

1 **Extending the Shared Socioeconomic Pathways for Sub-national Impacts, Adaptation, and**
2 **Vulnerability Studies**

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22 April 27, 2015

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24 **Acknowledgements**

25 This research was sponsored by the U.S. Department of Energy, Office of Science, Biological and
26 Environment Research, Integrated Assessment Program under project ERKP719. This manuscript has
27 been authored by UT-Battelle, LLC under Contract No. DE-AC05-00OR22725 with the U.S. Department
28 of Energy. The United States Government retains and the publisher, by accepting the article for
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32 access to these results of federally sponsored research in accordance with the DOE Public Access Plan
33 (<http://energy.gov/downloads/doe-public-access-plan>). This work was sponsored by the U.S. Department
34 of Energy, Office of Science, Biological and Environment Research, Integrated Assessment Research
35 Program. The authors acknowledge the constructive comments of Kristie L. Ebi and Kasper Kok on prior
36 drafts of this manuscript.

37 **Abstract**

38 The exploration of alternative socioeconomic futures is an important aspect of understanding the potential
39 consequences of climate change. While socioeconomic scenarios are common and, at times essential,
40 tools for the impact, adaptation and vulnerability and integrated assessment modeling research
41 communities, their approaches to scenario development have historically been quite distinct. However,
42 increasing convergence of impact, adaptation and vulnerability and integrated assessment modeling
43 research in terms of scales of analysis suggests there may be value in the development of a common
44 framework for socioeconomic scenarios. The Shared Socioeconomic Pathways represents an opportunity
45 for the development of such a common framework. However, the scales at which these global storylines
46 have been developed are largely incommensurate with the sub-national scales at which impact, adaptation
47 and vulnerability, and increasingly integrated assessment modeling, studies are conducted. The objective
48 of this study was to develop sub-national and sectoral extensions of the global SSP storylines in order to
49 identify future socioeconomic challenges for adaptation for the U.S. Southeast. A set of nested qualitative
50 socioeconomic storyline elements, integrated storylines, and accompanying quantitative indicators were
51 developed through an application of the Factor-Actor-Sector framework. In addition to revealing
52 challenges and opportunities associated with the use of the SSPs as a basis for more refined scenario
53 development, this study generated sub-national storyline elements and storylines that can subsequently be
54 used to explore the implications of alternative sub-national socioeconomic futures for the assessment of
55 climate change impacts and adaptation.

56 **Keywords:** socioeconomic scenarios, Shared Socioeconomic Pathways, climate change, vulnerability,
57 adaptive capacity

58

59 **1. Introduction**

60 The evolution of human systems is a key factor influencing societal vulnerability to climate variability
61 and climate change (Denton and Wilbanks, 2014; IPCC, 2012). Future economic development pathways
62 at global, national, sub-national, and local levels, for example, will influence future emissions of
63 greenhouse gases (Denton and Wilbanks, 2014), the exposure of human populations to climate variability
64 and change (IPCC, 2012; Preston, 2013), and society's adaptive and mitigative capacities to reduce
65 climate risk (Adger, 2007). Therefore, prognostic studies of the potential consequences of climate change
66 should account for the non-stationarity of human systems and the uncertainty of future development
67 pathways if they are to generate insights that are both credible and relevant for problem orientation and
68 risk management (Berkhout et al., 2013; Preston et al., 2011). As future development pathways, globally
69 and locally, are subject to some degree of irreducible uncertainty, scenarios are one of the most common
70 approaches to representing future socioeconomic conditions and trends within integrated assessment
71 modeling (IAM) (Edmonds et al., 2012; Nakićenović and Swart, 2000; Valverde, 2004) and climate
72 change impacts, adaptation and vulnerability (IAV) research (Amer et al., 2013; van Ruijven et al., 2013;
73 Varum and Melo, 2010).

74

75 To date, the IAM and IAV research communities have adopted different approaches to the development
76 and use of socioeconomic scenarios, due to differences in research scales and objectives. The IAV
77 community often develops scenarios that focus on context-specific aspects of socioeconomic systems that
78 are focused on particular geographies or sectors (Birkmann et al., 2013; Brand et al., 2013; Kok et al.,
79 2007; van Ruijven et al., 2014; Vervoort et al., 2014). Furthermore, there is often an element of
80 stakeholder participation in the scenario development process to capture the values, preferences, and
81 concerns of those that would be affected by, and have responsibility for responding to, climate change and
82 its consequences. Such scenarios are often fit-for-purpose, but as such may have little connection to
83 global socioeconomic processes, and they may not be readily comparable (van Ruijven et al., 2013). For
84 IAMs, quantitative socioeconomic scenarios represent critical modeling inputs. Yet, those inputs have
85 traditionally been provided at relatively large-scale global or regional aggregations (Nakićenović and
86 Swart, 2000). Furthermore, stakeholder participation in scenario development for IAMs has not been a
87 priority and IAMs have been criticized for not explicitly incorporating qualitative aspects of social
88 systems that give rise to market imperfections, institutional and informational constraints, and delayed
89 policy implementation (Adger et al., 2008; Chambwerak et al., 2014; Ebi and Yohe, 2013; Klein et al.,
90 2014). Nevertheless, IAMs provide a mechanism for the internally consistent modeling of future

91 socioeconomic dynamics across space and time, and the IAM research community is directly involved in
92 model intercomparison for alternative socioeconomic futures (e.g., Riahi et al., 2015).

93

94 Current trends in both IAV and IAM research suggest that their historically distinct scales and objectives
95 may be converging. Investments by the U.S. Department of Energy and its national laboratories have
96 focused on the development of regional IAM frameworks (de Bremond et al., 2014; Kraucunas et al.,
97 2014; Moss et al., 2013) that resolve the macroeconomic impacts of regional- (i.e., sub-national) scale
98 climate impacts and policy responses while maintaining links to global-scale biophysical and economic
99 processes (Thomson et al., 2014). Similar IAM frameworks in Europe have demonstrated the value of
100 multi-scale integrated modeling that also incorporates stakeholder participation in scenario and model
101 development (Harrison et al., 2013). Meanwhile, efforts such as the Inter-Sectoral Impact Model
102 Intercomparison Project (ISI-MIP) (Huber et al., 2014) and the Agricultural Model Intercomparison
103 Project (AgMIP) (Rosenzweig et al., 2014) are indicative of growing integration and collaboration within
104 the IAV community toward consistent, multi-scaled impact modeling. Collectively, these developments
105 are enhancing the capacity to, on one hand, incorporate the sub-national to local-scale context
106 characteristically explored through IAV studies into IAMs, and, on the other hand, scale-up IAV methods
107 and analyses to provide more comprehensive understanding and geographic coverage of potential
108 impacts. This convergence between the IAM and IAV communities suggests there may be strategic
109 advantages in the development and use of a common framework for socioeconomic scenarios.

110

111 The Shared Socioeconomic Pathways (SSPs), which, in conjunction with the Representative
112 Concentration Pathways, comprise the parallel scenario process (Ebi et al., 2014; Kriegler et al., 2012;
113 Moss et al., 2010; O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012), represent an opportunity to develop such a
114 common framework. The SSPs are a new framework for the generation of insights regarding the future
115 implications of climate change that enables the integration of projections of future climate change from
116 Earth system models, future socioeconomic conditions, and alternative climate policy assumptions
117 (O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012). The SSPs describe plausible alternative trends in the evolution
118 of society and ecosystems over the course of the 21st century assuming no explicit policies to mitigate or
119 adapt to climate change. As they were developed to reflect driving forces important to understanding
120 climate outcomes, they do not include explicit assumptions about future emissions, or climate change
121 impacts. In other words, they reflect key inputs that enable understanding of vulnerabilities that determine
122 the magnitude and pattern of climate change risks, but those are derived from other analysis tools such as
123 IAMs or climate impact models.

124

125 As with prior efforts to develop socioeconomic scenarios, such as SRES (Nakićenović and Swart, 2000),
126 and the Global Environment Outlook (GEO) (UNEP, 2002, 2007), the SSPs have been explicitly designed
127 for the global scale with the intent of subsequently developing sub-global and sectoral extensions to
128 address specific research questions of interest to the IAM and/or IAV research communities (Birkmann et
129 al., 2013; Ebi et al., 2014; O'Neill et al., 2014a; van Ruijven et al., 2013). Global, continental, or even
130 national storylines and scenarios are often too coarse geographically to capture vulnerability and adaptive
131 capacity, which are widely recognized as being place-based phenomenon that are strongly, but not
132 exclusively, influenced by local context (Kriegler et al., 2012). Information on socioeconomic futures at
133 the sub-national scale may therefore be considered more relevant for IAV research and more legitimate
134 for stakeholders and practitioners(Birkmann et al., 2013). Yet, there may be advantages to having such
135 information linked to conditions and trends at the global scale that represent a common set of shared
136 assumptions. For example, while global storylines and quantitative scenarios were developed as part of
137 the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA) (Carpenter, 2005), a range of sub-national assessments
138 were also conducted that included storylines generated by various methods with varying degrees of
139 consistency with the global storylines (Lebel et al., 2005). Similarly, in order for the IAV community, in
140 particular, to capitalize on the opportunities presented by the SSPs, methods are needed to bridge the scale
141 disconnect between the global SSP storylines and the sub-national scales at which much of the
142 socioeconomic conditions that influence vulnerability, impacts, and adaptive capacity are relevant (see
143 also Vervoort et al., 2014).

144

145 Here, we describe a method for developing sub-national and sectoral SSP storyline extensions for the U.S.
146 Southeast as part of an effort to undertake climate impact modeling for the region's agriculture, water,
147 and energy sectors that reflects uncertainty in future adaptive capacity. We apply an existing framework
148 for the iterative development of socioeconomic storylines that span multiple spatial scales in order to
149 generate a series of sub-national SSP storylines and quantitative indicators for the U.S. Southeast (Kok et
150 al., 2006a; Rotmans et al., 2000). In so doing, the objectives were to a) identify potential challenges
151 associated with using the global SSPs for nested storyline development, b) explore a specific method for
152 managing these challenges, and c) discuss subsequent applications in which such storylines can be
153 operationalized in both qualitative and quantitative IAV studies.

154

155 **2. Conceptual Framework for Nested Storyline Development**

156 **2.1. The Shared Socioeconomic Pathways**

157 The Shared Socioeconomic Pathways (SSPs) are the next generation of socioeconomic storylines for
158 climate change research and assessment, emerging from the parallel scenario process (Moss et al., 2010).
159 The basic SSPs are a set of global qualitative storylines and allied quantitative scenarios framed around
160 various combinations of socioeconomic conditions and trajectories that create challenges to greenhouse
161 gas mitigation and/or climate adaptation (Figure 1) (Kriegler et al., 2012; O'Neill et al., 2014a, b; O'Neill
162 et al., 2012). The SSP1 (Sustainability) storyline assumes a future global socioeconomic development
163 trajectory characterized by substantial gains in sustainability. As such, there are relatively low challenges
164 for both mitigation and adaptation. In contrast, SSP3 (Regional Rivalry) assumes a breakdown in
165 international cooperation and globalization leading to high challenges for both mitigation and adaptation.
166 SSP4 (Inequality) and SSP5 (Fossil-fueled Development) explore permutations where there are high
167 challenges along just one dimension of mitigation or adaptation, while SSP2 (Middle of the Road), is
168 largely a business-as-usual trajectory. The SSPs are formulated independent of any explicit climate
169 change projections or mitigation and adaptation policies, but rather represent socioeconomic factors that,
170 for any given policy objective, would make mitigation or adaptation more achievable or difficult. The
171 basic SSPs therefore represent socioeconomic boundary conditions for key driving forces that can inform
172 subsequent extensions of the SSP storylines to add sub-national and/or sectoral context as needed for
173 particular research activities and/or stakeholder needs (Ebi, 2013; O'Neill et al., 2014a, b). However, the
174 SSPs have emerged relatively recently, and the development of such extended storylines is in a nascent
175 state. Hence, this study explores one approach to developing extended storylines in a manner that retains
176 internal consistency across geographic scales.

177

178 **2.2. Bridging Scales in Socioeconomic Scenario Development**

179 Various methodologies appear in the literature for developing socioeconomic scenarios for IAV and IAM
180 research. These reflect different epistemologies and have different strengths and weaknesses for specific
181 applications and desired outcomes. Generally, the various methodologies can be framed as top down and
182 bottom up approaches (Biggs et al., 2007; Holman et al., 2005; Kok et al., 2006a; Sleeter et al., 2012),
183 which reflect different entry points for scenario development with respect to scale, audience, and use.
184 Bottom up approaches may, for example, employ participatory scenario development techniques to
185 generate qualitative storylines for the study domain of interest, (Birkmann et al., 2013; Kok et al., 2006a;
186 Kok et al., 2006b), and then, if relevant, link those scenarios to conditions and trends at more global
187 scales (Holman et al., 2005; Sleeter et al., 2012). Such approaches allow maximum flexibility for scenario
188 authors as they are unconstrained by prior efforts. However, although such storylines potentially can be
189 mapped back to global level scenarios based on common underlying themes, the ad hoc generation of

190 multiple independent storylines may create significant challenges with respect to making comparisons
191 across storylines or storyline groupings (Zurek and Henrichs, 2007). In contrast, top down approaches
192 use, often global, scenarios as boundary conditions for more regionalized scenarios at other scales (Kok et
193 al., 2006b), and are often accompanied by the quantification of key variables. Top down approaches are
194 best suited to situations in which a priori global scenarios are considered a desirable starting point for
195 scenario development at other scales. This would include situations in which there is already some
196 legitimacy or process associated with a set of scenarios; where there is interest in exploring cross-scale
197 interactions and teleconnections; or where one seeks to maintain consistent assumptions across multiple
198 studies (Biggs et al., 2007). Generating scenarios at finer spatial scales can be achieved by either
199 downscaling approaches, which are particularly relevant for generating higher resolution around
200 quantitative scenario elements (e.g., GDP, population, land use) (van Vuuren et al., 2007; van Vuuren et
201 al., 2010), or nesting approaches in which one seeks to develop qualitative storylines that provide
202 increasingly rich socioeconomic context at increasingly regionalized scales (Kok et al., 2006b; Leadley et
203 al., 2010). As nested qualitative storylines are not limited in terms of the scope of socioeconomic
204 elements they contain, they enable one to describe a broad set of socioeconomic processes, conditions,
205 and interactions that are relevant for representing societal vulnerability and adaptive capacity.

206
207 Given the relationship between sub-national development trajectories and global trajectories is uncertain,
208 there are two idealized assumptions one can make. First, sub-national trajectories may evolve in concert
209 with global trajectories. For example, rapid population growth at the global scale may be reflected at sub-
210 national scales, although what constitutes rapid growth may vary between scales. Alternatively, sub-
211 national trajectories may evolve independently of global trajectories, in which case sub-national
212 development is unbounded by global development pathways. These two assumptions translate into two
213 general approaches to developing nested storylines (Figure 2). The first assumption can be represented by
214 a ‘one-to-many’ nesting in which the storyline at each scale is consistent with a multitude of storylines at
215 other scales (Biggs et al., 2007; Zurek and Henrichs, 2007). The one-to-many approach is perhaps most
216 faithful to future uncertainty given inevitable surprises. However, it results in unconstrained growth in
217 potential storylines as one shifts from one scale to another. This can result in a) a suite of storylines too
218 numerous to effectively manage or communicate as well as b) redundancy among storylines variants. The
219 second assumption can be represented by a ‘one-to-one’ nesting of storylines in which each storyline at a
220 given geographic scale manifests at the next lower scale as a single storyline with fully consistent
221 assumptions on drivers and scenario logics as the higher scale scenarios, but with enhanced context (see
222 also Zurek and Henrichs, 2007). The ‘one-to-one’ approach to nesting is more expedient, but this is
223 achieved by artificially constraining the ways in which futures evolve across different scales. This may be

224 particularly problematic in scenario development processes involving stakeholder participation, as it
225 reduces the opportunities for stakeholders to shape the manner in which futures are explored (Biggs et al.,
226 2007). Nevertheless the one-to-many approach allows the exploration of disparate futures provided the
227 parent global scenarios themselves are disparate themselves. This one-to-one approach was therefore
228 selected as a means of developing nested storylines for current study based on the SSPs.

229 **3.3. The Factor-Actor-Sector Framework**

230 The method used to develop nested socioeconomic storylines or storyline extensions, is called the Factor-
231 Actor-Sector framework (Kok et al., 2006b). Within this framework, a sector represents a sub-component
232 of a national or social system. An actor represents an individual or organization of individuals with the
233 capacity to effect and/or influence change. A factor represents an aspect of a social or natural system
234 around which there are broad policy issues of particular interest (Kok et al., 2006b). This framework was
235 first used during the VISIONS project funded by the European Commission to develop a range of
236 alternative scenarios for European sectors as guidance for setting mid-term and long-term strategies for
237 sustainable development both at the European and sub-national scales (Rotmans et al., 2000). The Factor-
238 Actor-Sector framework was selected for the current study for its ability to address the complexity of
239 socioeconomic systems in a systematic and structured manner and to enable investigators to define a
240 priori the relevant aspects of socioeconomic futures. For example, by design, the global SSPs are
241 comprised of succinct descriptions on a wide range of factors in order to avoid overly-prescribing future
242 socioeconomic conditions in ways that would limit their usefulness for diverse applications. However, as
243 a consequence, the global SSP storylines lack descriptions of some elements that are often considered
244 relevant to IAV research such as the status and trends of certain sectors and/or the roles of specific actors
245 and governance networks. Explicit identification of these elements is an essential starting point for the
246 Factor-Actor-Sector framework. By deconstructing socioeconomic pathways into these elements, the
247 framework creates entry points for global SSP storyline elements while also enabling the exploration of
248 other aspects of socioeconomic futures. In so doing, the Factor-Actor-Sector framework facilitates the
249 development of internally consistent, multi-scaled storylines, as each element at a given scale can be
250 generated in a manner that directly links to like elements at other scales (Kok et al., 2006b).

251

252 **4. Storyline Development**

253 **4.1. Global Storyline Elements**

254 The first step in developing the nested storylines was the articulation of a core set of factors, actors, and
255 sectors (referred to here as storyline elements), that were relevant across multiple spatial scales and to the
256 study context (Table 1; Figure 3). Because sufficient resources were not available in the current study to

257 enable a robust, multi-scaled, participatory scenario development process, the identification of relevant
258 storyline elements was achieved through literature review. For factors, this process was informed by
259 elements described in the global SSP storylines as well as by examining the factors that are commonly
260 incorporated in other scenario exercises or used as input in IAMs or integrated assessment more broadly
261 (IIASA, 2012b; Kok et al., 2006a; Nakićenović and Swart, 2000; O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al.,
262 2012; UNEP, 2007). This enabled consideration for qualitative elements of socioeconomic systems that
263 pose challenges to adaptation that are not routinely represented explicitly in IAMs or other top down
264 modeling and assessment methods. For example, although specific actors are often not articulated in
265 scenarios or in IAM experiments, a small set of actors was identified that influence the governance of
266 different resources (e.g., public versus private institutions). Sectors were defined based upon common
267 inclusion in global assessments such as the IPCC Working Groups II and III, common outputs from
268 integrated assessment models, or because they have been identified as having significant geopolitical
269 implications. The above criteria also capture those sectors that were particularly relevant for future
270 applications of the nested storylines in the U.S. Southeast, specifically, energy, water, and agriculture.

271
272 To implement the global Factor-Actor-Sector framework, the five global SSP qualitative storylines were
273 mapped to the defined factors, actors, and sectors (Figure 3) (O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012).
274 The SSP narratives were reviewed and language from each that provided context at the global scale for
275 any of the defined elements was extracted and recorded in a database. Hence, each element was
276 associated with a brief description of condition or trend as defined by the global SSP narrative. As the set
277 of defined factors, actors, and sectors was generally broader than that which is described by the global
278 SSPs, several factors and, particularly, actors and sectors remained undefined. Because a concerted effort
279 was made to preserve the global SSP storyline elements intact as they were originally prescribed, and
280 because the ultimate interest was in sub-national scale context, no attempt was made to fill these gaps in
281 the definition of specific factors, actors, or sectors.

282

283 **4.2. National Storyline Elements**

284 The first level of storyline nesting consisted of the development of national storyline elements based on
285 the global elements (Figure 3). In order to constrain the number of scenarios for consideration and to
286 focus the nesting of socioeconomic storylines around challenges for adaptation, this study used four of the
287 five global SSPs storylines, excluding SSP4 (Inequality) (Figure 1). The remaining four storylines span
288 the continuum of low (SSP1 and SSP5), medium (SSP2), and high (SSP 4) challenges to adaptation. Both
289 SSP1 and SSP5 were examined because they achieve such low challenges for adaptation through
290 diametrically opposed development pathways. As a result, the implications for some of the scenario

291 elements in SSP5 (e.g., biodiversity/conservation) run counter to the overall narrative of low challenges
292 for adaptation. Meanwhile, because SSP5 and SSP4 represent high challenges to mitigation, they can be
293 consistently applied in conjunction with an RCP8.5 scenario to juxtapose differential challenges to
294 adaptation under more pessimistic scenarios of climate change. While the social inequality under SSP4
295 represents a classic indicator of low adaptive capacity, its low challenges vis-à-vis mitigation suggest it is
296 less consistent with RCP8.5. In addition, the plausibility of SSP4, where future challenges to mitigation
297 are low, but actors experience difficulties in the pursuit of adaptation, would appear less plausible than the
298 other SSP storylines, particularly for developed nations such as the United States. As the relevant factors,
299 actors, and sectors changed when the analysis lens focused on the United States, some elements
300 considered in the global SSP storylines were dropped and not explored further at other scales. For
301 example, while the Millennium Development Goals represent a key development metric for developing
302 nations, they have little direct relevance to future U.S. socioeconomic development pathways. In addition,
303 while agriculture and forestry was included as an aggregate Sector in the definition of global SSP
304 elements, it was separated into two components of agriculture and forestry for the national level factors.
305 Those elements that were retained were subsequently defined for the U.S. in a manner consistent with
306 tight coupling to the global SSP narratives.

307
308 This process posed two methodological challenges. First, a process was required for defining national
309 level storyline elements that corresponded with the global elements, despite the fact that the global SSP
310 narratives lack detailed information at the national scale (although some national level data for the
311 variables of population, GDP, and urbanization were available through the SSP data base (IIASA, 2012a)).
312 Second, storyline elements that were not articulated in the global SSP narratives had to be defined. Rather
313 than develop this content purely de novo, these challenges were addressed through a review of peer
314 reviewed and grey literature to identify existing storylines, scenarios, and allied information regarding
315 current and future trends in different factors, actors, and sectors (Figure 3; Table 2). When relevant
316 storylines or scenarios were identified, these were categorized based on their consistency with the global
317 SSP storyline elements. For example, factors associated with the SSP5 (Fossil-fueled Development)
318 storyline reflect high rates of U.S. population growth and economic development, but those trends are
319 coupled to modest rates of technological change, particularly in the energy sector. In developing national
320 storylines, U.S. demographic scenarios (e.g., Bierwagen et al., 2010; Guarneri, 2009; IIASA, 2012a, b;
321 O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012; USCB, 2012a, b), economic scenarios (e.g., MGI, 2011;
322 O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012; UNEP, 2007; WEF, 2010), and technology scenarios (e.g., IEA,
323 2012; Mintzer et al., 2003; O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012; RF and GBN, 2010; UNEP, 2007)

324 were reviewed to identify scenarios for these elements that were consistent with the Fossil-fueled
325 Development storyline.

326

327 In addition to maintaining vertical consistency in a single storyline element across scales, efforts were
328 also made to maintain horizontal consistency among different elements within the same scale. Factors
329 such as population, GDP, and technology will evolve over time in tandem. Similarly, the future evolution
330 of different U.S. sectors will be dependent upon future trajectories of global and U.S. factors. Hence, the
331 development of content for each storyline element required ongoing consistency checks with other
332 elements. For example, SSP1 (Sustainability) characterizes future global society as one associated with
333 rapid rates of technological change, which ultimately affects the evolution of specific sectors such as
334 energy and agriculture. Therefore, in using existing national scenarios of the energy (e.g., EIA, 2012a, b;
335 Mintzer et al., 2003; O'Neill et al., 2014b; USDOS, 2010) and agriculture (e.g., ERS, 2011; IFTF, 2011;
336 UNEP, 2007) sectors to develop national storyline elements for different SSPs, content for SSP1 for these
337 sectors was derived from those existing sectoral scenarios that suggested similarly rapid rates of
338 technological change.

339

340 **4.3. Sub-National Storyline Elements**

341 For sub-national storylines, the factors and actors considered in storyline development remained the same
342 as those for the national storylines, but for the sectors, the focus narrowed to elaborate storyline elements
343 for the three sectors considered most relevant to the study focus: energy, water and agriculture (Table 1).
344 As in the case of national storylines, the sub-national storyline elements were developed using national
345 storylines and scenarios that contained sub-national detail as well as more state-based information (Table
346 2). Generally, identifying sources of information and scenarios regarding future factors, actors, and
347 sectors at the sub-national scale was more challenging. As a consequence, the development of storyline
348 elements was often based upon extrapolating the current socioeconomic context of the region while
349 attempting to maintain vertical and horizontal consistency with other storyline elements.

350 Although sub-national storyline elements were largely based on qualitative information, some quantitative
351 indicators were developed to better understand the relative trends, magnitudes and dynamics of key
352 factors within the region. These quantitative indicators were developed for state population and GDP by
353 spatially disaggregating the U.S. population (IIASA-WIC v9) and GDP (IIASA-GDP v9) projections
354 within the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) SSP database version 0.93
355 (IIASA, 2012a) to the state level using the Integrated Climate and Land Use Scenarios (ICLUS)
356 sponsored by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (Bierwagen et al., 2010) and Bureau of
357 Economic Analysis data (BEA, 2013), respectively. For population, the global SRES storylines associated

358 with individual ICLUS scenarios were first paired with the global SSP storylines to identify SRES/SSP
359 pairings that were generally consistent. Hence, SSP1, SSP2, SSP3, and SSP5 storylines were paired with
360 the ICLUS SRES B1, Base case, A2, and A1 scenarios, respectively (see also Nakićenović and Swart,
361 2000). The ICLUS population scenarios were then used to calculate the proportion of future growth in
362 total U.S. population attributable to each U.S. county and state in 10-year time steps from 2010 to 2100.
363 These proportions were then used as scaling factors, which were applied to the population increases
364 generated for the corresponding SSP population scenarios for the United States in IIASA's SSP database.
365 For state GDP scenarios, the average percentage contribution of each state to national GDP growth for 15
366 recent years (1997–2011) was calculated from the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis data (BEA, 2013)
367 and these percentages were then used to disaggregate IIASA's SSP 21st century national U.S. GDP
368 scenarios to state level GDP estimates.

369

370 **5. Results**

371 The method applied here generated a number of outputs. First, development of storyline elements for
372 factors, actors, and sectors at the global, national, and sub-national level across the four SSPs resulted in a
373 database with details regarding each storyline element, which enables one to compare storyline elements
374 across different SSP assumptions and scales (Figure 4). For example, comparing SSP1 and SSP5 storyline
375 elements for the water sector at each scale illustrates the evolution of information as one shifts from the
376 global to the sub-national scale as well as the similarities and differences between the different SSPs with
377 respect to outcomes and the pathways by which those outcomes are realized (Figure 5). By design, the
378 SSPs provide only cursory information on the water sector at the global scale, with both SSP1 and SSP5
379 indicating that access to safe drinking water is expanded. They emphasize slightly different mechanisms
380 by which such achievements are realized (achievement of MDGs in SSP1 while SSP5 emphasizes large-
381 scale infrastructure investments), but these mechanisms are not mutually exclusive. At the national scale,
382 the issue of water is broadened beyond just drinking water availability. Both SSP1 and SSP5 emphasize
383 integrated water management and efficiency measures, yet SSP5 suggests a greater intensity of water
384 resource development to meet the high levels of population growth and economic development. At the
385 sub-national level, such distinctions become more evident. While SSP1 highlights sustainable water
386 management practices, efficiency, and equity, SSP5 focuses on increasing privatization and resource
387 development in order to meet demand and drive water use toward its highest value. Hence, both storylines
388 suggest a future of water sufficiency through development pathways that enable adaptation, in contrast
389 with other storylines such as SSP3 where capacity in the water sector is lower. However, the implications
390 of SSP1 and SSP5 for long-term sustainability are not equivalent, and these two storylines imply
391 significant differences in patterns of investment, governance, and the culture of water.

392

393 The use of quantitative scenarios to explore the key driving forces of population and demography at the
394 sub-national level provided additional context regarding the manner in which different socioeconomic
395 pathways manifest in the U.S. Southeast. For example, population growth of states of the U.S. Southeast
396 was projected to peak during the 21st century in SSP1, SSP2, and SSP3, with that peak arriving by
397 approximately 2030 for SSP3 and toward the end of the century in SSP1 and SSP2 (Figure 5). Much of
398 the change in the population at the sub-national level is associated with Florida and Texas – the two states
399 that have the largest populations at present and are projected to account for a significant fraction of future
400 population growth. These two states also account for a significant fraction of U.S. and Southeast GDP.
401 However, the 21st century temporal dynamics of GDP scenarios for a given SSP are similar across the
402 states. For SSP1 and SSP2, there is steady, but modest and linear, growth in GDP over the 21st century.
403 Growth in GDP under SSP3 is more constrained and has largely plateaued by 2100. In contrast, GDP
404 under SSP5 grows exponentially, reaching levels that are several-fold higher than those observed for
405 other SSPs. These methods resulted in population and GDP scenarios for U.S. Southeast states that scale
406 directly to the U.S. scenarios within the IIASA database, but with the sub-national distribution determined
407 by more localized trends and dynamics. However, at the aggregate state level, where gradients between
408 urban and rural landscapes are masked, these scenarios are dominated by the national SSP scenarios and
409 the historical distribution of population and GDP among U.S. states. This implies some degree of path
410 dependence in future rates of change.

411

412 The database of storyline elements is extensive and therefore difficult to use to rapidly compare and
413 contrast elements associated with different SSPs and/or scales. As such, a synthesis was conducted that
414 focused on identifying the implications of each storyline element regarding challenges for adaptation
415 (Figure 6). Storyline elements could be seen as creating moderate or large opportunities for adaptation,
416 moderate or large challenges for adaptation, or neutral. In addition, factors reflect not just status but also
417 trajectories, and thus factors have dual characteristics of both a trajectory (i.e., growth versus decline) as
418 well as challenges to adaptation (i.e., moderate versus large). For example, SSP1 is associated with
419 enabling conditions that pave the way for reductions in greenhouse gas emissions. Hence, the trajectory of
420 the factor of emissions indicates a decline at the sub-national scale, which is interpreted as an increase in
421 adaptive capacity under the assumption that lower emissions reduce the magnitude of future climate
422 change to which society must adapt. In contrast, SSP5 is associated with high emissions growth thus
423 poses greater challenges for adaptation. The synthesis also enables the rapid comparison of the
424 implications of different SSP storylines at different scales. The storyline elements of SSP3 generally have
425 a negative influence on adaptation across most of the factor, actors, and sectors. In contrast, most

426 elements are positive under SSP1. It is also important to note that the trajectories of factors have different
427 implications for adaptation under different storylines. At the sub-national scale, both SSP1 and SSP2 are
428 associated with moderate growth in GDP. This has a positive influence on adaptive capacity under SSP1,
429 under the assumption that economic growth helps to enable social, economic, and technological
430 transitions associated with more sustainable futures. In contrast, under SSP2, modest GDP growth in the
431 absence of an emphasis on sustainable development is associated with higher adverse externalities that
432 reduce the overall opportunities for adaptation.

433
434 In addition to the synthesis, the individual storyline elements at the sub-national scale were integrated to
435 develop sub-national storylines that act as extensions of the global SSP storylines (Appendix). However,
436 they do not capture all aspects of each storyline element and thus reflect a generalized vision for the
437 region, but with a particular emphasis on the priority sectors of agriculture, water, and energy. In
438 conjunction with the storyline element database and the storyline element synthesis, these sub-national
439 storylines represent different tools for defining socioeconomic boundary conditions at the sub-national
440 level for subsequent IAV applications. Nevertheless, the qualitative nature of the storyline elements and
441 storylines allows some degree of flexibility for further modification or extension to suit specific needs.

442 443 **6. Discussion**

444 The global SSP storylines and the ongoing process to expand their relevance for diverse applications
445 represent a new opportunity to routinize the consideration of future socioeconomic conditions and
446 pathways in climate change research and assessment (van Ruijven et al., 2013). The development of
447 extensions of the global SSPs for different regions and/or sectors is an inherent component of the SSP
448 framework. However, in so doing, two challenges must be addressed: a) the scale discordance challenge
449 associated with using the global SSPs at sub-global scales (Moser, 2000; van Ruijven et al., 2013; Zurek
450 and Henrichs, 2007) and b) the information gap challenge created by the lack of detailed information on
451 some factors, actors, or sectors that may be relevant for SSP extensions. As illustrated here, the Factor-
452 Actor-Sector framework provides a structured process for addressing these challenges. The explicit
453 articulation of factors, actors, and sectors allows one to prioritize key storyline elements and manage
454 consistency checks among different elements and across different scales. It is also sufficiently flexible to
455 enable the incorporation of a broad array of information sources to facilitate the development of sub-
456 national and/or sectoral SSP extensions. For example, the current study mapped existing national and sub-
457 national scenarios and storylines for different factors, actors, and sectors to the SSP pathways. In so
458 doing, the resulting storyline elements were both consistent with the global SSPs as well as existing
459 perspectives on future U.S. socioeconomic pathways. This approach of using literature review to facilitate

460 the development of SSP extensions could, however, be readily accompanied by, or replaced with,
461 participatory scenario processes where stakeholders drive the development of SSP extensions (Carlsen et
462 al., 2012; Harrison et al., 2013; Kok et al., 2006a). Hence, the Factor-Actor-Sector framework represents
463 a potentially useful vehicle for structuring alternative mechanisms for extending the global SSPs.

464

465 Nevertheless, the application of the Factor-Actor-Sector framework also revealed challenges associated
466 with nesting qualitative storylines within the SSPs. First and foremost, there is the question of what
467 constitutes consistency between or within scales with respect to storyline elements. Zurek and Henrichs
468 (2007) define consistent scenarios as being comprised of common boundary conditions, assumptions, and
469 drivers. In this context, the national and sub-national storyline extensions developed here meet the criteria
470 for consistency due to their adherence to the SSP logic framework and their representation of the various
471 driving forces reflected in the global SSP storylines. However, given the global SSP storylines were, by
472 design, developed to accommodate a range of futures, a diverse array of national or sub-national storyline
473 elements could be considered to be consistent with any given SSP (O'Neill et al., 2014b). Those elements
474 that were developed in the current study are therefore just one possible realization, and thus the nested
475 storylines do not explore all the possible ways in which a given global SSP could manifest at the national
476 or sub-national level. A second related challenge is that nesting process relies heavily on normative
477 judgments, even when guided by additional literature or stakeholder participation. Hence, it would be
478 difficult for two parallel applications of the Factors-Actors-Sectors framework to generate exactly the
479 same nested storylines, although variants of a given SSP storyline should be recognizable as such. This
480 suggests there may be trade-offs between flexibility and reproducibility, despite both being desirable
481 features of scenario development methods. In contrast, the implementation of the global SSP storylines in
482 an IAM provides a process-based and reproducible mechanism for evaluating socioeconomic responses to
483 alternative boundary conditions. A third challenge is that the qualitative sub-national SSP storyline
484 extensions may be difficult to operationalize within quantitative IAM or IAV modeling frameworks.
485 Further interpretation and translation may be required to generate additional quantitative indicators that
486 can be used as model inputs. These various challenges reflect the need to carefully consider the
487 appropriateness of the method for developing SSP extensions and the potential value in exploring
488 alternative methods.

489

490 While the current study reports the development of nested storylines for the U.S. Southeast, those
491 storylines are not an end in themselves. Rather, the intent is to use these storylines for representing
492 alternative socioeconomic pathways in the modeling of climate change impacts on the region, and key
493 sectors at the land, water, energy nexus. To this end, the storylines help frame the selection of

494 opportunities and constraints associated with adaptation of these sectors, including technological
495 innovation and management practices that can be parameterized in crop, water resources management,
496 and energy system models. This leads, however, to an additional consideration in the development of SSP
497 extensions, which is their integration with scenarios of future climate conditions to explore the joint
498 implications of both climatic and socioeconomic change for impacts, adaptation, and vulnerability. The
499 Scenario Matrix Architecture (SMA) is a key feature of the “parallel process” of scenario development in
500 which socioeconomic storylines developed under the SSP framework are integrated with climate
501 scenarios based on general circulation or regional climate models forced by the RCP scenarios (Ebi et al.,
502 2014; Eom et al., 2013; Moss et al., 2010; van Ruijven et al., 2013; van Vuuren et al., 2014; van Vuuren
503 et al., 2012). The issue of whether socioeconomic challenges to adaptation associated with a given SSP
504 can truly be considered to exist independent of the rate and magnitude of climate change is an open
505 question worthy of consideration and deliberation in the application of the SMA. For example, the
506 conventional development pathway implied by SSP5 implies a greater likelihood of significant climate
507 change and adverse impacts, which could pose a negative feedback on development, posing greater
508 challenges for adaptation than are implied in SSP5. Meanwhile, the sustainable development pathway of
509 SSP1 seems inconsistent with a world in which RCP8.5 also transpires. Hence, while the SMA provides
510 some flexible conceptual guidance for the integration of SSPs with scenarios of climate change for the
511 purposes of IAV research, additional work is needed to enable the operationalization of the SMA in ways
512 that are internally consistent. Development of a suite of case studies that illustrate alternative ways in
513 which the SMA can be implemented at multiple scales using a range of different climate and
514 socioeconomic scenarios and storylines will be an important process in learning how the SSPs can be
515 usefully applied by the IAV community.

516

517 **7. Conclusions**

518 The SSP framework for the development of socioeconomic storylines and scenarios represents a valuable
519 opportunity for the consistent treatment of alternative assumptions regarding socioeconomic development
520 and climate change within the climate change research community. Nevertheless, ongoing differences in
521 information needs as well as research epistemologies associated with the Earth system modeling, IAM,
522 and IAV communities suggest that each will need to be an active participant in determining ways by
523 which it can effectively engage the parallel process and the emerging scenario frameworks. For the IAV
524 community, the SSPs can provide a common scenario platform that still enables researchers and
525 practitioners to develop place-based and/or sector-specific understanding of climate change
526 consequences. Before this can happen, however, methods (or a portfolio of methods) must be developed
527 that enable researchers and practitioners to effectively use the SSP framework across a range of

528 geographic scales. The development of nested storylines using approaches such as the Factor-Actor-
529 Sector framework is one approach to achieving this end. Nevertheless, as illustrated in this study, the
530 development of nested storyline elements and storylines invariably involves normative judgments of
531 researchers and/or stakeholders. Therefore, no two attempts at extending the SSPs for regional or sectoral
532 applications are likely to be identical. Such conceptual flexibility helps to align scenario development
533 processes to assessment goals, which can be highly varied. A key test of the SSPs may therefore be the
534 extent to which they can be successfully applied in disparate contexts while still remaining generally
535 recognizable. However, additional case studies (e.g., Vervoort et al., 2014) with other methods are needed
536 to evaluate the conditions under which the SSPs are useful in bridging scales in socioeconomic boundary
537 conditions as well as for integration into the SMA under the parallel process.

538

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Figure Captions

Figure 1. Logic framework for the shared socioeconomic pathways (see also Kriegler et al., 2012; O'Neill et al., 2014a, b; O'Neill et al., 2012; van Vuuren et al., 2014). The various illustrative SSP pathways (SSPs 1–5) occupy different positions within the socioeconomic uncertainty space defined by challenges for mitigation and challenges for adaptation.

Figure 2. Comparison of alternative approaches to the development of nested socioeconomic storylines. A) represents a one-to-one nesting approach, where each global storyline is consistent with a single storyline at sub-global scales. B) represents a one-to-many nesting approach, where each global storyline is consistent with a range of alternative storylines at other scales.

Figure 3. Illustration of SSP storyline nesting based on the Factors-Actor-Sector framework.

Figure 4. Comparison of the storyline elements for the water sector associated with SSP1 and SSP5 storylines. The element description for the global level is based on the global SSP storylines. Elements at the national and sub-national level were derived through application of the Factor-Actor-Sector framework and were informed by other information sources on sectoral trends and scenarios (Table 2).

Figure 5. Quantitative population and GDP scenarios for states in the U.S. Southeast based on four different global SSP boundary conditions. Population and GDP scenarios were derived by applying county-level scaling factors to national population and GDP estimates within the IIASA database (IIASA, 2012a). Population scaling factors were based on the proportion of total U.S. population change attributed to individual counties as indicated by the ICLUS population scenarios (2010-2100). GDP scaling factors were based on the historical (1997-2011) average proportion of U.S. GDP attributed to the states considered in the current study.

Figure 6. Synthesis of the status and projected trends of factors, actors, and sectors considered in the current study with respect to their implications for adaptive capacity across multiple scales.

796 **Table 1.** Factors, Actors, and Sectors for global, national and sub-national storyline development.

	Global	Global	National	Sub-National
Factors	Demographics	●	●	●
	Globalization	●	●	–
	Economy/GDP	●	●	●
	Consumptive Behavior	●	●	●
	Technology	●	●	●
	Land use	●	●	●
	Biodiversity/conservation	●	●	●
	Equity	●	●	●
	MDGs	●	–	–
	Emissions	●	●	●
Actors	Public Institutions	●	●	●
	Private Institutions	●	●	●
	Civil Society	●	●	●
Sectors	Energy	●	●	●
	Water	●	●	●
	Agriculture & forestry	●	–	–
	Agriculture	–	●	●
	Forestry	–	●	–
	Transport	●	●	–
	Public Health	●	●	–
	Education	●	●	–
	Service	●	●	–
	Defense	●	●	–
	Telecommunications	●	●	–
	Entitlements	●	●	–
	Manufacturing	●	●	–
	Banking/Finance	●	●	–
	Natural Resource Extraction	●	●	–

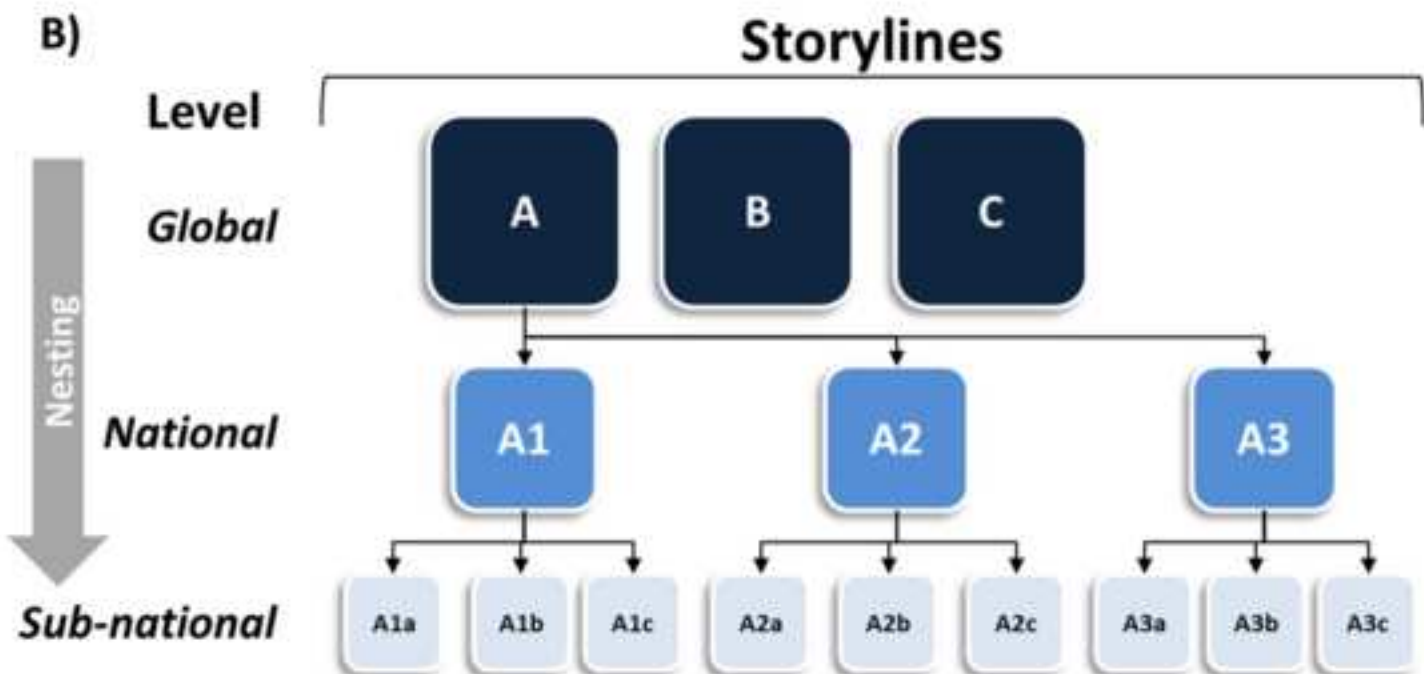
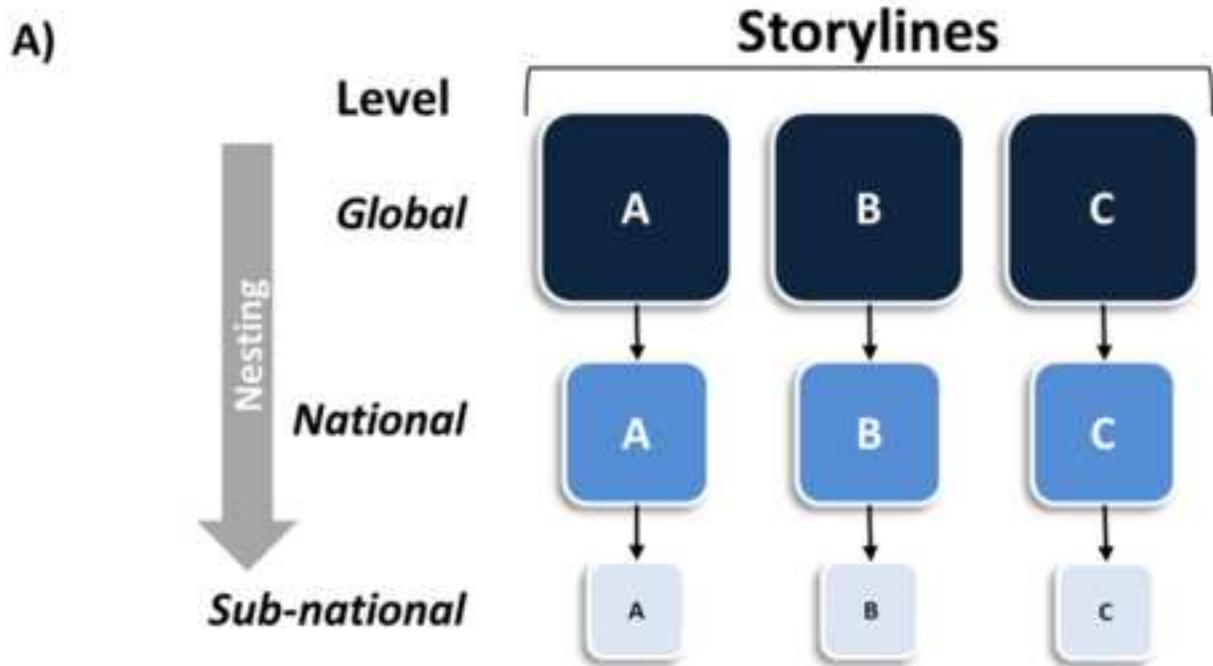
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Table 2. Information sources used in the development of storyline elements.

	Storyline Element	Global	National	Sub-national
Factors	Demographics	(O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012)	(Bierwagen et al., 2010; Guarneri, 2009; IIASA, 2012a, b; Nakićenović and Swart, 2000; O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012; UNEP, 2007; USCB, 2012a, b)	(Bierwagen et al., 2010; IIASA, 2012a, b; Mackun, 2011)
	Globalization	(O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012)	(Mintzer et al., 2003; Nakićenović and Swart, 2000; O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012; UNEP, 2007; WEF, 2010)	–
	Economy	(O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012)	(CBO, 2014; IIASA, 2012a, b; Nakićenović and Swart, 2000; UNEP, 2007; USBEA, 2013; USBLS, 2012, 2013; WEF, 2010)	(Coakley et al., 2009; USBEA, 2013)
	Consumptive Behavior	(O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012)	(Mintzer et al., 2003; Nakićenović and Swart, 2000; O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012; RF and GBN, 2010; UNEP, 2007)	(EIA, 2012a, b)
	Technology	(O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012)	(EIA, 2012a; Mintzer et al., 2003; Nakićenović and Swart, 2000; RF and GBN, 2010; UNEP, 2007; WEF, 2010)	(IEA, 2012)
	Land use	(O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012)	(Bierwagen et al., 2010; O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012; UNEP, 2007)	(Bierwagen et al., 2010; MGCSCI, 2013)
	Biodiversity/conservation	(O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012)	(Leadley et al., 2010; O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012; UNEP, 2007; WEF, 2010)	(Keddy, 2009; NWF and SELC, 2013)
	Equity	(O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012)	(IAF, 2008, 2011; Nakićenović and Swart, 2000; O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012; UNEP, 2007)	(Oxfam, 2009)
	MDGs	(O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012)	–	–
	Emissions	(O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012)	(EIA, 2012a, b; Mintzer et al., 2003; Nakićenović and Swart, 2000; UNEP, 2007; USDOS, 2010)	(EIA, 2012a, b)
Actors	Public Institutions	–	(Mintzer et al., 2003; O'Neill, 2014; O'Neill et al., 2012; RF and GBN, 2010; UNEP, 2007)	(IEA, 2012; UNEP, 2007)
	Private Institutions	–	(Mintzer et al., 2003; RF and GBN, 2010; UNEP, 2007)	(Mintzer et al., 2003; RF and GBN, 2010; UNEP, 2007)

	Civil Society	–	(Mintzer et al., 2003; RF and GBN, 2010; UNEP, 2007)	(Mintzer et al., 2003; RF and GBN, 2010; UNEP, 2007)
Sectors	Energy	(O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012)	(EIA, 2012a, b; Mintzer et al., 2003; USDOS, 2010)	(EIA, 2012a, b; IEA, 2012; Mintzer et al., 2003; NWF and SELC, 2013)
	Water	(O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012)	(Li et al., 2011; Roy et al., 2005; Roy and Chen, 2011; Roy et al., 2012; Roy et al., 2010; UNEP, 2007)	(Li et al., 2011; Roy et al., 2005; Roy and Chen, 2011; Roy et al., 2012; Roy et al., 2010)
	Agriculture & forestry	(O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012)	–	–
	Agriculture	–	(ERS, 2011; IFTF, 2011; UNEP, 2007)	(Malcolm et al., 2012)
	Forestry	–	(UN, 2012; UNEP, 2007)	–
	Transport	–	(EIA, 2012a, b)	–
	Public Health	(O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012)	(IFTF, 2008; Makuc, 2008)	–
	Education	(O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012)	(Anderson et al., 2012; Facer and Sandford, 2010; OECD, 2008, 2009)	–
	Service	(O'Neill et al., 2014b; O'Neill et al., 2012)	(CBO, 2014; USBLS, 2013)	–
	Defense	–	(NIC, 2012; USDOD, 2010, 2014)	–
	Telecommunications	–	(IGF, 2012; Lopez, 2012)	–
	Entitlements	–	(CBO, 2014; CMMS, 2012; IAF, 2011)	–
	Manufacturing	–	(MGI, 2011; PWC, 2012; UNEP, 2011)	–
	Banking/Finance	–	(WEF, 2010)	–
Natural Resource Extraction	–	(UNEP, 2007; WEF, 2010)	–	





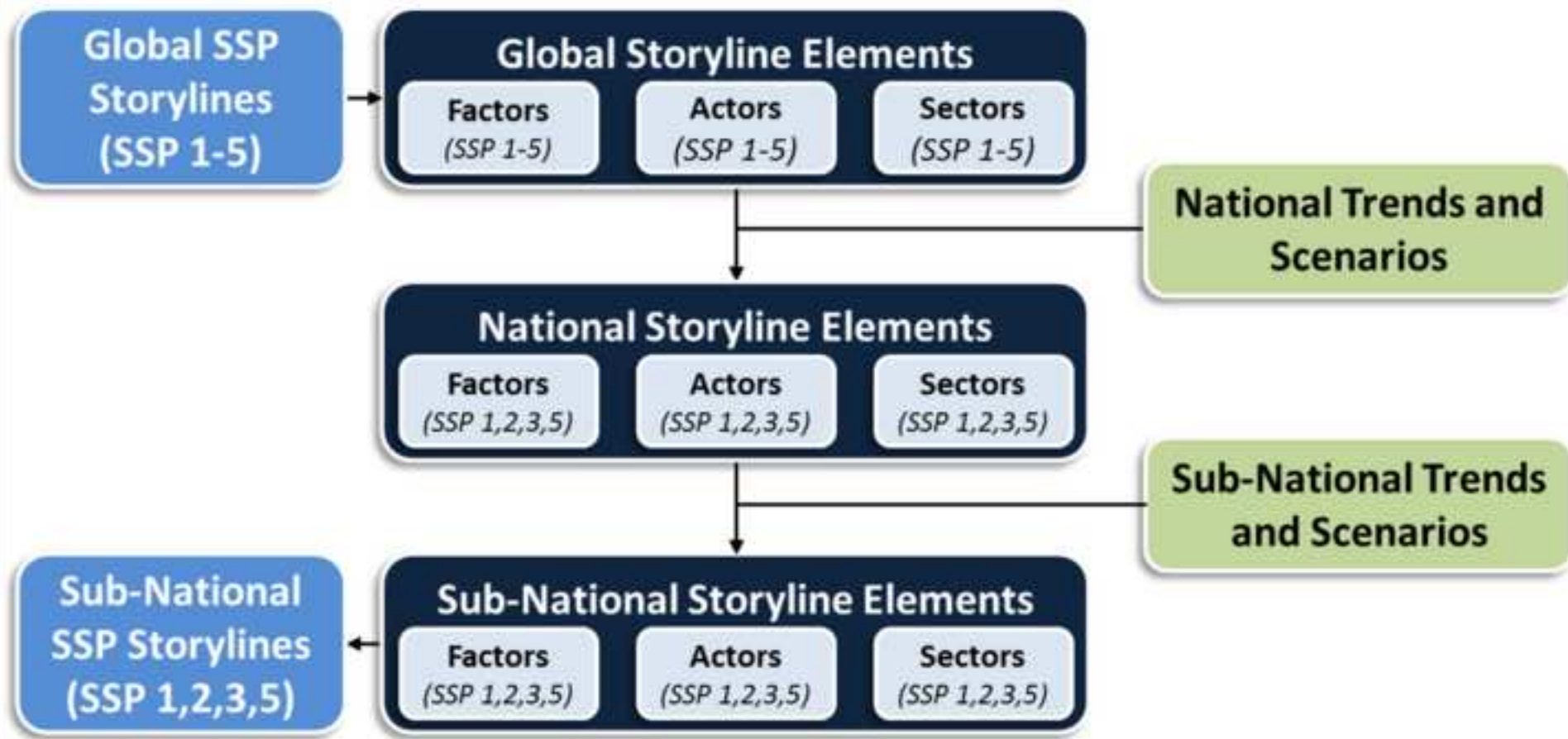
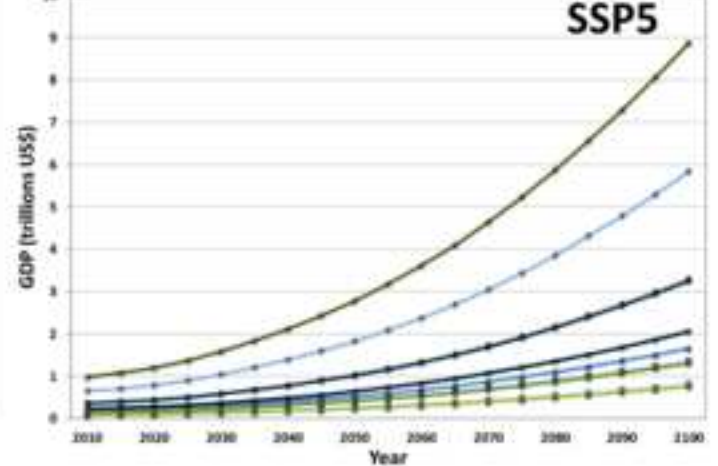
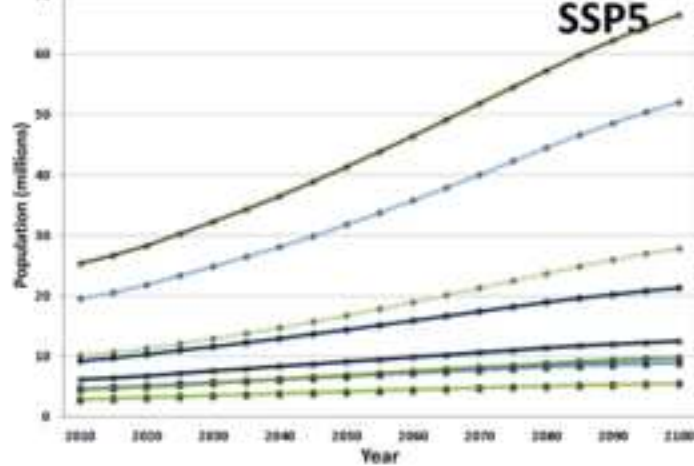
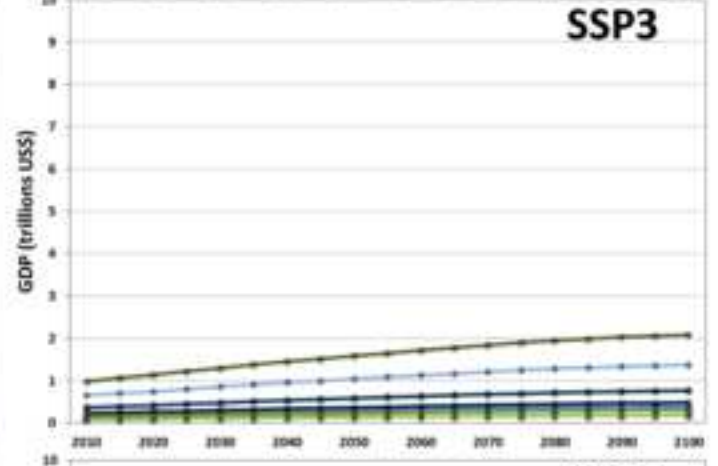
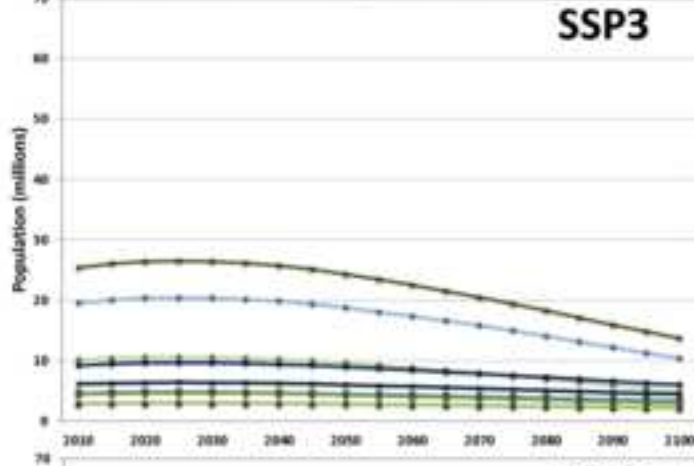
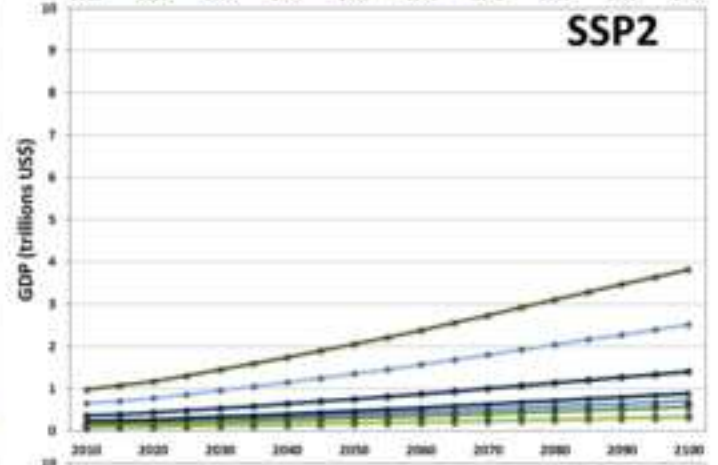
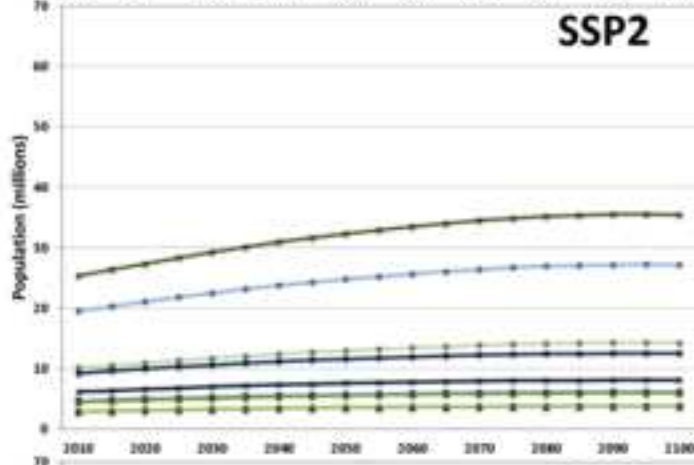
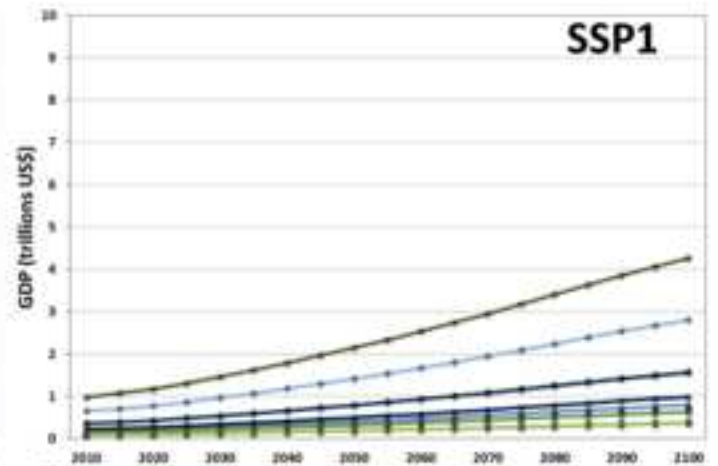
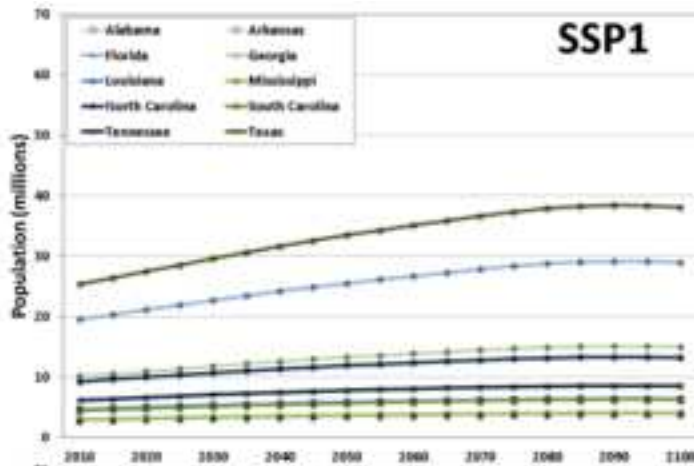


Figure4 - Population & GDP



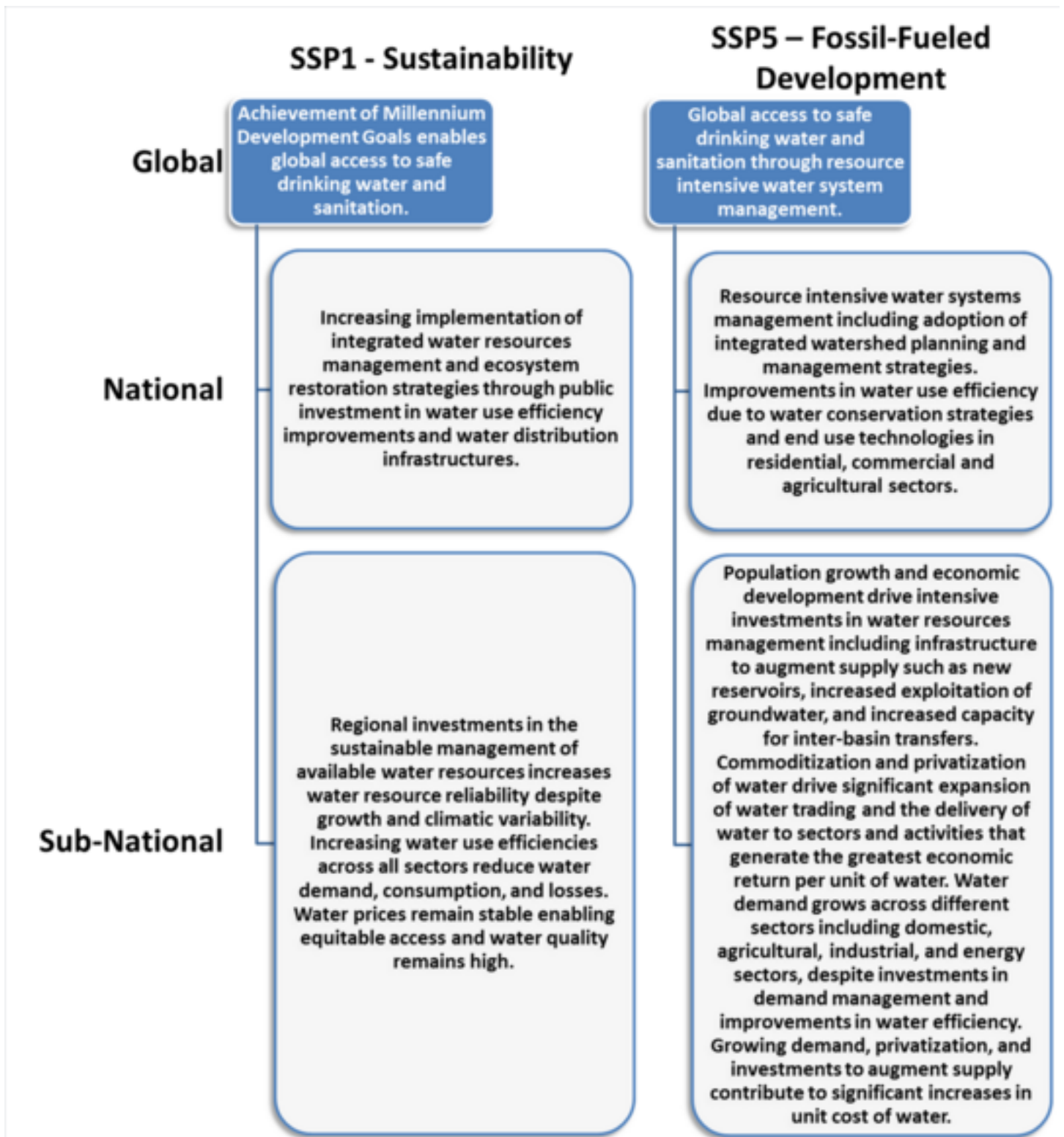


Figure6 - Synthesis

SCALE	GLOBAL					NATIONAL				SUB-NATIONAL			
	SSP1	SSP2	SSP3	SSP4	SSP5	SSP1	SSP2	SSP3	SSP5	SSP1	SSP2	SSP3	SSP5
Factors													
Demographics	↗	↗	↕	↗	↗	↗	↗	↘	↗	↗	↗	↘	↗
Globalization	↗	↗	↘	↘	↗	↗	↗	↘	↗	—	—	—	—
Economy/GDP	↗	↗	↘	↘	↗	↗	↗	↘	↗	↗	↗	↔	↗
Consumptive Behavior	↗	↗	↘	—	↗	↗	↗	↘	↗	↗	↗	↘	↗
Technology	↗	↗	↔	↗	↗	↗	↗	↔	↗	↗	↗	↔	↗
Land Use	↗	↗	↗	↗	↕	↗	↗	↔	↕	↗	↗	↔	↕
Biodiversity/Conservation	↗	↗	↘	↘	↘	↗	↘	↘	↘	↗	↗	↘	↘
Equity	↗	↗	—	↘	—	↗	↔	↘	↗	↗	↔	↘	↗
MDGs	↗	↗	↔	↘	↗	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Emissions	—	↗	↕	↕	↕	↘	↗	↗	↕	↘	↗	↘	↕
Actors													
Public Institutions	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Private Institutions	●	—	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Civil Society	●	—	—	—	—	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Sectors													
Energy	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Water	●	●	—	—	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Agriculture & Forestry	●	●	●	●	●	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	—	—	—	—	—	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Forestry	—	—	—	—	—	●	●	●	●	—	—	—	—
Transport	—	—	—	—	—	●	●	●	●	—	—	—	—
Public Health	●	●	—	●	●	●	●	●	●	—	—	—	—
Education	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	—	—	—	—
Service	●	—	—	—	—	●	●	●	●	—	—	—	—
Defense	—	—	●	—	—	●	●	●	●	—	—	—	—
Telecommunications	—	—	—	—	—	●	●	●	●	—	—	—	—
Entitlements	—	—	—	—	—	●	●	●	●	—	—	—	—
Manufacturing	●	—	—	—	●	●	●	●	●	—	—	—	—
Banking/ Finance	—	—	—	—	—	●	●	●	●	—	—	—	—
Natural Resource Extraction	●	●	●	—	●	●	●	●	●	—	—	—	—
<p>LEGEND</p> <p>Trend</p> <p>↗ Strong Growth ↗ Moderate Growth → Static ↘ Moderate Decline ↘ Strong Decline</p> <p>Implications for Adaptive Capacity</p> <p>● Creates large opportunities for adaptation ● Creates moderate opportunities for adaptation ● Creates both opportunities and challenges ● Creates moderate challenges for adaptation ● Creates large challenges for adaptation ○ Not Applicable</p>													