



1 **Micro business participation in collective flood adaptation. Lessons from scenario-**
2 **based analysis in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam**

3

4 Prof. Dr. Javier Revilla Diez, Institute of Geography, University of Cologne, Germany
5 j.revilladiez@uni-koeln.de, ORCID <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2065-1380>

6

7 Dr. Roxana Leitold, Institute of Geography, University of Cologne, Cologne, Germany,
8 r.leitold@uni-koeln.de, ORCID <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2946-6774>

9

10 Dr. Van Tran, University of Economics and Law, Vietnam National University, Ho Chi Minh
11 City, Vietnam,
12 vantq@uel.edu.vn, ORCID <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5407-5038>

13

14 Prof. Dr. Matthias Garschagen, Department of Geography, Ludwig-Maximilians-University
15 Munich, Germany
16 M.Garschagen@geographie.uni-muenchen.de, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9492-4463>

17

18 **Abstract:**

19 Although research on the impacts of climate change on small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs)
20 and their adaptation to climate change risks has recently received more attention, the focus on micro
21 and household businesses is still very limited. Micro and household businesses are adversely affected
22 by compound flooding events - a situation that will become more acute in the future - but there is little
23 attention in the scientific literature on their adaptation options and actual implementation. Against
24 this background, the paper analyzes the following research questions How are micro-businesses
25 already responding to flooding? Are micro-businesses willing to collectively invest in future proactive
26 adaptation efforts in their neighborhood? What are the key drivers and barriers to adaptation? Based
27 on scenario-based field experiments in Ho-Chi-Minh City, our results show that micro-businesses could
28 play a much larger role in collective adaptation. Often overlooked in adaptation research, their
29 willingness to engage in collective action under severe constraints is surprising. The conceptual
30 framework presented in this paper helps us to understand the key drivers and barriers of micro-
31 businesses' willingness to participate in collective adaptation activities. The most important key
32 barriers for micro-businesses are limited financial capacity and lack of support from local authorities.
33 However, micro-businesses are willing to contribute depending on the concrete adaptation measure
34 and financing options. If no financial contribution is expected, almost 70% are willing to participate in
35 awareness raising campaigns. And although their financial capacity is very limited, 39% of micro-
36 businesses would contribute financially if the costs were shared with other businesses in their
37 neighborhood and with local authorities. In this context, micro-businesses should be much more
38 involved in adaptation plans and measures. Through their local embeddedness, they can be important
39 multipliers in strengthening adaptive capacity at the local level.

40

41 Author contribution: Javier Revilla Diez and Matthias Garschagen develop the conceptual framework,
42 Roxana Leitold designed the experiments and carried them out with Van Tran. Javier Revilla Diez
43 prepared the manuscript with contributions from all co-authors.

44

45 Competing interests: The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

46



47 1 Introduction

48 In many countries of the Global South micro businesses together with small and medium sized
49 businesses build up the “economic and social fabric” (Chaudhury 2018). In an urban context they
50 include individuals or households who are shopkeepers, run cafes, restaurants, or repair shops, offer
51 transport and warehouse or construction and maintenance services, often located in the middle of
52 residential neighborhoods. According to the UN (2015) these businesses are a key engine of job
53 creation and responsible for more than 50% of total employment. However, these micro, small and
54 medium sized businesses are facing tremendous challenges in respect to climate change. A very
55 illustrative example is Ho-Chi-Minh City (HCMC). HCMC is already facing manifold challenges due to
56 regular flooding, which are projected to be aggravated by future climate change (Downes et al., 2016;
57 Downes and Storch, 2014; Duy et al., 2018; Nicholls et al., 2007).

58 Although research on the impacts of climate change on small- and medium-sized firms (SMEs) and
59 their adaptive behavior against climate change risks recently have received more attention (e.g.,
60 (Halkos and Skouloudis, 2019; Howe, 2011; Marks and Thomalla, 2017; Neise et al., 2019; Neise et al.,
61 2018; Neise and Revilla Diez, 2019; Pathak and Ahmad, 2018; Pathak and Ahmad, 2016; Pauw and
62 Chan, 2018), the focus on micro and household businesses is still very limited.

63 Micro businesses typically have limited financial resources to invest in both short- and long-term
64 adaptation measures (Leitold et al., 2021; Ngin et al., 2020) and underdeveloped capabilities in
65 business planning (Gherhes et al., 2016). However, because they bear the brunt of climate-related
66 impacts, generate high shares of employment, and are thus closely linked to peoples’ livelihoods, the
67 discussion of the significance and prospects of micro businesses in responding to climate impacts has
68 received attention in adaptation research (Chaudhury, 2018; Schaer et al., 2019). Crick et al. (2018)
69 and Pulver and Benney (2013) exemplify that not all businesses have the same adaptive capacity,
70 respond in the same way, and consider climate change as part of their business operations. What Daddi
71 et al. (2018) and Linnenluecke et al. (2013) already illustrated for SMEs is especially true for micro
72 businesses: Their decision-making for or against adaptation action is still underexplored and remains
73 a black-box (Crick et al., 2018; Pauw and Chan, 2018). Recently, multi-stakeholder initiatives involving
74 small- and medium-sized businesses have been discussed as door-openers for private sector
75 engagement in adaptation efforts (Challies et al., 2016; Chen et al., 2013; Leitold et al., 2020; Neise et
76 al., 2019). But, how successful can these initiatives be without exactly knowing how micro businesses
77 are impacted and reacting to climate change, which adaptive capacities they possess and whether their
78 adaptation behavior would change if for example incentives like financial support is provided?

79 Against this backdrop, this paper explores the potential role of micro-businesses in collaborative
80 adaptation initiatives. We will focus on the following research questions: How do micro firms already
81 respond to flooding? And more future oriented, under which conditions are micro firms willing to
82 invest jointly into proactive adaptation efforts in their neighborhood?

83 Our methodological approach is twofold. First, by using scenario-based field experiments we examine
84 the willingness of micro businesses to invest in collective adaptation options depending on different
85 financing options. We analyze how the distribution of costs among other micro businesses and the
86 neighbourhood, or financial incentives provided by local authorities, or pure political pressure impacts
87 the willingness of micro businesses to contribute financially to different adaptation scenarios like the
88 implementation of a dike system, a drainage system or awareness programs. Second, we applied a
89 two-level binary-logistic regression that allows us to consider the differences and interdependencies
90 between adaptation scenario and micro business characteristics in order to the detect the key drivers
91 and barriers for adaptation. The necessary data was generated during a household and micro business
92 survey as part of a collaborative research project “DECIDER” (Decisions for the Design of Adaptation



93 Pathways and the Integrative Development, Evaluation, and Governance of Flood Risk Reduction
94 Strategies in Changing Urban-Rural Systems). A total of 252 micro businesses were surveyed in HCMC
95 between September and November 2020. In addition, we were able to conduct the scenario-based
96 experiments with 62 out of the 252 micro businesses. As each participant responded to 20 scenarios
97 1,240 observations were generated for data processing.

98 This article is organized as follows. Section 2 develops a conceptual framework on potential drivers
99 and barriers of micro business adaptation. Section 3 introduces the study area and methodology.
100 Section 4 presents the descriptive and analytical results of the study, while Section 5 discusses the
101 implications of the results for addressing micro business perspective in collective flood adaptation.
102 Section 6 provides a conclusion.

103

104 **2 Conceptual considerations**

105 **2.1 What do we know from adaptation literature?**

106 Businesses play important roles in economic and social development worldwide by providing
107 employment, goods, value added, services, and taxes (Halkos et al., 2018; Leitold et al., 2020; Lo et al.,
108 2019). However, the fifth IPCC Assessment Report (2014) revealed a striking gap in existing scientific
109 literature on private sector adaptation to floods (e.g., Berkhout et al., 2006; Linnenluecke et al., 2013;
110 Linnenluecke et al., 2011). Since then, a body of literature has emerged that focuses on large and
111 multinational enterprises, that are understood to be important entities for financing adaptation
112 projects, developing technologies, and innovative adaptation solutions (Averchenkova et al., 2016;
113 Haraguchi and Lall, 2015; Neise et al., 2018). However, this focus on large, international enterprises
114 provides only limited knowledge on adaptation actions, adaptive capacities, and the overall role of
115 smaller local businesses in climate adaptation. In comparison, small and micro businesses typically
116 have lower profits, smaller cash reserves and seldom backup resources so that a single extreme
117 weather event led to long-lasting negative impacts. Clearly, smaller businesses lack the capacity to
118 design and implement adaptation measures (Zhang et al 2009). Small and micro businesses are
119 therefore bearing the brunt of climate-related impacts – a burden that is expected to intensify over
120 the next decades (e.g., Lo et al., 2019; Ngin et al., 2020). In the area of today's risk from flooding, storm
121 surges, and heavy rainfall, several studies illustrate that smaller businesses with local operations in
122 particular experience both direct impacts like property damage, mechanical breakdowns, and the
123 destruction of stocks and assets, as well as indirect impacts like postponed distribution and
124 interruptions of business operations and supplies (Bahinipati et al., 2017; Marks and Thomalla, 2017;
125 Neise et al., 2019; Verrest et al., 2020; Wedawatta et al., 2014; Wedawatta and Ingirige, 2012). In
126 addition, they are often situated in a multi-risk environment, usually unprotected by public flood
127 protection. This is especially true in HCMC where uncontrolled urban expansion since the beginning of
128 the 21st century into flood-prone areas led to increased exposition. Poorly established and connected
129 infrastructure has exacerbated flooding risks leading to a reduction in water regulation capacity,
130 drainage capacity, water permeability, and land subsidence (Storch and Downes, 2011; The World
131 Bank, 2019). As a result, small and micro businesses are forced to respond to climate risks
132 independently due to their higher vulnerabilities (Lo et al., 2019).

133 Recent research has sought to determine whether and to what extent micro businesses are responding
134 to acute climate risks such as flooding and what options they have to prepare for the intensification of
135 future impacts. Ngin et al. (2020) show that micro businesses in the tourism and hospitality sector in
136 Cambodia usually adopt temporary and reactive responses against floods and storms rather than long-
137 term and proactive strategies. In the same vein, Neise and Revilla Diez (2019) emphasize that most of
138 the small and micro manufacturing firms in their case study in Jakarta only cope during a flood event.

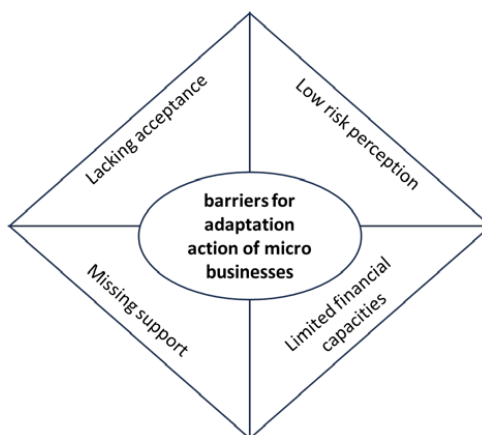


139 Relying on their established routines, they use floodwalls and sandbags to protect their production
140 facility from water, place their products in higher places, and use small pumping systems to drain the
141 water. While Chaudhury (2018) makes some arguments for motivating businesses to take proactive
142 adaptation measures (e.g., greater risk awareness, benefits of adapting outweigh the financial costs),
143 micro businesses face several barriers and structural deficits that limit their adaptive capacity and
144 decision to invest in individual adaptation measures. Unlike their larger counterparts, whose
145 adaptation actions are usually driven by organizational characteristics, such as financial liquidity,
146 business performance, foreign ownership and knowledge-spillovers, micro businesses are facing
147 different barriers (Leitold et al., 2021; Lo et al., 2019).

148

149 2.2 Drivers and barriers of micro business adaptation

150 Based on the initial findings in vulnerability and adaptation literature, we present a conceptual
151 framework to help to understand drivers and barriers to adaptation action of micro businesses. Many
152 micro businesses find it challenging to develop adaptation strategies because of four key barriers (see
153 Figure 1).



154

155 **Figure 1:** Key barriers for adaptation action of micro businesses

156 *Key barrier 1: Acceptance of adaptation measures*

157 A key barrier to addressing climate risks is lacking acceptance of adaptation options due to cultural
158 attitudes, social barriers, and a lack of understanding. A study by Geaves and Penning-Rowse (2016)
159 shows that large-scale protection measures fail to attract long-term participation from private actors
160 due to a lack of local bonding. By contrast, a recent study by Leitold et al. (2020) reveals that small-
161 scale adaptation measures initiated in a smaller neighborhood, like flood protection awareness
162 programs, can promote the willingness of resident SMEs to adapt. In particular, collaborative
163 approaches, with shared funding by different actors (i.e., the community, firms in the neighborhood,
164 local government gives incentives) could help to overcome biases, and support the implementation of
165 different adaptation options. Understanding an adaptation measure, its tangible costs, and benefits
166 can lower the social barriers to adopting new technologies and participating in flood adaptation
167 (Chaudhury, 2018).

168 *Key barrier 2: Risk perceptions at individual and household level*

169 Since micro businesses are “owner-centered” (Gherhes et al., 2016), individual risk perceptions, skills
170 and capabilities, and experience with, for example flood impacts, of decision-makers play an important



171 role in micro business adaptation. Lawrence et al. (2014) reveal that flood experiences at the individual
172 household level in New Zealand contribute to increased risk perception and readiness to adapt. For
173 the manufacturing sector, Neise et al. (2019) also show that SME adaptation to flood impacts in
174 Indonesia is closely related to the risk preparedness of their managers. However, information on future
175 climate impacts are often inaccessible for micro businesses or even completely absent at the local
176 level, leading businesses to make decisions based on subjective perceptions (Chaudhury, 2018;
177 Danielson and Scott, 2006). In addition, there is general agreement that individual and household
178 education levels can influence how businesses are organized and managed, and how they respond to
179 current and future climate risks (Chirico and Salvato, 2008; Crick et al., 2018; Lo et al., 2019). Yet, the
180 link between business viability and the need to adapt to future climate change impacts is not sufficiently
181 visible (Frei-Oldenburg et al., 2018).

182

183 *Key barrier 3: Financial capacities*

184 It is common knowledge that business characteristics are critical factors that shape adaptive action
185 (Agrawala et al., 2011; Halkos et al., 2018; Pulver and Benney, 2013). In particular, limited financial
186 resources and business performance have been proven to be barriers to the implementation of
187 adaptation measures in small and micro businesses. They tend to have lower business capital and cash
188 reserves, and are less likely to have financial reserve funds (Gherhes et al., 2016). A study by Marks
189 and Thomalla (2017) shows that after severe flooding in Thailand in 2011, SMEs recovery was
190 particularly hampered by financial constraints. Chaudhury (2018) further argues that even after
191 conducting robust risk assessments and identifying cost-effective adaptation options, limited financial
192 capacity hinders the actual implementation of planned measures. In addition, the direct business
193 neighborhood could shape collective business adaptation as micro businesses are highly dependent
194 on their local customers and suppliers. Leitold et al. (2020) illustrate that interaction with neighboring
195 firms is a driving factor for SMEs to invest into collective local adaptation measures. In the same vein,
196 Pauw and Chan (2018) argue that smaller businesses could take active responsibilities in localized
197 initiatives that connect different actors in the same neighborhood.

198

199 *Key barrier 4: Influence of the institutional environment*

200 Obviously, there are broader structural deficiencies in external support for microbusiness adaptation
201 financing. In most recent literature that is developing around disaster risk reduction and adaptation
202 barriers, access to and use of external finance such as loans and credits from banks or microcredit
203 institutions and tailored insurances is argued to be the major bottleneck for adaptation (Chaudhury,
204 2018; Chinh et al., 2016; Crick et al., 2018; Surminski and Hankinson, 2018; UNDP, 2019; UNDRR, 2020).
205 As many micro businesses are part of the informal economy, social protection and external financing
206 mechanisms are often not accessible at the business level (UNDRR, 2020). Therefore, it is not surprising
207 that Halkos et al. (2018), Neise et al. (2019), and Leitold et al. (2020) found that institutional support
208 and external guidance have a direct impact on the engagement of smaller firms in implementing
209 adaptation measures against recent and future extreme events like floods and storms. In some
210 economies like Vietnam, private businesses are underserved with respect to supportive policies and
211 regulations (Revilla Diez, 2016; Trinh and Thanh, 2017). Therefore, local (business) associations have
212 recently been considered as a promising information channel around climate change impacts and
213 ultimately for stimulating adaptation action of private businesses.

214

215

216

217

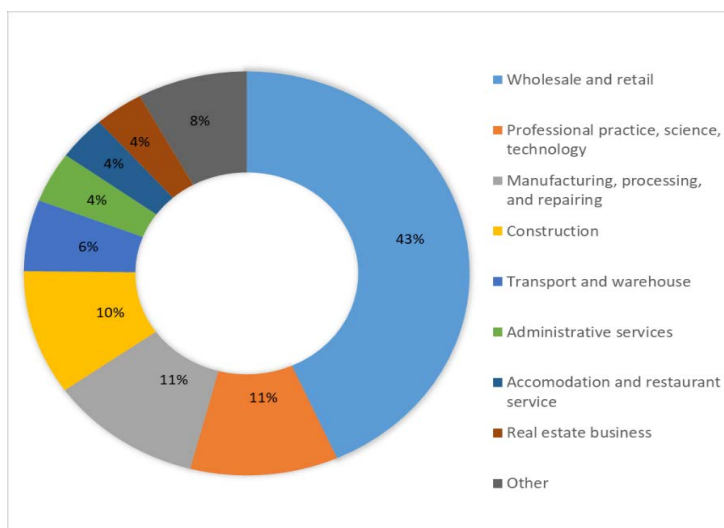
218



219 **3 Material and methods**

220 **3.1 Study area: Flooding in HCMC and the impact on micro businesses**

221 HCMC in Vietnam is already experiencing frequent flooding, which is expected to intensify in the
 222 coming years and decades due to the impacts of climate change. Seasonal extreme rainfall, storm
 223 surges, and discharge from upstream reservoirs often come at the same time with high tides and
 224 rainfall peaks, already resulting in compound flood events in many parts of the city (Downes and
 225 Storch, 2014; Scussolini et al., 2017). Located on the north-eastern edge of the Mekong Delta, at the
 226 mouth of the Dong Nai river basin, HCMC is characterized by topological conditions like many other
 227 delta regions in the world. More than half of the city is situated lower than 1.5 meter elevation above
 228 mean sea level (ADB, 2010). Lowlying lands, proximity to the sea, and an interconnected system of
 229 small rivers and chanelns result in a high overall exposure to future sea-level rise. According to national
 230 studies, the sea level has already risen by 20 cm off the coast of Vietnam in the last 50 years before
 231 2009 (MONRE, 2009) and the trend is upward (Scussolini et al., 2017). In addition, uncontrolled urban
 232 expansion and poorly connected infrastructure act as flood risk multipliers, leading to land subsidence,
 233 and a reduction in drainage capacity and water permeability. This is particularly problematic during
 234 the rainy season (May to October), which already provides 85 % of the total rainfall per year (MONRE
 235 et al., 2006; World Bank, 2019).
 236



237
 238 **Figure 2: Main sectors of micro businesses in HCMC [percentage of businesses]**
 239 Source: GSO (2017)
 240
 241

242 Set in the motion by the liberalization policies in 1986 and the subsequent transition to a market-
 243 oriented economy, HCMC has been steadily growing in population and private businesses. As the
 244 Vietnam’s largest city, HCMC is home to officially 8.9 million people (GSO, 2020). Although the private
 245 economic sector plays a decisive role in HCMC’s remarkable economic development, many of the SMEs
 246 and micro businesses are at the forefront of flood-related losses and damage. In HCMC, 43 % of the
 247 approximately 145,000 officially registered micro businesses (1-9 employees) in 2017 belong to
 248 wholesale and retail, 11 % to manufacturing, processing, and repairing, and 10 % to the construction
 249 sector (GSO, 2017, see Figure 2). Micro and family businesses in these sectors, in particular, are highly
 250 exposed to recent and future flood impacts. Manufacturing businesses are sensitive to compound



251 flooding sources due to their location-specific production, hard-to-change infrastructure, and heavy
252 machinery. While many medium and large firms operating in international value chains are often
253 located in industrial parks with sufficient infrastructural flood protection, small and micro businesses
254 have to put up with business interruptions during flood events several times a year (Leitold et al.,
255 2021). Wholesale and retail businesses are highly dependent on regional and local value chains, which
256 are particularly disrupted by heavy rainfall during the rainy season and tide-induced flooding. In
257 addition, direct flooding in stores damages flood-sensitive goods such as flowers, food, and paper
258 products.

259

260 This study was carried out in four case study areas in HCMC where households and micro businesses
261 have already suffered some flood damages in recent years. Businesses in the western part of the city
262 (District 8 and Binh Tan) are mainly impacted by urban flash floods and pluvial flooding after heavy and
263 prolonged rainfall. Binh Thanh district is located close to the Sai Gon river, making the area exposed to
264 flooding, which is exacerbated by the release of upstream water reservoirs (Duy et al., 2018). Nha Be
265 district is located in the southern parts of the city and characterized by a peri-urban morphology.
266 According to the projections, Nha Be is one of the districts in HCMC that will be most affected by future
267 sea level rise (Scussolini et al., 2017).

268

269 **3.2 Household survey and scenario-based field experiments**

270 The empirical analyses in this paper are based on two combined datasets.

271 First, we used a household survey in HCMC conducted as part of a collaborative research project
272 “DECIDER” (*Decisions for the Design of Adaptation Pathways and the Integrative Development,*
273 *Evaluation, and Governance of Flood Risk Reduction Strategies in Changing Urban-Rural Systems*) to
274 understand flood vulnerability of micro businesses, their respective perceptions, and flood adaptation.
275 The standardized household survey was conducted in two different wards of the four case study
276 districts (District 8, Binh Tan, Binh Thanh, and Nha Be) in HCMC. In addition to 748 households, a total
277 of 252 micro businesses were surveyed in HCMC between September and November 2020. We
278 developed a questionnaire on general characteristics and the economic situation of micro-businesses,
279 investment decisions, flood impacts, adaptation strategies and perceptions of future risk und local risk
280 management systems. All respondents have been experienced with flooding (i.e., water entering the
281 house/business premise) and suffered damages/losses due to floods since 2010. The questionnaires
282 were field tested during a one-week pretest in 2019, and adjusted afterwards. Moreover, the survey
283 was preceded by a one-day workshop for the enumerators during which they were trained how to
284 conduct the survey and received feedback. In Vietnam, our partners of the Southern Institute of Social
285 Sciences (SISS) organized and implemented the training and the main field campaign.

286 Second, we run scenario-based field experiments with about a quarter of micro businesses owners
287 from the main survey. The goal of the experiments was to examine the willingness of businesses to
288 invest in collective adaptation options to protect themselves from future flood impacts. The scenario-
289 based field experiments consist of a public-good game design with different adaptation scenarios in a
290 field-experiment environment (Leitold et al., 2020; Neise et al., 2019). Public-good games are rooted
291 in behavioral economics. They aim to explain why collective actions succeed or fail and decipher
292 participants’ contributions to a public good (Ones and Putterman, 2007). In our experiments, flood
293 adaptation measures are defined as discrete public goods that are only provided when multiple actors
294 make individual financial contributions. Implementing public good games in real field environments
295 rather than in a laboratory, provides a deep understanding of explanatory factors for participants’
296 decision making in collective adaptation actions (Ehmke and Shogren, 2009). The experiments used



297 vignette designs that present carefully constructed but hypothetical descriptions of adaptation
298 measures that differ in their design and the financial contributions for their implementation (Atzmüller
299 and Steiner, 2010).

300 In total, our Vietnamese project partners from the University of Economics and Law, Vietnam National
301 University conducted experiments with 62 out of the 252 micro businesses from the main survey. The
302 methodology, and the different scenarios were explained in detail to the enumerators in a training
303 workshop and during supervised pre-tests prior to the experiments. Then, we linked the micro business
304 survey data to our experiment data using the survey identification to combine information on
305 household and business characteristics and perceptions with the investment decision at each
306 experiment (see Figure 3).

307



308

309

Figure 3: Data basis for the multilevel regression analysis

310

311 3.3 Experiment design, measurement, and data analysis

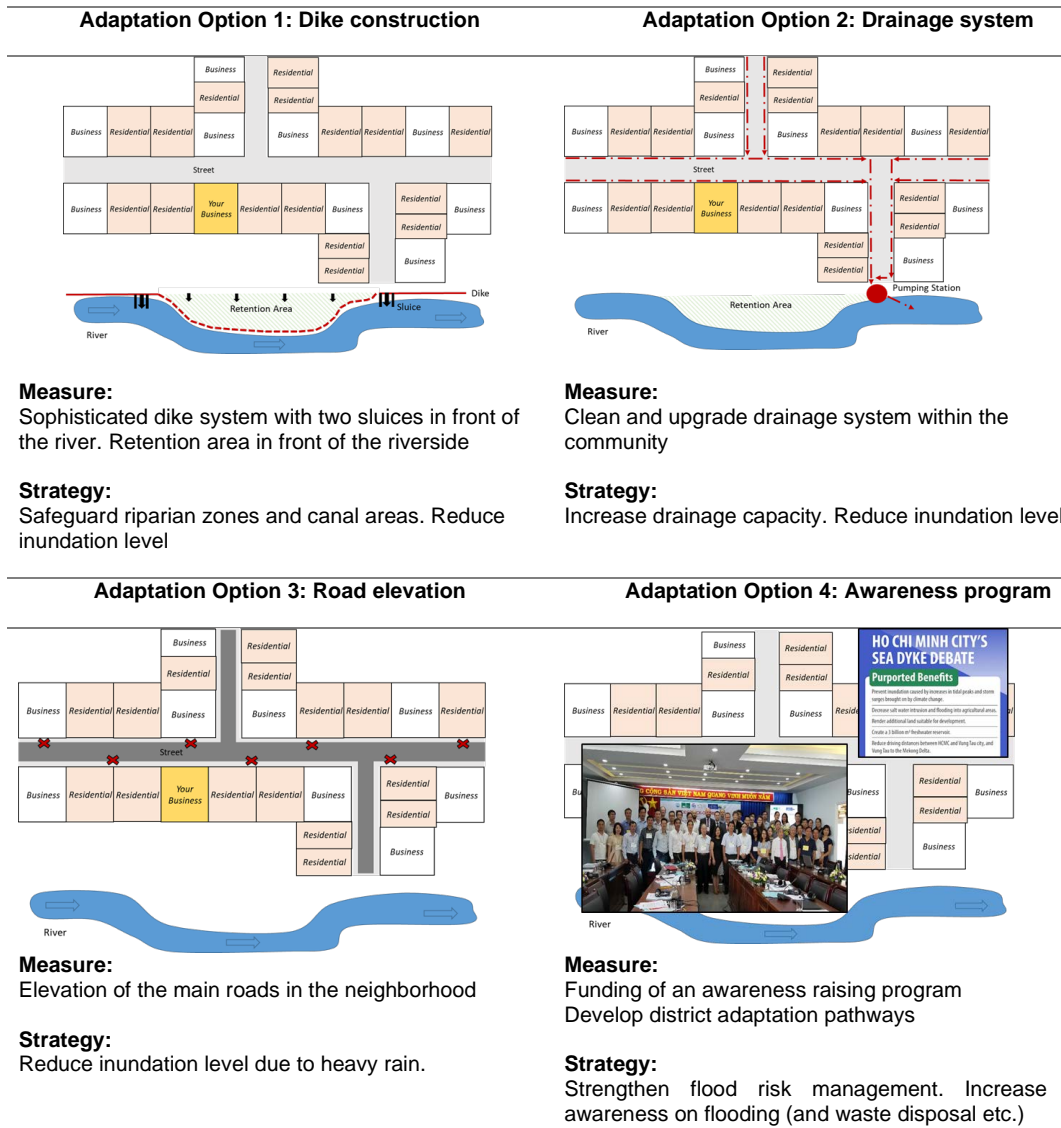
312 Four realistic adaptation measures were developed for the experiments. The conceptualization of
313 these measures is based on our previous study of manufacturing SMEs in HCMC (2018-2019, see
314 Leitold et al., 2020), but was adapted to the local realities of micro businesses in collaboration with our
315 local project partners.

316 To analyze the influence of respective adaptation measures and financing options on the willingness
317 of micro businesses to participate in collective adaptation, we used the same locational setting
318 representing typical-flood prone areas in HCMC for all adaptation options (see **Figure 4** for the overall
319 experiment setting). We designed four adaptation cards, which were shown to the participants. In
320 addition to the designs of adaptation measures, we built different financing options into the scenarios
321 cards. In the first two options, either the residents in the neighborhood or the other micro businesses
322 contribute to the same amount and share the costs of adaptation measures (*neighborhood support*).
323 In the third option, local authorities provide financial incentives and support the implementation of
324 adaptation measures (*political support*). By contrast, in the fourth option, local authorities demand the
325 participation of businesses or impose fines for non-compliance (*political pressure*). In the fifth option,
326 other businesses contribute less than the necessary amount and the micro business must invest more
327 than others in their direct neighborhood (*unbalanced contribution*). In total, the respondents have to
328 go through 20 scenarios (4 adaptation scenarios multiplied by 5 financing options).

329 For data analysis, we created a dichotomous dependent variable *willingness to participate in collective*
330 *flood adaptation*, where '1' was coded for micro business is willing to invest the necessary resources
331 and '0' that a micro business was not willing to contribute sufficiently. In general, our indicators are
332 presented on a binary scale (see Table 1 for the explanation of indicators). Following Leitold et al.
333 (2020), we tested for *dike systems*, *drainage systems*, and *awareness programs* to assess the
334 acceptance of different adaptation measures (**key barrier 1: lacking acceptance**). To test preference
335 for different funding options, we used *neighborhood support* as a proxy for the preference for shared



336 funding of measures, and *political support* as a proxy for desired support from public stakeholders. We
 337 also controlled for *unbalanced contributions of businesses*.



338 **Figure 4:** Overall experiment setting and adaptation options (Source: the design is based on Neise et
 339 al., 2019; and Leitold et al., 2020)

340 To test for the influence of risk perceptions at individual and household level (**key barrier 2: low risk**
 341 **perception**), we generated the indicators *expected flood increase* and *household education* (Crick et
 342 al., 2018). The latter describes that at least one person of the household has a university degree or
 343 vocational training. Consistent with Neise et al. (2019) and based on the assumptions of Lawrence et
 344 al. (2014), *flood experience* was measured whether a micro-business was flooded more than five times
 345 in the last 10 years. Based on the answers from the micro-business survey, an additional measure of
 346 future flood perception was included to represent *high individual damages* that occurred during the



347 most serious flood since 2010. We hypothesized positive relationships between the indicators for risk
 348 perception at individual level and the willingness to participate in collective adaptation.

349 In the business environment, we tested for financial capacities as factor influencing adaptation
 350 decisions (**key barrier 3: limited financial capabilities**). Following Chaudhury (2018) and Marks and
 351 Thomalla (2017), we developed indicators of *decline in business revenue* (when revenues have declined
 352 or fluctuated over the past five years) and *limited financial resources* (self-assessment of micro
 353 businesses of their financial resources for flood adaptation). We expect both indicators to be barriers
 354 to collective adaptation. We also tested dependence on local customers and suppliers as relations with
 355 neighboring firms raises the probability for co-funding by other firms, although this indicator is difficult
 356 to operationalize. However, we coded *local supplier* as '1' for businesses that report that their suppliers
 357 are located in the same flood exposed neighborhood.

358

359 **Table 1:** Key indicators of collective flood adaptation

360

	Indicators	Descriptions (No=0; Yes =1)	Expected impacts
Adaptation measure	Neighborhood support	Scenarios with shared funding	+
	Political support	Scenarios with shared funding	+
	Unbalanced contribution of businesses	Scenarios where micro businesses need to invest more than others in their neighborhood	-
	Dike system	Scenarios with dike system (high financial input, technological infrastructure)	-
	Drainage system	Scenarios with drainage system (medium financial input, technological infrastructure)	+
	Awareness program	Scenarios with awareness program (low financial input, soft measure)	+
Individual / Household	High individual damages	High damage of business components (e.g., furniture, electronics, equipments, products), high equals major and complete damage	+
	Flood experience	Business was flooded more than 5 times in the last 10 years	+
	Household education	At least one person of the household has a university degree or vocational training	+
	Expected flood increase	Expected flood increase in the next ten years	+
Business environment	Decline business revenue	Revenue decline/fluctuation in the last five years	-
	Limited financial resources	Low financial resources for preventing flood impacts (rating from 1-5, low equals 1 and 2)	-
	Local supplier	Suppliers located in the same district	+
Institutional environment	Member organization	Household members are part of an organization (e.g. Fatherland's Front, Women's Union, Youth Union, etc.)	+
	No repair after flood events	Government/Law doesn't allow to repair/rebuild after flood events (e.g. it is in a planning project area)	+
	Access to external capital	Business finances investments through loans from banks or microcredit institutions	+

361

362 We test the influence of the institutional environment using three explanatory variables (**key barrier**
 363 **4: missing support**). It is expected that the willingness to participate in adaptation if a *household*
 364 *member is part of an organization* (i.e., Fatherland's Front, Women's Union, Youth Union) (Leitold et



365 al., 2020). Especially, in Vietnam being a member the party’s own social organization could offer some
 366 patronage and special treatment when it comes to applying for support. To represent institutional
 367 barriers, we build an indicator for the situation where *public policies or public laws do not allow private*
 368 *buildings to be repaired or rebuilt* after floods. For example, when micro businesses are located in a
 369 planning project area which is quite common in HCMC in recent years. Further, we test the influence
 370 of *access to external capital* in the form of loans from banks or microcredit institutions on willingness
 371 to participate. We expect negative correlations for both indicators and adaptation willingness. Finally,
 372 we controlled for the influence of location within our four case study areas.

373 The scenario-based field experiments generated 1,240 observations for data processing. As each
 374 participant responded to 20 scenarios, scenario data are nested within business characteristics.
 375 Analyzing such hierarchically structured data with ordinary least squared regression would lead to
 376 spatial autocorrelation and a violation of the independence assumption for scenario observations (Hox
 377 et al., 2017; Sohns and Revilla Diez, 2018). Therefore, we applied a two-level binary-logistic regression
 378 that allows us to consider the differences and interdependencies between scenario and micro business
 379 characteristics (Rabe-Hesketh and Skrondal, 2008). Multicollinearity (average variance inflation factor
 380 for the independent variables: 1.6) can be rejected.

381

382 **4 Findings**

383 **4.1 Descriptive findings**

384 Our sample consists of 62 micro businesses. 46 businesses are stores or retailers (74 %) for food and
 385 beverages, clothing, houseware, electricity, or construction material. 10 businesses are operating in
 386 the service sector (16 %), and three in the production sector (5 %). 61 % of all businesses have been
 387 flooded more than five times per year in the last 10 years, and 44 % even more than 10 times a year.
 388 It is evident that as soon as damage is reported, it is mostly classified as major damage requiring repair.
 389 In particular, the level of damage to products is relatively high (see Table 2). Complete damage has not
 390 been reported. As a consequence, the micro-businesses do undertake own precautionary measures.
 391 We see that more than 50 % of the micro businesses already purchased water barriers for flood
 392 prevention and dry-proof their valuables, goods, and products during severe flood events. In addition,
 393 84 % of micro businesses have already elevated their ground floor or foundation to prevent flooding
 394 into their premises. In terms of acute flooding events, which are already clearly noticeable today, the
 395 micro businesses are therefore (most reactively) already doing something.

396 **Table 2:** Individual damage of micro businesses from the most severe flood since 2010

	no damage	minor damages	moderate damages	major damages- needs repair	complete damage - needs replacement	no answer
Furniture	39	8	1	14	0	0
Electronics	37	3	4	16	0	2
Business specific equipment	39	6	8	9	0	0
Products	28	4	6	22	0	2

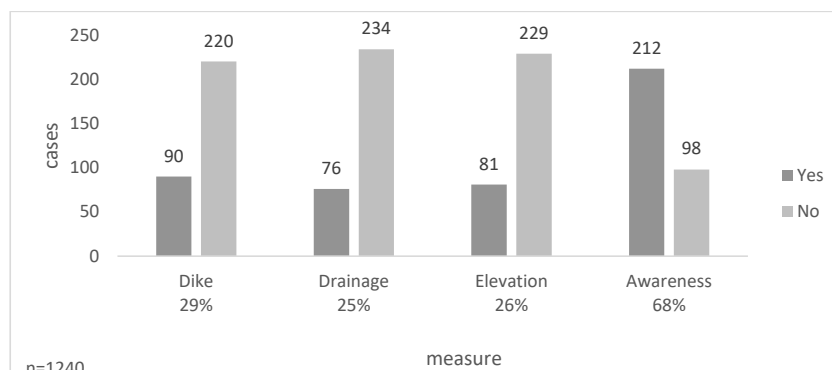
397

398 The descriptive analysis of the key barriers partly confirms, but also oppose the findings from the
 399 literature.

400 In respect to the key barrier 1 (lacking acceptance), the complete rejection of adaptation measures
 401 cannot be confirmed as stated in the conceptual section. However, in only 28 % of all scenarios, micro



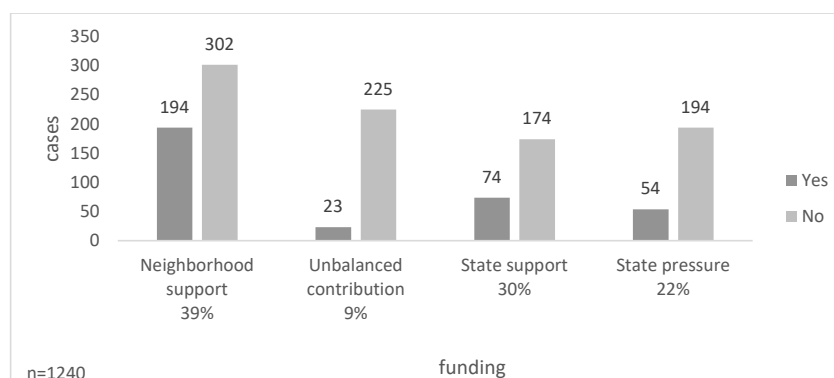
402 businesses were willing to contribute to flood adaptation measures in their neighborhood. The results
 403 show substantial differences between participation in technical scenarios (dike system: 29 %, drainage
 404 system: 25 %, elevation: 26 %) and the less expensive flood awareness program, to which micro
 405 business owners were willing to contribute in 68 % of cases (see Figure 5). In terms of financing
 406 adaptation measures, decision-makers were willing to contribute financially in 39 % of the scenarios if
 407 other actors in the neighborhood (i.e., the community: 30 % and other businesses: 48 %) were also
 408 involved. For all other options - financial support from local authorities or when businesses have to
 409 pay a fine for not investing in collective protection measures - willingness to participate was below
 410 average (see Figure 6). Also, the results for the key barrier 2 (low risk perception) are different than
 411 expected. The survey results indicate that 77 % of the businesses expect flooding to increase in the
 412 next 10 years, while 16 % expect flooding to remain the same or even decrease. These results underline
 413 that owner of micro-businesses are well aware of the risks of future flooding.



414

415 **Figure 5: Preference of adaptation measure**

416



417

418 **Figure 6: Preference of funding**

419

419 In relation to the key barriers 3 (limited financial capabilities) and 4 (missing support) the results are in
 420 line with the findings in the literature. About 37 % of businesses report a decline, and 15 % fluctuation
 421 in business revenues over the past five years. In addition to revenue, the financial resources available
 422 to prevent flood impacts are a key limiting adaptation factor to micro businesses. On a scale from 1
 423 (very poor) to 5 (very good), more than half of the businesses rate their financial resources as limited
 424 (58 % rate 1 and 2). Only 19 % of businesses surveyed have access to external capital, such as loans



425 from banks or from microcredit institutions. 16 % receive loans from family members, relatives, or
426 friends, while the majority finance their business investments through personal funds or savings.
427 Support by state agencies is hardly mentioned.

428

429

430 **4.2 Multilevel regression findings**

431 In order to detect the key drivers and barriers for micro-business adaptations' strategies, the main
432 statistical analysis was based on the two-level regression. **Table 3** shows which indicators influence the
433 willingness of micro businesses to invest in collective flood adaptation measures and whether they act
434 as either drivers or barriers to adaptation. The scenario-level results underscore the findings of the
435 descriptive analysis. Micro businesses significantly prefer to invest in the awareness program, while
436 their willingness to invest is not influenced by hard technical measures like, for example, the dike
437 system or the drainage system. What is particularly clear is that shared funding opportunities between
438 micro businesses and local authorities, as well as the community and other businesses in their
439 neighborhood, significantly increase the investment in collective flood adaptation. Accordingly, an
440 unbalanced contribution of businesses in their neighborhood reduces the investment and thus acts as
441 a barrier.

442 In addition, further variables also influence the willingness to participate in adaptation measures.
443 Businesses that already suffered high individual damages during the most serious flood since 2010,
444 businesses that have high flood experience, and those that expect a high increase in floods in the next
445 ten years are significantly more willing to invest in collective flood adaptation measures. Since the
446 influence of high individual damage yields positive, but only slightly significant results it should be
447 interpreted with caution. In the overall picture, all three indicators of risk perception and experience
448 act as drivers for collective adaptation. Interestingly, the investment decisions of micro businesses
449 were not influenced by household education.

450 As expected, financial constraints and decreasing business performance indicators act as barriers for
451 collective adaptation. A general decline in business revenues and limited financial resources for
452 adaptation measures are reflecting the situation of the majority of businesses in the sample. Both
453 indicators significantly decrease participation in the scenarios. Regarding the dependence on local
454 suppliers, the analysis did not yield any significant results.

455 The results further reveal that external guidance and institutional support play a major role in micro
456 business decision making for collective adaptation. When a household member is part of an
457 organization, the willingness to invest in collective adaptation increases slightly significantly. Similarly,
458 access to external capital in form of loans from banks or microcredit institutions increases the
459 willingness to participate. Since some urban development policies act as barriers to individual risk
460 reduction and hinder the repair or reconstruction of private buildings after flood events, it is not
461 surprising that such situations have highly significant positive influence on the willingness to invest in
462 collective adaptation measures, together with other actors in the neighborhood.

463 The neighborhood of micro-businesses on decision-making in the experiments for which we controlled
464 does not yield significant results. Thus, micro businesses in the case study areas make decisions based
465 on scenario and individual-level characteristics, regardless of their place of operation.

466

467



468 **Table 3:** Multilevel regression results for willingness to participate in collective flood adaptation

	Odds ratio (standard error)	Odds ratio (standard error)	Odds ratio (standard error)	Direction of effect
Fixed effects	m0	m1	m2	
<i>Scenario characteristics</i>				
Neighborhood support (shared funding)		4.721*** (1.207)	4.712*** (1.208)	+
Political support (shared funding)		2.222*** (0.638)	2.231*** (0.643)	+
Unbalanced contribution of businesses		0.133*** (0.055)	0.121*** (0.052)	-
Dike system		1.333 (0.338)	1.334 (0.338)	
Drainage system		0.845 (0.220)	0.844 (0.220)	
Awareness program		1.697** (0.039)	1.697** (0.426)	+
<i>Firm characteristics</i>				
High individual damages			3.207* (1.964)	+
Flood experience			5.596** (4.158)	+
Expected flood increase			7.496** (6.541)	+
Household education			1.322 (0.808)	
Declining business revenue			0.167** (0.121)	-
Limited financial resources			0.189** (0.126)	-
Local supplier			2.523 (1.759)	
Member organization			4.673* (4.184)	+
No repair after flood events			193.237*** (252.860)	+
Access to external capital			4.394* (3.624)	+
<i>Control variables</i>				
Nha Be (location)			3.136 (2.750)	
District 8 (location)			2.239 (1.930)	
Constant	-1.489 (0.281)	0.894 (0.386)	0.000*** (0.000)	
<i>Random effects</i>				
Firm var.(_cons)	4.364 (1.146)	6.938 (1.840)	3.780 (1.020)	
<i>Model fit statistics</i>				
Observations	1,240	1,240	1,240	
ICC firm	0.570	0.678	0.535	
Prob>chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	



469 ***Significant at 1% level ($p<0.01$); **Significant at 5% level ($p<0.05$); *Significant at 10% level ($p<0.1$). Source:

470 Own calculation

471 **5 Future role of micro businesses in collective flood adaptation**

472 The empirical results of this analysis add important insights from the particular case of HCMC toward
473 a broader understanding of drivers and barriers of micro business flood adaptation.

474 The acceptance of and participation in adaptation measures are clearly related to the risk perceptions
475 and awareness at the individual and household level. In this case study, high future risk perception,
476 often based on past experience with flooding and suffering from damage to stocks and assets, was
477 clearly identified as a driver for investment in collaborative flood adaptation. Conversely, a lack of risk
478 perception and assessment, particularly with an eye towards upcoming flood risks, acts as a barrier for
479 long-term adaptation. Although 77 % of the businesses in our survey expect flooding to increase –
480 suggesting that the awareness is quite high – the direct (or indirect) impact on business operations is
481 often unclear and may explain the overall restraint in the experiments. Schaer (2018) argues that either
482 businesses do not perceive future impacts to be a risk factor for their business operations or have
483 limited expertise to predict and plan the risks accurately. The link between business benefits and
484 adaptation is not clear to decision-makers. It is added that micro businesses differ from larger SMEs by
485 being owner-centered, having a tendency of being “growth-adverse”, and focusing more on non-
486 economic aspects of business ownership. Growth intensions are often limited to a desired income
487 which is sufficient for making a living (Gherhes et al., 2016). Neise and Revilla Diez (2019) and Leitold
488 et al. (2021) already point out that frequent but smaller floods are kind of normality for small
489 businesses, against which they do not plan to adapt in the future. They often lack long-term business
490 plans or any risk assessments, either for climate risks or for other business risks, and follow a “simply
491 live with it” attitude. Business growth in terms of increasing headcount, diversification of products and
492 services, and revenue growth is not aspired anyway. Thus, the impact of flooding is only relevant if it
493 threatens the profitability of the micro business for household income.

494 Following this vein, we clearly see an overlap of the different key barriers developed in our conceptual
495 framework (Lo et al., 2019). It can be argued that general development constraints of micro businesses
496 are also responsible for barriers to adaptation. In particular, financial limitations in the business
497 environment act as additional barriers for long-term adaptation. On this point, the institutional
498 environment represents another critical barrier that can stimulate or inhibit adaptation. There is a lack
499 of tailored external support mechanisms and adequate financing options that motivate micro
500 businesses to initiate long-term business planning and thus also enables them to implement
501 adaptation measures (Berkhout et al., 2006; Schaer, 2018).

502 In general, the willingness to participate financially in our scenario exercise stood at 28% and was lower
503 than what we had expected. Average results in such public good games typically amounts to 40-60 %
504 of personal endowment (Chaudhuri, 2011). The results of the experiments show no substantial
505 differences between the contribution to different technical adaptation measures and the influence on
506 decision-making to participate in adaptation measures. Although the preference for low-cost and soft
507 measures over cost-extensive and technological measures is generally comparable to experiments
508 with manufacturing SMEs (Leitold et al., 2020; Neise et al., 2019), the low uptake of technical
509 adaptation measures can be explained by micro businesses’ prerequisites like limited financial
510 capabilities and low risk perception for entrepreneurial decision-making.

511 However, depending on the adaptation measure and financing option micro-businesses could play a
512 larger role in flood adaptation. Overall, almost 70% of the micro-businesses are willing to participate
513 in collective awareness programs. In general, the willingness to participate financially increases



514 noticeable to 39% if the costs could be shared with actors in their neighborhood and local authorities.
515 Moreover, businesses that have access to external capital from banks or microcredit institutions are
516 more willing to participate in collective adaptation in general. In most cases, and in contrast to larger
517 firms, micro businesses have a local life and business horizon and are closely embedded in local
518 (business) networks (Halkos and Skouloudis, 2019; Kato and Charoenrat, 2018). Therefore, local
519 adaptation solutions, support mechanisms and incentives must also be created in the direct business
520 environment. Building local business associations outside of industry-specific associations and
521 engaging decision-makers could be one important starting point to involve micro businesses into larger
522 adaptation initiatives and motivate them to participate. Additionally, community organizations and
523 neighborhood unions should place future risk trends and flood hazards on their agendas to promote
524 micro business awareness of flooding, but also support micro businesses that face institutional barriers
525 for flood adaptation.

526 It is argued here and supported by Chaudhury (2018), that information about future climate-related
527 risks and uncertainties, while relevant for decision-making processes, is often still unavailable for micro
528 businesses. Therefore, additional initiatives like awareness raising programs are easy to implement
529 and do not reach technological capacity limits, but can help to promote future risk assessments and
530 weighting of adaptation options, and possibilities. Building effective adaptation infrastructure consists
531 not only of physical infrastructure such as elevation, drainage systems or dike systems, but needs also
532 to include “informational infrastructure” (Marlowe et al., 2018; Ngin et al., 2020) in the form of
533 channels for communicating disaster risks and raising awareness. But apparently as our result clearly
534 show, micro-businesses willingness to participate in adaptation is also subject to socio-economic
535 constraints confronting individual decision makers and their lifestyle preferences (Lo et al 2019).

536 This understanding of micro-businesses, their lifestyle orientation and their flexibility is often
537 overlooked in adaptation research and in adaptation policies (Parsons et al 2018). There is a need to
538 understand more about constraints and preferences of micro-businesses to better support them but
539 also to integrate them better in adaptation schemes. As they are often located in densely populated
540 neighborhoods where they also reside and form part of the social fabric, their role as multiplier for
541 collective action could be used strategically in adaptation plans. However, our analysis is just a first
542 step into this direction. Our multilevel analysis is based on hypothetical and simplified designs of
543 adaptation scenarios. Therefore, external validity should be improved by conducting similar
544 experiments in different field contexts. Moreover, the research design based on yes or no responses
545 is not able to capture the intensity of contextual influences on micro business' willingness to participate
546 in respective adaptation options. Another relevant future research avenue is to quantitatively
547 investigate the causal relationships of various drivers and barriers that influence micro business
548 decision-making for flood adaptation based on a higher number of experiments.

549

550 **6 Conclusion**

551 Micro-businesses could play a much larger role in collective adaptation. Often overlooked in
552 adaptation research, their willingness to contribute in collective action amidst major constraints is
553 surprising. The conceptual framework presented in this paper helps us to understand the key drivers
554 and barriers of micro-businesses willingness to participate in collective adaption activities. The most
555 important key barriers of micro-businesses are limited financial capabilities and missing support from
556 local authorities. However, micro-businesses are willing to contribute depending on the concrete
557 adaptation measure and funding options. If no financial contribution is expected, almost 70 % are
558 willing to assist in awareness raising campaigns. And although their financial capabilities are very
559 limited, 39% of the micro-businesses would contribute financially if the costs are shared with other



560 firms in their neighborhood and with local authorities. Against this background, micro-businesses
561 should be much more involved in adaptation plans and measures. Through their local embedding, they
562 can be important multipliers in strengthening adaptive capacity at the local level.

563



564 **Appendix:**

	Indicator	Description (min=0; max=1)	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Adaptation measures	Neighborhood support	Scenarios with shared funding	1,240	0.4	0.49
	Political support	Scenarios with shared funding	1,240	0.2	0.40
	Unbalanced contribution of businesses	Scenarios where micro businesses need to invest more than others in their neighborhood	1,240	0.2	0.40
	Dike system	Scenarios with dike system (high financial input, technological infrastructure)	1,240	0.25	0.43
	Drainage system	Scenarios with drainage system (medium financial input, technological infrastructure)	1,240	0.25	0.43
	Awareness program	Scenarios with awareness program (low financial input, soft measure)	1,240	0.25	0.43
Individual risk knowledge, risk assessment and flood experience	High individual damages	High damage of business components (e.g., furniture, electronics, equipments, products), high equals major and complete damage	1,240	0.52	0.50
	Flood experience	Business was flooded more than 5 times in the last 10 years	1,240	0.61	0.49
	Household education	At least one person of the household has a university degree or vocational training	1,240	0.52	0.50
	Expected flood increase	Expected flood increase in the next ten years	1,240	0.77	0.42
Business environment	Decline business revenue	Revenue decline/ fluctuation over the past five years	1,240	0.51	0.50
	Limited financial resources	Low financial resources for preventing flood impacts (rating from 1-5, low equals 1 and 2)	1,240	0.58	0.49
	Local supplier	Suppliers located in the same district	1,240	0.60	0.49
Institutional environment	Member organization	Household members are part of an organization (e.g. Fatherland’s Front, Women’s Union, Youth Union, etc.)	1,240	0.15	0.35
	No repair after flood events	Government/Law doesn’t allow to repair/rebuild after flood events (e.g. it is in a planning project area)	1,240	0.07	0.25
	Access to external capital	Business finances investments through loans from banks or microcredit institutions	1,240	0.18	0.38
<i>Control variables</i>	Spatial influence Nha Be	Business located in Nha Be	1,240	0.44	0.50
	Spatial influence District 8	Business located in District 8	1,240	0.32	0.47



566 References

- 567 ADB, 2010. Ho Chi Minh City: Adaption to Climate Change, Mandaluyong City, Philippines.
- 568 Agrawala, S., Carraro, M., Kingsmill, N., Lanzi, E., 2011. Private sector engagement in adaptation to
569 climate change: approaches to managing climate risks. OECD Environment Working Papers.
570 <https://doi.org/10.1787/5kg221jkf1g7-en>.
- 571 Averchenkova, A., Crick, F., Kocornik-Mina, A., Leck, H., Surminski, S., 2016. Multinational and large
572 national corporations and climate adaptation: Are we asking the right questions? A review of
573 current knowledge and a new research perspective. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate
574 Change* 7, 517–536. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.402>.
- 575 Bahinipati, C.S., Rajasekar, U., Acharya, A., Patel, M., 2017. Flood-induced Loss and Damage to Textile
576 Industry in Surat City, India. *Environment and Urbanization ASIA* 8, 170–187.
577 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0975425317714903>.
- 578 Berkhout, F., Hertin, J., Gann, D.M., 2006. Learning to Adapt: Organisational Adaptation to Climate
579 Change Impacts. *Climatic Change* 78, 135–156. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-006-9089-3>.
- 580 Challies, E., Newig, J., Thaler, T., Kochskämper, E., Levin-Keitel, M., 2016. Participatory and
581 collaborative governance for sustainable flood risk management: An emerging research agenda.
582 *Environmental Science & Policy* 55, 275–280.
- 583 Chaudhuri, A., 2011. Sustaining cooperation in laboratory public goods experiments: A selective
584 survey of the literature. *Experimental Economics* 14, 47–83. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10683-010-9257-1>.
- 585
- 586 Chaudhury, M., 2018. Conceptualizing micro, small and medium enterprise engagement in climate
587 change adaptation, in: Schaer, C., Kuruppu, N. (Ed.), *Private-sector action in adaptation:
588 Perspectives on the role of micro, small and medium size enterprises*. Copenhagen, pp. 29–37.
- 589 Chen, J., Chen, T.H.Y., Vertinsky, I., Yumagulova, L., Park, C., 2013. Public-Private Partnerships for the
590 Development of Disaster Resilient Communities. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*
591 21, 130–143. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5973.12021>.
- 592 Chinh, D.T., Bubeck, P., Dung, N.V., Kreibich, H., 2016. The 2011 flood event in the Mekong Delta:
593 Preparedness, response, damage and recovery of private households and small businesses.
594 *Disasters* 40, 753–778. <https://doi.org/10.1111/disa.12171>.
- 595 Chirico, F., Salvato, C., 2008. Knowledge integration and dynamic organizational adaptation in family
596 firms. *Family Business Review* 21, 169–181.
- 597 Crick, F., Gannon, K.E., Diop, M., Sow, M., 2018. Enabling private sector adaptation to climate change
598 in sub-Saharan Africa. *WIREs Clim Change* 9, e505. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.505>.
- 599 Daddi, T., Todaro, N.M., Giacomo, M.R. de, Frey, M., 2018. A Systematic Review of the Use of
600 Organization and Management Theories in Climate Change Studies. *Business Strategy and the
601 Environment* 27, 456–474. <https://doi.org/10.1002/bse.2015>.
- 602 Danielson, M.G., Scott, J.A., 2006. The capital budgeting decisions of small businesses. *Journal of
603 Applied Finance* 16.
- 604 Downes, N.K., Storch, H., 2014. Current Constraints and Future Directions for Risk Adapted Land-Use
605 Planning Practices in the High-Density Asian Setting of Ho Chi Minh City. *Planning Practice &
606 Research* 29, 220–237. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02697459.2014.929835>.
- 607 Duy, P.N., Chapman, L., Tight, M., Linh, P.N., Thuong, L.V., 2018. Increasing vulnerability to floods in
608 new development areas: evidence from Ho Chi Minh City. *International Journal of Climate
609 Change Strategies and Management* 10, 197–212. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCCSM-12-2016-0169>.
- 610
- 611 Ehmke, M.D., Shogren, J.F., 2009. Experimental methods for environment and development
612 economics. *Environment and Development Economics* 14, 419–456.



- 613 Frei-Oldenburg, A., Wohlgemuth, J., Stieglitz, S.M. von, Stahr, C., Eisinger, F., 2018. Climate Expert: a
614 bottom-up approach to SME resilience to climate change, in: Schaer, C., Kuruppu, N. (Ed.),
615 Private-sector action in adaptation: Perspectives on the role of micro, small and medium size
616 enterprises. Copenhagen.
- 617 Geaves, L.H., Penning-Rowsell, E.C., 2016. Flood Risk Management as a public or a private good, and
618 the implications for stakeholder engagement. *Environmental Science & Policy* 55, 281–291.
619 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2015.06.004>.
- 620 Gherhes, C., Williams, N., Vorley, T., Vasconcelos, A.C., 2016. Distinguishing micro-businesses from
621 SMEs: a systematic review of growth constraints. *Jrnl of Small Bus Ente Dev* 23, 939–963.
622 <https://doi.org/10.1108/JSBED-05-2016-0075>.
- 623 Goldstein, A., Turner, W.R., Gladstone, J., Hole, D.G., 2019. The private sector's climate change risk
624 and adaptation blind spots. *Nature Climate Change* 9, 18–25. [https://doi.org/10.1038/s41558-](https://doi.org/10.1038/s41558-018-0340-5)
625 [018-0340-5](https://doi.org/10.1038/s41558-018-0340-5).
- 626 GSO, 2017. Vietnam enterprise census 2017, Hanoi, Vietnam.
- 627 GSO, 2020. Completed Results of the 2019 Viet Nam Population and Housing Census.
628 [https://www.gso.gov.vn/en/data-and-statistics/2020/11/completed-results-of-the-2019-viet-](https://www.gso.gov.vn/en/data-and-statistics/2020/11/completed-results-of-the-2019-vietnam-population-and-housing-census/)
629 [nam-population-and-housing-census/](https://www.gso.gov.vn/en/data-and-statistics/2020/11/completed-results-of-the-2019-vietnam-population-and-housing-census/) (accessed 28 May 2021).
- 630 Halkos, G., Skouloudis, A., 2019. Investigating resilience barriers of small and medium-sized
631 enterprises to flash floods: A quantile regression of determining factors. *Climate and*
632 *Development* 19, 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17565529.2019.1596782>.
- 633 Halkos, G., Skouloudis, A., Malesios, C., Evangelinos, K., 2018. Bouncing Back from Extreme Weather
634 Events: Some Preliminary Findings on Resilience Barriers Facing Small and Medium-Sized
635 Enterprises. *Business Strategy and the Environment* 27, 547–559.
636 <https://doi.org/10.1002/bse.2019>.
- 637 Haraguchi, M., Lall, U., 2015. Flood risks and impacts: A case study of Thailand's floods in 2011 and
638 research questions for supply chain decision making. *International Journal of Disaster Risk*
639 *Reduction* 14, 256–272. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdr.2014.09.005>.
- 640 Howe, P.D., 2011. Hurricane preparedness as anticipatory adaptation: A case study of community
641 businesses. *Global Environmental Change* 21, 711–720.
642 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2011.02.001>.
- 643 Hox, J.J., Moerbeek, M., van de Schoot, R., 2017. *Multilevel analysis: Techniques and applications*.
644 Routledge.
- 645 Kato, M., Charoenrat, T., 2018. Business continuity management of small and medium sized
646 enterprises: Evidence from Thailand. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 27, 577–
647 587. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdr.2017.10.002>.
- 648 Lawrence, J., Quade, D., Becker, J., 2014. Integrating the effects of flood experience on risk
649 perception with responses to changing climate risk. *Nat Hazards* 74, 1773–1794.
650 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11069-014-1288-z>.
- 651 Leitold, R., Diez, J.R., van Tran, 2020. Are we expecting too much from the private sector in flood
652 adaptation? Scenario-based field experiments with small-and medium-sized firms in Ho Chi Minh
653 City, Vietnam. *Climatic Change* 163, 359–378. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-020-02888-y>.
- 654 Leitold, R., Garschagen, M., van Tran, Revilla Diez, J., 2021. Flood Risk Reduction and Climate Change
655 Adaptation of Manufacturing Firms: Global Knowledge Gaps and Lessons from Ho Chi Minh City.
656 *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdr.2021.102351>.
- 657 Linnenluecke, M.K., Griffiths, A., Winn, M.I., 2013. Firm and industry adaptation to climate change: A
658 review of climate adaptation studies in the business and management field. *WIREs Clim Change*
659 4, 397–416. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.214>.



- 660 Linnenluecke, M.K., Stathakis, A., Griffiths, A., 2011. Firm relocation as adaptive response to climate
661 change and weather extremes. *Global Environmental Change* 21, 123–133.
662 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2010.09.010>.
- 663 Lo, A.Y., Liu, S., Cheung, L.T.O., 2019. Socio-economic conditions and small business vulnerability to
664 climate change impacts in Hong Kong. *Climate and Development* 11, 930–942.
665 <https://doi.org/10.1080/17565529.2019.1594665>.
- 666 Marks, D., Thomalla, F., 2017. Responses to the 2011 floods in Central Thailand: Perpetuating the
667 vulnerability of small and medium enterprises? *Natural Hazards* 87, 1147–1165.
668 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11069-017-2813-7>.
- 669 Marlowe, J., Neef, A., Tevaga, C.R., Tevaga, C., 2018. A new guiding framework for engaging diverse
670 populations in disaster risk reduction: Reach, relevance, receptiveness, and relationships. *Int J*
671 *Disaster Risk Sci* 9, 507–518.
- 672 MONRE, 2009. Climate change, sea level rise scenarios for Vietnam, Hanoi, Vietnam, 34 pp.
- 673 MONRE, World Bank Vietnam, DANIDA, 2006. Vietnam Environment Monitor 2006: Water Quality in
674 Viet Nam with a Focus on the Cau, Nhue-Day and Dong Nai River Basins; Technical Report, Hanoi,
675 Vietnam.
- 676 Neise, T., Revilla Diez, J., 2019. Adapt, move or surrender? Manufacturing firms' routines and
677 dynamic capabilities on flood risk reduction in coastal cities of Indonesia. *International Journal of*
678 *Disaster Risk Reduction* 33, 332–342. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2018.10.018>.
- 679 Neise, T., Revilla Diez, J., Garschagen, M., 2018. Firms as drivers of integrative adaptive regional
680 development in the context of environmental hazards in developing countries and emerging
681 economies – A conceptual framework. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* 36, 1522–
682 1541. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2399654418771079>.
- 683 Neise, T., Sambodo, M.T., Revilla Diez, J., 2019. Are Micro-, Small- and Medium-Sized Enterprises
684 Willing to Contribute to Collective Flood Risk Reduction? Scenario-Based Field Experiments from
685 Jakarta and Semarang, Indonesia. *Organization & Environment*, 1-24.
686 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1086026619875435>.
- 687 Ngin, C., Chhom, C., Neef, A., 2020. Climate change impacts and disaster resilience among micro
688 businesses in the tourism and hospitality sector: The case of Kratie, Cambodia. *Environmental*
689 *research* 186, 109557. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envres.2020.109557>.
- 690 Ones, U., Putterman, L., 2007. The ecology of collective action: A public goods and sanctions
691 experiment with controlled group formation. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 62,
692 495–521. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2005.04.018>.
- 693 Pathak, S., Ahmad, M.M., 2016. Flood recovery capacities of the manufacturing SMEs from floods: A
694 case study in Pathumthani province, Thailand. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 18,
695 197–205. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2016.07.001>.
- 696 Pathak, S., Ahmad, M.M., 2018. Role of government in flood disaster recovery for SMEs in
697 Pathumthani province, Thailand. *Natural Hazards* 93, 957–966.
- 698 Pauw, W.P., Chan, M., 2018. Multistakeholder partnerships for adaptation: the role of micro, small
699 and medium enterprises, in: Schaer, C., Kuruppu, N. (Ed.), *Private-sector action in adaptation:*
700 *Perspectives on the role of micro, small and medium size enterprises*. Copenhagen, pp. 99–109.
- 701 Pulver, S., Benney, T., 2013. Private-sector responses to climate change in the Global South. *WIREs*
702 *Clim Change* 4, 479–496. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.240>.
- 703 Rabe-Hesketh, S., Skrondal, A., 2008. Multilevel and longitudinal modeling using Stata. STATA press.
- 704 Revilla Diez, J., 2016. Vietnam 30 years after Doi Moi: achievements and challenges. *Zeitschrift für*
705 *Wirtschaftsgeographie* 60, 121–133. <https://doi.org/10.1515/zfw-2016-0035>.
- 706 Schaer, C., 2018. Editorial: Private-sector action in adaptation: Perspectives on the role of micro,
707 small and medium size enterprises, in: Schaer, C., Kuruppu, N. (Ed.), *Private-sector action in*



- 708 adaptation: Perspectives on the role of micro, small and medium size enterprises. Copenhagen,
709 pp. 7–17.
- 710 Schaer, C., Dale, T.W., Dorkenoo, K.E.J., 2019. Climate change adaptation and smaller businesses in
711 the Global South: defining roles, limitations, and touch points for positive interventions for
712 MSMEs situated in developing countries.
713 [https://backend.orbit.dtu.dk/ws/portalfiles/portal/195281065/Climate_change_adaptation_and](https://backend.orbit.dtu.dk/ws/portalfiles/portal/195281065/Climate_change_adaptation_and_smaller_businesses_in_the_Global_South_WEB.pdf)
714 [_smaller_businesses_in_the_Global_South_WEB.pdf](https://backend.orbit.dtu.dk/ws/portalfiles/portal/195281065/Climate_change_adaptation_and_smaller_businesses_in_the_Global_South_WEB.pdf) (accessed 10 June 2020).
- 715 Scussolini, P., Tran, T.V.T., Koks, E., Diaz-Loaiza, A., Ho, P.L., Lasage, R., 2017. Adaptation to Sea Level
716 Rise: A Multidisciplinary Analysis for Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. *Water Resources Research* 53,
717 10841–10857. <https://doi.org/10.1002/2017WR021344>.
- 718 Sohns, F., Revilla Diez, J., 2018. Explaining micro entrepreneurship in rural Vietnam—a multilevel
719 analysis. *Small Business Economics* 50, 219–237. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11187-017-9886-2>.
- 720 Surminski, S., Hankinson, J., 2018. MSMEs, climate change risks and insurance: reflections on the use
721 of insurance for climate adaptation, in: Schaer, C., Kuruppu, N. (Ed.), *Private-sector action in*
722 *adaptation: Perspectives on the role of micro, small and medium size enterprises*. Copenhagen,
723 pp. 65–77.
- 724 Trinh, P.T.T., Thanh, N.D., 2017. Development Characteristics of SME Sector in Vietnam: Evidence
725 from the Vietnam Enterprise Census 2006–2015. VEPR [Viet Nam Institute for Economic and
726 Policy Research, supported by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom], Working Paper
727 WP-18, Hanoi, Vietnam, 50 pp.
- 728 UNDP, 2019. Landscape Assessment Report on Private Sector's Engagement in Disaster Management
729 in Vietnam, 64 pp.
- 730 UNDRR, 2020. Reducing Risk & Building Resilience of SMEs to Disasters.
- 731 Verrest, H., Groennebaek, L., Ghiselli, A., Berganton, M., 2020. Keeping the business going: SMEs and
732 urban floods in Asian megacities. *International Development Planning Review* 42, 241–261.
733 <https://doi.org/10.3828/idpr.2020.3>.
- 734 Wedawatta, G., Ingirige, B., 2012. Resilience and adaptation of small and medium-sized enterprises
735 to flood risk. *Disaster Prevention and Management: An International Journal* 21, 474–488.
736 <https://doi.org/10.1108/09653561211256170>.
- 737 Wedawatta, G., Ingirige, B., Proverbs, D., 2014. Small businesses and flood impacts: The case of the
738 2009 flood event in Cockermouth. *Journal of Flood Risk Management* 7, 42–53.
739 <https://doi.org/10.1111/jfr3.12031>.
- 740 World Bank, 2019. Vietnam: Towards a Safe, Clean, and Resilient Water System, Washington, DC,
741 190 pp.
- 742