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The Intention-Behavior Gap in Climate Change Adaptation

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The intention-behavior gap in climate change adaptation

Abstract

The empirical literature on private climate change adaptation mostly relies on self-reported intentions which often fail to translate into real actions. Consequently, policy recommendations for stimulating adaptation behavior can so far only insufficiently account for the intention behavior gap (IBG) in climate change adaptation. Using a large unique longitudinal survey data set from Germany covering more than 5,000 households, our study offers extensive insights into the IBG in climate change adaptation by analyzing intentions and actual implementations of both flood-proofing and heat stress reduction measures. Our results do not only reveal a substantial IBG for most stated intentions but also show that intentions can rarely serve as good predictors for realized actions. At the same time, the IBG can hardly be explained by observable household data characteristics which in turn again makes it difficult to reveal information on realized actions out of stated intentions only. However, we also find that drivers of adaptation intentions are often reasonable proxies for assessing the drivers of behavior: similar explanatory variables affect both intentions and implementations. In line with regret theory, the IBG in our data can be partly explained by anticipated regret caused by a feeling of having invested in vain in cases where adaptation measures are installed but extreme weather events do not occur for the time being.

Keywords

Intention-behavior gap, Adaptation, Climate Change, Flooding, Heat

Introduction

An expanding field of research is focusing on how individuals take action to limit private impacts of natural disasters (van Valkengoed and Steg 2019). Understanding decision processes with regard to these protective measures can give insights into factors that explain why some individuals prepare well for natural disaster risks, while many others living in disaster-prone areas do not engage in preventive behaviors (Meyer and Kunreuther 2017). Such insights may be used for improving policies that help individuals in better preparing for natural disasters, for instance through communication strategies, behavioral nudges, or financial incentives from insurance (Mol et al. 2020; Robinson et al. 2021). Examples of these measures that individuals can undertake are making buildings more resistant to damage from extreme weather, such as flood-proofing properties, or limiting health consequences during heat waves by cooling homes. As an illustration, Kreibich et al. (2015) review various flood damage mitigation measures, which can limit damage to individual properties up to 50% or more in case a flood happens. Natural disaster risk management strategies are becoming increasingly important since worldwide natural disaster losses have been rising during the last decades (Botzen et al. 2019a). The recent IPCC (2021) report presents evidence indicating that this trend is likely to accelerate in the future, due to an increasing frequency and severity of various extreme weather events as a result of climate change. Consequently, appropriate measures and behaviors to reduce damages from natural disasters are often assessed as a tool to cope with climate change impacts.

A branch of this literature on disaster preparedness and climate adaptation has examined how the actual implementation of risk reduction measures relates with explanatory variables that are grounded in decision theories from psychology (e.g. Protection Motivation Theory, and Theory of Planned Behaviour) or behavioural economics (e.g. Subjective Expected Utility Theory, and Prospect Theory) (van Valkengoed and Steg 2019; Koerth et al. 2019). The data of undertaken risk reduction measures

and explanatory variables used in these studies are commonly collected with cross-sectional household surveys. However, this results in the well-known problem that the influence of important theoretical drivers of protective decisions, such as risk perceptions, cannot be well identified in case these explanatory variables change after the risk reduction measure is in place (Bubeck et al. 2012). For instance, high risk perceptions may trigger the implementation of risk reduction measures, but after the measures are taken risk perceptions may decline. Hence, surveys that estimate relationships between implemented natural disaster risk reduction measures and risk perception may find weak or even negative relationships (Bubeck et al. 2012).

Several solutions have been applied to address this issue. Instead of variables of the perceived likelihood and severity of disaster losses, risk perceptions may be proxied with a geographical indicator of the local risk¹, for which a stable positive relationship can be expected with the implementation of risk reduction measures elicited with a cross-sectional survey (Botzen et al. 2019b). However, a disadvantage of this approach is that geographical indicators of a risk may be imprecise, and only partially explain perceptions of natural disaster risks (e.g. Lechowska 2018). Another solution is to use economic experiments that aim to establish causal relationships with investments in natural disaster risk reduction measures, although challenges exist with framing and incentivizing these experiments in a high loss context (Robinson and Botzen 2019a). Using panel data surveys that allow examining how developments in implemented natural disaster risk reduction measures over time are influenced by theoretically informed drivers of these decision are an effective way to overcome the aforementioned identification issue in cross-sectional surveys (Osberghaus 2017). However, few researchers have the large budgets required for monitoring households with such survey approaches that require repeated surveys of large samples, which are combined with monetary incentives to ensure high response rates and limit attrition bias (Hudson et al. 2019).

Hence, a more easily applied and widespread solution that many studies have adopted is to elicit intentions to implement specific risk reduction measures in surveys as a proxy, and examine which theoretical constructs drive these intentions (e.g. Botzen et al. 2012; Maidl and Buchecker 2015; Murtagh et al. 2019; Noll et al. forthcoming; Richert et al. 2017). This should allow for causally testing theories of decision making under risk, such as the influence of risk perceptions on risk reduction behaviour, as long as these intentions closely relate to risk reduction actions (Bubeck and Botzen 2013).

For understanding the reliability of elicited levels of intentions to take climate change adaptation measures, it would be important to assess whether these intentions lead to action: i.e. actual implementation of these measures. However, few studies examined this issue. An exception is Bubeck et al. (2020) who showed with panel data of flood-proofing measures in 227 German households that 79% who intended to take high-costs measures also did so in practice, while this proportion is 60% for low-cost measures and 44% for medium-cost measures, resulting in a substantial intention-behavior gap (IBG). Their explanation for the lowest IBG for high-cost measures is that these require substantially more planning and investment resulting in more reliable stated intentions to take those measures (Bubeck et al., 2020). These estimates might however rather provide a lower-bound estimate of the magnitude of the IBG as the survey only includes households that reported damages to their buildings from a recent flood event.²

Using a large unique longitudinal survey data from Germany from more than 5,000 households, our study offers extensive insights into the adaptation IBG by analyzing intentions and actual

¹ An example of such an indicator is a variable that indicates whether or not a respondent lives in a high risk flood zone to explain implemented flood risk reduction measures.

² As we will show in our study, the IBG in the context of flood adaptation tends to be lower for flood-affected households. Given this finding, we interpret the IBG reported by Bubeck et al. (2020), which is only based on information from flood-affected respondents, as a lower-bound estimate.

implementation of both flood-proofing and heat stress reduction measures. We have five main research results that contribute to the literature.

As a first step, building up on the results provided by Bubeck et al. (2020), we assess and quantify the size of the IBG but for a large set of specific private adaptation measures and for a larger set of households. We are particularly interested in the question to what extent the IBG varies in the cost (i.e. financial cost, time) e.g. for planning and implementation of a respective adaptation measure. As a first important finding we observe a sizeable IBG in a wide range of different adaptation measures. This casts first doubts on the general reliability of survey studies that use stated intentions as a proxy for implemented actions.

Secondly, we investigate if – despite a potential IBG – a stated intention to privately adapt to climate change is still a good predictor for implemented actions. We do so by measuring the correlation of a set of explanatory variables which are expected to determine both outcome variables (i.e. intentions and actions).

This in turn directly relates to our third research question, namely if intentions and realized action can be described by similar explanatory variables. If there is a strong correlation of explanatory variables which both explain intentions and realized actions, then we can have (at least to a certain degree) some confidence that empirical evidence resulting from a regression analysis on intentions is also insightful for realized actions. Our results suggest that a broad set of explanatory variables are indeed significant predictors of both intentions and actions, but there are nuanced differences, e.g. in the effects of flood experience. In contrast to the previous literature, which so far lacks a joint and detailed analysis of both intentions and realized actions, we find that flood experience turns out to be more predictive for actual implementations than for stated intentions.

In a forth step, we analyze whether the IBG itself may be explained by similar factors as intentions and realized actions, hence whether we can identify observable household characteristics which contribute to a higher level of congruence between intentions and actions. There is already first empirical evidence suggesting direct effects of the household composition and age on the IBG in other contexts (Chai et al. 2015, Nickerson and Rogers 2010). In contrast, in our data in the context of climate adaptation, it is hardly possible to find such variables – especially the IBG for heat adaptation is unrelated to most household characteristics observable in our data. For flood adaptation, we again find a strong effect of damage experience – hence households with concrete flood experience rather follow-up on their adaptation intentions than unaffected households.

Finally, we link our empirical insights on the IBG across different subgroups to the concept of regret theory (Loomes and Sugden 1982; Bell 1982; Fishburn 1982) to better understand if the lack of realizing intentions can be explained by an anticipated regret. According to this concept, individuals tend to avoid situations where they feel to have “overinvested” in the risk reduction measures, which in turn might be expressed by a lower degree of happiness. Our analysis on self-reported happiness indeed uncovers a potential and so far unexplored role of anticipated regret in the context of private climate change adaptation measures: While survey participants who have successfully implemented their intentions and were also damaged by a natural disaster show the highest happiness level in our data, individuals are least happy if they have realized their intentions but so far did not experience any situations where these measures reduced the damages.

Conceptual Framework and Hypotheses

An important finding of the psychological literature on values and action is that behavior being related to the environment is ultimately a result of a long causal chain involving a variety of personal and contextual factors (e.g. Stern 2000). While attitudes, motivations and norms play a decisive role in the decision process, and in particular on the intention to act, there are numerous other relevant constraining factors, which limit actual behavior. This is in line with earlier psychological research being grounded

in *The Theory of planned behavior* by Ajzen (1991), which postulates that decisions about whether and how much to act, despite being positively correlated, may be caused and explained by different psychological motivations. As a result, we frequently observe differences between stated intentions and realized actions in a broad set of decisions – the intention behavior gap (IBG). In this respect, understanding the underlying decision processes with respect to disaster preparedness and climate change adaptation are important to gain a better understanding on why some individuals prepare well for natural disaster risks, while many others living in disaster-prone areas do not engage in preventive behaviors (Meyer and Kunreuther 2017).

We start our conceptual approach by quantifying the size of the IBG for a large set of specific flood-proofing and heat stress reduction measures. For the case of flood proofing measures, Bubeck et al. (2020) shows a significant gap between stated intentions and implemented actions. They also provide a link between the intensity of planning and the likelihood to actually act on the intentions: The share of intentions being realized is highest for high-cost structural measures which need substantially more planning, and hence the reported intention may be more reliable than in case of low-cost measures which can be taken more spontaneously.³ This is also in line with a large strand of related literature suggesting the IBG to be smaller when vague intentions are substantiated by concrete plans (for a review see Rogers et al. 2015). These effects are found in the context of physical exercises (Reuter et al. 2010, Sniehotta et al. 2005), saving (Rabinovich and Webley 2007), vaccination (Milkman et al. 2011), voting (Nickerson and Rogers 2010) and job searching (Abel et al. 2019). Based on these empirical findings we have two research hypotheses with respect to the *presence* (**H1a**: $IBG_i > 0$) and the *size* (**H1b**: $\frac{\partial IBG_i}{\partial c} < 0$) of the IBG for the case of private adaptation measures for the average individual i where C captures the cost (i.e. monetary and time cost) for planning and implementation.

As a next step, we are interested if – despite a potential IBG – stated intentions to privately adapt to climate change is still a good predictor for implemented actions. This analysis mainly follows an explorative approach being inspired by the notion that empirical results on intentions are intensively used to derive conclusions that target actual behavior (see e.g. Maidl and Buchecker 2015, Murtagh et al. 2019, Noll et al. forthcoming). Our second main hypothesis therefore builds upon the assumption that stated and actual behavior are positively correlated (**H2**: $\rho(q_{int}, q_{act}) > 0$) where q_{int} captures the level of intentions and q_{act} captures the level of actions.

It should however be noted that a correlation between the level of intention and the level of implemented actions does not necessarily mean that both measures can be used equivalently to explain household behavior. Richert et al. (2017) argues that e.g. the Protection Motivation Theory explains the willingness to take precautionary measures better than the presence of already implemented actions. Other studies estimate adaptation models based on reported intentions and deduct policy implications aiming at increasing the implementation (e.g., Maidl and Buchecker 2015; Murtagh et al. 2019; Noll et al. forthcoming), hence they explicitly or implicitly assume that the drivers for intentions and actions are at least qualitatively identical. Given this literature, we formulate the third main hypothesis stating that the level of intentions and actions may be explained by the same set of explanatory variables, and their effect sizes are similar (**H3**: $\beta_{int} = \beta_{act}$) where β is a vector of estimated coefficients for an identical set of explanatory variables regarding q_{int} and q_{act} , respectively.

The fourth research question refers to the explanation of the IBG itself. Other studies have found that actions are better aligned to intentions (hence there is a lower IBG) when the perceived behavioral control is high. Heath and Gifford (2002) explain the use of public transport by a model including an interaction term of perceived behavioral control and intentions, finding that individuals with high values of perceived behavioral control showed a high level of congruence between intentions and actions. Sniehotta et al. (2005) find similar results in the context of physical exercises, also showing that self-

³ However, these results are based on a relative low number of observations (e.g., N varies between 7 and 12 for households reporting their intentions of installing high-cost measures, dependent on the specific measure).

efficacy contributes to a reduction of the IBG. In the context of pro-environmental consumption behavior, Grimmer and Miles (2017) and Nguyen et al. (2019) report smaller IBGs for people with high behavioral control and high perceived effectiveness of the own consumption behavior on the environment. In contrast, some studies find no or mixed results regarding the role of perceived behavioral control or related constructs (Rabinovich and Webley (2007) on saving decisions and Collins and Chamber (2005) in the public transport context. In addition, there is already first empirical evidence suggesting direct effects of the household composition and age on the IBG (Chai et al. 2015, Nickerson and Rogers 2010). As a fourth step, we therefore analyze whether the IBG itself may be explained by similar factors as adaptation implementation or intentions, hence whether we can identify observable household characteristics, which contribute to a higher level of congruence between intentions and actions.

Finally, we examine whether or not our empirical insights into the IBG across different subgroups are consistent with regret, following the concept of regret theory (Loomes and Sugden 1982, Bell 1982, Fishburn 1982). Anticipated and experienced regret may relate with adaptation decisions in the following ways, depending on the occurrence of a natural disaster. On the one hand, not taking an adaptation measure while experiencing a disaster and resulting damage, may trigger regret of being unprotected. On the other hand, taking an adaptation measure while not experiencing a disaster, may trigger regret of being protected due to incurred adaptation costs that do not result in a return in the form of avoided damages.

Experimental evidence provided for anticipatory regret of being unprotected influencing investments in flood damage mitigation measures through flood-proofing of buildings is given by Mol et al. (2020). Moreover, Robinson and Botzen (2019b) observed that both types of anticipatory regret influence flood insurance demand: individuals who anticipate regret of being unprotected are more likely to demand flood insurance, while individuals who anticipate regret of protection are less likely to demand flood insurance. Krantz and Kunreuther (2007) argue that individuals who experience the latter type of regret view protection as an investment that should generate a return during a disaster. Analyses of flood insurance purchases over time show that experiencing a flood increases purchases (Michel-Kerjan and Kousky 2010), while individuals are likely to drop their insurance coverage if they did not experience a flood for some time (Michel-Kerjan et al., 2012). The first behavior is consistent with experienced regret of being unprotected, while the decision to drop coverage is consistent with experienced regret of being protected.

Based on these concepts of regret we expect that individuals tend to avoid situations where they feel to have “overinvested” in the risk reduction measures, which in turn might be expressed by a lower degree of happiness. This is expressed in the following hypotheses: **H4a:** Unprotected individuals with a large IBG following a disaster experience the regret of being unprotected as reflected in unhappiness, compared to non-affected unprotected individuals (regret of being unprotected). **H4b:** Protected individuals with a small IBG who were not disaster-affected experience regret of being protected as reflected in unhappiness, compared to unprotected individuals who did not experience a disaster (regret of being protected).

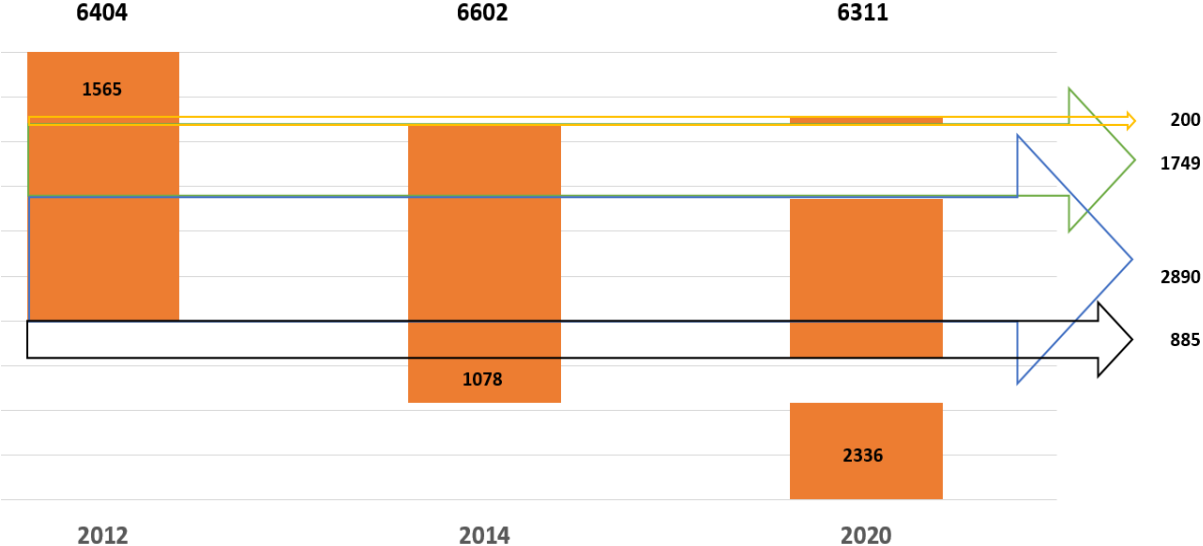
Data and Methods

Data set

We base the empirical analysis on a large-scale household panel survey in Germany on natural disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation (data set “Green SOEP”, Osberghaus et al. 2020). In 2012, 2014 and 2020, the pollster Forsa approached a representative sample of households for participation in the online survey. Forsa deliberately invited household heads to participate in the survey, defined as the person who is normally responsible for financial decisions within the household. The household sample used in our analysis is slightly older and better educated than the average German population, and there are less single occupancy households in the data set than would be in a representative sample. As a small

incentive, Forsa rewards respondents by points, which can be exchanged for products. In the initial raw data set, there are data of 10,703 participating households. We omit 4,979 households who participated only in one survey wave. We further exclude 530 households who were moving between the participations to ensure that changes in intentions and implementations are not primarily due to the circumstances at the new location. Hence, the final data set contains 12,879 observations of 5,194 households who participated twice or thrice in 2012, 2014 and 2020. Figure 1 depicts the participation patterns of responding households over the three survey waves.

Figure 1: Number of respondents in each of the three survey waves



Note: At the top of the figure, the total number of respondents per survey wave is reported. The bars indicate the participation patterns. For example, of the 6,404 households participating in 2012, 1,565 participated only once, 200 participated in 2012 and 2020, 1,749 participated in 2012 and 2014, and 2,890 participated in all three waves.

In all three waves, the participants reported the actual implementation of flood and heat adaptation measures. In terms of flood, we collected data on one behavioral measure (moving valuable assets to higher floors) and five technical measures: Installing sewer backflow preventers, water barriers in the basement, water-resistant indoor painting, water-resistant exterior painting, and water-resistant flooring. While the behavioral measure can be implemented without significant financial costs, backflow preventers may be defined as a medium cost measure, and the remaining measures can imply major and costly changes in the structure of the building. For heat adaptation measures, respondents provided information on having a fan, air-conditioning, heat protection window films, and green roofs. As all elicited measures are typically not de-installed once they are implemented, we omit data on measures which are reportedly implemented in one wave and absent in a later wave. For the sake of brevity, for some analyses we combine the separate adaptation measures to aggregate measures of adaptation behavior. All four heat measures are aggregated to one heat adaptation variable which takes the value of one if at least one heat measure was implemented. Similarly, we construct a binary variable for structural flood adaptation, which combines the relatively costly flood measures (water barriers in the basement, water-resistant indoor painting, exterior painting, and flooring), and an aggregate binary variable for flood adaptation in general.

Beside data on realized implementations, in 2012 and 2014, we collected data that captures the stated intentions to implement the respective adaptation measures in the near future. Hence, the data allow us to identify households who state they intend to implement a certain measure, and to check whether the respective measure was indeed implemented some years later. Likewise, we can also assess whether households who newly implemented a measure have reported respective intentions in one of the previous survey waves or not.

The Green-SOEP data set contains a number of variables that may serve as potentially important covariates in the analysis of flood and heat adaptation decisions. Beside some basic socio-economic variables such as age, gender, education, income, household size, and homeownership, we use data on flood- and heat-related perceptions, exposure and insurance. For the analysis of the IBG, we also include data on perceived self-efficacy. For the life satisfaction analyses, we use self-reported levels of life satisfaction (based on a standardized questionnaire item with an 11-point scale).

Table 1 provides a summary of the variable definitions and descriptive statistics. English translations of the most relevant questionnaire items are included in Appendix A1. More information on the data set, including descriptive statistics and trends is available in (*blinded for reason of anonymity*).

Table 1: Variable definitions and scales, descriptive statistics.

Variable	Description	Min	Max	Mean	N
Flood adaptation					
<i>FlMov</i>	moving valuable assets to higher floors implemented	0	1	0.07	8,460
<i>FlMov_I</i>	<i>FlMov</i> intended	0	1	0.03	8,065
<i>FlSew</i>	sewer backflow preventers implemented	0	1	0.33	6,515
<i>FlSew_I</i>	<i>FlSew</i> intended	0	1	0.06	4,684
<i>FlBar</i>	water barriers in the basement implemented	0	1	0.03	9,421
<i>FlBar_I</i>	<i>FlBar</i> intended	0	1	0.02	9,285
<i>FlWip</i>	water-resistant indoor painting implemented	0	1	0.02	10,277
<i>FlWip_I</i>	<i>FlWip</i> intended	0	1	0.01	10,228
<i>FlWep</i>	water-resistant exterior painting implemented	0	1	0.12	6,394
<i>FlWep_I</i>	<i>FlWep</i> intended	0	1	0.02	6,021
<i>FlFlo</i>	water-resistant flooring implemented	0	1	0.16	6,655
<i>FlFlo_I</i>	<i>FlFlo</i> intended	0	1	0.01	5,963
<i>FlStr</i>	any structural (high cost) flood measure implemented	0	1	0.16	10,900
<i>FlStr_I</i>	<i>FlStr</i> intended	0	1	0.04	10,796
<i>FlAdapt</i>	any flood measure implemented	0	1	0.31	10,992
<i>FlAdapt_I</i>	<i>FlAdapt</i> intended	0	1	0.07	10,880
Heat adaptation					
<i>HeatFan</i>	Fan implemented	0	1	0.12	11,446
<i>HeatFan_I</i>	<i>HeatFan</i> intended	0	1	0.04	7,915
<i>HeatAC</i>	air-conditioning implemented	0	1	0.03	12,128
<i>HeatAC_I</i>	<i>HeatAC</i> intended	0	1	0.04	8,530
<i>HeatSun</i>	heat protection window films implemented	0	1	0.04	11,868
<i>HeatSun_I</i>	<i>HeatSun</i> intended	0	1	0.03	8,489
<i>HeatGre</i>	green roof implemented	0	1	0.01	7,599
<i>HeatGre_I</i>	<i>HeatGre</i> intended	0	1	0.00	8,293
<i>HeatAdapt</i>	any heat measure implemented	0	1	0.15	12,517
<i>HeatAdapt_I</i>	<i>HeatAdapt</i> intended	0	1	0.11	8,717
Socio-Economics					
<i>Female</i>	Gender female	0	1	0.30	12,879
<i>Age</i>	Age in years	19	92	55.92	12,879
<i>Homeowner</i>	Homeownership	0	1	0.63	12,537
<i>Educ</i>	High education (at least Abitur)	0	1	0.41	12,298
<i>HHSize</i>	Household size in persons, truncated at 5	1	5	2.17	12,225
<i>Income</i>	Monthly household income in 1000 €	0.75	5.75	3.05	10,731
Flood-related variables					
<i>FlZone</i>	Residing in a flood zone (recurrence interval at least 200 years in flood hazard map)	0	1	0.07	12,719
<i>FlProb</i>	Subjectively expected recurrence interval of flooding, ranging from 1 (less often than every 200 years) to 4 (every 10 years or more often)	1	4	2.03	6,695
<i>FlDam</i>	Self-reported experience of financial flood damage	0	1	0.13	8,306
<i>FlInsHome</i>	Home is flood insured	0	1	0.59	7,546
<i>FlInsCont</i>	Contents are flood insured	0	1	0.47	12,368
Heat-related variables					
<i>Temp</i>	Average minimum temperature in summer months in °C	7.8	14.8	12.54	12,668
<i>Wind</i>	Average wind speed in m/s	15	71	32.43	12,683
<i>BMI</i>	Body-Mass-Index	11.8	220.4	27.26	11,756
<i>HeatDam</i>	Self-reported experience of health-related heat damage	0	1	0.05	12,573
Further variables					
<i>SelfEff</i>	Index of self-efficacy	7	49	36.47	3,346
<i>LifeSat</i>	Self-reported level of life satisfaction, ranging from 0 (completely dissatisfied) to 10 (completely satisfied)	0	10	7.25	12,843
<i>Riskseek</i>	Self-reported level of risk seeking, ranging from 0 (not at all willing to take risks) to 10 (very willing to take risks)	0	10	4.75	12,852
<i>Patience</i>	Self-reported level of patience, ranging from 0 (very impatient) to 10 (very patient)	0	10	5.90	12,850

Based on the pooled sample of all available observations. Number of distinct households: up to 5194. The number of observations varies because not all variables were included in every survey wave, due to filter questions, and because missing and don't know answers are omitted.

Methods

We base our empirical analysis on various statistical methods. Following the five research questions outlined in the introduction, the analysis consists of five sections that build upon each other. In the first section, we mainly present descriptive statistics such as the percentage of intentions that are transferred into actions, and thereby address Hypothesis 1a (“There is an IBG in climate change adaptation”) and Hypothesis 1b (“The gap decreases with measure costs”).

Next, we address research question #2 and employ multivariate logistic regressions of the implementation of specific measures, and compare goodness-of-fit statistics of model specifications with and without prior intentions (Akaike information criterion, AIC, and Bayesian information criterion, BIC). The set of explaining variables is based on the empirical literature on intended or implemented adaptation behavior and respective review studies (e.g., Osberghaus 2021 and van Valkengoed and Steg 2019 for flood, Kussel 2018 and Osberghaus and Abeling 2022 for heat).

In these two sections, we analyze the data for each of the six flood measures and four heat measures separately, and we focus on the measure-specific IBG. Moreover, in both sections we have to restrict the analysis to those households, which have not implemented the respective measure at the time of their first participation – otherwise there is no data on whether they intend to implement it or not.

In the subsequent section, we turn to research question #3 and estimate logistic regression models of adaptation intentions and actual behaviors, using the same sets of explaining variables as in section 2. We thereby assess whether these two dependent variables relate to the same explanatory variables in similar ways. Thereby we approach the question whether analyses, which are only based on intentions, may still yield similar results in multivariate regression settings – despite an eventually large IBG. In this and the subsequent sections, we focus on the aggregate measures (flood and heat adaptation) for keeping the analyses brief and concise. Results for the specific adaptation measures, however, are reported in the Appendices.

In section 4, we assess how the resulting IBGs in the flood and heat adaptation contexts can be explained by observable characteristics of households (research question #4). For this analysis, we calculate for both domains (flood and heat) a respondent-specific share of stated intentions that are implemented subsequently, aggregating all time periods and measures within the domain. As these two variables vary between zero (no intention implemented) and one (all intentions implemented) and have only few distinct values in between, we opt for treating these variables as ordinal data. Hence, we use spearman correlation coefficients (and ordered probit regression models) for assessing univariate (and multivariate) correlations of these measures with potentially relevant variables. We thereby relate our analysis to prior studies from the psychological literature, which analyzed the IBG in other contexts.

Finally, inspired by regret theory, in section 5 we assess the question whether the IBG in the context of flooding may partly be explained by the regret caused by the experience that a costly investment in flood adaptation measures may prove to be unnecessary if no flood damage is occurring. For this analysis, we use self-reported data on life satisfaction (ranging from zero to ten) and assess the effect of experiencing flood damage interacted with the implementation status of prior flood adaptation intentions. Thereby we can approach the question how the perceived utility of implementing flood adaptation intentions depends on the occurrence of flood damage. Following the literature (e.g., Frey et al. 2010; Haushofer and Fehr 2014), these interaction regressions are implemented as linear, ordinary least squares regressions with a typical set of covariates for life satisfaction regressions.

Results and Discussion

Section 1: Is there an intention-behavior gap, and is it related to costs?

As an approach to research question #1, we present data describing how well stated intentions of survey respondents align to implementations in a later survey wave – hence the size of the IBG. In Table 2, we report for each of the ten specific measures and for the aggregate adaptation measures the percentages of implemented intentions, and the percentage of implementations that are preceded by stated intentions. We also report the number of households in four categories: (a) no implementation and no prior intention, (b) implementation but no prior intention, (c) no implementation despite prior respective intention, and (d) implementation after stating the intention.

Table 2: Percentage of adaptation intentions that are implemented, and number of households categorized by intentions and implementations.

Adaptation measure	Stated intentions that are implemented	Implementations that were intended	No prior intention, no implementation	No prior intention, but implementation	Prior intention, but no implementation	Prior intention and implementation
	(percentage)		(Number of households)			
Flood (low cost) moving valuable assets to higher floors (<i>FlMov</i>)	23.6	5.6	3607	286	55	17
Flood (medium cost) sewer backflow preventers (<i>FlSew</i>)	25.0	11.3	2030	260	99	33
Flood (high cost) water barriers in the basement (<i>FlBar</i>)	21.0	9.4	4286	125	49	13
water-resistant indoor painting (<i>FlWip</i>)	16.2	4.5	5083	128	31	6
water-resistant exterior painting (<i>FlWep</i>)	15.6	2.6	2762	267	38	7
water-resistant flooring (<i>FlFlo</i>)	30.0	2.3	2759	400	21	9
any high cost flood measure (<i>FlStr</i>) ^a	22.0	4.5				
Flood (aggregate) any flood measure (<i>FlAdapt</i>) ^a	24.8	6.8				
Heat Fan (<i>HeatFan</i>)	24.3	10.0	5231	385	165	43
air-conditioning (<i>HeatAC</i>)	5.6	20.3	6286	55	238	14
heat protection window films (<i>HeatSun</i>)	8.2	9.9	6076	155	191	17
green roofs (<i>HeatGre</i>)	4.0	5.9	4260	16	24	1
any heat measure (<i>HeatAdapt</i>) ^a	12.8	12.8				

Pooled sample of 2014 and 2020 observations. Based only on households, which have not implemented the respective measure at the time of their first survey participation.

^a For the aggregated adaptation measures, a clear-cut categorization of households is not possible as a household may fall in different categories for different measures.

Table 2 depicts at least two main results regarding the size of the IBG: First, the gap between intentions and subsequent behavior in the adaptation context is substantial. For all analyzed adaptation measures in both the flood and heat domains, only a minority of stated intentions prove to be realized some years later. The percentage of implemented intentions never exceeds 30 percent. In other words, between 70 and 96 percent of the intentions reported by the survey respondents have not been implemented during

the survey period (which is, depending on the participation patterns, between two and eight years). We can also assess the question whether asking for intentions is a good indicator for subsequent behavior. By comparing the number of households who have implemented a measure with and without prior intentions, we clearly see that the vast majority of observed implementations were done “unscheduled”, hence without the household head reporting on a respective intention in an earlier survey wave (the share of implementations with prior plans varies between 2.3 and 20.3 percent). These figures give some initial hints that reported adaptation intentions may not align well with adaptation behavior posing some severe challenges on both researchers and policy makers: Data on stated private intentions to adapt to climate change has to be interpreted with great care as intentions are an insufficient predictor for realized actions. Analogously, it is also challenging to infer future “passive” behavior from a low level of stated intentions. Hence, we find strong support for Hypothesis 1a: There is a considerable IBG in the context of private climate adaptation.

The second result of Table 2 refers to differences between adaptation domains and specific measures. Comparing the aggregate adaptation measures for flood versus heat, it seems that intentions regarding flood adaptation are slightly more often implemented than in the heat context. This difference is driven by a large number of households intending to install air-conditioning or sun protection films, but not implementing them. One speculative interpretation of this result is the following: when presented, these measures seem attractive and some respondents rather spontaneously pledge that they intend to install such measures. Afterwards, when confronted with unexpected costs or practical challenges, the intentions are not followed up. In contrast, the proposed flood measures may not have the same appeal to the naïve respondent, or the related costs and difficulties are assessed more realistically, which results in lower numbers of “spontaneously” reported intentions in this domain. Hence, the difference in the IBG between the flood and heat domains may be related to higher level of deliberate and concrete planning in the context of more costly and complex flood measures. We interpret this finding as support for Hypothesis 1b: The probability that intentions are realized increases with measure complexity and costs, hence the IBG is lower in these cases. This interpretation is backed by prior literature on the implementation of flood adaptation plans: Bubeck et al. (2020) find lower IBGs for measures incurring considerable investments and planning. In addition, studies from other contexts repeatedly found that deliberate planning effectively reduces the IBG (Abel et al. 2019, Milkman et al. 2011, Nickerson and Rogers 2010, Rabinovich and Webley 2007, Reuter et al. 2010, Rogers et al. 2015, Sniechotta et al. 2005).

Section 2: Do intentions contribute to the goodness-of-fit of implementation models?

As another way of assessing the validity of reported intentions, we employ multivariate binary regression models of implementation decisions of specific and aggregate adaptation measures. For answering research question #2, we compare the goodness-of-fit statistics of regression models with and without including prior intentions as an explanatory variable. In Table 3, we present for each adaptation measure the marginal effects of intentions and the differences of AICs and BICs from models without prior intentions and models including prior intentions. Negative differences mean lower information criteria for models with prior intentions, hence these models are to be preferred. The full underlying regression results are presented in Table 8 and Table 9 in Appendix A2.

Table 3: AIC and BIC differences of multivariate logit regression models of adaptation implementation, with and without including prior intentions.

Adaptation measure group	Adaptation measure	Marginal effect of intention	AIC (model with intention) minus AIC (model without intention)	BIC (model with intention) minus BIC (model without intention)
Flood (low cost)	moving valuable assets to higher floors	0.057**	-2.6	3.0
Flood (medium cost)	sewer backflow preventers	0.059*	-0.8	4.3
Flood (high cost)	water barriers in the basement	0.031**	-2.4	3.3
	water-resistant indoor painting	0.044***	-7.7	-1.9
	water-resistant exterior painting	0.043	1.7	7.0
	water-resistant flooring	0.117*	-0.6	4.8
	any high cost flood measure	0.130***	-9.8	-3.9
Flood	any flood measure	0.072	-1.0	4.9
Heat	Fan	0.086***	-21.9	-15.8
	air-conditioning	0.019***	-19.8	-13.7
	heat protection window films,	0.032***	-8.8	-2.6
	green roofs	0.005	0.1	5.4
	any heat measure	0.072***	-10.5	-4.3

Based on multivariate logistic regression models presented in Table 8 and Table 9 in Appendix A2. The regression models include only households, which have not implemented the measure in the prior survey wave. Marginal effects are computed with covariates fixed at their means. AIC is multiplied by the number of observations to obtain the same dimension as for BIC. The stars *, **, *** indicate significance levels of 10, 5, and 1 percent.

Both criteria penalize the inclusion of additional model parameters, but the BIC does more so than the AIC. This explains why in some cases the AIC difference is negative (i.e., the model with intentions should be preferred) while the BIC difference is positive (the model without intentions is preferred).

In general, we find negative differences to be more likely in the heat domain, suggesting that in this context models containing prior intentions are to be preferred, rather than in the flood context where especially the BIC often suggests models without intentions to be equally informative. However, differences in AIC and BIC depend also on the explanatory power of the other explaining variables, and here flood and heat models differ considerably: The pseudo-R² of flood models is substantially higher than the respective statistics of heat models (see Table 8 and Table 9 in Appendix A2). Hence, the contribution of an additional parameter to the goodness-of-fit may be higher in heat models just because the other parameters have less explanatory power than in the flood models.

While we focus here on the goodness-of-fit of the estimated models, we acknowledge that the estimated coefficients of intentions are positive in all models and significant at the 10 percent level in most cases, which is at least reassuring for the internal validity of the intention variable. In other words, the results support Hypothesis 2, that there is a significant positive correlation of the level of intentions and the level of actions, also after controlling for other factors that typically determine the implementation of adaptation. However, the differences in the models are relatively minor – which is also shown by the fact that the information criteria do not clearly prefer one model to the other. This may be surprising, given the fact that the additional parameter indicates the intention of exactly the same household to implement exactly the measure in question. We conclude that stated intentions to implement adaptation measures rarely provide additional and therefore sufficient information on implementation decisions, compared to models with a standard set of explaining variables.

Section 3: Are intentions and implementations related to similar explaining variables?

Next, we turn to research question #3 and compare regression results of estimating intentions versus models of implementations. Given the substantial size of the IBG and the low level of explanatory power of intentions in terms of behavior, it is an open and relevant question whether it is possible to identify a joint set of explanatory variables, which are able to explain both intentions and subsequent actions. If that is the case, we can at least have confidence in regression model results that estimate factors of influence on adaptation intentions, even with the existence of a substantial IBG. For the multivariate logistic regression models, we use again the same set of explaining variables, and only use households, which have not implemented the respective measure in the prior survey wave, to have a similar set of households in both regression models. Figure 2 depicts the estimated coefficients for flood adaptation, and Figure 3 for heat adaptation. Appendix A3 contains the respective figures for specific measures.

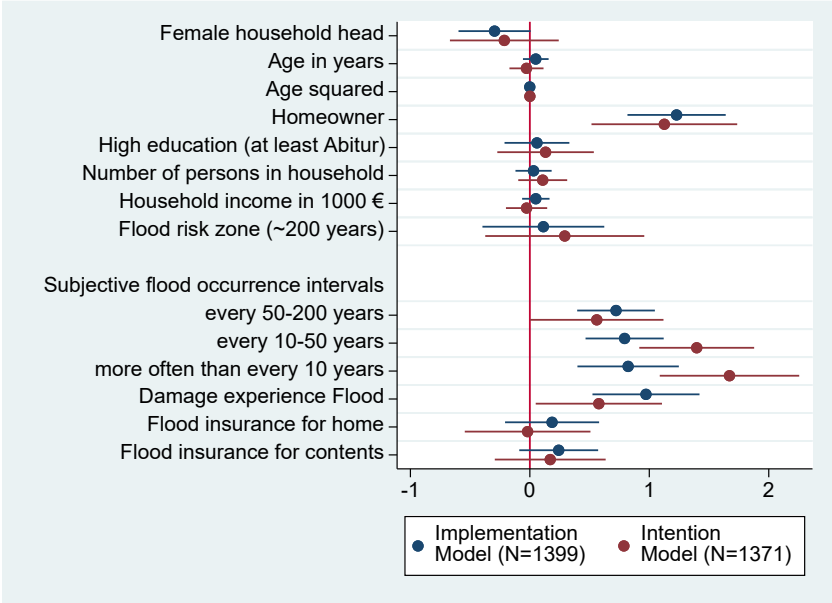


Figure 2: Estimated coefficients (and 95% confidence intervals) of logistic regression models for implementing and intending any flood adaptation measure. The estimation samples includes only observations of 2020, and only households, which have not implemented a measure in the prior survey wave.

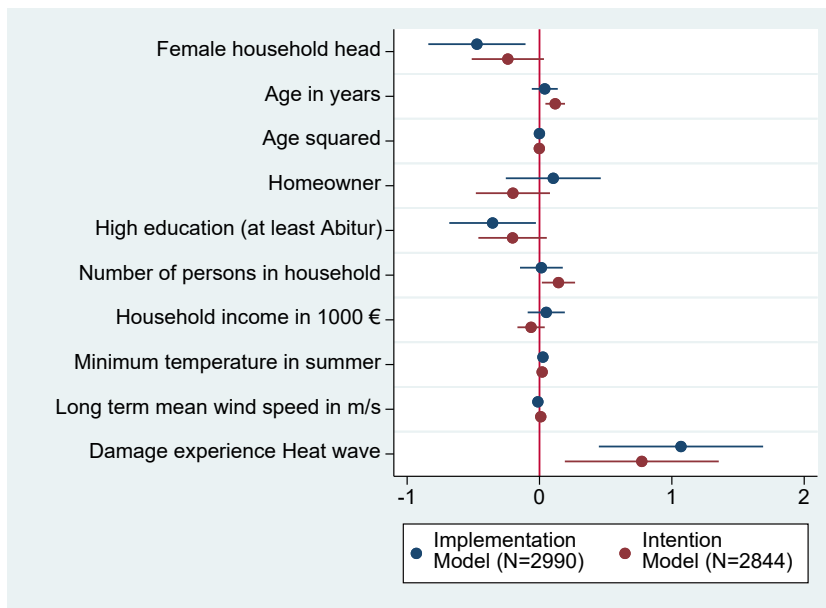


Figure 3: Estimated coefficients (and 95% confidence intervals) of logistic regression models for implementing and intending any heat adaptation measure. The estimation samples includes only observations of 2014, and only households, which have not implemented a measure in the prior survey wave.

At first sight, the estimated coefficients seem to relate quite well for models on implementation and intentions. Some nuanced differences can be detected regarding the effect of damage experience as an explanatory variable: the effect is larger for the implementation than for intentions, especially in the flood domain. One potential reason is that unexpected flood events may trigger spontaneous implementations of measures. There is another systematic difference regarding the effect of expected flood probabilities: They show a strong and increasing positive effect on adaptation intentions, but a somewhat lower and non-linear effect on actual behavior. The same pattern is visible in respective analyses of more specific measures in Appendix A3, and may well be explained by negative feedback-effects of measure implementation on risk perceptions, which are absent for intentions (Bubeck et al. 2012). Another noteworthy result is obtained from the analysis of relatively costly measures in the heat domain (air-conditioning, sun protection films, in Appendix A3): household income has a significantly positive effect on implementation, but not on intentions.

We perceive these results as partly encouraging for the use of adaptation intention models for deducing relevant factors of behavior. While there are certain differences in the set of variables, which proof to be significant, and certainly in their effect sizes, the overall pattern of explanatory variables does not change dramatically, and intention models may be used at least as proxies for estimating relevant factors of actual behavior. Hence, the results broadly confirm our Hypothesis 3. As a caveat, we found some differences in the estimated effect sizes and significance of damage experience (larger effects for implementation) of our measure for flood risk perceptions (larger effects for intentions than for implementation), and of the effect of income for costly heat measures (larger effects for implementation). This finding suggests people may not well consider their budget constraints when answering intentions to adapt in surveys.

Section 4: Explaining the intention-behavior gap

One core result of our analysis so far is that the IBG in climate adaptation at the household level is considerable, and intentions do not well align with subsequent actions. In the next step, we assess whether part of the variation of this gap may be explained by observable household characteristics. For this section, we calculate a household- and domain-specific share of intentions that are implemented, including all adaptation measures and time steps of the survey. This indicator of implemented intentions is inversely related to the IBG, and takes values of zero for respondents not realizing any of their stated intentions, of one for those who have implemented all of their intentions, and some values in between

when some intentions were realized, and some not. Table 4 depicts the values of this indicator for the flood and heat domain.

Table 4: Indicators of implemented intentions

Share of implemented intentions	Number of households	Percentage of households
For all flood measures		
0	555	72.2
0.33	5	0.7
0.5	30	3.9
0.67	3	0.4
1	176	22.9
Total	769	100.0
For all heat measures		
0	1310	86.2
0.33	9	0.6
0.5	35	2.3
1	165	10.9
Total	1519	100.0

Only households included which report intentions and provide data on later implementation in any specific adaptation measure.

First, we calculate univariate spearman correlation coefficients of these two indicators with all available variables reported in Table 1. In Table 5, we report only those coefficients, which are statistically distinguishable from zero at the 10 percent level.

Table 5: Spearman correlation coefficients of implementation indicators

Variables	Correlation with implementation indicator in flood domain	Correlation with implementation indicator in heat domain
Socio-Economics		
<i>Female</i>		
<i>Age</i>		
<i>Homeowner</i>	0.125	
<i>Educ</i>		
<i>HHSize</i>		-0.084
<i>Income</i>		
Flood-related variables		
<i>FlZone</i>		
<i>FlProb</i>	0.154	
<i>FlDam</i>	0.173	
<i>FlInsHome</i>		
<i>FlInsCont</i>		
Heat-related variables		
<i>Temp</i>		
<i>Wind</i>		
<i>BMI</i>		
<i>HeatDam</i>		
Further variables		
<i>SelfEff</i>		
<i>LifeSat</i>		
<i>Riskseek</i>		
<i>Patience</i>		

Only coefficients reported which are significant at the 10 percent level. One observation per household included.

Table 5 shows that there is hardly any statistically significant relationship between the share of implemented adaptation intentions and observable household characteristics. The highest correlations are found for flood risk perceptions and flood experience. For households scoring high on these variables, the IBG in the flood domain tends to be lower. Notably, we do not find significant correlations with perceived self-efficacy, which is in contrast to some prior psychological literature on the IBG (Grimmer and Miles 2017, Heath and Gifford 2002, Nguyen et al. 2019, Sniehotta et al. 2005). In Table 6, we expand this analysis to the multivariate setting and estimate ordered probit regression models of the implementation indicators. Again, flood experience and risk perceptions are significant factors of the realization of adaptation intentions, but objective flood risk (living in a flood zone) seems to contribute to the implementation as well. In the heat domain, there are only marginally significant correlations of income and BMI with the implementation indicator. Other modelling approaches, such as dichotomizing the indicators and using logistic regressions, or using ordinary least squares regressions, yield very similar results.

Table 6: Ordered probit regressions of the implementation indicators, reported vales are coefficients.

	Implementation indicator in flood domain	Implementation indicator in heat domain
Socio-Economics		
<i>Female</i>	0.11	-0.14
<i>Age</i>	-0.056	0.03
<i>Age²</i>	0.00	-0.00
<i>Homeowner</i>	1.23**	0.01
<i>Educ</i>	0.30	-0.07
<i>HHSize</i>	-0.21	-0.14
<i>Income</i>	-0.12	0.12*
Flood-related variables		
<i>FIZone</i>	0.68**	
<i>FIProb</i>		
- category 2	0.72**	
- category 3	0.26	
- category 4	0.42	
<i>FIDam</i>	0.73***	
<i>FIInsHome</i>	0.17	
<i>FIInsCont</i>	0.07	
Heat-related variables		
<i>Temp</i>		0.08
<i>Wind</i>		0.03
<i>BMI</i>		0.02*
<i>HeatDam</i>		0.23
N	216	465
Pseudo-R2	0.161	0.079

One observation per household included. Federal state- and time-fixed effects are always included. The stars *, **, *** indicate significance levels of 10, 5, and 1 percent.

In general, we conclude that it is difficult to explain the considerable IBG in the adaptation context by data, which are typically observable in household surveys. If at all, we can learn from the analysis that households at risk, with high flood risk perceptions and damage experience may have a slightly higher propensity to follow up on their stated intentions in terms of flood adaptation.

Section 5: Intention-behavior gap and regret theory: Impacts on life satisfaction

In this section, we approach the IBG in climate adaptation from a regret theory angle. Decisions such as the implementation of adaptation intentions are always subject to uncertainty, as adaptation is predominantly beneficial if an uncertain event realizes, such as an extreme weather event. Regret theory

postulates that the utility of some specific decision does not only depend on the outcome given the chosen decision, but also on the best alternative outcome given the uncertainty resolution (Loomes and Sugden 1982, Bell 1982, Fishburn 1982). Applied to the context of flood adaptation intentions and implementations, it means that the utility of the implementation of an adaptation intention depends on whether the measure proves to be beneficial – hence, whether a flood occurs or not. In the cases when the adaptation intention is not implemented and a flood occurs, or when the intention is followed up and no flood occurs, there may be feelings of regret that the decision was either delayed until it was too late (“regret of being unprotected”) or proofed to be in vain (“regret of being protected”), respectively. Both types of these regret feelings may be anticipated beforehand and thereby influence the decision whether to realize adaptation intentions or not. Especially an anticipation of the “in vain” investment may contribute to a large IBG.

In the following, we attempt to tease out these feelings of regret in a life satisfaction framework. Following the empirical literature on life satisfaction data (e.g., Frey et al. 2010; Haushofer and Fehr 2014), we use these self-reported data as a rough proxy for utility. We include as explanatory variables the self-reported flood damage experience and an indicator variable indicating whether the household has implemented the intention of a flood adaptation measure, and the interaction of these two binary variables. We expand the model by a set of typical explanatory variables for life satisfaction models. The results of the OLS regression are summarized in Table 7.

Table 7: Ordinary least squares regression results of life satisfaction.

	Life satisfaction	Life satisfaction
<i>FLDam</i>	-0.135*	-0.157**
<i>FLAdapt_II</i> (intention of <i>FLAdapt</i> implemented)	-0.157	-0.629*
<i>FLDam</i> * <i>FLAdapt_II</i>		1.054**
Control variables		
<i>Female</i>	0.223***	0.223***
<i>Age</i>	-0.029*	-0.029*
<i>Age</i> ²	0.41e ⁻³ ***	0.41e ⁻³ ***
<i>Homeowner</i>	0.276***	0.277***
<i>Educ</i>	0.114**	0.116**
<i>HHSize</i>	0.011	0.011
<i>Income</i>	0.237***	0.236***
<i>Patience</i>	0.081***	0.081***
<i>RiskSeek</i>	0.134***	0.134***
N	6938	6938
R2	0.089	0.089

FLAdapt_II equals one for respondents who followed up on their intentions to implement any flood adaptation measure, and zero for all other respondents (including those without stated intentions). Based on a pooled sample of all available observations. Federal state- and time-fixed effects are always included. The stars *, **, *** indicate significance levels of 10, 5, and 1 percent.

The life satisfaction regression in column 1 shows the expected effects of control variables, and a meaningful share of explained variance. Moreover, there is a negative correlation of self-reported damage experience with life satisfaction, and no significant effect of having followed the own intentions of implementing a flood adaptation measure. In column 2 we add the interaction of damage experience and implementation, and find that the implementation indicator indeed correlates with life satisfaction, but the direction depends on flood damage experience, which is in support of both our initial hypotheses

4a and 4b. Those respondents who may feel they have implemented the adaptation measure in vain (because no flood damage occurred) (indicated by the simple $FLAdapt_II$ coefficient), exhibit the lowest levels of life satisfaction – this supports the hypothesis that there is regret of being protected (Hypothesis 4b). There is also regret of being unprotected amongst those who have not implemented adaptation and were flood affected (Hypothesis 4a), indicated by the negative coefficient of $FLDam$. Those who have followed up on their intentions and indeed experience a flood event ($FLDam * FLAdapt_II$), show the statistically highest levels of life satisfaction, which are considerably higher than those who have neither experienced a flood, nor implemented any intentions (reference group in the regression). Although these results should not be interpreted as causal effects, they do show clear patterns, which are in line with what regret theory would predict. If household heads expect a relatively high level of regret caused by the perceived level of over-investment into an adaptation measure, they might take this into account by adjusting their level of investment.

The pattern of life satisfaction levels for the four categories of households is also illustrated by plotting the mean values and confidence intervals in Figure 4. Note that amongst the group of not-implementing households, flood damage correlates negatively with life satisfaction. In contrast, for the group of households implementing their intentions, the correlation of life satisfaction and damage experience tends to be positive.

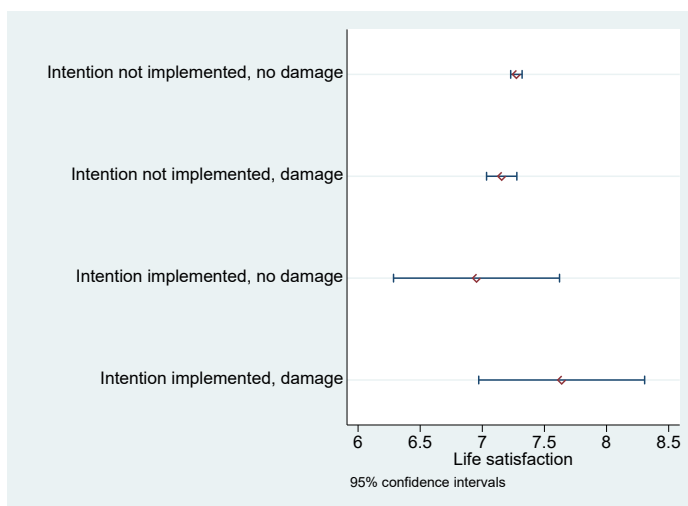


Figure 4: Mean values and 95% confidence intervals of life satisfaction for four categories of households.

Conclusion

In this study, we have approached the intention-behavior gap (IBG) in the context of private climate adaptation. Insights on this gap are particularly important in the emerging field of studies on climate adaptation and natural disaster risk mitigation at the household level, as much of this literature relies on self-reported intentions to implement protection measures. In how far stated intentions are followed up by actual implementation is so far an open question. Moreover, it is not clear which determinants contribute to the size IBG, hence, which types of households are prone to act on their intentions, and which specific measure characteristics are important for the rate of implementation. Based on a unique and novel longitudinal data set on household adaptation over the period of eight years, we contribute to filling these gaps in the literature. As the first study, we are able to track reported adaptation intentions and behavior of a significant number of households over time. The periods between the survey waves are generally sufficient for implementing the analyzed measures.

We address five research questions and obtain five main results: First, we find there is indeed a substantial IBG in the context of adaptation to flood and heat hazards. In our data, we see that only a share of 25% of all stated intentions in the flood domain and 13% of intentions in the heat domain are implemented after two to eight years. The descriptive data also suggest that the IBG may be lower in

cases where deliberate planning is necessary because the specific measure seems complex or costly. Second, we find that although there is a significant positive correlation between intentions and implementation, the explanatory power of intentions, taking into account other typical determinants of adaptation behavior, is limited.

These first two results may raise concerns about the external validity of studies, which use stated intentions as a proxy for the implementation of adaptation measures. However, in the third section we find that estimated coefficients for the determinants of intentions broadly align with the respective coefficients in implementation models. Hence, although there may be a large IBG, conclusions regarding the effects of household characteristics, environmental factors, individual preferences etc. on adaptation intentions may still provide relevant insights for subsequent behavior.

Fourth, we attempt to explain the IBG in the climate adaptation context by observable data on the household and individual characteristics of the respondent, such as perceived self-efficacy. We find only a few statistically significant effects, but one important result is that damage experience contributes to a closing of the IBG, hence intentions are rather followed up if the household is affected by some extreme weather event. Other potential explanatory factors, such as perceived self-efficacy, hardly correlate with the size of the IBG in climate adaptation.

Finally, we interpret the effects of intention realization and damage experience in a regret theory framework. Based on a life satisfaction regression, we show that stated life satisfaction significantly varies with damage experience and the realization of prior adaptation intentions. There is a “regret to be unprotected”. Hence, life satisfaction drops for unprotected and flood-affected respondents – in particular compared to their protected and flood-affected counterparts. However, there is also a significant “regret of being protected” for adapted, but unaffected respondents, which show significantly lower levels of happiness than unprotected and unaffected respondents do. This latter finding may be interpreted as one potential explanation for the existence of the IBG in climate adaptation.

Based on these findings, we conclude that it may be problematic to derive policy-relevant conclusions by the use of surveyed data on adaptation intentions, especially when it comes to the general protection level within a population. Wherever possible, empirical research should make use of data on actually implemented adaptation. These data may be self-reported or measured more objectively, e.g. one may use sales data or external/professional observations of structural measures. The usage of implementation data raises the challenge of possible feedback effects of adaptation determinants and behavior. For solving this issue, the strategy of using longitudinal data on implementations and motivational factors may be a more promising approach than employing cross-sectional data on intentions.

In terms of policy conclusions, we may conclude from our study that there is a window-of-opportunity for strengthening adaptation behavior in the aftermath of extreme weather events – not just because the intention to engage in adaptation rises (as many studies have shown) but also because pre-event intentions have a higher chance to be realized after an event. This insight may be used in adaptation-related communication campaigns and interventions, especially in the aftermath of natural disasters.

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Appendix

Appendix A1: Questionnaire Items

Implementation and intention of flood adaptation

Please indicate which of the following flood protection measures you have already carried out in your house or flat or are planning to do so in the near future:

Display in random order

	No, neither implemen- ted nor planned	Yes, planned	Yes, already carried out	Don't know / Prefer not to say
Relocation of valuable furnishings to a higher floor (<i>only if several floors are used</i>).	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Water barriers in the basement (<i>only if basement is used</i>)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sewer backflow preventers (<i>only for homeowners</i>)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Water-resistant exterior painting (<i>only for homeowners</i>)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Water-resistant indoor painting	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Water-resistant flooring (e.g. tiles, granite) due to risk of flooding (<i>only for homeowners</i>).	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Flood-proof heating system (e.g. secured oil tank) (<i>only for homeowners</i>)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Implementation of heat adaptation

Please indicate which of these items of equipment you have purchased yourself to make the indoor climate in your flat more comfortable.

Please note: This question only refers to purchases that you yourself have consciously made (with the primary aim of making the indoor climate in your flat more pleasant). Equipment that was already present in your flat when you moved in is not included.

- Table or ceiling fan
- Sun protection films or sun protection glass for the windows
- Air conditioning
- Green roof
- None of these features (*single choice, always in last place*)
- Don't know

Intention of heat adaptation

Please indicate which of these items of equipment you

Please indicate which of the following equipment you expect to purchase in the near future to make the indoor environment in your home more comfortable.

(only options that were not selected in implementation question)

- Table or ceiling fan
- Sun protection films or sun protection glass for the windows
- Air conditioning
- Green roof
- None of these features *(single choice, always in last place)*
- Don't know

Self-efficacy (*SelfEff*)

In the following section, we would like you to indicate to what degree you agree with the statements on a scale from 1 (do not agree at all) to 7 (agree fully).

Show in random order

	Do not agree at all						Agree fully	Don't know / Prefer not to say
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
I have little control over the things that happen to me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
There is no solution at all to some of my problems.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
There is little I can do to change the many important things in my life.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I often feel helpless in coping with life's problems.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sometimes I feel that I am being ordered around in life.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
What happens to me in the future is largely up to me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can do everything I really set out to do.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Life Satisfaction (*LifeSat*)

First of all, what would you say: How satisfied are you currently, all in all, with your life?

How would you rate yourself on a scale from 0 ("completely dissatisfied") to 10 ("completely satisfied")?

Completely dissatisfied										Completely satisfied
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

plus Don't know / Prefer not to say

Appendix A2: Additional Tables

Table of logit regressions with and without prior intentions, for all specific and aggregate measures

Table 8: Multivariate logit regression models of flood adaptation implementation, with and without including prior intentions.

Dependent variable	FIMov		FISew		FIBar		FIWip	
Intentions		0.84**		0.52*		1.16**		1.92***
Female	-0.39*	-0.38*	-0.13	-0.12	0.30	0.34	-0.12	-0.12
Age	0.13*	0.13*	0.02	0.02	0.19**	0.19**	0.00	-0.01
Age squared (in 0.001)	-1.26**	-1.23**	-0.12	-0.09	-1.22*	-1.23*	-0.06	0.04
Homeowner	0.34	0.34			0.17	0.12	-0.57	-0.57
Educ	0.19	0.18	-0.25	-0.25	0.05	0.08	0.05	0.05
HHSize	-0.03	-0.03	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.09	-0.13	-0.14
Income	0.04	0.04	0.13*	0.12	0.09	0.08	0.06	0.06
FIZone	-0.29	-0.32	0.26	0.26	-0.09	-0.08	-0.65	-0.60
FIProb: 1	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
FIProb: 2	0.97***	0.95***	0.38*	0.35	0.38	0.36	0.35	0.31
FIProb: 3	1.19***	1.16***	0.35	0.32	1.05***	1.00***	0.53*	0.49
FIProb: 4	1.23***	1.19***	0.31	0.26	1.02***	0.98***	1.06***	1.05***
FI Dam	1.21***	1.18***	0.37	0.33	0.81***	0.80***	1.21***	1.15***
FIInsHome	-0.43*	-0.43*	0.57**	0.57**	0.27	0.28	0.90**	0.91**
FIInsCont	0.47**	0.49**	-0.03	-0.02	0.31	0.31	0.41	0.40
Pseudo-R2	0.13	0.14	0.05	0.06	0.10	0.11	0.12	0.13
N	2024	2024	1174	1174	2162	2162	2552	2552

Dependent variable	FIWep		FIFlo		FIStr		FIAdapt	
Intentions		0.46		0.92*		0.82***		0.30
Female	-0.37	-0.38	0.22	0.24	0.02	0.04	-0.12	-0.11
Age	0.02	0.02	-0.03	-0.03	-0.00	-0.00	0.04	0.04
Age squared (in 0.001)	-0.09	-0.09	0.23	0.23	0.07	0.01	-0.33	-0.31
Homeowner					1.98***	1.97***	2.09***	2.07***
Educ	-0.32*	-0.32*	0.19	0.18	0.03	0.03	-0.01	-0.02
HHSize	-0.11	-0.11	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.06	-0.01	-0.01
Income	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.07	0.01	0.15	0.13***	0.13***
FIZone	-0.42	-0.43	-0.06	-0.09	-0.20	-0.22	0.17	0.17
FIProb: 1	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
FIProb: 2	0.23	0.23	0.61***	0.60***	0.58***	0.56***	0.67***	0.65***
FIProb: 3	-0.08	-0.09	0.70***	0.71***	0.77***	0.75***	0.77***	0.75***
FIProb: 4	0.42*	0.42*	0.96***	0.94***	0.87***	0.84***	0.81***	0.78***
FI Dam	-0.07	-0.08	0.46**	0.44**	0.76***	0.75***	1.02***	1.01***
FIInsHome	0.59**	0.59**	-0.07	-0.09	0.19	0.18	0.03	0.02
FIInsCont	0.22	0.22	0.47**	0.48**	0.41***	0.42***	0.35***	0.35***
Pseudo-R2	0.05	0.05	0.07	0.07	0.17	0.17	0.22	0.22
N	1469	1469	1520	1520	2785	2785	2818	2818

Based on the most recent observation of each respondent. The regression models include only households, which have not implemented the measure in the prior survey wave. Reported values are logit coefficients. Year- and federal-state fixed effects are always included. The stars *, **, *** indicate significance levels of 10, 5, and 1 percent.

Table 9: Multivariate logit regression models of heat adaptation implementation, with and without including prior intentions.

Dependent variable	HeatFan		HeatAC		HeatSun		HeatGre		HeatAdapt	
Intentions		1.10***		1.95***		1.32***		2.32**		0.39***
Female	-0.07	-0.08	-0.29	-0.19	-0.09	-0.11	0.06	-0.02	-0.20*	-0.20**
Age	0.09**	0.08**	-0.03	-0.05	0.04	0.03	-0.15	-0.16	0.07***	0.07**
Age squared	-0.98***	-0.91**	0.12	0.31	-0.18	-0.12	1.50	1.55	-0.71***	-0.66***
Homeowner	0.18	0.26	0.60	0.62	0.46*	0.46*			0.53***	0.55***
Educ	-0.07	-0.04	-0.38	-0.45	-0.25	-0.23	0.19	0.05	-0.23**	-0.23**
HHSize	-0.03	-0.03	-0.17	-0.16	-0.05	-0.07	0.58	0.47	-0.05	-0.06
Income	0.04	0.04	0.43***	0.42***	0.29***	0.29***	0.57**	0.59**	0.12***	0.11***
Temp	0.24**	0.24**	0.47**	0.44**	-0.06	-0.06	1.49***	1.46***	0.21***	0.21***
Wind	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01	-0.14**	-0.14**	-0.01	-0.01
BMI	0.03	0.03	0.02**	0.02*	0.01	0.00	-0.14	-0.16	0.03**	0.03**
HeatDam	0.88***	0.83***	0.24	0.08	1.03***	1.00***			0.54***	0.51***
Pseudo-R2	0.05	0.06	0.09	0.13	0.05	0.06	0.22	0.24	0.04	0.04
N	3073	3073	3163	3163	3374	3374	1393	1393	3668	2668

Based on the most recent observation of each respondent. The regression models include only households, which have not implemented the measure in the prior survey wave. Reported values are logit coefficients. Year- and federal-state fixed effects are always included. The stars *, **, *** indicate significance levels of 10, 5, and 1 percent.

Appendix A3: Additional Figures

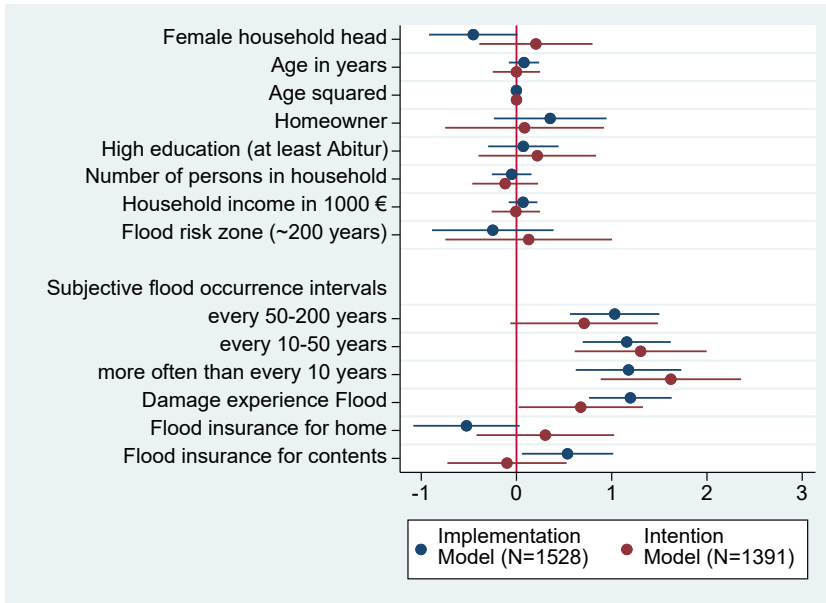


Figure 5: Estimated coefficients (and 95% confidence intervals) of logistic regression models for implementing and intending FIMov. The estimation samples includes only observations of 2020, and only households, which have not implemented the measure in the prior survey wave.

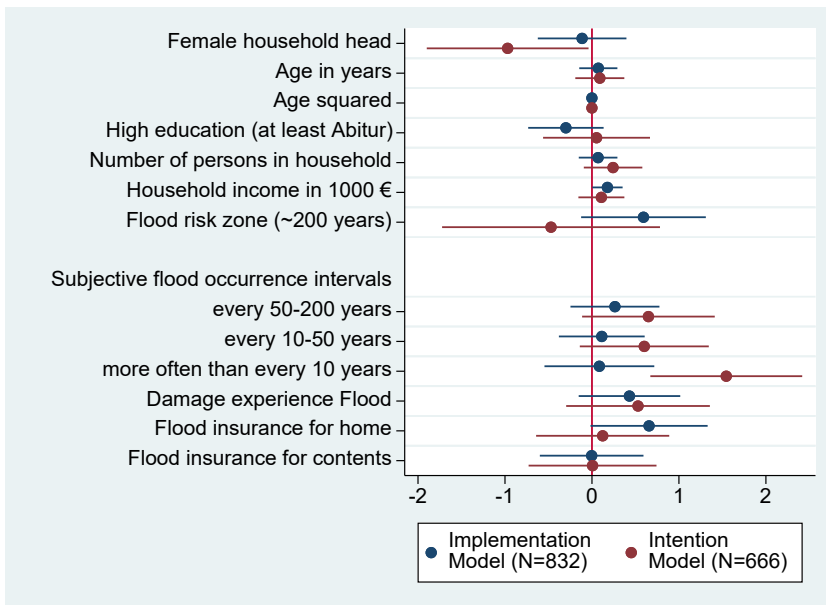


Figure 6: Estimated coefficients (and 95% confidence intervals) of logistic regression models for implementing and intending FISew. The estimation samples includes only observations of 2020, and only households, which have not implemented the measure in the prior survey wave.

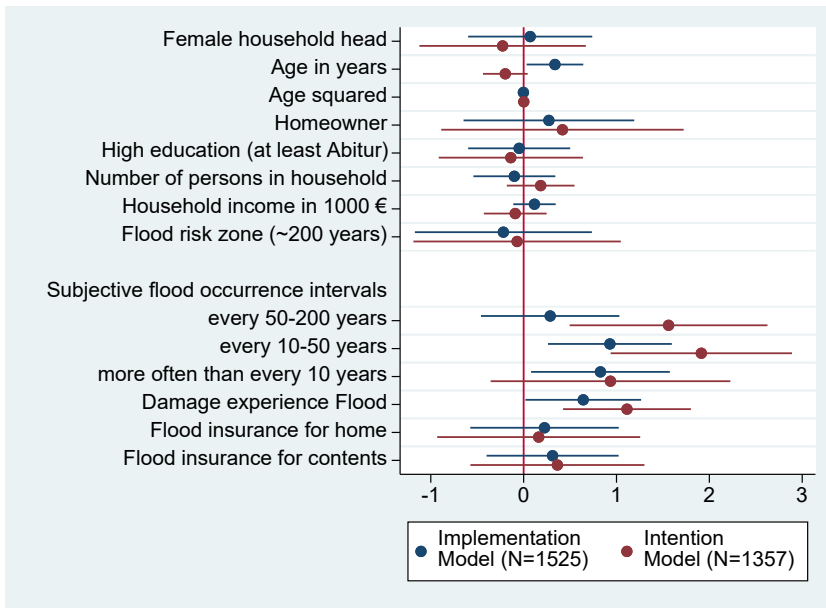


Figure 7: Estimated coefficients (and 95% confidence intervals) of logistic regression models for implementing and intending FIBar. The estimation samples includes only observations of 2020, and only households, which have not implemented the measure in the prior survey wave.

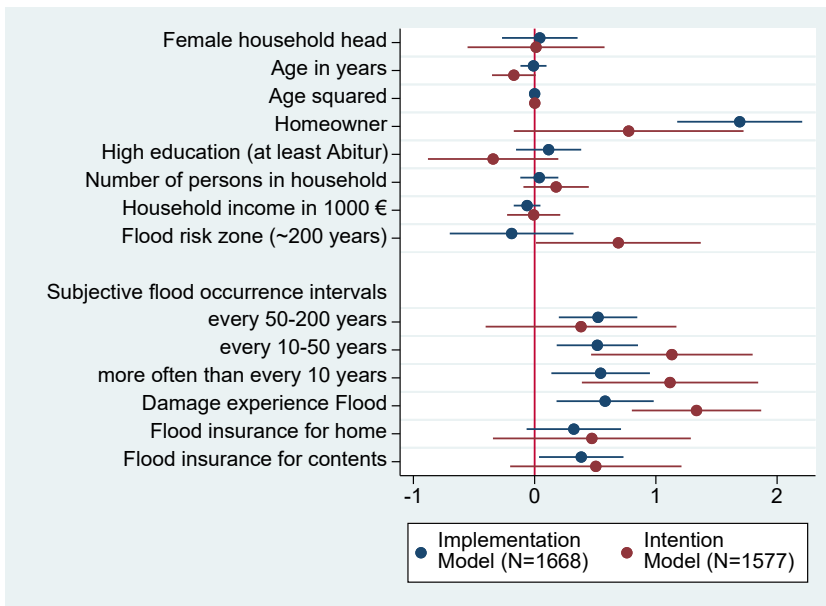


Figure 8: Estimated coefficients (and 95% confidence intervals) of logistic regression models for implementing and intending FIStr. The estimation samples includes only observations of 2020, and only households, which have not implemented the measure in the prior survey wave.

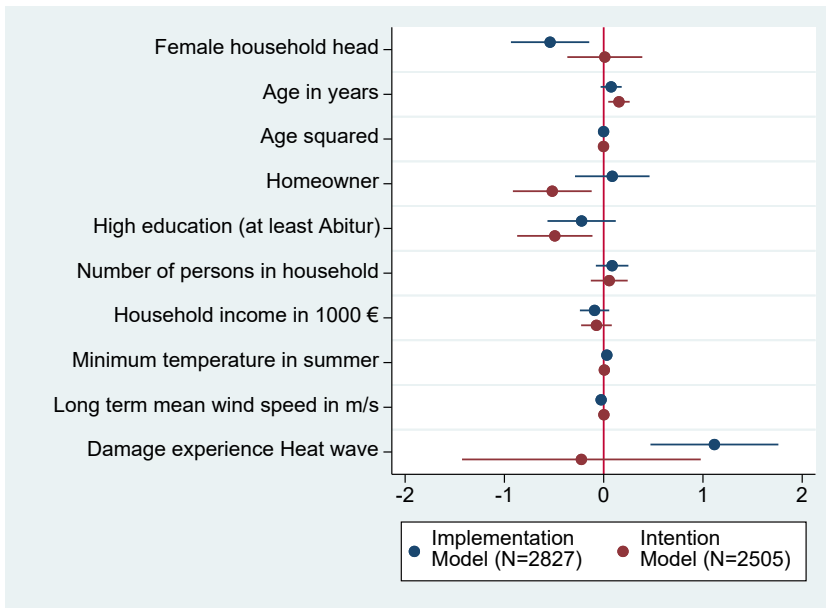


Figure 9: Estimated coefficients (and 95% confidence intervals) of logistic regression models for implementing and intending HeatFan. The estimation samples includes only observations of 2014, and only households, which have not implemented the measure in the prior survey wave.

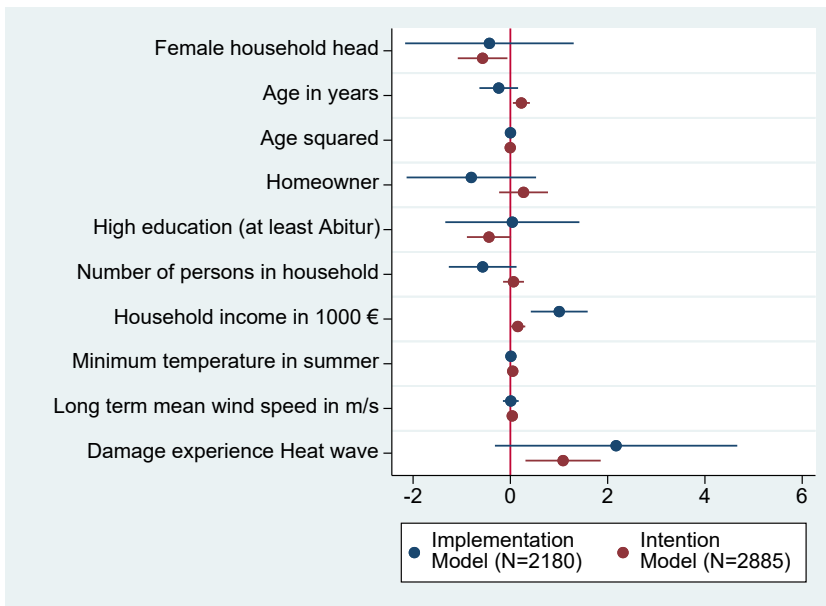


Figure 10: Estimated coefficients (and 95% confidence intervals) of logistic regression models for implementing and intending HeatAC. The estimation samples includes only observations of 2014, and only households, which have not implemented the measure in the prior survey wave.

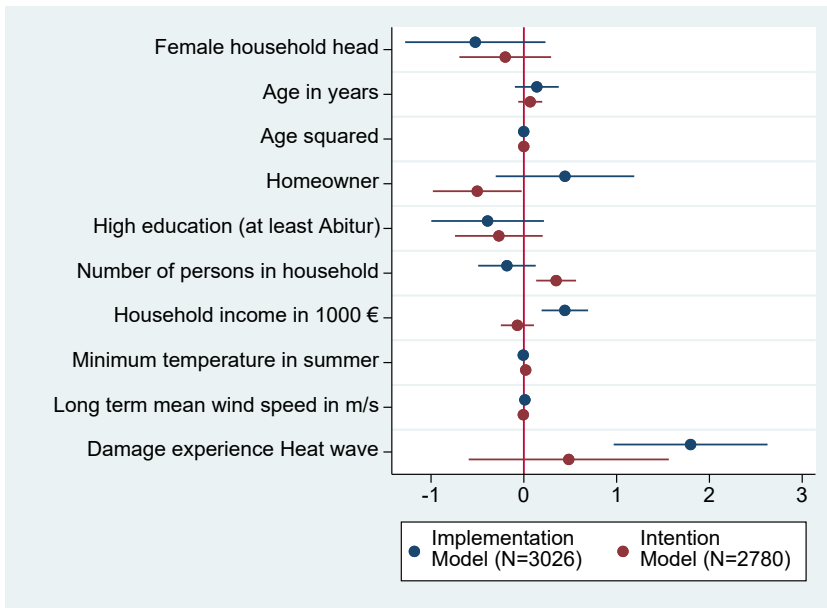


Figure 11: Estimated coefficients (and 95% confidence intervals) of logistic regression models for implementing and intending HeatSun. The estimation samples includes only observations of 2014, and only households, which have not implemented the measure in the prior survey wave.