely represent important threats to infrastructure, requiring changes in policy and support, to build resilience in coastal areas. These may necessitate landward migration of sensitive habitats, such as mangrove, and of coastal human activities.

These climate change impacts are explored further in the UKOT-led Caribbean and North Atlantic climate change review and report card⁴ from the 2022 MCCIP UKOT climate change assessment⁵. Locally based researchers and practitioners identified a wide range of priority issues, including the future sustainability of fisheries and impacts on local communities, ecosystem health and marine food webs, and the effects of increasing erosion and flooding on natural coastal protection.

Such pressures affect the sustainability of ocean management strategies in both Anguilla and Turks and Caicos Islands, highlighting the need to ensure their MSP processes are climate smart.

Focus group sessions on CSMSP in Anguilla and TCI

To explore the potential for CSMSP, individual focus group sessions with representatives from Anguilla and TCI were conducted, structured around six key questions:

1. What is the governance structure around Marine Spatial Planning at present in the territory, including integration of climate change targets, and who is involved?
2. Is climate change evidence in place?
3. What version of the idealised CSMSP diagram would best represent the current MSP process in the territory?
4. What are the key enablers and blockers of CSMSP specific to the territory?
5. Are engagement activities in the MSP process working well across all relevant groups, and taking account of climate change?
6. Is the MSP process in the territory sufficiently resourced, or are there gaps to enabling it to be climate-smart (e.g. staff, skills, finance)?

One focus group with TCI representatives was held on the 24th of February 2025. Focus groups with Anguilla representatives were held on the 11th February and 12th of March 2025.

Here, we summarise the key messages that emerged from the focus groups that could be used to inform the future co-development of CSMSP in Anguilla and TCI, with learnings for marine management strategies in other UKOTs.

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CASE-STUDY: ANGUILLA



Anguilla is part of the Leeward Islands in the Caribbean Sea. It covers a total land area of 91 square kms, and consists of the main island of Anguilla, where most of the population ca. 15,000 lives, and numerous smaller islands and keys.

Recognised local climate change hazards include sea level rise, erosion, tropical cyclones, and sea temperature change, with impacts on ecosystems (e.g. loss of corals, biodiversity and threats from invasive species), coastal communities, tourism and coastal infrastructure, as described in the OECS Climate Change Adaptation Strategy and Action Plan: Climate Trends and Projections for the OECS Region⁶.

What is the governance structure around Marine Spatial Planning at present in the territory, including integration of climate change targets, and who is involved?

The lead agency for MSP in Anguilla is the Ministry of Economic Development, Industry, Commerce, Lands, Planning, Water and Natural Resources, and there will be an MSP Board (The cross-governmental Blue Anguilla Ocean Governance Committee) to provide technical and sectoral advice and make recommendations to the Executive Council and Minister. The Ministry of land and surveys has responsibility for planning on the seabed, and all departments are encouraged to consider climate change.

Anguilla is in the early stages of developing its Marine Spatial Plan. Evidence gathering sessions with stakeholders have been taking place, and guidance developed, with a view to implementation in 2029. As of late 2025, the governance structure had been agreed with the establishment of the MSP Board, and there will be a stakeholder working group. Anguilla's MSP vision to achieve 'A diverse, vibrant and sustainable ocean area' had been agreed, as have four goals, and objectives are being developed. Consideration of climate change is a key part of the draft objectives, including the importance of resilient and adaptable coastal and marine ecosystems, as well as coastal communities (e.g. in the face of increasingly severe hurricane impacts), as well as the role the marine environment plays in mitigating climate change.

An MSP pilot site at Crocus Bay to Little Bay (main island, north coast), which includes a specific climate change policy, is being developed with assistance from the Blue Belt Programme and will inform national upscaling of MSP.

The pilot site includes marine protected areas, a cay and shipping lanes towards the cargo port and supports a range of activities and industries including tourism, fishing (including lobster), beachfront developments, mega yachting, requests to build cabanas, a desalination plant (key to national water distribution), and adjacent National Trust marine trail(s). As of late 2025, the Government of Anguilla (with technical assistance from the Blue Belt Programme) had just undertaken a public consultation process on the MSP Pilot. The feedback received is being considered and will be incorporated into the final MSP Pilot design.

There is a newly updated climate change policy that the Department of Natural Resources is responsible for under the same ministry, which aims to facilitate the transition to a climate-resilient, energy-efficient, and low-carbon economy. Its vision is for 'A resilient Anguilla where healthy natural and human systems are restored, strengthened and sustained to deliver benefits to current and future generations in the face of climate change'. The climate change policy includes a commitment to develop an integrated coastal zone management plan to govern the sustainable use of coastal and marine resources, giving priority wherever possible, to restoration, recovery and protection of vulnerable and at-risk biodiversity and habitats. The policy also mentions the marine park system in Anguilla that has been established to protect marine species and habitats, preserve and enhance the beauty of the marine environment, encourage scientific research, and promote public enjoyment. The role of coastal and marine ecosystems in expanding the carbon sequestration potential of Anguilla is highlighted, as well as the oceans potential for harnessing renewable energy sources.

The need for cross-sectoral collaboration between Government, the private sector, non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations, special interest groups and civil society to ensure successful implementation is emphasised, as is the need for a 'just' transition for all societal actors. The importance of baseline data to underpin action, including the need to close significant evidence gaps, is noted, as is the overarching need for sustainable climate financing.

Perceived enablers and blockers: Communication and streamlined governance for MSP

The placement of both planning and climate policy under the same ministry provide potential enabling governance structure for the development of CSMSP, if communication and departmental goals are aligned, which they seem to be at present, especially as all departments are encouraged to consider climate change. Engaging stakeholders, and addressing specific challenges around engaging with specific groups, including fisherfolk, will be key to ensuring the success of MSP, and incorporating climate smart-approaches.

Is climate evidence in place?

Whilst there is a general shortage of localised climate modelling studies and observations, some work has been done by external organizations at a regional level, such as through the Organisation of the Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) and the Caribbean Disaster Emergency Management Agency (CDEMA), especially on sea-level rise, droughts and rainfall. As an OECS member, Anguilla helps agree what is needed, so has the opportunity to guide further research on climate change.

With regards to observations, environmental monitoring systems have been recently installed in a port as well as the ferry port, and in the airport. Whilst these datasets are too short to allow for the analysis of climate trends at present, as the data collected expands, so does this capability. Overall, there is a need for a more holistic data gathering approach, particularly in areas along the coastline to better inform development decisions.

Relevant information from projects funded by the Darwin Programme and by the Joint Nature Conservation Committee to support marine management have a focus on building resilience to climate change impacts, such as increased coastal erosion and sea level rise. These initiatives have included vulnerability mapping to natural hazards⁷, improving coastal ecosystem resilience to climate change in Anguilla⁸, future-proofing endangered species conservation in Anguilla⁹, regional collaboration to achieve sustainable Caribbean fisheries management¹⁰, and climate change adaptation in the fisheries of Anguilla and Montserrat¹¹. Further information is available from Natural Capital in the Caribbean UK Overseas Territories¹² which includes UK Overseas Territories Vulnerability Modelling¹³ and Anguilla Natural Capital Accounts¹⁴. Current research through the blue belt programme will collate and review existing climate change evidence and identify priority climate pressures, impacts and evidence gaps for a climate change evidence report, as well as ongoing work on shoreline change and coastal modelling, and a review of, and opportunity mapping for, nature-based solutions to climate change.

There are opportunities to utilize recently compiled coastal and marine ecological datasets, which include habitat maps, key biodiversity areas, nesting sites (turtles and birds), marine park boundaries and risk maps of erosion, sedimentation, inland flooding and storm surge, all of which are useful to CSMSP. Socio-economic data on administrative boundaries, fishing sites, closed areas, coastal development, beaches (including those that are protected), dive sites, anchoring (and no anchoring) areas, ports and harbours, navigation, cables and pipelines, shipping lanes, extraction and cultural sites are also available to support CSMSP.

Perceived enablers and blockers: Climate evidence and resources

Fit-for-purpose tools may not yet be available to help access and interpret data (including required computing power), or data may not have been analysed and presented in a format that can support decision making. A need for a more holistic data gathering approach, particularly in areas along the coastline to better inform development decisions in a changing climate, have also been identified as a current challenge to developing Climate Smart approaches to MSP. Continued government investment in technical skills development and partnerships with external organisations in the science community are seen as having the potential to help overcome these barriers.

How does the CSMSP cycle diagram relate to the current MSP process in Anguilla?

Whilst MSP policy is still in development, licensing decisions for developments are taken with inputs from across the departments of the Ministry of Economic Development, Industry, Commerce, Lands and Natural Resources, to support informed decision-making on potential environmental impacts, and all government departments are encouraged to consider climate change in their planning processes, including marine research activities. Marine spatial planning objectives are in development and there are draft objectives covering climate change mitigation and adaptation.

Perceived enablers and blockers: Governance and financial resources

A CSMSP process diagram is not yet conceivable in Anguilla, as MSP policy is in development, but current governance practices suggest there are very promising conditions for a CSMSP process to be taken forward. There is a recognised need for greater access to climate finance mechanisms, to support policy development and reduce reliance on external opportunities, that could support the development of capability towards CSMSP.

Are engagement activities in Anguilla's MSP process working well across all relevant groups, and taking account of climate change?

There is already a communication plan to support MSP implementation in Anguilla, stimulated by the Blue Belt programme. Obtaining collective views across marine sectoral groups has been challenging.

As of late 2025 though, it has been agreed that there will be a stakeholder working group representing interested marine users and civil society and which will be responsible for providing detailed sectoral information to develop draft outputs, as well as local knowledge and topic expertise.

Other activities, such as environmental impact assessments may already include a social component, including consultation with the public, as well as comments from statutory bodies and NGOs. Such proactive consultation with local communities tends to target specific groups of economic activity on a case-by-case basis, depending on the nature of individual planning decisions at hand.

*Perceived enablers and blockers:
Communication*

Existing lines of communication around the MSP process already provide an excellent opportunity to support the development of CSMSP that works for nature and people. Such structures will be particularly useful in initial stages of evidence gathering, as well as in later stages, such as public consultation. Such conditions are likely to help ensure diverse stakeholders of the planning process and the public are engaged with MSP, and that developed policies are therefore more likely to be fair and to receive social license.

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CASE-STUDY: TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS



The Turks and Caicos Islands are located at the southeastern end of the Lucayan Archipelago and the West Indies, in the Caribbean region. They cover a total area of 948 square kilometres, and consist of thirty islands, ten of which are inhabited. The overall population is c.60,000, with Providenciales Island being the most populated. The islands are flat and low lying, with extensive marshes and mangroves.

Locally recognized climate change pressures include sea level rise, warming and extreme events, as well as human pressures such as coastal development, fishing and pollution.

What is the governance structure around Marine Spatial Planning at present in the territory, including integration of climate change targets, and who is involved?

The aspiration to develop Marine Spatial Planning (MSP) in TCI dates back to the 2012 TCI Foreign Commonwealth Office branch and JNCC funded “Environmental Mainstreaming” report, which highlighted the need to deliver a more holistic approach to marine management. A number of subsequent initiatives (initially Darwin plus, then the Blue Belt Programme) have provided support towards the goal of MSP implementation.

Under the Darwin Plus Programme, implemented in 2019, partnership working between the TCI Department of Environment and Coastal Resources (DECR) and the South Atlantic Environmental Research Institute (SAERI, Falklands) produced a draft vision for MSP to “Ensure the marine and coastal environment and resources are well managed, collaboratively and equally, for sustainable development, safeguarding the cultural heritage and providing education for future generations while maintaining the clean, green and pristine Turks and Caicos Islands”, with climate change adaptation and mitigation included as key objectives.

In 2023, engagement with the blue belt programme on MSP got underway. The first workshops delivered (Providenciales, Grand Turk, South Caicos) focussed on developing MSP objectives to compliment the already developed vision, alongside a better understanding of threats and conflicts in TCI’s marine environment. TCI have not yet determined a specific Marine Spatial Plan Area, although the Blue Belt programme is working with TCI’s DECR to support with how they can identify and agree an area.

There are examples on how DECR have used marine spatial planning principles to engage stakeholders and develop trial zonation for personal watercraft and kite boarders on Providenciales. In recent years there has been a targeted effort to increase public participation, so initial engagement has started with areas traditionally less involved, including in smaller islands. There is a sectoral as well as geographic engagement strategy to MSP engagement (e.g. targeted workshops have taken place with water sport operators).

Climate change charter

The Turks and Caicos Climate Change Charter is a legally binding agreement signed by government and private sector stakeholders in 2022 to foster a collaborative roadmap for addressing climate change impacts in the islands. This includes commitments for government, industry and people to mitigate climate impacts, including realizing local wellbeing benefits, and recognizing the role of environmental protection in building climate resilience.

The role of TCIs marine environment in climate change mitigation through marine renewable energy and protecting blue carbon habitats is recognised as important, including opportunities for blue carbon investment.

Other relevant initiatives

TCI also has a network of protected areas in place, many of which include a marine component, as well as the Environment Statement and National Hazard Mitigation Policy, and the National Multi-Hazard Mitigation Plan, which consider long term risks.

Perceived enablers and blockers: Climate change evidence, financing and governance

Financing of the MSP process is seen as a challenge, including for the delivery of climate change objectives within this. There is a perception from the TCI government representatives that personnel resources to deliver a climate-smart policy may require additional development of technical skills. Among competing objectives within MSP, it is also perceived that the delivery of the ongoing Climate Change Risk Assessment (CCRA) for TCI may lend more support to develop Climate smart approaches to MSP. This includes evidence emerging from the current assessment of the health and vulnerability of ecologically and economically important habitats (such as coral reefs, seagrass and mangrove) to climate change that may lead to a greater focus on addressing climate change as a priority in the development of MSP policy. The current lack of governance specific to MSP is seen as a potential barrier to the process.

Is climate change evidence in place?

The ongoing government-led CCRA for TCI aims to identify priority issues and define a more strategic pathway towards climate action. The results will be used to identify evidence needs which may facilitate the integration of climate change considerations into MSP and other policy instruments, enhancing the resilience of the islands.

Some climate impact information exists for TCI, including a climate risk profile from Caribsave (this was a joint initiative between the Caribbean Community Climate Change Centre, or CCCCC, and the University of Oxford) based on model projections which shows increased sea temperatures and potential for more intense storms, with implications for marine life and people.

More recent and localised information is needed. An EU-GO project has been approved for a Climate Change Vulnerability Assessment in TCI.

At the coast, risks from sea level rise and storm surge (e.g. for coastal residents and resorts) have been estimated, and the consequent increased flood and erosion risk will necessitate coastal setbacks for developments to protect ecosystems and society.

Relevant information from Darwin and JNCC projects to support marine management in TCI includes Developing MSP tools for TCI¹⁵, Marine conservation for Ramsar (East Caicos)¹⁶ and TCI marine coastal management¹⁷, all of which could be useful to CSMSP development. There is some limited fisheries data (based on catch and effort), with a few studies on species abundance, but they are seen to lack the resolution needed to inform climate adaptive spatial management of fisheries as part of an MSP process. Given the known sensitivity of commercially important fish species to climate change in the Caribbean, adapting to changes in available fishery resources at sea could be important, including an increased role for marine aquaculture. This would itself need to be future proofed against climate risks such as extreme events (e.g. pens in open water) and other climate threats such as fish diseases.

The TCI data portal¹⁸ includes information on some marine habitats, and limited information on weather and climate, including hurricane tracks and sea temperatures, but they do not yet have adequate information to support climate-smart approaches to MSP development.

Documenting local evidence of climate change impacts through the CCRA is a major opportunity, including new information on the state of key natural resources (e.g. habitats such as coral, seagrass and mangroves, and the fisheries they support and coastal communities they protect) and impacts on coastal wetlands, to support change and to better connect management of the land and sea. Future monitoring of site conditions over time by developers is also seen as providing the opportunity to help identify local climate effects.

Evidence from protected area management effectiveness sessions and social and economic data can provide useful information, as well as wider data being gathered from an island livelihood perspective. For example, Blue Belt assisted the DECR to undertake Protected Area Management Effectiveness (PAME) assessment of three of their protected areas in 2023. It was a stakeholder led process, using a set of questions to assess the strengths and weaknesses of management activities by evaluating management inputs, activities, outputs, and outcomes. Whilst this information might not have been collected for climate change management studies specifically, it would still help inform the development of CSMSP.

Perceived enablers and blockers: Evidence; management across marine sectors (governance)

It is recognised that activities such as dredging (including its deposition), marine construction, land reclamation, and flood and coastal erosion risk management measures can reduce the climate resilience of marine and coastal ecosystems. It is therefore important to ensure relevant information is being used to support a joined up and evidence-based approach to the management of all marine sectors under the Marine Spatial Plan.

This should inform interactions between sectors, and between climate objectives and other objectives of the plan. For example, The DECR has engaged a consultant to investigate the impacts of dredging on the sediment budget in Providenciales and North Caicos. The study will also provide recommendations for implementation.

How does the CSMSP cycle diagram relate to the current MSP process in TCI?

TCI's initial MSP development is already aligning well with the idealised CSMSP cycle diagram¹, which suggests a good alignment with international best-practices. Namely, initial stages have been carried out as follows:

- **Step 1:** Communication with communities and marine activity sectors about the beginning of the marine spatial planning process and the creation of dedicated fora for engagement. Engagement is structured through familiar, government-led public consultation practices. Usually, whenever stakeholder participation is required, the public is notified through press releases and social media.
- **Step 2:** Consultation with stakeholders (via programme workshops) to gather evidence on issues related to MSP, and raising awareness of climate change issues.
- **Step 3:** The MSP process is being guided by a draft MSP vision statement, which is underlined by specific climate change objectives.

Ensuring this vision is realised through an effective delivery process that protects climate ambition is the responsibility of the Department of Environment and Coastal Resources.

That realisation will depend on the continued commitment to deliver that ambition into the subsequent stages of planning i.e. the inclusion of climate specific objectives within the draft policy; consultation with local communities and sectors that includes the exploration of climate change issues affecting these groups; climate change objectives remaining firmly as priorities within the final policy that will be adopted; and subsequent monitoring, evaluation and learning strategies being put in place for the adopted plan in future, that also assess the efficacy of delivery of climate objectives.

Perceived enablers and blockers: Enabling governance environment

The TCI government is already trying to improve the visibility of climate change adaptation and mitigation across agencies, and with local communities, via workshops linked to MSP development. The TCI Climate Change Charter also includes commitments for government, industry and people to mitigate climate impacts, including realising local wellbeing benefits and the role of environmental protection in building climate resilience. There is therefore a facilitating governance environment that is likely to foster a focus on climate change objectives in the incoming stages of MSP.

Are engagement activities in the Turks and Caicos Islands' MSP process working well across all relevant groups, and taking account of climate change?

Concerted efforts are being made to reach out widely on MSP, including with local communities in areas that have perceived themselves as being marginalized in decision making in the past. Continued engagement will be needed as MSP develops, and it is recognised that engaging vulnerable and subsistence communities is key to making the process more effective and representative.

A clear programme of engagement, that is well communicated, will ensure communities and marine sectors are aware of how and when to engage. This should also focus on climate change objectives and issues.

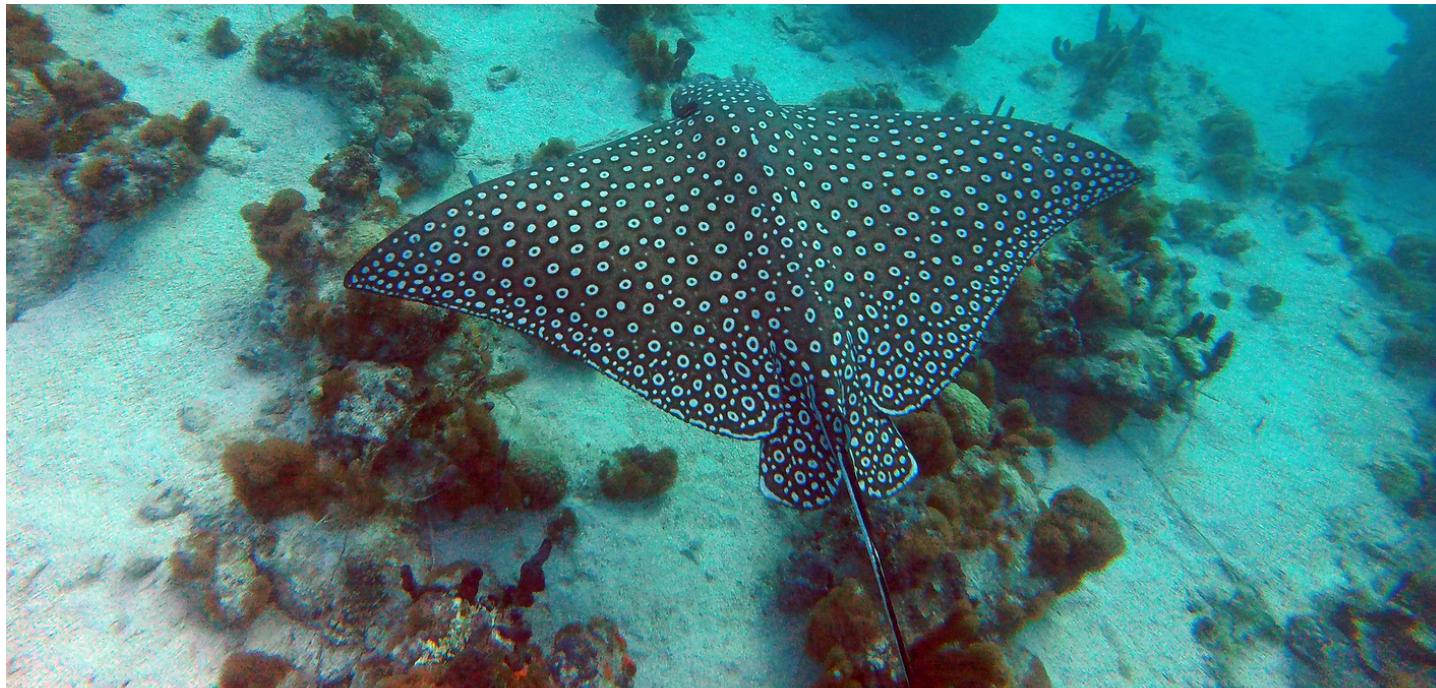
*Perceived enablers and blockers:
Communication across all actors and
valuing diverse knowledge*

Stakeholder groups on smaller, less populated islands, have been historically perceived to be less able to engage with the development of policy. Effective multi-stakeholder engagement requires the use of different styles of communication (e.g. coastal community engagement on adaptation in the UK¹⁹). The value of participatory processes that include local knowledge²⁰ as an important source of evidence on climate change effects has been demonstrated in Tanzania²¹. Such participatory approaches are more likely to open up more engaging and successful pathways for the development of CSMSP that are inclusive and fair.

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Focus group discussions have demonstrated that in both TCI and Anguilla, many of the enabling conditions to support development of CSMSP are in place, including existing policies to deliver climate adaptation and mitigation strategies.

Further consultation activities here, and with other interested UKOTs, could help support development of CSMSP.



FOCUS GROUP ATTENDEES

We would like to thank the following people for their valuable input during the case study focus group virtual meeting sessions.

The introductory session of the Anguilla focus group meeting sessions took place on 11th February 2025 and included the following participants from multiple departments of the Government of Anguilla: Rhon Connor, Ronsford Connor, Sharmer Fleming, Asharn Hodge, Karim Hodge, Julian Hughes, Remone Johnson, Melissa Meade, Jasmine Ruan, and O'Sanna Tomlinson. Introducing and facilitating the session were Ana Queiros (Plymouth Marine Laboratory), Matt Frost (MCCIP chair, Plymouth Marine Laboratory), and Paul Buckley (MCCIP, Cefas).

The discussion session of the Anguilla focus group took place on 11th March 2025 and included the following participants from the Government of Anguilla: Sharmer Fleming, Remone Johnson, Melissa Meade, Carencia Rouse, Jasmin Ruan, and O'Sanna Tomlinson. Ana Queiros and Paul Buckley facilitated this session, with additional project working group input from Emily Hardman (Marine Management Organisation).

The TCI focus group met during one session that combined the introduction and facilitated discussion on 25th February 2025, and included Luc Clerveaux and Deja Charles from the Government of TCI. Andrew Stanger from the Marine Management Organisation Global Team also contributed to the discussions. Introducing and facilitating the session were Ana Queiros, Matt Frost, and Paul Buckley.

LINKS TO REFERENCED MATERIAL

1. [A roadmap for action toward Climate-Smart Marine Spatial Planning in the United Kingdom Overseas Territories](#)
2. [The sixth Assessment Report for the Intergovernmental Panel for Climate Change](#)
3. [The transformation of Caribbean coral communities since humans](#)
4. [Caribbean and North Atlantic climate change review and report card](#)
5. [2022 MCCIP UKOT climate change assessment](#)
6. [OECS Climate Change Adaptation Strategy and Action Plan: Climate Trends and Projections for the OECS Region](#)
7. [Assess and validate the vulnerability mapping of the UK's OTs of Anguilla and BVI to natural hazards, and the value of natural capital in mitigating impacts](#)
8. [Improving coastal ecosystem resilience to climate change in Anguilla](#)
9. [Future-proofing endangered species conservation in Anguilla](#)
10. [Regional collaboration to achieve sustainable Caribbean fisheries management](#)
11. [Climate change adaptation in the fisheries of Anguilla and Montserrat](#)
12. [Natural Capital in the Caribbean UK Overseas Territories](#)
13. [UK Overseas Territories Vulnerability Modelling](#)
14. [Anguilla Natural Capital Accounts](#)
15. [Developing MSP tools for TCI](#)
16. [Marine conservation for Ramsar \(East Caicos\)](#)
17. [TCI marine coastal management](#)
18. [The TCI data portal](#)
19. ['Going digital' – Lessons for future coastal community engagement and climate change adaptation](#)
20. [Traditional Ecological Knowledge Supports Ecosystem-Based Management in Disturbed Coastal Marine Social-Ecological Systems](#)
21. [A sustainable blue economy may not be possible in Tanzania without cutting emissions](#)



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