# Climatic Change in the Context of Sustainable Adaptation to Development and Equity in Uganda

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Abstract—Adaptation refers to adjustments in ecological, social, or economic systems in response to actual or expected climatic stimuli and their effects or impacts. It refers to changes in processes, practices, and structures to moderate potential damages or to benefit from opportunities associated with climate change. Estimates of likely future adaptations are an essential ingredient in impact and vulnerability assessments. The extent to which ecosystems, food supplies, and sustainable development are vulnerable or "in danger" depends both on exposure to changes in climate and on the ability of the impacted system to adapt. In addition, adaptation is an important policy response option, along with mitigation. There is a need for the development and assessment of planned adaptation initiatives to help manage the risks of climate change. Adaptations vary according to the system in which they occur, who undertakes them, the climatic stimuli that prompts them, and their timing, functions, forms, and effects. In unmanaged natural systems, adaptation is autonomous and reactive; it is the process by which species and ecosystems respond to changed conditions. This chapter focuses on adaptations consciously undertaken by humans, including those in economic sectors, managed ecosystems, resource use systems, settlements, communities, and regions. In human systems, adaptation is undertaken by private decision makers and by public agencies or governments. Adaptation depends greatly on the adaptive capacity or adaptability of an affected system, region, or community to cope with the impacts and risks of climate change. The adaptive capacity of communities is determined by their socioeconomic characteristics. Enhancement of adaptive capacity represents a practical means of coping with changes and uncertainties in climate, including variability and extremes. In this way, enhancement of adaptive capacity reduces vulnerabilities and promotes sustainable development. Adaptation to climate change has the potential to substantially reduce many of the adverse impacts of climate change and enhance beneficial impacts—though neither without cost nor without leaving residual damage. The key features of climate change for vulnerability and adaptation are those related to variability and extremes, not simply changed average conditions. Most sectors and regions and communities are reasonably adaptable to changes in average conditions, particularly if they are gradual. However, these communities are more vulnerable and less adaptable to changes in the frequency and/or magnitude of conditions other than average, especially extremes. Sectors and regions will tend to adapt autonomously to changes in climate conditions. Human systems have evolved a wide range of strategies to cope with climatic risks; these strategies have potential applications to climate change vulnerabilities. However, losses from climatic variations and extremes are substantial and, in some sectors, increasing. These losses indicate that autonomous adaptation has not been sufficient to offset damages associated with temporal variations in climatic conditions. The ecological, social, and economic costs of relying on reactive, autonomous adaptation to the cumulative effects of climate change are substantial. Planned anticipatory adaptation has the potential to reduce vulnerability and realize opportunities associated with climate change, regardless of autonomous adaptation. Implementation of adaptation policies, programs, and measures usually will have immediate benefits, as well as future benefits. Adaptation measures are likely to be implemented only if they are consistent with or integrated with decisions or programs that address non-climatic stresses. The costs of adaptation often are marginal to other management or development costs. The capacity to adapt varies considerably among regions, countries, and socioeconomic groups and will vary over time. The most vulnerable regions and communities are those that are highly exposed to hazardous climate change effects and have limited adaptive capacity. Countries with limited economic resources, low levels of technology, poor information and skills, poor infrastructure, unstable or weak institutions, and inequitable empowerment and access to resources have little capacity to adapt and are highly vulnerable. Enhancement of adaptive capacity is a necessary condition for reducing vulnerability, particularly for the most vulnerable regions, nations, and socioeconomic groups. Activities required for the enhancement of adaptive capacity are essentially equivalent to those promoting sustainable development. Climate adaptation and equity goals can be jointly pursued by initiatives that promote the welfare of the poorest members of society—for example, by improving food security, facilitating access to safe water and healthcare, and providing shelter and access to other resources. Development decisions, activities, and programs play important roles in modifying the adaptive capacity of communities and regions, yet they tend not to take into account risks associated with climate variability and change. Inclusion of climatic risks in the design and implementation of development initiatives is necessary to reduce vulnerability and enhance sustainability. Current knowledge of adaptation and adaptive capacity is insufficient for reliable prediction of adaptations; it also is insufficient for rigorous evaluation of planned adaptation options, measures, and policies of governments. Climate change vulnerability studies now usually consider adaptation, but they rarely go beyond identifying adaptation options that might be possible; there is little research on the dynamics

of adaptation in human systems, the processes of adaptation decision making, conditions that stimulate or constrain adaptation, and the role of non-climatic factors. There are serious limitations in existing evaluations of adaptation options: Economic benefits and costs are important criteria but are not sufficient to adequately determine the appropriateness of adaptation measures; there also has been little research to date on the roles and responsibilities in adaptation of individuals, communities, corporations, private and public institutions, governments, and international organizations. Given the scope and variety of specific adaptation options across sectors, individuals, communities, and locations, as well as the variety of participants—private and public involved in most adaptation initiatives, it is probably infeasible to systematically evaluate lists of particular adaptation measures; improving and applying knowledge on the constraints and opportunities for enhancing adaptive capacity is necessary to reduce vulnerabilities associated with climate change.

Keywords—climatic change; context of sustainable; adaptation; development; Uganda; equity

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

Adaptation is adjustment in ecological, social, or economic systems in response to actual or expected climatic stimuli and their effects or impacts. This term refers to changes in processes, practices, or structures to moderate or offset potential damages or to take advantage of opportunities associated with changes in climate. It involves adjustments to reduce the vulnerability of communities, regions, or activities to climatic change and variability. Adaptation is important in the climate change issue in two ways—one relating to the assessment of impacts and vulnerabilities, the other to the development and evaluation of response options. Understanding expected adaptations is essential to impact and vulnerability assessment and hence is fundamental to estimating the costs or risks of climate change (Fankhauser, 1996 Reference [1]; Yohe et al., 1996 Reference [2]; Tol et al., 1998 Reference [3]; UNEP, 1998 Reference [4]; Smit et al., 1999 Reference [5]; Pittock and Jones, 2000 Reference [6]). Article 2 of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) refers to "dangerous" human influences on climate in terms of whether they would "allow ecosystems to adapt, ensure food production is not threatened, and enable economic development to proceed in a sustainable manner." The extent to which ecosystems, food supplies, and sustainable development are vulnerable or "in danger" depends on their exposure to climate change effects and on the ability of impacted systems to adapt. Thus, to assess the dangerousness of climate change, impact and vulnerability assessments must address the likelihood of autonomous adaptations (see Figure 18-1).

Adaptation also is considered an important response option or strategy, along with mitigation (Fankhauser, 1996 [1]; Smith, 1996 Reference [7]; Pielke, 1998 Reference [8]; Kane and Shogren, 2000 Reference [9]). Even with reductions in greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, global temperatures are expected to increase, other changes in climate—including extremes—are likely, and sea level will continue to rise (Raper et al., 1996 Reference [10]; White and Etkin, 1997 Reference [11]; Wigley, 1999 Reference [12]). Hence, development of planned adaptation strategies to deal with these risks is regarded as a necessary complement to mitigation actions (Burton, 1996 Reference [13]; Smith et al., 1996 Reference [14]; Parry et al., 1998 Reference [15]; Smit et al., 1999 [5]) (see Figure 18-1). Article 4.1 of the UNFCCC commits parties to formulating, cooperating on, and implementing "measures to facilitate adequate adaptation to climate change." The Kyoto Protocol (Article 10) also commits parties to promote and facilitate adaptation and deploy adaptation technologies to address climate change.

Adaptive capacity is the potential or ability of a system, region, or community to adapt to the effects or impacts of climate change. Enhancement of adaptive capacity represents a practical means of coping with changes and uncertainties in climate, including variability and extremes. In this way, enhancement of adaptive capacity reduces vulnerabilities and promotes s u stainable development (Goklany, 1995 Reference [16]; Burton, 1997 Reference [17]; Cohen et al., 1998 Reference [18]; Klein, 1998 Reference [20]; Munasinghe, 2000 Reference [21]; Smit et al., 2000 Reference [22]). Considerable attention has been devoted to the characteristics of communities, countries, and regions that influence their propensity or ability to adapt and hence their vulnerability to risks associated with climate change. These determinants of adaptive capacity relate to the economic, social, institutional, and technological conditions that facilitate or constrain the development and deployment of adaptive measures (e.g., Bohle et al., 1994 Reference [23]; Rayner and Malone, 1998 [20]; Kelly and Adger, 1999 Reference [24]).



Figure 18-1: Places of adapatation in the climate change issue (Smit et al., 1999).

#### 2.0 Adaptation Characteristics and Processes

Adaptation refers both to the process of adapting and to the condition of being adapted. The term has specific interpretations in particular disciplines. In ecology, for example, adaptation refers to changes by which an organism or species becomes fitted to its environment (Lawrence, 1995 Reference [25]; Abercrombie et al.,1997 Reference [26]); whereas in the social sciences, adaptation refers to adjustments by individuals and the collective behaviour of socioeconomic systems (Denevan, 1983 Reference [27]; Hardesty, 1983 Reference [28]). This chapter follows Carter et al. (1994) Reference [29], IPCC (1996) Reference [30], UNEP (1998) [4], and Smit et al. (2000) [22] in a broad interpretation of adaptation to include adjustment in natural or human systems in response to experienced or future climatic conditions or their effects or impacts—which may be beneficial or adverse.

#### 2.1 Climate Stimuli for Adaptation

Most impact and adaptation studies to date have been based on climate change scenarios that provide a limited set of possible future climates—invariably specified as average annual conditions, such as temperature and moisture. Yet the climate change-related stimuli for which adaptations are undertaken (i.e., adaptation to what?) are not limited to changes in average annual conditions; they include variability and associated extremes. Climatic conditions are inherently variable, from year to year and decade to decade. Variability goes along with, and is an integral part of, climate change (Mearns et al., 1997 Reference [31]; Karl and Knight, 1998 Reference [32]; Berz, 1999 Reference [33]; Hulme et al., 1999 Reference [34]): A change in mean conditions actually is experienced through changes in the nature and frequency of particular yearly conditions; including extremes (see Figure 18-3). Thus, adaptation to climate change necessarily includes adaptation to variability (Hewitt and Burton, 1971 Reference [35]; Parry, 1986 Reference [36]; Kane et al., 1992b Reference [37]; Katz and Brown, 1992 Reference [38]; Downing, 1996 Reference [39]; Yohe et al., 1996 [2]; Smithers and Smit, 1997 Reference [40]; Smit et al., 1999 [5]). Downing et al. (1996) [39], Etkin (1998) Reference [41], Mileti (1999) Reference [42], and others use the term "climate hazards" to capture those climate stimuli, in addition to changes in annual averages, to which the system of interest is vulnerable. Climate change stimuli are described in terms of "changes in mean climate and climatic hazards," and adaptation may be warranted when either of these changes has significant consequences (Downing et al., 1997 Reference [43]). In water resource management, changes in the recurrence interval of extreme

conditions, which are associated with changes in means, are the key stimuli (Beran and Arnell, 1995 Reference [44]; Kundzewicz and Takeuchi, 1999) Reference [45].

Furthermore, for most systems and communities, changes in the mean condition commonly fall within the coping range (see Figure 18-3), whereas many systems are particularly vulnerable to changes in the frequency and magnitude of extreme events or conditions outside the coping range (Baethgen, 1997 Reference [46]; Schneider, 1997 Reference [47]; Rayner and Malone, 1998 [20]; Kelly and Adger, 1999 [24]). Interannual variations are key stimuli in many sectors (Rosenzweig, 1994 Reference [48]; Adams et al., 1995 Reference [49]; Mearns et al., 1997 [31]; Bryant et al., 2000 Reference [50]).

Natural and human systems have adapted to spatial differences in climate. There also are examples of adaptation (with varying degrees of success) to temporal variations—notably, deviations from the annual average conditions on which climate change scenarios focus. Many social and economic systems—including agriculture, forestry, settlements, industry, transportation, human health, and water resource management—have evolved to accommodate some deviations from "normal" conditions, but rarely the extremes. This capacity of systems to accommodate variations in climatic conditions from year to year is captured in Figure 18-3 in the shaded "coping range." This capacity also is referred to as the vulnerability or damage threshold (Pittock and Jones, 2000 [6]). The coping range, which varies among systems and regions, need not remain static, as depicted in Figure 18-3.

The coping range itself may change (move up or down, expand or contract), reflecting new adaptations in the system (Devries, 1985 Reference [51]; de Freitas, 1989 Reference [52]; Smit et al., 2000 [22]). The coping range indicated in Figure 18-3 can be regarded as the adaptive capacity of a system to deal with current variability. Adaptive capacity to climate change would refer to both the ability inherent in the coping range and the ability to move or expand the coping range with new or modified adaptations. Initiatives to enhance adaptive capacity (Section 18.6) would expand the coping range.



Figure 18-2: Adaptation to climate change and variability (from Smit et al, 2000)

#### 2.3 Adaptation Types and Forms

Adaptations come in a huge variety of forms. Adaptation types (i.e., how adaptation occurs) have been differentiated according to numerous attributes (Carter et al., 1994 [29]; Stakhiv, 1994 Reference [53]; Bijlsma et al., 1996 Reference [54]; Smithers and Smit, 1997 [40]; UNEP, 1998 [4]; Leary, 1999 Reference [55]; Bryant et al., 2000 [50]; Reilly and Schimmelpfennig, 2000) Reference [56]. Commonly used distinctions are purposefulness and timing. Autonomous or spontaneous adaptations are considered to be

those that take place—invariably in reactive response (after initial impacts are manifest) to climatic stimuli—as a matter of course, without the directed intervention of a public agency. Estimates of these autonomous adaptations are now used in impact and vulnerability assessment. Planned adaptations can be either reactive or anticipatory (undertaken before impacts are apparent). In addition, adaptations can be short or long term, localized or widespread, and they can serve various functions and take numerous forms (see Table 18-1).

Adaptations have been distinguished according to individuals' choice options as well, including "bear losses," "share losses," "modify threats," "prevent effects," "change use," and "change location" (Burton et al., 1993 Reference [57]; Rayner and Malone, 1998 Reference [20]). The choice typology has been extended to include the role of community structures, institutional arrangements, and public policies (Downing et al., 1997 [43]; UNEP, 1998 [4]; see Figure 18-4).

#### 2.4 Systems, Scales, and Actors

Adaptations occur in something (i.e., who or what adapts?), which is called the "system of interest," "unit of analysis," "exposure unit," "activity of interest," or "sensitive system" (Carter et al., 1994 [29]; Smithers and Smit, 1997 [40]; UNEP, 1998 [4]; Reilly and Schimmelpfennig, 2000 [56]). In unmanaged natural systems, adaptation is autonomous and reactive and is the means by which species and communities respond to changed conditions. In these situations, adaptation assessment is essentially equivalent to natural system impact assessment (addressed in other WGII chapters). This paper focuses on adaptations consciously undertaken by humans, including those in economic sectors, settlements, communities, regions, and managed ecosystems.

Human system adaptation can be motivated by private or public interest (i.e., who adapts?). Private decision makers include individuals, households, businesses, and corporations; public interests are served by governments at all levels. The roles of public and private participants are distinct but not unrelated. Figure 18-5 shows examples of types of adaptation differentiated according to timing, natural or human systems, and public or private decision makers.

Planned adaptation often is interpreted as the result of a deliberate policy decision on the part of a public agency, based on an awareness that conditions are about to change or have changed and that action is required to minimize losses or benefit from opportunities (Pittock and Jones, 2000 [6]). Autonomous adaptations are widely interpreted as initiatives by private actors rather than by governments, usually triggered by market or welfare changes induced by actual or anticipated climate change (Leary, 1999 [55]). Smith et al. (1996) [14] describe autonomous adaptations as those that occur "naturally," without interventions by public agencies, whereas planned adaptations are called "intervention strategies." Thus defined, autonomous and planned adaptation largely correspond with private and public adaptation, respectively (see Figure 18-5).

The extent to which society can rely on autonomous, private or market adaptation to reduce the costs of climate change impacts to an acceptable or non-dangerous level is an issue of great interest. Autonomous adaptation forms a baseline against which the need for planned anticipatory adaptation can be evaluated.

Distinguishing among the various decision makers involved in adaptation is important. The case of African agriculture and water resources illustrates that stakeholders and potential adapters range from vulnerable consumers to international organizations charged with relief and research (Eele, 1996 Reference [58]; Magadza, 1996 Reference [59]; Downing et al., 1997 [43]). Poor and landless households have limited resources, yet failure to adapt can lead to significant deprivation, displacement, morbidity, and mortality. Subsistence farmers do not have the same adaptation options as commercial producers. Water supply adaptations may involve landowners, private traders, local authorities, water-dependent businesses, national governments, and international organizations. Each stakeholder has distinct interests, information, risks, and resources and hence would consider distinct types of adaptive responses (Downing et al., 1997 [43]).

General Differentiating Concept orAttribute	Examples of Te	erms Used		
Purposefulness	Autonomous Spontaneous Automatic Natural Passive		<ul> <li>Planned</li> <li>Purposeful</li> <li>Intentional</li> <li>Policy</li> <li>Active Strategic</li> </ul>	
Timing	Anticipatory Proactive Ex ante	< < <	<ul> <li>Responsive</li> <li>Reactive</li> <li>Ex post</li> </ul>	
Temporal Scope	Short term Tactical Instantaneous Contingency Routine	<	<ul> <li>Long term</li> <li>Strategic</li> <li>Cumulative</li> </ul>	
Spatial Scope	Localized	٠	► Widespread	
Function/Effects	Retreat - Accommodate - Protect Prevent - Tolerate - Spread - Change - Restore			
Form	Structural - Legal - Institutional - Regulatory - Financial - Technological			
Performance	Cost - Effectiveness - Efficiency - Implementability - Equity			

Table 18-1: Bases for characterizing and differentiating adaptation to climate change (Smit et al., 1999).

#### 2.5 Processes and Evaluation of Adaptations

In order to predict autonomous adaptations and provide input to adaptation policies, there is a need for improved knowledge about processes involved in adaptation decisions. This knowledge includes information on steps in the process, decision rationales, handling of uncertainties, choices of adaptation types and timing, conditions that stimulate or dampen adaptation, and the consequences or performance of adaptation strategies or measures (Burton, 1997 [17]; Rayner and Malone, 1998 [20]; Tol et al., 1998 [3]; Basher, 1999 Reference [60]; Klein et al., 1999 Reference [61]; Pittock, 1999 Reference [62]; Smit et al., 1999 [5]). Decisions regarding adaptations can be undertaken at any of several scales, by private individuals, local communities own institutions, national governments, and international organizations. Where these adaptations are consciously planned activities, whether by public agencies or individuals, there is an interest in assessing the performance or relative merits of alternative measures and strategies (see Figure 18-4). This evaluation (i.e., how good is the adaptation?) can be based on criteria such as costs, benefits, equity, efficiency, and implementability (see Sections 3.5 and 4.3).



**Figure 18-3**: Climate change, variability, extremes and coping range (after Hewitt and Burton, 1971, fukui, 1979, smit et al., 1999 and others.



Figure 18-4: Classification of adaptation options (Burton, 1996).





#### 3. Future Adaptations

Predictions or estimates of likely future adaptations are an essential element of climate change impact and vulnerability assessment. The degree to which a future climate change risk is dangerous depends greatly on the likelihood and effectiveness of adaptations in that system. Studies that ignore or assume no adaptation are likely to overestimate residual or net impacts and vulnerabilities, whereas those that assume full and effective adaptation are likely to underestimate residual impacts and vulnerabilities (Reilly, 1999 Reference [63]; Reilly and Schimmelpfennig, 1999 Reference [64]; Risbey et al., 1999 Reference [65]; Smit et al., 2000 [22]). Hence, it is important to have an improved understanding of the process of adaptation and better information on the conditions under which adaptations of various types are expected to occur. Such scholarship on the "how, when, and why" of adaptation is necessary to make informed judgments on the vulnerabilities of sectors, regions, and communities (Ausubel, 1991a Reference [66]; Kane et a l., 1992a Reference [67]; Reilly, 1995 Reference [68]; Burton, 1997 [17]; Smithers and Smit, 1997 [40]; Tol et al., 1998 [3]; Klein et al., 1999 [61]). Insights into processes of adaptation have been gained from several

types of analysis, including listing of possible adaptation measures, impact assessment models, adaptation process models, historical and spatial analogs, and empirical analysis of contemporary adaptation processes.

#### **3.1 Possible Adaptation Measures**

There are many arbitrary lists of possible adaptation measures, initiatives, or strategies that have a potential to moderate impacts, if they were implemented (e.g., Benioff et al., 1996 Reference [69]; Smith et a 1., 1996 [14]; Mimura, 1999b Reference [70]). Such possible adaptations are based on experience, observation, and speculation about alternatives that might be created (Carter, 1996 Reference [71]); they cover a wide range of types and take numerous forms (UNEP, 1998 [4]). For example, possible adaptive measures for health risks associated with climate change listed by Patz (1996) Reference [72] appear in Table 18-2. Similarly, in coastal zone studies, comprehensive lists of potential adaptation measures are presented; these adaptations include a wide array of engineering measures, improvements, or changes, including agricultural practices that are more flood-resistant; negotiating regional water-sharing agreements; providing efficient mechanisms for disaster management; developing desalination techniques; planting mangrove belts to provide flood protection; planting salt-tolerant varieties of vegetation; improving drainage facilities; establishing setback policies for new developments; developing food insurance schemes; devising flood early warning systems; and so forth (Al-Farouq and Huq, 1996 Reference [73]; Jallow, 1996 Reference [74]; Rijsberman and van Velzen, 1996 Reference [75]; Teves et al., 1996 Reference [76]; Mimura and Harasawa, 2000 Reference [77]). In many other sectors and regions, arbitrary lists of possible adaptations are common (Erda, 1996 Reference [78]; Iglesias et al., 1996 Reference [79]). In the Ugandan agricultural sector alone, 96 different adaptation measures have been identified, as summarized in Table 18-3. Such lists indicate the range of strategies and measures that represent possible adaptations to climate change risks in particular sectors and regions. They show that there is a large variety and number of possible adaptations, including many with the potential to reduce adverse climatic change impacts.

Many of these adaptations—especially in agriculture, water resources, and coastal zone applications—essentially represent improved resource management, and many would have benefits in dealing with current climatic hazards as well as with future climatic risks (El Shaer et al., 1996 Reference [80]; Harrington, 1996 Reference [81]; Huang, 1996 Reference [82]; Stakhiv, 1996 Reference [83]; Frederick, 1997 Reference [84]; Hartig et al., 1997 Reference [85]; Mendelsohn and Bennett, 1997 Reference [86]; Major, 1998 Reference [87]). In only a few cases are such lists of possible adaptations considered according to whom might undertake them, under what conditions they might be implemented, and how effective might they be (Easterling, 1996 Reference [88]; Harrington, 1996 [81]; Frederick, 1997 [84]; Major, 1998 [87]; Moss, 1998 Reference [89]).

Table 18-2: Example	ples of multileve	el adaptive	measures for	some anti	cipated health	outcomes of g	global c	limate char	nge (Patz, 1	.996).
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			Health and Extreme
Adaptive Measure	Heat-Related Illness	Vector-Borne Diseases	Weather Events
Administrative/Legal	- Implement weather	- Implement vaccination	- Create disaster preparedness
	watch/warning systems	programs	programs
	- Plants trees in urban areas	- Enforce Vaccination laws	- Employ land-use planning to
	- Implement education	- Implement education	reduce flash floods
	campaigns	campaigns to eliminate	- Ban precarious residential
		breeding sites	placements
Engineering	- Insulate buildings	- Install window screens	- Construct strong seawalls
	- Insulate high-albedo	- Release sterile male vectors	- Fortify sanitation systems
	materials for roads		
Personal behaviour	- Maintain hydration	- Use topical insect repellents	- Heed weather advisories
	- Schedule work breaks during	- Use pyrethroid-impregnated	
	peak daytime temperatures	bed nets	

#### 3.2 Impact Assessment Models

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Estimates of likely future adaptations are essential parts of climate change impact models. Integrated assessment models also include assumptions about adaptations in the impact Equations components (Leemans, 1992 Reference [90]; Rotmans et al., 1994 Reference [91]; Dowlatabadi, 1995 Reference [92]; Hulme and Raper, 1995 Reference [93]; West and Dowlatabadi, 1999 Reference [94]). Some early studies of impacts assumed no adaptation (Tol et al., 1998 [3]), invoking the so-called "naive" or "dumb farmer" assumption. The "dumb farmer" assumption— which is not unique to agriculture—is a metaphor for any impacted agent that is assumed not to anticipate or respond to changed climate conditions but continues to act as if nothing has changed (Rosenberg, 1992 Reference [95]; Easterling et al., 1993 Reference [96]; Smit et al., 1996 [14]). By ignoring autonomous and planned adaptations, such studies do not distinguish between potential and residual net impacts and are of limited utility in assessing vulnerability.

An alternative approach that is common in more recent impact modelling has been to assume levels of adaptation. Applications include Nicholls and Leatherman (1995) Reference [97] for coastal zones, Mendelsohn et al. (1994) Reference [98]

and Rosenzweig and Parry (1994) Reference [99] for agriculture, Sohngen and Mendelsohn (1998) Reference [100] for timber, and Rosenthal et al. (1995) Reference [101] for space conditioning in buildings. These studies demonstrate that adaptive measures have the potential to significantly alleviate adverse impacts of climate change and to benefit from opportunities associated with changed climatic conditions (Helms et al., 1996 Reference [102]; Schimmelpfennig, 1996 Reference [103]; Mendelsohn and Neumann, 1999 Reference [104]). The models of Rosenzweig and Parry (1994) [99] show that, with adaptations assumed, food production could be increased under climate change in many regions of the world. Stuczyinski et al. (2000) Reference [105] conclude that climate change would reduce Uganda agriculture production by 5-25% without adaptation; with adaptation assumed, production is estimated to change by -5 to +5% of current levels. Downing (1991) Reference [106] demonstrates the potential of adaptations to reduce potential climate damages in India's agriculture from 25 to 15-23%. Reilly et al. (1994) Reference [108] estimate global "welfare" losses in the agro-food sector of between US\$0.1 million and 61.2 million without adaptation, compared to alleviate damages (or benefit from opportunities) associated with changes in climate; adaptation to alleviate damages (or benefit from opportunities) associated with changes in climatic mean conditions (rather than changing conditions that include variability and extremes of climate).

Impact models invariably are based on climate scenarios that focus on adaptation to changed average conditions, with little attention given to inter-annual variations and extremes. Limited research suggests that the potential of adaptation to cope with

changes in average conditions is greater than its potential to cope with climate change-related variability. For example, Mendelsohn et al. (1999) Reference [109] show that, assuming adaptation, increases in average temperature would be beneficial for U.S. agriculture, but increases in inter-annual variation would be harmful. West and Dowlatabadi (1999) [94] demonstrate that considering variability and extremes can lead to estimates of "optimal" adaptation and damages that differ considerably from those based on gradual changes in mean climatic conditions.

The importance of considering variability, not just mean climate, when estimating adaptation is widely recognized (Robock et al., 1993 Reference [101]; Mearns et al., 1997 [31]; Alderwish and Al-Eryani, 1999 Reference [111]; Alexandrov, 1999 Reference [112]; Luo and Lin, 1999 Reference [113]; Murdiyarso, 2000 Reference [114]). In numerical impact models, assumptions about perception and adaptation are more commonly arbitrary or based on principles of efficiency and rationality and assume full information (Yohe et al., 1996 [2]; Hurd et al., 1997 Reference [115]; Mendelsohn et al., 1999 [109]). As Tolet al. (1998) [3], Schneider et al. (2000) Reference [116], and others have noted, however, actual and assumed behaviour do not necessarily match. In an analysis of global food production, Parry et al. (1999) Reference [117] assume farm-level and economic system adaptations but recognize that the "adoption of efficient adaptation techniques is far from certain." In addition to questions relating to rationality principles, adaptation behaviour is known to vary according to the amount and type of information available, as well as the ability to act. Hence, rational behaviour that is based on assumed perfect information differs from rational behaviour under uncertainty (Yohe et al., 1996 [2]; Yohe and Neumann, 1997 Reference [118]; West and Dowlatabadi, 1999 [94]). Replacing the "no adaptation" model with one that assumes rational, unconstrained actors with full information replaces the "dumb farmer" assumption with the "clairvoyant farmer" assumption (Smit et al., 1996 [14]; Risbey et al., 1999 [65]). Reilly (1998) Reference [119] questions the ability and hence the likelihood of agents to detect and respond efficiently to the manifestations of climate change. Tol (1998b) Reference [120] also questions whether perfect foresight and rational behaviour are realistic assumptions for predictive models. Schneider (1997) [47] explores further the assumptions that underlie equilibrium approaches (ergodic economics), including the equivalence of temporal and spatial variations. Numerical impact assessment models tend to use, rather than generate, information on adaptations to estimate future impacts of climate stimuli, after the effects of adaptation have been factored in. They indicate the potential of human systems to adapt autonomously and thus to moderate climate change damages.

Adaptation Strategy	Number of Measures
Change topography of land	11
Use artificial systems to improve water use availability and protect against soil erosion	29
Change farming practices	21
Change timing of farm operations	2
Use different crop varieties	7
Governmental and institutional policies and programs	16
Research into new technologies	10

Table 18-3: Adaptation strategies for the agricultural sector (adapted from Smit, 1993; Carter, 1996).

#### 3.3 Models, Analogs, and Empirical Analysis of Autonomous Adaptation

Adaptation to rapid anthropogenic climate change may be a new challenge, but individuals, societies, and economies have adapted—in various ways and with various degrees of success— to change and variable environmental conditions throughout history. These experiences in adaptive behaviour provide information on the processes, constraints, and consequences of adaptations. Knowledge of the processes by which individuals or communities actually adapt to changes in conditions over time

comes largely from analog and other empirical analyses (Wigley et al., 1981 Reference [121]; Glantz, 1996 Reference [122]; Meyer et al., 1998 Reference [123]; Tol et al., 1998 [3]; Smit et al., 1999 [5]; Yohe and Dowlatabadi, 1999 Reference [124]; Bryant et al., 2000 [50]).

These studies indicate that autonomous adaptations tend to be incremental and ad hoc, to take multiple forms, to be in response to multiple stimuli (usually involving a particular catalyst and rarely climate alone), and to be constrained by economic, social, technological, institutional, and political conditions.

Conceptual models of adaptation processes describe sequential relationships and feedback involving climatic and nonclimatic stimuli, system sensitivities and impacts, tactical and strategic adaptations, and net or residual impacts. They also indicate conditions that constrain or facilitate various kinds of adaptation (e.g., Carter, 1996 [71]; Smit et al., 1996 [14]; UNEP, 1998 [4]; Schneider et al., 2000 [116]). Spatial analogs have been used to gain insight into adaptation, by transferring experience from existing climatic regions to places where such climate may be found in the future. The contributions and limits of spatial analogs are known (Schneider, 1997 [47]; Rayner and Malone, 1998 [20]). Some ecological and paleoecological studies reconstruct species or community dynamics over hundreds and thousands of years (e.g., MacDonald et al., 1993 Reference [125]). Temporal analog or case studies document adaptive responses to climatic stimuli in resource-based economic sectors and communities over periods of several decades (e.g., Glantz, 1988 Reference [126]; Olsthoorn et al., 1996 Reference [127]; Changnon et al., 1997 Reference [128]). Other empirical analyses have examined adaptive behaviour in key sectors such as agriculture in light of climatic variability and extremes over even shorter time periods (e.g., Appendi and Liverman, 1996 Reference [129]; Smit et al., 1997 Reference [130]; Bryant et al., 2000 Reference [50]).

These direct empirical analyses of adaptation processes tend to start with the system of interest, and then assess its sensitivity and adaptability to climate and other stimuli. This analytical strategy is consistent with vulnerability assessment (Downing et al., 1996 Reference [131]; Adger, 1999 Reference [132]; Handmer et al., 1999 Reference [133]; Kelly and Adger, 1999 [24]), the "adjoin approach" (Parry, 1986) [36], and "shift-in-risk" perspectives (Warrick et al., 1986) Reference [134]. These studies have yielded some important insights about adaptation. For systems such as agriculture, forestry, water resources, and coastal zone settlements, the key climatic stimuli are not average conditions but variability and extremes. A direct climatic condition prompts adaptation less often than the economic and social effects or implications of the climatic stimuli that are fundamental in triggering adaptive responses. Non-climatic conditions are important in moderating and sometimes overwhelming the influence of climate stimuli in the decision making of resource users. Decisions on adaptation are rarely made in response to climate stimuli alone. These findings are important for predicting autonomous adaptations and for improving adaptation assumptions in impact models.

In estimating future adaptations and developing adaptation policies (see Section 18.4), it is helpful to understand factors and circumstances that hinder or promote adaptation. As Rayner and Malone (1998) [20] conclude, the consequences of a climate event are not direct functions of its physical characteristics; they also are functions of "the ways in which a society has organized its relation to its resource base, its relations with other societies, and the relations among its members." To understand vulnerability in archeological, historical, and contemporary contexts, Rayner and Malone (1998) [20] identify the most promising research strategy: "...explicitly to focus attention on the process of adaptation— o r, on the other hand, of failure to adapt—that partly condition the impact of the climatic stress in particular societies...cases in which societies appear to have been seriously damaged by, or even totally succumbed to, climatic stress should not be taken to demonstrate the determining influence of climate. It is essential to consider ways in which these societies might have coped better to focus on the political, cultural, and socioeconomic factors, which inhibited them from doing so" (Ingram et al., 1981) Reference [135]. Following this approach, McGovern's (1991) Reference [136] reexamination of the extinction of Greenland settlements found that the stress imposed by climate shifts was indeed severe but was within the theoretical ability of the colonies to have coped, by means that were available to them. Why they failed to employ those adaptive means emerges as the key question, still incompletely answered, in explaining the collapse: "It did get cold and they did die out, but why?" (McGovern, 1991) [136]. Intervening between the physical events and the social consequences is the adaptive capacity and hence vulnerability of the society and its different groups and individual members.

## 3.4 COSTS OF AUTONOMOUS ADAPTATION

As assessments of climate impacts (commonly measured as "costs" that include damages and benefits) increasingly have incorporated expected adaptations, and particularly as impact models and "integrated assessment" models have shown the potential of adaptation to offset initial impact costs, interest has grown in calculating the costs of autonomous adaptations. Whether climate change or another climate stimulus is expected to have problematic or "dangerous" impacts depends on the adaptations and their costs (Leary, 1999). Climate change impact cost studies that assume adaptation also should include the "adjustment of costs" of these adaptations (Reilly, 1998 [119]) Tol and Fankhauser (1997) Reference [137] provide a comprehensive summary of analyses of the costs of autonomous, mainly (but not exclusively) reactive adaptations, undertaken privately (i.e., not adaptation policies of government). A common basis for evaluating impact costs is to sum adaptation costs and residual damage costs (Fankhauser, 1996 [1]; Rothman et al., 1998 Reference [138]). Procedures for defining and calculating such adaptation costs are subject to ongoing debate. Tol and Fankhauser (1997) [137], note that most approaches consider equilibrium adaptation costs but ignore transition costs. Hurd et al. (1997) [115] include market and nonmarket adaptation in their assessment of impact costs. Most research to date on adaptation "costs" is limited to particular economic measures of well-being (Brown, 1998) Reference [139]. Any

comprehensive assessment of adaptation costs (including benefits) would consider not only economic criteria but also social welfare and equity. Cost estimation for autonomous adaptations is not only important for impact assessment; it also is a necessary ingredient in the "base case," "reference scenario" or "do-nothing option," for evaluations of policy initiatives, with respect to both adaptation and mitigation (Rayner and Malone, 1998 [20]; Leary, 1999 [55]; Smit et al., 2000 [22])

#### **3.5 Lessons from Adaptation Experiences**

Research in many sectors and regions indicates an impressive human capacity to adapt to long-term mean climate conditions but less success in adapting to extremes and to year-to-year variations in climatic conditions. Climate change will be experienced via conditions that vary from year to year, as well as for ecosystems (Sprengers et al., 1994) Reference [140] and human systems (Downing et al., 1996) [131]; these variations are important for adaptation. Thus, although human settlements and agricultural systems, for example, have adapted to be viable in a huge variety of climatic zones around the world, those settlements and systems often are vulnerable (with limited adaptive capacity) to temporal deviations from normal conditions (particularly extremes). As a result, adaptations designed to address changed mean conditions may or may not be helpful in coping with the variability that is inherent in climate change.

All socioeconomic systems (especially climate-dependent systems such as agriculture, pastoralism, forestry, water resources, and human health) are continually in a state of flux in response to changing circumstances, including climatic conditions. The evidence shows that there is considerable potential for adaptation to reduce the impacts of climate change and to realize new opportunities. In Kasese Lake George, 18th-century regional expansions and contractions on the double-cropping system for rice represented adaptive responses to the frequency of production successes and failures associated with climatic variations (Smit and Cai, 1996) Reference [141].

Adaptation options occur generally in socioeconomic sectors and systems in which the turnover of capital investment and operating costs is shorter and less often where long-term investment is required (Yohe et al., 1996 [2]; Sohngen and Mendelsohn, 1998) [100].

Although an impressive variety of adaptation initiatives have been undertaken across sectors and regions, the responses are not universally or equally available (Rayner and Malone, 1998) [20]. For example, the viability of crop insurance depends heavily on the degree of information, organization, and subsidy available to support it. Similarly, the option of changing location in the face of hazard depends on the resources and mobility of the affected part and on the availability and conditions in potential destination areas (McGregor, 1993) Reference [142]. Many response strategies have become less available; many others have become more available. Individual cultivator response to climate risk in India has long relied on a diverse mix of strategies, from land use to outside employment (sometimes requiring temporary migration) to reciprocal obligations for support; many of these strategies have been undermined by changes such as population pressure and government policy, without being fully replaced by othersillustrating the oft-remarked vulnerability of regions and populations in transition (Gadgil et al., 1988 Reference [143]; Johda, 1989 Reference [144]). In areas of Uganda, many historical adaptations in agriculture (e.g., relocating production or employing irrigation) are no longer available as population pressures increase on limited land and water resources (Fang and Liu, 1992 Reference [145]; Cai and Smit, 1996 [141]). In Uganda, effective smallholder response to drought has shifted from traditional planting strategies to employment diversification (Downing et al., 1989 Reference [146]). Not only is there rarely only one adaptation option available to decision makers (Burton and Cohen, 1993 [57]) but also "rarely do people choose the best responses—the ones among those available that would most effectively reduce losses—often because of an established preference for, or aversion to, certain options" (Rayner and Malone, 1998) [20]. In some cases there is limited knowledge of risks or alternative adaptation strategies.

In other cases, adoption of adaptive measures is constrained by other priorities, limited resources, or economic or institutional barriers (Eele, 1996 [58]; Bryant et al., 2000 Reference [50]; de Loë and Kreutzwiser, 2000 Reference [147]). Recurrent vulnerabilities, in many cases with increasing damages, illustrate less-than-perfect adaptation of systems to climatic variations and risks. There is some evidence that the costs of adaptations to climate conditions are growing (Burton, 1997 [17]; Etkin, 1998) [41]. There is strong evidence of a sharp increase in damage costs of extreme climatic or weather events (Berz, 1999 [33]; Bruce, 1999) Reference [148]. Growing adaptation costs reflect, at least in part, increases in populations and/or improvements in standards of living, with more disposable income being used to improve levels of comfort, health, and safety in the short run. It is not clear whether the expansion in adaptations is likely to be effective and sustainable in the long run. In any event, although adaptations to changed and variable climatic conditions are undertaken, they are not necessarily effective or without costs.

Many adaptations to reduce vulnerability to climate change risks also reduce vulnerability to current climate variability, extremes, and hazards (El Shaer et al., 1996 [80]; Rayner and Malone, 1998 [20]). Measures that are likely to reduce current sensitivity of climate variations in Africa also are likely to reduce the threat of adverse impacts of climate change (Ominde and Juna, 1991) Reference [149]: "Most analysts in the less-developed countries believe that the urgent need, in the face of both climate variation and prospective climate change, is to identify policies which reduce recurrent vulnerability and increase resilience.

Prescriptions for reducing vulnerability span drought proofing the economy, stimulating economic diversification, adjusting land and water uses, providing social support for dependent populations, and providing financial instruments that spread the risk of adverse consequences from individual to society and over longer periods. For the near term, development strategies should ensure that livelihoods are resilient to a wide range of perturbations." (Rayner and Malone, 1998) [20].

Examples of current adaptation strategies in agriculture with clear applications to climate change are given by Easterling (1996) [88] and Smit et al. (1997) [130], including moisture-conserving practices, hybrid selection, and crop substitution. In the water resources sector, Stakhiv (1996) [83] shows how current management practices represent useful adaptive strategies for climate change. Some analysts go further to point out that certain adaptations to climate change not only address current hazards but may be additionally beneficial for other reasons (e.g., "no regrets" or "win-win" strategies) (Carter, 1996) [71].

Societal responses to large environmental challenges tend to be incremental and ad hoc rather than fundamental (Rayner and Malone, 1998) [20]. In all of the climate analog cases examined by Glantz (1988) [122], "Ad hoc responses were favoured over long term planned responses. As a result, there has been a tendency to muddle through.' This has not necessarily been an inappropriate response, but it is probably more costly in the long term than putting a long-term strategy together in order to cope with climate related environmental change." In each case, moreover, action was not taken without a catalyst or trigger that dramatically indicated the seriousness of a threat (Glantz, 1988) [122]. Other studies also indicate the ad hoc nature of adaptations and the importance of a catalyst (Wilhite et al., 1986 Reference [150]; Glantz, 1992 Reference [151]; Kasperson et al., 1995 Reference [152]). These findings suggest that problems that demand early or long-term attention often fail to receive it, and the most efficient responses are not taken. That the earlier action would have been more efficacious, however, presupposes that the best strategy was evident to the decision makers and that premature responses closing off useful options would not have been taken instead (Rayner and Malone, 1998) [20]. There is little evidence that efficient and effective adaptations to climate change risks will be undertaken autonomously.

A consistent lesson from adaptation research is that climate is not the singular driving force of human affairs that is sometimes assumed—but neither is it a trivial factor. Climate is an important resource for human activities and an important hazard. Climate change is a source of significant stresses (and perhaps significant opportunities) for societies, yet it has always been only one factor among many. The consequences of a shift in climate are not calculable from the physical dimensions of the shift alone; they require attention to human dimensions through which they are experienced (Rayner and Malone, 1998 [20]; Bryant et al., 2000 Reference [50]). The significance of climate change for regions depends fundamentally on the ability and likelihood of those regions to adapt.

To what degree are societies likely to adapt autonomously to avoid climate change damages? Some studies show faith in market mechanisms and suggest considerable capacity of human systems to adapt autonomously (Ausabel, 1991b Reference [153]; Mendelsohn et al., 1996 Reference [154]; Yohe et al., 1996 [2]; Mendelsohn, 1998 Reference [155]; Mendelsohn and Neumann, 1999 [104]). Other studies highlight the constraints on "optimal" autonomous adaptation, such as limited information and access to resources, adaptation costs, and residual damages; these studies emphasize the need for planned, especially anticipatory, adaptations undertaken or facilitated by public agencies (Smith et al., 1996 [14]; Reilly, 1998 [119]; Tol, 1998a Reference [156]; Fankhauser et al., 1999 Reference [157]; Bryant et al., 2000 [50]; Schneider et al., 2000 [116])

#### 4.0 Plannned Adaptations and Evaluation of Policy Options

This section considers planned, mainly (but not exclusively) anticipatory adaptations, undertaken or directly influenced by governments or collectives as a public policy initiative. These adaptations represent conscious policy options or response strategies to concerns about climate change (Benioff et al., 1996 [69]; Fankhauser, 1996 [1]; Smith, 1997; Pielke, 1998 [8]; UNEP, 1998 [4]). Public adaptation initiatives may be direct or indirect, such as when they encourage or facilitate private actions (Leary, 1999) [55]. Planned adaptation by public agencies represents an alternative or complementary response strategy to mitigation (of net GHG emissions). Analyses of such planned adaptations are essentially normative exercises involving identification of possible policy strategies and evaluation of the relative merit of alternatives, as an aid to policy development.

#### 4.1 Rationale and Objectives for Planned Adaptations

Numerous reasons have been given for pursuing planned adaptations at this time (see Table 18-4). Public adaptation initiatives are regarded not as a substitute for reducing GHG emissions but as a necessary strategy to manage the impacts of climate change (Burton, 1996 [13]; Pielke, 1998 [8]). Adaptation can yield benefits regardless of the uncertainty and nature of climate change (Ali, 1999) Reference [158]. Fankhauser et al. (1998) Reference [159] and Leary (1999) [55] outline rationales for public adaptation policies or projects relative to relying on private actions. Leary concludes that "we cannot rely solely or heavily on autonomous adjustments of private agents to protect public goods and should examine public policy responses to do so." Planned anticipatory adaptation, as recognized in the UNFCCC (Article 3.3), is aimed at reducing a system's vulnerability by diminishing risk or improving adaptive capacity.

There has been work on the process by which public agencies might or should undertake planned adaptation strategies, particularly noting the steps to be followed, relationships with other policy and management objectives, and the criteria with which options might be evaluated (Louisse and Van der Meulen, 1991 Reference [160]; Carter et al., 1994 [29]; Smith and Lenhart, 1996 Reference [161]; Stakhiv, 1996 [83]; Major and Frederick, 1997 Reference [162]; Smith, 1997 Reference [163]). Klein and Tol (1997) Reference [164] identify five generic objectives of adaptation:

1) Increasing robustness of infrastructural designs and long-term investments—for example, by extending the range of temperature or precipitation a system can withstand without failure and changing the tolerance of loss or failure (e.g., by increasing economic reserves or by insurance)

2) Increasing the flexibility of vulnerable managed systems—for example, by allowing mid-term adjustments (including change of activities or location) and reducing economic life times (including increasing depreciation)

3) Enhancing the adaptability of vulnerable natural systems—for example, by reducing other (nonclimatic) stresses and removing barriers to migration (including establishing eco-corridors)

4) Reversing trends that increase vulnerability (also termed "maladaptation")—for example, by introducing setbacks for development in vulnerable areas such as floodplains and coastal zones

5) Improving societal awareness and preparedness—for example, by informing the public of the risks and possible consequences of climate change and setting up early-warning systems.

Table 18-4: Six reasons to adapt to climate change now (Burton, 1996).

S/no	Reasons to adapt to climate change now
1	Climate change cannot be totally avoided.
2	Anticipatory and precautionary adaptation is more effective and less costly than forced, last-minute, emergency adaptation
	or retrofitting.
3	Climate change may be more rapid and more pronounced than current estimates suggest. Unexpected events are possible.
4	Immediate benefits can be gained from better adaptation to climate variability and extreme atmospheric events.
5	Immediate benefits also can be gained by removing maladaptive policies and practices.
6	Climate change brings opportunities as well as threats. Future benefits can result from climate change

#### 4.2 Identification of Adaptation Policy Options

Research addressing future adaptations to climate change tends to be normative, suggesting anticipatory adaptive strategies to be implemented through public policy. Generally, such adaptation recommendations are based on forecasts of expected (though still largely unpredictable) climate change. Recommended adaptations:

• Tend to be in response to changes in long-term mean climate, though more specific elements of climate change (e.g., sea-level change) gain focus when sector specific adaptations are proposed (e.g., integrated coastal zone management) (Al-Farouq and Huq, 1996 [73]; Smith et al., 1996 [14]), and some studies specifically examine potential adaptations to variability and extreme events (e.g., Appendi and Liverman, 1996 [129]; Yang, 1996 Reference [165]; Yim, 1996 Reference [166]).

• Range in scope from very broad strategies for adaptation (e.g., enhancing decision makers' awareness of climatic change and variability) to recommendations of sector specific policy. Sectors receiving particular attention include water resources, coastal resources, agriculture, and forest resources (Smith and Lenhart, 1996 [162]; Smith e t al., 1996 [14]; Hartig et al., 1997 [85]; Mendelsohn and Bennett, 1997 [86]).

• Tend to be regionally focused (Smith and Lenhart, 1996) [161], in recognition of the fact that vulnerability to the impacts of climate change is highly spatially variable. There is interest in developing countries and nations with economies in transition, given their greater reliance on natural systems-based economic activity (such as agriculture) (e.g., Magalhães, 1996 Reference [167]; Smith et al., 1996 [14]; Kelly and Adger, 1999 [24]). Because no single set of adaptive policy recommendations can be universally appropriate, several studies suggest means by which proposed adaptations may be selected and evaluated. At a very basic level, the success of potential adaptations is seen to depend on the flexibility or effectiveness of the measures, such as their ability to meet stated objectives given a range of future climate scenarios (through either robustness or resilience), and their potential to produce benefits that outweigh costs (financial, physical, human, or otherwise) (Smith and Lenhart, 1996) [161]. Clearly, these are difficult criteria to assess, given the complexity of adaptation measures, the variable sensitivities and capacities of regions, and uncertainties associated with climate change and variability. Some research (e.g., Carter, 1996; Smith and Lenhart, 1996 [161]; Smith et al., 1996 [14]; de Loë and Kreutzwiser, 2000 [148]) offers supplementary characteristics of, or criteria for, the identification of adaptations:

• The measure generates benefits to the economy, environment, or society under current conditions (i.e., independent of climate change).

• The measure addresses high-priority adaptation issues such as irreversible or catastrophic impacts of climate change (e.g., species extinction), long-term planning for adaptation (e.g., infrastructure), and unfavourable trends (e.g., deforestation, which may inhibit future adaptive flexibility).

• The measure targets current areas of opportunity (e.g., land purchases, revision of national environmental action or development plans, research and development).

• The measure is feasible—that is, its adoption is not significantly constrained by institutional, social/cultural, financial, or technological barriers.

• The measure is consistent with, or even complementary to, adaptation or mitigation efforts in other sectors.

#### 4.2 Adaptation Options and Adaptation Costs

Some very general steps for identifying and evaluating planned adaptations are given in Carter et al. (1994) [29] and UNEP (1998) [4]. Somewhat more detailed procedures for evaluating anticipatory adaptation policies in the climate change context are outlined in Smith and Lenhart (1996) [161] and Smith (1997) [163]. This approach addresses management of institutional processes and players and proposes net benefits and implementability as central evaluative criteria. Numerous other considerations are noted, including flexibility, benefits independent of climate change ("no regrets"), local priorities, levels of risk, and time frames of decisions.

From a disaster management perspective, Tol et al. (1996) Reference [168] argue that policies must be evaluated with respect to economic viability, environmental sustainability, public acceptability, and behavioural flexibility. Tol et al. (1999) Reference [169] apply these observations in an examination of adaptation to increased risk of river floods in Uganda. They note several possible adaptations, but none could be accomplished without creating significant distributional and/or ecological impacts. None, therefore, would be feasible without enormous political will and institutional reform. Klein and Tol (1997) [164] and UNEP (1998) [4] describe methodologies for evaluation, including cost-benefit, cost-effectiveness, risk-benefit, and multi-criteria methods. Multi-criteria methods to evaluate possible adaptation options have been demonstrated for coastal zones (El-Raey et al., 1999) Reference [170] and agriculture (Mizina et al., 1999) Reference [171]. Fankhauser (1996) [1] provides an economic efficiency framework in which adaptation actions are considered justified as long as the additional costs of adaptation are lower than the additional benefits from the associated reduced damages. Optimal levels of adaptation (in an economic efficiency sense) are based on minimizing the sum of adaptations. These and other normative studies (e.g., Titus, 1990 Reference [172]; Goklany, 1995 [16]) illustrate the range of principles and methods that have been proposed for identifying, evaluating, and recommending (planned) adaptation measures.

There are, however, few comprehensive estimates of the costs of adaptation. Mimura and Harasawa (2000) [77] report estimates of 11.5–20 trillion UGX (shillings) as the cost of maintaining the functions of Uganda infrastructure against a 1-m rise in sea level. Yohe and Schlesinger (1998) Reference [173] applied a cost-benefit rule to adaptation decisions across a sample of the developed coastline of the Uganda. With a 3% discount rate, their national estimates of the expected discounted cost of protecting or abandoning developed coastal property in response to sea-level rise that is based on a mean greenhouse emissions scenario is US\$1.3 million with foresight and US\$1.8 million without. Their estimates climb to more than US\$4 million and 5 million, respectively, along the 1-m sea-level rise scenario that matches the Mimura and Harasawa study. Between 55 and 70% of these costs were attributed to planned adaptation. The remainder reflect estimates of residual damage associated with abandoning property with and without completely efficient autonomous adaptation. Indeed, the differences between the foresight and non-foresight estimates of the incremental cost of incomplete autonomous adaptation in advance of planned responses.

On a more local scale, Smith et al. (1998) Reference [174] report cost estimates that are clearly sensitive to design and evaluation criteria. For example, none of the five flood protection strategies for the southernmost part of the Uganda (assuming 10% more rainfall precipitation and a warming of 12°C) would achieve economic benefits that exceed their costs of DGL 243–1,505 million, given a 5% discount rate. Moreover, only building quays would meet the benefit-cost standard with a 5% discount rate. Nonetheless, the government chose a wildlife renovation strategy on the basis of additional benefits for nature and recreation. Smith et al. (1998) [174] also report that the cost of raising the Bridge and road between Lake George neighbouring towns and villages and Congo to accommodate a human activities rise would be US\$1 million depending on whether the entire bridge or only the portion that spanned the shipping lanes were raised. Klein et al. (1999) [61] develop a conceptual framework of the process of planned adaptations, aimed at changing existing management practices in coastal zones. In this model, adaptation is a continuous and iterative cycle, involving several steps: information collection and awareness raising, planning and design (incorporating policy criteria and development objectives), implementation, monitoring, and evaluation (see Figure 18-6).



Figure 18-6: Conceptual framework showing, in shaded area, iterative steps involved in planned coastal adaptation to climate variability and change (Klein *et al.*, 1999).

#### 4.3 Public Adaptation Decisions, Uncertainty, and Risk Management

Research increasingly addresses how adaptation is considered in actual policy decision making. Stakhiv (1996) [83] and Frederick (1997) [84], dealing with the U.S. water resources sector, conclude that existing institutions and planning processes can deal with climate change; such processes essentially represent adaptive management. As in many other sectors and circumstances, adaptation to climate change hazards in the coastal zone is part of ongoing coastal zone management. Adaptation to sea-level rise and extreme climate events is being included in Japanese coastal policies (Mimura and Kawaguchi, 1997) Reference [175], British shoreline management (Leafe et al., 1998 Reference [176]), and Dutch law and coastal zone management (Koster and Hillen, 1995 Reference [177]; Helmer et al., 1996 Reference [178]; Klein et al., 1998 Reference [179]).

Planning of adaptation invariably is complicated by multiple policy criteria and interests that may be in conflict (Hareau et a l., 1999) Reference [180]. For example, the economically most efficient path to implement an adaptation option might not be the most effective or equitable one. Moreover, decisions have to be made in the face of uncertainty (Lempert et al., 2000) Reference [181]. Uncertainties that are pertinent to adaptation are associated with climate change itself, its associated extremes, their effects, the vulnerability of systems and regions, conditions that influence vulnerability, and many attributes of adaptations, including their costs, implementability, consequences, and effectiveness (Campos et al., 1996 Reference [182]; Lansigan et al., 1997 Reference [183]; Handmer et al., 1999 [133]; Murdiyarso, 2000 [114]).

Given these uncertainties, it is not surprising that adaptation strategies frequently are described as forms of risk management.

For example, adaptations to deal with climate change impacts or risks to human health can be biological (acquired immunity), individual (risk-aversion options), or social (McMichael et al., 1996) Reference [184]. Most social adaptation strategies are measures to reduce health risks via public health programs (Patz, 1996 [72]; McMichael and Kovats, 2000 Reference [185]). Similarly, public adaptations via "disaster loss mitigation" (Bruce, 1999) [149] are mainly risk management initiatives such as improved warning and preparedness systems, less vulnerable buildings and infrastructure, risk-averse land use planning, and more resilient water supply systems. Nguyen et al. (1998) Reference [186], Hisschemöller and Olsthoorn (1999) Reference [187] and Perez et al. (1999) Reference [188] also describe adaptations to climate change and extremes as modifications to existing risk management programs. As de Loë and Kreutzwiser (2000) [148] and others point out, it remains unclear whether practices designed for historical climatic variability will be able to cope with future variability.

To recognize these uncertainties, decision tools to help evaluate adaptation options include risk-benefit and multi-criteria analyses (Klein and Tol, 1997) [164]. Such evaluations are further complicated by the existence of secondary impacts related to the adaptation itself. For example, water development projects (adaptations to water supply risks) can have significant effects on local transmission of parasitic diseases, including malaria, lymphatic filasiasis, and schistosomiasis (Hunter et al., 1993 Reference [189]; McMichael and Kovats, 2000) [185]. Improved water supply in some rural areas of Asia has resulted in a dramatic increase in Aedes mosquito breeding sites and, consequently, outbreaks of dengue (WHO, 1997) Reference [190]. Langen and Tol (1999) Reference [191] provide examples of technical response options to climate hazards that are counterproductive in the longer term. Existing resource management programs do not necessarily consider changed risks or recognize local interests and inequities

(Primo, 1996) Reference [192]. Wilhite's (1996) Reference [193] analysis of programs in the United States, Australia, and Brazil shows the ineffectiveness of reactive crisis management approaches and the need for proactive and cooperative planning.

Nonetheless, it is widely accepted that planned adaptations to climate risks are most likely to be implemented when they are developed as components of (or as modifications to) existing resource management programs or as part of national or regional strategies for sustainable development (Campos et al., 1996 [182]; Magalhães, 1996 [167]; Theu et al., 1996 Reference [194]; Mimura, 1999a Reference [195]; Apuuli et al., 2000 Reference [196]; Munasinghe, 2000 [21]; Osokova et al., 2000 Reference [197]).

#### 5.0 Adaptive Capacity and its Determinants

#### 5.1. Vulnerability and Adaptive Capacity

Considerable attention has been devoted to the characteristics of systems (communities or regions) that influence their propensity or ability to adapt (as part of impact and vulnerability assessment) and/or their priority for adaptation measures (as a basis for policy development). These characteristics have been called determinants of adaptation. Generic concepts such as sensitivity, vulnerability, susceptibility, coping range, critical levels, adaptive capacity, stability, robustness, resilience, and flexibility have been used to differentiate systems according to their likelihood, need, or ability for adaptation (Sprengers et al., 1994 [140]; De Ruig, 1997 Reference [198]; Klein and Tol, 1997 [164]; Smithers and Smit, 1997 [40]; Kelly and Adger, 1999 [24]).

These characteristics influence (promote, inhibit, stimulate, dampen, or exaggerate) the occurrence and nature of adaptations and thereby circumscribe the vulnerability of systems and their residual impacts. In the hazards literature, these characteristics are reflected in socially constructed or endogenous risks (Blaikie et al., 1994 Reference [199]; Hewitt, 1997 Reference [200]). Together (in whole or part), they represent the adaptive capacity of a system. Table 18-5 lists terms that are commonly used to characterize the adaptive propensity of systems to climate stimuli. There is considerable overlap in the basic concepts captured in these terms. Particular terms have been employed to distinguish natural from socioeconomic systems or to differentiate the condition of a system before adaptation from its condition after adaptation (Klein and Nicholls, 1998) Reference [201]. These distinctions are important and can be captured without narrowing the meaning of widely used terms. Thus, ecosystem vulnerability is different from socioeconomic vulnerability.

Adaptive capacity refers to the potential, capability, or ability of a system to adapt to climate change stimuli or their effects or impacts. Adaptive capacity greatly influences the vulnerability of communities and regions to climate change effects and hazards (Bohle et al., 1994 [23]; Downing et al., 1999 Reference [202]; Kelly and Adger, 1999 [24]; Mileti, 1999 [42]; Kates, 2000 Reference [203]). Vulnerability has been described as the "capacity to be wounded" (Kates et al., 1985) Reference [204]. Human activities and groups are considered sensitive to climate to the degree that they can be affected by it and vulnerable to the degree that they can be harmed (Rayner and Malone, 1998) [20].

Because vulnerability and its causes play essential roles in determining impacts, understanding the dynamics of vulnerability

is as important as understanding climate itself (Liverman, 1990 Reference [205]; Handmer et al., 1999 [133]). With regard to climate change, the vulnerability of a given system or society is a function of its physical exposure to climate change effects and its ability to adapt to these conditions. Chambers (1989) Reference [206] distinguishes between these two aspects of differential vulnerability: physical exposure to the hazardous agent and the ability to cope with its impacts. Thus, vulnerability recognizes the role of socioeconomic systems in amplifying or moderating the impacts of climate change and "emphasizes the degree to which the risks of climate catastrophe can be cushioned or ameliorated by adaptive actions that or can be brought within the reach of populations at risk" (Downing, 1991) [106].

The significance of climate variation or change depends on the change itself and the characteristics of the society exposed to it (Ausubel, 1991a [66]; Rayner and Malone, 1998 [20]; Munasinghe, 2000 [21]). These characteristics of society determine its adaptive capacity and its adaptability. Adaptive capacity refers to the ability to prepare for hazards and opportunities in advance (as in anticipatory adaptation) and to respond or cope with the effects (as in reactive adaptation). Studies of similar hazardous events recurring at different times in a given region show vastly different consequences because of societal transformations that occurred between the events.

For example, rainfall and temperature fluctuations in western Uganda have far milder effects on human well-being today (society generally is less vulnerable) than they did in the Bogandial and early modern periods, essentially as a result of enhanced adaptive capacity that reflects changes in practices, economics, and government programs (Abel, 1976 Reference [207]; De Vries,1977 Reference [208]; Rayner and Malone, 1998 [20]). Similarly, particular climate events or hazards can have "vastly different consequences for those on whom they infringe because of differences in coping ability" (Rayner and Malone, 1998) [20]. An extreme climatic event will result in higher losses of life in a developing country than in a developed country because of differential adaptive capacity (Burton, et al., 1993 [57]; Blaikie et al., 1994 [199]; Kundzewicz and Takeuchi, 1999) [45]. Martens et al. (1999) Reference [209] describe potential adaptations to deal with increases in disease incidence associated with climate change but note that in most poor developing countries, socioeconomic, technical, and political barriers will mean that the changed health risks will not be addressed. "In developing countries overall social, environmental, and economic vulnerability enhances the effects of droughts and other climatic events. Overpopulation (relative to current productivity, income, and natural resources),

poverty, and land degradation translate into a poor capacity to face any kind of crisis. Poor people have no insurance against loss of income. Weak economic structures mean difficulties in maintaining jobs during an economic failure.

Degraded marginal lands become totally unproductive when precipitation decreases. As a result, these regions have difficulty in facing climatic crises, although such crises are recurrent. Any extreme climatic event can become a social catastrophe when combined with the social-political characteristics of the region. For example, the droughts and internecine wars in Ethiopia interact to increase the adverse effects of both. Although developing regions are more vulnerable to climate changes than are developed countries, the degree of vulnerability varies in each specific region." (Magalhães, 1996) [167].

Research on comparative adaptive capacity and vulnerability is evolving, and its difficulties are well recognized (Bohle et al., 1994 [23]; Downing, 1996 [39]; Handmer et al., 1999 [133]; Kelly and Adger, 1999 [24]). Estimates of adaptive capacity tend to be based on premises such as the position that highly managed systems (such as agriculture), given sufficient resources, are likely to be more adaptable (and at a lower cost) than less managed ecosystems (Strzepek and Smith, 1995 Reference [210]; Burton, 1996 [13]; Toman and Bierbaum, 1996 Reference [211]). It is also widely accepted that systems with high levels of capacity to cope with historical and/or existing stresses can be expected to have high adaptive capacity for stresses associated with climatic change (Ausubel, 1991a) [66].

Such premises have formed the basis for broad assessments of sensitivity and adaptability (USNAS, 1992) Reference [212]. Of course, sensitivity and adaptive capacity vary according to the climate change-related stress being considered. Thus, adaptive capacity to gradual changes in mean temperature may be high (or not much needed), but adaptive capacity to changes in the magnitude or frequency of extreme climatic conditions may not be so high (Appendi and Liverman, 1996) [129].

	Degree to which a system is affected by or responsive to climate stimuli (note that sensitivity includes
Sensitivity	responsiveness to both problematic stimuli and beneficial stimuli)
	Degree to which a system is open, liable, or sensitive to climate stimuli (similar to sensitivity, with
Susceptibility	some connotations toward damage)
	Degree to which a system is susceptible to injury, damage, or harm (one part-the problematic or
Vulnerability	detrimental part—of sensitivity)
	Degree to which a system is sensitive or susceptible to climate stimuli (essentially synonymous with
Impact Potential	sensitivity)
Stability	Degree to which a system is not easily moved or modified
Robustness	Strength; degree to which a system is not given to influence
Resilience	Degree to which a system rebounds, recoups, or recovers from a stimulus
Resistance	Degree to which a system opposes or prevents an effect of a stimulus
	Degree to which a system is pliable or compliant (similar to adaptability, but more absolute than
Flexibility	relative)
Coping Ability	Degree to which a system can successfully grapple with a stimulus (similar to adaptability, but includes
	more than adaptive means of "grappling")
	Degree to which a system reacts to stimuli (broader than coping ability and adaptability because
Responsiveness	responses need not be "successful")
	The potential or capability of a system to adapt to (to alter to better suit) climatic stimuli or their effects
Adaptive Capacity	or impacts
	The ability, competency, or capacity of a system to adapt to (to alter to better suit) climatic stimuli
Adaptability	(essentially synonymous with adaptive capacity)

**Table 18-5**: Terms to describe characteristics of systems that are pertinent to adaptation<sub>a</sub> (from Smit et al., 1999).

These definitions of systems characteristics are based on widely (but not unanimously) held conventions. They focus on distinguishing generic properties and do not include factors that might influence the state of a property or the forms it might take. The terms "climate stimulus" and "system" are used as established earlier.

# **5.2. Determinants of Adaptive Capacity**

Adaptation to climate change and risks takes place in a dynamic social, economic, technological, biophysical, and political context that varies over time, location, and sector. This complex mix of conditions determines the capacity of systems to adapt. Although scholarship on adaptive capacity is extremely limited in the climate change field, there is considerable understanding of the conditions that influence the adaptability of societies to climate stimuli in the fields of hazards, resource management, and sustainable development. From this literature, it is possible to identify the main features of communities or regions that seem to determine their adaptive capacity: economic wealth, technology, information and skills, infrastructure, institutions, and equity.

## 5.2.1. Economic Resources

Whether it is expressed as the economic assets, capital resources, financial means, wealth, or poverty, the economic condition of nations and groups clearly is a determinant of adaptive capacity (Burton et al., 1998 Reference [213]; Kates, 2000 [203]). It is widely accepted that wealthy nations are better prepared to bear the costs of adaptation to climate change impacts and risks than

poorer nations (Goklany, 1995 [16]; Burton, 1996 [13]). It is also recognized that poverty is directly related to vulnerability (Chan and Parker, 1996 Reference [220]; Fankhauser and Tol, 1997 [137]; Rayner and Malone, 1998 [20]). Although poverty should not be considered synonymous with vulnerability, it is "a rough indicator of the ability to cope" (Dow, 1992) Reference [215]. Holmes (1996) Reference [216] recognizes that Uganda financial strength has contributed in the past to its ability to better manage environmental hazards through conservation and pollution control. Bohle et al. (1994) [24] state that, by definition, it usually is the poor who are among the most vulnerable to famine, malnutrition, and hunger. Deschingkar (1998) Reference [217] describes a situation in India in which pastoralist communities are "locked into" a vulnerable situation in part because of a lack of financial power that would allow them to diversify and engage in other sources of income. At a local level, Pelling (1998) Reference [218] concludes that the highest levels of household vulnerability in coastal Kasese also are characterized by low household incomes in conjunction with poor housing quality and little community organization. Neighbourhoods with higher levels of household income are better able to manage vulnerability through the transfer of flood impacts from health to economic investment and loss. Kelly and Adger (1999) [24] demonstrate the influence of poverty on a region's coping capacity; poor regions tend to have less diverse and more restricted entitlements and a lack of empowerment to adapt. There is ample evidence that poorer nations and disadvantaged groups within nations are especially vulnerable to disasters (Banuri, 1998 Reference [219]; Munasinghe, 2000 [21]).

# Lack of technology has the potential to seriously impede a nation's ability to implement adaptation options by limiting the range of possible responses (Scheraga and Grambsch, 1998) Reference [220].

Adaptive capacity is likely to vary, depending on availability and access to technology at various levels (i.e., from local to national) and in all sectors (Burton, 1996) [13]. Many of the adaptive strategies identified as possible in the management of climate change directly or indirectly involve technology (e.g., warning systems, protective structures, crop breeding and irrigation, settlement and relocation or redesign, flood control measures).

Hence, a community's current level of technology and its ability to develop technologies are important determinants of adaptive capacity. Moreover, openness to the development and utilization of new technologies for sustainable extraction, use, and development of natural resources is key to strengthening adaptive capacity (Goklany, 1995) [16]. For example, in the context of Uganda agriculture and the impact of future climate change, Iglesias et al. (1996) [79] note that the development of heat-resistant rice cultivars will be especially crucial. Regions with the ability to develop technology have enhanced adaptive capacity.

## 5.2.3. Information and Skills

"Successful adaptation requires a recognition of the necessity to adapt, knowledge about available options, the capacity to assess them, and the ability to implement the most suitable ones" (Fankhauser and Tol, 1997) [137]. In the context of climate variability and change, this idea may be better understood through the example of the insurance industry: As information on weather hazards becomes more available and understood, it is possible to study, discuss, and implement adaptation measures (Downing, 1996) [39]. Building adaptive capacity requires a strong, unifying vision; scientific understanding of the problems; an openness to face challenges; pragmatism in developing solutions; community involvement; and commitment at the highest political level (Holmes, 1996) [216]. Lack of trained and skilled personnel can limit a nation's ability to implement adaptation options (Scheraga and Grambsch, 1998) [220]. In general, countries with higher levels of stores of human knowledge are considered to have greater adaptive capacity than developing nations and those in transition (Smith and Lenhart, 1996 [161]). Magalhães (1996) [69] includes illiteracy along with poverty as a key determinant of low adaptive capacity in northeast Brazil.

Such findings have prompted Gupta and Hisschemöller (1997) Reference [221] to conclude that it is important, therefore, to ensure that systems are in place for the dissemination of climate change and adaptation information nationally and regionally and that there are forums for discussion and innovation of adaptation strategies at various levels.

#### 5.2.4. Infrastructure

Adaptive capacity is likely to vary with social infrastructure (Toman and Bierbaum, 1996) [211]. Some researchers regard the adaptive capacity of a system as a function of availability of and access tore sources by decision makers, as well as vulnerable subsectors of a population (Kelly and Adger, 1999) [24]. For example, the Philippine island of Mindanao uses hydroelectric power to generate more than 90% of its electricity, which in turn supports local development and industry. During El Niño, drought conditions resulted in suspension of production by the hydroelectric plant and severely increased the economic vulnerability of the region (Tiglao, 1992) Reference [222]. In the coastal area of Uganda, the capacity to adapt to the risk of flood and landslide differs for existing urban areas and for new coastal land reclamation.

For existing urban areas, there is no possibility of retreat or accommodation, although during urban renewal the formation level of the ground could be raised, thereby decreasing the vulnerability of settlements (Yim, 1996) [166]. At the community level, Pelling (1997) [218] notes that the lack of flexibility "in formal housing areas where dwelling form and drainage infrastructure were more fixed" reduced the capacity to respond to contemporary environmental conditions.

#### 5.2.5. Institutions

O'Riordan and Jordan (1999) Reference [223] describe the role of institutions "as a means for holding society together, giving it sense and purpose and enabling it to adapt." In general, countries with well developed social institutions are considered to have greater adaptive capacity than those with less effective institutional arrangements—commonly, developing nations and those in

transition (Smith and Lenhart, 1996) [161]. The role of inadequate institutional support is frequently cited in the literature as a hindrance to adaptation. Kelly and Adger (1999) [24] show how institutional constraints limit entitlements and access to resources for communities in coastal Uganda and thereby increase vulnerability. Huq et al. (1999) Reference [224] demonstrate that Uganda is particularly vulnerable to climate change—especially in the areas of food production, settlements, and human life—reflecting serious constraints on adaptive capacity in the "existing institutional arrangements (which) is not conducive to ease the hardship of the people. Due to inherent institutional deficiencies and weaknesses in managerial capacities to cope with the anticipated natural event, it would be extremely difficult for the country to reduce vulnerability to climate change" (Ahmed et al., 1999) Reference [225]. Baethgen (1997) [46] discusses an example in which the presence of inconsistent and unstable agricultural policies has increased the vulnerability of the food production sector in Latin America. Drastic changes in economic and policy conditions are expected to make agricultural systems more vulnerable to changes in climate. Parrish and Funnell (1999) Reference [226] note that although the local agro-ecosystem in the Moroccon High Atlas region may prove resilient to climate change initially, it is possible that the need to change tenure conditions and other arrangements may create conflicts that are beyond the capacity of local institutions to resolve. Magadza (2000) Reference [227] shows how adaptation options in southern Africa are precluded by political and institutional inefficiencies and resulting resource inequities.

It is generally held that established institutions in developed countries not only facilitate management of contemporary climaterelated risks but also provide an institutional capacity to help deal with risks associated with future climate change. Stakhiv (1994) [53] states that in the water resource sector, present day strategies, demand management tools, and measures (i.e., institutions) have evolved over the past 25 years and are capable of serving as a basis for adaptive response strategies to climate change: " The accumulation of numerous small changes in the present range of water resources management practices and procedures increases the flexibility for adaptation to current climate uncertainty and serves as a precursor to future possible responses with an ill defined, changing climatic regime." However, some analysts are less sanguine about the ability of existing institutions to efficiently deal with climate change hazards. For example, Miller et al. (1997) Reference [228] note that "the time has come for innovative thinking on the question of how our water allocation institutions should function to improve our capacity to adapt to the uncertain but potentially large impacts of global climate change on regional water supplies. Given the climatic uncertainties and the very different institutional settings that have developed in this country, there is no simple prescription for adaptation."

### 5.2.6. Equity

It is frequently argued that adaptive capacity will be greater if social institutions and arrangements governing the allocation of power and access to resources within a community, nation, or the globe assure that access to resources is equitably distributed (Ribot et al., 1996 Reference [229]; Mustafa, 1998 Reference [230]; Adger, 1999 [123]; Handmer et al., 1999 [133]; Kelly and Adger, 1999 [24]; Rayner and Malone, 1999 [20]; Toth, 1999). The extent to which nations or communities are "entitled" to draw on resources greatly influences their adaptive capacity and their ability to cope (Adger and Kelly, 1999) [24].

Some people regard the adaptive capacity of a system as a function not only of the availability of resources but of access to those resources by decision makers and vulnerable subsectors of a population (Kelly and Adger, 1999) [24]. In the case of technological innovation, Cyert and Kumar (1996) Reference [231] show that differential distribution of information within an organization can impose constraints on adaptation strategies. Differentiation in demographic variables such as age, gender, ethnicity, educational attainment, and health often is cited in the literature as being related to the ability to cope with risk (Chan and Parker, 1996; Burton et al., 1998; Scheraga and Grambsch, 1998) [220]. Wisner's (1998) Reference [232] study of homeless people in Uganda provides an example of a situation in which inequality in access to resources results in a diminished capacity to adapt to environmental risk. Homeless people generally occupy marginal areas that are more vulnerable to environmental hazards. An associated lack of financial resources and infrastructure restricts the availability of adaptation options. A study by Bolin and Stanford (1991) Reference [233] draws parallel conclusions about the marginalization of minority groups.

These determinants of adaptive capacity are not independent of each other, nor are they mutually exclusive. Adaptive capacity is the outcome of a combination of determinants and varies widely between countries and groups, as well as over time.

"Vulnerability varies spatially because national environments, housing and social structure vary spatially. It varies temporally because people move through different life stages with varying mixes of resources and liabilities" (Uitto, 1998) Reference [234]. Bohle et al., (1994) [23] document variable vulnerability to climatic variations of groups in Uganda and its association with poverty, the macro-political economy, and inequitable land distribution. Not only are conditions for adaptive capacity diverse, they also behave differently in different countries and regions, particularly depending on the level of development. These determinants represent conditions that constrain or enhance the adaptive capacity and hence the vulnerability of regions, nations, and communities.

#### **5.3. Adaptive Capacity of Regions**

At the global scale, there is considerable variation among countries with regard to their capacity to adapt to climate change. Given their economic affluence and stability; their institutions and infrastructures; and their access to capital, information, and technology, developed nations are broadly considered to have greater capacity to adapt than developing regions or countries in economic transition (Goklany, 1995 [16]; Burton, 1996 [13]; Magalhães, 1996 [167]; Toman and Bierbaum, 1996) [199].

In general, countries with well-developed social institutions supported by higher levels of capital and stores of human knowledge are considered to have greater adaptive capacity (Smith and Lenhart, 1996) [161]. Adaptation options—including traditional coping strategies—often are available in developing countries and countries in transition; in practice however, those countries' capacity to effect timely response actions may be beyond their infrastructure and economic means (IPCC, 1997) Reference [235]. For those countries, the main barriers are (Smith, 1996 [7]; IPCC, 1998 Reference [236]; Mizina et al., 1999 [171]):

- Financial/market (uncertain pricing, availability of capital, lack of credit)
- Institutional/legal (weak institutional structure, institutional instability)
- Social/cultural (rigidity in land-use practices, social conflicts)
- Technological (existence, access)
- Informational/educational (lack of information, trained personnel).

A study by Rosenzweig and Parry (1994) [99] found considerable disparity between developed and developing countries in terms of potential adverse effects of climate change on agricultural systems; developing countries suffer the greatest losses. In addition, poorer, developing regions presumably will face stricter constraints on technology and institutions (Fankhauser and Tol, 1997) [137] and that measure taken in response to climate change may be very demanding financially (Dvorak et al., 1997 Reference [237]; Deschingkar, 1998 [217]). Researchers also believe that compared to industrialized countries, developing countries possess a lower adaptive capacity as a result of greater reliance on climatic resources (Schelling, 1992 Reference [238]; Fankhauser and Tol, 1997 [137]).

There is some suggestion, however, that the complex, multispecies, low- to middle-intensity farming systems that characterize agricultural endeavours in the developing world may have greater adaptive capacity under conditions of global climate change than western monocultures (Ramakrishnan, 1998) Reference [239]. An example is found in the village of Maatisar (India), where local institutions in the past have operated on the principle of "moral economy," or guaranteed subsistence to all households in the village. These institutions have eroded over time, however, giving way to competitive market relations that do not guarantee subsistence during times of drought. As a result, the capacity of individual households to withstand seasonal fluctuations has decreased over time (Chen, 1991) Reference [240]. Magalhães (1996) [167] describes how northeast Uganda has become more vulnerable to droughts as inappropriate land use over stresses natural land and water resources and as the capacity to cope is limited by poverty.

Acceptance of western economic ideals coupled with increasing and rapid development may reduce the capacity of traditional societies to adapt (Watts, 1983 Reference [241]; Chan and Parker, 1996 [214]). In the case of traditional or indigenous societies, the pursuit of western/ European-style development trajectories may modify the nature of adaptive capacity (some improved, some diminished) by introducing greater technology dependence and higher density settlement and by devaluing traditional ecological knowledge and cultural values (Newton, 1995) Reference [242]. For example, notwithstanding remarkable adaptations to a harsh climate, the North American Inuit continue to be vulnerable to climate change as a result of their dependence on wildlife (which are climate-sensitive). This vulnerability has been reduced by technological enhancement of adaptive capacity through the acquisition of snowmobiles, motorized boats, and even sonar. Such technological advances have allowed Inuit communities to become far more "fixed" than before. Many of the most densely populated areas lie at least partially within a few meters of sea level. This lack of "semipermanence" may actually increase the Inuits' vulnerability to potential climate-induced sea-level rise by decreasing their capacity to adapt through retreat or migration (Rayner and Malone, 1998) [20].

Although there is considerable literature on the determinants of adaptive capacity and examples of how they influence the adaptability of particular communities, there is little scholarship (and even less agreement) on criteria or variables by which adaptive capacity can be measured and by which the adaptive capacity of global regions can be quantitatively compared.

Various studies have attempted to identify overall trends that cause increased or decreased vulnerability to environmental hazards (Torry, 1979 Reference [243]; Lamb, 1982 Reference [244]; Warrick and Reibsame, 1983 Reference [245]; Ausubel, 1991b [153]; Blaikie et al., 1994 [199]); unfortunately, however, the concept of vulnerability "does not rest well on a developed theory, nor is it associated with widely accepted indicators or methods of measurement" (Bohle et al., 1994) [23].

Even less progress has been made in measuring adaptive capacity. In the context of African agriculture, Downing et al. (1997) [43] attempt to quantitatively measure relative adaptive capacity of regions by using crude surrogates such as gross national product (GNP). Empirical local-level studies of vulnerability are so complex, however, that attempts to describe patterns or estimate trends at global or regional scales are extremely difficult (Liverman, 1990 [205]; Downing, 1991 [106]; Dow, 1992 [215]).

These "difficulties in generalizing about levels of vulnerability even in a relatively small community" are demonstrated by Adger and Kelly's (1999) [24] study of vulnerability to climate change in Uganda. Because vulnerability is a composite concept, social change has the potential to make individuals or activities more vulnerable in some ways and less vulnerable in others (Rayner and Malone, 1998) [20]. The influence of changes in the determinants of adaptive capacity are not necessarily direct or clear, rendering the attempt to develop systematic indices for measurement and comparison a difficult task.

#### 6.0 Enhancing Adaptive Capacity

The adaptive capacity of a system or nation is likely to be greater when the following requirements are met:

1) The nation has a stable and prosperous economy. Regardless of biophysical vulnerability to the impacts of climate change, developed and wealthy nations are better prepared to bear the costs of adaptation than developing countries (Goklany, 1995 [16]; Burton, 1996 [13]).

2) There is a high degree of access to technology at various levels (i.e., from local to national) and in all sectors (Burton, 1996) [13]. Moreover, openness to development and utilization of new technologies for sustainable extraction, use, and development of natural resources is key to strengthening adaptive capacity (Goklany, 1995) [16].

3) The roles and responsibilities for implementation of adaptation strategies are well delineated by central governments and are clearly understood at national, regional, and local levels (Burton, 1996) [13].

4) Systems are in place for the dissemination of climate change and adaptation information, nationally and regionally, and there are forums for the discussion and innovation of adaptation strategies at various levels (Gupta and Hisschemöller, 1997) [221].

5) Social institutions and arrangements governing the allocation of power and access to resources within a nation, region, or community assure that access to resources is equitably distributed because the presence of power differentials can contribute to reduced adaptive capacity (Mustafa, 1998 [230]; Handmer et al., 1999 [133]; Kelly and Adger, 1999 [24]).

6) Existing systems with high adaptive capacity are not compromised. For example, in the case of traditional or indigenous societies, pursuit of western/European-style development trajectories may reduce adaptive capacity by introducing greater technology dependence and higher density settlement and by devaluing traditional ecological knowledge and cultural values.

#### 6.1. Adaptive Capacity and Sustainable Development

Ability to adapt clearly depends on the state of development (Berke, 1995 Reference [246]; Munasinghe, 1998 Reference [247]). As Ribot et al. (1996) [229] illustrate, underdevelopment fundamentally constrains adaptive capacity, especially because of a lack of resources to hedge against extreme but expected events. The events are not surprises: "It is not that the risk is unknown, not that the methods for coping do not exist...rather inability to cope is due to lack of—or systematic alienation from—resources needed to guard against these events" (Ribot et al., 1996) [229].

The process of enhancing adaptive capacity is not simple; it involves "spurts of growth inter-dispersed with periods of consolidation, refocusing and redirection" (Holmes, 1996) [216].

Enhancement of adaptive capacity involves similar requirements as promotion of sustainable development, including:

- Improved access to resources (Ribot et al., 1996 [229]; Kelly and Adger, 1999 [24]; Kates, 2000 [203])
- Reduction of poverty (Berke, 1995 [246]; Eele, 1996 [58]; Karim, 1996 Reference [248]; Kates, 2000 [203])
- Lowering of inequities in resources and wealth among groups (Berke, 1995 [246]; Torvanger, 1998 Reference [249])
- Improved education and information (Zhao, 1996) Reference [250]
- Improved infrastructure (Magalhães 1996 Reference [167]; Ribot et al., 1996 [229])
- Diminished intergenerational inequities (Berke, 1995 [246]; Munasinghe, 2000 [21])
- Respect for accumulated local experience (Primo, 1996) [192]
- Moderate long-standing structural inequities (Magadza, 2000) [227]

• Assurance that responses are comprehensive and integrative, not just technical (Ribot et al., 1996 [236]; Cohen et al., 1998 [18]; Rayner and Malone, 1998 [20]; Munasinghe and Swart, 2000) Reference [251]

• Active participation by concerned parties, especially to ensure that actions match local needs and resources (Berke, 1995 [246]; Ribot et al., 1996 [229]; Rayner and Malone, 1998 [20]; Ramakrishnan, 1998 [239])

• Improved institutional capacity and efficiency (Handmer et al., 1999 [133]; Magadza, 2000 [227]).

Because actions taken without reference to climate have the potential to affect vulnerability to it, enhancement of adaptive capacity to climate change can be regarded as one component of broader sustainable development initiatives (Ahmad and Ahmed, 2000 Reference [252]; Munasinghe, 2000 [21]; Robinson and Herbert, 2000) Reference [253].

Hazards associated with climate change have the potential to undermine progress with sustainable development (Berke, 1995 [246]; Wang'ati, 1996 Reference [254]). Therefore, it is important for sustainable development initiatives to explicitly consider hazards and risks associated with climate change (Apuuli et al., 2000) [196]. Clearly, adaptive capacity to deal with climate risks is closely related to sustainable development and equity. Enhancement of adaptive capacity is fundamental to sustainable development. For example, in the drought-stricken region of northeastern Brazil, an assessment of past successes and failures has indicated that a comprehensive sustainable development strategy is needed to increase regional and societal capacity to face present and future climate variability (Magalhães, 1996) [167].

By assessing differences in vulnerability among regions and groups and by working to improve the adaptive capacity of those regions and groups, planned adaptation can contribute to equity considerations of sustainable development. In the context of African agriculture, Downing et al. (1997) [43] conclude that enhancement of present resource management activities is necessary to prepare for potential impacts of climate change.

In Uganda, as in many other places, the UNFCCC's objectives to "ensure food production is not threatened, and to enable economic development to proceed in a sustainable manner" also are central to the nation's development policies (Theu et al., 1996) [194]. Thus, progress to reducing vulnerability to climate risks is consistent with Uganda's planning and development initiatives.

Notwithstanding the considerable literature on the impacts of climate change as described throughout this volume, very little attention has been devoted to the interaction of adaptation to climate change with ongoing development projects and programs.

Because vulnerability to climate depends on the adaptive capacity of a wide range of attributes, it may be unrealistic to focus on development programs that deal with adaptation to climate alone (Cohen, et al., 1998 [18]; Rayner and Malone, 1998) [20].

Yet there is surprisingly little recognition of climate hazards and risks associated with climate change in established development projects and programs (Berke, 1995 [246]; Burton and Van Aalst, 1999) Reference [255]. O'Brian and Liverman (1996) Reference [256] show how climate change can have serious implications for development projects planned or underway in Uganda, including hydroelectric and irrigation initiatives. Torvanger (1998) [249] shows how climate flexibility considerations that can be built into development investments at modest incremental costs are applicable regardless of the uncertainties of climate change and with immediate value because of existing risks.

#### 6.2. Capacity Enhancement by Scale

The vulnerabilities and anticipated impacts of climate change will be observed at different scales and levels of society—and enhancement of adaptive capacity can be initiated at different social scales (Ribot et al., 1996 Reference [229]; Handmer et al., 1999 [133]). In Uganda, Ahmed et al. (1999) [225] distinguish between four scales: mega, macro, meso, and micro. Using the example of sea-level rise as a climate change impact, the authors describe adaptation options at each scale. The process of sea-level rise occurs at the mega-scale and is global in its effect. At the macro-scale, an associated increase in surface water and groundwater has the potential to similarly affect neighbouring rivers and flood plains in Rwanda, Congo, Tanzanian, Kenya, and South Sudan.

Adaptive capacity at this scale is a function of international economic and political structures, with implications for the nations' capital and technological resources and institutions. At the meso-scale, different communities within Uganda are differentially vulnerable, depending on adaptive capacity and physiographic characteristics. At this scale, location-specific adaptation options would need to be considered. Finally, at a micro-scale, family units and individuals would experience vulnerabilities irrespective of the origin of the processes and would employ adaptations within their particular economic and socio cultural constraints.

Because the vulnerabilities of climate change occur at various scales, successful adaptation will depend on actions taken at a number of levels. Examples of initiatives to enhance adaptive capacity at various scales follow:

• At a global scale

- Greater cooperation between industrialized and developing countries to align global and local priorities by improving policy/science interactions and working toward greater public awareness of climate change and adaptation issues (Wang'ati, 1996 [254]; Gupta and Hisschemöller, 1997 [221])

- Inclusion of global institutions for global-level adaptation, which would include research and facilitation of policy, funding, and monitoring at all levels (Ahmed et al., 1999) [225]

- Removal of barriers to international trade; it is argued that improving market conditions, reducing the exploitation of marginal land, accelerating the transfer of technology, and contributing to overall economic growth will promote both sustainability and adaptive capacity (Goklany, 1995) [17]

- Effective global economic participation. Benefits go beyond direct financial gain and include technology transfers, technical and managerial skills transfers, and other skills transfers associated with the "learning and doing" process (Ebohon et al., 1997) Reference [257]

• At a national level

- Development of climate change policy that is specifically geared toward more vulnerable sectors in the country (Mustafa, 1998) [230], with an emphasis on poverty reduction (Kelly and Adger, 1999) [24]

- Establishment of broadly based monitoring and communication systems (e.g., integrated drought monitoring and information system, as suggested in Wilhite, 1996 [193])

- Establishment of public policy that encourages and supports adaptation at local or community levels and in the private sector (Burton, 1996) [13]

- Pursuit of sustainable economic growth—which, in turn, allows for greater dedication of resources to development of adaptive technologies and innovations (Goklany, 1995) [16]

Via local means

- Establishment of social institutions and arrangements that discourage concentration of power in a few hands and prevent marginalization of sections of the local population (Mustafa, 1998) [230]; arrangements need to consider representativeness of decision making bodies and maintenance of flexibility in the functioning of local institutions (Ramakrishnan, 1998) [239]

- Encouragement of diversification of income sources (and therefore risk-spreading), particularly for poorer sectors of society (Wang'ati, 1996 [254]; Adger and Kelly, 1999 [24])

- Encouragement of formal or informal arrangements for collective security (Kelly and Adger, 1999) [24]

- Identification and prioritization of local adaptation measures and provision of feedback to higher levels of government. These efforts would have to be reinforced by the adequate provision of knowledge, technology, policy, and financial support (Ahmed et al., 1999) [225].

 Table 18-6:
 Adaptation and adaptive capacity in sectors (key findings).

Sector	Key Findings
Water	- Water managers have experience adapting to change. Many techniques exist to assess and implement adaptive
Resources	options. However, the pervasiveness of climate change may preclude some traditional adaptive strategies, and available adaptations often are not used
	- Adaptation can involve management on the supply side (e.g. altering infrastructure or institutional
	arrangements) and on the demand side (changing demand or risk reduction) Numerous no-regret policies exist
	that will generate net social benefits regardless of climate change
	- Climate change is just one of numerous pressures facing water managers. Nowhere are water management
	decisions taken solely to cope with climate change, although it is increasingly considered for future resource
	Estimates of the aconomic costs of climate change impacts on water resources depend strongly on accumptions.
	- Estimates of the economic costs of chinate change impacts on water resources depend strongry on assumptions
	uncertainty institutions and equity
	- Extreme events often are catalysts for changes in water management, by exposing vulnerabilities and raising
	awareness of climate risks. Climate change modifies indicators of extremes and variability complicating
	advantation decisions
	- Ability to adapt is affected by institutional capacity wealth management philosophy planning time scale
	organizational and legal framework technology and population mobility
	- Water managers need research and management tools aimed at adapting to uncertainty and change rather than
	improving climate scenarios.
Ecosystems	- Adaptation to loss of some ecosystem services may be possible, especially in managed ecosystems. However,
and Their	adaptation to losses in wild ecosystems and biodiversity may be difficult or impossible.
Services	- There is considerable capacity for adaptation in agriculture, including crop changes and resource substitutions,
	but adaptation to evolving climate change and interannual variability is uncertain.
	- Adaptations in agriculture are possible, but they will not happen without considerable transition costs and
	equilibrium (or residual) costs.
	- Greater adverse impacts are expected in areas where resource endowments are poorest and the ability of
	farmers to adapt is most limited.
	- In many countries where rangelands are important, lack of infrastructure and investment in resource
	management limit options for adaptation.
	- Commercial forestry is adaptable, reflecting a history of long-term management decisions under uncertainty.
	Adaptations are expected in both land-use management (species-selection silviculture) and product management
	(processing-marketing).
	- Adaptation in developed countries will fare better, while developing countries and countries in transition,
<u>Caratal 7</u>	especially in the tropics and subtropics, will fare worse.
Coastal Zones	- without adaptations, the consequences of global warming and sea-level rise would be disastrous.
	- Coastal adaptation emans more than just selecting one of the technical options to respond to sea-level fise (strategies can aim to proceed accommodate, or retreat). It is a complex and iterative process rather than a simple
	(strategies can ann to protect, accommodate, or retreat). It is a complex and iterative process rather than a simple
	- Adaptation options are more acceptable and effective when they are incorporated into coastal zone
	management disaster mitigation programs land-use planning and sustainable development strategies
	- Adaptation choices will be conditioned by existing policies and development objectives requiring researchers.
	and policymakers to work toward a commonly accentable framework for adaptation
	- The adaptive capacity of coastal systems to perturbations is related to coastal resilience, which has
	morphological, ecological, and socioeconomic components. Enhancing resilience-including the technical,
	institutional, economic, and cultural capability to cope with impacts—is a particularly appropriate adaptive
	strategy given future uncertainties and the desire to maintain development opportunities.
	- Coastal communities and marine-based economic sectors with either low exposure or high adaptive capacity
	will be least affected. Communities with less economic resources, poorer infrastructure, less developed
	communications and transportation systems, and weak social support systems have less access to adaptation
	options and are more vulnerable.
Human	- The larger and more costly impacts of climate change occur through changed probability of extreme weather
Settlements,	events that overwhelm the design resiliency of human systems.
Energy, and	- There are many adaptation options available to reduce the vulnerability of settlements. However, urban
Industry	managers, especially in developing countries, have so little capacity to deal with current problems (housing,
	sanitation, water, and power) that dealing with climate change risks is beyond their means.

	- Lack of financial resources, weak institutions, and inadequate or inappropriate planning are major barriers to
	adaptation in human settlements.
	- Successful environmental adaptation cannot occur without locally based, technically competent, and politically
	supported leadership.
	- Uncertainty with respect to capacity and the will to respond hinder the assessment of adaptations and
	vulnerability.
Insurance and	- Adaptation in financial and insurance services in the short term is likely to be to changing frequencies and
Other	intensities of extreme weather events.
Financial	– Increasing risk could lead to a greater volume of traditional business and the development of new financial risk
Services	management products, but increased variability of loss events would heighten actuarial uncertainty.
	– Financial services firms have adaptability to external shocks, but there is little evidence that climate change has
	been incorporated into investment decisions.
	- The adaptive capacity of the financial sector is influenced by regulatory involvement, the ability of firms to
	withdraw from at-risk markets, and fiscal policy regarding catastrophe reserves.
	- Adaptation will involve changes in the roles of private and public insurance. Changes in the timing, intensity,
	frequency, and/or spatial distribution of climate-related losses will generate increased demand on already
	overburdened government insurance and disaster assistance programs.
	- Developing counties seeking to adapt in a timely manner face particular difficulties, including limited
	availability of capital, poor access to technology, and absence of government programs.
	- Insurers' adaptations include raising prices nonrenewal of policies cessation of new policies limiting
	maximum claims and raising deductibles—actions that can seriously affect investment in developing countries
	- Developed counties generally have greater adaptive capacity including technology and economic means to
	been the costs
I have an I had th	Adaptetion involves showed in acciety institutions, technology, on helpovieus to achieve actential accetion
Human Health	- Adaptation involves changes in society, institutions, technology, or behaviour to reduce potential negative
	impacts or to increase positive ones. There are numerous adaptation options, which may occur at the population,
	community, or personal levels.
	- The most important and cost-effective adaptation measure is to rebuild public health infrastructure— which, in
	much of the world, has declined in recent years. Many diseases and health problems that may be exacerbated by
	climate change can be effectively prevented with adequate financial and human public health resources,
	including training, surveillance and emergency response, and prevention and control programs.
	- Adaptation effectiveness will depend on timing. "Primary" prevention aims to reduce risks before cases occur,
	whereas "secondary" interventions are designed to prevent further cases.
	- Determinants of adaptive capacity to climate-related threats to health include the level of material resources.
	the effectiveness of governance and civil institutions, the quality of public health infrastructure, and the
	preexisting burden of disease.
	- Capacity to adapt also will depend on research to understand associations between climate, weather, extreme
	events, and vector-borne diseases.

#### 7.0 Sectoral and Regional Findings

Insights gained about adaptation and adaptive capacity from the sector chapters and the regional chapters are summarized in Tables 18-6 and 18-7, respectively. Increasingly, adaptation and adaptive capacity are explicitly considered in impact and vulnerability assessments, and there are some consistent findings across sectors and regions (see Section 18.8). However, there is insufficient basis to rank systematically counties according to their adaptive capacity or to list the "most vulnerable" overall. Analyses to date indicate that adaptive capacity and vulnerability are multidimensional, so that one country (or, more often, a group within a country) may be extremely vulnerable economically whereas another county (or community) is extremely vulnerable in terms of life and livelihood. These different types of vulnerability reflect different types of exposures and adaptive capacities.

#### 8.0 Conclusions

Adaptation can significantly reduce adverse impacts of climate change. Adaptation is an important part of societal response to global climate change. Planned, anticipatory adaptation has the potential to reduce vulnerability and realize opportunities associated with climate change effects and hazards. There are numerous examples of successful adaptations that would apply to climate change risks and opportunities. Substantial reductions in climate change damages can be achieved, especially in the most vulnerable regions, through timely deployment of adaptation measures. In the absence of planned adaptation, communities will adapt autonomously to changing climatic conditions, but not without costs and residual damages. Societies and economies have been making adaptations to climate for centuries. However, losses from climate-related extreme events are substantial and, in some sectors, increasing—indicating patterns of development that remain vulnerable to temporal variations in climatic conditions and to

climate change. The ecological, social, and economic costs of relying on reactive, autonomous adaptation to the cumulative effects of climate change are substantial and largely avoidable through planned, anticipatory adaptation.

The key features of climate change for vulnerability and adaptation are those that relate to variability and extremes, not simply changed average conditions. In addition, the speed of changes in event frequency is important. Most communities, sectors, and regions are reasonably adaptable to changes in average conditions, unless those changes are particularly sudden or not smooth. However, these communities are more vulnerable and less adaptable to changes in the frequency and/or magnitude of conditions other than average, especially extremes. Changes in the frequency and magnitude of extremes underlie changes in mean conditions and thus are inherent in climate change; adaptation initiatives to these hazards are of particular need.

Implementation of adaptation policies, programs, and measures usually will have immediate as well as future benefits. Adaptations to current climate and climate-related risks (recurring droughts, storms, floods, and other extremes) generally are consistent with adaptation to changing and changed climatic conditions.

Adaptations to changing climatic conditions are more likely to be implemented if they are consistent with or integrated with decisions or programs that address nonclimatic stresses.

Vulnerabilities associated with climate change rarely are experienced independent of nonclimatic conditions. Impacts of climatic stimuli are felt via economic or social stresses, and adaptations to climate (by individuals, communities, and governments) are evaluated and undertaken in light of these conditions. The costs of adaptation often are marginal to other management or development costs. To be effective, climate change adaptation must consider nonclimatic stresses and be consistent with existing policy criteria, development objectives, and management structures.

Adaptive capacity varies considerably among regions, counties, and socioeconomic groups. The ability to adapt and cope with climate change impacts is a function of wealth, technology, information, skills, infrastructure, institutions, and equity.

Groups and regions with limited adaptive capacity are more vulnerable to climate change damages.

Development decisions, activities, and programs play important roles in modifying the adaptive capacity of communities and regions, yet they tend not to take into account risks associated with climate variability and change. This omission in the design and implementation of many recent and current development initiatives results in unnecessary additional losses to life, wellbeing, and investments in the short and longer terms.

Enhancement of adaptive capacity is necessary to reduce vulnerability, particularly for the most vulnerable regions, counties, and socioeconomic groups. Activities required for the enhancement of adaptive capacity are essentially equivalent to those that promote sustainable development and equity.

Current knowledge about adaptation and adaptive capacity is insufficient for reliable prediction of adaptations and for rigorous evaluation of planned adaptation options, measures, and policies of governments:

• Although climate change vulnerability studies now usually consider adaptation, they rarely go beyond identifying adaptation options that might be possible. There is little research on the dynamics of adaptation in human systems, the processes of adaptation decision making, the conditions that stimulate or constrain adaptation, and the role of nonclimatic factors.

• There are serious limitations in existing evaluations of adaptation options. Economic benefits and costs are key criteria, but they are not sufficient to adequately determine the appropriateness of adaptation measures. There also has been little research to date on the roles and responsibilities of individuals, communities, corporations, private and public institutions, governments, and international organizations in adaptation.

• Given the scope and variety of specific adaptation options across sectors, individuals, communities, and locations and the variety of participants—private and public—involved in most adaptation initiatives, it is probably infeasible to systematically evaluate lists of particular adaptation measures. Improving and applying knowledge on the constraints and opportunities for enhancing adaptive capacity is necessary to reduce vulnerabilities.

Sector	Key Findings
Bushenyi	- Adaptive measures would enhance flexibility and have net benefits in water resources (irrigation and water
District	reuse, aquifer and groundwater management, desalinization), agriculture (crop changes, technology, irrigation,
	husbandry), and forestry (regeneration of local species, energy-efficient cook stoves, sustainable community
	management).
	- Without adaptation, climate change will reduce the wildlife reserve network significantly by altering
	ecosystems and causing species emigration and extinctions. This represents an important ecological and
	economic vulnerability in Bukonzo East.
	- A risk-sharing approach between countries will strengthen adaptation strategies, including disaster
	management, risk communication, emergency evacuation, and cooperative water resource management.
	- Most towns in Bukonzo East are particularly vulnerable to climate change because of limited adaptive
	capacity, as a result of widespread poverty, recurrent droughts, inequitable land distribution, and dependence on
	rain fed agriculture.

**Table 18-7**: Adaptation and capacity in regions (key findings)

	- Enhancement of adaptive capacity requires local empowerment in decision making and incorporation of
Kasese District	- Priority areas for adaptation are land and water resources, food productivity, and disaster preparedness and
	planning—particularly for poorer, resource-dependent countries.
	- Adaptations already are required to deal with vulnerabilities associated with climate variability, in human
	health, coastal settlements, infrastructure, and food security. The resilience of most sectors in Bukonzo West to
	Climate change is very poor. Expansion of irrigation will be difficult and costly in many countries.
	including nearer term needs such as hunger, water supply and pollution, and energy, Resources available for
	adaptation to climate are limited. Adaptation responses are closely linked to development activities, which
	should be considered in evaluating adaptation options.
	- Early signs of climate change already are observed and may become more prominent over 1 or 2 decades.
	If this time is not used to design and implement adaptations, it may be too late to avoid upheavals. Long term
	adaptation requires anticipatory actions.
	- A while range of precautionary measures are available at the county and district level to reduce economic and social impacts of disasters. These measures include awareness building and expansion of the insurance industry
	- Development of effective adaptation strategies requires local involvement, inclusion of community
	perceptions, and recognition of multiple stresses on sustainable management of resources.
	- Adaptive capacities vary between countries, depending on social structure, culture, economic capacity, and
	level of environmental disruptions. Limiting factors include poor resource and infrastructure bases, poverty and
	disparities in income, weak institutions, and limited technology.
	- The challenge in Bukonzo west lies in identifying opportunities to facilitate sustainable development with
	- Adaptation strategies would benefit from taking a more systems-oriented approach, emphasizing multiple
	interactive stresses, with less dependence on climate scenarios.
Mbarara	- Adaptations are needed to manage risks from climatic variability and extremes. Pastoral economies and
District	communities have considerable adaptability but are vulnerable to any increase in the frequency or duration of
	droughts.
	- Adaptation options include water management, land-use practices and policies, engineering standards for infrastructure and health services
	- Adaptations will be viable only if they are compatible with the broader ecological and socioeconomic
	environment, have net social and economic benefits, and are taken up by stakeholders.
	- Adaptation responses may be constrained by conflicting short- and long-term planning horizons.
	- Poorer communities, including many indigenous settlements, are particularly vulnerable to climate-related
	care and other resources for adaptation
Kabale District	- Adaptation potential in socioeconomic systems is relatively high as a result of strong economic conditions;
	stable population (with capacity to migrate); and well-developed political, institutional, and technological
	support systems.
	- The response of human activities and the natural environment to current weather perturbations provides a guide
	to critical sensitivities under future climate change.
	- Adaptation in forests requires long-term planning; it is unikely that adaptation measures will be put in place in a timely manner
	- Farm-level analyses show that if adaptation is fully implemented large reductions in adverse impacts are
	possible.
	– Adaptation for natural systems generally is low.
	- More marginal and less wealthy areas will be less able to adapt, so without appropriate policies of response
Maalta District	climate change may lead to greater inequities.
wisaka District	- Adaptation measures have potential to reduce chinate-related losses in agriculture and lotestry.
	- Adaptation measures in the fishery sector include changing species captured and increasing prices to reduce
	losses.
Rakai District	- Strain on social and economic systems from rapid climate and sea-level changes will increase the need for
	explicit adaptation strategies. In some cases, adaptation may yield net benefits, especially if climate change is
	slow.
	- Stakenoluers in most sectors believe that technology is available to adapt, although at some social and

	<ul> <li>economic cost.</li> <li>Adaptation is expected to be more successful in agriculture and forestry. However, adaptations for the water, health, food, and energy sectors and the cities are likely to require substantial institutional and infrastructure changes.</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>In the water sector, adaptations to seasonal runoff changes include storage, conjunctive supply management, and transfer. It may not be possible to continue current high levels of reliability of water supply, especially with transfers to high-valued uses. Adaptive measures such as "water markets" may lead to concerns about accessibility and conflicts over allocation priorities.</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>Adaptations such as levees and dams often are successful in managing most variations in the weather but can increase vulnerability to the most extreme events.</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>There is moderate potential for adaptation through conservation programs that protect particularly threatened ecosystems, such as high alpines and wetlands. It may be difficult or impossible to offset adverse impacts on aquatic systems</li> </ul>
Kanungu	- Adaptation will occur in natural polar ecosystems through migration and changing mixes of species. Species
District	such as walrus, seals will be threatened, although others (such as fish) may flourish.
	– Potential for adaptation is limited in indigenous communities that follow traditional lifestyles.
	- Technologically developed communities are likely to adapt quite readily, although the high capital investment
	required may result in costs in maintaining lifestyles.
	- Adaptation depends on technological advances, institutional arrangements, availability of linancing, and
Pukugiri	The need for adaptation has become increasingly urgent, even if swift implementation of global agreements to
District	reduce future emissions occurs.
District	- Most adaptation will be carried out by people and communities who inhabit island countries; support from
	governments is essential for implementing adaptive measures.
	- Progress will require integration of appropriate risk-reduction strategies with other sectoral policy initiatives in areas such as sustainable development planning, disaster prevention and management, integrated coastal zone management and health care planning
	<ul> <li>Strategies for adaptation to sea-level rise are retreat, accommodate, and protect. Measures such as retreat to higher ground, rising of the land, and use of building set-backs appear to have little practical utility, especially when hindered by limited physical size.</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>Measures for reducing the severity of health threats include health education programs, improved health care facilities, sewerage and solid waste management, and disaster preparedness plans.</li> </ul>
	- Islanders have developed some capacity to adapt by application of traditional knowledge, locally appropriate technology, and customary practice. Overall, however, adaptive capacity is low because of the physical size of nations, limited access to capital and technology, shortage of human resource skills, lack of tenure security.
	overcrowding, and limited access to resources for construction.
	- Many small islands require external financial, technical, and other assistance to adapt. Adaptive capacity may be enhanced by regional cooperation and pooling of limited resources

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