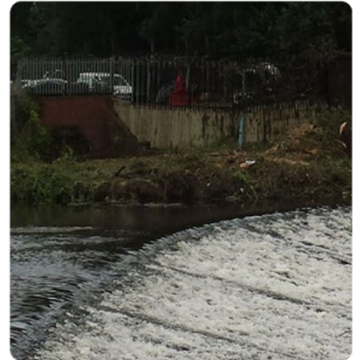
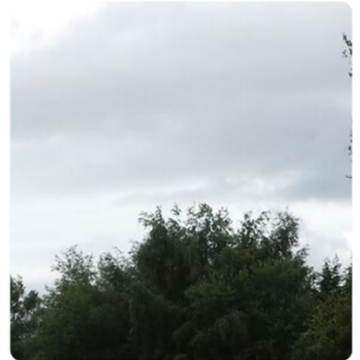
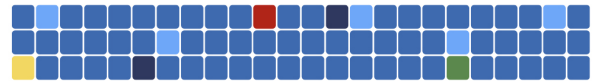




Case ID: 11





## Summary

The Sheffield Lower Don Valley (LDV) Flood Defence Project, initiated in response to devastating floods in 2007, exemplifies an innovative approach to urban flood risk management. Funded through a blend of public national grants and a Business Improvement District (BID), the project aimed to lower flood risk from protection against a 1:25 even to at least a 1:100 event, enhancing insurance accessibility for businesses. The LDV, which is particularly vulnerable to flooding, saw its flood defences revamped with new barriers and continuous riverbank maintenance, covering an 8km stretch. The BID rallied local businesses to co-fund the project, marking a precedent in the UK for private sector involvement in flood defence. The BID as a "not-for-profit" arrangement where businesses agree, through a ballot, to fund specific activities chosen to strengthen the success and sustainability of those operating in a defined area.

Key to the project's success were the collaborative efforts between Sheffield City Council, the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, and the Environment Agency, establishing a symbiotic public-private partnership. This synergy between various stakeholders underpinned the project's financial model, where businesses contributed through the BID, leveraging substantial national grants. The success of the LDV project, anchored in collective investment and shared responsibility, offers valuable insights for replicating similar schemes in other flood-prone urban areas if BIDs are possible through national or regional legal frameworks. The financing volume that can be collected through BIDs is small compared to financing needs for climate adaptation investments. A BID should be considered as complementary to other instruments, in this case national grants.

**Keywords:** Sheffield, business improvement district (BID), flood defence, Lower Don Valley (LDV)

**Actor interviewed:** CEO of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce's at the time of the LDV project and BID.

**Cover photos:** © Pitsmoor (top photo); © River Stewardship Company (middle photo)

**Further reading:** [Sheffield Lower Don Valley Flood Defence Project. Business Improvement District \(BID\) Business Plan](#)

**Suggested citation:** Machiels, T. (2024). *Sheffield Lower Don Valley Flood Defence. Leveraging public national funding through a business improvement district*. University of Antwerp for CLIMATEFIT.

## Best practice information card

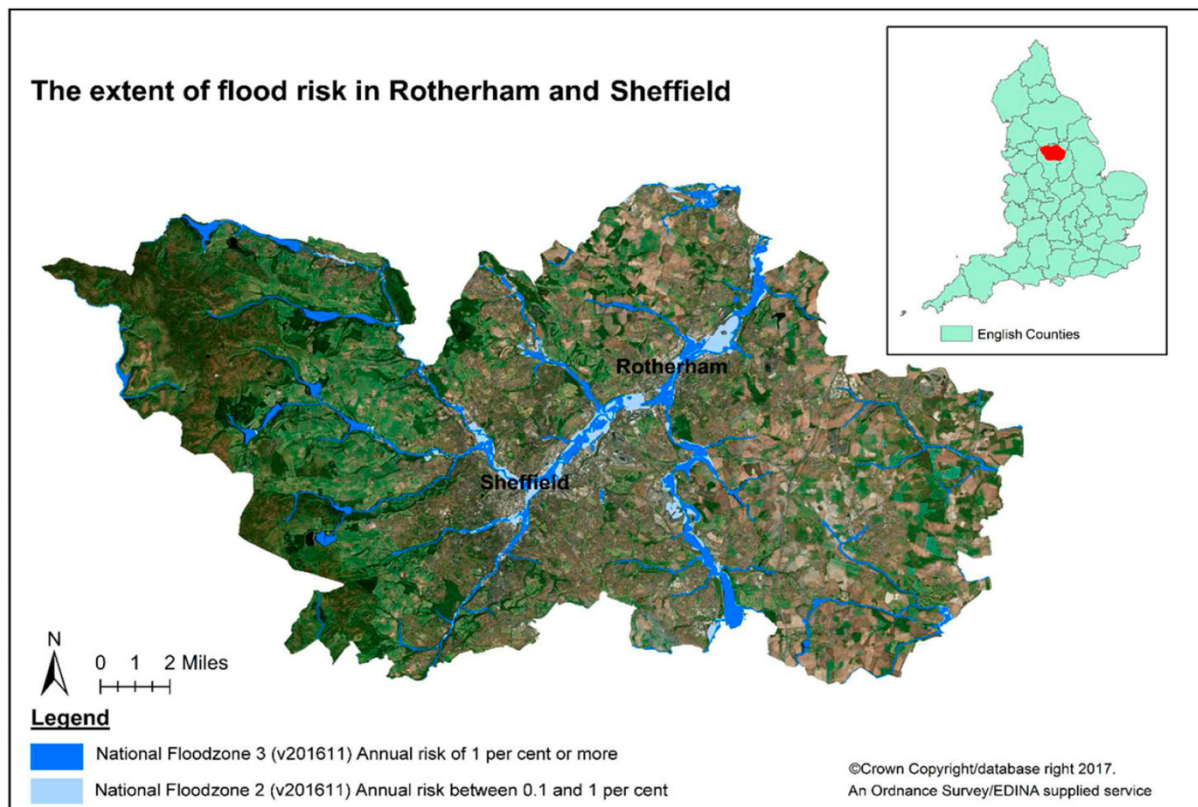
**Table 1.** Sheffield Lower Don Valley Flood Defence. Information card

Location	Sheffield, South Yorkshire, England
Population size	556,500 (2021)
Project area size	Flood defences along 8km of the Sheffield Lower Don Valley (LDV)
Area type	Urban area around a major river (Don) in a low-lying valley. The LDV has a high concentration of businesses.
Climate challenge	The LDV is very vulnerable to flooding, and this risk of extreme weather events will increase due to climate change.
Key Community System(s)	Water management, Local economic systems.
Objectives	The overall aim of the LDV flood defence project is to lower the annual risk of flooding from 1:25 in places to a minimum of 1:100, which allows businesses to obtain insurance more easily.
Climate challenge solution	New flood defences at fifty work locations and regular and ongoing channel maintenance on the left and right bank of an eight kilometre stretch of the river Don.
Key benefits	Reduced risk of flooding businesses; job protection and economic regeneration; insurance premiums for businesses at acceptable rates.
Implementation status	2007-2013: feasibility, design, and planning application of the LDV project 2014-2019: duration of the business improvement district
Investment volume (£) <sup>1</sup>	LDV flood defence project: £21.4 million
Key financing barriers	Lack of local public funding; national funding can only be obtained if a small part of the investment is covered by alternative (private) sources.
Financial model	A business improvement district (BID) to leverage national grant funding. In a BID, businesses agree through a ballot to fund specific activities chosen to strengthen the success and sustainability of those operating in a defined area.
Financial sources	Private: businesses (large enterprises and MSMEs) Public: national-level government agencies
Financial instruments	Grant: implementation grant Fees/user charges: business improvement district

<sup>1</sup> It was difficult to convert the currencies found in the original sources to 2024 values because of lack of data about the timing of calculations. We therefore keep the original values found in sources dating from 2013-2018.

## Overview and timeline

In **June 2007, the English city of Sheffield was hit by extreme rainfall (a 1:100-year event)** that overwhelmed the drainage system in the Don valley catchment area. It was the worst flood event since the Great Flood of 1864, with around 1,200 homes and 1,000 businesses flooded, including industries of national importance such as Forgemasters International and Outokumpu Stainless. Two people died in the flood. The flood was estimated by some to be a one in 200-year event. The Don is a major river that flows through Sheffield, largely splitting the city into two areas: the Upper Don Valley and the Lower Don Valley (LDV). The upper area is a mix of residential areas and businesses, while the lower area is mainly business-oriented. **The LDV is very vulnerable to flooding**, and the risk of extreme weather events will increase due to climate change. It is the lowest and flattest area in Sheffield with a lot of developed land due to the high concentration of businesses. Flood risks in this area are exacerbated by local tributaries being set in relatively steep-sided valleys, being mostly culverted in their urbanised sections, and responding quickly to rainfall. Additionally, in 2007, the poor condition of the river, with large numbers of overgrown trees, vegetation, and other debris, quickly blocked bridges and exacerbated flood levels on the Don. All tributaries from the highlands in the Peak District join the River Don before it reaches the LDV, meaning the greatest amount of water is gathered at this point.



**Figure 1.** The extent of flood risk in Sheffield and Rotherham (2017). © Crown Copyright/database right 2017.

**Businesses in the LDV were among the most impacted by the 2007 flood.** Some businesses were forced to close, and the effect on customer service took many years to recover. Insurance covered many direct costs, but the future security of businesses was at risk because the insurance industry raised premiums for business protection as the likelihood of flooding increased with climate change. Without any action to protect businesses against flooding, some would not be able to get insurance, or premiums would be very high. Data and river modelling conducted in 2013 indicated that a 1 in 100-year flood event (1% annual likelihood) would affect approximately 250 businesses and 5,000 employees, causing potential damage to premises, plant, stock, and public infrastructure in the region of £95 million. Under changing climate conditions, flood defences at that time in the LDV only offered protection in some places against a one in 25-year event. The threat of flooding was a serious impediment to investment in the valley by both existing businesses and new inward investors.

**Businesses expressed their concerns through the Chamber of Commerce,** which became a key stakeholder in the immediate aftermath of the 2007 flood. The Chamber of Commerce represented the Don Valley businesses, so it was in a good position to contact and distribute information to businesses. The Chamber of Commerce also had a good relationship with Sheffield Council. The local agencies responsible for flood risk management lacked experience due to the absence of extreme floods like the one in 2007. Businesses also highlighted the lack of publicly funded river maintenance as an important reason for the flood severity in 2007.



Since 2007, Sheffield City Council started working together with the national Environment Agency to develop a plan that could protect businesses in the LDV from flood risk. The Chamber of Commerce was involved to represent the interests of the businesses. **It took until 2013 for the Council to approve a new flood risk management strategy for Sheffield**, aimed at mitigating the risk of river flooding through a combination of risk management measures. The measures included can be divided into two areas:

- Activities necessary to deliver flood protection for businesses in the LDV. These include new flood defences at fifty work locations and regular and ongoing channel maintenance on the left and right banks of an eight-kilometre stretch of the River Don. The majority of the works are grey infrastructure, i.e., raising river banks, while some green infrastructure like parks that can flood is also included. This is generally referred to as the **Lower Don Valley Flood Defence project**, the focus of this case study factsheet. The overall aim of the LDV project is to lower the annual risk of flooding from protection against a 1:25-year storm event to a minimum of protection against a 1:100-year storm event, allowing businesses to obtain insurance more easily. An additional 40cm freeboard is intended to offer extra security. This target exceeds the insurance industry's stipulation of flood protection up to and including a 1 in 75-year event.
- **Complementary initiatives on a city-wide level** include additional measures to mitigate climate change, including up-stream management of river flows through, for example, improved storage capacity. Another initiative is education to improve public awareness of flood resilience measures and emergency planning.

Between 2010 and 2012, national pressure increased to address the rising flood risk due to flooding in multiple parts of the country. As a result, **national funding became available for flood programmes**. The Council applied for public sector funding (national grants) to finance the LDV project. However, public grants could only be received if the LDV project was co-financed by the private sector through a modest contribution. This led to the initiation of a **business improvement district (BID)**, a defined area within which businesses elect to pay an additional fee to fund projects or services. The vote is called a ballot. This case study factsheet focuses on the details of this BID in the LDV to illustrate how the private sector (businesses) can contribute to flood defence projects. More details about the BID are provided in the next sections.

Between 2007 and 2013, an intensive programme of channel clearance in the River Don had already been implemented by the Environment Agency, the Council, and some landowners adjacent to the river. These maintenance activities continued from 2013 onwards as part of the LDV project. **Construction of the LDV project works started in early 2015 and finished in 2018**.

**Table 2.** Sheffield Lower Don Valley Flood Defence project. Timeline with key moments

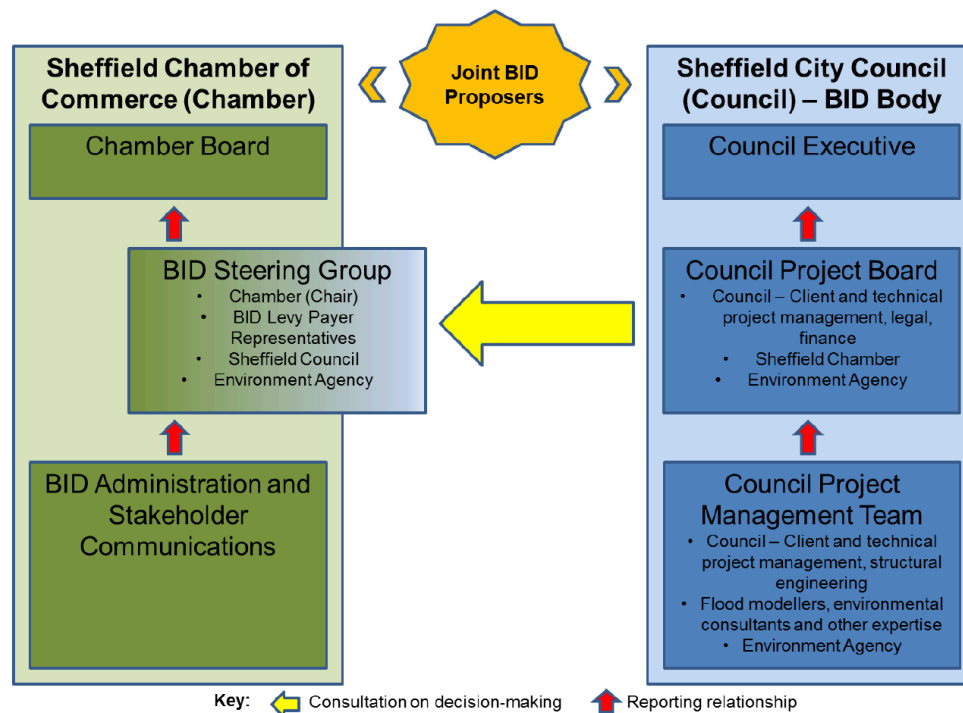
Date	Key moment
2007	Sheffield is struck by extreme rainfall, a 1:100-year storm, estimated by some as a 1:200-year storm. 1,200 homes and 1,000 businesses are flooded. The Lower Don Valley (mainly businesses) is hit hardest.
2007	The Sheffield City Council and the national Environment Agency start collaborating to develop a plan that can protect businesses in the LDV.
2010-2012	More floods occur in England that increases national pressure to act. This leads to the availability of national funding for flood programs.
2013	The Chamber of Commerce publishes the business improvement district (BID) business plan to co-finance the LDV project. Votes are cast by businesses in December 2013. The BID had a majority vote and was approved in early 2014.
2013	The city Council approved a new flood risk management strategy for Sheffield with the aim of mitigating the risk of river flooding through a combination of risk management measures, including the Lower Don Valley Flood Defence project.
1 July 2014-30 June 2019	Duration of the BID, during which businesses pay a contribution that is used to fund the LDV project (construction and maintenance until 2018).
2015-2018	Construction of the flood defence works in the Lower Don Valley

## Governance and key stakeholders

**The three main stakeholders involved are Sheffield City Council, Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, and the national Environment Agency.** The Chamber of Commerce represents the interests of the business community, specifically businesses located in the LDV. The Environment Agency is responsible for coordinating flood protection measures and directing central government funds into local projects. Before the start of the LDV project and the BID, Sheffield City Council and the Environment Agency led the project feasibility work, including design and specification. Fundamentally, it is this scheme that the project will implement. The Council has submitted the planning application for the relevant works and obtained costings

to properly develop the project. The Chamber of Commerce became involved due to the businesses located in the LDV and because private contributions were required to secure public funding (national grants).

**Figure 2 shows the organisational structure of the BID as part of the LDV project.** This organisational structure is in place for the five-year period of the BID, 2014-2019. The Chamber of Commerce was the initiator of the BID proposal and published a BID business plan in 2013. Together with Sheffield City Council, they became the joint BID proposers. **The Council, as the local authority, will act as the BID Body, which acts as the banker of the BID and will deliver the implementation of the flood defence works.** The Council will draw on specific technical expertise, for example, from the Environment Agency and other consultants to carry out and manage the scheme. The Council will work closely with the Chamber of Commerce, which will manage the BID in relation to business consultation and representation. The Council's responsibilities are shown on the right side of Figure 2, with a Council Project Management Team and a Council **Project Board**, including representatives from the Environment Agency and the Chamber of Commerce. The Project Board is chaired by the Council and oversees the project. The Project Board is responsible for delivering the existing feasibility, design, planning and fundraising stages. Reporting to the Project Board will be a **project manager** appointed from within the Council who will call upon specialist help where needed to place and manage contracts and ensure completion of the design and construction on time and on budget.



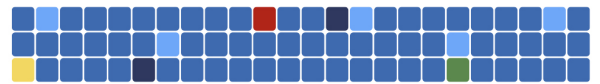
**Figure 2.** Organizational structure of the business improvement district for the LDV project<sup>2</sup>

On the left side is the **BID steering group chaired by the Chamber of Commerce**. The Chamber of Commerce had an existing steering group comprised primarily of private sector members. It continued as the BID steering group. In addition to private sector representatives from within the LDV, Sheffield City Council and the Environment Agency were also represented in the BID steering group. The BID steering group is a non-executive body and has an advisory role in the BID and LDV project. The BID steering group will represent the levy payers and oversee the correct utilisation of the BID monies and the ongoing maintenance arrangements. The Chamber of Commerce also appoints a BID administrator, whose role is to support meetings and coordinate communications with stakeholders.

**Table 3.** Sheffield Lower Don Valley Flood Defence project. Key stakeholders and their responsibilities or roles

Stakeholder	Type	Role and responsibilities
Sheffield City Council	Public (municipality)	The decision-making authority that had to approve the BID and submitted the planning application for the relevant works.

<sup>2</sup> Sheffield Chamber of Commerce and Industry. (2013). *Sheffield Lower Don Valley Flood Defence Project. Business Improvement District (BID) Business Plan*. Sheffield Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Sheffield City Council, Environment Agency. [PDF](#)



		Acts as the BID body (banker of the BID), and is responsible for overseeing and delivering the implementation of the flood defence works.
Sheffield Chamber of Commerce & Industry	Private	Represents businesses in Sheffield, including the LDV. Initiated the BID and developed a BID business plan. The Chamber of Commerce chairs the BID steering committee, which oversees the correct utilisation of the BID monies and the ongoing maintenance arrangements.
Environment Agency	Public (executive non-departmental public body)	Nation-wide responsible for the coordination of flood protection measures and for directing central government funds into local projects.  In Sheffield, the Environment Agency provided technical expertise for the project feasibility work including design and specification.

## Business model & financial model

### Business model

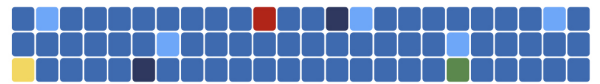
The LDV project is an example of a mutually beneficial investment for all parties involved. From the perspective of the businesses, their financial contribution through the BID does not directly save them money but prevents insurance costs from further increasing. Businesses had to approve the BID through a vote to enable additional public funding, allowing the implementation of improved flood protection. The incentive for businesses was that it would secure flood insurance, potentially at more competitive rates. In other words, co-financing flood defence projects is more cost-efficient than purchasing insurance to cover damage costs. To put things in perspective, **the estimated damage costs for a 1:100-year flood could be as high as £95 million, while the budget for and estimated investment of the LDV project was £8.1 million, more than four times less than the damage costs.** The investment costs include project delivery (90%), maintenance for the duration of the BID (7%), and BID management costs (3%). Of the investment costs, £1.4 million comes from the BID. This cost comparison and the insurance implications were proposed by the Chamber of Commerce to the businesses as the main value. The LDV project integrated project delivery and five-year maintenance for the entire LDV, which was more cost-efficient than if businesses individually had to pay for their own flood protection.

From the perspective of the Council, increasing flood protection meant improving the sustainability of Sheffield's business community and ensuring that the Sheffield City Region remained an important economic area and an attractive place for new investments. Approximately 250 organisations will benefit from the flood defences and/or channel maintenance regime. The idea of economic generation and job protection, especially associated with large businesses in the LDV, offered a powerful discourse for action. The Chamber of Commerce, the Steering Group, the Council, and the Environment Agency all firmly believed this scheme was necessary, proportionate, **excellent value for money**, and that it would provide better long-term protection than currently in place.

### Financial model

Major flood defence projects like the LDV project are normally financed by DEFRA (Department for Environment, Food, and Rural Affairs) through the Environment Agency. Generally, national funding pots become available that local authorities can bid for. Due to multiple floods across England between 2010 and 2012, funding became available for flood defence projects. In 2013, the Sheffield LDV Flood Defence Project successfully secured **a £5.5 million grant from a new capital Growth Fund issued by DEFRA, to be administered by the Environment Agency.** The City Council prepared an application for a Flood Defence Grant in Aid (FDGiA) worth £1.19 million. Grant rules state that DEFRA should not wholly finance a project and that funding must be sought from additional sources. The Council could not apply for more public funding. Various options were explored, including other public funding grants; private sector sources such as Section 106 planning obligations; and new financial mechanisms like Tax Incremental Finance (TIF). However, due to eligibility, availability, and fit with the timescales of the delivery programme and deadlines within the DEFRA funding timetable, none of these sources could be used. The DEFRA grants were only available for a short period of time.

The solution became to collect the remaining 17% of the LDV budget through a **business improvement district** as previously mentioned. The Sheffield Chamber of Commerce's business plan describes a BID as



*"a **not-for-profit arrangement whereby businesses agree to fund specific activities chosen to strengthen the success and sustainability of those operating in a defined area.** A BID is a legal framework which can only come into being following a successful ballot in which all eligible businesses have a vote on whether proposals should go ahead. BIDs work by applying a small levy on non-domestic rate payers in the defined area to provide additional services and investment over and above the baseline provided by statutory bodies. The businesses who pay are the ones who benefit from the new activities. The levy will take the form of an additional annual payment equal to a small percentage of the businesses' normal rateable value over a five-year period."*

The BID is approved if 50% of businesses and 50% of the total rateable value of businesses support the proposal and lasts for five years. After five years, the BID can be terminated or renewed with a new ballot. In this case, the BID was not renewed because the City Council took over maintenance responsibilities from 2019 onwards. BIDs are common in the UK, but this was the first time that companies contributed through a BID to the costs of flood protection.

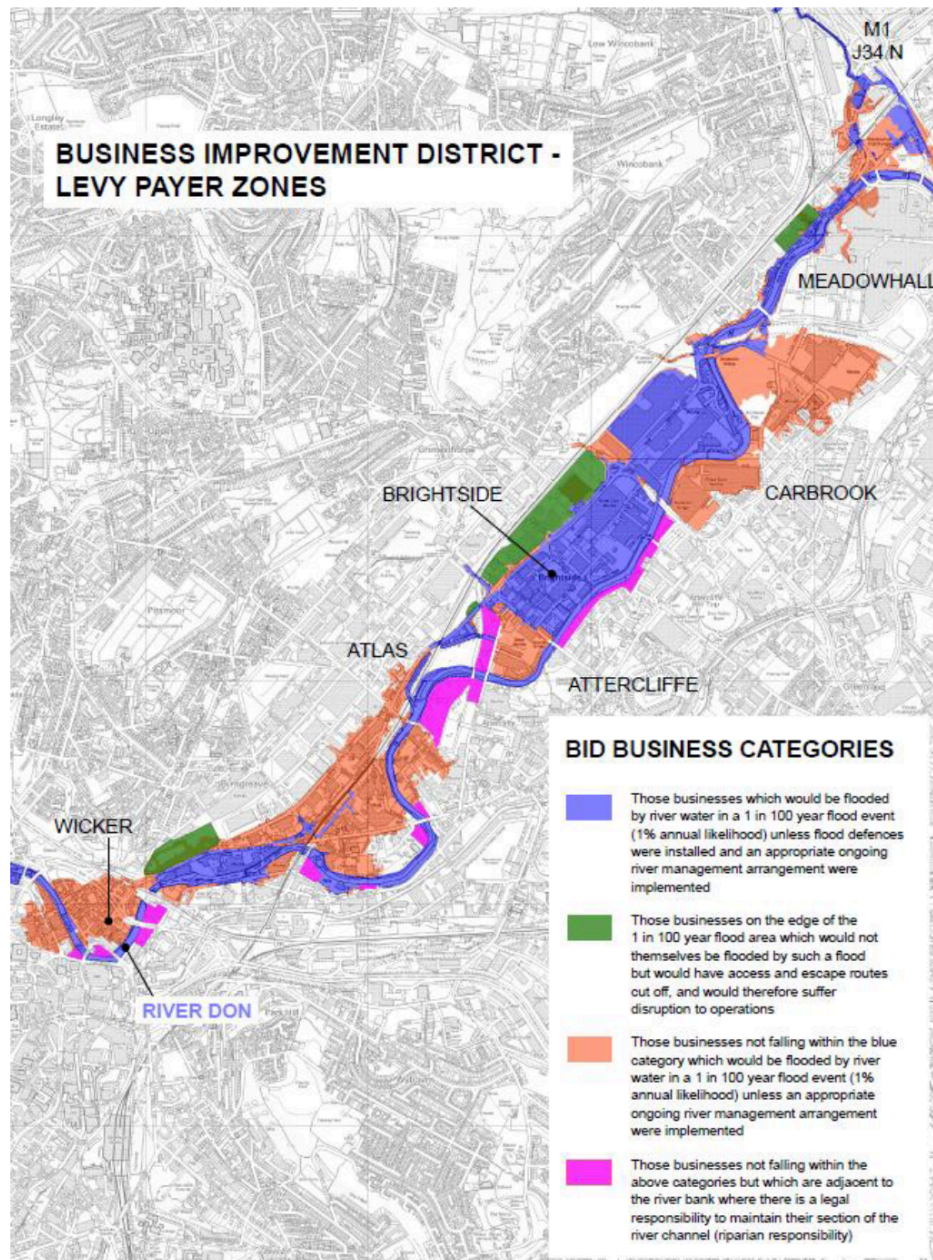
**The ballot was held in December 2013. A majority of 82% voted in favour of the BID, accounting for 95% of the rateable value within the BID area.** Modelling was done to determine where floods would occur, allowing identification of the beneficiaries of the scheme and thus determining the boundaries of the BID area. Within the BID area, a distinction was made between two levy rates:

- a higher rate for those businesses which would receive enhanced protection against being flooded from both the new defences and the channel maintenance regime and which would therefore gain the greatest benefit from the scheme;
- and a lower rate for those businesses which would also benefit significantly from the scheme but not to the same extent.

As shown Figure 3, the higher rate applies to businesses located in the blue zone, and the lower rate applies to businesses located in the green, orange, and pink zones.

The 2013 business plan included a total project cost for the LDV project of £8.1 million, but the final post-completion cost communicated on the City Council's website and in newspapers was £21.4 million. The City Council website further states that this project budget was mainly financed by public funds. In both the pre- and post-construction sources, the BID amount is the same (£1.4 million), a little less than 7% of the final investment cost. We did not find information that explains this gap. There was no mention of such a high-cost increase. It is fair to assume the final LDV project included more works than initially budgeted in the 2013 BID business plan and that these additional works were also financed through public funds.





**Figure 3.** The levy rate for businesses within the BID area is determined based by the zone in which they are located.<sup>3</sup>

### Enabling conditions

The LDV project implementation was enabled by a **confluence of favourable conditions**. Without the BID, the Environment Agency grant would not have been approved, and without public funding, the Business Improvement District would not have come into effect. Without the BID, the flood project would not have proceeded, and the LDV would have remained unprotected against extreme flood risk.

Between 2007 and 2013, the City Council and the Environment Agency partnered to develop a flood protection plan. The **Council dedicated staff, time, and resources** from their project teams to develop the plan, while the **Environment Agency provided technical expertise** about flooding. Given the lack of experience at the City Council, the Environment Agency's expertise was crucial, particularly in producing modelling and flood maps. These outputs were important in supporting the initiation of the BID. For example, flood modelling and maps helped determine the boundaries of the BID and the different levy rates within the BID area. The

<sup>3</sup> Sheffield Chamber of Commerce and Industry. (2013). *Sheffield Lower Don Valley Flood Defence Project. Business Improvement District (BID) Business Plan*. Sheffield Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Sheffield City Council, Environment Agency. [PDF](#)

Environment Agency's direct involvement in project development strengthened the Council's case for a grant application. The Chamber of Commerce, which had a network of LDV businesses, also allocated resources to develop a BID business plan. This plan included data and information from the Council and the Environment Agency's work, which proved vital in convincing businesses and resulting in an overwhelming majority vote. Equally important was a brief window of opportunity offered by national funding agencies that would cover the largest bulk of the investment cost.

Confirming private sector contributions was needed quickly to avoid missing out on national public funding opportunities. The **pre-existing legal framework** allowed for the BID to be voted for and established on short notice. At that time, more than 120 BIDs were in operation in the UK, underpinned by the Local Government Act 2003 and Business Improvement District Regulations 2004. The BID framework also ensured accountability because the BID body, mainly comprising private sector members, would oversee the correct use of the BID levies.

For an overwhelming majority of businesses, voting in favour of the BID was straightforward, considering the increased financial risks they faced without improved flood protection and the likelihood of future flood damages. The increasingly expensive insurance premiums provided an incentive to contribute through the BID, aiming to reduce insurance premiums to acceptable rates.

## Outcomes

In terms of project **efficiency**, the LDV project was delivered a few months later than expected due to challenges regarding foundations. There is always uncertainty about what lies beneath the surface, but the additional costs that came with the extra work fell easily within 5% of the original estimate. It did not affect the available funding for maintenance. The BID itself raised around 99% of what was initially expected. During the five-year period, some businesses ceased trading or moved, explaining the final 1%.

In terms of **effectiveness**, the LDV defence has worked as expected, and maintenance activities were quickly put to the test after completion. In late 2019, Sheffield experienced heavy rainfall, but the flood defences in the LDV were not breached. There was general agreement that the consequences would have been much worse if the LDV project had not been implemented. As of 2023, climate conditions have worsened, and weather events are expected to increase further. The LDV project was designed to offer protection against a 1:100-year flood event, based on 2013 modelling. There is no data confirming if this level of protection will be maintained today based on more recent climate models. At that time, the design dimensions were also determined by the available budget.

The LDV project also had broader **impacts**. Wildlife in the river Don has improved, and there are environmental benefits for the local communities because of the inclusion of flood defence parks.

## Lessons learned

### Successes and limitations

The main **success factor** of the Sheffield LDV project, as stated by the interviewee, was the **partnership with a win-win situation for the Sheffield City Council and the LDV businesses**. The Chamber of Commerce already had good relationships with the City Council before this project. This foundation led to a quick agreement that the LDV area was facing a problem that concerned both the public and private sectors. The city needed to maintain business activities to avoid one of the major industrial areas becoming a wasteland. Businesses quickly concluded that contributing through a BID was the least costly solution for them. Relocating operations would have been more expensive, and insurance premiums would have been higher than the BID contributions. The LDV project also fulfilled the businesses' riparian responsibilities. It would have been more expensive if businesses had to individually take care of their flood protection. Together with the Environment Agency, the public and private sectors had a window of opportunity where they could leverage national grants with a BID, and the three partners were prepared to work on it together. The BID was a fair and democratic way to share the financial responsibility of flood protection.

According to the interviewee, a **limitation** of the LDV project is the **relationship between the design and the availability of funding**. The LDV project was designed to protect against a 1:100-year event, based on modelling done in 2013. The 2007 flood was estimated by some as a 1:200-year event, meaning the investments would not protect LDV against such a storm. The available national funding in combination with the BID placed constraints on the design dimensions of the LDV project. The total amount of funding available made a larger project unaffordable and undeliverable. A compromise had to be found that still enabled improved flood protection within the budget constraints. The BID only asked for a modest contribution from businesses that would make it worthwhile compared to possible increasing insurance premiums. As mentioned earlier, other funding options were explored but were not (legally) readily available and therefore

not further explored. A report from The Star News Sheffield in 2017 mentioned that the Sheffield City Council had also worked on city-wide flood protection schemes. After the completion of the LDV project, another £20 million from the National Flood Investment Programme had been earmarked for new flood defence projects. However, there was still a shortfall of £70 million to implement all the flood schemes. Despite the BID being a successful part of a flood defence project delivery, it shows that the scale of climate adaptation investments is still insufficient to meet climate challenges.

### Transferability conditions and potential

A **BID is an effective, fair, and democratic instrument** to involve the private sector and many local businesses in the financing and development of climate adaptation investments, as exemplified in this case. Although examples of BIDs for climate adaptation projects are scarce, **this case shows that the financing volume that can be collected is small compared to financing needs**. The BID should be considered complementary to other instruments. In this case, the BID was used to leverage national grants. Compared to raising taxes among businesses, the BID allows for financial contributors to be heard and represented in the BID body (BID steering group in this case).

A **BID requires a legal framework** that facilitates BIDs. In the UK, the Local Government Act 2003 and Business Improvement District Regulations 2004 make it possible to organise a BID. The responsibility for this legal framework should be with national or regional governments. Once BID regulations are in place, the procedures are easily applied and replicable across municipalities, while a lot of flexibility remains to decide what the BID levies will be used for. Any type of climate activity could be (co-)financed with a BID if there is a majority vote from its businesses. Alternatively, Community Improvement Districts could be installed, which are similar in purpose but where any property owner in the BID area has a vote.

Finally, a BID has a higher chance of succeeding in co-financing publicly delivered infrastructure projects if there is already a good partnership between the public and private sectors. Within that partnership, there must be a clear **win-win situation** for all partners involved. From the perspective of the businesses, there must be a **quantifiable payback or financial benefit**, in this case preventing an increase in insurance premiums.

### Related factsheets

The factsheet of the Greater Cape Town Water Fund (ID 01) also describes a case where corporations contribute to climate adaptation measures (water security, combating water scarcity) from which they benefit. Unlike the Sheffield case, in Cape Town, a water fund was used to which water-dependent industries and the City of Cape Town contribute voluntarily. In both cases, a business case was developed detailing the possible consequences of not investing and/or the benefits of contributing to the project or programme.

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