Multi-level Governance for Climate Change Adaptation in Delta Urban Regions



Outline

Background

Some key concepts

The Randstad: Rotterdam and The Hague

Pearl River Delta:

- a. Hong Kong
- b. Guangzhou and Shenzhen

Conclusions



1. Background



- A problem that is both global and local in nature ('glocal')
 → need responses at multiple administrative levels
 (Gupta, 2007)
- A particularly complex problem → need integrated policy action (water, planning, housing, health, disaster management, research, etc.)
- Cities are perpetrators of climate change but also their main victims too and part of the solution



- Delta urban regions particularly vulnerable to climate change:
 - Tension between the **natural environment** and intensive urbanisation – urbanisation increases vulnerability
 - Rising sea levels particularly dangerous for low-lying areas
 - Prone to river flooding

 - Threat to the dense population living in deltas
 - Public health implications of higher average temperatures
 - Stress on water resources, etc.



Obstacles to implementation of urban climate change policies:

- Institutional blockage clashes of interests and priorities across the departments of sub-national authorities
- Mismatch of priorities across the levels of governments
- Insufficient capacity and expertise
- Lack of appropriate funding to reach national targets
- Lack of devolved authority, appropriate responsibility and/or financial autonomy
- **Difficult co-ordination between municipalities** within metropolitan and functional areas

(Gupta, 2007; Corfee-Morlot et al., 2009, Betsill and Bulkeley, 2007)



- 1. How does climate change affect the cities in which you live and work? Which population groups are the most affected?
- 2. Does the city recognise the problem? Does it take adaptation measures? If yes, are they framed as climate adaptation or something else?

2. Conceptual framework

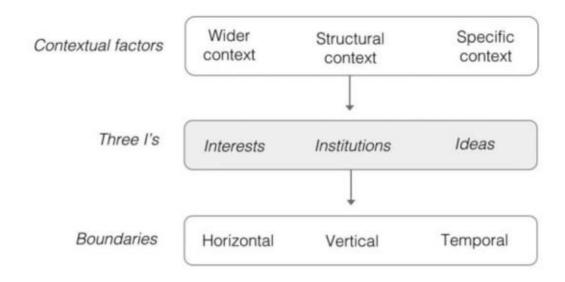


- Multi-level governance (MLG) as a conceptual framework recognising interdependencies and across scales (e.g. Hooghe and Marks, 2001; Hooghe et al. 2010)
 - Vertical dimension to implement national climate adaptation strategies, the governments need to cooperate with regional and local governments as agents of change, while cities' actions are 'nested' in legal and institution frameworks at higher scales
 - Horizontal dimension international networks and interjurisdictional cooperation on climate change adaptation to exchange knowledge, pool resources and and address cross-boundary issues (Corfee-Morlot et al., 2009; Bulkeley and Betsill, 2005)



Spanning boundaries to enact urban climate change adaptation policy

- Horizontal
- Vertical
- Temporal





Spanning horizontal boundaries

- Boundaries between policy sectors
- Administrative boundaries inter-municipal cooperation
- Boundaries between societal groups
- Problems:
 - What strategies for spanning boundaries? Who can play the 'spanner' role?
 - How to cooperate informally to overcome the legal and institutional barriers?
 - How to trigger governance learning to work across silos?
 - Context-dependent cultural barriers challenge for policy mobility







Spanning vertical boundaries

- Levels of government: city, region, state, EU
- Geographical scales: neighbourhood, urban, metropolitan, regional, delta, river basin
- Problem:
 - Multi-level governance gaps: political, fiscal, policy, objectives...
 - Context-dependent obstacles for coordination and cooperation









Spanning vertical boundaries

- Levels of government: city, region, state, EU
- Geographical scales: neighbourhood, urban, metropolitan, regional, delta, river basin
- Problem:
 - Multi-level governance gaps: political, fiscal, policy, objectives...
 - Local innovations how to upscale, mainstream, coordinate?
 - Context-dependent obstacles for coordination and cooperation

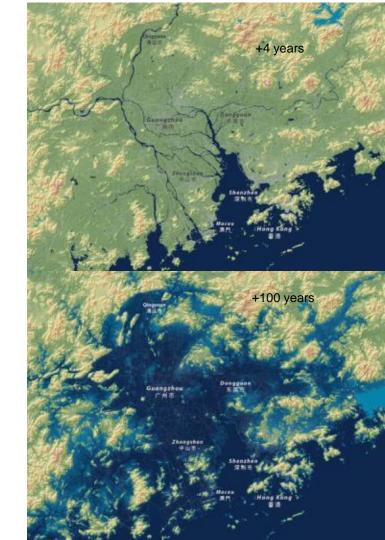




Spanning **temporal** boundaries

- Short-term VS long-term
- Problems:
 - Culture and time perspective
 - Electoral cycle and the pursuit of quick fixes
 - Awareness among citizens, investors - do you know what you are getting into when choosing to invest here?
 - Planning goals Growth? Liveability? Resilience?
 - Bureaucratic rigidity, path dependence VS the need for adaptive planning



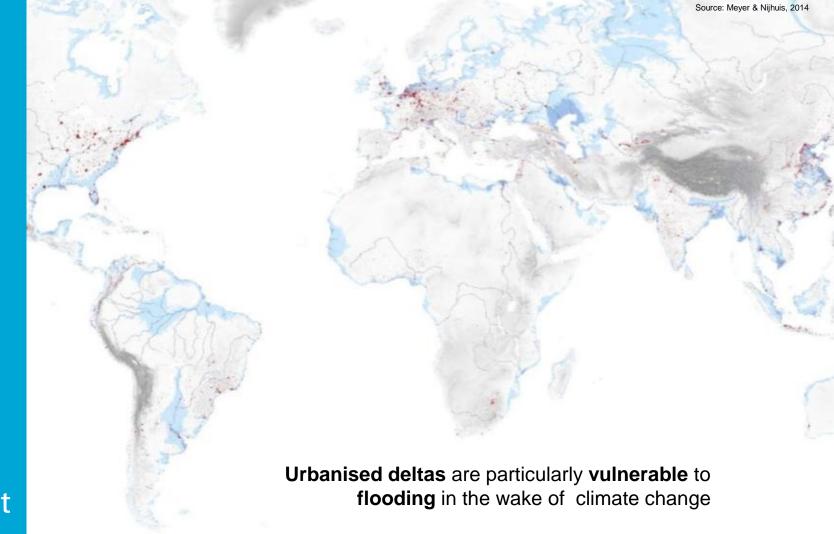


Puzzle:

How do the contextual factors, from the wider political culture to the structure of the territorial governance systems, shape the patterns of governance of adaptation policies in urban regions?

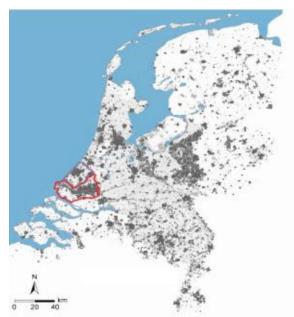
What are the **barriers for boundary spanning** that urban adaptation policies require and how these barriers emerge?







Randstad (South Wing): Rotterdam and The Hague

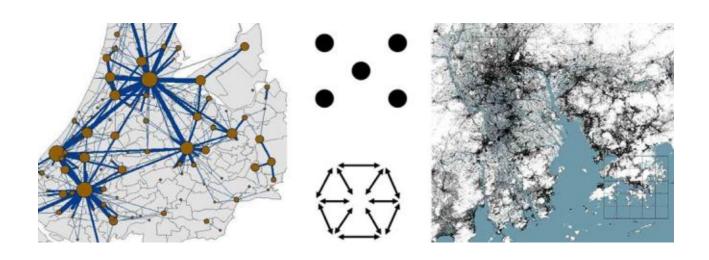




Pearl River Delta:

Hong Kong, Shenzhen, Guangzhou









































Rank	Country	Urban Agglomeration	Exposed Population Current	Exposed Population Future	
1	INDIA	Kolkata (Calcutta)	1,929,000	14,014,000	
2	INDIA	Mumbai (Bombay)	2,787,000	11,418,000	
3	BANGLADESH	Dhaka	844,000	11,135,000	
4	CHINA	Guangzhou	2,718,000	10,333,000	
5	VIETNAM	Ho Chi Minh City	1,931,000	9,216,000	
6	CHINA	Shanghai	2,353,000	5,451,000	
7	THAILAND	Bangkok	907,000	5,138,000	
8	MYANMAR	Rangoon	510,000	4,965,000	
9	USA	Miami	2,003,000	4,795,000	
10	VIETNAM	Hai Phòng	794,000	4,711,000	
11	EGYPT	Alexandria	1,330,000	4,375,000	
12	CHINA	Tianjin	956,000	3,790,000	
13	BANGLADESH	Khulna	441,000	3,641,000	
14	CHINA	Ningbo	299,000	3,305,000	
15	NIGERIA	Lagos	357,000	3,229,000	
16	CÔTE D'IVOIRE	Abidjan	519,000	3,110,000	
17	USA	New York-Newark	1,540,000	2,931,000	
18	BANGLADESH	Chittagong	255,000	2,866,000	
19	JAPAN	Tokyo	1,110,000	2,521,000	
20	INDONESIA	Jakarta	513,000	2,248,000	

Table 1: Top 20 cities ranked in terms of population exposed to coastal flooding in the 2070s (including both climate change and socioeconomic change) and showing present-day exposure (Source: Nicholls et al (2007), OECD, Paris)



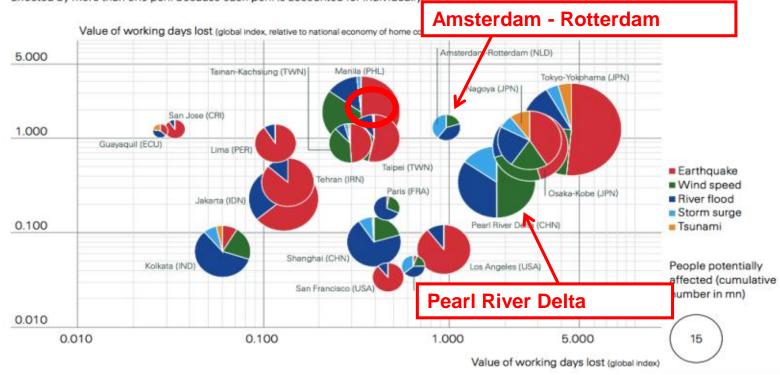
Rank	Country	Urban Agglomeration	Exposed Assets Current (\$Billion)	Exposed Assets Future (\$Billion)	
1	USA	Miami	416.29	3,513.04	
2	CHINA	Guangzhou	84.17	3,357.72	
3	USA	New York-Newark	320.20	2,147.35	
4	INDIA	Kolkata (Calcutta)	31.99	1,961.44	
5	CHINA	Shanghai	72.86	1,771.17	
6	INDIA	Mumbai	46.20	1,598.05	
7	CHINA	Tianjin	29.62	1,231.48	
8	JAPAN	Tokyo	174.29	1,207.07	
9	CHINA,	Hong Kong	35.94	1,163.89	
10	THAILAND	Bangkok	38.72	1,117.54	
11	CHINA	Ningbo	9.26	1,073.93	
12	USA	New Orleans	233.69	1,013.45	
13	JAPAN	Osaka-Kobe	215.62	968.96	
14	NETHERLANDS	Amsterdam	128.33	843.70	
15	NETHERLANDS	Rotterdam	114.89	825.68	
16	VIETNAM	Ho Chi Minh City	26.86	652.82	
17	JAPAN	Nagoya	109.22	623.42	
18	CHINA	Qingdao	2.72	601.59	
19	USA	Virginia Beach	84.64	581.69	
20	EGYPT	Alexandria	28.46	563.28	

Table 2: Top 20 cities ranked in terms of assets exposed to coastal flooding in the 2070s (including both climate change and socioeconomic change) and showing present-day exposure (Source: Nicholls et al (2007), OECD, Paris)



Figure 8: Impact of all perils by metropolitan area - Top 10

The chart includes the aggregate number of people potentially affected by all relevant perils (bubble size) and global rankings by the value of working days lost, in absolute terms (x-axis) and in relation to the country's national economy (y-axis). Residents are counted multiple times when affected by more than one peril because each peril is accounted for individually.





Source: Swiss Re, 2014

Table 1 | City ranking by risk (AAL) and relative risk (AAL in percentage of GDP) for 2005.

	Ranking by AAL (US\$ million)				Ranking by relative AAL (percentage of city GDP)				
	Urban agglomeration	100 year exposure	AAL, with protection (US\$ million)	AAL, with protection (percentage of GDP)		Urban agglomeration	100 year exposure	AAL, with protection (US\$ million)	AAL, with protection (percentage of GDP)
1	Guangzhou	38,508	687	1.32%	1	Guangzhou	38,508	687	1.32%
2	Miami	366,421	672	0.30%	2	New Orleans	143,963	507	1.21%
3	New York—Newark	236,530	628	0.08%	3	Guayaquil	3,687	98	0.95%
4	New Orleans	143,963	507	1.21%	4	Ho Chi Minh City	18,708	104	0.74%
5	Mumbai	23,188	284	0.47%	5	Abidjan	1,786	38	0.72%
6	Nagoya	77,988	260	0.26%	6	Zhanjiang	2,780	46	0.50%
7	Tampa—St. Petersburg	49,593	244	0.26%	7	Mumbai	23,188	284	0.47%
8	Boston	55,445	237	0.13%	8	Khulna	2,073	13	0.43%
9	Shenzen	11,338	169	0.38%	9	Palembang	1,161	27	0.39%
10	Osaka—Kobe	149,935	120	0.03%	10	Shenzen	11,338	169	0.38%
11	Vancouver	33,456	107	0.14%	11	Hai Phòng	6,348	19	0.37%
12	Tianjin	11,408	104	0.24%	12	N'ampo	507	6	0.31%
13	Ho Chi Minh City	18,708	104	0.74%	13	Miami	366,421	672	0.30%
14	Kolkata	14,769	99	0.21%	14	Kochi	855	14	0.29%
15	Guayaquil	3,687	98	0.95%	15	Tampa—St. Petersburg	49,593	244	0.26%
16	Philadelphia	22,132	89	0.04%	16	Nagoya	77,988	260	0.26%
17	Virginia Beach	61,507	89	0.15%	17	Surat	3,288	30	0.25%
18	Fukuoka—Kitakyushu	39,096	82	0.09%	18	Tianjin	11,408	104	0.24%
19	Baltimore	14,042	76	0.08%	19	Grande_Vitória	6,738	32	0.23%
20	Jakarta	4,256	73	0.14%	20	Xiamen	4,486	33	0.22%



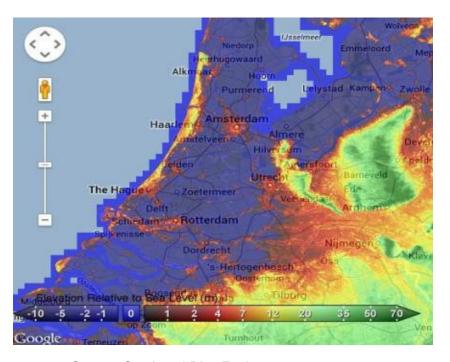
A comparison with a ranking by exposure is proposed in the Supplementary Information.

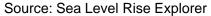
Source: Hallegate et al. 2013

3. The Randstad: Rotterdam and The Hague



Areas exposed to flooding as a result of the rising sea level









Samen werken aan een veilig en mooi rivierengebied





Bouwstenen

Adaptatiestrategieën Regio Rotterdam









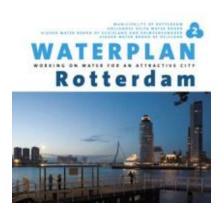
ROTTERDAM CLIMATE PROOF



Rotterdam Climate Change Adaptation Strategy











Climate change programmes and strategies

National:

- Delta Programme:
 - Objective: update and adapt the national flood protection and fresh water supply policies in the context of climate change
 - Delta Fund 1 billion EUR per year for implementation
- Knowledge for Climate a research programme
- Room for the river investment in measures to create more space for the water to mitigate flood risk

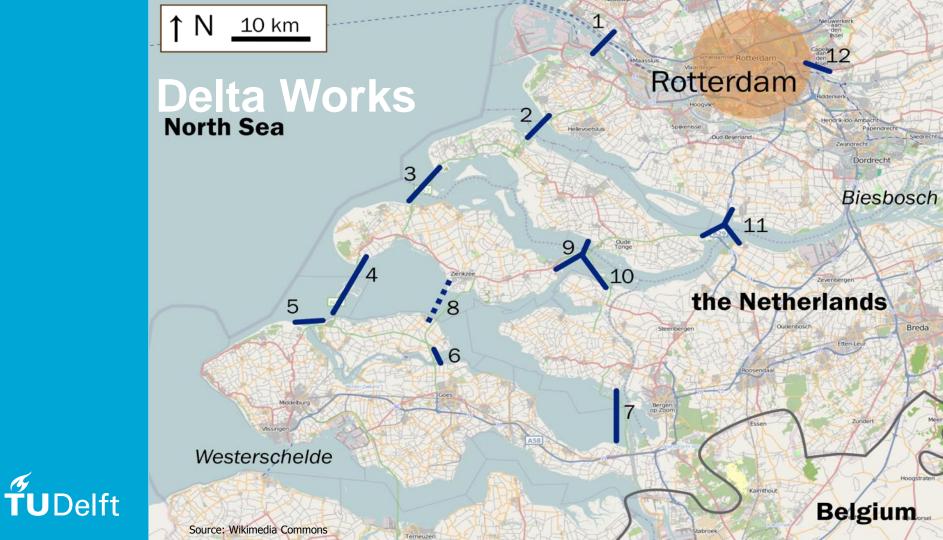
Regional/local:

- Rotterdam Climate Proof adaptation (and mitigation) programme to improve the climate resilience by 2035, while enhancing the city's spatial quality and promote economic development
- Stadsregio Rotterdam adaptation strategy regional programme of Rotterdam + 5 municipalities
- Haaglanden Waterproof regional programme coordianted by the Haaglanden city-region











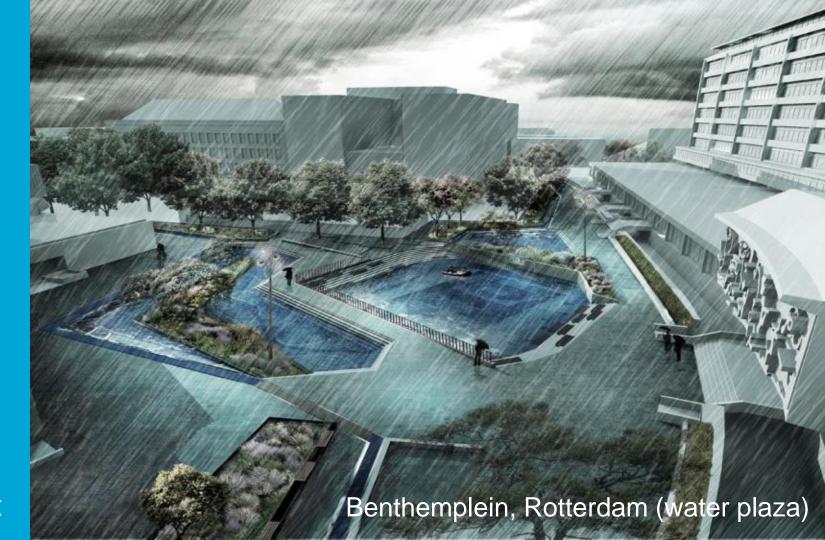
























































Actors

Delta Programme

infrastructure

A myriad of deliberative and cooperative bodies, multi-

and single-purpose; e.g. Monitoring Committees for the

Waterboards – an additional layer of sub-national government for managing flood protection

Safety regions – disaster management

Rijkswaterstaat - national water authority

Provinces – planning and coord.

Ministry of Infr. and Env.

State	Non state	Knowledge	Beyond NL
Municipalites – the key actors	Maritime business (dredging,hydraulic engineering)	Universities	EU- guidelines, funding
Port authorities	Energy companies	Research institutions	Belgian Flanders
City-regions –coordinating strategies of municipalities	Environmental NGOs	Cross-sectoral think tanks	

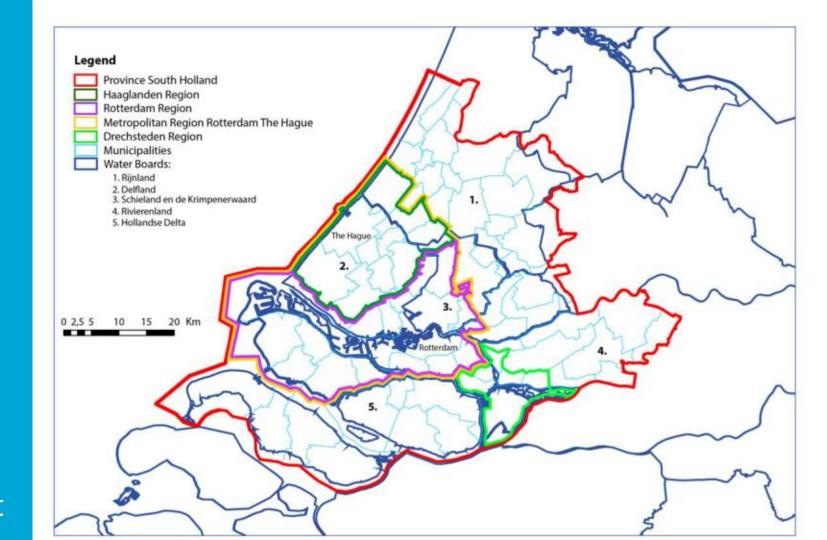
Housing associations (semi-

public)

Institutions

- The resourceful municipalities (e.g. Rotterdam) and cityregions (Haaglanden) are the key actors, but smaller municipalities lack capacity and funding (austerity and 'shrinking state')
- Polder model can prevent effective decision-making need to consult everyone and ensure broad consensus – joint decision trap?
- General complexity of governance arrangements rendering cooperation laborious and time consuming
- Mismatch between the boundaries of sub-national bodies provinces, waterboards, safety regions, regions for the purpose of adaptation policy (Delta programme)



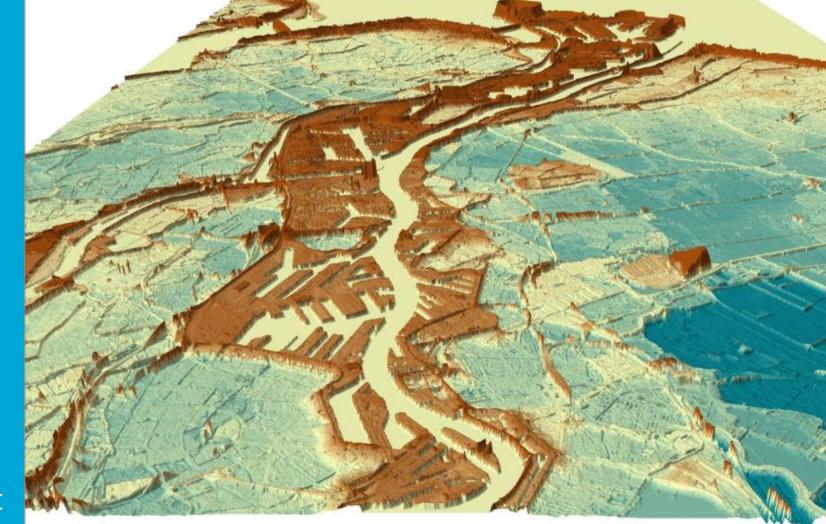




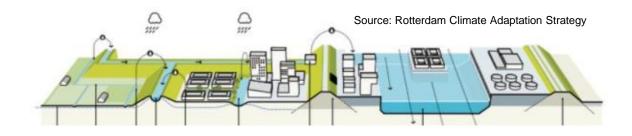
Institutions

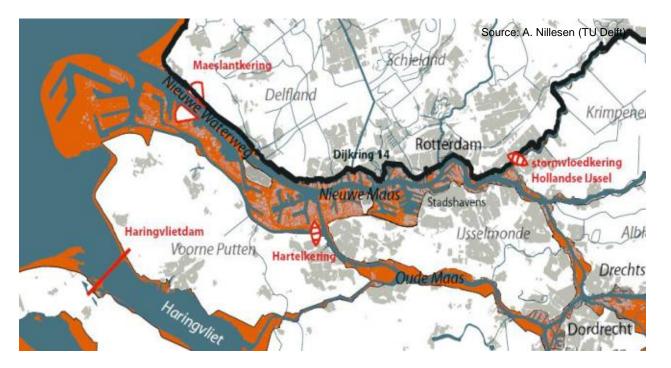
- Smaller municipalities lack resources (austerity, 'shrinking state')
- Complexity of governance arrangements → laborious coordination
- Administrative system is in flux → uncertainty and policy in flux
- Fragmented responsibility for flood risk:
 - Coastal flooding national government
 - River flooding regional water boards
 - Pluvial flooding municipalities and landowners
- Blurred accountability for unembanked areas legal grey zone













Unembanked areas (orange) in the Rotterdam region, 2014 59









Ideas

- Difficult cooperation between municipalities and water boards due to different approaches and ways of doing things
- Paradox: too much trust in the long established flood protection system limits awareness of the threat and undermines public support for adaptation policies
- The 'green-blue' solutions are not deemed effective by water boards but can play an important role in building awareness



Interests

- Who pays for infrastructure to protect unembanked areas and urban adaptation projects?
- Who takes responsibility for floods?

- Disincentives for long-term perspective:
 - Distant risk that is largely ignored by the public
 - Local leaders operate according to a four year electoral cycle and are under pressure to cater to other societal interests
- Climate adaptation as a place branding strategy how effective are the measures taken? What is behind the positively loaded discourse?



1. What are the main challenges encountered in adapting to climate change in your cities? What boundaries need spanning?

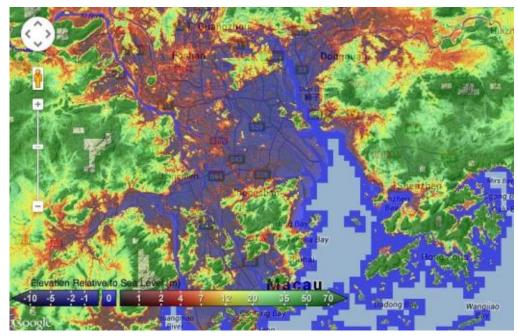
2. What is needed to overcome them?

3. Examples of good practice from your cities?

4. Pearl River Delta: Hong Kong



Areas exposed to flooding as a result of the rising sea level

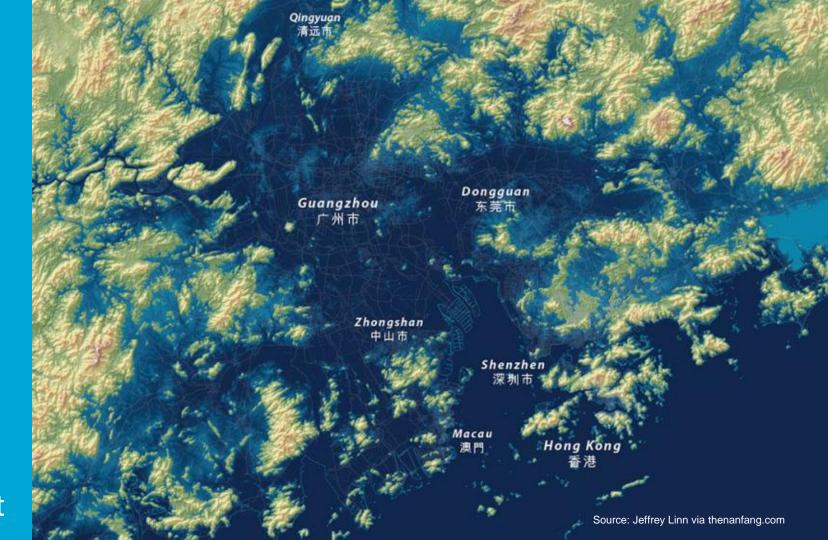
















Hong Kong

Typhoon Hato – 23 August 2017

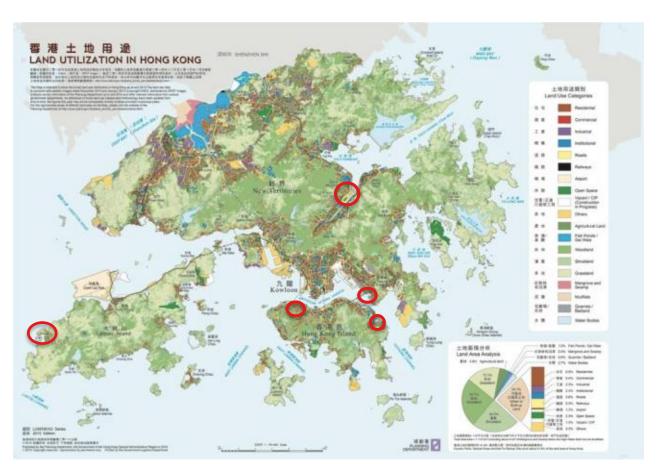


Storm surge at Lei Yu Mun – Kowloon East



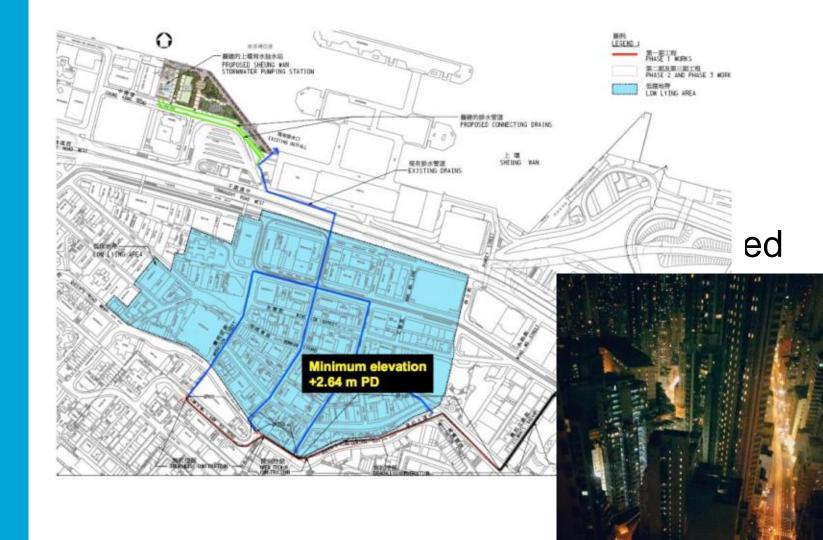


Source: The Standard

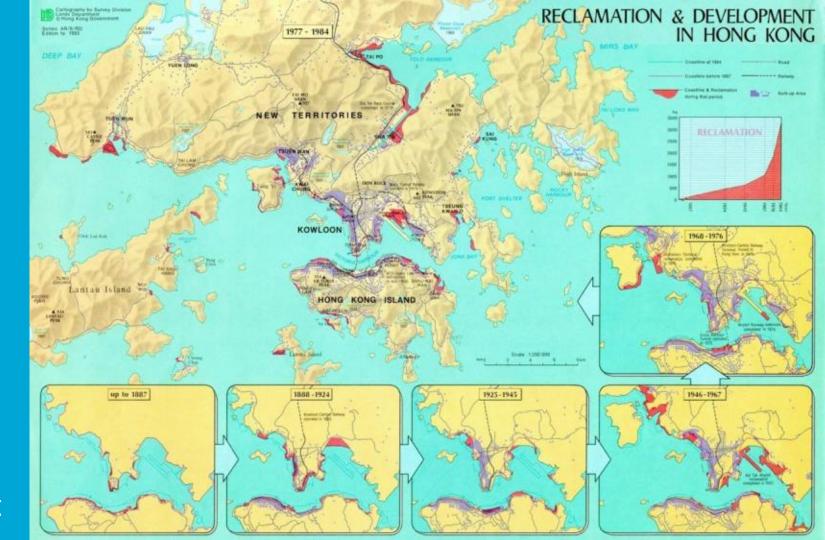




Sources: Faith Chan, HKO, Planning Department







TUDelft

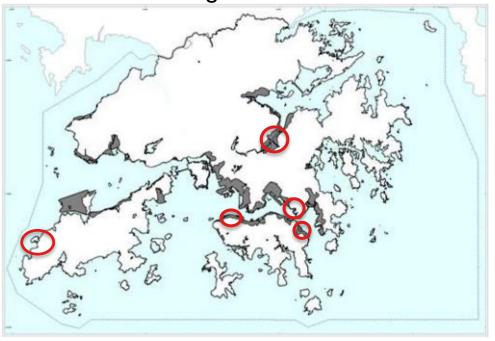








Hato flooding and reclaimed land







More very hot days and hot nights



Fewer rain days but average rainfall intensity will increase



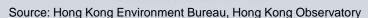
More extreme rainfall events



More extremely wet years but risk of extremely dry years will remain



Global sea level rise will lead to coastal changes all over the world, including Hong Kong

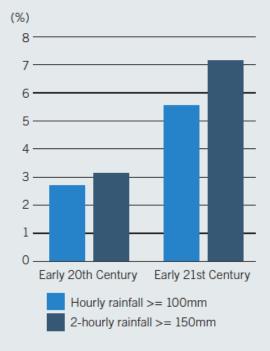




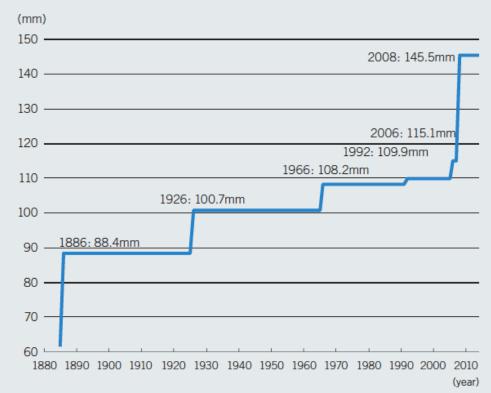
Threat of storm surges associated with tropical cyclones will rise



Probability of annual extreme rainfall events



Hourly rainfall records at the Hong Kong Observatory Headquarters (1885 - 2014)

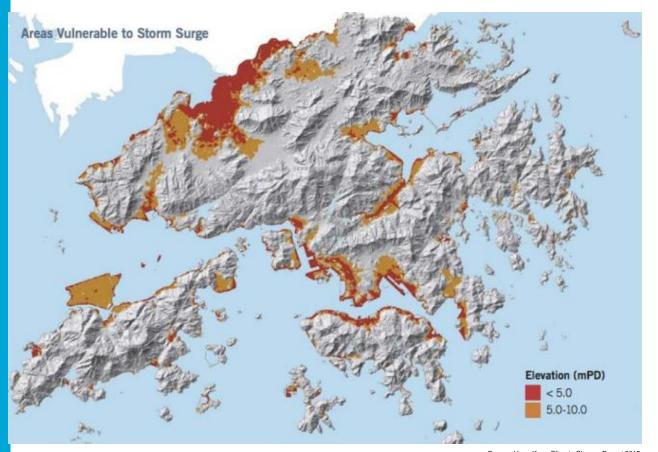




Return period (year)	Extreme sea level above Chart Datum (m)				Historical Typhoons bringing
	Current	Sea level rise reaching 0.26m in 2021-2040	Sea level rise reaching 0.53m in 2046-2065	Sea level rise reaching 1.07m in 2081-2100	significant storm surges to Hong Kong (Maximum sea level above Chart Datum at Victoria Harbou)
1	2.7	3.0	3.2	∡ 3.8	T. Hagupit in 2008 (3.53m)
2	2.9	3.2	3.4	4.0	
5	3.1	43.4	3.6	4.2	T. Wanda in 1962 (3.96m) —
10	3.3	3.6	3.8	4.4	Typhoon in 1937 (4.05m) —
20	3.4	3.7	3.9	4.5	
50	3.5	3.8	4.0	4.6	

Projected changes in return values of extreme sea level events in 2021-2040, 2046-2065 and 2081-2100 under the high GHG concentration scenario





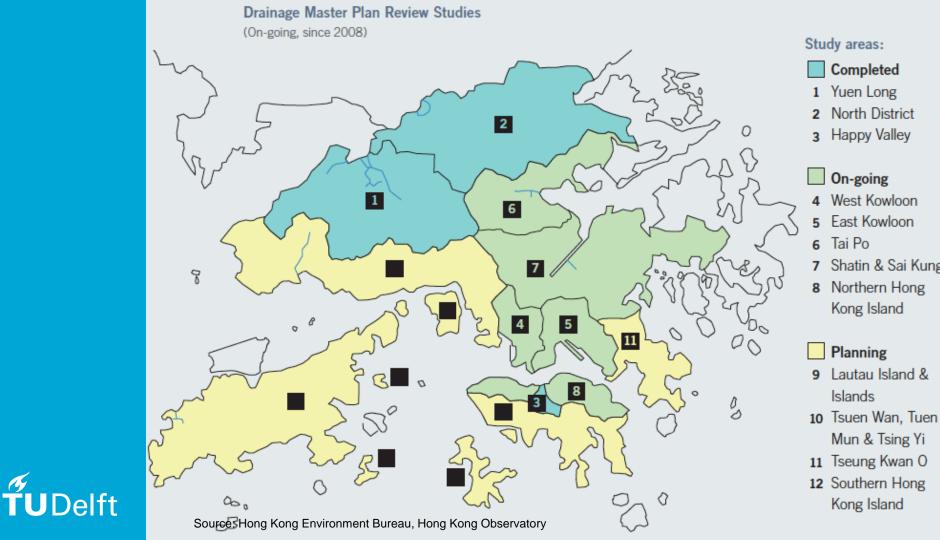


Source: Hong Kong Climate Change Report 2015

Climate change programmes and strategies

- Hong Kong Observatory (2010) Sea-level rise and storm surge impacts of climate change on Hong Kong → very clear and precise data on climate change threats, that is hardly taken up by the government
- Environment Protection Department (2010) A Study of Climate Change in Hong Kong - Feasibility Study (focus on mitigation)
- However, recognition of the climate change impacts by the government and ongoing efforts across various government departments to update standards and procedures in the wake of the raising sea level and more frequent extreme weather (e.g. for drainage, coastal infrastructure, land reclamation)
- Hong Kong Climate Change Report 2015 mititgation and adaptation actions outlined, but still falls short of being an integrated strategy
- Hong Kong's Climate Change Action Plan 2030+ progress but still no substance for spatial planning
- More and more examples of adaptation measures, which however remain 'accidental' and are not part of integrated strategies







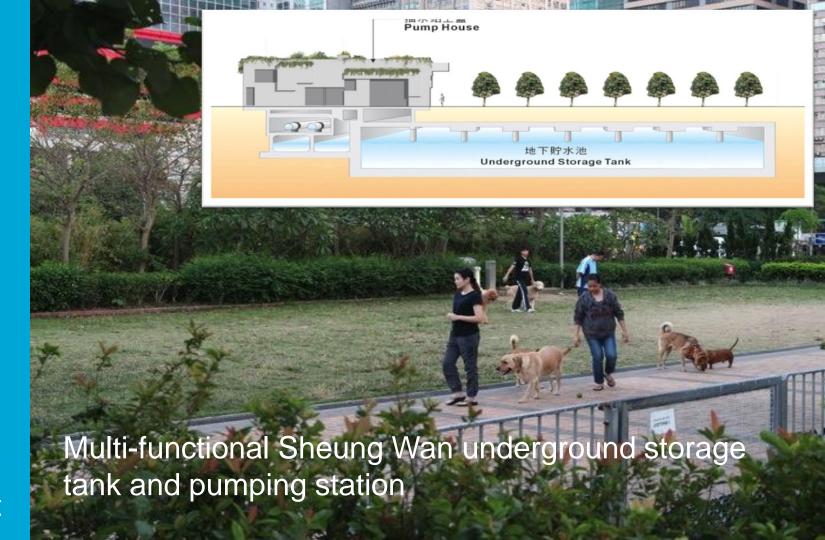
Constructed wetland at Yuen Long Bypass Floodway

















Underground water storage tank under Happy Valley race track

Actors

State	Non state	Knowledge	Beyond HK
Hong Kong Government departments of Environmental Protection, Drainage Services, Civil Engineering and Development, Water Resources	Transportation and utilities businesses	Universities and research institutions provide knowledge on climate change impacts and are involved in adaptation studies	Hong Kong/Guangdong Joint Liaison Group on Combating Climate Change
	Environmental NGOs (e.g. WWF)		C40 Cities (focus on mitigation)
	Business associations		



Institutions

- Small and 'insular' government not dealing with higher or lower scales of government
- Wealth of engineering and scientific expertise, availability of data on climate change impacts
- Silo-mentality deeply embedded in the efficient but reactive and stiff post-colonial administration – no coordination on climate change adaptation, only routine operational interactions
- Blurred accountability for tackling coastal flooding Drainage Services
 Department deals with flood risk generally, but coastal flooding is beyond its
 jurisdiction, while the Civil Engineering and Development Department deals with
 coastal infrastructure but not storm surges
- Planning Department focused on zoning and permits rather than on strategic planning – sidelined from discussions on adaptation – expansion onto reclaimed land continues







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Ideas

- Low (but growing) awareness of the climate change impacts
- However, short term thinking is the norm legacy of colonial rule and the focus on making money
- Engineering-focused management in government departments tends to favour short term techno-fixes
- Perception of typhoons and the related flooding as something normal and inevitable, hence focus on draining the excess water and warning systems rather than on preventing storm surges and extreme weather
- NGOs are influential in setting the tone of the debate on climate change – conferences, consultations, ex-NGO under-secretary of the state in the Environmental Bureau



- No real cross-border cooperation on this issue due to ressentiment towards Mainlanders
- Complacency stemming from excessive trust in the drainage and slope control infrastructure massively developed recently
- Occupy Movement and the constitutional crisis low legitimacy of the government further hinders long-term thinking and grand visions – focus on daily business











Interests

- Business-orientated government avoids imposing policies that would generate costs for businesses
- Some particularly vulnerable businesses lead the way (MTR, energy companies) in climate adaptation measures to protect their assets and reduce risks



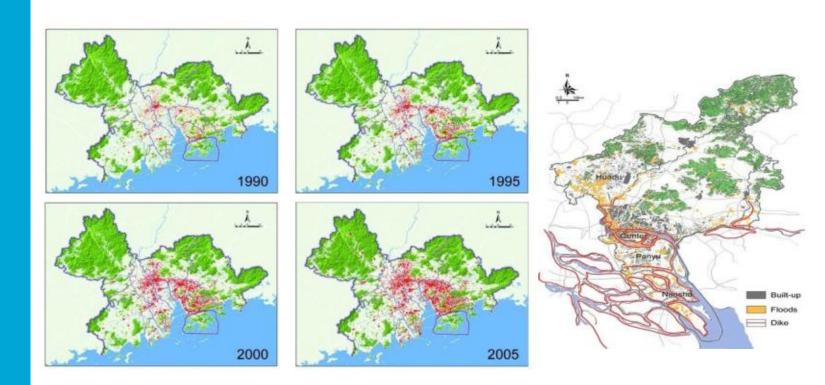
5. Pearl River Delta: Guangzhou and Shenzhen





Source: www.epd.gov.hk







Source: Yuting Tai, TU Delft

Nansha, Guangzhou





Source: architectus.com.au

Climate change programmes and strategies

- Recognition of the need to take adaptation measures at the national level, trickling down to the provincial, level, but no local response:
 - National Plan for Coping With Climate Change 2011-2020 focus on mitigation, but urban adaptation measures mentioned
 - Provincial Climate Change Adaptation Strategy, 2010 document not taken up by the municipalities
 - Sponge City Programme, since 2014 national programme for making cities more 'water proof' and prevent waterlogging, Low Impact Development ideas, climate change not mentioned, confusion onlocal implementation
 - Guangzhou Water White Paper 2013 climate change not mentioned
 - However, at the local level, some water management and urban development projects would tick the box of urban climate change adaptation, but are not labeled as such













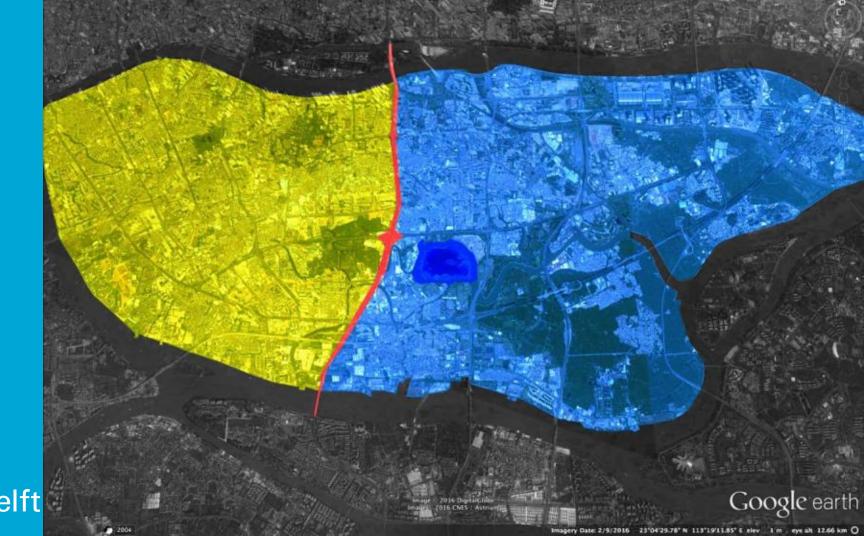






Haizhu lake – a (flawed) hydrological project with a key role in the future development of Guangzhou's city centre (extension of the 'Axis')



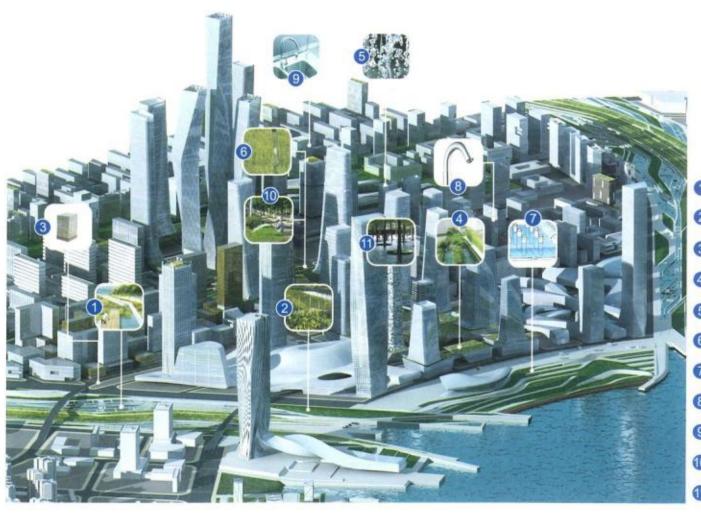


TUDelft









- → 水廊道
 Water corridor
- ② 生态湿地 Wet land
- ③ 透水性地面 Permeable pavements
- ④ 绿色屋顶 Green roofs
- **⑤** 雨水收集 Rainwater harvesting
- ⑥ 雨水花园 Rain garden
- **7** 雨洪调节池 Detention tank
- 8 节水装置 Low flow fixtures
- 分质供水 Dualwater supply
- 10 中水回用 Grey water reuse
- **個** 城市水景 Water landscape





Actors

National Development and Reform Commission – key actor

National Response Leading Group on Climate Change (headed

defining the national climate change policy

by Chinese Premier)

State

State	Non state	Kilowieuge	Deyona Civ
Municipalites and their sectoral departments reflecting the higher scale administrative hierarchy – no activity in climate change adaptation	NA	Universities and research institutions involvement limited to design of new districts	Hong Kong/Guangdong Joint Liaison Group on Combating Climate Change
Inter-municipal cooperation arrangements – no activity in climate change adaptation			C40 Cities (Shenzhen – low-carbon city focus)
Guangdong Province – climate change adapatation strategy (window-dressing)			
Pearl River Water Resources Commission - no activity in climate change adaptation			
Ministries of Land & Resources, Water Resources, Housing & Urban-rural Development, Environmental Protection – piece meal measures to address the national strategy			

Non state

Knowledge

Beyond CN

Institutions

- Hierarchical system with a Chinese specificity replication of departments across the scales and (in theory) a policy transmission belt from central to local, but in practice local level has large degree of autonomy and the central government little means of enforcing implementation
- In theory different municipal bureaus coordinate actions to ensure flood safety, in practice complete silo-mentality and lack of coordination, not only lack of dialogue but also examples of counterproductive actions (transport bureau vs water resources bureau in the case of Haizhu lake)
- No continuity of urban policies Mayors 'parachuted' from elsewhere to be later promoted to the provincial or national level



Ideas

- Living with water is in the local DNA, however, the ancestral knowledge in with water management has been lost
- Short-term thinking is the norm legacy of the rapid economic transformation; built environment not made to last
- As in HK, typhoons and the related flooding seen as normal and inevitable → focus on draining the excess water and warning systems rather than on preventing calamities from happening
- No awareness of climate change impacts only academic hydraulic engineering experts seem to grasp it, but have hardly any influence on policy. Consequently, the cities expand extremely fast into areas that are extremely vulnerable to coastal flooding ignoring the risks – e.g. Nansha New Area in Guangzhou or Qianhai in Shenzhen



Ideas

- No knowledge or dismissal of international studies on climate change impacts among the decision-makers
- 'Accidental' climate adaptation measures that are not framed as climate change adaptation and not based on assessment of future risks – the objective is to create a beautiful urban landscape ('every Mayor wants a lake in his district')
- Sponge City programme introduces the concept of Low Impact Development (Shenzhen mainly, but ideas spill over across the region)
- No real cross-border cooperation on this issue due to resentment towards HK – vague exchange of knowledge



Interests

- Urbanisation at break-neck speed and at all cost → flood risk management is not a priority (developing real estate is) and lags behind, resulting in very low level of flood protection:
 - About 77% is protected with 1-in-20 years (or below) and many core city areas (e.g. in Tianhe, Liwan, Baiwan, Haizhu) are currently only equipped with less than 1-in-10 years or 1-in-1 year protection measures
- No local response to the national climate change policy focus on urban expansion and development, environmental concerns are secondary, not to mention climate change adaptation
- Peculiarity of the assessment of local officials focus on GDP growth as the main indicator of performance and no interest of the leaders to do anything else (eying promotion to Beijing), unless better water management becomes a national priority in a particular area (see Sponge City policy)



Interests

- Interest in boosting the value of real estate dictate the use of multi-functional flood-protections and Low Impact Development solutions rather than environmental or climate adaptation concerns
- Impressing high level visitors by pleasant water landscape features
- Extremely difficult collaboration between the cities prevents any cooperation on issues other than transportation
- Focus on economic growth and limited availability of rural land that can be converted in to urban justifies the expansion of the cities onto reclaimed land (see Nansha, Qianhai new areas)



Conclusions



- Urbanisation patterns and climate change vulnerability are closely connected, if not readily recognised by decisionmakers
- Context matters: political culture, local politics, (changes in) the governance setting and vertical and horizontal institutional linkages, are crucial for determining how cities and urban regions can address adaptation by spanning across various boundaries
- Cross-jurisdictional and cross-sectoral governance difficulties hamper boundary spanning needed for adaptation
- Three I's enhance the understanding of which barriers hinder boundary spanning for adaptation and why they emerge
- Solutions to at least some of them can be found, paradoxically, not at the local or even city-region scale, but at the national level



 A closer look reveals essentially similar flood protection / urban development projects implemented in the different cities, however, their aims, framing and extent vary greatly

Implications for practice:

- Climate risks awareness-building to build support for investment in adaptation
- Framing climate adaptation measures as an opportunity to improve spatial quality and attractiveness of the city – but who benefits?
- Improving vertical and horizontal coordination
- A degree of pragmatism work around institutional limitations with the existing strengths and opportunities



Some further reflections

- Climate adaptation as a city branding strategy for Rotterdam –
 What is behind the discourse? What is the actual effectiveness of the measures implemented in the city?
- Importing multi-functional flood protection solutions and international best practice in water management and Low Impact Development to Shenzhen and Guangzhou, without any consideration for climate change impacts, but rather to make the new districts more attractive and maximise profits on real estate sales – a case of policy transfer in which imported solutions serve a completely different purpose as intended
- Who benefits from adaptation measures, who loses out, what are the possible negative effects (risk of maladaptation)?
- Embracing the past? Scope for learning from past solutions to co-exist with water



