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How to make local context matter in national advice: Towards adaptive co-management in Norwegian climate adaptation.

--Manuscript Draft--

Manuscript Number:	WCAS-D-16-0063
Full Title:	How to make local context matter in national advice: Towards adaptive co-management in Norwegian climate adaptation.
Article Type:	Article
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Abstract:	<p>Drawing on case studies in 12 Norwegian municipalities this paper investigates how local context matters for developing national climate adaptation policies that are applicable at the municipal level. Moreover, it explicates which factors constitute this context and how these factors vary across the case municipalities. National climate adaptation policy in Norway can currently be characterized as top-down providing standardized requirements and advice to municipalities. However, Norwegian municipalities vary greatly with respect to physical conditions, organizational resources and societal needs. They are autonomous to a great extent and are almost solely responsible for developing climate policy and planning within their own territories. Therefore, municipalities adapt national policies to their own context, reflecting local physiographic, organizational and resource challenges, but these local translations are not fully recognized by national and sectoral actors. In this paper we underscore that the significant variation in contextual factors between municipalities is not sufficiently addressed and understood by national and sectoral governmental authorities. With the identified variation of the contextual factors across the case municipalities, an adaptive co-management strategy within a multi-level governance system is suggested as a suitable framework to ensure a pro-active approach to local adaptation, i.e. mutual understanding and better cooperation between the national and local levels. Key words: adaptive co-management, multi-level governance, climate change adaptation, local context, Norway</p>



Dear Professor Amanda H. Lynch,

Editor in Chief Weather, Climate and Society

21 December, 2016

Please find enclosed our revised manuscript: How to make local context matter in national advice: Towards adaptive co-management in Norwegian climate adaptation., for submission in WCS. We sincerely appreciate the reviewers comments. They were extremely helpful in our revisions of the manuscript and we have headed most of them. We chose a different framework than reviewer 1 suggested; the explanation is found in the response to reviewers document.

We feel that our manuscript improved significantly through the careful reading and suggestions by, in particular, reviewer 1.

We have exceeded the page length by roughly 1100 words, and hope this will be acceptable. The paper includes rich empirical data which warrant careful descriptions and a theoretical framework needing explanation. We are of course willing to cut it down more, but will wait for your decision.

We hope the manuscript will be accepted for publication.

With best wishes,

Grete K. Hovelsrud,

Nord University and CICERO

On behalf Hege Westskog,

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Review of WCAS-D-16-0063

How to make local context matters in the development of national advice: Towards adaptive co-management in Norwegian climate adaptation.

Comments marked with V have been addressed or considered, and in most cases changes have been made accordingly, except where we explain why not.

Reviewer Comments in regular font – *authors' responses in italics*

Reviewer #1:

Thank you for the opportunity to review this paper on climate adaptation in Norway. The research is thorough and contains many interesting insights and novel claims about limits and challenges to adaptation. Most provocatively, perhaps, is the suggestion that adaptation is limited less by a lack of climate-change projections than by an inefficient governance structure that produces one-way knowledge sharing between municipal and county administrators. There has been a long-standing assumption that if climate models can down-scale better, they will be more useful locally, and while the article does mention the need for better maps of clay avalanche risk, this appears a secondary issue to that of imperfect communication. The insight that adaptive co-management will produce a more dialogical adaptation process seems intuitively appropriate, and quotes from municipal interviewees points to a good start-point for restructuring climate change governance.

The weaknesses of this paper concern consistency and level of detail in expression. Overall, the lack of detailed insights is produced, I think, by the authors using terms that i) are not clearly defined, nor consistently applied, ii) lack a coherent and explicit framework, and iii) that at times stand in for more descriptive expression of the findings.

For clarity, I would encourage you to draw on existing frameworks and suggest improvements based on your insights. Three key established frameworks appear in your text: the risk and vulnerability framework by Turner et al., the vulnerability assessment framework by Hovelsrud and Smit, and the resilience/adaptive management framework by Berkes, Olson, and others. Each of these have their strengths and weaknesses, and can to different degrees provide the vocabulary and framework to enable adaptive co-management.

We have addressed the comments and suggestions to the best of our ability, by being clear about the framework we use, better defining the concepts used, ensuring consistency in terms used and adding more detail. The paper has been reorganized and restructured.

While I strongly consider the Turner et al. framework appropriate for your study, I do not insist that you use one rather than another (or all) of these frameworks, but rather that you carefully establish the terminology your paper will follow. This should be in the methodology section, and be followed consistently throughout. A flow-chart showing the terms, roles, relations, and scales would strengthen your argument. Please consider using an approach similar to Calgano, E. and Lloyd, K. (2008), Sun, sea, sand and tsunami: examining disaster vulnerability in the tourism community of Khao Lak, Thailand. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 29: 288-306. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9493.2008.00335.x

We thank the reviewer for the suggestions and have made it clear which framework we use and why.

A flow-chart is a good idea, but we have not included one – partly due to length issues but also because our edits clarified the linkages better and we do not see the need for such a chart given these edits.

A point the authors may wish to consider, is whether the need for adaptive co-management is particular to climate change adaptation, or if this problem with one-way command-and-control dictation concerns other parts of municipal governance. Is this particular to climate change? If so, why is it different from agricultural or ecosystem-based governance? A similar question is whether the restructuring you are suggesting is required as a one-off effort to improve climate change decision-making, or if you are suggesting a more permanent restructuring of municipal-county-national governance and decision-making. It would seem the persons involved in decision-making at municipal and county levels are more accustomed to command-and-control, and would need training and guiding to implement the changes you are suggesting.

We have included a footnote in section 3 mentioning the importance of an adaptive co-management framework in other areas as for instance eco-system management. However, we have chosen to not include a broader discussion of the need for a restructuring of the management system as we see this as outside the main scope for this paper.

You may wish to consider whether an appropriate way of improving the level of detail and description you provide in support of your argument, is to write a case study section, perhaps of the clay avalanche issue, to step through the possibilities offered by adaptive co-management more methodically. This section could take the form of a description of events, or of a thought experiment considering how the process might ideally function (drawing, of course, on the literature)

As suggested by you below, based on a very useful comment, we have chosen to use the transdisciplinary approach of this study as an illustration of how an adaptive co-management process could be designed.

The idea of transdisciplinarity brings an interesting body of literature to adaptation study, but it is only mentioned in passing and not clearly contrasted with adaptive co-management or risk management approaches. Your paper would benefit from a more critical description of what these are, why such approaches are needed, and how they might help resolve the scalar tensions between local and national governance you discuss. In particular, the "competence on how to produce, summarize, and transfer such knowledge between researchers, managers and decision-makers" that your team possesses seems valuable for transdisciplinarity approaches, and merits greater mention and description in your introduction, findings, and analysis/discussion

We have addressed this by including details on the transdisciplinary approach under method and also in the discussion.

Here follow more specific comments to sections of your paper:

We have followed the reviewers advice for comments marked with V- below. Where needed further details are given for how we have responded to the comments.

V 1, 1, should the title read, "How to make local context matter in the development of national advice?"

V 1, 36-37, the issues listed here are sensitivities, so the meaning becomes unclear when saying they are in addition to exposure-sensitivities. I suggest to rephrase according to Turner et al., "Second, the risks (alternatively, "potential impacts") vary at the societal level depending on a suite of sensitivities, such as available human and financial resources, access to relevant knowledge, and how these relate to the particular exposures and hazards of a specific location (see below)

V 2, 39, this is a good place to mention that the uncertainty increases as the resolution of climate projections becomes finer

V 2, 39 suggest rephrasing to,
Nevertheless regional scale projections show clear trends of increasing temperatures and changing precipitation patterns, which in turn will require adaptation

V 3, 53, this paragraph should come after the full stop on 2, 48, to start the presentation at broad global or European level and then hone in on the Norwegian context (being an international journal)

V 3, 63, this paragraph should combine with that of 4, 83 and 4, 88 as the transition into the paper you have just finished introducing.

V 3, 68, please place the map with your regional background in the next section

V - 4, 74-79, are these insights taken from the literature? If so, please cite them clearly. If not, clearly state that these will be your conclusions, and provide appropriate evidence in your findings and discussion.

References added.

V- 4, 82, please give a citation or more to represent these few studies.

References added.

V- 4, 94, combine this section (the Norwegian Context) with section 4 on the case study area.

We have followed this advice and changed accordingly.

V- 5, 112, how does the RVA define risk, exposure, sensitivity, vulnerability, and adaptation? Their guidelines may prove the best nomenclature for you to follow, since that may ease your communication with them.

We have chosen to use the nomenclature of the analytical framework and thus followed the useful advice of the reviewer on this point.

V 6, 131, rephrase to "climate related hazards such as floods and landslides"

V 6, 143, insert map here

V- 8, 174-175 I would recommend removing the word adaptation here and speak instead about response to an extreme event. Adaptation to climate change requires long-term planning. Being careful with your terminology removes ambiguity.

We do not necessarily agree that adaptation requires long-term planning. We have plenty of studies that show that adaptation takes place reactively and whether this can be labelled responses instead is not simply a matter of semantics but it is not as precise. In the places where responses seem more appropriate we have made the corrections. We are well placed within the literature on adaptation, and within the well accepted and developed IPCC terminology, and follow the accepted usage.

V- 8, 176 instead of ad-hoc and pro-active adaptation, consider saying, responding to an extreme event, and adapting to climate change. This removes ambiguity where decision-makers might consider their responses an 'adaptation light', a step toward adaptation, when their actions may in later be revealed as insufficient and even counter-productive. The two are not different by degree, and your wording can accentuate that point.

V- Section 3, please include some account for the structural or practical steps that have been, or can be taken to implement adaptive co-management. This discussion contains interesting theoretical insight and justification, but remains vague on detail.

Edits made in the text to address this.

V - Currently, section 5 concerns methods. To make this a methodology, integrate it with section 3, where you describe adaptive co-management, and clearly define your framework and terms (or change its title), giving a rationale for your methods. Alternatively, change the title to Methods.

We have followed the reviewer's advice and changed to "Method".

V- 11, 262, is this the information summarized at 20, 515 onward? This knowledge about how to share knowledge cuts to the core of your argument, and should be given more explanation and detail in your background, methods, and discussion. In your analysis, assess your capacity against adaptive co-management and transdisciplinary approaches to provide analytic insights.

We have addressed this by including details on the transdisciplinary approach under method and also in the discussion.

V-12, 278, who developed these questions? A transdisciplinary approach would be likely to collaborate with practitioners so they can have answers to their questions. If they are your own, please clarify how you came to ask these questions.

We state that "a guide for semi-structured interviews was developed in collaboration with the reference group". In addition, we have added a couple of sentences to clarify the process and explained how the reference group was involved in developing the questions.

V-13, 291, I think your methodology so far could be described as introducing or being part of developing the platform for knowledge sharing you call for. Please include in your discussion a reflection on how (or whether) this study already engages in the transdisciplinary and adaptive co-management approaches you've said is needed.

We have included a discussion of this under "method", and also discuss our experiences with the co-production process in relation to a need for an adaptive co-management strategy in climate change adaptation policies.

V-13, 302, please clarify these categories, justifying their use, or rephrase to follow convention:

The categories are changed according to comments.

V- In table 3, the second column saying physiographic challenges looks like a risk assessment (but the text reads like an assessment of hazards and exposures). Column three looks like it is about adaptive capacity (please see comments on the associated text below)

The categories are changed accordingly and text adjusted.

V-13, 306. These terms need to be introduced in the methodology or theoretical framework section, not in your findings. The idea of exposure-sensitivity is unusual, and I would suggest defining it in conjunction with Turner et al's framework (see comment below).

Changes made according to the framework used. Exposure-sensitivity is an analytical term used in studies of adaptation and vulnerability – defined well in IPCC WG II 2001.

V-13, 310, these definitions are confusing, suggest rephrasing to:

"Exposure-sensitivity refers to the manner and degree to which an individual, industry or community (i.e. the exposure) is sensitive to potential stimulus or stress occurring at a particular place over time. The stress could be a natural or socio-economic hazard."

Edits made – expanded on reviewer's suggestion.

V-The following sentence needs careful and thoughtful reconsideration. Please refer back to the vocabulary of RVA that you mentioned in your background, and follow Turner et al:

Additionally, geographical characteristics (the hazard), public policy, economic framework conditions, and social parameters (sensitivity) determine whether a municipality is sensitive to the exposure (you mean to say 'to the hazard' - exposures are infrastructures or other things that can be sensitive to a hazard) to risks (risk is a function of hazard, exposure, and sensitivity(, or of hazard and vulnerability)) or hazards (these are processes or phenomena with capacity to do harm). Risk = hazard x exposure x sensitivity Where Exposure x (sensitivity + adaptive capacity) = vulnerability Alternatively, cite a framework that uses the definitions you suggest, but please consider ease of translation with other established frameworks, such as Turner, or RVA, and ensure the terms are used consistently throughout –

We have applied the Smit/Hovelsrud framework which is designed for local adaptation studies (Hovelsrud and Smit 2010).

V-14, 330: Here you cite Turner et al.'s vulnerability framework, and I strongly suggest using this framework to define your terms in you methodology. You might find helpful their careful distinction between coping/response, adaptation, and impact/response, and their considerations of scale and access to information. Another option is using RVA, or IPCC's AR5

WG II. Each provides useful insights that may be selected, combined or amended for your purposes, but please ensure you provide ample justification, and remain consistent.

We have applied the framework presented in Hovelsrud and MSit 2010, which is developed from IPCC WG II. This fits the local context well and have been proven to be useful (see Hovelsrud and Smit 2010 and referecnes therein). Additionally we do not assess vulnerability per se – which is the goal of Turner et al.

V - Section 6.1, suggest to rename as Hazards and Exposures to match with its contents

V 14, 332 please rephrase:

The physical location determines the nature of the hazards that place municipalities at risk. Along the coast, storm surge is an obvious hazard when combined with sea level rise and increased extreme weather events, while inland, flood hazards are related to rivers and waterways. Quick clay is an overall physiographic characteristic both inland and at the coast, with potential to cause harm to sensitive infrastructures.

V 15, 338-40, this expression is unambiguous -please follow this use of terms throughout

V 15, 348, this is the sensitivity of an exposure, so your term exposure-sensitivity would be fitting here (not just exposure)

V 15, 351, 'challenge' should be 'sensitivity'

V 15, 353, 'challenge' should be 'hazard' here

V 15, 354, change risk to hazard

V 15, 355 rephrase:

Some of the municipalities, such as Sande and Lardal, lack maps outlining the sub-surface soil and geological conditions that may produce landslides, which implies uncertain exposure and sensitivity and lack of capacity to assess such conditions. Larvik and Tønsberg are exposed and sensitive to flooding, because major industry and housing are constructed along main waterways that are exposed to flooding during periods of heavy snow-melt and extreme precipitation.

To describe the associated sensitivity, include an assessment of how well the infrastructure can withstand the flooding, including engineered and socio-economic factors that will influence degree of sensitivity of these exposures to the flood hazard.

We have not assessed engineering factors for sensitivity in our case studies. The general problem is that buildings and infrastructure have been placed in areas that are now exposed to climate change risks. With climate change the exposure-sensitivity increases. The incentives for increasing the ability to withstand climate events for private actors through investments are quite low because current insurance schemes cover the costs. A discussion on this topic is beyond the scope of the paper.

V 16, 365, this describes a hazard, not an exposure-sensitivity

Edits made

V- 16, 371, suggest to rename as Sensitivity and adaptive capacity to match with content.

Edits made

V- 17, 397, suggest to rename as Scalar processes, and to include mention of up-scaling and down-scaling knowledge Also, incorporate the findings from the next section into it. They appear to be speaking to the same issues

We have renamed this category: Adaptive capacity: networks, knowledge and transfer.

V- Section 6,4 these paragraphs are mostly analytical. Integrate everything that is not a finding from your study into the analysis/discussion section 7.

We have moved the analytical discussion from 6.4 to section 7 and 8.

V- 18, 428, what makes this person able to do so? Their mandates, expertise, network, other? This is important evidence for your argument. Keep that information in this section, under point 6.3.

We have included an explanation of this in section 6.4.

V- 18, 430, consult the journal guidelines for citing articles not yet under review, and remove if necessary.

We have removed the reference.

V- 19, 541, this is more accurately an example of responding to an extreme event.

The comment is unclear. We do not understand.

V- 20, 461, You were not passive observers of an adaptive process, but active participants in it. Please include your reflections on your role as part of the transdisciplinary and adaptive co-management process. What lessons about the transdisciplinary process itself can you provide? I.e. please contribute to that theoretical discussion to gain greater relevance for your research.

Thank you for this comment! A valuable input that contributed to our discussions in section 7.

V 20, 476 change 'exposure-sensitivity' to 'risk'

Edits made

V- There are more issues with use of terms throughout the paper, but I will not belabor this point further, and ask the authors to correct appropriately.

Edits made to wording throughout.

V 21, 483, please clarify what these four are

V- 503, 21, is it simply a fear of responsibility for wrong advice, or is it also a lack of available data? Down-scaling climate projections is only mentioned briefly and in passing, while this scale issue is a central limitation in climate change adaptation more generally.

We have rewritten this section and also moved it to section 6. From the interviews with the County Governor it became clear that their fear is linked to the unwillingness to interrupt municipal planning and decision processes. And also as an institution that have the role of advising municipalities in their work, they would rather give general advices than locally adapted advices: They fear that the advice could be criticized in retrospect if proven to be incorrect.

-21, 487, it seems adapting to adaptation policies adds another dimension here, like adapting to mitigation has been highlighted as important elsewhere, and might be worth a brief mention in your discussion.

A good point and one which we do discuss in other publications. It would require a few sentences to explain and due to word limit it has not been included here.

V- 21, 493-502, this is a finding that should appear under 6.3, and be referred back to here.

We have moved this to 6.3.

V- 22, 506, how many?

We have included details.

V- 22, 510, is the county governor prepared to take on this coordinating role, or is there an additional role needing to be created? Would it be a short-term, long-term, or permanent change to their role? What resources would need to be committed to this effort? Are there potential barriers to implementing this change?

Edits made – short text added

V- 22, 519, please be clear about your evidence for these three points, whether from your findings or from the literature. How did you arrive at these three, and not at others?

Edits made for clarity

V 22, 521-524, check syntax

edits made

V- - 22, 527, how many?

We have included details on this.

V- 23, 549, who will be invited to these? On what time scales, and with what resources? Did your respondents provide suggestions? Are there other studies you might draw on to make this section more detailed and practical? *Edits made*

V- Can you make a flow chart or model to show how adaptive-co-management would operate in Vestfold?

A flow-chart is a good idea, but we have not included one – partly due to length issues but also because our edits clarified the linkages better and we do not see the need for such a chart given these edits.

The fact that knowledge gaps are mentioned frequently in your interviews speaks to the idea of down-scaling as being central to the issues you describe and analyze.

Maybe so – we did not ask directly about the need for downscaled scenarios in this project. It was not brought up as the most pressing knowledge issue. Perhaps because the municipalities use the web based se.norge portal – but find it lacking due to their own expertise in using the program.

V- 24, 572, 573: the wording here would benefit from clarification. You say there is a command and control structure requiring certain measures, so I would encourage using a different word to describe what municipalities are prioritizing.

Agree. We have reworded this.

V-24, 575, do you have suggestions for how to make this change? Please include more detail on how this adaptive governance structure would work. Please refer to works such Adaptive Governance by Brunner and Lynch, or the works of Berkes, Armitage, Olsson, or Ostrom to enable more specificity in your recommendations.

We have included some suggestions bases on the literature for how to make this change.

- 24, 577, you have focused on structural reasons for this, and it would be worthwhile to suggest which limitations may also be due to lack of skills in down-scaling climate projections. I.e. What is the role of county-level, or indeed international lack of knowledge?

See above.

V- 25, 585: why? While the literature might agree with this sentiment, you have not provided enough evidence for this statement.

Edits made

V- HEGE/GØRAN 25, 593: what did county governors say about this? Would this change in relationship be supported by them? What new skill sets and administrative structures would this entail?

We have provided some reflections on this.

Conclusions

V- In your introduction, you say,

"Our empirical case study is used to further develop this multilevel governance strategy in the case of climate change by showing how the local context matter for the development of local adaptation strategies, and how this might imply that we need a multilevel governance structure that is both adaptive and co-managing; i.e with co-decision processes and possibilities to change those over time"

You have achieved the latter, but not the former. I.e. You have identified the needs, but not developed the strategy. Please amend either your introduction and abstract, or your analysis/discussion (section 7) accordingly.

Good comment. The wording is changed and we have also changed how we discuss this.

.....

Reviewer #2:

V- This is an interesting case study on Norway that adds to the literature on multi-level governance for climate adaptation. However there needs to be a much clearer linkage between how the case data, i.e. the different needs, risks and resources available in each municipality, points to an adaptive co-management strategy specifically. Can the elements be more clearly pulled out, i.e. what elements are really needed that are missing from the top-down approach now in place? The case material just needs to be better connected to the prescription and conclusion in order to make the paper's argument compelling.

We have included the experiences gained in the transdisciplinary process to illustrate what is needed and what can be gained from an adaptive co-management process.

V- In addition I find the argument a bit contradictory, or at least I would like to see more specifics on what the national level does, compared to what the local level needs, in order to make the point better about what the problem is and what the solution may therefore be. Right now what comes through clearly is that there are different risk perceptions in the different municipalities, but it's not clear what they are currently getting from the national government, nor is it clear what it is possible for the national government to provide. At the same time, there is a thread in the paper that seems to (rightly) critique the "one size fits all" and "command and control" approach at the national level, but there are not many specifics on what the national government is actually providing, except lines 138 about the NVE, but even in that case it's not what the problem is with the NVE? I don't see much evidence for what the "undesirable" command and control requirements are? The specifics here on the interaction would really help to make the linkage to the argument on cross-scale adaptive co-management.

This is addressed. The section on the Norwegian context is rewritten. We underline the important interaction between the demands from the national level and the freedom given to the local level to design their policies. This provides an interesting backdrop for studying the importance of the local context in climate change adaptation policies.

I also think the paper could benefit from some clearer themes being drawn out for why adaptive management between local, regional and national levels is important. Is for sharing/dodging responsibility for consequences of making decisions under uncertainty? Is it for getting enough resources allocated at the local level? Is it for efficiency in generating commonly shared information that will be more useful and relevant? What are the issues that drive the push for adaptive co-management?

We have tried to address this point.

Specific comments on sections:

✓ Typo in Title, should be "How to make local context matter (No 'S')

✓ Line 31: remove the "in"

✓ Line 32: ditto, remove all the "in"s

✓ Line 68 two periods

✓ Line 82. I believe there is some work already on this topic, and the authors should cite it, e.g. all of the literature by Bulkeley and Betsill on multi-level governance, work by Anguelovski and Carmin, and the work of Susanne Moser, e.g. Moser and Ekstrom.

References are included.

✓ Line 164. Might want to reiterate what point 2 is, ie. what that refers to as there are a few sentences between the point and line 164 I believe.

✓ Line 172 should be "creates" with an "s"

✓ - Lines 176-178 Those are fairly important claims, that proactive adaptation is more desirable—can you cite any evidence or previous research for that?

We have added one reference stating the importance of proactive adaptation.

✓ - Line 178 It's an assumption that proactive adaptation requires in-depth knowledge on potential perturbations. We know that this knowledge isn't always available and may never be available (e.g. Lempert's work). What are the alternatives? E.g. might be good to consider a range of alternatives, or scenario planning, or "robust decision making" e.g. Lempert. It would be good to cite more work on this area and explain more what is meant by proactive adaptation and how much it depends on in depth knowledge on future perturbations, and how this might be dealt with.

Edits made

✓ Line 207 should be matters with an "s"

✓ Line 354 typo.

✓ Line 378 is should be are

✓ Line 382 earmarked should be all one word (I think)

HEGE/GØRAN Rev 2 Line 455-457 need to say more about this point, the overadaptation, as I think it is the critical support for your argument that local needs need to be reflected in national guidance. I don't think it is mentioned much earlier, how the national adaptation guidelines correspond to the risks in the local communities.

The argument that municipalities need to do proactive adaptation hinges on them having accurate projections of the future, in order that they can make the correct decisions with respect to what the risks in the future will be. How good are climate predictions for Norway? How much faith do planners put in those projections? Is it a case of planning for multiple scenarios? If you are promoting proactive adaptation to conditions projected for the future, how do you respond to that inherent uncertainty and the risk of adapting to the "wrong" future?

Edits made for clarity. We did not talk about over adaptation but too much adaptation when little was needed. Has been clarified.

V- Line 482-484, I'm not clear on what evening out or flattening the differences means?

The wording is changed. We hope the meaning is clearer.

V- Line 503 unclear sentence.

Edits made

V Line 516 should be processes

V- Line 506-line 516, seems to argue that there should be coordination at a higher level than just the municipality or at least sharing of best practices. Can you distinguish this from your argument that individual municipalities are best suited to determine their own adaptation actions? Seems a bit contradictory in the quote at least.

We agree that the quote was not the best to illustrate the argument. The quote is deleted.

V - Line 531, seems like the national level could provide information, maybe some economies of scale that would help local municipalities and that they cannot afford to collect, but that would be helpful for adaptation. See Kirchhoff and Dilling 2016 Water Resources Research for an example of how state governments can help to provide this for local water adaptation.

Reference added and placed in context

V- Line 544-545. The argument that local governments do not have the resources to adapt rings true, but this calls for an even more pointed allocation of resources to adapt from the higher levels, which is not just about governance but about funding, which is a challenge. Is there willingness to fund adaptation activities at the local level in Norway with money coming from the central government?

In this study we have not directly assessed the willingness of the central government to finance local climate adaptation activities. Our impression from following the general debate on this in Norway, is that there is a gap between the need for financial support and the willingness to provide these financial resources from the state level.

V - Line 571-573. I still don't quite understand what is actually happening with respect to Norwegian adaptation requirements—it seems contradictory that there are "command and control" requirements coming from the central government (line 571) and yet municipalities can "on their own decide" what measures to implement (line 573). This needs to be much better set up and explained in the paper to understand what the problem is for adaptation in Norway. *This is addressed in section two, explaining the room of maneuver that Norwegian municipalities have in their policy formation. We hope that this clarifies the issue.*

How to make local context matter in national advice: Towards adaptive co-management in Norwegian climate adaptation.

Running head: Local context and adaptive co-management

Article type: Original article

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Key words: adaptive co-management, multi-level governance, climate change adaptation, local context, Norway

1 **How to make local context matter in national advice: Towards adaptive co-** 2 **management in Norwegian climate adaptation.**

3 4 **1. Introduction**

5 The latest report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) shows a 95 percent
6 certainty that climate change is caused by human activities (IPCC 2013 WG I). However, climate
7 impacts are complex, dynamic, non-linear, and there are uncertainties about future climate and the
8 extent of upcoming impacts. In short: uncertainty is pervasive in climate change research (e.g.
9 Dessai and Hulme, 2004). Uncertainty spans the range from climate models to societal
10 vulnerability, adaptation needs, and the effects of mitigative and adaptive measures, often described
11 as cascading uncertainties (Schneider et al. 2002).

12 The uncertainties about environmental and societal impacts from climate change are even more
13 pronounced at the local level. The impacts vary along physiographic and topographic dimensions.
14 The potential societal impacts also vary depending on a suite of sensitivities, such as available
15 human and financial resources, access to relevant knowledge, and the particular exposure or hazards
16 of a specific location. Added to the uncertainty about impacts are inherent and complex
17 uncertainties in climate projections which increases as the resolution becomes finer. Nevertheless
18 regional scale projections show clear trends of increasing temperatures and changing precipitation
19 patterns, which in turn will require adaptation. Climate change is a fuzzy decision-making context
20 with a more pronounced uncertainty than other policy areas as pointed out by Lempert et al. (2004,
21 p. 2): “Climate change is associated with radically diverse decision contexts, geographic scales, and
22 time scales. It comprises many different types of policy problems involving many different types of
23 actors, and thus is not even theoretically optimizable”.

24 It is clear that climate adaptation is an emerging policy area across societal scale, and findings show
25 that municipalities adapt to climate change even if national guidelines and advice are lacking
26 (Dannevig et al. 2012, 2013). In many European nations, including Norway, municipalities have

27 been assigned the responsibility for local climate adaptation, but the resources and relevant
28 background knowledge (e.g. maps and vulnerability assessments) are not available at the municipal,
29 scale. These are only developed for the national and county levels. The authorities expect the
30 knowledge and tools to be highly useful for municipal planning, assuming linearity from national
31 scientific assessments to local implementation. Municipal officials underscore that they are used to
32 planning under uncertainty, but that the currently weak national engagement on climate adaptation
33 and lack of roles allocated to the different levels of government limit their ability to adapt
34 proactively to climate change. Therefore, municipalities want their roles to be defined more clearly
35 and ask for better national guidance and support (Amundsen et al. 2010, Dannevig et al. 2012,
36 2013).

37 National climate change adaptation has a strong tradition of being science-based with a top down
38 standardized policy approach (e.g. Amundsen et al. 2010) while the nature of the problem, with
39 cascading uncertainties, calls for a flexible management system in which adaptive measures are
40 supported by state level institutions (Armitage et al. 2007, Olsson et al. 2004).

41 At a general level and in the short term, climate change impacts are likely to be less severe in
42 Norway compared to elsewhere on the globe, and potentially economically positive for some
43 sectors, such as agriculture (Kvalvik et al. 2011, Hovelsrud et al. 2011). On the other hand, the
44 consequences for some municipalities could be significant and substantially affect the inhabitants
45 because of the complex interlinkages between climate change impacts and societal conditions (e.g.
46 West and Hovelsrud, 2010; Hovelsrud and Smit 2010). The reasons for the differences are multiple,
47 complex, and closely related to the particular socio-economic (some have more administrative
48 capacity than others), environmental conditions (some are more exposed to climate impacts than
49 others), and the human and resource capacity (some have more dedicated officials than others) in a
50 given municipality (e.g. Dannevig et al. 2012, Dannevig et al. 2013). This underscores the need to

51 understand the particular local contexts when studying policy development and adaptive responses
52 to climate change. One size does not fit all when it comes to local level climate adaptation.

53 Several studies show that the local context matters for effective policy formation and conclude that
54 this topic is largely overlooked both in national policy and in the literature on policy instruments
55 (e.g. Tørnblad et al. 2013). However, a few studies have addressed the need for adjusting national
56 policies to become locally relevant and efficient climate policy strategies (Moser and Ekstrom 2010,
57 Bulkeley and Betsill 2005, Gustavsson et al. 2009). In this paper we underscore that the significant
58 variation in contextual factors between municipalities is not sufficiently addressed and understood
59 by national and sectoral governmental authorities. The empirical evidence from our case
60 municipalities illustrates a mismatch between the need for a local contextual understanding of
61 climate change adaption and the dominant top-down standardized national policy approach. In this
62 paper, we investigate how the local context matters when developing local adaptation strategies and
63 we discuss the factors that constitute the local context for adaptation policies. Further, we identify
64 variation in the contextual factors for local adaptation, which calls for an adaptive co-management
65 strategy across the national, regional and local government levels. The main geographical focus is
66 Norway, but we zoom in on twelve municipalities in Vestfold County (see Figure 1).

67 The next section describes the context of climate change adaptation in Norway and in the case study
68 of the Norwegian County Administration Vestfold and its dozen municipalities. This is followed by
69 a theoretical section developing the adaptive co-management approach, a methods section and a
70 presentation of findings from case municipalities based on an analysis of four factors that constitute
71 the local context. Finally, we discuss the need for an adaptive co-management strategy based on our
72 findings before the results are summarised and concluded.

73

74 **2. The context**

75 2.1. Norwegian climate change adaptation policies¹.

76 Norway has two levels of sub-national government – regional or county government and
77 municipalities respectively, both of which are governed by directly elected councils. A local
78 administration headed by a chief executive officer in each municipality and county provides
79 information for decisions to be taken by the councils and follows up policy decisions. In keeping
80 with practices common to development of the Scandinavian welfare states (cf. Sellers & Lidström
81 2007), responsibility for implementing national policy decisions has to a large extent been
82 decentralized to local authorities. Thus, municipalities are currently charged with responsibilities
83 for primary and lower secondary education, primary health care, social services, municipal roads,
84 water supply and sewage services, land use planning and local environmental issues. In addition to
85 these mandatory responsibilities, municipalities also have residual discretionary authority and are
86 free to engage in other tasks.

87 Norwegian national authorities have the responsibility to facilitate and oversee that national
88 requirements, guidelines and intentions are followed by the municipalities (local level), while the
89 municipalities are responsible for planning and implementing measures that safeguard the
90 municipality and the residents, including handling the impacts of climate change. In carrying out
91 this responsibility, the municipalities are to a great extent making their own judgements and design
92 their own policy, within the national requirements and intentions: they decide if there is a need for
93 local measures to mitigate climate change, type of measures to be implemented and how these
94 instruments will be designed.

¹ The overview made in this section is based on Heiberg (2012) but includes updated information on the responsibilities from The Norwegian Environment Agency on climate change adaptation.

95 When it comes to climate change adaptation and preparedness, the national government develops
96 requirements and provides guidelines for the local level. Through the Civil Protection Act (Lovdata
97 2016a), Norwegian municipalities are assigned the main responsibility for developing and
98 implementing the necessary measures and to be prepared to secure its citizens against climate
99 related events. Municipalities are required to map potential hazards and risks, to assess the
100 likelihood of occurrences and how they will affect the municipality. Ideally, this is presented in a
101 holistic Risk and Vulnerability Assessment (RVA), which forms the basis for a mandatory
102 Preparedness Plan for the municipality. Private actors are responsible for planning and
103 implementing necessary measures and for protecting their belongings from exposure to natural
104 hazards, including climate related events, including assessing risks from flooding and landslides
105 when planning building sites.

106 In addition, the RVA provides the basis for the municipalities' planning and infrastructure. Spatial
107 planning within the municipal borders is the sole responsibility of the municipality and is strictly
108 regulated by Norwegian national laws on civil and environmental protection against natural and
109 societal hazards (Lovdata 2016b, Act on Natural Damage).

110 At the national level, several authorities are developing flood plans and maps of landslides relevant
111 for the local level. Specifically, the Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate (NVE) has
112 an important role at the national level. NVE is responsible for preventing damage from flooding and
113 landslides (Heiberg 2012) by mapping, informing, monitoring and alerting about areas at risk. NVE
114 has regional offices throughout the country, which carry out the sectoral responsibilities of the
115 Directorate. Our case municipalities in Vestfold County belong to the "Region South" of NVE,
116 which is responsible for six counties, including 110 municipalities.

117 All national authorities are responsible for preventing and handling climate related hazards such as
118 floods and landslides in their sector, currently with minimal cross-sectoral efforts. However, a

119 cross-sectoral approach to climate adaptation has been called for (NOU 2010; Meld. St 33, 2012-
120 2013) and recently the Norwegian Environment Agency has been given the responsibility for
121 advising other state level governmental authorities on climate change adaptation.

122 The County Governors comprise the national government at the county level and are responsible for
123 ensuring that national requirements and guidelines for climate adaptation are adhered to by the
124 municipalities. The County Governors have clear coordinating roles for overseeing that the
125 municipalities are prepared for climate-related events, with their own climate change expertise for
126 guiding the municipalities. The County Governor has a legislative right to object to housing and
127 building developments if risks and vulnerability assessments are lacking and if safety requirements
128 have not been addressed.

129 The interactions between the national level (with its requirements, guidelines and intentions for
130 climate change adaptation) and the responsibility of the local level to design relevant policy,
131 provides an interesting backdrop for studying the importance of the local context in national climate
132 adaptation policies, and for considering how local strategies can inform the development of national
133 and sectoral adaptation guidelines. First, given that municipalities are responsible for implementing
134 national climate adaptation policies it becomes important to understand whether and how
135 municipalities may influence such policy processes and measures. Second, since the national level
136 (including the County Governor) is responsible for overseeing municipalities, it is appropriate to
137 study the roles and interactions between these levels. We may expect national actors to be sensitive
138 to variations in local conditions and to be interested in feedback from local actors, but there is lack
139 of knowledge of how such interaction takes place in practice.

140 In summary: Norwegian municipalities are required by national regulations to develop RVAs that
141 incorporate climate change, and to prepare and develop adequate measures for responding to
142 potential climate events (Heiberg 2012). The national level controls and guides the municipalities'

143 work on climate change. The municipalities have a significant degree of freedom when designing
144 their policies, including climate adaptation.

145 **2.2 The case study area**

146 The twelve case municipalities are located in Vestfold County in southern Norway, which has 14
147 municipalities in total (see Figure 1). The study began with contact between Vestfold County
148 Governor and researchers (see methods) and was carried out as an iterative process between the
149 researchers, the Governor and the municipalities. The Vestfold County is one of Norway's smallest
150 counties geographically speaking in area, and with 238,748 inhabitants (2013 numbers) is one of the
151 most densely populated. Vestfold has many types of industries including a process industry, an oil
152 refinery and stone work, and is despite its size the largest vegetable producer in Norway. Soil,
153 climate and topography make Vestfold well suited for agriculture and forestry; 20% of the land is
154 farmed and 56% of the forest is productive (Vestfold Fylkeskommune 2016).

155 (Insert: Figure 1)

156 In Vestfold climate and weather related risks are directly connected to hazards from quick clay and
157 landslides. In addition, some areas are exposed to flooding and sea level rise combined with storm
158 surge. The challenges associated with key risk factors are not evenly distributed among the case
159 municipalities, but vary along a number of dimensions, including the amount of resources allocated
160 to addressing climate adaptation, who is responsible, and in which networks they participate. The
161 three types of inter-municipal networks in Vestfold of relevance to climate adaptation include the
162 county-wide Vestfold Preparedness Forum (Vestfold Beredskapsforum), the Vestfold Spatial
163 Planning Network (Vestfold Plannettverk) and a general inter-municipal network called 12K (12
164 municipalities). The 12K network is a municipal discussion forum for addressing current and often
165 shared challenges related to tasks and regulations. Two of the 14 municipalities (Svelvik and Sande)
166 chose to participate in the neighbouring county's general municipal network (the D5 network)
167 because of the geographic proximity. Table 1 below summarizes the organization of the adaptation

168 efforts and resources allocated in the case municipalities. It also outlines the different networks and
169 efforts for cross-municipal collaboration on climate adaptation.

170 The resources used on climate adaptation (characterized as “few”, “some”, or “more”) reflect the
171 municipality’s allocation of specific human resources to address preparedness/civil protection. If
172 “few” human and financial resources are ear marked for climate adaptation it signifies that the
173 responsibility for such tasks is added to a position that is already 100% dedicated. “Some” resources
174 allocated signify that the responsibility is covered by less than a 50% position. “More” resources
175 allocated signify that the municipality has a 50-100% position to cover these issues.

176 (Insert: Table 1)

177 **3. Adaptive co-management**

178 Adaptive co-management is a useful approach for understanding how the different levels of
179 government interact in our case area. Olsson et al. (2004, p. 75) define adaptive co-management as
180 “...flexible community based systems of resource management, tailored to specific places and
181 situations, and supported by and working with various organizations at different scales”. This
182 approach to adaptive co-management is mainly applied to local level studies of natural resource
183 management such as fisheries and wild life.

184 Inspired by Olsson et al. (2004) we apply the concept of adaptive co-management to our case study
185 as a flexible system that considers the local context of municipalities in which adaptive measures
186 are supported by different state level institutions such as the Vestfold County Governor and the
187 NVE. Adaptive co-management is in this case relevant i) for developing national advice, guidelines
188 and requirements important to the local level, and ii) for adapting national advice, guidelines and
189 requirements to the local context in terms of particular challenges and opportunities facing each
190 municipality. The latter is the main focus here. In our elaborations, adaptive co-management
191 connotes an interdependence between the national and the local levels. We are specifically pointing

192 to the need for adaptive co-management when the relevance of climate change adaptation varies
193 significantly with local contexts and within the same county. This is at the heart of our argument;
194 adaptive co-management is an approach which captures the particular conditions in a particular
195 place (municipality), but allows for analysing the interplay with the broader and salient context (the
196 county and state).

197 An adaptive co-management approach recognizes that neither the state nor the municipality
198 contains the necessary roles and interests to address the challenges. Moreover, it includes local
199 knowledge and awareness in the decision-making process (Fitchett 2014). This kind of management
200 is based on collaboration between relevant actors in the management of complex and uncertain
201 challenges. Inspired by Armitage et al. (2007) and based on our findings we argue that management
202 problems associated with climate change impacts cannot be properly addressed through a top-down
203 approach. Climate change and climate adaptation is dynamic, non-linear and with a high degree of
204 uncertainty both with respect to projected changes and impacts. It creates a new kind of managerial
205 problems to which a centralized bureaucracy has a limited ability to respond (Gunderson and
206 Holling 2002, Berkes et al. 2003)².

207 Adaptation can be divided into reactive and proactive measures for reducing negative effects or take
208 advantage of positive consequences. Proactive adaptation refers to anticipated measures needed to
209 deal with future change, and reactive as a response to something that has occurred, for example the
210 aftermath of extreme events (Fankhauser et al. 1999, IPCC 2007). In most cases, adaptation is
211 reactive in terms of being a response to an extreme event that has happened and which requires
212 immediate action (Amundsen et al. 2010). Such after the fact responses to extreme events are not
213 sufficient in the long term; they are costly and may not minimize the risks properly, unless they are

² There are also other managerial problems that share many of the same characteristics as climate change adaptation when it comes to the degree of uncertainty and complexity. Eco-system management is one such example. See for instance Armitage et al. (2009) and Fitchett (2014).

214 included in proactive adaptation measures. Proactive adaptation is generally more desirable to
215 ensure preparedness and thereby minimize risks, but requires in-depth knowledge about potential
216 perturbations (Amundsen et al 2010). On the other hand that which may be needed for proactive
217 adaptation (e.g. relevant downscaled scenarios, robust planning tools) may be lacking which in turn
218 may hinder proper measures to be taken (see also Lempert et al. 2004). We argue that the process of
219 adaptive co-management, in creating space for the local context in national policy development,
220 may facilitate proactive adaptation.

221 Relevant adaptive co-management factors such as shared decisions making, participatory
222 approaches, and co-creation of knowledge are relevant for climate adaptation (Plummer and Baird
223 2013). Adaptive co-management co-decision processes between different levels of government
224 might enable cognitive learning (related to the acquisition of new or to restructuring existing
225 knowledge) and relational learning (referring to improved understanding of other mind-sets,
226 enhanced trust and ability to cooperate) in decision making for climate change adaptation (Baird et
227 al. 2014). Furthermore, adaptive co-management processes that involve local knowledge in the
228 decision making process provide an effective method to deal with change by incorporating local
229 input in management (Fidel et al. 2014).

230 Some scholars caution that power dynamics might challenge the outcome of adaptive co-
231 management processes (Watson 2013). The need to simplify and scale up local data to achieve a
232 manageable management regime might leave out certain affected groups or misrepresent them,
233 which can produce conflict. Others suggest that adaptive co-management processes might be
234 wishful thinking and difficult to achieve in practice (Bown et al. 2013). However, these cautions do
235 not preclude the benefits of adaptive co-management in finding ways to address climate change
236 risks and challenges. It may also be possible that the potential for conflict and exclusion is greater

237 when adaptive co-management takes place between interest groups and the government rather than
238 between different levels of government.

239 A number of scholars point to a need for integration across and between different scales of
240 management, sectors and among government departments, to efficiently respond to climate change
241 (Tompkins and Adger 2005, Bulkeley and Betsill 2005, Bulkeley 2005). Amundsen et al. (2010)
242 further assert that a multilevel governance framework is a way of advancing proactive adaptation
243 and overcoming barriers to adaptation. This literature implies that in order to ensure proactive
244 adaptation strategies locally it is essential for the national government to assign well defined roles
245 to municipalities by setting goals, creating regulations and financing adaptation processes for the
246 local governments to implement. Our empirical case study provides useful insights for further
247 developing the notion of a multilevel governance strategy for adapting to climate change. The study
248 shows how the local context matters for the development of local adaptation strategies, and that this
249 implies the need for a multilevel governance structure that is both adaptive and co-managing, with
250 room for co-decision processes and the option of changing these over time. Below we present two
251 central concepts that are relevant for analysing climate adaptation at the local level and for further
252 developing the adaptive co-management approach.

253 We align ourselves with the language of the IPCC and a framework developed for application to
254 local level case studies as outlined and discussed in Hovelsrud and Smit (2010) and references
255 therein, and in Ford and Smit (2004). When studying the need for adaptation in conjunction with
256 adaptive co-management it is important to distinguish between municipalities that are both exposed
257 and sensitive to hazards or perturbations and those that are only exposed but not sensitive (e.g.
258 Hovelsrud and Smit 2010). This has implication for assessing and designing measures from a
259 national level perspective: one size does not fit all, even within the same county. *Exposure-*
260 *sensitivity* refers to the manner and degree to which, in this case, a municipality is exposed and

261 sensitive to particular conditions, or natural hazards. “It reflects the likelihood of climatic
262 conditions or natural hazards occurring in a particular place over time relative to the situational
263 characteristics of places and people which make them sensitive to conditions or hazards” (Smit et
264 al. 2010: 5) These risks could come from extreme weather events or natural hazards such as quick
265 clay slides. Additionally, geographic characteristics, public policy, economic framework conditions,
266 and social parameters determine whether a municipality is sensitive to exposures from risks and
267 hazards. In this way, exposure-sensitivity speaks to the susceptibility to particular conditions
268 creating risks or hazards. This is clearly illustrated by the case municipalities in relation to the risks
269 of landslides associated with quick clay. Many municipalities (N10) are exposed to quick clay, but
270 only a few (N3) are both exposed and sensitive to risks of landslides. Our assumption is that the
271 exposure-sensitivity to risks and hazards will likely be reduced through deliberate adaptive co-
272 management because of the potential for addressing the local conditions properly.

273 The concept of *adaptive capacity* is receiving increasing attention in the adaptation literature
274 because it problematize the linear thinking that adaptation will happen if we only have enough
275 knowledge (e.g. Preston et al. 2013; Moser and Ekstrom 2010). It is increasingly recognized that the
276 ability to respond or adapt to perturbations hinges on the degree to which adaptive capacity is
277 activated, utilized or enabled (e.g. Keskitalo et al. 2011; Hovelsrud et al. 2010). Adaptive capacity
278 reflects an individual’s, industry’s or community’s ability to cope with, or adjust to, changing
279 conditions. In this case it also reflects the municipality’s management of current and past stresses,
280 their ability to anticipate and plan for future change, and resilience to perturbations. In the cases
281 presented here the municipalities’ exposure-sensitivity and adaptive capacity to climate change is
282 analysed in conjunction with adaptive co-management between the local and national levels. Our
283 assumption is that the ability to adapt to risks and hazards will be strengthened through adaptive co-
284 management, because of the inclusion of particular concerns and conditions. Whilst vulnerability is
285 often analysed as an outcome or a function of exposure-sensitivity and adaptive capacity we do not

286 assess vulnerability per se in this paper (see Adger and Kelly 1999; Smit and Pilifosova 2001;
287 Turner et al. 2003a,b for a discussion of vulnerability in relation to exposure-sensitivity and
288 adaptive capacity).

289 **4. Methods**

290 The methodological approach is inspired by transdisciplinary thinking on how knowledge can be
291 co-produced by researchers and governmental and municipal officials to solve specific and
292 identified problems (Elzinga 2008; Pohl 2011). Researchers and practitioners have collaborated
293 throughout the study in a three-step approach (planning process, data gathering, dialogue seminar).
294 In the first step, in 2012, the Vestfold County Governor invited researchers from the Centre for
295 International Climate and Environmental Research-Oslo and the Center for Technology, Innovation
296 and Culture, University of Oslo, to participate in and observe the process of planning a dialogue
297 seminar on local climate adaptation with participants from the municipalities, and the regional and
298 national governments. The aim of the dialogue was to improve climate adaptation in Vestfold
299 County. A reference group was established by the County Governor, involving the researchers, the
300 County Governor and the Vestfold County Council, Vestfold Energy and Environmental Forum, the
301 Norwegian Directorate for Civil Protection (DSB) and selected municipalities. The selection of
302 municipalities was based on previous involvement in work on climate adaptation including
303 municipalities with a relatively heavy engagement in the issue. The reference group held regular
304 meetings throughout the process and met with the municipalities to discuss both the outcome of the
305 dialogue seminar and new and improved measures for climate adaptation. The researchers
306 contributed with knowledge about local adaptation strategies and with competence on how to
307 produce, summarize, and transfer such knowledge between researchers, managers and decision-
308 makers.

309 In the second step the researchers conducted 26 interviews with representatives from 12 of the 14
310 municipalities. (Recruitment from two municipalities was unsuccessful.) The recruitment was

311 conducted by the County Governor and the target group was municipal personnel central to climate
312 adaptation efforts, in particular the Chief Municipal Executive (Rådmann) and officials responsible
313 for emergency planning and preparedness, and spatial planning. Not all municipalities were able to
314 participate with representatives from the three areas of responsibility either due to time constraints
315 or that the positions were vacant. In some municipalities, the person responsible for spatial
316 planning was also responsible for emergency planning and preparedness. In addition, interviews
317 were conducted with the County Governor (2) and DSB representatives (1) (see Table 2 below). A
318 guide for semi-structured interviews was developed in collaboration with the reference group. The
319 researchers developed a set of questions to be included in this guide, which was discussed by the
320 reference group. Questions were adjusted according to these discussions and a final interview guide
321 was developed to be used in the interviews. The interviews were recorded (except for the DSB),
322 and minutes were taken.

323 (Insert: Table 2)

324 Questions to municipal officials included status of climate adaptation work; how it was organized;
325 how they perceived their own knowledge about the issue; what competence, knowledge and
326 network they were involved in; and the possibilities to feed this to the national and regional
327 authorities that provide climate adaptation advice to municipalities. We asked how they
328 collaborated with other municipalities and actors and their views on the regional and national
329 governmental actors involved in adaptation. We asked specifically about what they perceived as
330 requirements from regional and governmental actors and what kind of support they needed. In
331 addition, the interviewees were queried about potential barriers they were confronted with when
332 addressing climate adaptation. The interviews with the County Governor and the DSB covered
333 topics such as how the guiding and overseeing of the municipal efforts on climate adaptation were
334 conducted and what it included (e.g. municipal experiences); their assessment of the resource needs

335 and barriers in today's climate adaptation policies; and possible future improvements in municipal
336 climate change adaptation.

337 The third step of the study was a follow-up dialogue seminar on climate adaptation with all 14
338 municipalities (including Tjøme and Sandefjord which did not partake in the interviews). The
339 municipalities were invited to the seminar by the County Governor. Prior to the seminar the
340 participants received a copy of the final report containing results from the interviews and feedback
341 from the reference group. The researchers participated in the one-day seminar and recorded the
342 discussions and dialogues on adaptation challenges and possible solutions pertaining to Vestfold.
343 The findings below are based on data collected from the three-step-process.

344 The process ended with a reference group meeting summing-up the results and discussing the co-
345 production process. We shared our experiences and specifically discussed how the research aims
346 had been changed during the process. The researchers had initially planned to carry out a qualitative
347 field experiment by interviewing the dialogue seminar participants before and after the seminar to
348 assess changes in their perspectives on municipal adaptation policies as a result of the seminar
349 participation. However, through the seminar planning process, it became clear that the County
350 Governor considered it more fruitful to get a thorough understanding of the adaptation work in the
351 municipalities and use this information as a background for designing the dialogue seminar. This
352 illustrates the need for a flexible attitude towards what needs to be done, how it will be done and the
353 outcome of a co-production process. We further discuss the experiences gained in the co-production
354 process in section six where we address the need for having an adaptive co-management strategy in
355 climate adaptation.

356 **5. Findings**

357 In this section, we present the empirical findings of how the local context matters for adaptation to
358 climate change and analyse the limits to adaptation created by broad and generic national guidelines
359 that lack contextual management strategies. Our study shows that local context matters with respect

360 to: i) Hazards and exposure-sensitivities, ii) Adaptive capacity in terms of human and economic
361 resources, iii) Adaptive capacity in terms of network and knowledge access and transfer, and iv)
362 Adaptive capacity in terms of co-benefits, focus and linkages to other municipal tasks. Table 3
363 summarizes the findings along these four dimensions and is found at the end of this section.

364 ***5.1 Hazards and exposure-sensitivities***

365 The case municipalities can be roughly divided into inland and coastal with respect to
366 physiographic characteristics and location. The physical location affects the nature of the natural
367 hazards and the risks to which the municipalities may or may not be exposed. Along the coast,
368 storm surge is an obvious hazard when combined with sea level rise and increased extreme weather
369 events, while inland, flood risks are related to rivers and waterways. Quick clay is an overall
370 physiographic characteristic both inland and at the coast. However, some of the municipalities, such
371 as Re and Hof are exposed, but not sensitive to hazards from quick clay because houses, buildings
372 and infrastructure are not located in areas with such risks, and they are neither exposed nor sensitive
373 to flood risks. In response to our questions about challenges related to weather and climate change,
374 the municipal officials in Re asked us to look out the window and see for ourselves: The main part
375 of the built area is on small hills situated above an agriculture landscape. A small stream runs
376 through the municipality, and in the event of extreme precipitation there is a small chance that there
377 will be “*some extra water on the agricultural land...*”. The case of Re municipality also provides a
378 good illustration of how current management practices unfold. Re municipality does not prioritize
379 climate adaptation and vulnerability assessments likely because of the perception of low exposure-
380 sensitive. However, they call for more dialogue with the County Governor in order to better define
381 their priorities given few available resources. But when the County Governor representatives are
382 visiting to control and guide the municipal activities they cannot answer questions about how to
383 prioritize between tasks that are mandatory (e.g. care for elderly and schooling) and climate change
384 adaptation needs and vulnerability assessments. The County Governor’s office is not yet ready to

385 take the responsibility for prioritizing municipal goals, and indicate that they are not prepared to
386 give specific advice on how Re should handle climate change issues. This is because the Country
387 Governor is afraid, in retrospect, of being accused of giving wrong advice to the municipalities.
388 They also argue that they would not like to interfere with the municipalities' decisions and
389 judgements which they after all are entitled to make (see section 2).

390 Similarly, Hof municipality has experienced few worrying climate related incidents: "*we have*
391 *many small creeks and many dirt roads, but this does not cause any problems for us*". The two
392 municipalities do not perceive themselves as vulnerable to climate change.

393 Another exposure-sensitivity shared among most of the municipalities is under-dimensioned pipes
394 for draining surface water. While some municipalities such as Nøtterøy has adapted by finding
395 technical solutions to get rid of the surface water, others are still in need of upgrading the system. A
396 particular sensitivity in Lardal is the large number of outdated private water works and wells, which
397 under extreme precipitation are exposed to drainage of surface water with the risk of contamination.

398 Hazards associated with quick clay are currently related to existing housing and buildings
399 constructed on land that may be threatened by landslides. Risk of landslides will be exacerbated
400 with the projected increased precipitation. Some of the municipalities (Sande and Lardal), lack
401 maps outlining the sub-surface soil and geological conditions prone to landslides which implies lack
402 of relevant information to assess such conditions, and an uncertain exposure and sensitivity. Larvik
403 and Tønsberg are exposed and sensitive to flooding, because major industry and housing are
404 constructed along main waterways that flood during periods of heavy snow-melt and extreme
405 precipitation. With the projected precipitation increase this exposure-sensitivities will highly likely
406 require adaptive measures. Other smaller municipalities, such as Andebu, have constructed buffer
407 zones and protection of river banks against slipping, to protect against current levels of flooding in
408 smaller waterways. It is uncertain whether these measures will be sufficient to meet projected

409 increased water levels. Coastal municipalities (Nøtterøy, Svelvik, Horten and Holmestrand) have
410 identified storm surge as a current hazard to which they are exposed and sensitive. Increased storm
411 surge and extreme weather events combined with the effects of projected sea level rise
412 (approximately 40 cm by 2100, Norwegian Metrological Institute 2009) will increase these
413 challenges significantly. Hence, physiographic challenges as identified across the municipalities
414 range from none to high exposure-sensitivity to weather and climate change.

415 ***5.2 Adaptive Capacity: Human and economic resources***

416 A general feature of our case studies is that the smaller municipalities (population size) of our
417 sample (Re, Hof, Lardal, Andebu, Svelvik) have dedicated few human and economic resources to
418 deal with climate adaptation and civil protection (see Table 1 above). As stated by the interviewee
419 from Svelvik: *“It is a challenge to have sufficient human resources and expertise in all areas. We
420 are few and we don’t always have enough time to evaluate and consider everything. We don’t have
421 enough money and resources are limited.”* Interestingly the tasks associated with climate adaptation
422 are assigned to people who are fully occupied with other tasks that are more pressing or mandatory
423 (education, care for elderly and health) (see also Dannevig et al. 2013). Tasks associated with
424 adaptation and civil protection against weather related events and hazards are closely linked to
425 spatial planning but are not necessarily subsumed under such activities in the smaller municipalities.
426 The larger municipalities (Larvik, Tønsberg, Horten, Nøtterøy) have earmarked economic resources
427 for dedicated positions to work with climate adaptation and civil protection. The medium-size
428 municipalities (Holmestrand and Sande) vary in the way they dedicate resources. In Holmestrand
429 the work on civil protection is allocated to a person who is already responsible for a number of
430 other tasks, while Sande has allocated some human resources to specifically deal with climate
431 adaptation.

432 The findings show a variation in the degree of coordination between sectors, independent of
433 municipal size. Two types of coordination of climate adaptation emerge; between civil protection
434 and spatial planning, and between the different sectors and spatial planning. Tønsberg coordinates
435 well by including climate change when coordinating across the different municipal sectors with
436 civil protection and planning. While Horten coordinates the work on adaptation and civil protection
437 across sectors such as health and crisis administration, climate change is neither included in spatial
438 planning nor between spatial planning and other sectors. Hence, these municipalities vary in the
439 degree to which they dedicate resources to climate change adaptation, and in whether and how they
440 coordinate with other sectors.

441 ***5.3 Adaptive Capacity: Networks, knowledge and transfer***

442 As shown in Table 1, the municipalities vary in network participation and in how much they
443 coordinate their planning efforts. All the case municipalities are involved in the countywide
444 Preparedness Forum and the Spatial Planning Network for Vestfold. Most of the municipalities are
445 involved in 12K (see section 4). Three of the municipalities (Re, Hof and Holmestrand) have a
446 common municipal plan which includes the spatial plan, but have to date not included climate
447 adaptation in their work. Sande and Svelvik collaborate on developing their RVA. The remaining
448 municipalities (Tønsberg, Larvik, Lardal, Andebu, Stokke, Horten, Nøtterøy) have done little to
449 coordinate their efforts.

450 The municipalities also vary with respect to knowledge access. In our study two aspects warrant
451 attention: i) the municipalities do not have access to relevant knowledge due to a limited network
452 and a lack of expertise on how to locate the knowledge, and ii) locally relevant knowledge about
453 quick clay slides and flooding has not yet been developed by state level agencies (NVE) because
454 such events are not life-threatening in these municipalities. The authorities prioritize the
455 development of quick clay and flood maps where health and lives are threatened. For NVE to
456 develop such maps, major mapping exercises are needed.

457 Lardal is a good example of both aspects; they lack the network needed for gathering information
458 and they lack the necessary maps on quick clay and flooding needed in their planning activities.
459 Tønsberg has a sufficient network and know where information can be found, but the maps they
460 need for planning purposes are not available. Some of the municipalities have clear ideas on the
461 kind of knowledge that is needed to support local climate adaptation. Some also have the capacity
462 to articulate how this knowledge should be tailored to the local context but this input is not taken
463 into account by national authorities. Nonetheless, most of the municipalities in Vestfold do not have
464 sufficient expertise to know what kind of information is needed to further develop adaptation
465 strategies.

466 ***5.4 Adaptive Capacity: Co-benefits, and linkages to other municipal tasks***

467 Andebu is one municipality that explicitly makes the link between public health and climate
468 change, partially because of one engaged municipal planner. This planner has expertise in public
469 health and is also responsible for planning in the municipality. She has been heavily involved in the
470 development of the climate and energy plan in which adaptation is included. Her engagement in
471 both issues has influenced her linking climate change adaptation in Andebu to public health. In
472 Larvik engaged officials integrate both climate mitigation and adaptation in one and the same
473 climate and energy plan. Such plans usually focus solely on climate mitigation. Horten is highly
474 engaged in civil protection and acknowledges that climate adaptation has become an important
475 aspect of such protection. Horten expressed a need for including climate adaptation in their plans
476 because of the co-benefits in linking civil protection and climate adaptation. The officials argue that
477 this will strengthen their image as a municipality well prepared for disaster.

478 Table 3 below summarizes the results.

479 (Insert Table 3).

480 **6. The call for adaptive co-management**

481 Climate change impacts unfold locally and how it is dealt with in municipalities depend on the local
482 municipal context. Below we discuss the implications of our findings for the governance of climate
483 change adaptation at the local level, and if and how adaptive co-management may improve climate
484 change adaptation in the municipalities.

485 Table 3 shows that there is great variation between the twelve case municipalities with respect to
486 physiographic challenges, available resources, networks, needs, knowledge and focus areas,
487 illustrating that they experience different exposure-sensitivities which in turn result in different
488 adaptation needs. A comparison shows that the municipalities differ in the extent to which they
489 have resources to mobilize for adaptation to climate change. They also differ in expertise and
490 capacity to both utilize and meet national guidelines and requirements. The national adaptation
491 guidelines and requirements are general and overarching and local concerns and needs are not the
492 main target. The guidelines and requirements are in turn interpreted in each municipal context,
493 which may lead to differing ways of operationalization. The outcome may be either too little or too
494 much adaptation. With too little adaptation, municipalities may respond or adjust to national
495 guidelines inadequately due to lack of resources and relevant knowledge. They may not prepare for
496 future climate adaptation in a proactive manner but instead adapt reactively which is likely to leave
497 them more vulnerable (this may be the case for Holmestrand and Svelvik in the future). Too much
498 adaptation, pertains to national adaptation guidelines and requirements demanding engagement in
499 adaptation issues even when few exposure-sensitivities are identified in the municipality (to be
500 expected for Re and Hof). Therefore, general national guidelines lacking contextual management
501 strategies may result in both too much or too little engagement in adaptation. A changing climate
502 will create new challenges for local communities and local governments. Climate change
503 uncertainties and reactive adaptation practices together make a strong motivation for an alternative
504 approach to governance that is flexible and adequate to address future climate risks and hazards.

505 The variation across local contexts demands an adaptation policy that addresses the particular needs
506 of a municipality and provide locally relevant advice. This approach may even out the high
507 variability between the municipalities along the four local context dimensions mentioned above
508 (physiographic/physical challenges; human and economic resources; networks, knowledge, transfer,
509 co-benefits, focus and linkages, see Table 3). Adjusting adaption policies to the local contexts is
510 beneficial in a broader national or regional context in that it ensures a better fit across the municipal
511 borders – independent of size and resources. A governance practice that is based on dialogue
512 between the levels of government where the different characteristics of the municipalities and the
513 local knowledge base is taken into account provides opportunity to adjust adaptation policies to the
514 local context, rather than assuming that every municipality should be treated equally.

515 In Norway the multi-level governance structure gives clear responsibilities to the different levels of
516 governments (see section 2), and is akin to a top-down approach. The County Governor is a
517 centralized bureaucracy (Gunderson and Holling 2002, Berkes et al. 2003) that oversees and
518 provides general guidelines not specifically addressing the local context. This is illustrated with the
519 case of Re referred to in section 5 in which the County Governor avoids giving locally relevant.

520 An adaptive co-management process, including different levels of government, increases the
521 likelihood of better coordination of local, regional and national resources allocated to adaptation
522 efforts. Many case municipalities (Svelvik, Tønsberg, Larvik, Re, Sande) ask for better coordination
523 across municipalities facing similar adaptation challenges and/ or municipal structures. They note
524 that this would increase cross-municipal learning experiences, expand adaptation networks, and
525 possibly coordinate cross-border resources. These coordination initiatives, they suggest, could be
526 facilitated through national and regional governments (County Governor). Our case study shows
527 that the County Governor is interested in assuming such a role and wish to be more engaged as a
528 facilitator. This is illustrated by the active role of the Governor in the dialogue seminar.

529 Coordination across municipalities offers a way to even out the municipal differences resulting
530 from size and resources and to address common adaptation challenges.

531 An adaptive co-management process entails a greater facilitation of cross-sectoral and cross-
532 institutional linkages, which ensures better use and release of more resources. Through such
533 processes, more relevant and accurate assessments of local risks and impacts, both current and
534 future, will likely be developed. Through adaptive co-management processes different types of
535 knowledge are brought together to make strategies and plans for climate change adaptation. In this
536 study the transdisciplinary process brought together different types of knowledge (researchers and
537 practitioners) with the purpose of planning the dialogue seminar on adaptation (see section 4) . The
538 planning brought together multiple sources of expertise which resulted in new knowledge and an
539 increased understanding of the different perspectives. Through the interviews with the
540 municipalities (with questions developed in collaboration between researchers and practitioners),
541 the importance of allowing for variations in climate adaptation work at the municipal level became
542 clear. Conversely, it became evident that including the local context in multi-level government
543 practices comes with its own challenges both through the assigned role of the County Governor and
544 through the independence of municipalities to design their own policies. The process allowed for
545 learning, both cognitive and relational, through the results from the interviews and from different
546 perspectives (see also Baird et al. 2014). Finally, the transdisciplinary approach of this paper also
547 illustrates another key point for adaptive co-management processes; the design of the dialogue
548 seminar facilitated the emergence of new knowledge needs. The County Governor first pictured this
549 seminar to entail standard presentations of adaptation issues with time for questions from the
550 participants. Through the transdisciplinary process it became clear that it would be much more
551 beneficial to design the dialogue seminar with the municipalities as a process with group work and
552 presentations. This revealed a need for more local level expertise on climate risks in order for the
553 municipalities to ask informed questions and demand more clearly what was needed to improve

554 work on climate adaptation. Hence, an adaptive co-management process might also entail a greater
555 possibility of identifying knowledge needs that are not covered in the current data base and an
556 opportunity of addressing those needs in further developments.

557 Nearly all (9) our interviewees (Holmestrand, Re, Tønsberg, Lardal, Horten, Nøtterøy, Larvik,
558 Andebu, Sande) note that the resources allocated by the state for advice and provide necessary
559 assessments of risks are too scarce to cover local knowledge needs. Detailed mapping of risk areas
560 in a municipality is only required when there is a risk of loss of lives and health. However, several
561 of the municipalities, ask for a more detailed mapping of risk areas for quick clay and flooding to
562 increase their knowledge about the hazards when planning new housing, infrastructure or business
563 even if these areas are not categorized as at risk for loss of lives and health (see Kirchhoff and
564 Dilling, 2016). This is exemplified in the following quote: *“It was said that the NVE would provide
565 more knowledge about the danger from quick clay, but that has not been done. We miss more and
566 specific knowledge from national actors”* (Lardal municipality).

567 As discussed earlier, adaptive co-management processes can be organized in different ways
568 (Armitage et al. 2011), but they all include systematic use of networks, working groups and other
569 arenas for regular dialogues, discussions and knowledge exchange between different levels of
570 government. They also include clear targets for these processes and an understanding of the long-
571 term horizon needed to build the necessary institutional arrangements that support knowledge
572 exchange and decision making processes for prioritizing measures at the local level. This clearly
573 requires financial and human resources allocated from both the state and municipal levels in our
574 case study. For some municipalities resources and funding are important but equally so is advice on
575 how to make the right priorities. Some municipalities are economically constrained and must
576 prioritize tasks required by law, and do not necessarily have the resources to prioritize climate
577 adaptation. Furthermore, some municipalities note that climate adaptation is too serious to be

578 handled solely by them. These are interrelated and not mutually exclusive perspectives which call
579 for better prioritization and involvement by the national level, and dedicated economic resources.
580 With respect to adaptive co-management processes this calls for the national government to open up
581 for a more dialogue oriented governance practice across national, regional and local levels. Existing
582 collaborative networks among the municipalities could be expanded and could also include the
583 County Governor and relevant Directorates, as exemplified by the dialogue seminar.

584 Research points to the need for a multi-level governance practice to cope with climate change
585 adaptation (e.g. Tompkins and Adger 2005, Amundsen et al. 2010), and that there is a need to move
586 towards a framework of multilevel governance and new network spheres for addressing
587 environmental issues like climate change. We expand on this notion by arguing that the multi-level
588 governance framework for adaptation policies need to be adaptive and based on co-management.
589 An adaptive practice asserts that policies can be changed according to the challenges faced by
590 climate change and a co-management practice allows for knowledge, resources, and networks to be
591 better adapted to the particular localized exposure-sensitivities and risks. This is highly likely to
592 result in more efficient and pro-active adaptation processes and practices at the local level.

593 **7. Summary of findings and conclusions**

594 This paper addresses how the local context matters for developing climate adaptation policies
595 relevant and applicable to future challenges. Municipalities vary with respect to physiography,
596 human and economic resources, networks that they participate in, knowledge they possess, how this
597 knowledge is transferred between different government levels and sectors, how and if they link
598 climate adaptation to other municipal tasks, and finally they vary with respect to the barriers to
599 adaptation. Climate change requires a pro-active adaptation policy that is capable of adjusting to
600 changes in multiple conditions. Currently, the Norwegian state level governance structure and
601 practice is organized to provide general requirements and guidance on climate adaptation, leaving
602 the decision on which measures to choose and how to implement them to the municipalities. The

603 main task for the state is to oversee and supervise municipalities to ensure that the general national
604 requirements are fulfilled. This effectively reduces the potentials for contextualized advice and a
605 dialogue-oriented approach that in turn create necessary flexibility both in scope and time. Our
606 results show that current national policy is too general to be applicable for municipalities and to
607 address risks resulting from future climate change. This study shows that the case municipalities
608 require locally adapted information and knowledge and tailored advice from the national authorities
609 in order to adapt. Experiences from other policy areas provide relevant guidance for how this can be
610 done. Adaptive co-management processes need time to develop and find its right format (cf.
611 Armitage et al. (2011), and the process can be facilitated through diverse modes of communication,
612 deliberation and social interactions (e.g. meeting, workshops, study tours and visits). Further, a key
613 feature of adaptive co-management is the testing of policies in practice. The aim is to continuously
614 learn from the experiences and adapt policies accordingly (Lynch and Brunner 2010). These
615 experiences can also be used to inform other communities about the results. As Lynch and Brunner
616 (2010) point out, the collection of different contexts and experiences might create creative policy
617 alternatives that are significant clues for adapting to a changing climate.

618 We argue that adaptive co-management between national, regional, and local levels represent a
619 useful way to address many of the limitations and challenges concerning climate change adaptation
620 at the municipal level. Adaptive co-management allows for flexible responses to diversified local
621 contexts and with respect to changing future conditions. A dialogue-oriented process between
622 different levels of government is needed to ensure this flexibility (e.g. Berkes and Armitage 2010).
623 This may also entail a greater utilization of different types of knowledge, including local and
624 scientific knowledge that may contribute their knowledge to develop a pro-active and locally
625 adjusted climate adaptation. Furthermore, the knowledge held by municipal officials must be
626 recognized and acknowledged as a resource for enriching national advice given to municipalities, or
627 even to become a co-produced advice. Our results show that this may require a change in how the

628 tasks of the different government levels are perceived, expressed and handled. Adaptive co-
629 management requires a flexible and contextualized governance practice in which municipal officials
630 take an active role as partners, which is in contrast to today's more top-down oriented management
631 practices. This shows that the multi-level governance called for to address climate change
632 adaptation at the local level (Amundsen et al. 2010) needs to be expanded to allow for adaptability
633 and co-management. It furthermore requires that the role of the Norwegian County Governors is
634 discussed and revised to include contextualized advise and co-production of adaptation policies.
635 The way this role is interpreted and practiced today suggest that the County Governors are not
636 prepared to take on this responsibility.

637 Conversely, there are limits to adaptive co-management processes that should be acknowledged.
638 First, a higher degree of contextualized policy practice would likely require more resources to
639 addressing current and future climate change adaptation, which demands an increased focus and
640 willingness from both state and municipal levels for long-term allocation of such resources. Second,
641 an awareness of the risks of unequal power relations between different actors in an adaptive co-
642 management process is needed (Watson 2013). In our case, the County Governor oversees and
643 controls that the municipalities comply with national requirements, indicating that there will be
644 unequal power in an adaptive co-management process. However, Norwegian municipalities are
645 entitled to make autonomous decisions and expect their voices to be heard. This might reduce the
646 risks of uneven power relations.

647 Lastly, from a fuzzy decision-making context, which include the pronounced uncertainty level in
648 climate change, flexible policies are both required and preferred. Adaptive co-management is a
649 possible way to achieve such flexibility in both policy and practice, with multilevel governance and
650 different forms of knowledge.

651 **Acknowledgements**

652 We wish to thank Christian Bjørnæs, communication director at CICERO – Centre for International
653 Climate and Environmental Research – Oslo, for facilitating the process with the County Governor
654 of Vestfold and contributing with his skills to the interviews with the municipalities in Vestfold.
655 Funding from the Research Council of Norway, grant number 207622 is gratefully acknowledged.

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Table 1: Central characteristics of the case municipalities' work with climate change adaptation

Case municipality (inhabitants Jan. 2013)	Organization of climate change adaptation activities	Resources allocated to climate change adaptation activities	Networks that the municipality participates in
Re (8,994)	Division for health, social, technical and business issues	Few resources allocated	12K. Vestfold Preparedness Forum, Vestfold Spatial Planning Network. Collaborates with Hof and Holmestrand in developing a joint municipal plan
Hof (3,060)	Division for technical, cultural, development and business issues	Few resources allocated	12K. Vestfold Preparedness Forum, Vestfold Spatial Planning Network. Collaborates with Re and Holmestrand in developing a joint municipal plan.
Lardal (2,435)	Division for environment, technical and business issues	Few resources allocated	12K, Vestfold Preparedness Forum, Vestfold Spatial Planning Network.
Tønsberg (41,239)	Division for municipal development	More resources allocated	12K, Vestfold Preparedness Forum, Vestfold Spatial Planning Network.
Larvik (43,132)	Division for spatial planning and technical issues	More resources allocated	12K, Vestfold Preparedness Forum, Vestfold Spatial Planning Network.
Andebu (5,546)	Division for technical, agricultural and business issues	Some resources allocated	12K, Vestfold Preparedness Forum, Vestfold Spatial Planning Network.
Holmestrand (10,350)	Organized in two divisions. Preparedness: Division for technical issues. Adaptation: Division for planning and building issues	Few resources allocated	12K, Vestfold Preparedness Forum, Vestfold Spatial Planning Network. Collaborates with Re and Hof in developing a joint municipal plan.
Horten (26,595)	A separate section for preparedness. Adaptation in the division for culture, society, environment and business	More resources allocated	12K, Vestfold Preparedness Forum, Vestfold Spatial Planning Network.
Svelvik (6,570)	Organized in two divisions. Preparedness: Division for technical issues. Adaption: Division for culture and development	Few resources allocated	D5, Vestfold Preparedness Forum, Vestfold Spatial Planning Network. Coordinates the risk and vulnerability analysis with Sande
Nøtterøy (21,100)	Division for technical issues	Some resources allocated	12K, Vestfold Preparedness Forum, Vestfold Spatial Planning Network.
Stokke (11,398)	Division for spatial planning and environment	Few resources allocated	12K, Vestfold Preparedness Forum, Vestfold Spatial Planning Network.
Sande (8,835)	Division for technical issues	Some resources allocated	D5, Vestfold Preparedness Forum, Vestfold Spatial Planning Network. Coordinates the risk and vulnerability analysis with Svelvik

Table 2: Number of persons interviewed in the case municipalities.

Municipality	Number of persons interviewed
Larvik	3
Stokke	2
Nøtterøy	1
Tønsberg	3
Andebu	2
Lardal	3
Re	2
Hof	3
Holmestrand	4
Horten	1
Sande	1
Svelvik	1
County Governor in Vestfold	2
The Norwegian Directorate for Civil Protection	1
Total persons interviewed	29

Municipality – Population	Hazards and exposure-sensitivities	Adaptive capacity: Human and economic resources	Adaptive capacity: Networks, knowledge and transfer (networks – see table 1)	Adaptive capacity: Co-benefits, and linkages to other municipal tasks
Re	Low risk. No significant water ways/streams and no significant threats of flooding. No housing constructed in quick clay areas. Pipes and drainage not sufficient to meet the occasional extreme precipitation.	Currently not a priority due to perceptions and experiences of low risk. Not enough human resources to work with adaptation and preparedness for future risks.	Few contacts at the state level. Express that they have a sufficient overview of the challenges.	None made.
Hof	Low risk. Some risks of drainage from agricultural fields into drinking water under extreme precipitation events.	Currently not a priority due to perceptions and experiences of low risk. Not enough human resources to work with adaptation and preparedness for future risks.	Few contacts at the state level. Express that they have a sufficient overview of the challenges.	None made.
Lardal	Moderate/Low risk. Quick clay areas which are susceptible to extreme precipitation. A proportionally large number of private waterworks, which are not secured against extreme precipitation events – health concerns. Significant river, but no significant threats of flooding.	The existing human resources are not coordinated. Economic resources lacking to produce proper maps of quick clay areas. Not enough human resources to work with adaptation and preparedness for future risks.	Aware of own knowledge gaps, but not successful in acquiring such knowledge. Miss more knowledge/information from state level actors, and coordination of data bases. Few contacts at the state level	None made.
Tønsberg	Moderate risk – quick clay in existing housing areas and flood risks.	Sufficient resources to handle civil protection and municipal planning. Good communication and coordination between different sectors, optimizing human and economic resources.	Good access to knowledge from state level actors. Miss more detailed and relevant flood maps from NVE.	None made.
Larvik	Moderate risk – quick clay in built areas. Risks of flooding and landslides along significant water way	Dedicated human resources in civil protection, and two involved in climate and energy planning. Have sufficient human resources, but express that they do not have sufficient time to cover all needs.	Notes the challenges of large inter-municipal networks. The municipalities have different needs and better coordination could be made. Have good access to knowledge from state level actors	Adaptation part of Climate and Energy Plan.
Andebu	Moderate/Low risk. Several smaller water ways and areas are secured by construction of buffer zones and protection of river banks against flooding. Possibly problems with quick clay in established residential areas (a couple of houses), but aware of risks when planning of residential areas.	Not enough human resources to handle all the tasks. Too many objectives in the existing plans – and lack of coordination among them. The plans are not always congruent. Proactive thinking in how to solve some adaptation problems.	Are active in developing formal networks (e.g. with Stokke) and see the value in sharing resources with other small municipalities. Few relevant contacts at the state level.	Adaptation is seen in relation to human health.
Holmestrand	Low risk. Occasional storm surge cause flooding in basements which may increase with sea level rise. Quick clay present but not in built areas.	Lack resources to prioritize the area. The person responsible for civil protection has	Few relevant contacts at the state level.	None made.

		this task in addition to already existing tasks that occupies 100% of the position.		
Horten	Low/Moderate risk. Presence of quick clay. Express a concern for risks in connection with increased precipitation and storm surge.	Engaged official as Chief Municipal Executive. Have prioritized economic resources to reducing risk and vulnerability.	Have relevant contacts at the state level. Express that the state level has not provided a sufficient overview of risks of quick clay.	Adaptation closely linked with civil protection.
Sande	Moderate risk. Quick clay in the center of the municipality and under existing houses which is under risk of slide.	Human resources available to address the risks from quick clay. A civil protection coordinator. Express that their cross-sectoral coordination is good.	Cooperates with neighboring municipalities. Have relevant contacts at the county and state level.	None made.
Svelvik	Low risk. Quick clay in relation to existing houses, small water ways which may swell with increased precipitation. Storm surge in combination with increased precipitation and under-dimensioned pipes.	Economic challenges which limits the possibilities for working with adaptation. Room for improvement of cross-sectoral communication.	Lack of coordination of data bases from the state level a problem – reduce access to knowledge. Cooperates with neighboring municipalities. Have few contacts at the state level.	None made.
Nøtterøy	Low risk. Presence of quick clay. A long coastline and storm surge will have consequences for spatial planning.	Express that they have sufficient and competent human resources. Have their own climate advisory board which includes the mayor.	Overarching knowledge and advice needed that can be adapted to the local context. Have relevant contacts at the state level.	None made.
Stokke	Low risk. Storm surge in combination with increased precipitation and under-dimensioned pipes. This might also have consequences for drinking water quality.	Not a prioritized area of policy. Also - lack resources to prioritize the area.	Few relevant contacts at the state level. Collaborates with Andebu.	None made.

Table 3 – Municipalities: The four dimensions. (Low: low risk to humans, infrastructure and buildings.

Moderate: possible risk to humans and possible damage to infrastructure and buildings

High: Life threatening and high health risk – severe risk of damage to infrastructure and buildings).

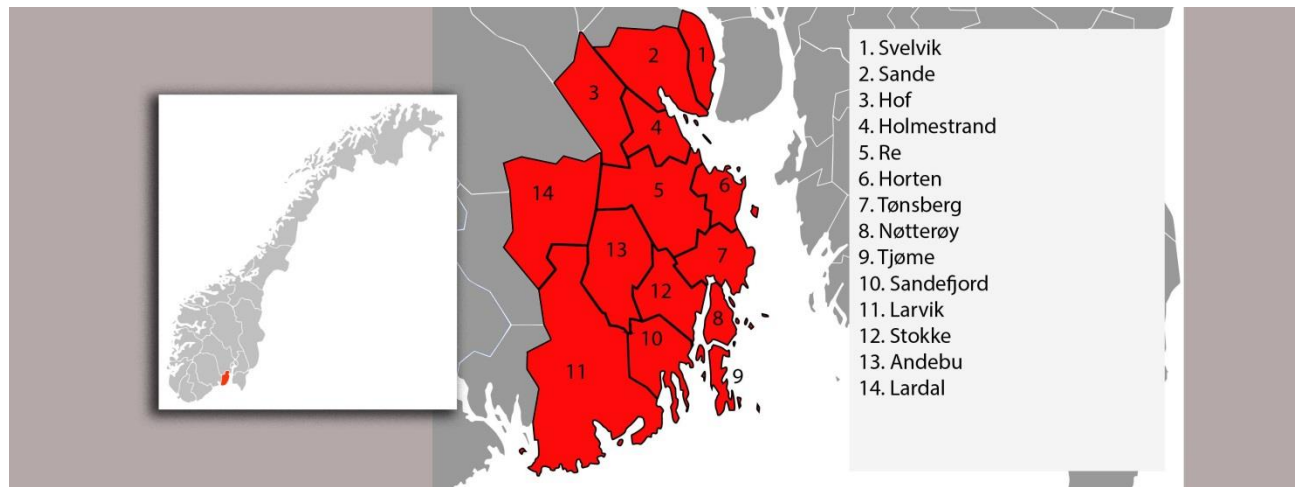
Figure 1

Figure 1: The county Vestfold (in red) in the southern part of Norway.