



MORE EXPOSED BUT ALSO MORE VULNERABLE? CLIMATE CHANGE, HIGH INTENSITY PRECIPITATION EVENTS AND FLOODING IN MEDITERRANEAN SPAIN

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Abstract

Purpose – This paper examines the role of high intensity precipitation events in increasing enhancing the vulnerability to flooding in Mediterranean Spain. Precipitation intensity in this area appears to have augmented increased in the last two decades in association with warming trends of the Mediterranean Sea. At the same time, intense urbanization processes, occupying and transforming flood prone land, have produced an important increase in exposure. Our main objective is to assess whether higher intensity precipitation and -changing patterns in exposure aggravate increase vulnerability to floods.

Design / Methodology/ Approach - In this paper, vulnerability is understood as the result of the interrelationships between exposure, sensitivity, impacts, and adaptive capacity. Consequently, methods used involved the compilation and analysis of published and unpublished precipitation data; population and land use data; data on insurance claims, and media sources related to those variables.

Finding - Changes towards episodes of more intense precipitation in the expanding urban areas of Mediterranean Spain increase exposure but not necessarily vulnerability, at least in terms of human deaths. However, adaptive capacity needs to be formulated. Actions that attempt to absorb and eventually reuse flood flows (as the flood park in Alicante) appear to be more effective than traditional hydraulic solutions (as in Majorca).

Originality/value – The article provides a systematic and coherent approach to vulnerability analysis taking into account the changing dynamics of its components. Especially it signals the limits of current adaptive approaches to flooding and advocates for changes towards a more circular and less linear approach to urban drainage.

Keywords: Precipitation, Intensity, Floods, Exposure, Adaptation, Mediterranean Spain

Article classification: Case study

Introduction

According to the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction and the Center for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters, between 1995 and 2015, 157,000 people died as a result of floods and 2.3 billion US dollars or 56 percent of all damages of caused by weather-related disasters, were caused by flooding (UNISDR and CRED, 2019). Flood impacts respond to a combination of trends in the magnitude and frequency of natural events and trends in the human occupation and transformation of areas subject to periodic inundation. Increasingly however, flood occurrence and impacts are becoming more associated with the human component of the hazard equation. For instance, the recent emergence of pluvial flooding as a major risk obeys to an important extent to the rise of cities and the parallel expansion increase in sealed surfaces altering natural drainage and facilitating the concentration of water (Houston *et al.*, 2011). Additionally, dense built environments multiply the potential for economic and infrastructural losses (Rosenzweig *et al.*, 2018).

Tendencies in flood losses, especially in the long term, remain difficult to estimate with accuracy due to poor or missing records and disparities in measurement criteria. Nevertheless

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3 and for the European case, a major recent study focusing on the period 1870-2016 (Paprotny *et al.*, 2018) concludes that floods affect more people and more areas now than in the 19th century,
4 reflecting the changes in population and land uses that have occurred in the continent. A report
5 by the European Environment Agency (EEA, 2019) analyzing flood events between 1980 and
6 2010 (EEA, 2019), found that during that period 37 European countries had suffered some more
7 than 3,500 flood episodes with the highest number (more than 300) recorded precisely in ~~the~~
8 same 2010. However, occurrence and impacts do not appear to translate into greater losses at
9 least in relative terms. Tanoue *et al.* (2016) covering the period 1960-2013 for river floods,
10 found that both global mortality and global losses had decreased. According to Paprotny *et al.*
11 (2018) show that flood fatalities show a consistent downward trend during the last decades (up
12 to 4.3 percent annually since 1950) which is probably explained by technological advances in
13 flood protection structures and by flood warning and preparedness actions. Regarding monetary
14 losses, the picture emerging from long term analyses is more complex. In general, it can be
15 argued that economic losses increase in absolute terms but when “normalized” (that is,
16 considered in the context of the evolution of GDP and GDP per capita) may remain stable or
17 even decrease (Neumayer and Barthel, 2011).

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19 Trends also differ according to the different types of flooding. For river floods, European and
20 North American exposure may have diminished (Rojas *et al.*, 2013) but for coastal floods in the
21 form of storm surges the reverse might be true. It is likely that exposure to riverine flash floods
22 and pluvial, diffused floods have both increased especially in Western and Southern Europe.
23 Paprotny *et al.* (2018), however, argue that, while exposure may now be greater than it was in
24 the past, both in terms of fatalities and (relative) economic losses the impacts of floods in
25 Europe show a downward signal since at least 1950. Regarding future trends, the EEA study
26 anticipates that flood losses in the continent would increase fivefold by 2050 and an astonishing
27 seventeen fold by 2080. According to this study however, climate change, often pointed at as
28 the main responsible for the increase in the impacts of extreme events, plays only a relatively
29 marginal role in the growth increase of flood losses despite projections of higher intensity
30 rainfall episodes. In fact, the largest responsibility (70 to 90 percent according to the report) of
31 losses will lie in socioeconomic development. Other studies agree in singling out exposure as
32 the main cause of disaster impacts but advice not to rule out climate change. Rather, exposure
33 combined with more virulent episodes may push losses upward especially in countries
34 undergoing rapid socioeconomic transformations (Visser *et al.*, 2014).

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36 Exposure therefore appears to be a major factor in the increase of flood occurrence and impacts
37 but past trends do not seem to indicate that human and economic losses due to flooding are
38 increasing especially if normalized losses are considered (Barredo, 2009). However, due to
39 major shifts expected in the characteristics of extreme rain and flood events (Lehmann *et al.*,
40 2015) and also to trends in the human occupation and transformation of flood prone land, it may
41 be pertinent to reexamine the interplay between these phenomena and the human and
42 socioeconomic contexts in which they occur with regard to both exposure and vulnerability.

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44 Vulnerability is a multidimensional, complex term open to many different conceptualizations
45 each one endowed with specific causal chains and increasingly concerned with longer term
46 social and economic dimensions rather than in shorter term ~~more~~ physical dimensions (Wisner,
47 2016). In the emerging field of Disaster Risk Science, the approach to vulnerability tends to
48 align with the more social view, noting the separation between exposure and vulnerability and
49 making the latter perhaps the most significant aspect in the occurrence of disaster risks
50 (Kelman, 2018). In a similar vein, the FORIN (Forensic Investigations on Disasters) approach
51 developed by Oliver-Smith *et al.* (2016) insists on not decontextualizing disaster occurrence and
52 on paying more attention to underlying causes rather than to impacts. There is a clear interest in
53 unraveling the underlying causes of exposure and vulnerability to hazards which, as in the
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3 previous work by Hewitt (1983) and **Blaikie et al (2005)**, are better understood as processes and
4 not simply as isolated events. All these approaches stress the uneven manifestations of
5 vulnerability according to class, gender, race, ethnicity, and other social variables thus
6 questioning ~~correcting~~ the more simplistic idea that vulnerability can be reduced to the
7 measurement of monetary damages alone.
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10 The theoretical and methodological approach followed in this paper, already used in a previous
11 work (Olcina et al 2016), is based on Cutter (2006) in the conceptualization of vulnerability as
12 the product of the interplay between four basic components: 1) Physical exposure to the natural
13 event; 2) Sensitivity to damages, 3) impacts, or the combination between exposure and
14 sensitivity, and 4) adaptive capacity. In a previous study (Sauri *et al.*, 2013) this conceptual
15 approach was applied to study the effects of climate change on the water resources of
16 Mediterranean Spain. By “hazard” we will refer to the characteristics of the natural event, in this
17 case flood water, in terms of magnitude, frequency, spatial extent and temporal frame. Exposure
18 basically involves the relative position or location of elements population, tangible and
19 intangible assets, etc. regarding the natural event; sensitivity to damages refers to internal
20 characteristics or properties of the elements exposed, in terms of their biological, physical,
21 social, economic and cultural characteristics which may exacerbate or attenuate the effects of
22 exposure and therefore of impacts. Finally, adaptive capacity would refer to the capacity to
23 absorb impacts without major upheavals in the human environmental context experiencing the
24 hazard.
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28 The paper attempts to illustrate the interplay between these components for three recent flood
29 episodes in Mediterranean Spain. The main hypothesis is that exposure to flooding has
30 increased in this area due to changes in precipitation patterns leading to more high intensity
31 events and to changes in the human occupation and transformation of flood prone land. An
32 attempt will also be made to show how this increase in exposure has not necessarily led to an
33 increase in vulnerability in what concerns human casualties and possibly normalized economic
34 losses. ~~Hence as well implying that~~ adaptive capacity may have ~~has~~ improved, although in this
35 case, lack of reliable data at appropriate scales makes difficult to fully sustain the argument.
36 However, and in order to stress the dynamic nature of vulnerability and of its multiple, changing
37 conditions the paper is also aware of the need to move beyond vulnerability assessments
38 exclusively based on economic damages and explore other vulnerabilities appearing in the case
39 studies out of dynamic pressures or risk drivers for which adaptive capacity may not be ready or
40 may be difficult to implement.
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44 The paper is organized as follows. After this introduction a section on data and methods used is
45 provided ~~esented~~. Next, new trends in precipitation and precipitation intensity in Mediterranean
46 areas are presented. This is followed by a section on recent land use changes in Mediterranean
47 Spain and particularly the urbanization process of the last decades. The last section of this more
48 contextual part of the paper focusses on the human and economic impacts of floods in this area
49 also during the period 1998-2018 with the idea of discerning vulnerability patterns. In the
50 second part of the paper we study three recent flood episodes: the flood of the city of Alicante in
51 March 2017; the flash flood of Sant Llorenç d'Escardassar (Majorca) in October 2018, and the
52 flood affecting the city of Girona in June 2017. For each case the characteristics of the natural
53 event are examined, especially with regard to its possible differences with past episodes, and the
54 characteristics of the human environment in terms of exposure and vulnerability. The main
55 findings of the three studies are then discussed and the paper concludes contrasting the changing
56 nature of the physical event with exposure and vulnerability and offering some policy
57 recommendations .
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Data and methods

Precipitation data

For the analysis of changes in precipitation episodes, statistically treated rainfall data from official sources (AEMET) and for several Spanish Mediterranean cities (Girona, Barcelona, Valencia, Palma de Mallorca, Alicante, Murcia and Malaga) was used. For the three case studies of Girona, Alicante and Sant Llorenç d'Escardassar, intensity data (mm/h) of precipitation from meteorological stations in Girona, Alicante and Colonia de San Pere was the main variable considered. The assessment of temperature trends in the Western Mediterranean Sea ~~is derived from has been based on~~ information provided by the Centro de Estudios Ambientales del Mediterráneo (CEAM) (Pastor *et al.*, 2017), which records sea surface temperature series (NOAA) since 1982.

Population Growth and Urban Land Use data

For the analysis of population growth we have ~~used drawn on~~ population censuses of 1998 and 2018 ~~for~~ the eight provinces of the Mediterranean peninsula (Girona, Barcelona, Tarragona, Castellón, Valencia, Alicante, Murcia and Almeria) facilitated by the Spanish National Institute of Statistics (INE). For the analysis of urban land use changes in the same period, the lack of aggregate information for the area of study required to use as a proxy the land area ~~under with~~ urban brightness within a 50 km radius from provincial capitals (1992 and 2012, in km²) estimated by the Grup d'Estudis sobre Energia, Territori i Societat of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (GURB, 2019).

Insurance compensation data

Data on economic losses due to flood episodes and compensation figures resulting from extreme events during the period covered in the study, come from the database of the *Consorcio de Compensación de Seguros* (CCS), a Spanish public entity participated by private capital which provides direct compensation in case of extreme natural events or reinsurance funds for private insurance companies that include extreme natural events in their insurance. After the occurrence of an extreme event, the CCS processes loss adjustments, appraisals, and the payment of compensations directly to the policyholder under the same conditions established in the original ('ordinary') ~~contract policy contracted~~ with the private insurance company. Appraisals are based on the extent of damages and on the average values of goods at the moment of the event (for example, cars). Data was given to us in the format of spreadsheets of individual claims that were consequently elaborated to produce aggregate tables and figures.

Press Sources

The description of the main characteristics and impacts caused by each of the three case studies has benefitted from an extensive content analysis of local and regional media sources, mostly *Diario Información* (Alicante), *Diari de Mallorca*, *Diari de Ibiza* and *La Vanguardia* (Sant Llorenç d'Escardassar), and *Diari de Girona* (Girona).

Context

New patterns of precipitation intensity

For the purposes of the present study, "intense" rainfall is defined as rainfall ~~values~~ between 20 and 150 mm. accumulated in a maximum of two hours, while "torrential" rainfall would be

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3 limited to volumes above 150 mm in 24 h. with possibly more moderate hourly intensities. For
4 the analysis of episodes of heavy rain it is necessary to have rain gauges able to record hourly
5 intensities while for torrential rain accumulated daily values suffice. In hourly intensity values,
6 the design in terms of capacity of the urban drainage networks is critical. It should also be borne
7 in mind that, if the predictions of climate models are confirmed, the increase in hourly intensity
8 of precipitation will be a prominent feature of precipitation in Eastern Spain during the coming
9 decades (IPCC, 2019; AEMET, 2019).

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11 The flooding episodes recorded in the Spanish Mediterranean coast during the recent years
12 show at least two features of interest. First, these events, preceded with very copious amounts of
13 rain, do not necessary cause high losses of human lives or even large economic losses. Second,
14 events observe a significant change in the period of occurrence since important episodes have
15 taken place outside the autumn months, traditionally the period of the year associated with
16 heavy rains and floods in Eastern ~~Spain~~ Iberia.

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19 Several studies (CEDEX, 2012; Marcos-García and Pulido-Velázquez, 2017; Serrano Notivoli,
20 2017) have examined recent changes in precipitation occurred in the Iberian Peninsula. A
21 declining trend in precipitation has been identified although it is neither uniform nor of equal
22 dimension in the area. Other studies also highlight the notorious increase in precipitation
23 intensities in the Mediterranean coast (Barrera-Escoda et al 2014; Hogar et al 2010; Serrano et
24 al 2017; Ribes et al 2019)

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26 The most important flood episodes, with significant economic losses and human victims,
27 occurred since 1950 have been caused by torrential rainfall, ~~with very high values of~~
28 ~~precipitation intensities of y,~~ generally ~~over~~ 200 mm. in 24 hours. Records of rain in 24 h in
29 Spanish Mediterranean coast often exceed values of 300 or even 400 mm. The town of Sueca
30 (Valencia) has the highest precipitation intensity recorded in Spain for an interval of 2 hours and
31 30 minutes (296 mm, 23 September 2008). On the 1st August 1993, the ~~station of the~~ Automatic
32 Hydrological Information System (SAIH) ~~station~~, located in the Valencian town of Manuel,
33 captured 90.6 mm of rain in just 20 minutes. For a 1 minute period, the highest intensity
34 recorded in Spain corresponds to the town of Montserrat (Valencia) on the 10th of October 2008
35 (10.2 mm).

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38 Serrano Notivoli (2017), in his study on rainfall in Spain, noted a significant negative trend in
39 maximum annual rainfall in one day in the Iberian Peninsula for the period 1950-2012. This
40 means that less precipitation accumulates in the most extreme events. However, he also found a
41 positive trend in the contribution of intense precipitation to cumulative annual totals indicating
42 that episodes of heavy rain are more frequent, although the amount accumulated in them is
43 smaller. Closely related to the recent behavior of precipitation in the Mediterranean coast, is the
44 temperature of sea water which showed a consistent warming trend between 1985 and 2007
45 (Shaltout and Omstedt, 2014).

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48 (figure 1)

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50 Several localities of the Spanish Mediterranean coast have recorded flood episodes in recent
51 years caused by the development of very heavy rainfall, ranging between 50 and 150 mm.
52 precipitated in just 60-90 minutes (Figure 1). However, this trend is not uniform for the whole
53 of the ~~area~~ Spanish Mediterranean coast. The increase occurred in the last decade in the central
54 sector (Valencia Murcia, and Balearic Islands) but for the northern (Catalonia) and southern
55 (Mediterranean Andalucía) coasts no discernible trend has been found. The explanation of these
56 differences may be lie in the erratic character of rains in the Mediterranean coast of Spain. The
57 general tendency appears to indicate a decrease of annual amounts of rain and an increase of
58 rainless days (Serrano Notivoli, 2017). Moreover, the influence of local mountains, encouraging
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3 the occurrence of intense rainfall in certain areas above others and, as said before, the
4 remarkable increase of sea water temperatures, especially in the central sector (Balearic Sea and
5 Algiers Sea) may be important factors to consider in the explanation. In this regard, Shaltout
6 and Omstedt (2014) have found that, between 1982 and 2012, the sea near the Balearic Islands
7 experienced the highest temperature increase of the Western Mediterranean of $0.033\text{ }^{\circ}\text{C} / \text{year}$.
8 On the other hand, Miró Pérez (2014), using satellite data of the NOAA / NASA AVHRR
9 Oceans Pathfinder database, calculated the thermal increase in the coastal waters near the
10 Valencian coast for the period 1985-2007, estimating an annual increase per decade of $0.26\text{ }^{\circ}\text{C}$.
11 More recently, Pastor *et al.*, (2017) calculated the temperature increase of the Western
12 Mediterranean Sea since 1982, which they estimated in 1.19°C .
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15 At a more detailed scale, the analysis of rainfall in the Palma de Mallorca observatory shows a
16 clear trend of increase in intense rains, of short duration during the last decade (Figure 2).
17 Similar results are recorded in the observatories of Valencia and Alicante (Olcina, 2017).
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19 The predictions of the last reports by the Spanish Meteorological Office (AEMET), following
20 the calculation parameters of the IPCC report (2014), point that precipitation extremes (droughts
21 and floods) in the Iberian peninsula will tend to be more pronounced and severe while the
22 number of rainy days would decrease so that annual rainfall will accumulate in fewer days. In
23 the Mediterranean coast, this trend will be exacerbated by the effect of accumulated heat of ~~the~~
24 sea water and its role in increasing rainfall intensities.
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28 (figure 2)
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32 *A very rapid urbanization process*

33 The period 1998-2018 was a crucial time for urbanization in Spain, with two clearly
34 differentiated stages. First, the ~~years between period~~ 1996 ~~and~~ -2007 ~~were~~ marked by
35 economic growth and accelerated urban development (Burriel, 2008; Mateo Tome, 2014).
36 Second, the period that began with the economic crisis of 2008, lasting until approximately
37 2017-2018, entailed a massive failure of the housing market and a severe slowdown in urban
38 expansion (Albertos and Sánchez, 2014; Méndez *et al.*, 2015).
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41 During the last two decades, most urban growth in Spain has occurred in the coastal
42 Mediterranean provinces, including the Balearic Islands. Demographic and urban magnitudes
43 derived from these transformations are presented in tables 1 and 2. Between 1998 and 2018 the
44 population of the Mediterranean coast increased by more than three million people. Growth was
45 especially intense in the Balearic Islands and in the provinces of Girona, Almería, Alicante,
46 Tarragona and Murcia (Table 1). Most of this growth occurred before 2008, coinciding with the
47 economic bonanza and the massive arrival of immigrants (both Europeans and from outside the
48 continent) and went hand in hand with the so-called "urbanizing tsunami" affecting the area
49 (Gaja, 2008). One of the most noticeable effects of urbanization was the artificialization and
50 sealing of soil. More than 40 percent of the Mediterranean coastline is sealed and the urban land
51 uses detected through the nocturnal luminosity have more than doubled (Table 2). The main
52 reason behind accelerated urban growth was the so-called "housing bubble" fueled among other
53 factors by permissive land use laws, both regional and local, and cheap credit attracting both
54 European immigrants (mostly retirees from the United Kingdom, Germany and Scandinavian
55 countries) and non-European immigrants from northern Africa and Latin America searching for
56 jobs in the booming construction sector (Jiménez, 2009; Rullán, 2011). All in all, the Spanish
57 Mediterranean coast became the most dynamic region of Spain after Madrid.
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(table 1)

(table 2)

The spectacular growth in urban land increased exposition to flooding along a coastline and hinterlands mostly dominated by small, ephemeral and highly dangerous streams ~~highly dangerous regarding flash flood potential~~ in a process that could be defined as the “littoralization of risk” (Olcina, 2009). In Catalonia between 2000 and 2009 more than 210,000 new housing units were built in municipalities classified as of “high risk of flooding” (Departament de Territori i Sostenibilitat. Generalitat de Catalunya, 2019; Departament d’Interior. Generalitat de Catalunya, 2015). In Valencia, areas exposed to floods increased to over 1,440 km² in 2013, with almost a million people potentially affected (Generalitat Valenciana, 2013). In the coastal municipalities of Alicante and Murcia, between 1994 and 2013, almost 7 million square meters of new housing were built in flood prone land to reach a total of over 22 million square meters (Pérez-Morales *et al.*, 2016). Along with the traditional effects on inundation and the alterations in the hydrological cycle caused by land use changes, the urban frenzy of that period also made pluvial flooding widespread. Hence and in terms of the Press and Release Framework (Blaikie *et al.* 1994; Wisner *et al.*, 2012), the dynamic pressures on land brought about by the urbanization process unleashed exposure both indirectly by modifying local hydrological cycles making them more susceptible to flood occurrence and directly by occupying flood prone space.

Exposure is particularly important in new urban areas in which uncertainty regarding the effects of urbanization on local streams is high while the experience with floods of the newly arrived tends to be low (Perles, 2010). This translates into A fairly typical example of this are cars being washed away together with their occupants by sudden flooding when trying to cross streams with occasional deaths. To an important extent, the cause of these deaths in these cases is likely the unfamiliarity or overconfidence by drivers unaware of torrential rains and floods (for example, English or German residents in Alicante or Majorca). One of the most pervasive and insidious effects of urbanization of flooding patterns is that flood planning and management must not limit itself to regulate development in just traditional flood prone land but to manage all urban land because all may be potentially inundated. In urban areas, exposure continues to be chiefly concentrated in ground level and subterranean areas (parking spaces, etc.) as well as in public buildings (sports centers, schools, train and bus stations, etc.) along with all that might be in the street at the time of the event (person, vehicles) even though the characteristics of flood events continue to change as well. Pluvial flooding, for instance, rarely causes deaths but it is responsible for injuries (falls, etc.); traffic chaos, street pollution, damages to public networks (gas, water, electricity, inundation of basements, fallen trees, etc.).

Vulnerability

In the section above we have provided data showing an increase of exposure to flooding in the Spanish Mediterranean coast during the last two decades. In this section we aim to ascertain whether this increase may be is translated into a parallel increase in vulnerability manifested as reflected in human casualties and economic losses. We are aware that these metrics is may be considered a reductionist approach to vulnerability in that they it hardly takes into account the many more factors relevant for the concept behind vulnerability. However and no matter how crude, these two dimensions provide at least a first snapshot of the magnitude of the problem before entering into more detailed appraisals.

In our study area and regarding human casualties, between 2000 and 2018 only two episodes caused 10 human casualties or more. Although the highest number of casualties for a single episode occurred in the final year of the period considered, a discernible pattern of vulnerability

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3 increase in this category is hard to establish. Furthermore, episodes producing most victims such
4 as that in Majorca in 2018 are highly localized events.
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8 (table 3)
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11 Table 3 also provides an estimation of economic losses. First, differences in amount tend to
12 correlate with the spatial dimension of the event. Hence the relatively small figures for the
13 episodes in Alicante and Majorca. Second, an important part of losses affect public
14 infrastructures and facilities. Most of these infrastructures (streets, roads, sewers, urban
15 furnishings, etc) are local with highly variable estimations of damages. Third and regarding
16 insured economic losses, the *Consortio de Compensación de Seguros* provides insurance
17 against flooding and other natural hazards to all persons or organizations having home,
18 business or car insurance. While this system has the advantage of making flood insurance
19 available to all it does not offer subsidies or penalties according to differential flood exposition.
20 For example, between 1998 and 2018 the *Consortio de Compensación de Seguros* processed
21 some 200,000 flood damage claims with a total amount of 1.273 million euro. The evolution of
22 these compensations (Figure 3) in the period 1998-2018 reflects not so much an increase in the
23 frequency of extreme events of nature as a greater penetration of insurance and, above all, an
24 increasing accumulation of goods in flood prone areas (Barredo *et al.*, 2012).
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30 (figure 3)
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33 (figure 4)
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37 According to Figure 4, the more affected sectors are shops, houses, manufacturing activities,
38 office buildings and municipal facilities works. Although we cannot offer a definitive argument
39 on this because of lack of reliable data, to an important extent, the reduction in vulnerability
40 appears to be related to the increase in adaptive capacity and not to the reduction of exposure or
41 sensitivity (Olcina *et al.*, 2016). However, the episodes of pluvial flooding show important
42 differences with the more well-known fluvial and coastal flooding regarding differential
43 vulnerabilities or the vulnerability of different persons, social groups, economic activities or city
44 areas which, by means of their susceptibility and adaptive capacity, may be more likely to suffer
45 the negative effects of increasing exposure to floods. Factors such as urban density; the use of
46 the urban space by vehicles; the physical condition of individuals (children, senior citizens,
47 persons with reduced mobility, etc.); the structure and quality of the built environment, income
48 and possibilities to contract insurance are common in creating differential vulnerabilities. In the
49 case of pluvial flooding we must add a new factor which is the lack of individual and collective
50 experience with these phenomena which ~~difficults hampers~~ the adoption of appropriate adaptive
51 actions.
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56 Case studies

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58 *Alicante*. Alicante, in Southeastern Spain, has suffered several important floods during the last
59 decades. Of special relevance were the episodes of October 1982 and September 1997 with
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3 | human victims and a heavy economic toll ~~and human casualties~~. In both cases events, more than
4 200 mm of rain in 24 hours were recorded. In the series of events occurred in the city since the
5 mid-20th century it can be observed how since 1980 and with the exception of the two
6 aforementioned events of 1982 and 1997, the city suffers from heavy flooding after episodes of
7 about 100 mm of rain in 24 hours. Most of the rain accumulates in much shorter periods, usually
8 60 to 90 minutes. From the analysis of rain events above 20mm in 24 hours between 1977 and
9 2016 it can be noted that short but intense downpours have increased during the period 2006-
10 2016 with some 40 episodes of rain between 20 and 50 mm (Olcina, 2017). As to the specific
11 event of interest, on the 13 March, 2017, cold air in the upper layers of the atmosphere located
12 towards the Southeast of the Iberian Peninsula coincided with very warm temperatures
13 associated with Saharan winds recorded during the previous days and with sea water
14 temperatures off the coast of Alicante of 18°C. The storm dumped 136 mm of rain on the city in
15 24 hours, 83 mm of which fell in just three hours, between 6 and 9 PM. Economic losses as
16 estimated by the *Consortio* amounted to near 10,4 million euros and mostly occurred in
17 garages, subterranean parking lots, commercial premises as well as in street public
18 infrastructure.

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22 The city is crossed by seven ravines which have been incorporated into the urban fabric since
23 1950. Currently, about 25 percent of the urban area is exposed to flooding for return periods of
24 500 years. The most exposed areas, many near the seashore, are Playa de San Juan, the urban
25 sector of San Gabriel, the south of Benalua, and Avenida Denia. After the episode of 1997
26 important flood control works involving the construction of underground runoff reservoirs were
27 built in some of the areas of the city that had been inundated in the past thus reducing the
28 amount of people potentially exposed.

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30 In general, flood water reservoirs responded well to the 2017 episode as did the flood pumps
31 installed in problematic points. In particular, the Sant Gabriel reservoir, in the south of the city,
32 was able to contain and store 60,000 cubic meters of floodwater (its maximum capacity) that
33 otherwise would have flooded the southern neighborhoods. On the other hand, the La Marjal”
34 public park, located in the urban sector of the San Juan beach proved also its effectiveness as
35 flood control device since its flood pond was able to absorb 15,500 cubic meters of floodwaters
36 or 35 percent of its total capacity during the 2017 episode, and more than 20,000 cubic meters
37 or 50 percent of its capacity in the more recent episode of August 2019 (Figure 5).

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42 (figure 5)

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46 However, in 2017, the high values of accumulated precipitation throughout the day, together
47 with the high rainfall intensities registered especially between 7 and 8 PM produced the
48 accumulation of flood water in the low areas near San Juan beach, Avenida Denia, and
49 Albufereta, in the vicinity of the Maldo ravine.

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51 In summary, the episode of heavy rains of March 2017 showed how adaptive capacity under the
52 form of relatively new approaches to hydraulic flood management (underground reservoirs and
53 “flood parks”) were able to contain excess runoff thus avoiding significant damage in the city
54 and ~~some other~~ areas nearby. Despite the high intensity, no human casualties were recorded
55 during the episode. Still, other city areas lacking such containment infrastructure suffered
56 damaging inundation. In this sense, the case of Alicante may be an example of an increasingly
57 important differential vulnerability within the city but also an example of changing adaptive
58 capacity towards more sustainable solutions.

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5 *Sant Llorenç d'Escardassar (Mallorca)*. On Tuesday 10 October 2018, the municipality of Sant
6 Llorenç d'Escardassar, in the Southeast of the island of Majorca, suffered the worst flood
7 episode of the last 25 years in Spain. The event, a typical Mediterranean flashflood exacerbated
8 by the enormous volume of rain falling in a short period of time and by evening commuting,
9 caused thirteen dead and some 17.5 million euro in insured damages, including more than 300
10 business and houses as well as more than 300 cars (Consorcio de Compensación de Seguros,
11 2018; Diario de Mallorca, 11/10/2018; La Vanguardia, 11/10/2018). This event also showed the
12 limitations of flood warning systems, even though warnings were issued in advanced regarding
13 the possibility of heavy rainfall, and above all, the limitations of flood control works causing the
14 well-known feedback or levee effect noted by geographers such as Gilbert White and his
15 colleagues (Burton *et al.*, 1978), by which flood control works may decrease probability of
16 occurrence but increase damage potential (Figure 6).
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20 A report by the Spanish Meteorological Office (AEMET) indicated that on October 10th more
21 than 200 mm of rain precipitated over this area in less than two hours. Although extreme rainfall
22 episodes were not unknown (the last one, in 1989, ~~which~~ left five dead), this event broke all
23 existing records in terms of the precipitation intensity (Diario de Mallorca, 14/10/2018).
24 Precipitation responded to the typical ocean-atmosphere interplay in the Mediterranean in
25 autumn with warm and moist air clashing with cold air in altitude but in this case it appeared
26 that ascendant air was warmer than normal and related to ~~rising~~ ~~increasing~~ surface temperature
27 in the Mediterranean Sea). The hydrological response to this amount of precipitation was also
28 quite common. Most of the precipitation fell on a small basin dominated by a 500 meter high
29 mountain with a wide reception area and a narrow course downstream (Lorenzo-Lacruz et al
30 2019). It is also known how in Mediterranean basins most rainfall turns into runoff with
31 extremely rapid concentration times. Although no official data has been released, the peak flood
32 may have reached the average flow of a large river such as the Ebro (600 cubic meters per
33 second) taking some 45 minutes to reach the town.
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36 As to causal factors of human origin, Sant Llorenç d'Escardassar also tells a fairly typical story.
37 Originally located on high ground to avoid flashfloods, during the last decades, the town has
38 expanded to accommodate more people and economic activities mostly linked to tourism, and
39 this expansion, admittedly recognized in land use and urban plans, has taken place on areas
40 highly exposed to flooding (Diario de Mallorca, 11/10/2018). The response to the episode of
41 1989 was the widening (up to 12 meters) and channelization of the main ravine and, under the
42 supposed protection of flood control works, urbanization of this area increased. However and
43 somehow fortunately, when the flood broke the hydraulic system, affected activities were
44 mostly garages and workshops and not residential uses (20 Minutos, 10/10/2018). As to the
45 unusually high number of deaths, flood warnings were issued by AEMET with reasonable
46 accuracy but messages either did not reach the public adequately or the public did not take
47 notice of them given the high number of people trapped in cars during the event (Diario de
48 Ibiza, 12/10/2018).
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53 (figure 6)
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57 *Girona*. On ~~June-30~~ ~~June~~, 2017, the city of Girona, in the Northeast the Iberian Peninsula,
58 suffered an episode of rain and hail that ~~flooded~~ ~~caused flooding in~~ the old city and the modern
59 center (Diari de Girona, 30/6/2017). The episode originated in the accumulation of cold air in
60 the upper layers and a surface temperature of 27°C with rapidly ascending warm air. The high

intensity of rain and hail (52.1 mm in 30 minutes), accompanied by winds close to 60 km/h, inundated streets with up to 40 centimeters of rain while more than 20 centimeters of hail accumulated in the streets and roofs of the city, blocking drains and causing the flooding of streets, shops and homes (Figure 7). One of the most prominent incidents was the flooding of the ground floor of the main commercial center of the city, which forced the evacuation of customers. The downpour occurred at the end of the warmest June in Girona since 1911. Although no human deaths were recorded, several people were injured due to falls. Losses amounted to 3 million euro in insured damages, including damages in 200 shops and offices, 250 homes, and 125 cars (Consortio de Compensación de Seguros, 2018; Diari de Girona, 5/7/2018).

Girona, a city crossed by four rivers (Ter, Oñar, Güell and Galligants), has historically suffered the impact of fluvial floods, the last serious one in 1970 (Ribas, 2007). The constant flood threat explains the complex hydraulic system constructed over the centuries (channelization, diversions, etc.) in the city and to a great extent responsible of the lack of catastrophic episodes caused by the rivers since 1970. At the same time, however, the expansion of the urban area has reduced infiltration and also the drainage capacity of the street fabric. Hence, the traditional fluvial floods characteristic of the autumn months are giving way to the pluvial floods of the summer months, with important episodes in August 2005, June 2017 and July 2018. Among the causal factors of human origin, it is also worth highlighting the fact that the sometimes these episodes of rain and hail have occurred in the areas and times of the day or the week coinciding with high human and vehicle presence, for example, commercial areas in Friday or Saturday afternoons.

Especially problematic are episodes of intense rain accompanied by wind and hail, blocking drains from the moment drains are blocked either by the concentration of leaves and branches of trees or by the same hail. In addition, the population exposed to this type of episodes often does not know how to react and behave. Likewise, local authorities remain unaware of pluvial flooding and do not promote enough actions to minimize this risk, such as, for instance, the increase in infiltration capacity and in the number of potential sinks, size and adequacy of sinks, public education, etc. Also, In this sense, for the case of Girona we could speak of a “situational vulnerability” arising from the intersection between the spatial and temporal occurrence of the episode and the demographic characteristics of persons affected. Most of the latter were young and middle aged people (bicycle and motorcycle drivers or pedestrians) present in the streets at the moment of the event. Moreover, damages concentrated on shops and other service activities in one of the busiest times of the week (early evening of a Friday).

In summary, the episode of June 2017 as well as those of August 2005 and July 2018, were partly a product of changing patterns of precipitation intensity after days of very high temperatures. But they also showed the inability of the city to adapt and absorb intense rainfall through, for example, detention basins; spaces for infiltration or specific information to citizens regarding these relatively new type of flood events.

(figure 7)

Discussion, conclusions and policy recommendations

Precipitation patterns in the Spanish Mediterranean coast during the last two decades appear to indicate an increase of high intensity events. ~~Thus~~ the number of rainfall episodes discharging quantities between 50 and 150 mm in just one hour has augmented causing mounting damages in the affected territories. The geography of intense precipitation events shows also a greater ~~presence~~~~increase~~ in the central sector of the Spanish Mediterranean coast which may be related to the warming trend in SST characteristic of this area. ~~However, ,although~~ the accumulation of sensible heat in the rest of the Mediterranean coast, especially in summer months, ~~also~~ favors the formation of localized and intense storms in any area of Eastern Spain ~~as well~~. Another observed phenomenon is that the seasonality of intense rains appears to have changed. These events can happen now during any month of the year ~~and~~ ,not only autumn as was usual in past decades. This will force to review warning and emergency protocols that will have to stay activated all year round for this type of episodes.

In the risk equation the human component plays ~~a critical -a very important~~ part, ~~probably more important that the physical events themselves. In this sense,~~ Mediterranean Spain has experienced a spectacular increase in urbanization which not only has occupied intensively flood prone land but has also modified deeply local hydrological cycles especially through soil sealing. The most immediate effect of this process has been the increase in episodes of pluvial inundation now probably the most frequent type of flooding in the region. Despite the increase in exposure, there is no discernible pattern of an increase in vulnerability concerning human casualties. Episodes with more than 5 victims have become exceptional (Catalonia, 2000 and 2005; Málaga, Almería and Murcia, 2012; Mallorca 2018) and some ~~remain are~~ highly localized events. Economic losses can easily ~~fall beyond -overcome~~ the figure of 100 million euros per episode and would probably continue to increase reflecting an increase in the accumulation of economic goods in flood prone land many of them insured due to the generous provision of insurance against floods in Spain. Although in this case we have not been able to contrast the hypothesis of increasing vulnerability (in terms of human and economic losses) due to lack of reliable data, it is likely that the Spanish Mediterranean coast follows what has been documented for Europe in general (Paprotny *et al.*, 2018). Other dimensions of vulnerability and especially of differential social vulnerability have not been examined in detail by this paper due to difficulties in accessing quality data ~~for these dimensions~~.

One question that we have been particularly interested is whether more intense episodes may affect not only exposure but also susceptibility and adaptive capacity. In this regard, the analysis of the three cases presented in the paper offers some insights worth of note. First and in terms of victims, fluvial floods and especially flash floods from ephemeral streams continue to be responsible for most of the deaths as shown by the Sant Llorenç d'Escardassar episode. In contrast, pluvial flooding would rarely produce a similar number of deaths although it probably could increase the numbers of injured persons both pedestrians and motorists, as in the case of Girona. As population in cities grows older, ~~susceptibility-vulnerability~~ could also increase. Regarding adaptive capacity, the three cases show the shortcomings of traditional flood control works (especially in the Majorca case) but also the potentialities of new hydraulic approaches. In the particular case of pluvial flooding we must add a new factor that may increase ~~vulnerability susceptibility and decrease adaptive capacity~~, which is the lack of individual and collective experience with these phenomena in many cities making it difficult to design and implement appropriate adaptation ~~measures~~.

In Girona or in certain Alicante neighborhoods, pluvial flooding reveals the limitation of conventional urban drainage designed to convey floodwaters out of the cities as fast as possible. More intense precipitation events on cities would add more stress to sewer capacity to absorb floodwaters and more so if maintenance tasks are not routinely performed. Adaptive capacity in

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3 this case probably requires a paradigm shift in the way urban drainage currently works. As the
4 floodwater deposits and especially the flood park of Alicante show, preparation for more intense
5 events will likely be more successful if based on these alternative solutions than depending
6 solely on conventional sewers and on conventional stream channelization as in the case of Sant
7 Llorenç d'Escardassar. Moreover, examples such as the Marjal Park in Alicante enforce the idea
8 of a more circular approach to flood management in which hazards can become resources (Sauri
9 and Palau-Rof, 2017; Cousins, 2018). Hence the creation of SUDS (Sustainable Urban Drainage
10 Systems) would be one important instrument for the cities of the Spanish Mediterranean coast in
11 the coming decades, also as a measure of adaptation to climate change.
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14 Adaptive capacity also includes nonstructural actions such as urban planning regulating land
15 uses in flood prone land. Traditionally, in Spain, urban planning has played a very minor role in
16 flood adaptation and this is true in the three case studies examined in the paper. Urban planning
17 in Spain is responsibility of local councils although they need to take into account under more
18 general regional and national land use laws. As said before, in 1998, a very permissive national
19 land use law was passed by the Spanish Parliament allowing for the acceleration of urban
20 growth. Quite paradoxically, the law stated that land could not be developed into urban land if
21 affected by a “natural risk”. However, uncertainty and lack of data regarding risks and their
22 occurrence precluded limitations to development. As a result, the period between 1998 and the
23 approval of a new national land use law in 2008, saw the largest growth of urbanization in flood
24 prone land, especially in the Mediterranean coast and also in the Canary Islands. The 2008 law
25 required flood maps and other proof in order to control development in flood prone land and
26 could benefit as well from the strong decline in urban projects brought about by the economic
27 crisis starting in the same year.
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30 Finally, and regarding policy recommendations, the physical and human layout of these areas
31 (heavy rainfall; small but steep basins with abundant and fast runoff, and important human
32 occupation) otherwise quite common in coastal Mediterranean hinterlands makes flooding
33 common. In this sense, flood management should change focus towards improved warning
34 systems (and especially better transmission of messages to the population) and an attitude of
35 “living with floods” rather than futile attempts to suppress them with more flood control works.
36 Ravine channelization has reached its limits and new flood management actions should aim at
37 reducing exposure and susceptibility through more stringent land use and urban plans and
38 through the adaptation of the built environment to these phenomena. The challenge for the
39 future will be to devise actions to absorb perhaps equal or even higher precipitation intensities
40 with tools different than conventional hydraulic works. Adaptive capacity to new events cannot
41 obliterate the importance of urban planning and the continuous need to limit development in
42 flood prone land. Planning instruments as well as public education should be much more
43 effective than in the past. Together with this new paradigm in urban drainage favoring a circular
44 rather than a lineal approach, planning and education are now as always essential tools in
45 making our cities more resilient to the coming climatic extremes.
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52
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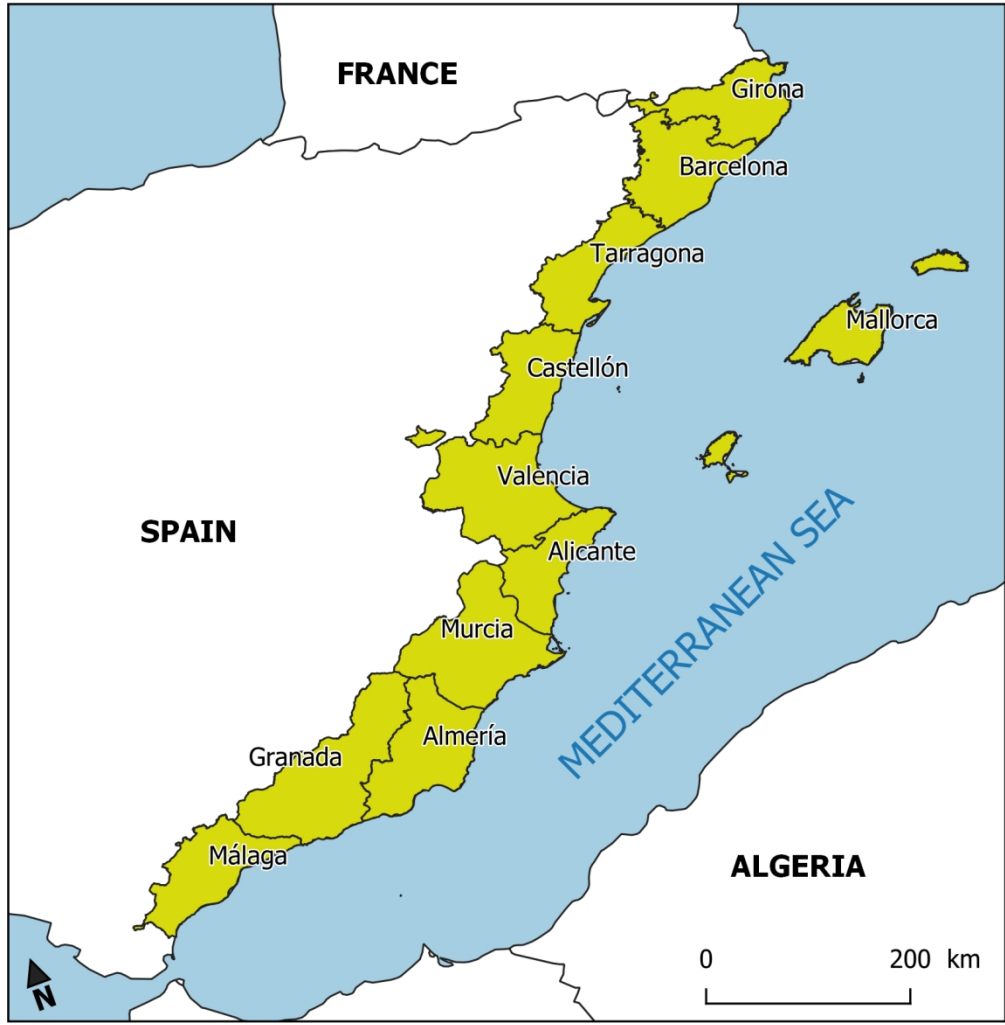
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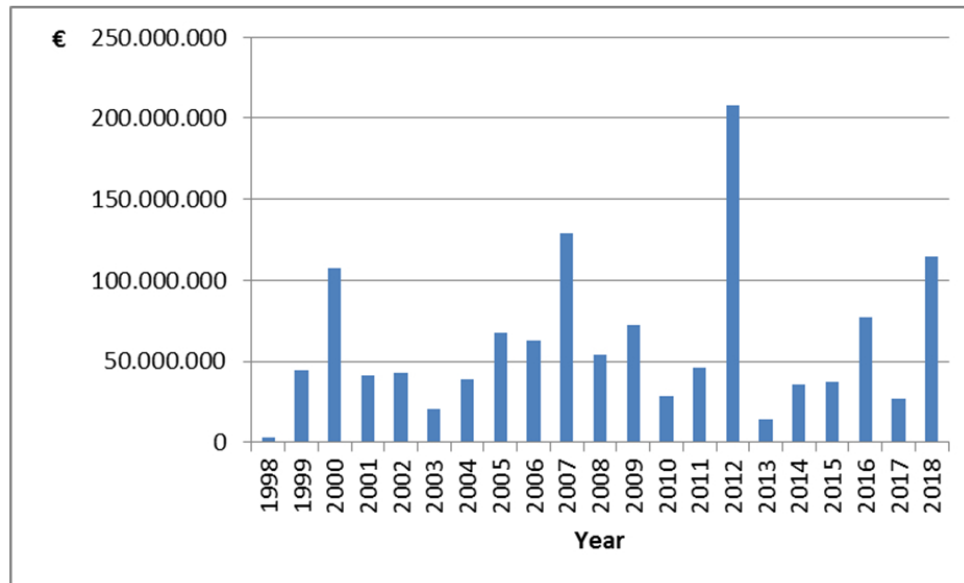
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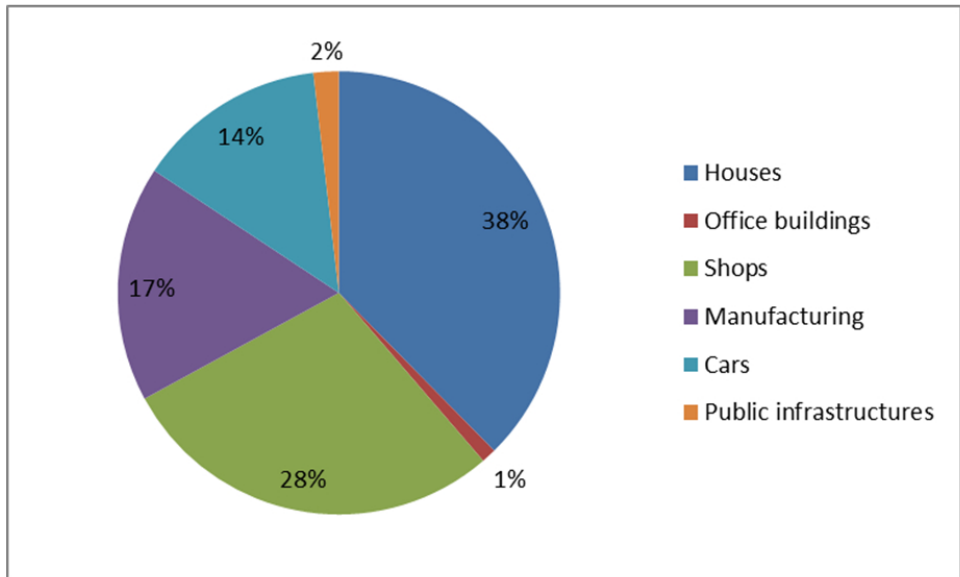
Study area. Source: Own elaboration.

140x143mm (300 x 300 DPI)



Compensations paid by the Consorcio de Compensación de Seguros (in €) (1998-2018). Source: 35. Consorcio de Compensación de Seguros (2018).

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Compensacions paid by the Consorcio de Compensación de Seguros (in €) as per damages to goods in flood episodes (1998-2018). Source: Consorcio de Compensación de Seguros (2018).



La Marjal Flood Park (Playa de San Juan, Alicante): (a) empty, (b) with 15,000 m³ of flood water produced by the event of 13 March 2017). Source: Aguas de Alicante (reproduced with permission)

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La Marjal Flood Park (Playa de San Juan, Alicante): (a) empty, (b) with 15,000 m3 of flood water produced by the event of 13 March 2017). Source: Aguas de Alicante (reproduced with permission)

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Effects of the flood of October 10, 2018 in Sant Llorenç d'Escardassar. Source: Celso Garcia (UIB) (reproduced with permission).

711x533mm (72 x 72 DPI)

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Effects of the flood of October 10, 2018 in Sant Llorenç d'Escardassar. Source: Celso Garcia (UIB) (reproduced with permission)

711x533mm (72 x 72 DPI)

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Effects of the episode of rain and hail on June 30, 2017, in the city of Girona
Source: El Gerió Digital (reproduced with permission)

691x394mm (72 x 72 DPI)

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Effects of the episode of rain and hail on June 30, 2017, in the city of Girona
Source: El Gerió Digital (reproduced with permission)

564x423mm (72 x 72 DPI)

Table 1. Population of Spanish Mediterranean provinces, 1998-2018

Province	1998	2018	Increase (%)
Girona	543.191	761.947	40,27
Barcelona	4.666.271	5.609.350	20,21
Tarragona	580.245	795.902	37,16
Castellón	461.712	576.898	24,94
Valencia	2.172.796	2.547.986	17,26
Alicante	1.388.933	1.838.819	32,39
Murcia	1.115.068	1.478.509	32,59
Almería	505.448	709.340	40,33
Baleares	796.483	1.128.908	41,73
Total	12.230.147	15.447.659	26,30

Source: INE

Table 2. Land area with urban brightness¹ within a 50 km radius form provincial capitals of the Spanish Mediterranean (total area, 1992 and 2012, in km² and change 1992-2012, in %).

Province	1992	2012	Change (%)
Girona	117	613	423,93
Barcelona	1.170	1.779	52,05
Tarragona	299	663	121,73
Castellón	119	553	364,70
Valencia	494	1.204	143,72
Alicante	400	1.144	186
Murcia	433	1.606	270,90
Almería	58	264	363,79
Palma	155	246	58,70
Total litoral	3.245	8.072	148,75

1. In Spain, for each km² of effective urban land, urban brightness occupies 2,4 km² (Nel-lo, 2017)

Source: Own elaboration from data provided by the Grup d'Estudis sobre Energia, Territori i Societat (GURB, 2019).

Table 3. Flood episodes in Mediterranean Spain (1998- 2018): Deaths and Economic Losses

Date	Episode	Deaths	Economic losses (million €)
2000	Catalonia (June and October) Valencia (October)	8	839.2
2002	Valencia, Alicante (April, May and September)	3	150.3
2005	Catalonia (October)	8	16.7
2006	Catalonia, Valencia, Balearic Islands (September)	1	100
2007	Valencia (October)	2	150
2009	Alicante (September)	0	193.5
2012	Málaga, Almería and Murcia. (September)	10	350
2015	Valencia, Alicante, Murcia, Almería (September)	4	165.3
2016	Valencia, Alicante, Castellón, Murcia, Almería, Balears (September) Malaga, Cádiz (December)	7	175.6
2017	Alicante (March)	0	10.3
2018	Mallorca (October)	13	16.9

Source: Compiled from Consorcio de Compensación de Seguros (2018), Ayala, F., Olcina, J. (2002) and Centre de Recherche d'Épidémiologie des Disasters (CRED) (<https://www.cred.be/>)