

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL CAPACITY BUILDING FOR A FLOOD RESILIENT ROTTERDAM:

A multiple case study on
Noordereiland and Kop van Feijenoord.



DATE	AUGUST 24, 2015
STUDENT	R.W. PRONK
NUMBER	S2713136
SUPERVISOR	S.A. FORREST
COURSE	MASTER THESIS
PROGRAM	ENVIRONMENTAL AND INFRASTRUCTURE PLANNING // MSC.
UNIVERSITY	UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN // FACULTY OF SPATIAL SCIENCES

ABSTRACT

This work presents a research on the role of citizen participation and social capacity building for a flood resilient Rotterdam. Resilience is seen as an overarching concept broadly used for adaptive systems to have the ability to tackle harmful events and regain functions as quick as possible. Rotterdam developed a variety of policies and strategies to deal with an expected increase in flood risk. A more integrated, socially embedded approach to complement the current highly robust system is an important part of this. This will increasingly rely on the system's adaptability and transformability, where citizens will have to act more as 'active risk managers'. Social capacities of citizens (knowledge, motivational, organizational, financial, institutional and procedural) gain importance to deal with this new role.

Citizen participation is acknowledged as a valuable approach for social capacity building. This work developed a framework for citizen participation, based on the dimensions 'context', 'use', 'empowerment' and 'interest' to assess the role of citizen participation in the outer-dike areas Noordereiland and Kop van Feijenoord. The framework, together with the 'deficit' and 'latent' understanding of social capacity building, reveals a participative- and capacity building process that is strongly embedded and limited by contextual circumstances, policies and interests. It results in exclusionary practices of flood resilience planning, through a deficit-model of capacity building. As a result, the well-intended participative processes end up as what can be characterized as 'functional', 'tokenism' and 'instrumental'. Barriers, opportunities and recommendations are established to improve participation and capacity building in the future.

KEY WORDS: Flood resilience, Citizen participation, Social capacity building, Flood risk management, Urban planning, Rotterdam, Case study.

"Want And Able"

*Who is the who, telling who what to do?
Who is the who, telling who what to do?
Who is the who, telling who what to do?
Tell me who, tell me who, tell me who*

*Well, Want and Able were crossing the road
Want had a feeling there was something he was owed
But Able broke it to him that there's a social code
So walk straight down the middle now and do what we're told
Walk straight down the middle now and do what we're told*

*Who is the who, telling who what to do?
Who is the who, telling who what to do?
Who is the who, telling who what to do?
Tell me who, tell me who, tell me who*

*Want said that didn't feel so good
To never be fulfilled, forever stressed out and impatient
Always saying, "Just over the next hill."
Always saying, "Just over the next hill."*

*Who is the who, telling who what to do?
Being able is to freedom what wanting is to cruel
It's hard to tell it seems, which one of them's the fool
Is freedom a gift, that we only give to the ones that say I love you?*

*Who is the who, telling who what to do?
Who is the who, telling who what to do?
Who is the who, telling who what to do?
Tell me who, tell me who, tell me who*

*Now, Want and Able are two different things
One is desire, and the other is the means
Like I wanna hold you, and see you, and feel you in my dreams
But that's not possible, something simply will not let me*

(Jack White – Want and Able)

PREFACE

Groningen, August 24th, 2015.

The song-lyrics on the previous page summarize a feeling that predominated my past student years. Starting as a 17-year old student, coming straight from high school, I found it hard to define what I really wanted. It brought me, through Journalism, Human geography and Urban Planning, and an unforgettable trip to Nepal and Myanmar last year, to this Master program on environmental (urban) planning. When I heard the song for the first time, I was surprised by how it accurately grasps the perspective of the disciplines I have studied. The metaphors of 'want' and 'able' of this song emphasize a struggle that comes along with almost everything in life; I recognize it in the decisions of my student years and you will recognize in this work.

What makes the lyrics even more appropriate to include in this preface is the more 'romanticized' side of it. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to some very good friends and family for being able to finish this degree. First and foremost: my father. He will never stop motivating me to find, make and keep joy in life. Second, I have to acknowledge the love and help from my mother and brother for achieving this 'joy' as long as I can remember. For the past 4 years, I have to thank Sannah, for helping me through difficult times and sharing far more beautiful ones. I feel thankful for having so many good people around me, including the friends I did not mention by name here.

Nevertheless, you are about to read the very final product of this master program that would not have been possible without the crucial contributions of some people. First, Steven Forrest: your critical view pushed me to continuously reflect on this research. Especially the theoretical insights enhanced the resulting product as an academically grounded research. I am very grateful for your support and wish you the very best in Groningen. Secondly, I have to thank the interviewees who were so kind to spare me their time and knowledge. This empirical research would not be possible without their generosity.

R.W. Pronk

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ABBREVIATIONS

CC	Climate Change
DP	Delta Programma
FRM	Flood Risk Management
HHSK	Hoogheemraadschap Schieland en de Krimpenerwaard
KvK	Kennis voor Klimaat
RAS	Rotterdamse Adaptatiestrategie
WP	Waterplan

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The concept of ‘resilience’ and climatological changes make resilience planning a ‘trending topic’ within urban and environmental planning (Da Silva and Morera, 2014; Restemeyer et al., 2013; Meijerink & Dicke 2008). A popular understanding is resilience as an overarching concept, broadly used for adaptive systems to have the ability to tackle harmful events and regain functions as quick as possible (Davoudi et al., 2012). Many interdisciplinary plans and strategies are developed throughout the world for cities to become more resilient in general, or specifically related to particular aspects and disturbances (Carpenter et al., 2012).

Recently, the city of Rotterdam (The Netherlands) developed the citywide Rotterdam Adaptation Strategy (Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013a) with flood resiliency as a major subject. This strategy, linked to various regional and national research- and strategy developments, set an influential new line of policies and plans on how to deal with water related issues in the future (Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013a; 2013b; Nijhuis, 2013; Programmteam Rijnmond-Drechteden, 2014). This excessive work of overlapping and complementing research and strategies are made to cope with the threats that (the delta region of) Rotterdam face. Rotterdam, located within the estuary of the rivers Meuse and Rhine that debouch into the North sea, is expected to face an increasing flood risk due to climate change (CC) (Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013b). The city learned from previous flood events by constructing various technical measures (i.e. storm surge barriers) to safeguard the city, however, current predictions and conceptions expect these measures to be untenable (Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013b). Over time, the Netherlands developed towards nationwide programs as ‘Room for the rivers’ (Rijksoverheid, 2015) that emphasized on the concept of water as an integral part of spatial development and everyday life. This shift stays central to the research and strategies within the Rotterdam region.

One of the most important aspects of the shift from classical forms of flood risk management (FRM) to a more integrated flood resilience approach is acknowledging the limits to resistance (Meijerink & Dicke, 2008; White, 2013). This means that the effects of flood events will increasingly rely on the system’s adaptability and transformability in order to overcome flood events (Restemeyer et al., 2013). Consequently, local actors such as citizens will have to act more as ‘active risk managers’ in the future (Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013). As cities need the qualities to empower stakeholders for improving their resiliency, and modern FRM will increasingly shift its responsibilities and consequences towards local parties, it is of great value to learn how local actors can be made ready for such tasks (Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013; Meijerink & Dicke, 2008; Pahl-Wostl, 2006).

Multiple residential areas within the city of Rotterdam are located in outer-dike, flood prone zones. These neighborhoods face an urgent threat of flooding, which gradually increases along with climatological change as sea level rise and intensified precipitation (Berg et al., 2013; Veelen,

2013). Thousands of citizens are currently living in these urbanized areas that are not officially protected by governmental standards (Keessen, 2013). In light of the new strategies and programs, the municipality of Rotterdam designated special attention to the outer-dike areas for proactive improvement of the situation (Programmabureau Duurzaam 2013b, Berg et al., 2013; Veelen, 2013). Citizen involvement is mentioned in policy documents as a key factor.

1.2 Objectives

As local actors, citizens are increasingly demanded to have a certain degree of social capacity for dealing with changing circumstances and responsibilities (Kuhlicke et al., 2011). This can be for example the knowledge capacity to know the risk of an outer-dike area, or motivational capacity to understand the urgency for being proactive (Kuhlicke et al., 2011; Höppner et al., 2011). This research defines social capacity as the ability to decide and behave successfully to cope with negative impacts caused by external sources that may need recovery, adaptation, anticipation and the use of necessary resources (Kuhlicke et al., 2011). Modern, resilient, FRM demands citizens to have the social capacity for active risk management, while the participative approach for social capacity building is expected to be a useful instrument (Pahl-Wostl, 2006; Höppner et al., 2011; Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013; Kuhlicke et al., 2011). Nevertheless, participation can be used to different degrees and in different forms, where empowerment, interests and contextual factors play a major part (Arnstein, 1969; Cornwall, 2008; Rowe & Frewer, 2005; White, 1996; Collins & Ison, 2006).

Thus, flood resilience planning should incorporate social capacity building through a participative approach. However, until now there is a lack of evidence and formal evaluation around policies a practical action on improving resilience (Twigger-Ross et al., 2014). This research aimed to fill this gap with conducting empirical research on a local level through a multiple case study. Based on the theoretical framework, a framework for participation was constructed as a tool to research the role of public participation in flood resilience planning. This framework (see paragraphs 1.4 and 2.3.5) identifies ‘use’, ‘empowerment’ and ‘interest’ as key dimensions that influence public participation, where contextual factors can intervene in the process. These dimensions function as indicators to identify how public participation is part of improving the flood resiliency of Rotterdam. By use of this framework, this research was set to identify and analyze the role of citizen participation and create an understanding of how social capacity building was part of this process. As a result, it tries to assert the influence of the dimensions on the planning process and discover the effects on both citizen participation, and social capacity building. It primarily focuses on the authorities that initiated the events and processes so far.

Two neighborhoods in Rotterdam form the empirical basis of this multiple case study. Both areas are outer-dike and, because of their most urgent situation, emphasized on in current policies and strategies (Programmabureau Duurzaam 2013b, Berg et al., 2013; Veelen, 2013). Consequently, these neighborhoods were expected to have the most advanced planning processes for empirical research. Although the case selection (section 3.3.1) and context (paragraph 4.1.3) is discussed in the following chapters, for now it is important to understand the location and names they will be referred by. Feijenoord is the name of one of Rotterdam’s boroughs. Within this borough are

multiple neighborhoods; one is the island Noordereiland and one is Feijenoord (yes, the borough and neighborhood are both called 'Feijenoord'). Within the neighborhood Feijenoord, a large area is called 'Kop van Feijenoord'. This area, Kop van Feijenoord, together with the neighborhood Noordereiland form the case study areas of this research (see Figure 1-1). For the comfort of reading, this multiple case study on both neighborhoods can be referred to as 'the case of Feijenoord'. Despite the comparable geographical locations, the cases form different contexts in terms of socioeconomic characteristics, which will be elaborated on in the following chapters.

Cross-case conclusions are drawn from the results and significant differences are analyzed, as they may explain the effect of contextual factors. They are put together in order to establish barriers and opportunities that may influence citizen participation or social capacity building (or a combination of both). After clarifying the participative process in and the role of social capacity building these barriers and opportunities are very relevant for future research and policy recommendations. They can help to set a more suitable approach in the future, when specific factors are known to form a barrier for improving social capacity or engage citizen participation. It can help to identify the merits of empowerment, the kind of capacities that should be generated and more generally the effects of practical actions on resilience planning (Pelling, 2007; Twigger-Ross et al., 2014).

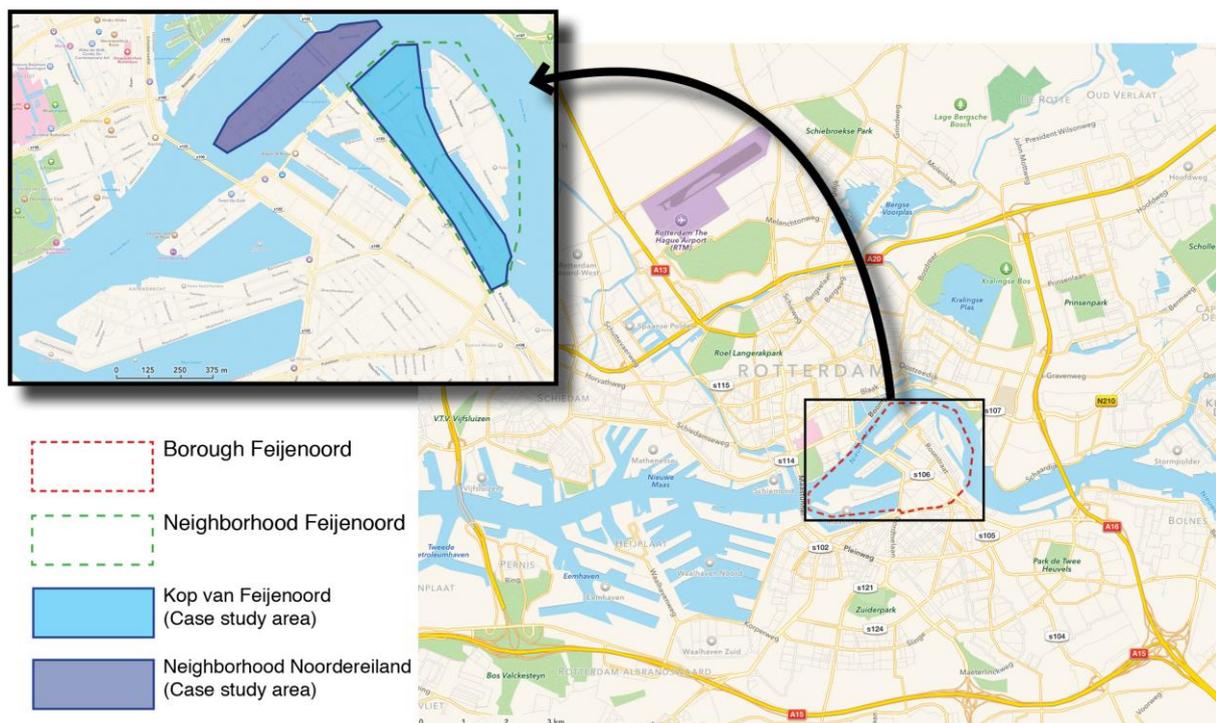


FIGURE 1-1 OVERVIEW OF THE BOROUGH FEIJENOORD, THE NEIGHBORHOODS AND CASE STUDY AREA. SOURCE: ROTTERDAM.NL (2015); APPLE MAPS (2015).

1.3 Research Questions

The main research question for this work that is derived from the objectives is as follows:

- **How are citizen participation and social capacity building part of flood resilience planning in Feijenoord, Rotterdam and which barriers and opportunities can be recognized?**

This question is divided into four sub-questions to make the research more comprehensible. Question 1 is constructed to gain a better understanding of the context of policies, threats and strategies that influence the city of Rotterdam and subsequently, the case of Feijenoord. Question 2 and 3 make a clear distinction between citizen participation and social capacity building, while question 4 defines the subsequent barriers and opportunities.

1. **How is Rotterdam threatened by water and which policies and strategies relate to the context of Rotterdam and the case of Feijenoord?**
 - a. **How is citizen participation part of the policies and strategies?**
2. **How is citizen participation part of flood resilience planning in the case Feijenoord, Rotterdam?**
 - a. **Which contextual factors influence citizen participation?**
 - b. **How do the authorities 'use' public participation and how do 'empowerment' and 'interests' influence the process?**
3. **How is social capacity building part of citizen participation for improving flood resilience in the case of Feijenoord, Rotterdam?**
 - a. **Which types of social capacity can be identified?**
4. **Which barriers and opportunities can be defined, based on the research on citizen participation and social capacity building in Feijenoord, Rotterdam?**

1.4 Conceptual Framework

Figure 1-2 is the conceptual framework of this research and shows a schematic overview of how theoretical concepts (and the associated research questions) are connected. It makes clear how this research should be seen as an assessment on flood resilience planning in Rotterdam. First the context of current flood risk, policies and strategies that are related to Rotterdam need to be identified (question 1); they influence the resilience of the city and form the background of the empirical research.

The multiple case study on Noordereiland and Kop van Feijenoord researches the role of citizen participation (question 2) and how social capacities were part of this (question 3). From the results, barriers for participation and social capacity building (question 4) are constructed. At last, the knowledge is used for recommendations on flood resilience planning in Rotterdam.

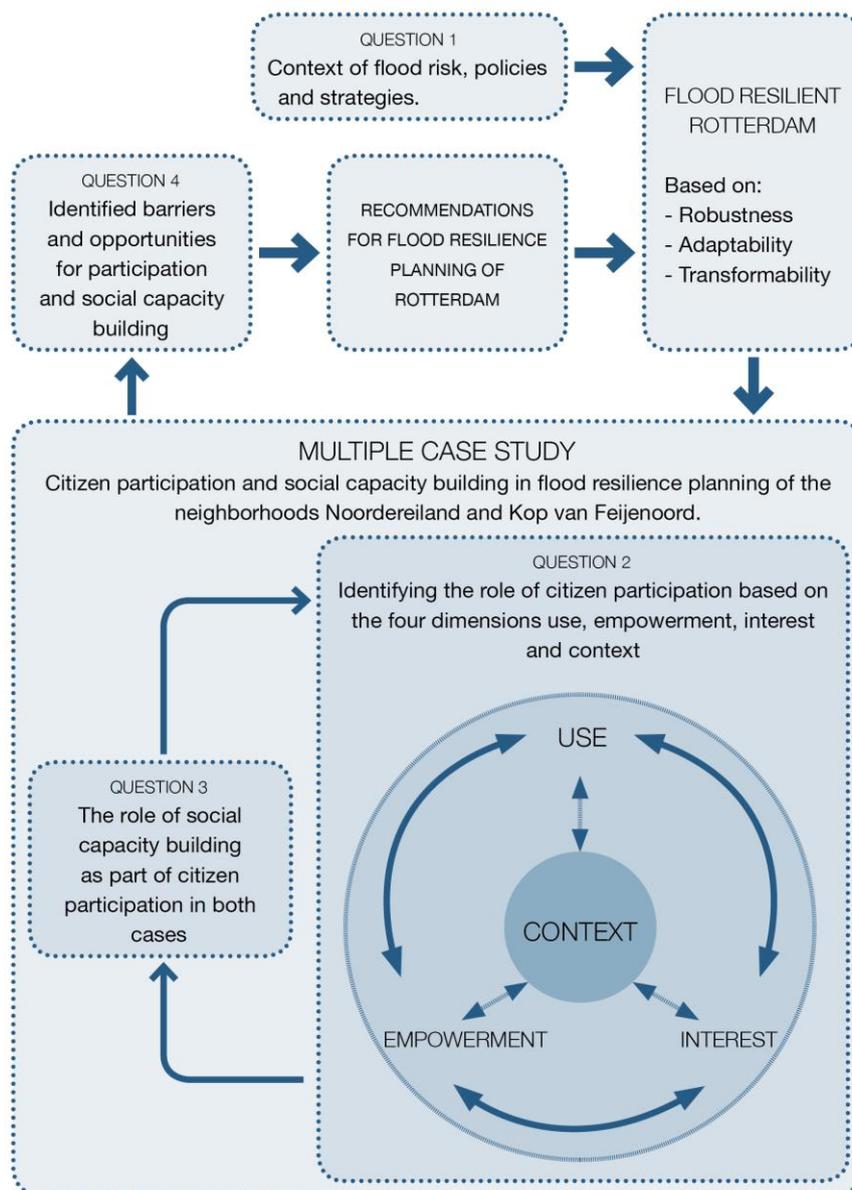


FIGURE 1-2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK. SOURCE: AUTHOR.



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2 THEORY

A participative approach towards social capacity building in light of flood resilience planning needs an extensive theoretical background. To begin with academic planning context and the technical-communicative shift, which dominated the planning theory and practice for the last few decades (De Roo & Porter, 2006; Healey 1997; Innes, 1996). This shift can be recognized within the planning discipline in general, the understanding of resilience, the role of social capacity building and the implications for participation (Kuhlicke et al., 2011; Davoudi et al., 2012; Pahl-Wostl, 2006). In this order, theory is set up and discussed.

2.1 Technical and Communicative Rational

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, northwestern European countries are characterized by planning systems that are very much in control and regulated by a central government (De Roo & Porter, 2006). Despite contextual differences, Western-European countries are known for using a coordinative model of governance. Centralized regulation makes sure that planning practices are developed within a governmental framework where plans have to meet the government's expectations (De Roo & Porter, 2006). "It expects lower authorities to *perform* according to the decisions that it makes and expects citizens to conform to these decision" (De Roo & Porter, 2006 p. 100). It originates from a time where urban planners, such as Burnham, Howard and the Dutch Berlage, ruled the work field as interdisciplinary masterminds (Hall, 1988). They developed entirely new neighborhoods and master plans to improve health and living in the cities, controlled from the first sketch until the last brick. This dominant 'technical' approach has received critical feedback since then, primarily on how it fails to foresee the problems that came along with it, described by De Roo and Porter (2006) as a 'process of trial and error'.

The technical planning approach (also known as 'instrumental', 'procedural' and 'rational') believes that a planner has the ability to know which criteria are needed for a successful plan (De Roo & Porter, 2006). Consequently, a planner only needs the capability to 'construct' a plan out of 'known' technical parts. However, starting from the sixties onwards, the technical rational started to make room for a more socially embedded, communicative approach (De Roo & Porter, 2006). The technical approach was perceived as being anti-democratic and blind for differences in gender, race and culture. Problems in planning were meanwhile left untouched, or plans created new problems that were not foreseen (Allmendinger, 2002). This critical perspective fitted in the post-positivistic shift that the planning debate was going through, emphasizing on the importance of social and historical context. Part of this is also a bigger variance in explanations and theories where individuals are perceived as self-interpreting, autonomous subjects (Allmendinger, 2002). During the twentieth century the role of the urban planner transformed from an interdisciplinary masterminds, to a fallible advisor (Allmendinger, 2002). This shift towards a more social understanding of the work field can be recognized in many disciplines, such as the use of the term resilience. The next paragraph will elaborate on this, followed by the 'communicative' implications for urban planning.

2.2 Resilience

The concept of resilience, let alone the term ‘resilience’, can -and has- been used in multiple ways. Linguistically, it stems from the Latin *resi-lire*, meaning to spring back (Davoudi et al., 2012; Davoudi et al., 2013), academically however; urban planning is not the first discipline to make use of this concept (Alexander, 2013; Davoudi et al., 2012; Davoudi et al., 2013). It was first used for physics to describe the stability and resistance of materials to external shocks, while starting from the 1960s; resilience was transported to the field of engineering and ecology (Davoudi et al., 2012). The definition of resilience that will be leading for this paper is considered to be more progressive compared to its predecessors (Restemeyer et al., 2013) and it is interesting to notice how this change in definition shows similarities with the shift in planning from a technical to communicative rational. Engineering resilience stands for “the ability of a system to return to an equilibrium or steady state after a disturbance” (Holling, 1973, 1986, in Davoudi et al., 2012) with the ability of returning back as indicator for its capacity. It implies that returning to the same status is prevalent. Ecological resilience aimed at “the *magnitude* of the disturbance that can be absorbed before the system changes its structure” (Holling, 1996 p. 33 in Davoudi et al., 2012 p. 300) with the difference that, along with the ability to bounce back, a system has to be able to maintain itself to a certain extend. The main difference of ecological resilience compared to engineering resilience is its believe in a set of multiple possibilities (equilibriums) to bounce forward to alternative stability domains (Davoudi et al., 2012). This means that when the limits of a resilient character are overreached, a natural system has the ability to change to a new appropriate set of conditions (Alexander, 2013).

This ecological concept is already more suitable for a social context, while it stays questionable that social systems (i.e. cities) bounce forth to a limited set of steady states after a disturbance (i.e. flooding). It would imply that cities’ reactions are highly predictable, which is in line with the positivist approach to planning (Davoudi, 2011). As the engineering and ecological definitions are based on a positivistic believe (Davoudi et al., 2012; Davoudi et al., 2013), they are less suitable when transported to social systems where characteristic are less formally defined (Alexander, 2013). The progressive socio-ecological definition of resilience, also known as evolutionary resilience, implies that systems can bounce both back and forth towards multiple stable equilibriums. This implies a need for transformability as a capacity to create new stable domains (Folke et al., 2010). In this sense transformability is defined as “defining and creating new stability landscapes by introducing new components and ways of making a living, thereby changing the state variables, and often the scale, that define the system” (Walker et al., 2004). However, a certain degree of adaptability within a domain is needed to manage developments as a response to external influences and internal processes (Folke et al., 2010; Walker et al., 2004). From the evolutionary perspective, steady states are cycles of equilibriums *evolving* over time as a reaction to stresses and strains. Evolutionary resilience is then the ability to change, adapt or transform in response to disturbances (Davoudi et al., 2013); not solely the response, but the way in which response and recovery is managed (Tigger-Ross et al., 2014). These deliberate transformations require resilience thinking to evaluate the resiliency of the current system and encourage it as part of the new equilibrium or domain (Folke et al., 2010)

Before specifying the topic to flood resilience, it is important to understand this as a specified discussion within the topic of general resilience (Folke et al., 2010). Where general is related to a system as a whole, with different parts and shocks to deal with, specified resilience is “the resilience of a particular aspect of a social-ecological system to a particular kind of disturbance” (Carpenter et al., 2012). In this case, the threat of flooding.

2.2.1 Flood Resilience

Central to this research will be a current prominent view on resilience related to flooding (Restemeyer et al., 2013). From this perspective, flood resilience is defined as the capacity of a city to withstand stress or adapt to a stressful situation without being harmed in functionality, while minimizing the consequences of any disturbance by preventing of- or adapting to stressful events. This depends on three major aspects: (i) robustness, (ii) adaptability and (iii) transformability (Restemeyer et al., 2013; Davoudi et al., 2012; Davoudi et al., 2013). Robustness is similar to the more conventional concept of hazard control, prevention by increasing the systems’ resistance, and is most important during an impact. Traditionally, this was the most prominent strategy in Dutch FRM, which resulted in the construction of dams, dykes, and storm surge barriers to reduce the probability of flooding (See Table 2-1) (Meijerink & Dicke, 2008). New policies try to combine this with exposure reduction, to keep urban areas and functions away from flood risk zones. However, cities like Rotterdam are often already ‘locked-in’ in situations where major parts or function are located within flood risk zones.

Flood Risk Management						
Strategies	Reduce <i>Probability</i> of flooding.		Reduce <i>Impact</i> of flooding.			
	Hazard reduction ('Keep floods away from urban area')		<i>Vulnerability</i> reduction ('Prepare urban areas for floods')		<i>Exposure</i> reduction ('Keep urban areas away from floods')	
Measures	Technical: dams, dykes, storm surge barriers	Spatial: space for water	Early warning and evacuation	Adjustments to real estate, and infrastructure	Inhibiting floodplain occupancy	Re-locating houses/de-urbanization

TABLE 2-1 STRATEGIES AND MEASURES OF FLOOD RISK MANAGEMENT. SOURCE: MEIJERINK & DICKE (2008)

Simultaneously, adaptability aims to reduce the consequences during- and short after an impact in case the limits of robustness are reached. Vulnerability reduction means to reduce the impact of flooding by i.e. adjustments to the physical environment, or early warning systems (Meijerink & Dicke, 2008). Transformability on the long-term after the impact is crucial for the transition to alternative development trajectories, as recovery would mean rebuilding a vulnerable system (Restemeyer et al., 2013; Davidson, 2010). This definition implies the capability to transform towards a new more resilient equilibrium before, during or after disturbances and not solely recover to a set of steady states, as with engineering and ecological resilience. It ensures that,

through individual or collective agency, a system will not continue its vulnerabilities by bouncing back to the previous situation (Twigger-Rose et al., 2014; Davidson, 2010).

This view on resilience emphasizes on the importance of small-scale changes. “This means that small-scale changes in systems can amplify and cascade into major shifts (reflecting Edward Lorenz’s idea of ‘the butterfly effect’) while large interventions may have little or no effects” (Davoudi et al., 2012 p. 302-303). Although this line of theory is mostly linked to complexity theory and the role of uncertainty within planning (De Roo, 2003), it acknowledges the overarching idea that top-down controlled planning does not always lead to the most effective and suitable solutions (Davoudi et al., 2012). Davoudi et al. (2013) argues however that in a social context, the ‘evolution’ of three components (robustness, adaptability and transformability) into new equilibriums is too deterministic. A fourth (preparedness) is needed to explain the social learning capacities that are required for enhancing the three resilience-domains. It reflects “the intentionality of human action and intervention” (Davoudi et al., 2013 p. 311) and asks for a routine incorporation of public involvement with clear linkages and accountability between informal and formal structures (Davoudi et al., 2013; Twigger-Ross et al., 2014). This growing emphasis on the social dimension of resilience is part of a bigger development that asks for strengthening communities to increase community safety as a whole (Twigger-Ross et al., 2011). Therefore, it is crucial to determine who and what to focus on to prevent exclusionary practices and how power and politics influence what is desired and for whom (Davoudi et al., 2012) The evolutionary definition of flood resilience is used for this work when referring to ‘resilience’ or any variation of it.

2.2.2 Dimensions of Flood Risk Management

Flood risk management can be divided in public-private dimensions of collectivity and visibility (Meijerink & Dicke, 2008). Collectivity relates to the interests that are focused on, ranging from solely public to private, while visibility refers to the degree of ‘openness’ of information ranging from ‘in the open’ (public) to ‘hidden’ (private). Using both the public-private dimensions for FRM strategies, different institutional paths of FRM are identified. The Dutch approach of the past few decades emphasizes on reducing the probability of flooding from solely a public collectivity approach, with FRM as an exclusive governmental domain (Meijerink & Dicke, 2008). On the visibility dimension however, the Netherlands is known for a very private approach with little openness to the public (Meijerink & Dicke, 2008).

This institutional path is especially relevant for the current increasing awareness of uncertainty related to risk estimates. Predictions that define flood risk are established on historically based events that do not tell much about the likelihood in the future, particularly not as it depends on the *unpredictable* phenomenon of climate change (White, 2013; Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013). A shift from technical management towards an integrated approach, which emphasizes on the human dimension to be more adaptive and flexible in coping with uncertain climatological- and socio-economic changes, is therefore needed (Pahl-Wostl, 2006). From this point of view, the traditional Dutch system is unsuitable; it acts on behalf of collective goals while using more

private ('hidden') measures that withhold public involvement and transparent decision-making (Meijerink & Dicke, 2008).

As a response to the awareness of uncertainty and the rise of resilience as a comprehensive approach to cope with it, FRM has an increasingly diverse base of actors (Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013). Especially the transformability and adaptability that are given a more significant meaning contribute to this. "The increasingly prominent role of non-structural measures requires a much larger involvement of the public, and a functioning dialogue on the flood risk and mitigations options is an essential element of an integrated flood risk management" (Merza et al., 2010 in Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013, p. 115). This requires continuous communication with a broad variety of actors, with an increasingly complex and challenging task of risk communication as result. At the same time, the responsibility of risk is shifting towards different levels of society (Meijerink & Dicke, 2008; Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013).

An interesting consequence of the emergence of resilience in the field of FRM is how it increasingly relies on social aspects of the environment and communicative planning approaches. Consequently, the role of different actors (residents, businesses, etc.) gradually changes into 'active risk managers' that are personally responsible for decisions on FRM. Kuhlicke & Steinführer (2013) argue that in order for citizens to have the ability to act as active risk manager, their social capacity should be improved.

2.3 Social Capacity

The following part elaborates on the concept of social capacity. This work defines social capacity as the ability of individual or corporate actors to decide and behave successfully to cope with negative impacts caused by external sources that may need recovery, adaptation, anticipation and the use of necessary resources (Kuhlicke et al., 2011; Höppner et al., 2011). Much of the work is based on three originators of the concept (Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam) that debated on whether social capacities were consciously constructed or unintentional outcomes of social processes and interaction (Pelling & High, 2005). Putnam's (1995) broader definition simplifies the understanding to the very basis, as 'features of social life [...] that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives' (Putnam, 1995). Building social capacity is a repetitive learning process, which aims to discover, enhance and develop different types of capacities (Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013; Kuhlicke et al., 2011). To achieve such process, it is important to involve the public as much as possible at the same level of organizations that are in charge of FRM (Begg et al., 2011). The evolutionary resilient approach and current debate in FRM underline the need for the public to be capable of dealing with new responsibilities. This means that citizens need the social capacity to prepare themselves for flood risk and social capacity building should be added as a task of managing it (Höppner et al., 2011).

2.3.1 Social Capacity Building

Risk communication through participation enables a dialogue between decision makers, risk managers, public authorities and the general public that contributes to improved risk perception, behavior, engagement and learning, while it can increase acceptance of measures and mutual understanding (Kuhlicke et al., 2011). Communication through mere one-way information distribution where the public has only limited capacity to interact is therefore not recommended, though often the case (Höppner et al., 2011). This perspective is known as the deficit model and implicates that communities have a deficit of skills or competences that a ‘builder’ needs to increase (Beazley et al., 2004). The interrelation between the ‘builder’ and the ‘deficient’, and how they perceive and decide on which capacities are missing is most important (Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013). According to Beazley et al. (2004) the deficit model is based on a paternalistic view from those in power that the “focus and responsibility of change rests on the shoulders of the communities” (Beazley et al., 2004 p. 3). As a result, the powerful (authorities) do not have to change their structure in order to be more sensitive and responsive to community needs, but instead communities have to adjust to the structures of the powerful.

A study on participative action and social capacity building shows how -when participation is ‘used’- it is mostly aimed to create a wide acceptance of certain measures amongst residents (Höppner et al., 2011). The opportunity to discuss costs and benefits, risk and safety levels with the public is mainly passed in this exploitative participative approach (Höppner et al., 2011; Pelling, 2007), besides that it may affect the accuracy of grasping the multi-dimensional public perception of risk and knowledge (Wynne, 1992). To overcome this one-way view, a shift is needed towards a ‘latent capacity model’ that harnesses communities’ skills, where they are considered as equal partners based on trust and mutual benefit (Beazley et al., 2004). Although two-way communication has the potential to, especially at the individual level, increase different kinds of social capacity, this does not mean one-way communication has no function at all (i.e. warning systems). The latter is still useful for sharing knowledge, informing actors on large scale and provide resources, however, more participative two-way communication forms prove to be more effective on raising awareness and more significantly, enabling mutual understanding. A latent capacity model enables a more emancipatory participative approach that provides stakeholders space for developing self-confidence to challenge the predominant structures (Pelling, 2007). This may help to tackle the presumption of knowledge as an independent object that can be unambiguously measured and manipulated (Wynne, 1992). Theory implies how social capacity building should be integrated in risk governance through one- and two-way communication forms, while it advocates for more evaluating research to fill the gap on how this is translated into practice (Höppner et al., 2011).

The distinction between the ‘deficit model’ and ‘latent capacity model’ is similar to the interventionist- and participatory approaches (Kuhlicke et al., 2011) and on a bigger scale the technical-communicative shift and subsequent evolution of resilience. Translating the different approaches into measures makes this very clear; the interventionist approach is mainly based on policy and other sorts of legal and regulatory interventions to create the capacity for achieving goals that would be unachievable without them (there is a deficit to overcome). The participatory

approach aims to empower the self-confidence and skills of individual actors and different communities to increase their autonomy and agency for building capacity (Pelling, 2007). This should increase the self-help of actors, which can be prioritized, valued and organized according to their own preference. In case of identifying and assessing vulnerabilities, locally embedded participation allows the integration of contextual knowledge, experiences and perceptions (Kuhlicke et al., 2011).

Limitations to capacity building through participation are familiar to approaches that are within the domain of the communicative rational: balancing efficiency, power relations within groups and short-term scope are the most prominent. Because of these factors, participation has been a slippery concept to define (Pelling, 2007). Until now, when social capacities were part of risk communication, awareness and knowledge were overemphasized and overruling cooperation and coordination (Höppner et al., 2011). Building capacity can also lead to assessing only the vulnerability of powerful actors and makes up-scaling difficult as contextual circumstances may not be applicable on a larger scale. In practice, participative risk communication is time and cost consuming (Kuhlicke et al., 2011).

The limits of a participative approach also depend on which approach is used. An exploitative approach that uses participation as an instrument to (i.e.) reduce financial costs has different effects than an emancipatory approach, which has a more 'latent capacity-motive' and provides space for stakeholders for new development (Pelling, 2007). Social diversity of communities is a factor that can hold the success of a participative approach. From an outside view it is hard to recognize how diverse and harmonious a community really is, which can reinforce an unequal distribution of power (Pelling, 2007).

2.3.2 Typologies of Social Capacities

Despite the limitations, a participatory approach that empowers and enables local actors should be seen as key contributor to initiate a capacity building process for a flood resilient city. Access to information, resources and authority are key principles for this and contribute to engage a non-linear, reflexive learning process that aims to adapt established practices, norms and policies when necessary (Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013). Previous work has divided social capacities in typologies to form a basis for systematic evaluation of social capacity building for flood risk (Kuhlicke 2013 en 2011; Höppner et al., 2011). The typologies of this research result from an extensive research on typologies of social capacity and were constructed based on their relevance, conciseness and acuteness on how they can be recognized in empirical research, compared to others (Pelling & High, 2006; Lebel et al., 2006). Types of social capacities constructed in other literature are similar to- and overlapping with the ones that are discussed here, which reinforces the use of them (Rydin & Pennington, 2000; Pelling & High, 2006; Lebel et al., 2006). Apart from the extensive theoretical substantiation, the typologies are most suitable and convenient for this research.

A mix of these overlapping typologies is used, which are defined and specified in Table 2-2. Knowledge-, motivational- and financial capacities, known under a variety of terms in the

academic field, are capacities that specific actors (i.e. individuals, organizations, or communities) can own. The literature disagrees on whether a financial capacity should be considered as a social capacity or physical/material capacity. Although it relates to material capacity of possessing matter that enriches a certain quality, it also relates to a socioeconomic status of actors. As this can enable or disable other social capacities, financial capacity is included in this work (Kuhlicke et al., 2011; Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013). ‘Procedural’ (Kuhlicke et al., 2011), or ‘emotional’ (Höppner et al., 2011) capacity have a similar kind of meaning. However, as emotional capacities “are strongly entangled with the other three capacity types” (Höppner et al., 2011 p. 1759) and there is still very limited research on this matter to clarify the exact meaning, this research chooses to use the more simple procedural definition. Organizational and institutional capacities cannot be owned by an actor, but rely on whether they are accessible or not.

Types of Social capacities	Specification/description
Knowledge capacities	Comprises various types and includes both formal knowledge and non-codified knowledge. Examples are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Knowledge about the hazard and the risk. - Knowledge about how to prepare for, cope with and recover from the negative impact of a hazard. - Knowledge about other actors involved in the handling of hazards and disasters. - Knowledge about formal institutions such as legal frameworks and specific laws. - Knowledge about underlying informal values, norms and beliefs of different actors; ‘tacit knowledge’.
Motivational capacities	Relates to general willingness to take notice of and deal with natural hazards. To prepare for, cope with and recover from the negative impact of a hazard. It includes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Awareness of hazards and risk. - Motivation to prepare for, prevent and recover from impacts of natural hazards. - Willingness to learn about risks and hazards and to comply with advice.
Organizational capacities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Possession and exploitation of social capital, which describes the “aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu, 1986, in Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013) - Possession or development of the ability to establish and stabilize trustful relationships among and between different organizational, local and individual actors.
Financial capacities	Availability of financial resources, which may include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Incentives. - Public and private funds. - Insurance policies
Institutional capacities	Relates to participation opportunities and fair governance and focus on the “terms of the ways in which decisions are made who is involved and has influence” (Walker, 2012, in Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013). It includes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Consideration of principles of fair governance (legitimacy, equity, transparency, responsiveness and accountability). - Consideration of a variety of problem frames, multi-actor, multi-level, multi-sector, diversity of solutions and redundancy (Gupta et al., 2010, in Kuhlicke et al., 2011).
Procedural capacities	Having an understanding of how to elicit and apply the aforementioned capacities, skills and knowledge stocks.

TABLE 2-2 TYPOLOGY OF SOCIAL CAPACITIES. SOURCE: ADAPTED FROM KUHLICKE ET AL. (2011); KUHLICKE & STEINFÜHRER (2013); HÖPPNER ET AL. (2011); LEBEL ET AL. (2006).

2.4 A Communicative Turn

So far, theory made clear how a flood resilient perspective demands citizens to have social capacity to be prepared for future risk. Social capacity building should therefore be added as a task for managing risk, where a participative approach is seen as a valuable tool (Höppner et al., 2011; Kuhlicke et al., 2011). Before getting into deep on citizen participation, it is important to take a step back and understand the context of participation as part of the communicative turn in the planning debate. Communicative planning, consensus planning, participative planning as well as collaborative planning are all terms for planning approaches within the communicative rationale. Healey's (1997) work on 'collaborative planning' is one of the most famous examples of a critical perspective on the technical rational. "The idea that [technical] development plans as such could be directly 'implemented' reflected a very traditional notion of a plan as a spatial blueprint, which would steadily be translated into built form on the ground" (Healey, 2003 p. 102). The blueprint approach got more and more displaced by plans that had to meet broad goals instead of detailed ideas. Consequently, implementation was becoming a negotiate process between different actors, resulting in a shift to an institutional account of planning, dealing with different interests.

Within communicative planning there are two epistemological concepts that have to be mentioned. First, Giddens' (1984) structuration theory on how communication can maintain and challenge power structures of planning processes (Healey, 1992). "Structure is not something that is separate from, or more important than, agency – what people think, do, and say. Structure – the systems of authority (rules) and resource allocation that give shape (distribute power) to social relations – is actively created by our daily conduct" (Healey, 1992 p. 10). In other words, collaboration is subject to power structures that can be restructured during a communicative process. Secondly, the importance of Habermas' (1984) notion of ideal speech; how a communicative rational decision comes forth out of good reasoning rather than political or economic power, with stakeholders equally involved and informed (Innes, 1996). Healey's (1992) 'planner's day' case study strikingly shows the influence of an urban planner as interdisciplinary worker, distributing knowledge and power. Although citizen participation is a "fundamentally contested concept in the literature [...] most planning literature seems to assume the problem is just that we are not using the methods correctly" (Innes & Booher, 2004 p. 420).

Healey (2003) declared to feel morally responsible to research social justice in urban planning. From the perspective of current shift of responsibilities and risk in FRM, this can be used as a motive to research the role and inclusion of stakeholders in the planning process as well. As explained in the previous section, a participative approach has the potential to enhance the social capacities of citizens. The following section discusses how citizen participation can be understood, resulting in a framework of dimensions.

2.4.1 Citizen Participation

The communicative planning rational is translated to multiple overlapping approaches, such as Healey's popular collaborative planning approach (1997) and Woltjer's (2004) consensus

planning. This research is designed to investigate the interaction between the authorities that were in charge of flood resilience planning in Rotterdam, and citizens that were affected by it. Compared to the communicative approaches, participation is less of an approach. Consensus and collaborative planning see citizen participation as part of something bigger, where participation can be understood as a “categorical term for citizen power” (Arnstein, 1969 p. 216). This is too narrow-focused however, especially considering that it is used today “to evoke – and to signify – almost anything that involves people” (Cornwall, 2008 p. 269). This overlaps with Rowe & Frewer’s (2005) definition of public engagement, which defines public participation as a *type of* public engagement where information flows both ways between a ‘sponsor’ and public representative. They typify a one-way flow from sponsor to public representative as public communication while the opposite flow is described as public consultation. Thus, participation can take many forms, have different degrees and varied participants; the following part will elaborate on this.

2.4.2 Empowerment

The best-known example of participation typology is Arnstein’s Ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969; Woltjer, 2004; Cornwall, 2008). It is seen as a normative scale of citizen participation, originated from urban renewal programs in the USA during the sixties, that ranks eight levels of participation from nonparticipation (‘bad’) to degrees of citizen power (‘good’) (See Figure 2-1). The normative assumption of participation as ‘good’ becomes clear from Arnstein’s (1969) explanation of the different rungs. With nonparticipation, the leading actor did not plan to truly enable participation, but only to ‘cure’ the participant, as lowest rung. For tokenism counts that citizens may be heard, but lack the power to decide. At the top of the ladder, degrees of citizen power refers to the power of citizens to be part of decision-making.

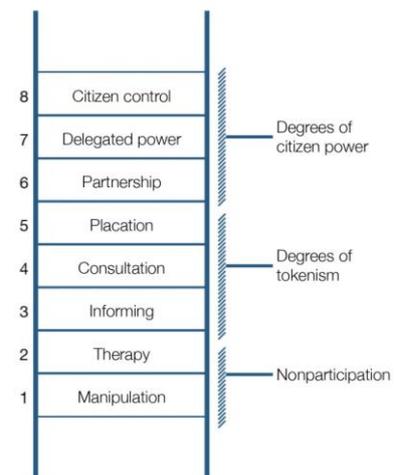


FIGURE 2-1 ARNSTEIN'S LADDER OF PARTICIPATION. SOURCE: ADJUSTED TO ARNSTEIN (1969).

However, Arnstein’s focus on power balances results too much in discussing the purpose of participation as a two-dimensional process, up- or down the ladder (Collins & Ison, 2006). As a result, full citizen control is considered to be the goal of participation, while this does not necessarily has to be the intention of participants. ‘Applying’ a certain degree of empowerment from the same normative perspective builds on a notion that policy issues are stable. However, Collins & Ison (2006) and Tritter & McCallum (2006) argue how the process of participation determines the policy issue and consequently shapes the nature of the participative approach. This links to another pitfall of the rigid ladder framework; it implies how the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders are solely relying on the degree of power/empowerment, while interest may be more suitable (Collins & Ison, 2006; Tritter & McCallum, 2006, White, 1996). Consequently, the ladder fails to balance the intensity of involvement of ‘participants’ between different groups, where citizen control can result in an overruling ‘tyranny of the majority’ (Tritter & McCallum, 2006).

Despite the usefulness of a clear ranking of participation by Arnstein's ladder, another seam side of it is how it is devoid of context, especially when the issue at hand is contested (Collins & Ison, 2006). Due to a combination of interdependencies, complexities and uncertainties, water catchment issues often result in controversies where a solely hierarchical view on participation is inadequate. To overcome this limited view on participation, Colin & Ison (2006) suggest a complementary focus on social learning, which implies a collective engagement beyond the power relations of participation that is expected to be more suitable for highly contested issues. Therefore, the 'professional versus participant' view should be replaced by a willingness to combine both in order to establish a shared decision-making process where lay knowledge and professional knowledge are combined (Tritter & McCallum, 2006). Empowerment, where citizens have the capacity to control their affairs to a certain degree with support from external sources, rather than being led or steered by them, is therefore an important aspect of participation (Paton, 2007). Although the normative ladder of Arnstein (1969) is rather one-dimensional and a little bit 'dusty', the typology does suit this research and vice versa; pitfalls are automatically nuanced by combining all four dimensions of participation in this work.

To counteract normative assumptions of citizen participation as a solely 'good' aspect of planning, it is important to understand the 'user-side' of participation (mostly leading authorities that use participation to achieve a certain goal). The degrees of participation can then be explained and motivated from both sides. It nuances participation as a single-side approach and it tackles the issue of citizens who can perceive tools differently from the authority who implemented it (Pelling, 2007). It can also function as an interesting insight in possible discrepancies between intentions and perceptions of participation processes.

2.4.3 Use

The post-positivistic era demands solutions and understandings that are embracing public participation, especially in professions that are dealing with sustainability (Cornwall, 2008). As sustainability (and sustainable development) is a rather 'vague' concept that cannot be translated into one absolute definition, local clarification on 'what', 'who' and 'how' (it) is sustained, is important (Pretty, 1995; Colin & Ison, 2006; Zuidema, 2013). Local, contextual conditions change through time, which make issues related to sustainability time- and place specific, but also depending on who interprets them. Ensuring a wide involvement of actors is essential to incorporate multiple different understandings related to a single issue (Pretty, 1995). This is all related to the key notion that in the end, actors will create the capacity to continually learn from changing conditions in order to be able to transform current activities. Participation is seen as a basis for raising the capacity of a system, with full involvement and adequate representation of stakeholders as key criteria (Pretty, 1995).

The relevance of a participative approach in sustainable development is clear, however, the way in which authorities can 'use' participating measures is highly diverging. Arnstein's ladder made clear how participation is predominantly depending on the degree of which actors are empowered and involved to participate, while nuances showed that "involvement is different from empowerment" (Tritter & McCallum, 2006 p. 163). Until now, this theoretical analysis

focused on the role of actors (citizens) that are involved in a process. Pretty (1995) created a typology of participation (see Table 2-3) that identifies to what extent participative measures can be applied by initiators; a user-perspective (Cornwall, 2008). The typologies range from non-participation towards full empowerment of actors as self-mobilizing entities.

The most important aspect of bringing both insights together is that a participative approach should not be just seen as a plea for democratic decision-making from an actor-perspective. Neither is it only a tool that can be used to a certain extent by an initiating authority to enable more effective or justifiable sustainable planning. Bringing the models together shows how they are both a side of the same medal. For this research, both typologies are very useful to identify how participation was part of the planning process. As Cornwall (2008) concludes: “Used less as a ladder and more as a way of working out how people make use of participation, it can be a useful tool to identify conflicting ideas about why or how participation is being used at any particular stage in a process” (Cornwall, 2008 p. 271).

Type	Characteristics
Manipulative participation	Participation is simply a pretense, with ‘people’s’ representatives on official boards, but who are un-elected and have no power.
Passive participation	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. It involves unilateral announcements by an administration or project management without any listening to people’s responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals.
Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. External agents define problems and information-gathering processes, and so control analysis. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people’s views.
Participation for material incentives	People participate by contributing resources; for example, labor, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Farmers may provide the fields and labor, but are involved in neither experimentation nor the process of learning. It is very common to see this ‘called’ participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.
Functional participation	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduced costs. People may participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project. Such involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision-making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have already been made by external agents. At worst, local people may still only be co-opted to serve external goals.
Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local institutions. Participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals. The process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take control over local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
Self-mobilization	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Self-mobilization can spread if government and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support. Such self-initiated mobilization may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power.

TABLE 2-3 TYPOLOGY OF PARTICIPATION. SOURCE: ADAPTED FROM PRETTY (1995).

2.4.4 Interest

Despite Cornwall's concluding remarks on the typologies as tools for identifying participation and the recognition of authorities and citizens as two sides with different intentions and perceptions, this discussion is lacking an important notion: the influence of interests on form and function of participation between both sides. White (1996) shows with a simplified overview of interests how, behind the 'façade' of participation, meanings and intentions can differ. While this nuances and contextualizes the structured typologies of Pretty and Arnstein, it complements it at the same time with a focus on *who* participates at what *level*. As an analytical device, the framework (Table 2-4) is simplified to be open for multiple interpretations; identifying an instrumental form of participation that meets all the aspects in the exact same way is rare, if not impossible (White, 1996).

The form of participation as mentioned in Table 2-4 based on White's overview of 'politics of participation' can be linked to the degrees of participation as seen in Arnstein (1969) and Pretty (1995), with 'Nominal' as form of nonparticipation and 'Transformative' as citizen power/self-mobilization. From this perspective, this analytic device is very useful to identify the tensions between authorities and agencies within participative processes, as well as contextual influences.

Form	What 'participation' means to the implementing agency	What 'participation' means for those on the receiving end	What 'participation' is for
Nominal	Legitimation – to show they are doing something	Inclusion – to retain some access to potential benefits	Display
Instrumental	Efficiency – to limit funders' input, draw on community contributions and make projects more cost-effective	Cost – of time spent on project-related labor and other activities	As a means to achieving cost-effectiveness and local facilities
Representative	Sustainability – to avoid creating dependency	Leverage – to influence the shape the project takes and its management	To give people a voice in determining their own development
Transformative	Empowerment – to enable people to make their own decisions, work out what to do and take action	Empowerment – to be able to decide and act for themselves	Both as a means and an end, a continuing dynamic

TABLE 2-4 TYPOLOGY OF INTERESTS. SOURCE: ADAPTED FROM WHITE (1996).

What is missing in the table, are the dynamics and politics that are part of the form, function and representation of participation. As with the critique on Arnstein's 'rigid' ladder, White (1996) argues that the level of participation is not a rational choice, but contextually and historically embedded in people's and authorities' experiences that may change over time. Part of this is how "power is involved in the construction of interests themselves" (White, 1996 p. 12); interests are confined from relations on a higher level or shaped by the form and function of participation. Three continuums are on the basis of participative forms and functions, namely: procedural,

methodological and ideological (Pelling, 2007). They entail the distribution of power and ownership (procedural), the quantitative or qualitative methods of managing data (methodological) and the way participation is interpreted (ideological). In short, levels of participation involve particular interests that can be related to contextual and historical circumstances and result in camouflaged underlying interests.

Risk communication and risk perception is consequently an integral part of citizen participation related to flood resilience. When risk is not perceived or communicated, the interest for taking part in participation may be low. Thus, where public participation can help to democratize and improve the technical analysis and public acceptance of decision-making processes, it depends on how 'risk' is communicated and perceived (Firus et al., 2011). The perception of risk relies on socio-cultural and individual factors that influence the interpretation of a threat that can cause loss of life or property (Firus et al., 2011; Bradford et al., 2012). It has been defined over the years in multiple overlapping and contradicting ways, but for this research the most important notion is that for perceiving risk, the awareness of a particular threat is key to work towards preparedness (Rainmakers et al., 2008; Bradford et al., 2012). Physical location in respect to the threatened area, previous experiences and socio-economic and demographic characteristics of individuals and communities are the main dimensions that influence perception, besides personal knowledge and affection with the situation (Bradford et al., 2012; Firus et al., 2011). The most important consequence of risk perception for this research on participation is that "when addressing the public with a communication strategy it is important to address the different groups within the public specifically" (Firus et al., 2011 p. 2). In short, demographical and contextual factors can influence the effect of participative action within different groups of 'the public'.

2.4.5 Framework for public participation

By merging the dimension of use, empowerment and interests of public participation together with the critiques on how these typologies risk to oversee important context-specific factors, a framework emerges that can identify public participation as part of flood resilience planning in this case study on Rotterdam. Figure 2-2 generates a schematic overview of what has been discussed during this chapter on public participation and is incorporated in the conceptual framework of chapter 1. It is important to recognize the schematic nature of this framework; the figures of each dimension show the forms in which participation can appear. This chapter made very clear how typologies need to be nuanced from different theoretical perspectives (and dimensions). Therefore, the framework cannot be separated from them. However, with the comprehensibility in mind, the following figure generates a clear insight in the dimensions of participation.

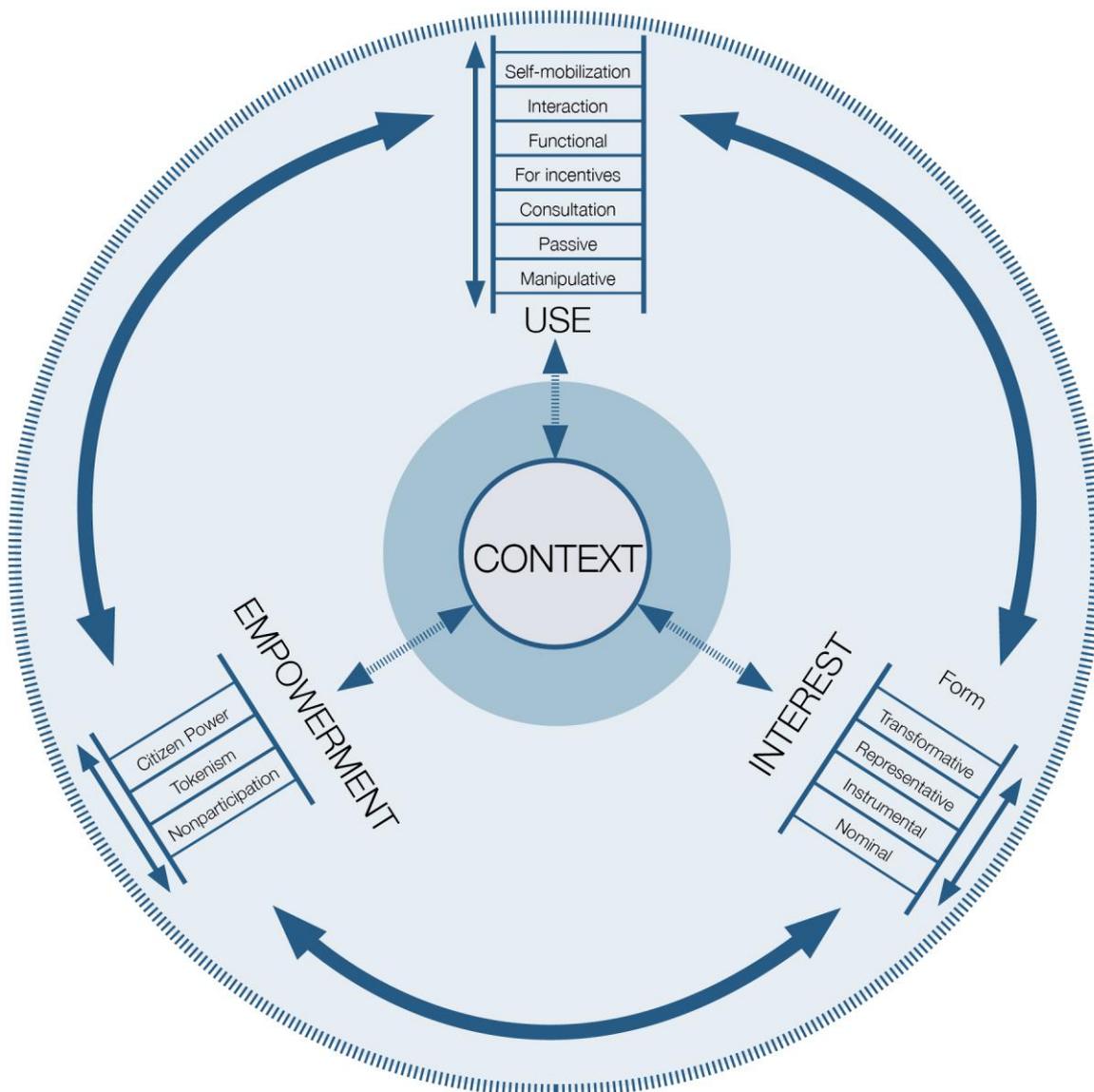


FIGURE 2-2 CITIZEN PARTICIPATION FRAMEWORK, CONNECTING USE, EMPOWERMENT, INTEREST AND CONTEXT. SOURCE: AUTHOR.



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3 METHODOLOGY

This chapter will explain how the research is build up, which assumptions and theories of methodology underline the principles that are chosen and how this is put into practice.

3.1 Strategies

As the previous chapters already revealed, this research is set up from a deductive view. This means that on the basis of knowledge of a particular domain and theories concerning the domain, a hypothesis is set up and put to an empirical test (Bryman, 2008). Consequently, the hypothesis needs to be translated into researchable entities in order to ‘test’ the hypothesis. Although this research has not set a clear hypothesis, the research questions and objectives, together with the theoretical framework make clear that a link between citizen particiaption and social capacity building is expected. After data collection, findings are set up to confirm or reject the hypothesis and form the basis for reflecting on the original theory. However, it is important to keep in mind that the process is in many cases not as linear as this explanation suggests (Bryman,2008).

There are many epistemological considerations made during this research, maybe even more than the researcher was aware of. Epistemological considerations relate to what should be regarded as knowledge within a discipline. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, generally speaking, social sciences moved away from the positivistic view from the natural sciences. Although this positivistic view would be more suitable to test a hypohthesis, it is not in line with the assumptions of this research. However, a sense of positivism is used to construct a provisional reality to identify the structures at hand. For this research, critical realism is the dominant view as it tries to transform the concepts of social capacity and participation in measurable indicators and subsequent dimensions and typologies. From this perspective, constructs are provisionally made simply to understand the social world. This is in line with the ontology of constructivism that social phenomena are continuously produced and revised, just as the researchers perception of the social world. It is inherently a critique on the usefulness of this research, as it implies the limits of empircal knowledge and its constructs (Bryman, 2008).

3.2 Research Criteria

The most important criteria social research has to meet, are reliability, (both internal as external) validity and replicability (Bryman, 2008; Yin, 2003). This chapter secures the reliability, as it enables to redo this research to some extent in the near future. One of the main reasons for this criterium is to have the posibility to check if the results match the evidence and creates clarity in the line of reasoning between gathering data and stating findings. It is however an inherent part of qualitative research that terminology and social settings change over time, which limits the external reliability. Think for example about the concept of resilience; this has changed dramatically over time. Meanwhile, chapter 2 tackles any misconception about the central topics

that were used for this research. This methodology chapter secures a similar criteria, replicability, at the same time; it enables other researcher to replicate the findings (Bryman, 2008).

The third criterium, validity, concerns the integrity of findings and conclusions, based on the research (Bryman, 2008). Internal validity is related to the relation between observations, data and the theories they are linked with. In terms of quantitative research it relates to the causality of variables, for this qualitative research it is more relevant to question the links that were made in theory between different concepts. As a deductive research, questioning and sharpening the current theoretical understandings of social concepts and their dimensions, this research has no intention to ‘measure’ any causality; it rather aims to clarify the relationships of them. External validity focuses on the degree to which this research can be exported into other settings. The sample of qualitative analysis is relatively low and findings are highly related to contextual factors; this is no *valid* ground for generalization. Nevertheless, these case findings generate insight into the results of specific contextual factors and may be of great use for further research within Rotterdam or the Dutch context.

3.3 Research Design

The development of resilience has been extensively discussed as a worldwide ‘trending topic’ in urban (flood) planning. However, theory has shown many aspects of concern for implementing the concept. This led to investigate the role of participation and social capacity building to create better insight in the problems of how planning is put in to practice. Although the external validity may be limited, case study research on flood resilience planning can create better insight in how certain contextual factors relate to plans and practices. A case study is a detailed and intensive analysis of the setting of a specific a location (i.e. communities, organizations, or projects) (Bryman, 2008), or more exact “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2003 p. 18).

A case study design is most suitable to answer explanatory ‘how’ questions on contemporary events where there is no control over behavioral events (Yin, 2003). It allows to conduct interviews and observations, and combine this with all kinds of evidence. Current developments in the Rotterdam neighborhoods are ‘contemporary events’, where the researcher had no possibility to control any behavioral events, with a main research question of explanatory nature. Case study research can help to describe interventions and the real-life context in which they occur, which made it very suitable for this research (Yin, 2003). Multiple case studies are often considered to be more compelling and robust. Hence, to make sure that the results of this research are less biased by contextual circumstances, two neighborhoods of the borough Feijenoord were selected. The two neighborhoods formed the units of analysis of each case and were explicitly not divided in sub-units, as this would distract the research from the main objective and question: to describe the role and barriers of citizen participation and social capacity building in Feijenoord. The design can be described as a holistic multiple case study. Two cases within the city were chosen to be compared from the “logic of comparison” (Bryman, 2008 p. 58), which implies that social phenomena can be better understood when they are

compared to contrasting cases. However, as the research process developed, it turned out that a big part of the results of both cases were based on the same considerations by the same actors. This led to the point that the results are presented in a section for overall findings on both cases, followed by specific results per case. Although the results of both cases were separately analyzed and compared, they are not separately presented during the discussion and conclusion. This enhances the readability, while significant differences are assigned to the cases in the text to make sure that differences are not presented as similarities. This approach allowed for cross-case conclusions on participation and social capacities for flood resilience planning of Rotterdam in more general terms (Yin, 2014).

3.3.1 Case Selection

The first chapter briefly discussed the focus of Rotterdam on climate change adaptation and flood resiliency and the subsequent research- and adaptation programs. For research on a relatively new concept, it is important that the case has proved to be familiar with it to a certain extent. Simply said; it does not make sense to do research on the implementation of a concept within an area that is not familiar with the concept itself. This made the city of Rotterdam a suitable case. Within Rotterdam, differences in flood risk and the urgency to address the risk, vary. Outer-dike areas were identified as one of the most urgent cases, from which the first projects were assigned to work on. Hence the implementation of policies, strategies and research on a flood resilient approach for Rotterdam is relatively new and limited throughout the city, these cases are most advanced and therefore most suitable to do research on. It also increased the availability of data sources. Subsequently, the selection of neighborhoods from where citizen participation and social capacity building could be investigated was narrowed down. Within the borough Feijenoord, the Noordereiland and Kop van Feijenoord were assigned as urgent cases (Berg et al., 2013; Maandag, 2014; Snoo, 2014). The only comparable option was the neighborhood Heijplaat, at the outer-side of the city. Explorative research revealed however, that the case of Heijplaat featured extreme and unique conditions of citizen and government relations, which risked to end up in an extreme or unique case (Snoo, 2014). This kind of case study can disturb cross-case conclusions of a multiple case study and was therefore left out.

Noordereiland and Kop van Feijenoord are part of the same government structure, but differ in physical and demographical characteristics. An important difference between both neighbourhoods is the socioeconomic status. Citizens of Feijenoord are in general lower educated, have a lower income and 85% of the population has a foreign background (Rotterdamincijfers.nl, 2015). Noordereiland at the other hand is known to be a middle-class residential area, with a higher degree of home ownership (Rotterdamincijfers.nl, 2015). These differences were expected to lead to different results from the start of this research (Firus et al., 2011; Bradford et al., 2012). It made the neighbourhoods as a case less comparable, but as a whole more externally valid for generalization of results. It makes the results of the multiple case study constructed on a diverse base, instead of only a specific kind of neighbourhood/population. This enhances the chance to generate a broader understanding of the results and forms a stable basis to compare differences and similarities.

3.4 Objectives, Methods and Data

THIS PARAGRAPH LINKS THE QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES TO THE RESEARCH METHODS AND DATA THAT WERE REQUIRED FOR THIS WORK.

Table 3-1 shows an overview of the research objectives that derive from the sub-questions of this research. A more indepth explanation of methods and data analysis is found in the following sections and paragraphs.

1. **How is Rotterdam threatened by water and which policies and strategies relate to the context of Rotterdam and the case of Feijenoord?**
 - a. **How is citizen participation part of the policies and strategies?**

2. **How is citizen participation part of flood resilience planning in the case Feijenoord, Rotterdam?**
 - a. **Which contextual factors influence citizen participation?**
 - b. **How do the authorities ‘use’ public participation and how do ‘empowerment’ and ‘interests’ influence the process?**

3. **How is social capacity building part of citizen participation for improving flood resilience in the case of Feijenoord, Rotterdam?**
 - a. **Which types of social capacity can be identified?**

4. **Which barriers and opportunities can be defined, based on the research on citizen participation and social capacity building in Feijenoord, Rotterdam?**

Research objective	Type of data needed	Methods
1. Define the context of Rotterdam in terms of flood risk and relevant policies and strategies, and the role of citizen participation.	Secondary qualitative data: policy documents, research reports and strategies.	Document analysis and interviewing key informants.
	Secondary quantitative data on flood risk estimates.	Consulting research reports.
2. Identify the role of citizen participation in terms of use, empowerment, interest and context in both cases.	Primary and secondary qualitative data on developments in both neighborhoods.	Document analysis and interviewing key informants.
	Secondary quantitative data on demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of areas.	Consulting databanks.
3. Identify how social capacity building is part of planning process.	Primary and secondary qualitative data.	Interviewing key informants. Verify with document analysis.
4. Set barriers and opportunities for citizen participation and social capacity building.	Results of objectives 2 and 3.	Cross-case analysis of results and theory.

TABLE 3-1 TYPE OF DATA AND METHODS NEEDED TO COME TO RESEARCH OBJECTIVES. SOURCE: AUTHOR.

3.4.1 Research Methods

Table 3-1 shows the research methods of this work: document analysis and interviews. The quantitative data was part of reports and as such already interpreted through quantitative data analysis, which made a document analysis the suitable method. It would be too much to label this use of quantitative data as a mixed methodology of quantitative and qualitative research. In practice, only qualitative methods were used. However, multiple sources and methods were used within this type of research in order to triangulate the study. This sub-paragraph explains the goals and use of document analysis and interviews as research methods.

Document analysis was the starting point of this work and consisted of two types of document sources: official document deriving from government organizations and research reports. Analysis of these sources helped to prepare interviews and triangulate data of other sources (and results of interviews), or was used as empirical evidence. Authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning functioned as criteria to assess the quality of the sources (Bryman, 2008).

In social research, interviews are used to extract all kinds of information from an interviewee or respondent (Bryman, 2008) and to collect a diversity of meanings, experiences and opinions (Hay, 2010). The objectives are most basically to understand the role of certain concepts within a planning process; the understanding of this concept and how this is translated by the actors involved is essential. It was most important to provide insight into the interviewees' view on the issue, while making sure that certain topics were addressed during the conversation. Semi-structured interviews proved to be most suitable for this purpose. The interview guides were constructed with information from document analysis and based on the theoretical framework, which enhanced the coding process and made sure that certain themes were addressed (see Appendix B).

At last, observations helped the researcher to familiarize himself with the issue and areas at hand. This was not part of data collection, but to enhance the human geographical perspective of the researcher.

3.4.2 Data Selection and Collection

The main sources of official documents were policies and strategies of the Delta Program (Dutch ministry), the municipality of Rotterdam and water boards. Step by step, a mix of documents formed a web of information related to the cases and policies and approaches. The state-led Knowledge for Climate program was an important source for research reports on the Rotterdam region. It is important to understand that the latter involved a collaboration between different authorities, companies and universities, where the state had no direct influence on the outcome of reports. Based on the criteria of paragraph 3.4.1, there were no reasons found to question this. Other research documents were conducted through the use of multiple online catalogues as ScienceDirect or the search engine for scientific literature Google Scholar. Keywords were: 'Rotterdam', 'Netherlands', 'Dutch', 'participation', 'citizen participation', 'public participation',

'social capacity', 'social capacity building', 'capacity building', 'flood', 'risk', 'environmental', 'resilience', 'resilient', 'urban planning'.

Purposive sampling was used to select interviewees, that is "to sample participants in a strategic way so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed" (Bryman, 2008 p. 415). Through purposive sampling, it was made sure that for every relevant perspective, an organization or respondent was selected. In case a specific person was identified as actively involved in the issue, they were directly approached to participate in an interview. Involved organizations were approached and asked to identify the most knowledgeable, involved person, who was asked to cooperate in an interview after. In some cases snowball sampling was used; respondents helped to identify persons involved from other organizations.

Before hand, interviewees were informed on the objectives of the research in a most objective way to make sure that respondents were not steered or opposed to normative assumptions of the interviewer. Except for one, interviews were conducted face-to-face, at preferred locations of the interviewees (mainly offices) and took 45 to 90 minutes. The interview conducted by telephone faced the challenge of missing out non-verbal cues, but as the interviewer was aware of this before hand, the effect on the course of the interview was limited. From an ethical perspective it has to be noted that the role of a student was perceived to influence the attitude and willingness of respondents. Most interview request were sympathetically answered by a great willingness to contribute to the research. This, in combination with the location of the interviews, influenced the setting of the interview; it gave the impression that interviewees felt comfortable with their role. Regarding the positionality of the researcher, this setting contributed to the self-confidence of the researcher to ask freely about the topics. The unfamiliarity of the interviewer with the city of Rotterdam led in certain cases to small misunderstandings, but were directly set straight. Interviews did not face any worth mentioning issues before, during, or after the conversation. All interviewees agreed with recording the interviews. Table 3-2 shows an anonymous list of interviewees.

Interviewee	Organization	Position	Date	Time	Place
Interviewee A	Municipality of Rotterdam, Borough Feijenoord	Area networker Noordereiland	18-06-15	14.00-15.00	Rotterdam
Interviewee B	Municipality of Rotterdam, Project management & Engineering, City Development	Involved in Rotterdam Climate Proof, RAS & KvK	22-06-15	16.00-17.30	Rotterdam
Interviewee C	Municipality of Rotterdam, Borough Feijenoord	Area networker Kop van Feijenoord	23-06-15	10.00-11.30	Rotterdam
Interviewee D	Buurt Bestuurt Noordereiland	Secretary neighborhood association	23-06-15	13.00-13.45	Rotterdam
Interviewee E	Municipality of Rotterdam, City Development	Project leader Noordereiland and Kop van Feijenoord	29-06-15	17.00-18.00	Rotterdam
Interviewee F	Water Board Hoogheemraadschap Schieland en de Krimpenerwaard	Senior policy advisor, involved in citizen meeting at Noordereiland	01-07-15	13.00-14.00	Rotterdam
Interviewee G	Delta Program	Liaison sub-programs DP	21-07-15	14.00-15.00	Den Haag
Interviewee H	Woonstad Rotterdam (Housing Corporation)	Coordinator Neighborhood management	28-07-15	10.00-10.30	Groningen (telephone)

TABLE 3-2 CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVIEWEES.

3.5 Data Analysis

For the results-part of this research, both interviews and documents were analyzed by use of the framework of participation and table of social capacities of the theoretical framework. This helped to analyze documents in a structured way and to keep the focus on the specific content of the research, instead of the document.

The recorded interviews were fully transcribed by the author, which helped to develop a better understanding of the data and made it possible to code the interviews (example of transcripts in Appendix B). Main considerations for coding (Lofland and Lofland, 1995) were to answer the questions ‘what sort of answer to a question about a topic does this item of data imply?’, ‘what do people say they are doing?’ and ‘what does this item of data represent?’. Table 2-2 on social capacities and Figure 2-2 as framework of participation were used as a framework for coding. In example: when a respondent talked directly or indirectly about the ‘knowledge about the hazard’, it was coded as indicator for knowledge capacity, as part of the topic social capacities. Due to the relatively low amount of interviewees, coding was done manually; fragments of text that linked to indicators were labeled with colors in Microsoft Word. After this was completed, fragments were bundled together, comprising data of indicators. All interviews were transcribed and coded, which made it possible to bundle and compare the results for each indicator. This enabled the researcher to conduct a very organized analysis.

3.6 Limitations

Surveys, or questionnaires with citizens could have added a valuable insight in the discussion. The reason that this was not part of this research is discussed in the discussion chapter. From a methodological perspective however, it is important to mention that the researcher was struggling with the representativeness of such an approach, knowing that the neighbourhood demographics are highly diverse. Within the limited capacity of this research, this was one of the main reasons to leave this method out.

Another important limitation worth mentioning is the amount of respondents (8). As discussed in paragraph 3.4.2, the author did everything in his power to select suitable respondents. For the two case studies, it simply turned out to be a relatively small group of people that were knowledgeable and involved enough to be suitable for an interview. Only one respondent was not willing to participate because of his timeschedule, but his role was covered by two other respondents. The extensive amount of research, particularly from the Knowledge for Climate program, on the (context of-) the cases covered the relatively low amount of interviewees. Besides the fact that purposive sampling eased triangulation.

4 RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of this research. The reason for addressing this is that theoretical interpretations should not be expected for now; these are made in the next analytical chapter. Chapter 4 is consequently more of a report of what is found during the research. However, the division of paragraphs is based on the theoretical framework and research questions, which contributes to the transparency of the research and sorts the data for chapter 4 and 5. Analytical statements in chapter 5 on i.e. the empowerment of citizen participation are based on the results in paragraph 4.2.2 on empowerment. First, research question 1 is answered in paragraph 4.1 by explaining the context of this case study. Second and third, the role of citizen participation and social capacity building are discussed in paragraphs 4.2 and 4.3. The corresponding research questions are answered later in chapter 5. At the start of each paragraph, a small table (Tables 4-1, 4-2, 4-3 and 5-3) is included as a reminder of which organization is associated to the interviewees.

Code	Organization
A	Borough Feijenoord, Noordereiland
B	Municipality of Rotterdam, City Development
C	Borough Feijenoord, Kop van Feijenoord
D	Neighborhood Organization Noordereiland
E	Municipality of Rotterdam, City Development
F	Water Board HHSK
G	Delta Program
H	Woonstad Rotterdam

TABLE 4-1 REMINDER OF INTERVIEWEE REPRESENTATION

4.1 Defining the Context of Rotterdam

4.1.1 Policies and strategies

Now the objectives are set, questions are stated and theoretical framework is developed, it is time to dig in to the policies, plans and strategies that contribute to the flood resiliency of Rotterdam. The development and execution of these plans eventually form the two cases that are compared. This part provides an insight of the current- and expected threats within the Rotterdam area and which policies, plans and strategies are of importance for this region. As a result, it will answer the first research question:

1. **How is Rotterdam threatened by water and which policies and strategies relate to the context of Rotterdam and the case of Feijenoord?**
 - a. **How is citizen participation part of the policies and strategies?**

Water Safety in the Rotterdam delta

Due to its location as a delta city, Rotterdam is threatened from both the East (rivers) and West (North Sea) side of the city. The water level of the delta is dominated by the North Sea, where the city is very aware of since the flooding in 1953 that was used as a start for the ‘Deltaworks’ defense system (Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013b). This system still forms the basis for flood defense of the region. It protects the city and region of Rotterdam from hazardous events according to the high national standards of the Netherlands. In 1997 the ‘Maeslandkering’ was installed as the last major barrier to protect the delta from the sea. The land between and behind

the rivers and sea is divided into different dike ring areas which, along with the barriers, protect inner-dike areas from once in the 2000-year flood events, up to 10,000-year floods (which means a 0.05% to 0.01% chance of flooding per year). Outer-dike areas (mostly former ports of the city) are formally not protected by the Maeslandkering barrier, which can close off Rotterdam from the sea, but are raised since they exist to keep them dry (see Figure 4-1) (Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013b). It is clear that the current defense mechanism focuses mainly on the robustness of the system by raising barriers and dikes or even complete (outer-dike) areas. Risk communication is related to emergency situations, such as evacuation plans. Preventive measures rule current policies however. National government (in the form of the executing organization of the Ministry of Infrastructure and the Environment, Rijkswaterstaat) and local water boards are responsible for FRM of inner-dike areas, but for outer-dike areas it is more complicated (Keessen, 2013). Legally, outer-dike areas are part of the ‘surface water bodies’, which means that Rijkswaterstaat and water board are not obliged to provide the safety standards. Inhabitants who choose to live in such areas are officially responsible for economic damage due to flooding. However, the national building decree covers the whole of the Netherlands, including outer-dike areas. The government has an official duty to care for the livability and safety of the country and, with providing building permits for outer-dike areas, is responsible to make sure that this is done in a most thoughtful way. The local government is therefore responsible for the safety of outer-dike areas and they can be held responsible for damage in case the authorities were ‘provable’ unthoughtful in their task (Keessen, 2013).

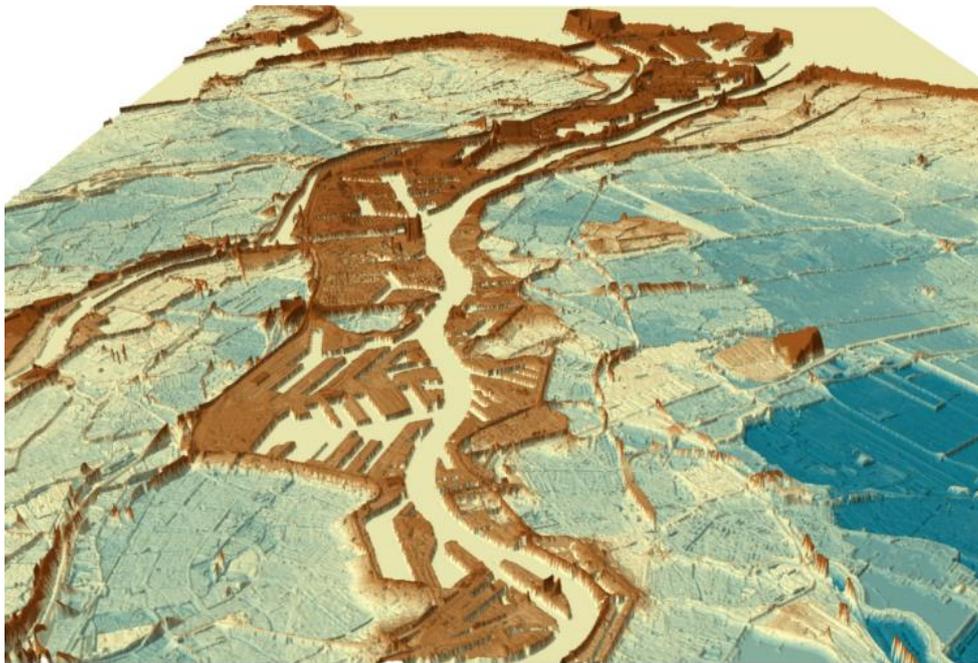


FIGURE 4-1 3D AREAL MAP OF ROTTERDAM. RED AREAS SHOW HEIGHTENED OUTER-DIKE AREAS (RANGE 3-6 METERS ABOVE WATER LEVEL) AROUND THE WATERWAYS AND HARBOUR AREA OF ROTTERDAM. SOURCE: PROGRAMMABUREAU DUURZAAM, 2013B

Rotterdam's flood risk is expected to increase due to climate change and growing population (Programmabureau Duurzaam 2013a; Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013b; Programmabureau Rijnmond-Drechteden, 2014). All climate scenarios that are used in case of Rotterdam expect sea level rise by the year 2100, ranging from 35 to 130 centimeters. Meanwhile, periods and intensities of drought and downpour are expected to increase to affect the quality of life

(Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013a). The growing population size is expected to densify the city within its current boundaries, especially within (former) port areas that are in and near the core of the city. Due to a transformation of these parts of the city into a mix of residential and office areas, the economic value and population is expected to increase, as is the chance of- and size of flood events (between 0,1% to 1% chance in 2100). Currently, already 40,000 people inhabit outer-dike areas in the municipality. Consequently, despite the uncertain predictions, the chances of flooding as well as the consequences are expected to increase until 2100 (Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013b). The municipality of Rotterdam and its neighbors, the local water boards, and the national government has recognized this overall increasing flood risk and developed (sub-) programs and strategies for a proactive approach on water management.

Current preventive strategies face a threshold where costs of ‘unlimited’ high barriers and dikes are overrunning the benefits of robust protection (Programmabureau Duurzaam 2013a; Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013b). This would also mean that storm surge barriers need to close on a regular basis, which causes economic damage to one of the city’s pillars: the port of Rotterdam. Outer-dike areas can technically speaking be raised to unlimited heights, but face the same problem. Another burden to continue the current robust strategy is that these measures would have to be implemented in limited, increasingly densified parts of the city. Where the threshold of costs overrunning the benefits exactly is, is part of a more political debate. Increased robustness can reduce the chances of flooding, but the consequences will increase nevertheless. At last, a solely technical approach for this uncertain issue faces the challenge of constructing the right ‘amount’ of robust measures; the discrepancies between climate scenarios can lead to too strong or weak barriers. The first leads to big investments in measures that can be amortized by the time the corresponding climate scenario is reached. The consequences of barriers below demanded capacity leads to devastating humanitarian and economic losses.

The present-day status and expected scenarios for flood risk in the Rotterdam delta is clear: although it has a highly robust basis to rely on, the near future will bring increased chances of flooding with more human and economic capital at stake. The following part will explain which governmental policies and plans are related to this challenge. It will work its way down from the international level of the EU to the local level of Rotterdam.

The EU Floods Directive

As a Member State of the European Union, the Netherlands is since November 2007 required to assess the EU Floods Directive (European Union, 2007). This Directive came to life as part of the EU Water Framework Directive and reaction to major flood events throughout Europe around the beginning of this century (Ec.europa.eu, 2015). It acknowledges an increasing flood risk in the future that will endanger life and economic assets. Member States are required to assess and map the status of all watercourses and coastlines and how many humans and assets are at risk. This assessment forms the basis for reducing flood risk where needed and to reinforce the rights of the public to access this information and contribute to the planning process. France and the Netherlands proposed the initiative that did not have major consequences to Dutch water management (Rijkswaterstaat, 2012). The most important consequences were that because of the

more integral risk management, responsibilities for flooding became shared responsibilities between multiple governmental departments on multiple levels. Monitoring of rivers got a more international collaborative focus (Rijkswaterstaat, 2012).

Delta Program

In 2007, the national government ordered a committee to come up with recommendations on sustainable long-term solutions for water quality and safety in the Netherlands. This committee was called the Delta Committee (*Deltacommissie*) and proposed to legally embed this approach in Dutch system through the Delta Act (*Deltawet*) with a national Delta Program (*Deltaprogramma*, DP) led by the Delta Commissioner (*Deltacommissaris*) as result (Deltacommissie, 2008). The program started in 2010 and the act is operative since 2012 including a yearly updated DP (Deltacommissaris.nl, n.d.). The Delta Program 2015 (Deltacommissaris, 2014) presented long-term Delta Decisions (*Delta Beslissingen*) with adaptive pathways depending on the different climate- and socioeconomic scenarios. Since then, the program shifted from a more explorative focus on national- and regional scale, towards implementation of the Decisions on local- and project scale (Interviewee G). Now it is considered to be more suitable for citizen participation, where in earlier stages citizens only had the chance to object through public consultations. Starting point for citizen participation are the challenges that were set out by the program and pathways; they inhibit measures and planning that result in a program of projects where citizen's participation can take part in (Interviewee G).

“When the DP started, we asked ourselves if we wanted to start actively participating with citizens from the beginning, but then the level was still too high. It was not close enough to the people to construct a useful message or interaction. But now we are in the project phase, it is getting more close to the people. In this phase, citizen participation is that you are together working on the issue, not the solution, and see which possible solutions can fit together with citizens.”

(Interviewee G, Delta Program)

In case of stagnating processes between different parties, the Delta Commissioner is sometimes called upon to act and try to steer them in the same direction as sort of undependable interference (Interviewee G). The following two quotes of a DP representative shine a light on the how citizen participation was looked upon from the DP-perspective.

You should not give the impression that citizens have the power to decide which measure will be taken; this would give a false impression. For water issues, it's for government organizations to decide, but they do have a responsibility towards citizens to process the input. Alternatives should be checked and embraced or rejected with a valid reason. Then you can disagree, but it's open and clear on which facts this disagreement is based.

(Interviewee G, Delta Program)

You can't ask citizens to take over the responsibilities of water boards, provinces and municipalities, they are not able to oversee the entire dimension, but the authorities should embed it in their decision-making.

(Interviewee G, Delta Program)

For seven key areas and three main themes, strategies are developed to secure water safety and fresh water. Rijnmond-Drechtsteden is one of those key areas and covers the region of Rotterdam. Rijnmond-Drechtsteden developed 'preferred' strategies for water safety and fresh water as guidelines for future development within the region (Programmteam Rijnmond-

Drechtsteden, 2014). On water safety, five main subjects are distinguished (Deltacommissaris, 2014). First, flooding of low-lying areas has devastating consequences, which make preventive measures the basis. Second, preventive measures consist of an optimal combination of storm surge barriers, dikes and river widening, depending on the local characteristics. The combination needs to be cost-effective, environmentally embedded and in line with the functions and usage (i.e. waterways). Third, combine safety with spatial development. Combine i.e. dikes with other urban functions, and the other way around: make sure that new development can be combined with safety measures. Fourth, reduce flood risk in outer-dike areas. A strategic adaptation agenda is planned to be developed on measures for limiting losses and better risk communication. The fifth and last main subject is to focus on multi-layer safety. This combines different techniques of previous subjects of preventive measures, spatial development and a bigger focus on communication. For disaster risk management, this means a bigger emphasis on evacuation and capacity of self-reliance of citizens; embracing the idea that preventative, robust measures have a limit. (Deltacommissaris, 2014).

Knowledge for Climate

The Knowledge for Climate (*Kennis voor Klimaat*, KvK) program is a very different program compared to the others in this chapter, though very much related at the same time. Its ambition was not to come up with plans, strategies or acts, but to develop scientific knowledge on the effects of CC from a practical and societal perspective (Driessen et al., 2015). Public and private actors were involved to enable both sides of the spectrum to make thought-out decisions on spatial- and investment issues. Although KvK did develop strategies in a later phase, it was primarily a research program from 2007 until the end of 2014 (Kennisvoorklimaat.nl, 2015). There is currently no comparable successor. Comparable to the structure of the DP with the division of sub-programs, KvK was divided in hotspots; locations or characteristics of locations that formed a central subject of research. The Rotterdam Region was one of those locations. Per hotspot, research was conducted from the perspective of three different tranches (Driessen et al., 2015). The first aimed to develop knowledge for urgent issues within the hotspot, where the second considered more in depth and long-term research. The third tranche tried to transform the knowledge into strategies or tools to give practical value to the results of work.

KvK hotspots are areas that needed to increase their adaptability to cope with the risks of CC, with an integral approach and a willing administrative base for developing climate proof adaptation strategies. The Rotterdam Region hotspot was both linked with the Delta Program and the Rotterdam Adaptation Strategy (RAS). KvK acted as independent think-tank and research base for societal and scientific issues on climate adaptation, while it was at the same time an opportunity for KvK to link with current policy (Driessen et al., 2015). For the third tranche, KvK (in collaboration with Rotterdam, local water boards, the province, Rijkswaterstaat en municipalities in the region) presented a report on 'Building blocks for an adaptation strategy in the Rotterdam Region' (Nijhuis, 2013). Initially, it was intended to be a full regional adaptation strategy for the hotspot. However, Some of the (predominantly rural) municipality in the region did not feel the need to contribute and the collaborative parties found out that it was maybe not such a realistic goals after all.

The process I'm describing is the result of an iterative process of a couple of years, where we found out that there is no such thing as one strategy for one region or city. It's very area specific and this starts with the problem definition. The way to reach water safety depends per area; raise it, or adjust behavior?

(Interviewee B, City Development, municipality of Rotterdam)

The report was directly linked with findings and strategies of the RAS and forms the basis for an upcoming regional strategy. This link worked both ways; research projects of the KvK tranches were also used by the municipality for the RAS. Starting points of these projects were to consider all urban space as possible places for major or incremental transformations. The next step is to mainstream possible solutions and measures during redevelopment or regular maintenance and management of spaces.

Rotterdam Water Plan

In collaboration with the three local water boards, the municipality of Rotterdam develops a document called Water Plan (*Waterplan, WP*) that is revised every five years. The WP sets out how the city deals with water safety, -storage and -quality as well as sewerage and groundwater (Gemeente Rotterdam et al., 2013). Legally, water boards and the Ministry of Infrastructure and Environment are responsible for water management (Rijksoverheid, 2015). Rijkswaterstaat manages the major waterways, sea and rivers and is responsible for warning local governments in case of upcoming storms. The 24 water boards in the Netherlands are responsible for regional water systems and purification of water. The Rotterdam region overlaps the jurisdiction of three water boards: Hollandse Delta, Hoogheemraadschap van Schieland en de Krimpenerwaard (HHSK) and Hoogheemraadschap van Delfland (See Figure 4-2). Municipalities and provinces play a big role in embedding national policies on a local level, but are legally not part of the Dutch water management (Rijksoverheid, 2015).

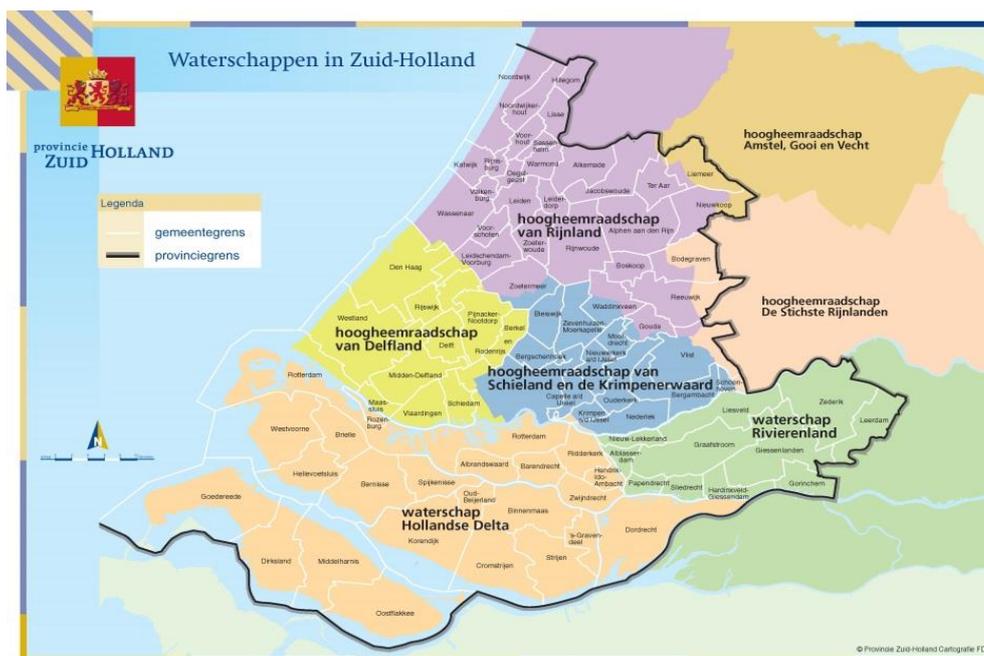


FIGURE 4-2 JURISDICTIONAL AREA OF WATER BOARDS IN THE PROVINCE OF ZUID-HOLLAND. SOURCE: ZUID-HOLLAND.NL (N.D.)

The current WP (Water Plan 2 Revised) dates from 2013 and overlaps a lot with the CC adaptation strategy (RAS) from the same year. Water related issues are key for the RAS and this explains the interlinkages and sharing of knowledge between the development of the WP, RAS and consequently KvK. The RAS is a general adaptation strategy to cope with CC, where the WP is there to reach the water related goals. The DP was a leading policy framework for the 2013 WP revision to make Rotterdam ‘water proof’ in line with contemporary measures (Gemeente Rotterdam et al., 2013). Part of this is the concept of risk as a product of chance and consequences. The role of water board is therefore shifting (Interviewee F). Water boards were almost completely focused on reducing the chance of flooding, primarily by constructing bigger infrastructure. With multi-layer safety they are not officially responsible for every layer, but do have a more advising role on the consequence-side.

Rotterdam Adaptation Strategy

A collaboration of the municipality and port of Rotterdam, and representative organizations for the environment and port businesses form the climate program Rotterdam Climate Initiative (RCI). This program updated and funded the Rotterdam Climate Proof (RCP) program in 2008. It was set up to combine a ‘climate proof city’ with economic development and developed the Rotterdam Climate Change Adaptation Strategy (*Rotterdamse Adaptatiestrategie*, RAS) (Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013a). Partly based on research of KvK and the DP, the report’s strategy aimed to secure aspects as water safety, accessibility and robustness of the city to be a basis of every future (spatial) development (Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013a). The goal for the RAS is to anticipate to the threats “in a shrewd and flexible manner, adapting the city at an early stage by profiting from urban development” (Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013a p. 3).

The strategy has six objectives, in short: (i) secure water safety, (ii) prevent inconvenience by rain or drought, (iii) secure a safe and accessible port, (iv) increase CC awareness of inhabitants, (v) let adaptations contribute to the city’s attractiveness and (vi) make sure that adaptations strengthen the city’s economy (Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013a). The RAS suggests to maintain and strengthen the robustness where needed as its key issue. Nevertheless, it also emphasizes on adaptive use of urban space and the creation of linkages between projects throughout the city. This means a multi-level approach to combine protection, spatial planning and damage control. Due to the fact that buildings and land are mostly private property, cooperation is highly important for implementing any measure that is not publicly owned. The city of Rotterdam holds itself responsible for encouraging collaboration and identifies governments, inhabitants, businesses, housing associations, developers, knowledge institutions and interest as the major stakeholders. “Collaborating at all levels with the parties working in Rotterdam is necessary if we are to achieve our goal of a climate proof city” (Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013a p. 6). Gathering and sharing information, along with sharing responsibilities between public and private parties are the key points for achieving this. Rotterdam aims to facilitate and stimulate the implementation of the strategy, incorporating current and future plans.

There was no direct citizen involvement during the development of the RAS, because the municipality “*felt responsible for the problem analysis*” (Interviewee B, City Development, municipality

of Rotterdam). According to the interviewee (who was part of the organization) citizen participation was seen as a next step for the implementation phase. An important part for citizens here is, among others, the interpretation of low impact flooding and the political debate on when this is perceived as nuisance, or problematic.

“It is also a political question; when does nuisance become unacceptable; 5 times? When this becomes too expensive, they will say 6 times is also acceptable.” (Interviewee B, City Development, municipality of Rotterdam)

In 2014, the RCP received a donation from the Rockefeller Foundation as Rotterdam joined the 100 Resilient Cities Network. This made the RCP, which ran out of funding, go up in a wider focus of the City Resilience Framework, with the former head of RCP now officially as ‘chief resilience officer’ of Rotterdam (Interviewee B). Although the same people are in service of the organization, the focus has changed slightly. Instead of focusing primarily on climate adaptation, the network changed the course to a more broader, general resilience view. This has not changed the course of FRM policies so far (Interviewee B).

The City Resilience Framework was created to generate a common understanding of city resilience around the world through a 100 Resilient Cities network, with Rotterdam as one of the first cities to take part (100resilientcities.org, 2014). The framework highlights several important aspects of resilience that emphasize on social aspects of planning resilience. First, while ensuring urban development enhances resilience, collaboration between leading organizations and authorities and a broad variety of communities, locations and sectors is needed for ‘socially just’ planning to tackle ‘power dynamics’. Secondly, consultation and collaboration between those actors can improve the ability for a more inclusive strategy to include different perspectives and priorities (Da Silva and Morera, 2014).

Reflectiveness and inclusiveness are defined as key qualities for city resilience. The first addresses the planning culture and the degree in which it stands open for new ideas, where the latter emphasizes on the need of broad consultation and engagement of communities and vulnerable groups. These qualities are defined as place-specific aspects that contribute to city system as a whole. As part of the 100 Resilient Cities network the city of Rotterdam embraces the abovementioned aspects of resilience to cope with CC challenges (Rotterdam.nl, 2013). During the interviews, no particular aspects were discussed regarding the influence of the network (Interviewee B and E).

The overview of policies and strategies in this paragraph has answered the first question of this research. Now that the context of Rotterdam is clear, it is possible to zoom in to the cases that are about to be discussed. Figure 4-3 shows a conceptual representation of what has been discussed so far and clarifies the different levels in which the content acts.

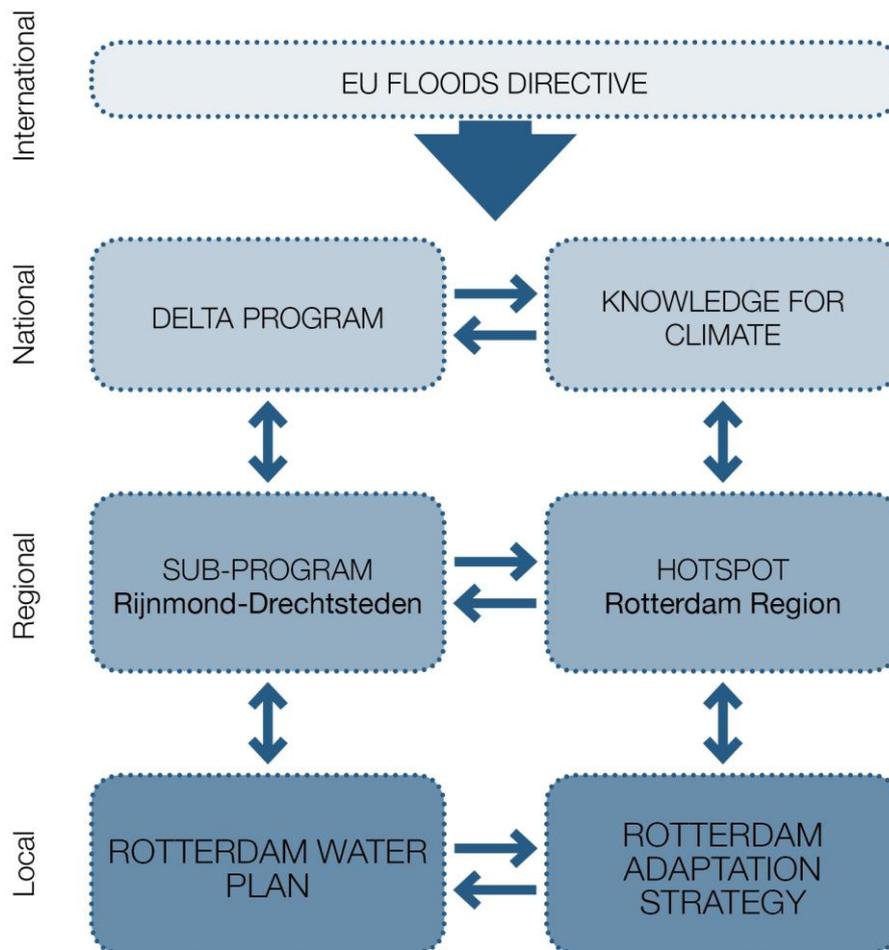


FIGURE 4-3 OVERVIEW OF POLICIES AND STRATEGIES RELEVANT FOR THIS RESEARCH ON ROTTERDAM.
SOURCE: AUTHOR.

4.1.2 Case Introduction

Each of the plans and strategies that are mentioned above and set out in Figure 4-3 are to a certain degree related to the cases of this research. In the end, whether it is the nation-wide Delta Program, or the regional/local Rotterdam Adaptation Strategy, they form the policy base from which water issues and urban planning are viewed upon. From this development of adaptation strategies for the city and region of Rotterdam during the last decennium, preliminary results and processes can be found throughout the city. This research on citizen participation and social capacities will focus on two specific adjacent neighborhoods that were confronted with these plans over the last few years (and still are). The next part will generate an overview of the situations of both neighborhoods.

The RAS divides Rotterdam in six categories: the port, old port areas that are (planned to) be transformed called ‘stadshavens’, outer-dike urban districts, inner-dike urban districts, compact city district (the city center) and the post-war districts and suburbs (See Figure 4-4) (Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013a). Two of the main distinctions between those areas are: (i) inner- or outer-dike location and (ii) urban or industrial (port) function. The most suitable case for citizen participation for flood resilience already has an urban residential function and faces (or is expected to face) severe consequences of flooding due to its location and state (outer-dike areas). In short, the outer-dike urban districts that are advised to be redeveloped in the Adaptation Strategy (Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013a) behold interesting projects for this research. Before discussing the cases, some last notes have to be made related to the role and perceptions of citizens of Rotterdam.



FIGURE 4-4 CATEGORIZATION OF RAS-AREAS. SOURCE: PROGRAMMABUREAU DUURZAAM (2013A)

One of the goals on water safety of the RAS is to increase the awareness of citizen on the effects of CC. Citizens need to be aware of the consequences of CC and know their responsibilities and how they could act (Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013b). Cost-benefit analyses have shown how the current policy for closing the major barriers is most effective for the current climatological circumstances (Jeuken et al., 2011). This means that minor flooding of outer-dike areas are not prevented and new defense systems to keep water out of the areas are not build the upcoming years. Acceptation of increase of nuisance caused by water for outer-dike areas is set on the agenda until approximately 2030. After 2030, local defense systems for risk locations of outer-dike areas may be applied (depending on how fast the climate will change).

A survey for all Rotterdam citizens between 16 and 85 years old tells more about the most recent (survey of 2013) perception of citizens on CC. A short impression of the results: almost 72% of Rotterdam citizen think that climate is changing, but this diversifies between socioeconomic status of people (De Graaf, 2013). A smaller part of lower educated and older people acknowledge CC (around 62%). Less than half of the people who acknowledge CC are worried about the consequences (45%). Nuisance caused by water and sea level rise are the most prominent issues people are worried about as a result of CC. The Dutch government and companies are according to citizens of Rotterdam most responsible to organize measures against (more than 80% foresee a major task). The municipality is second in line with 63%. Citizens see themselves as the smallest actor with no or limited contributions. There is a causality between people that acknowledge CC and recognize the threat and the degree to which citizens are responsible for taking measures.

Another research shows the differences in risk perception of citizens between 25 and 75 years old in the Rotterdam region related to outer- and inner-dike areas. They found out that, however it was relatively easy to explain the concept of inner- and outer dike areas, over half of the participants could not say whether they lived in an inner, or outer dike area (De Boer et al., 2012). Citizens that were aware of the risk of outer- or inner areas showed more concern and awareness of their own role to prevent unwanted activity. They had the intention to take preventive measures in line with the risk they face to improve their self-reliance and had a demand for flood insurance. Respondents often expect that government authorities are in control of water safety risks. After being informed about the risk, they were less convinced that the government is fully capable to manage risk effectively. Abovementioned surveys show the most recent data on perception, with no indication to expect major changes (Snoo, 2014).

4.1.3 Case Context

Paragraph 4.2 extensively clarifies the role of ‘use’, ‘empowerment’ and ‘form’ for citizen participation in the cases of Noordereiland and Kop van Feijenoord. This part will finish with highlighting notable contextual circumstances that directly or indirectly influence the process. Albeit some of the aspects will be repeated as part of the other dimensions, it is important to identify certain factors as contextual and subsequently accountable for a unique situation.

Feijenoord (Borough)

Figure 4-5 shows the situation of the neighborhoods Noordereiland and Feijenoord within the borough Feijenoord. Again, to avoid confusion with the similar names: the area Kop van Feijenoord is a major part the neighborhood Feijenoord, which is (just as Noordereiland) part of the borough Feijenoord. The precise location is indicated on the map.

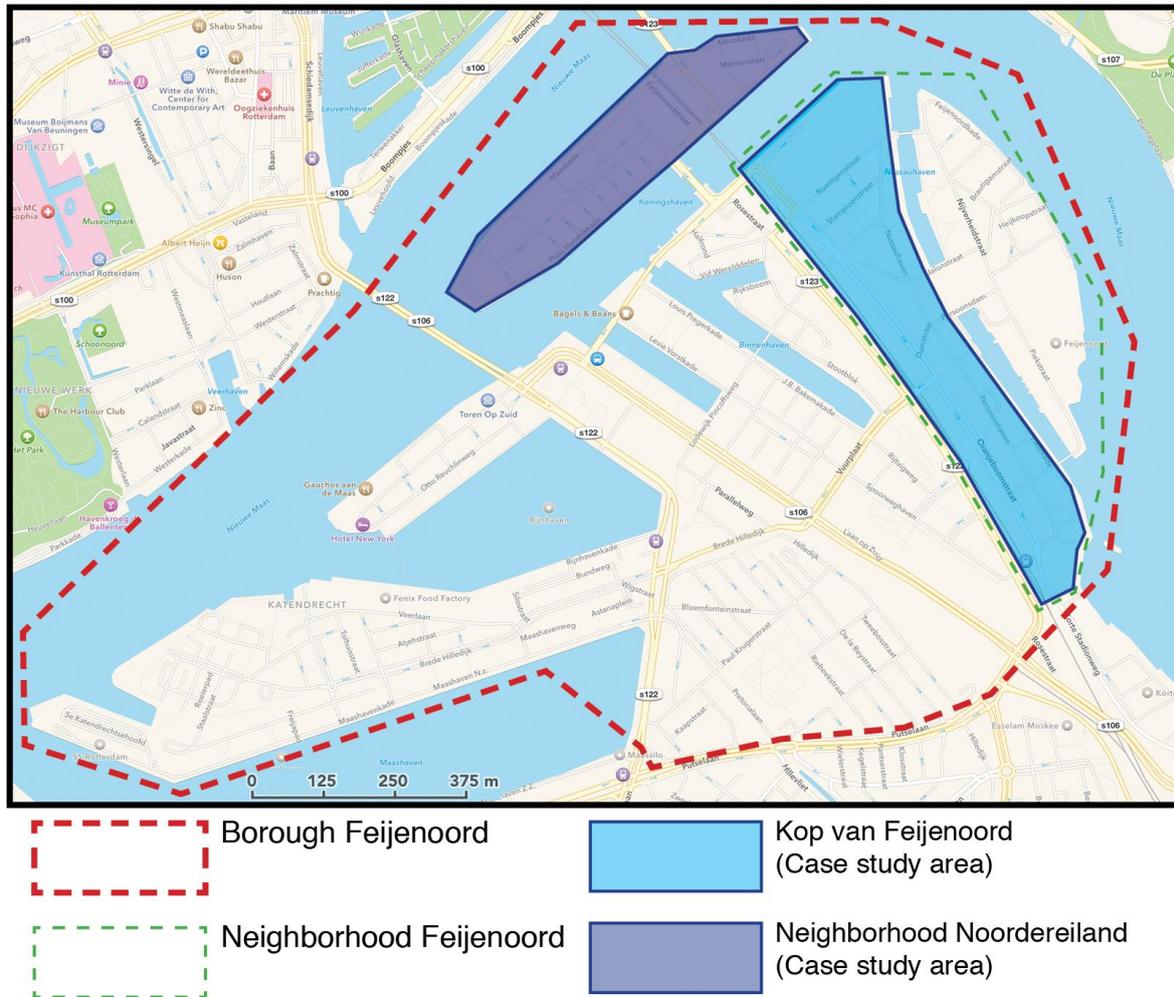


FIGURE 4-5 NEIGHBOURHOODS OF THE BOROUGH FEIJENOORD, ROTTERDAM.
SOURCE: ROTTERDAM.NL (2015); APPLE MAPS (2015).

Noordereiland and Kop van Feijenoord are outer-dike neighborhoods that face flood risk at this moment (Berg et al., 2013; Veelen, 2013) and are designated as outer-dike urban districts that need to be improved in order to cope with future threats (Berg et al., 2013; Veelen, 2013; Programmabureau Duurzaam, 2013a; 2013b). Both areas make an interesting case, as they are urbanized residential areas situated in flood prone zones. Due to these circumstances, they are one of the key neighborhoods within Rotterdam when it comes to climate adaptation.

*These areas are expected to have the biggest risk so that's where we started. A typical Rotterdam approach, I guess.
(Interviewee B, City Development, municipality of Rotterdam)*

As explained in the very first section of this paragraph, the legal responsibility for damage of flooding is for the owners of a dwelling, while the local government has the responsibility to thoughtfully address the issue to inhabitants and secure safety. This makes the responsibility question in case of flooding an ambiguous issue for the municipality compared to inner-dike areas (Interviewee B and E). In the cases of Noordereiland and Kop van Feijenoord this is the municipality of Rotterdam. The current strategy is to gradually raise the areas, but for both areas this is or technically impossible for the old buildings, or too expensive. Besides, it would lead to unpreferable height differences of up to 1,5 meters. This demands an integral approach with a combination of measures for cost-effective solutions (Berg et al., 2013).

Before specifying differences between cases, one observation has to be made. During the interviews with people involved in the Delta Program, Knowledge for Climate and municipality of Rotterdam, citizen participation was often discussed as a separate topic from the situation of the cases, while the interviewer expected a more integrated vision after reading the plans and strategies of the same organizations. It created the impression that the concept of citizen participation as a tool for flood resiliency, or FRM, is still relatively unknown. Van Veelen strikingly noted during the interview:

“Participation is something we really have to learn in Rotterdam. We originate from a redevelopment culture; we had a destroyed city that had to be rebuilt [after WWII]. And you do this by creating an enormous organization that knows the city’s needs. This was practically our approach until ten years ago. [...] So citizen participation originated very much from the idea: ‘Guys, we have a fantastic plan for your neighborhood, we will destroy it and make it very beautiful. Now is their time to comment on the ideas, we will consider them but not use them.’ To say it bluntly.” (Interviewee E, City Development, municipality of Rotterdam)

Noordereiland

The Noordereiland is an island in the river Meuse with 3299 inhabitants and a mixed demographical profile. More than half of the residents are native Dutch (63,1%) and 71% of the dwellings are owner-occupied (Rotterdamincijfers.nl, 2015). The quays of the island were flooded recently in December 2013, which can be clarified by the flood risk of the island.

A once in ten year storm surge could already lead to minor flood events as in December 2013 when the quays of the island were flooded (Berg et al., 2013). This is caused by both high tides from sea and peaks in discharges of the river Meuse. The middle of the island is higher located (approximately 40 cm.) than the outer-side, which makes the run off of water fast and flood events relatively short. This higher elevated area can be used for evacuation and make the quays and streets that lead to the quays most prone to flooding. Figure 4-6 gives an overview of the situation and the areas that are expected to flood in case of different kinds of flooding. Last important note is that the current situation expects a major flood event of the islands to happen as a result of a 1 in 4.000-year flood. Depending on the degree of CC, this can change to 1 in a 1000, or even 250-year flood. Raising the embankment around island is a very expensive measure as the area is literally surrounded by water. This is therefore not considered as an option for the short term.

The following contextual aspects came up during the interviews as influential on the planning process of Noordereiland:

- The recent flooding of December 2013 was an easy to communicate reason to organize a public meeting on October 2014 (Interviewee A).
- Many inhabitants of the neighborhood are familiar with the phenomenon of flooding quays; though lack a sense of urgency of the issue. Especially home owners of the outer side of the island seem to be aware, according to Interviewees A and D, but do not give the impression to perceive this as an urgent, increasing, risk. The area networker of the municipality finds it hard to prioritize flood risk on his own agenda too:

"It is not an everyday problem and some of them know a lot already. It is odd to come to people saying 'Don't we have to make a problem out of this?'. It's coming from the municipality instead of the citizens and the same for my daily work as networker. It's just a small thing; parking is more urgent. You don't know when it will flood, you can't steer it, I can't influence it."
(Interviewee A, area networker Noordereiland, borough Feijenoord)

- It is hard to reach specific groups of citizens. Tenants and immigrant citizens are specific groups that are harder to involve and were less represented during the meeting. Geographically speaking, citizens living in the inner area of the island are harder to reach (Interviewee A, D and E)
- A combination of policies, strategies, infrastructure (barriers) and responsibilities dominates the communicative process. The complicated mix makes it hard to communicate why certain measures can (not) be taken. (Interviewee A, B, E and F)

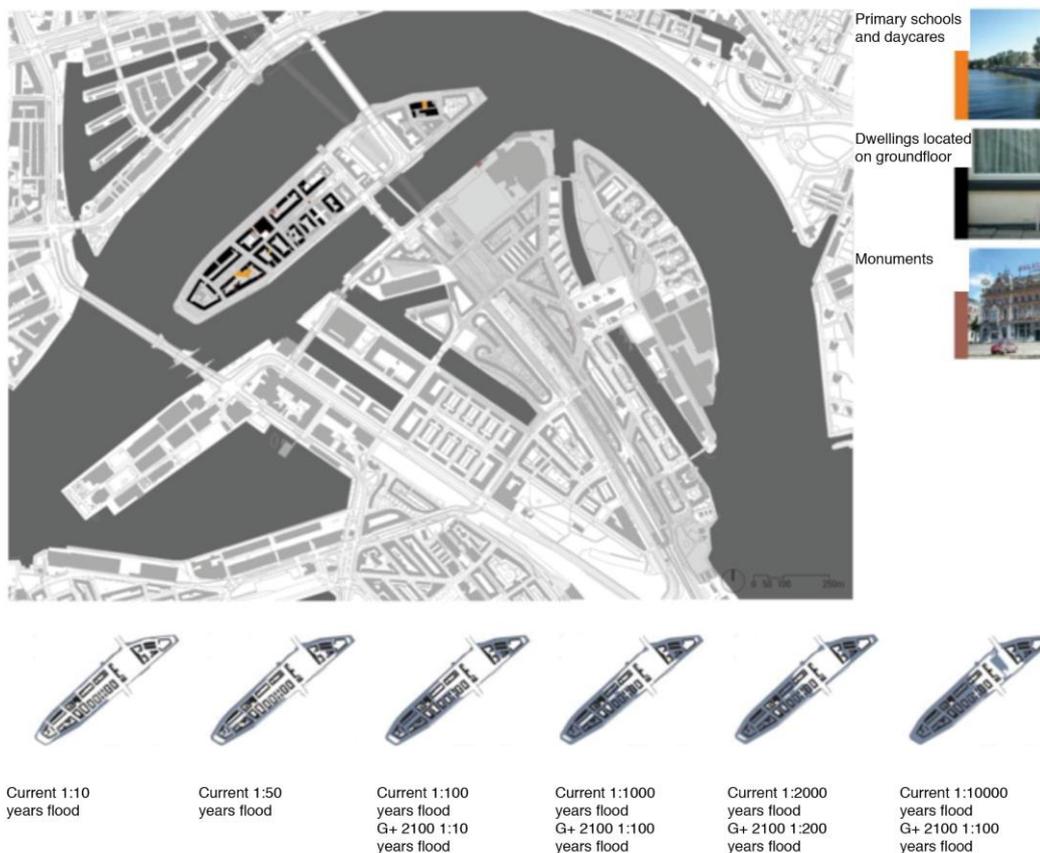


FIGURE 4-6 SITUATION AND CHANCE OF FLOODING FOR NOORDEREILAND. SOURCE: VEELLEN, 2013

Kop van Feijenoord

The Kop van Feijenoord is the major part of the neighborhood Feijenoord that is facing a serious chance of flooding. Around 7.000 people inhabit the entire neighborhood, which has a multi-cultural profile. Turkish, Surinamese and Moroccan immigrants form almost half of the population; 23% of the citizens are native Dutch (Rotterdamincijfers.nl, 2015). The neighborhood is known for its problematic situations related to the low socioeconomic status of the inhabitants, crime rate and relatively bad quality housing (Berg et al., 2013; Interviewee C and E). Housing Corporation Woonstad Rotterdam owns more than 90% of the housing.

Like the Noordereiland, flood events are caused by a combination of a peak in river discharge and high tide of the sea. The area is less prone to flooding (one in a 50-years flood), but a flood event is expected to lead to more damage. The middle of the area is lower elevated and functions as bathtub; it will hold the water and make the area inaccessible for a longer period. Figure 4-7 shows a map of the area and effects of flooding.

At last, the low amount of owner-occupied housing and low socioeconomic status of the neighborhood was reason for the municipality not to start a participative process as part of the planning process. It was expected that activating citizens to participate in the process would not be possible in a short time-period and consequently not suitable for the context (Berg et al., 2013; Interviewee E). These characteristics, along with other noteworthy contextual aspects are lined up:

- 91,2% of the household is tenements, which makes real estate owners officially responsible for damage caused by flood events. In this case mostly the housing corporation that is until now not part of a citizen participative process (Interviewee H).
- Most of the citizens have a low socioeconomic status and show minimal interest in their environment, especially related to water. Only direct nuisances or threats trigger people to participate, for example a water pool in public space as a ‘threat’ for children. Daily life ‘struggle’ makes citizens focus on short-term risk (Interviewee C and E).
- During the current processes of citizen participation, the will of the public to participate is perceived as relatively low. Especially on neighborhood scale, which is perceived as too vague for citizens, community-, or street level proved to be more effective. The area networker of the municipality has a role to link the small-scale projects to neighborhood level. Strong actors sometimes influence the process by assembling citizens to join a meeting (Interviewee C).
- The area networker ascertains a gap between the central department City Development of Rotterdam and the local level of the neighborhood. According to him, citizen participation is often applied as a tool for one subject, instead of a constant process. This results sometimes in proposed solutions that, according to interviewee C, do not link to the local atmosphere and needs.

“I often have a fight with them about how their plans do not have the feeling for localities.” (Interviewee C, area networker Kop van Feijenoord, borough Feijenoord)

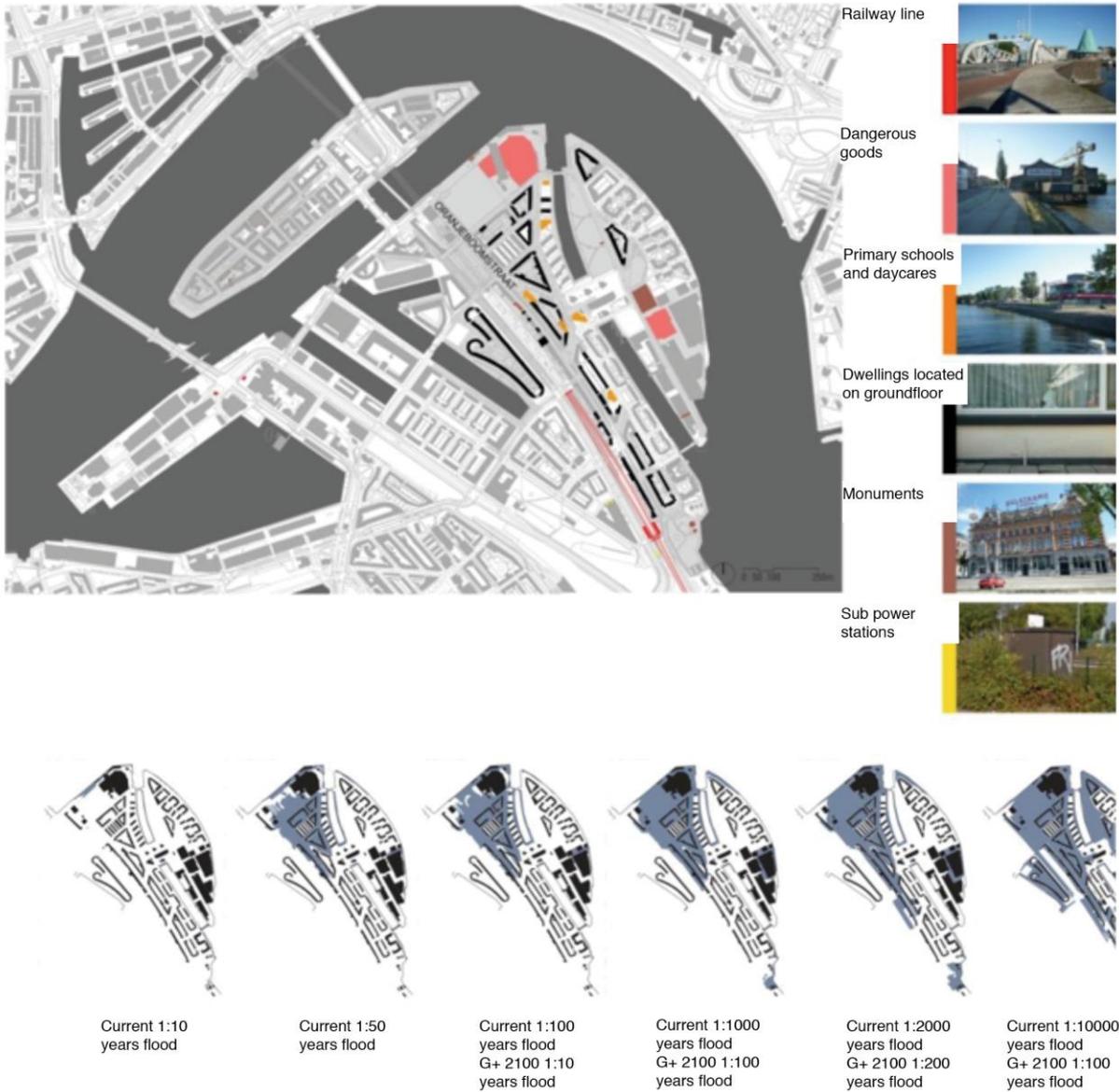


FIGURE 4-7 SITUATION AND CHANGE OF FLOODING FOR KOP VAN FEIJENOORD. SOURCE: VEELLEN, 2013

4.2 Citizen Participation in Feijenoord

Although research question 2 is not answered in this part, the results that are presented will lead to the discussion and conclusion. Therefore, it is important to memories the question before reading the results:

2. **How is citizen participation part of flood resilience planning in the case Feijenoord, Rotterdam?**
 - a. **Which contextual factors influence citizen participation?**
 - b. **How do the authorities ‘use’ public participation and how do ‘empowerment’ and ‘interests’ influence the process?**

4.2.1 Use

This part focuses on the ‘use’ dimension of participation. Based on the interviews with respondents of different levels of involvement, it aims to explain with which motivation and intentions citizen participation was part of the planning approach. Because of the structure of this multiple case study, much of the considerations that were made on higher level than the neighborhood itself are shared. Therefore, as with the following sections on ‘empowerment’ and ‘interest’, this section will first start with findings on the use of citizen participation that can be recognized for both cases. Subsequently, differences per case are discussed.

Code	Organization
A	Borough Feijenoord, Noordereiland
B	Municipality of Rotterdam, City Development
C	Borough Feijenoord, Kop van Feijenoord
D	Neighborhood Organization Noordereiland
E	Municipality of Rotterdam, City Development
F	Water Board HHSK
G	Delta Program
H	Woonstad Rotterdam

TABLE 4-2 REMINDER OF INTERVIEWEE REPRESENTATION

Research on the vulnerability of outer-dike areas in the Rotterdam region showed the diversity of the tasks and issues at hand. The City Development department of the municipality found out that there is no such thing as a water safety issue for outer-dike areas where a single type of solution or approach can be applied to solve it (Interviewee B). Because of the great differences, these areas were in need of tailor made approaches with citizen participation as a means to have a better sense to adjust to the local circumstances (Interviewee B, E; Berg et al., 2013). Part of this consideration was the problem definition itself. Defining a problem and vulnerability of the issues very much depends on the location (Interviewees B, E and G). Most of the outer-dike areas in Rotterdam are up until now not (partly) flooded on a regular basis. It is therefore expected that when a flood event would occur in one of these areas, it would be perceived as problematic by inhabitants (even though it would only cause nuisance in public space and no serious damage to households). Compared to the Noordereiland, where the quays are flooded relatively often, the municipality saw this as an important motivation for citizen participation (Interviewee B). Where in some areas the flooding of quays can lead to unrest, the other area may be ‘used to it’, which influences the problem definition. In short, the localized problem definition, as well as finding the right local approach for the issue, formed an important motivation for the municipality to consider the use of citizen participation in both cases.

An interesting note of the project leader (Interviewee E) responsible for both cases is the connotation of citizen participation from past experiences. He recognized it as a way of explaining to the people what has been done, after decisions have been made, or to co-design a solution without people having any factual, or financial knowledge and influence on the issue. He did not intend to use citizen participation as a “mandatory consultation”, as he defines his previous experiences.

“We know what is going to happen and we are now informing you, discussing it with you and note every remark, but the decision is already made. [...] It should not work like that.” (Interviewee E, City Development, municipality of Rotterdam).

Instead, he intends to start a mutual learning process, where authorities are not solely solving problems, or telling citizens what to do, but start a learning process where citizens are aware of what they can do and authorities have a better understanding of the feasibility of approaches.

One important aspect of how citizen participation is used is the consideration of what topic to use it for. This influences directly where the participation processes are concerned about and the topics that can be influenced, so should also be seen as part of the empowerment of the public. A clear distinction is made in this case: involve the people when citizens can actually influence an issue (Interviewees A, B, C, D and E). The topic of CC in general was given as an example as something that is intangible on the local level and therefore not suitable for a participative process. Public involvement is identified as a useful approach when the problem scale is of the same level of citizens and can be solved together, or they are considered to be capable to adjust to the issue. Before it was decided to initiate citizen participation, the authorities asked themselves; what do you ask from people who decide to participate? (Interviewee A, B, C, and E) In case of the outer-dike areas of Noordereiland and Kop van Feijenoord, the initial intention was to inform the public about the outer-dike situation and consequent responsibilities. Part of this reasoning is caused by the search for how to activate people to feel concerned enough to participate (Interviewee A and C). As a heritage of the collective water policies, most of the respondents sense that the public is not used to an active role in water management (Interviewee A, B, C, E, F and G). Tangible, local issues can activate people to concern about water-related issues that form normally just a small part of their everyday life. So, linked to localizing the problem definition, citizen participation is used as a tool to involve people for improving the approach and solutions of relatively small topics, partly to make the issue at hand easier to capture and a more attractive process to take part in.

This links to the limitations of using citizen participation that were mentioned during the interviews; when problems are not on the scale of citizens and it is not clear what authorities can contribute to work towards a solution, they are afraid to start unrest among citizens (Interviewee B and E). Citizen participation is consequently not a goal on its own for most of the respondents, but more a tool that can be applied when a framework of responsibilities is set up (Interviewee A, B, C, E, F). They intent to use this delineation to come up with a problem statement and message towards the public that the authorities are in need of a variety of knowledge and innovative solutions of the public. This expected to lead to great enthusiasm among the public. But, as Interviewee E made clear, the problem may be more about whether the municipality is capable to facilitate participative processes and has clear ideas on what to do with them.

Noordereiland

In the Noordereiland case, citizen participation was part of the planning process in different ways. Besides the considerations of the policies and strategies that are described in paragraph 4.1 and the ones that are mentioned in the first section of this paragraph, there are just a couple of events that actually took place in Noordereiland, related to citizen participation for flood resilience planning. First and foremost, there was a citizen meeting during the evening on October 7, 2014 at a sports facility in the area, where the main figures of the municipality of Rotterdam and a representative of the water board were present. Citizens were invited by flyers in their mailbox and an appeal in the local newspaper (Interviewee A, and E). During this meeting, an appeal was made for citizens to join a workgroup to study the issue, but this was not followed up (the reason is explained later in the text). Instead of the workgroup, the municipality is currently trying to find five homeowners with different kinds of houses to do quick scans on (Interviewee A and E). With these quick scans, the homeowners will get free advise by a construction company on how to adjust their home to reduce the flood risk. In sake of this free consultation, the homeowners are asked to participate as ‘ambassadors’ towards other citizens and spread the word about flood risk in the area to start and engage a network of increasingly aware and prepared citizens (Interviewee A and E). So far an outline of how citizen participation is translated into actual events in the Noordereiland case. This section will now elaborate on the underlying motivation and reasoning of this use.

The main reason for organizing the public meeting for citizens of Noordereiland was to put water safety on the agenda of inhabitants as a point of discussion (Interviewee A, E and F). It was considered as a next step after research on CC expectations and threats for the city of Rotterdam to start informing the people about the situation. The emphasis of the meeting and the participative process so far is to bring the message across: we (City Development department of Rotterdam) have knowledge about your risk that you (citizens of Noordereiland) should be aware of (Interviewee A and E).

“The message at the meeting was quite hard: citizens, better get used to the fact that Noordereiland will flood now and then. Closing the barrier will not help.” (Interviewee A, area networker Noordereiland, borough Feijenoord)

It was not intended to scare people, but to be clear about the prospects and own responsibilities in order to understand the issue. From this point, the municipality aims to help to lower the nuisance, damage and chance of flooding with citizens in the future (Interviewee A).

A representative of the water board HHSK took part in the meeting to explain the complex situation of the organization. Citizens of Noordereiland pay 25% of the normal water board tax, despite the fact that the water board does not protect them (Interviewee A and F). Consequently, besides the advising role related to technical issues, they participated mainly to explain why citizens of Noordereiland couldn’t rely on the protection of HHSK (Interviewee F).

The remark of “closing the barrier will not help” by interviewee A shows limits of what can be discussed in Noordereiland. As the next paragraphs on empowerment and interest will explain more thoroughly, the use of the Maeslandkering (a barrier that can close of Rotterdam from the

North sea) is part of the discussion with citizens. This is an example why some of the respondents tend to be skeptical about the weight of participation for the planning process, but for the use-dimension of participation it is important to notice that to explain the situation is an important motivation for participation (Interviewee A, D, E and F). During the meeting, citizens were informed that the Maeslandkering would be of limited use to protect the neighborhood, while it also blocks an important shipping route. The goal was for people to understand this by sharing an extensive amount of information and emphasize on their own responsibility to cope with it (Interviewee A and E). This made the actual role of the public so far relatively limited, except for coming up with ideas and comments for the authorities. An example of the intention to make 'positive use of local knowledge' is a remark during the meeting to think about the vulnerability of charging stations for electric cars on the quay (Interviewee A, D and E). It is planned to use meetings as an important measure for participating in the future and link them to tangible subjects (i.e. maintenance activities in public space) (Interviewee E).

At the end of the meeting, participants were asked to join a workgroup that was intended to define the role of citizens related to water management of Noordereiland in more detail. The idea of this workgroup was to make more precise where the authorities had to be aware of from citizens' perspective and how authorities could better inform the people (Interviewee A). However, just a few citizens responded to take part in it and those who did, were left out by authorities because the location of their house was not suitably located (i.e. on the second floor on locations that were not expected to flood) (Interviewee A). They therefore decided to purposefully select suitable households for quick scans, based on characteristics of their house and chance of flooding, which is currently still in process (Interviewee A and E).

Besides the intentions and action to inform and prepare citizens, there are some more critical notions that were addressed during the interviews. Interviewee A, area networker of Noordereiland and in this function responsible as a link between government authorities and citizens underlines a high amount of local knowledge and experience of citizens in the neighborhood and how this is and will be part of the planning process. On the other hand, he has the idea that this is also driven by the goal to give citizens the feeling they are treated seriously and satisfy, or soothe the people after the minor flooding in December 2013. Interviewee A is also skeptical about the effect of participation and sees the issue mainly as a technical problem, where participation is primarily used to embrace local knowledge and create acceptance among citizens. A representative of the neighborhood committee Buurt Bestuurt adds to this that the current participative process has a sense of simulated participation where citizens are allowed to speak within the legal framework that is set by authorities (Interviewee D).

Kop van Feijenoord

Paragraph 4.1 made clear that citizen participation has not been put in to practice in the Kop van Feijenoord area. This does not mean, however, that it is -and was not part of the consideration during the planning process. The case study of Kop van Feijenoord is not able to reveal and describe aspects of a participative process or every dimension of participation and social capacity building. Nevertheless, it does explain the decision-making process towards citizen participation and motivation for authorities to purposefully (not to) initiate citizen participation for flood resilience planning.

A high percentage of social housing in Kop van Feijenoord and a relatively low socioeconomic status of citizens were the main reasons for authorities to not engage with the public until now (Interviewee B, and E; Berg et al., 2013). The underlying reasoning was, that everyday life of inhabitants is dominated by the concern to ‘survive’ in terms of having a job and creating a socially safe and stable environment to live in. This difference in ownership and competence, (Berg et al., 2013) made authorities to decide not to engage with the public for water related issues (Interviewee E). According to interviewee E, there would be no perspective to act upon for the citizens, mainly because most of them do not own the house. Informing about the risk, without having the opportunity to act is expected by both interviewee E as the area networker of Kop van Feijenoord Interviewee C, to lead to nowhere, or even worse: panic.

“When we would organize something for water safety and flood risk, the question we have to ask ourselves is what are you offering? (Interviewee C, area networker Kop van Feijenoord, borough Feijenoord)”

As contact person between citizens and government authorities, he detects ‘high impact’ safety issues as more sensitive subjects. Direct danger on the streets is perceived as important concern of citizens, which decreases the urgency of flood risk and consequently the will to participate. In short, the lack of urgency that is not expected to increase due to the low socioeconomic status, in combination with a lack of competence and ownership to act are the main reasons for not involving citizens so far. As a result, they have planned to engage developers and housing corporations (the real estate owners that are responsible in case of flooding) to make water safety a point of discussion.

At last, it is interesting to shortly note the current use of participation in Kop van Feijenoord. Interviewee C is responsible for coordinating these activities by facilitating the demands of citizens –when they are in line with municipality’s ambitions. This can be the development of a playground, or a meeting place for residents, as long as it contributes to a collective interest and the demand is reasonable (i.e. a playground is missing). Important factors for success are: people need to show initiative to contribute to the process and the topic needs to attract attention of people (mostly topics citizens are worried about, or missing). The next paragraphs will analyze the case from different perspectives, starting with empowerment.

4.2.2 Empowerment

After discussing the results of how participation is used, this paragraph will outline the results for how citizen empowerment is part of the planning process in the cases of Feijenoord. Discrepancies between the intentions of use and the practice of empowerment (and interest) are to show imbalances in the planning approach. Again, this paragraph will first start with findings on the use of citizen participation that can be recognized for both cases.

The use of citizen participation showed how participation was primarily intended to involve and inform citizens about their situation and most importantly, the own responsibility to deal with flood risk in the outer-dike area. However, above all, the interviews made clear that citizen participation in Feijenoord is a process where the public has influence within certain limits (Interviewee A, B, C, D, E and F). These limits influence the empowerment of participants and vice versa.

First, empowerment is affected by a notion that can be filtered from all of the interviews, but is strikingly stated by interviewee E: *“Sometimes you do know better than citizens”* (Interviewee E, City Development, municipality of Rotterdam). What is meant by this statement is how civil servants of government authorities have to struggle to cooperate between citizens and their own ‘micro-interest’ for their own lot and environment, and the collective (Interviewee A, B, C, E and F). Consequently, authorities are only willing to distribute power to citizens to a certain degree, as they are responsible to safeguard the collective interest and recognize themselves as experts that have a complete overview of threats, measures and effects (Interviewee A, B, C, E and F). Details of revitalizing public space are often given as an example of where citizens are considered to be competent enough to have big influence on the result (Interviewee A, C, E and F). Long-term CC issues are more contested because they are regarded as too complicated and often relate to the collective interest, which individuals are not allowed to undermine. In example; closing regulation of the Maeslandkering-barrier is deliberated between the responsible government organizations, while the design and measures of spatial adjustments in the near environment open for discussion (Interviewee B, E and F).

Secondly, this assessment on ‘when and what to empower’ overlaps with what is discussed in the previous paragraph as a perspective to act. During the interviews, it was made clear that participation is not intended to only inform citizens, but to enable them to fulfill their interest (Interviewee B and E). This struggle (elaborated on in paragraph 4.2.3) leads to a paradoxical situation; citizens are invited to participate and pursue their own interest (a perspective to act), while this may not counteract the interest of the collective. The area networker of Noorderiland fortifies this notion from his function as contact between local communities and Rotterdam:

“I had a discussion about this lately, where people of the municipality thought I was too much protecting the side of the citizens. I thought, that’s my job right?” (Interviewee A, area networker Noorderiland, borough Feijenoord)

Third, authorities seem to struggle with how to empower citizens (Interviewee A, B, E). Again, the underlying interest is crucial. The municipality is currently identifying the effectiveness on spatial measures that citizens can take in order to make thought-out decisions on which initiatives

to facilitate or not (Interviewee B and E). To make sure that public money is effectively spend, the municipality will use this knowledge to only support initiatives that have proved to contribute to the collective interest (Interviewee E).

Noordereiland

In the Noordereiland case, the only attempts to actively empower participants in the decision-making process were the meeting, the cancelled workgroup and the quick scan (Interviewee A and E). The meeting was primarily used to share knowledge and increase the risk perception, which is explained in more detail in the next section.

First it is important to highlight the workgroup and quick scan from an empowerment perspective. Especially the workgroup is an interesting example as it was cancelled because only a handful of people responded, which were not considered as suitable to empower (Interviewee A). Participants were turned down because their houses were not located in vulnerable areas of the island (Interviewee A). This makes very clear how empowerment is coordinated from the authorities perspective that it needs to lead to a direct contribution of their approach, or interest. It is even more noteworthy, because the municipality is currently struggling with finding five suitable households for the quick scans, another act of directed empowerment (Interviewee A and E). The quick scan-participants are aimed to promote the authorities' message towards the people: know your risk and prepare (Interviewee E). This approach to empower a selective group of citizens is expected to be most effective in activating citizens to act. It is based on the idea that *“when the government does too much on its own, citizens will do less”*, while the municipality tries to turn this around (Interviewee E, City Development, municipality of Rotterdam). Although no definitive plans are made, the meetings are planned to be held on a yearly basis (Interviewee E).

Zooming in to the purpose of the meetings, it is interesting to take note that it is rather one-dimensional in how it tries to empower citizens: information. Albeit the goal is to share knowledge for empowering citizens to take own measures, until now it did not do much more than a one-way distribution of knowledge (Interviewee A, E and F). The collaboration until now is nothing more than sharing the urgency of the situation with citizens that were attracted to the invitation by flyers and local newspaper advertisements. An interesting note is that despite the extensive sharing of information –especially on a contested subject as the Maeslandkering-barrier- most of the questions after the meeting were related to why certain decisions were made (Interviewee A and E; Gemeente Rotterdam, 2014).

This leads back to effect of interest on empowerment of citizens. Citizens of the Noordereiland are handed the opportunity to fulfill their interest, as long as it stays within the bigger societal interest (Interviewee A, B and E). In practice, this means that citizens do not have the power to force a decision during a participating process when this is not in favor of the authority's goal. Interviewee D, representative of community organization Buurt Bestuurt critically assesses this relation. He states that the organization of Buurt Bestuurt was aware of their lack of power from the start, which prevented false expectations. He is therefore very skeptical about the participative process that aims to embrace citizens, but has no clear line on how much power

citizens have in decision-making. In the end, citizens are responsible in the outer-dike area, which gives the authorities the power to set the terms of agreement and empowerment for a participative process to improve the situation (Interviewee A, D and E). And these are very clear on one with thing: keep within line of societal interest.

Kop van Feijenoord

For this case, the empowerment dimension is obviously hard to analyze. Nevertheless, it does contribute to a better understanding of the role of empowerment in the decision-making process to shortly identify the considerations for Kop van Feijenoord.

First and foremost: the decision of not initiating a participative process, mainly because citizens lack a perspective and power to act seems paradoxical. This appears to be a very technical reasoning; citizens do not own their homes, are consequently not able to make (and responsible for-) physical adaptations to their houses, which makes citizen participation uncommon. As a result, public involvement does not fit in the approach and citizens are not empowered. According to area networker interviewee C, however, a lack of influence often results in a lack of interest. This could make it even harder in the future to involve a public that already seems to primarily struggle with daily-life troubles.

This needs to be nuanced by the current experiences of participation, which often fail to attract the attention of inhabitants (Interviewee C). When an attempt is made to involve citizens in decision-making on a subject that is not directly related to the personal environment, only a handful of people are participating (Interviewee A, C and E). This research was not able to investigate the details of the current events on topics that are not related to the water issue, which makes it impossible to determine the reason for a lack of attention by the public. Nevertheless, it is clear to say that in case citizen participation would be applied to the context of Kop van Feijenoord, empowerment of citizens will turn out to be difficult.

4.2.3 Interest

During the discussion on results of the dimensions ‘use’ and ‘empowerment’, the role of interest came up multiple times as an important motivation for citizen participation. This paragraph emphasizes on dominant kinds of interest that were part of the case studies using the same setup as the previous paragraphs.

The division of responsibilities for outer-dike areas are legally set and so far primarily discussed as reason to use and empower citizen participation (Interviewees A, B, D, E and F). Despite the differences in usage and empowerment, this line of reasoning can be recognized in both policies and strategies, as the approaches for both cases. An important reason for this is the legal responsibility of the municipality to inform citizens about the risk of the outer-dike situation and apply risk management in case of flooding (Interviewees B and E). As explained, citizens are responsible to cope with damage caused by flooding. This seemingly clear division of responsibilities turned out to cause various conflicting interests and cautiousness that subsequently influenced the role of citizen participation (Interviewees B, E and F).

The responsibility to inform citizens has an intrinsically debatable aspect; when has the municipality informed citizens to a satisfiable degree in order to have legally met this obligation? The interviews made clear that this legal responsibility was the most important interest for the municipality to initiate public participation (Interviewees B and E). Meanwhile, the ambiguity about the degree and form of information causes uncertainty about legitimacy of the regulations in case a major flooding would occur (Interviewees A, B, D and E). What if flooding indirectly causes damage (i.e. power cuts) and what can be political consequences (Interviewees B and E)? These are questions that came up during the interviews from both national- as local acting respondents that underline the need for the municipality to fulfill their task. Two interviewees thought it to be unlikely that the alderman in charge would state that it was the responsibility of outer-dike inhabitants when a flood would cause major damage (Interviewees B and E). In short, participation is needed to safeguard the municipality from the consequences of relatively ambiguous legislation.

A second aspect of interest for the municipality is based on financial ground (Interviewees B and E). Shrinking governmental budgets urge the need to use more efficient measures. The shrinking organizational capacity of the government leads to a limited amount of options, where infrastructural projects are often the most expensive kind. A more prominent role for citizens in FRM aims to increase the resilience of an area for less public money and acceptance for governmental spending (Interviewees B and E). As interviewee B of the municipality of Rotterdam states:

“When you can rely on citizens that they are aware of what to do, as municipality, you’re able to think of other solutions. You don’t have to raise the area for example and can hopefully come to cheaper solutions for the municipality.”
(Interviewees B, City Development, municipality of Rotterdam)

At last, overlapping with motivations of use, the belief that embracing the knowledge and experiences of local people can lead to smart and innovative solutions is also an interest that

takes part in the consideration and process (Interviewees B a E). This local knowledge is linked to the local power of citizens that own a home or lot; they are needed to implement integrated measures in public and private space (Interviewees B). Public involvement is consequently seen as a tool to improve local knowledge for innovative solutions and enhance the possibilities for spatial measures.

Noordereiland

A very prominent point of discussion in the Noordereiland-case is the closing policy of the Maeslandkering-barrier, which many citizens asked about during and after the meeting (Interviewees A, D, E and F). During the meeting it was made clear that the Maeslandkering is officially build to protect inner-dike areas and has only limited effect on flood risk of the island. Changing the closing policy of the barrier cannot lower flood risk sufficiently to make other measures no longer needed (Berg et al., 2013; Jeuken et al., 2011), besides the fact that no authority is officially responsible to protect the area from flooding (Keessen, 2013). But maybe even more important, the limited protective effect of the Maeslandkering for a relatively small neighborhood is weight out by the economic interest of the port of Rotterdam (Jeuken et al., 2011). Closing the Maeslandkering will namely block the shipping route to the biggest port of Europe with an annual turnover of billions of euros (Haven van Rotterdam, 2015). The interest of inner-dike areas that are officially protected by the barrier and the economic interest of the port form a collective interest that overrules the citizens of the Noordereiland (Interviewees A, D, E and F). This issue dominated the discussion during the meeting, but there are more interests to identify. The following are more related to why citizen participation took place, or why a certain actor took part.

The first part of this paragraph discussed how financial interest influence the decision-making for citizen participation. This is also a motivation for the quick scans on five households; participants are obliged to work as ambassadors to increase the awareness of flood risk in the neighborhood (Interviewees A and E). Although the quick scans are an investment from the municipality, the work of ambassadors is expected to be more effective to make contact with fellow-residents (Interviewees A and E). Another financial interest is connected to home- and real estate owners. It involves the idea to incorporate a mandatory ‘outer-dike note’ in contracts of sale at the notary to make new homeowners directly aware of the situation (Interviewees B and D). Such a note is expected to have negative impact on real estate prices.

Before addressing the interests of the water board, it is interesting to note the role of the area networker, who acts ‘in between’ citizens and authorities. He states how he struggles with the fact that there are no clear offers or goals from the municipality towards citizens, to influence the process (Interviewees A). Or in case of Maeslandkering, those citizens do not get their way. As a result, he often perceives the reaction of citizen that they are not heard. This leads in to his own opinion about the public meeting that is interesting to note:

“In short, I think the main goal was to satisfy the people after the minor flooding in December 2013. To keep the people calm. To have satisfied citizens that have the feeling that they are treated seriously by the people they are represented by. And come up and share ideas, to find out what they think?” (Interviewees A, area networker Noordereiland, borough Feijenoord)

At last it is important to address the interest of water board HHSK to participate in the citizen meeting and fulfill an advising role in the process, while they are officially not obliged (Interviewees F). Their main interest is to explain in person why citizens need to pay a reduced tariff for water board taxes:

“When we would not be there to answer questions, we would have given a bad presentation”
(Interviewees F, Water Board HHSK)

This, together with making clear that the water board is not responsible for protecting the area are the main interest to take part (Interviewees F). Similar to the municipality, the water board is namely cautious with the responsibility division, as it wants to prevent any misconceptions in case of major flooding. Besides the two main interests, HHSK saw the meeting as a possibility to support their organization. In short, apart from technical advice for the municipality, the water board is mainly involved for their own interest (Interviewees F).

Kop van Feijenoord

In this case, nothing specifically related to interest was brought up during the interviews, or noted in the document analysis. Only one interesting note by the networker of Kop van Feijenoord fits in this paragraph. Interviewee C mentions, based on his experience in the neighborhood, how the range of citizens you want to involve depends on whether citizens perceive the topic as part of their own interest.

4.3 Social Capacity Building in Feijenoord

Research question 3 will not be answered in this part, but the results that are presented form the basis for the discussion of chapter 5 and the concluding answer in chapter. Therefore, as a quick reminder, question 3:

3. **How is social capacity building part of citizen participation for improving flood resilience in the case of Feijenoord, Rotterdam?**
 - a. **Which types of social capacity can be identified?**

Social capacity building is discussed in chapter 3 as a concept that should be incorporated in modern, resilient, FRM through a participative planning process. Paragraph 4.2 has set out how (dimensions of-) participation is part of the planning process in both cases of Rotterdam. This paragraph discusses the role of social capacities as part of participative planning. As with the previous paragraphs, the paragraph will first start with findings that can be recognized for both cases, followed by the cases.

Code	Organization
A	Borough Feijenoord, Noordereiland
B	Municipality of Rotterdam, City Development
C	Borough Feijenoord, Kop van Feijenoord
D	Neighborhood Organization Noordereiland
E	Municipality of Rotterdam, City Development
F	Water Board HHSK
G	Delta Program
H	Woonstad Rotterdam

TABLE 4-3 REMINDER OF INTERVIEWEE REPRESENTATION

To increase the understanding of the following results it is important to bring up the definition of social capacity that is used in this work: *social capacity is the ability to decide and behave successfully to cope with negative impacts caused by external sources that may need recovery, adaptation, anticipation and the use of necessary resources* (Kuhlicke et al., 2011; Höppner et al., 2011). Given that some of the results in the following text overlap with findings on the role of citizen participation (which is impossible to avert when a concept is analyzed as a part of another concept), the reader should be aware that they are analyzed from a different perspective.

There are two clear goals of citizen participation related to social capacity building that were mentioned during interviews: (i) to increase the awareness of flood risk and develop and support a learning process for citizens to know what to do (Interviewees A,B, E & G). And (ii), for the municipality to know what is achievable for citizens; to understand how they will- and can act during certain situations (Interviewees B and E).

The first goal is most prominently referring to increasing capacities of citizens to cope with the negative impacts of increasing flood risk. It is the key theme of public participative events so far to increase knowledge about the situation and consequently, motivate citizens to improve their self-reliance. The city of Rotterdam emphasizes on the need to build capacities of citizens, but seem to struggle how and what to actually build (Interviewees B and E). It often stays within the boundaries of providing information and sharing responsibility, but to what degree responsibility can be transferred and how this can be done stays unclear. According to interviewees B and E citizens need to be “bothered” with issues on the same local scale as citizens to improve and use capacities. This results in a skeptical stance towards the extent of what can be build and

understood, while they acknowledge it as a method to lower flood risk where the construction of physical (infrastructural) adjustments are less needed.

This leads in to the second goal of the municipality that currently tries to find out how certain capacities can contribute to their strategies and more generally on the opportunities it may bring. An example was given by interviewee E about current policies related to the issue of rotting pile-foundation of old buildings in Rotterdam. This issue led to numerous desperate homeowners that were financially unable to ‘adapt’ to the changing circumstance of their house. In this case, the municipality facilitated in various ways such as lowering legal and financial barriers by providing accessible loans, or simplifying juridical procedures. The basic assumption for this approach is that in case Rotterdam has the impression that homeowners understand the situation, they are responsible to act and organize a solution. It foresees the municipality as a facilitator for expertise and organizational power. Again, this is intended for homeowners –who have the ability to adjust their belonging compared to tenants- and are estimated to understand the topic. The example of pile-foundation by Interviewee E was an approach, which was considered as likely to be applied at outer-dike areas in Rotterdam.

National government policies officially assign local ‘safety regions’ to prepare for emergency situations, but this does not entail a (pro-)active preparation of citizens’ capacity to lower the consequences of flooding (Interviewee G). OnsWater (‘Our Water’) is an example how until now nothing more is done than providing an online platform that informs citizens in a general sense about water related issues. Developing action perspectives for citizens are gaining prominence on the agenda now the DP is in the implementation phase (Interviewee G). The water board HHSK is very clear on how they do not focus on improving social capacities in both outer- as inner-dike areas. Water issues are understood as too complicated matter for citizens to understand. Interestingly enough, during the interview, social capacities were automatically linked to very technical knowledge and implications and how this is unsuitable to share with citizens. “*Some technicians don’t understand it even, it’s very complex*” (Interviewee F, Water Board HHSK).

Noordereiland

Due to uncertainties in estimates and predictions on the effects of CC on the Noordereiland, the municipality is struggling with defining what to prepare the area for. Related to the adaptive pathways in the Delta Program, the approach relies on the direction of changing circumstances that are observed over time. It is therefore not clear for the municipality how to increase the resilience of the Noordereiland (Interviewees B, E and G). Whether technical solutions are needed to cope i.e. with extreme sea level rise, or a more social approach is enough to prepare citizens for once-in-a-while-flooding. The main motivation for social capacity building in Noordereiland is to prepare citizens in case during the upcoming 20 years a major flooding would occur (Interviewee E). Even when a technical solution is chosen as long-term solution, it is expected to take at least 10 to 20 years before it is in place. The island should be resilient in any case, which makes social capacity building a very relevant approach (Interviewee B and E).

Therefore, a participative process is initiated to increase social capacities of citizens in the area with the main goal to raise citizens' awareness of the risk and how they are able to take measures in their own hands (Interviewee E). Although this is not entirely clear for every actor that is involved in this process. The area networker (Interviewee A), and both representatives of the water board (Interviewee F) representative community organization (Interviewee D) explain a less complicated goal: to inform people about the risk in order to activate citizens to act. The water board is nevertheless very skeptical about the effect of social capacity building:

“For the outer dike areas as Noordereiland, I don't think people are capable of doing something. Wet proof the building maybe, but a citizen will not be able to do anything.” (Interviewee F, water board HHSK)

It is interesting to notice that interviewees A, B, D and E address however, how they sense a high degree of awareness already on the island. They devote this awareness to the minor flooding of quays once in a while, where some houses are even equipped with small shutters to close of doorways (Interviewees A, B and D). This awareness is mentioned during most of the interviews, but always related to citizens that live in the neighborhood for multiple years and at the outer side of the island (Interviewees A, B, D, E and F). The community organization representative acknowledges this, but experiences a lack of urgency among citizens regarded to an increase of risk:

“The conversation we are having, it sounds like Dutch, but I don't have a clue where they are talking about.” (Interviewee D, secretary neighborhood association, discussing the sense of urgency of fellow-citizens about the effects of climate change on the delta of Rotterdam and Noordereiland.)

The only attempt of social capacity building that does more than distributing knowledge to citizens is the current project of quick scans on 5 different types of dwellings on the island. These types are physically and geographically determined to come to a comprehensible palette of houses and how they can be physically adjusted to exclude or lower the damage of flooding (Interviewee A and E). Participants of the quick scans will get free advice for their dwelling and are asked to work as ambassadors during a next citizen meeting to share the knowledge. The City Development department of the municipality pays for the quick scans. It is intended that the 'ambassadors' present the quick scans and spread the information to start a community that is focused on flood risk of the Noordereiland (Interviewee A and E). The meetings are planned to repeat every year to activate the citizens and community to organize themselves for taking measures in their own hands. An ultimate long-term goal of this process is to create a community that talks to different communities about comparable situations and different approach (Interviewee E).

The area networker (Interviewee A) currently tries to contact and find five homeowners of households that meet the specific characteristics for quick scans, but struggles to meet the expectations and prioritize the search on his agenda. He experiences the search as a time consuming task, where most of the residents he approached started asking him questions about other subjects. The very specific characteristics of the request make it hard to find candidates.

Kop van Feijenoord

There might not have been a participative process with citizens in Kop van Feijenoord, but it was part of the consideration for how to approach the issue. As already made clear in paragraph 4.2, contextual circumstances were the most important reason not to participate with citizens. These considerations relate to an extent large to the perceived social capacities of the inhabitants, which makes the role of social capacity building very relevant to discuss.

Although the next chapter will entail a concise and more in depth analysis of the results, it is interesting to present two quotes about the approach of social capacity building in Kop van Feijenoord. To start with a text from a research report on the ‘governance of local climate adaptation’ in Feijenoord:

“In Kop van Feijenoord live many immigrant citizens that are according to the employees of the district difficult to activate in a short time to think about climate-adaptive measures. [...] To involve local residents in a meaningful way, there must first be invested in awareness of the (future) problems as well as in knowledge on the potential impacts, risks and measures. Only then we can speak constructively about perspectives.” (Berg et al., 2013)

This quote confirms the results as discussed so far on Kop van Feijenoord, but draws another conclusion; it promotes citizen involvement as a first investment for FRM. Nevertheless, citizen participation and social capacity building was purposefully chosen as not suitable for current conditions. Interviewee E, project leader of both neighborhoods:

“Kop van Feijenoord, there is 90% social housing. And then even the worst, least attractive kind. As soon as they have just a little bit of perspective, they move out of the neighborhood. On average, people move within 4, 5 years. Tenants do not have the perspective to act; they are not allowed to adjust the house, you do not have the money... you cannot do anything basically. So than it does not make sense to talk to citizens, because you can than only scare them. And consequently start bothering the corporation that they need to do something. So that is why we only talk to professional actors located in the area. It is extremely important which type of inhabitants you are dealing with.” (Interviewee E, City Development, municipality of Rotterdam)

The project leader emphasizes on how the types of people play an important role, whether they are perceived as capable of building capacities. This sounds paradoxical, but the sepsis is partly shared by the area networker (Interviewee C). He wonders how social capacities (especially of tenants, who form the biggest part of the population in the area) could contribute to improve the situation and sees raising areas or building dikes as more effective (Interviewee C). Especially, because he believes that citizens do not make a deliberate choice to live in social housing of Kop van Feijenoord, let alone to live in an outer-dike area.

At last, based on his experiences with the neighborhood, interviewee C made some remarks on how he would approach citizens for social capacity building. Similar to what currently takes place and the note of the research report, providing knowledge to raise awareness is the first goal. Interestingly though is his suggestion to divide the neighborhood up in smaller areas to create a small scope to wake attention. This would lead to a sense of ownership by the people and, consequently, to make them ‘feel’ responsible (Interviewee C).



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5 DISCUSSION

Before drawing conclusions on the results and finally answering the main research question, this chapter relates the results back to theory as concise as possible. First, the role of citizen participation in the planning process of Noordereiland and Kop van Feijenoord is brought back to the theoretical understanding of citizen participation. Consequently research question 2 is answered, followed by questions 3 and 4. As explained in paragraph 3.3, during the discussion and conclusion, each case is not separately presented. The results already showed the similarities and differences of the decision-making process. Therefore, the author decided not to -with readability as main argument- make use of sub-headers for each case. To guarantee a clear divide between cases, differences are explicitly assigned to the case in question.

5.1 Citizen Participation

2. **How is citizen participation part of flood resilience planning in the case Feijenoord, Rotterdam?**
 - a. **Which contextual factors influence citizen participation?**
 - b. **How do the authorities ‘use’ public participation and how do ‘empowerment’ and ‘interests’ influence the process?**

5.1.1 Context

Theory made clear how the level of citizen participation is not solely a matter of choice, but contextually and historically embedded in people’s and authorities’ experiences (White, 1996). This is clearly recognized in the results of this research. Many socio-cultural factors influenced the choice for a participative approach, specifically the socioeconomic status of the neighborhoods, the degree of home-ownership and social housing and the current awareness of the issue. This last factor is particularly interesting when noticing that low awareness was a motivation for not starting a participative process, while participation is seen a tool for increasing interest and awareness (Bradford et al., 2012). Previous experiences and the physical location (Noordereiland as island) of the areas contributed to the current perception and motivation to participate.

Contextual circumstances also influence the communicative process. In the case of Noordereiland, the complicated combination of outer-dike policies and strategies led to endless discussions, while the changing flooding threat was not perceived as urgent by people that were already aware of it. This made it hard to prioritize the topic. Literature stated the importance of addressing different groups to contextualize the process (Firus et al., 2011), but this was clearly not executed. Participants were selected on the basis of their type of owner-occupied dwelling, instead of personal (social) aspects. The other case shows how authorities not even tried to address different groups, despite acknowledging a lack of awareness and having an area networker in place whose work inhibits a small-scale approach. So, for Noordereiland where

citizen participation was seen as useful, technical ‘demands’ hold back the process, while socioeconomic aspects relinquish participation for the Kop van Feijenoord. This shows the enormous influence of contextual factors on the citizen participation in the case of Feijenoord.

While literature implied that the interest for citizens to participate is low when risk is not perceived or communicated, contextual circumstances made the municipality to decide to apply citizen participation *when* a certain degree of awareness was already in place. While perception is a key to work towards preparedness (Raaijmakers et al., 2008; Bradford et al., 2012), in the case of Feijenoord, low risk perception is doomed to be a vicious circle for those who are purposefully left out because of their contextual situation. This section shows exclusionary practices of resilience planning as a response to contextual circumstances (Davoudi et al., 2012). This is a result of deliberate choices by the municipality to not focus on specific groups or areas as they perceive it as not desirable.

5.1.2 Use

A main motivation to use citizen participation in a planning process is how a wide involvement of actors is essential to incorporate different understandings (Pretty, 1995). Consequently, actors can create the capacity to continually learn from changing conditions. Localizing the problem definition, as well as setting the ‘right’ local approach, are one of the main intentions for citizen participation that were found in this research. This has to start a mutual learning process between citizens and the municipality to improve the situation of an area. The results show how participation is used as a tool to involve inhabitants for improving the approach and solutions of relatively small, pre-set topics. By making the issue at hand more tangible and specific, it is intended to activate citizens to take part in the process. When issues are perceived as a different scale where citizens cannot directly contribute to, citizens are left out to prevent to start unrest regarding the topic. Cornwall (2008) describes how participation is not by definition a plea for democratic decision-making, citizen involvement is only applied when presumed that the issue is of the same ‘acting-scale’ of citizens. This makes it work as a tool to apply after a framework of responsibilities is set up and sets limitations to the democratic character.

Although the participative process can develop itself over time to meet the intentions that were stated during the interviews, the empirical results on what has been part of the process so far are limited. It is predominated by informing citizens about threats and responsibilities to make them capable to act, gain local knowledge and make the issue tangible for citizens to understand. The latter makes clear how it is predefined what is expected to be understood by citizens -or not, and which topics can be discussed (and which cannot). This makes the critical note on the intention to soothe the people through ‘simulated participation’ more understandable and shows a discrepancy between ideas, intentions and

Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduced costs. People may participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project. Such involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision-making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have already been made by external agents. At worst, local people may still only be co-opted to serve external goals.

BOX 5-1 FUNCTIONAL PARTICIPATION.
SOURCE: PRETTY (1995)

‘practice’. The decision not to involve citizens in Kop van Feijenoord and to cancel the workgroup confirms this. The municipality decided that citizens did not have the capability to act because of their socioeconomic situation, or were valued as not suitable for the workgroup’s purpose (which eventually failed to find anyone who did). The discrepancy between the intentions and what has been found in practice affects the key criteria for participation, involvement of citizens and adequate representation. The use of citizen participation is best explained as functional participation (See Box 5-1) (Pretty, 1995).

5.1.3 Empowerment

The results made very well clear how a single categorization for empowerment during the planning process is not possible. Collins & Ison’s (2006) and Tritter & McCallum’s (2006) notion on how participation determines the policy issue and consequently shapes the nature of the participative approach itself, helps to define this. A contested policy issue during the Noordereiland case was the closing-policy of a barrier that could not be influenced by citizens. This makes the nature of the process less focused on large-scale empowerment, as this would radically change the policy issue and affect the collective interest. This struggle on ‘what to empower’ predominates; although the municipality is willing to facilitate individual’s and communities’ initiatives, they have to be cost-effective and in line with the municipality’s ideas. As already stipulated in the context-section, some choices regarding participation resulted in exclusionary practices. While theory implied the strengthening of communities (Tigger-Ross et al., 2011) and precaution about the power and politics of resilience (Davoudi et al., 2012), the results show a deliberate selection of ‘what’ and ‘who’ to empower.

This view is also recognized in how the public is (not) involved in the specific cases. As with the technically based selection for quick scans, part of the reasoning for not empowering citizens of Kop van Feijenoord is similar. Tenants do not own their home and are not able to physically adjust them, which makes participation less useful. This part of the reasoning suggests that technical characteristics are very decisive aspects to meet the requirements for empowerment. Despite the intentional ‘use’ to empower local knowledge, the current process is not combining lay knowledge and professional knowledge to establish a shared decision-making process as described by Tritter & McCallum (2006). Rather, citizen empowerment is coordinated from the municipality’s perspective that it needs to directly contribute to their approach.

Rowe & Frewer (2005) typify a one-way flow of information between ‘sponsor’ and the public as public communication instead of participation. The results show how the public meeting of Noordereiland could be interpreted as such. It was dominated by a one-way providing of information to increase risk perception where there was no clear line on how much power citizens had on the topics that were discussed. The results make clear how empowerment of citizens is a goal as long as it is not used for initiatives that conflict with the public interest. Ironically, or maybe consequently, the municipality struggles to find participants for their workgroup and quick scan. Arnstein’s (1969) description of tokenism -citizens may be heard but lack the power to decide- seems most suitable to describe empowerment for this case.

5.1.4 Interest

At last, to complement the role of citizen participation, the influence of interest on the form and function of the process is discussed (White, 1996). The results have shown how relations on a higher level primarily confined interest and the form and function of participation. The legal responsibilities made it clear for the municipality to involve citizens to make sure that, in case of severe flood damage, they could not be held accountable. Another important 'higher level influence' is the focus on collective interest of Dutch FRM, as discussed by Meijerink & Dicke (2008). Most of the events and intentions from the municipality can be understood from this perspective; the quick scans, the meeting and the planned workgroup. Before the events started, it was clear that they would only be facilitated as long as they contributed to the collective. This is punctuated by the criteria of the quick scan and workgroup. The use of participation to lead to more cost-effective, innovative and smart solutions fits in this observation; citizen participation is important, as long as it can contribute to the municipality's goals (interest).

Although it was intended to keep the visibility of information also public (i.e. the meeting which explained Maeslandkering situation), the division of interests made it hard to set straight which topics citizens could influence. Overall, the procedural, methodological and ideological continuums (Pelling, 2007) that are discussed here show an emphasis on what could be called as 'participation for the collective'. And, as made clear in the result and previous sections, this complicates the involvement of citizens. The form of this process is therefore defined as 'instrumental' (White, 1995.)

Form	Instrumental
What 'participation' means to the implementing agency	Efficiency – to limit funders' input, draw on community contributions and make projects more cost-effective
What 'participation' means for those on the receiving end	Cost – of time spent on project-related labor and other activities
What 'participation' is for	As a means to achieving cost-effectiveness and local facilities

TABLE 5-1 INSTRUMENTAL FORM OF PARTICIPATION.
SOURCE: WHITE (1995)

5.2 Social Capacity Building

This paragraph answers research question 3:

3. **How is social capacity building part of citizen participation for improving flood resilience in the case of Feijenoord, Rotterdam?**
 - a. **Which types of social capacity can be identified?**

The results show how citizen participation is intended to build, to a certain degree and on its own particular way, social capacities through a learning process of annual meetings and different events (for now it was only one meeting, but it is planned to repeat every year). By provisioning information, it is intended to increase knowledge of citizens and subsequently the awareness for the urgent issue. This has to motivate citizens to act and improve their situation. So far, the intentions of the municipality are similar to the theoretical understanding of social capacity building as a repetitive learning process (Kuhlicke et al., 2011; Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013).

The latent- and deficit capacity models reveal however a more critical perspective on the results. A paternalistic view from the municipality is recognized in how it approaches social capacity building as a task that has to be as efficient as possible for the municipality, within a set structure of policies, by building a deficit of skills and competences (Beazley et al., 2004). Knowledge and motivation are biggest 'deficits'. Although the meeting functions as an opportunity to discuss costs, benefits and risk, the topics are mainly discussed to inform citizen about the framework where they can work in -and not work on. In this sense, participants have to adjust to the structure of the municipality in power (Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013). The proposed idea to simplify financial and juridical barriers and the organization of quick scans are examples of other capacities that are addressed from the deficit perspectives. Where the quick scans very specifically focus on a 'deficit' competence, the financial and juridical simplifications come forth from the 'builders' perspective and experience. It can be partly explained by the ambition of the municipality to identify the most achievable and (cost-) effective approaches to increase the resilience of the neighborhoods. This sets a strict framework for participants, which conflicts with a latent approach of equal partners and mutual benefits (Beazley et al., 2004).

The notion of Höppner et al. (2011) that raising awareness and building on the knowledge capacity are overemphasized during social capacity building can -in both the intentions and events on Noordereiland- is confirmed for this research. According to interviewees, the current knowledge of- and experiences with flooding on the Noordereiland were already relatively high (for a specific group). However, so far this has not led to the urgency to act and prepare. From this light it is remarkable how the approach of the municipality still mainly focuses on the provision of more information. This struggle is partly due to the limits of an exploitative approach as mentioned by Pelling (2007); the municipality has to stick to a budget and policy-context and is therefore obliged to strictly balance efficiency and power. Interviewees did not mention the risk of unequal power distribution due to social diversity within communities, but the results show a clear influence of individual characteristics on the role of participants. Citizens

of Kop van Feijenoord were not considered to be suitable for participation and capacity building, because of the paradoxical reasoning that their current situation is lacking capacity to participate.

It is clear to see how the exclusionary practices that were discussed as part of citizen participation affect capacity building in both cases. Apart from the ineffectiveness of a deficit-approach, the paternalistic stance dominates who and what to focus on, which consequently results in unequal division of capacity building. In case of the Noordereiland, both 'who' and 'what' predominate which capacities are desired and for whom, while the Kop van Feijenoord case shows that public involvement was not desired by the municipality at all. This results in the exclusion of specific groups and areas for capacity building and consequently undermines the routine incorporation of public involvement and strengthening of communities as a contribution to the preparedness of a flood resilient city (Davoudi et al., 2013).

5.2.1 Types of Social Capacity

Now that the results of social capacity building are discussed from a theoretical perspective, it is time to identify the types of social capacity. Table 5-2 shows specific types of social capacity that are filtered from the results. It makes a distinction between the two actual events of citizen participation that are currently at hand in the Noordereiland-case (meeting and quick scan) and intentions that came up during the interviews in more general terms of both cases. For example, the intention to lower the financial barrier for citizens by providing accessible loans came up during the interview as a plan to increase the financial capacity, but has not been put to practice yet.

This distinction shows two things: (i) how intentions that were mentioned during interviews are not always reflected in the actual practice, and (ii) how this research may be too early to draw significant conclusions on this aspect. Leaving the intentions out would give the impression that what has happened so far as part of the meeting and quick scan, are the only capacities that are considered. The 'interviews' column shows how some capacities were not part of events (yet), but interviewees underlined their importance. Organizational, financial and procedural capacities may be expected in the future, as they were mentioned during interviews. A missing focus on institutional capacities confirms however the municipality's lack of an inward view and the current emphasis on building deficits. To be clear: the table does not intend to give an overview of capacities that were 'successfully build', as the data does not allow the author to do so. It does show the types of social capacities that can be identified as part of the citizen participation process in Feijenoord.

Social capacity	Specification/description	Recognized in		
		Meeting	Quick Scan	Interviews
Knowledge capacities	1. Knowledge about the hazard and the risk.	X	X	X
	2. Knowledge about how to prepare for, cope with and recover from the negative impact of a hazard.	-	X	X
	3. Knowledge about other actors involved in the handling of hazards and disasters.	X	-	X
	4. Knowledge about formal institutions such as legal frameworks and specific laws.	X	-	X
	5. Knowledge about underlying informal values, norms and beliefs of different actors; 'tacit knowledge'.	-	-	-
Motivational	6. Awareness of hazards and risk.	X	X	X
	7. Motivation to prepare for, prevent and recover from impacts of natural hazards.	X	X	X
	8. Willingness to learn about risks and hazards and to comply with advice.	X	X	X
Organizational	9. Possession or development of the ability to establish and stabilize trustful relationships among and between different organizational, local and individual actors.	-	-	X
Financial	10. Incentives.	-	X	-
	11. Public and private funds.	-	-	X
	12. Insurance policies	-	-	-
Institutional	13. Consideration of principles of fair governance (legitimacy, equity, transparency, responsiveness and accountability).	-	-	-
	14. Consideration of a variety of problem frames, multi-actor, multi-level, multi-sector, diversity of solutions and redundancy.	-	-	-
Procedural	15. Having an understanding of how to elicit and apply the aforementioned capacities, skills and knowledge stocks.	-	-	X

TABLE 5-2 TYPES OF SOCIAL CAPACITIES IN THE CASE OF FEIJENOORD.

5.3 Barriers and Opportunities

From the findings of questions 2 and 3, this paragraph can now answer research question 4:

4. Which barriers and opportunities can be defined, based on the research on citizen participation and social capacity building in Feijenoord, Rotterdam?

Barriers

1. The use, empowerment and interest dimensions are overruled by an emphasis on the collective (Interviewees A, B, D, E, F and G). This affects a participative approach that is focused on local community interest. The current policy framework of Dutch FRM intrinsically leads to these conflicting interests as it focuses on the public interest, while citizen participation asks for more sensitivity for the local and public visibility (Meijerink & Dicke, 2008). As the municipality of Rotterdam has the responsibility to address water safety of outer-dike areas, which has to be balanced with inner-dike areas and economic interests, they are obliged to link different national, regional and local interests together. However, this forces the considerations towards a collective view, where compromises between localities are made. Consequently, the public collectivity approach conflicts with empowering local interests for a participative process and limits the form and function as discussed by White (1996).
2. Socioeconomic status, home-ownership and the current awareness and urgency of the threat of water are perceived as barriers for participation and social capacity building (Interviewees A, B, C, E and F; Berg et al., 2013). These factors influence the ability of citizens to act, or have showed to negatively influence the current experiences with citizen participation. It can be understood as socio-cultural and individual factors that influence the interpretation of threats (Firus et al., 2011; Bradford et al., 2012). Despite these perceived barriers, the reasoning of the municipality to use these barriers as a motivation to relinquish citizen participation and social capacity building, may be a barrier itself (see barrier 3).
3. The current view of the planning approach is one-dimensional; it focuses on what the municipality perceives as needed (Interviewees A, B, C, E and F). This relates to the emphasis on the collective and leads to a point of view where the municipality thinks to know what is needed and consequently shapes the requirements to take part in participative events. In case of social capacity building in Noordereiland, it has led to a deficit approach that overemphasizes the knowledge and motivational capacities (Höppner et al., 2011; Beazley et al., 2004). In case of Kop van Feijenoord, citizen participation was not considered to be suitable from the municipality's perspective (see barrier 2).

Code	Organization
A	Borough Feijenoord, Noordereiland
B	Municipality of Rotterdam, City Development
C	Borough Feijenoord, Kop van Feijenoord
D	Neighborhood Organization Noordereiland
E	Municipality of Rotterdam, City Development
F	Water Board HHSK
G	Delta Program
H	Woonstad Rotterdam

TABLE 5-3 REMINDER OF INTERVIEWEE REPRESENTATION

4. The fourth barrier should be understood as an outcome of the first three. The municipality is struggling with initiating a participative process, but fails to address its own deficit approach, interpretation of contextual circumstances and the divide of interest. A combination of these barriers leads to attempts for citizen participation that fail to trigger citizen involvement, or to decisions to purposefully omit citizens.

Opportunities

1. The interviews show how, for the case of Noordereiland, it was intended to create a repetitive learning process to increase the self-reliance of people (Interviewees A, B and E). Although much has been said about how this is approached, it is important to note that the intentions are similar to what has been discussed in the literature as part of flood resilience planning (Kuhlicke et al., 2011; Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013). Results show a general acknowledgement and willingness of citizen participation as part of flood resilience planning.
2. The division of responsibilities in outer-dike areas creates an incentive for the municipality to start a participative and capacity building process, as they are legally required to ‘thoughtfully’ prepare citizens, while citizens are obliged to manage their risk (especially home-owners) (Interviewees A, B, D, E, F and G). This simply demands both to participate on this issue and makes residential outer-dike areas valuable test cases.
3. The area networker of Kop van Feijenoord (Interviewee C) discussed current attempts on citizen participation (in general) in a neighborhood that was relinquished by the City Development as suitable for participation for flood resilient planning. Although these attempts exceed the focus of this research and were therefore not specifically researched, the approach shows promising aspects. He emphasized on the need for community- and street level approaches to address the diversity within the neighborhood and trigger awareness and urgency for issues (Firus et al., 2011). His observation of a gap between the municipality’s perspective and the neighborhood’s show the awareness to integrate lay- and professional knowledge in decision-making (Tritter & McCallum, 2006). This approach is an opportunity to involve citizens of Kop van Feijenoord after all.



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6 CONCLUSION

From the theoretical framework of chapter 2, to the discussion of results and theory of chapter 5; this work has generated a complete overview of what has been researched, what was found and how this can be interpreted. This chapter concludes by answering the main research question and proposing recommendations. Subsequently, the contribution of this study to planning theory and practice is discussed, followed by a critical reflection on the research process and outcomes.

6.1 Conclusion

- **How are citizen participation and social capacity building part of flood resilience planning in Feijenoord, Rotterdam and which barriers and opportunities can be recognized?**

The results have shown how Rotterdam has a highly robust flood defense system with protection levels of inner-dike areas up to one in 10,000-year floods. Threatened by river discharge and sea level rise, up until the beginning of this decennium, the city's main strategy was to control and decrease the chance of flooding. This is in line with national policies and counts for all inner-dike areas. The municipality of Rotterdam has however the responsibility to 'thoughtfully' inform and prepare citizens that inhabit outer-dike areas, while inhabitants are responsible and uninsured for damaged properties. Meanwhile, these areas have the biggest chance to be affected by flood events due to CC.

Starting from 2007, (inter-) national policies and strategies have started to alter the dominant focus on robustness. The EU Floods Directive, Delta Program, Knowledge for Climate and Rotterdam Adaptation Strategy are influential policies and strategies for the case of Feijenoord, Rotterdam. The change of these programs shows an introduction of the social dimension of integrated FRM and a focus on both 'chance' as 'consequence' of flooding. Although collaboration with local stakeholders is often discussed as an important factor for successful integration, citizen participation has not been part of the development of the programs. This was considered to be more appropriate during the implementation phase on a local level.

Citizen participation plays an important role in flood resilience planning of this multiple case studies. The results show how it is seen as a tool to increase the resilience of the areas, without - or in compliance to- technical measures. However, the intentions and events of participation fluctuate when the process is divided in the four dimensions of 'context', 'use', 'empowerment' and interest. It reveals primarily how citizen participation is embedded in a strict framework of policies and interests.

Contextual factors have a major influence on the planning approach in Feijenoord. The neighborhood's socioeconomic status, degree of social housing and current urgency of the threat were decisive factors for initiating or relinquishing citizen participation. It led to the paradoxical decision that the neighborhood with low preparedness and awareness (Kop van Feijenoord) was

purposefully left out of an approach that can help to improve them (Raaijmakers et al., 2008; Bradford et al., 2012). Nevertheless, citizen participation is *used* from the intention to ensure a wide involvement of actors, localize the problem definition and approach and start a learning process with citizens. Despite these intentions, in practice, participation is primarily used as a tool to involve inhabitants when it is expected to improve the municipality's possibilities. This use can be described as *functional participation* (Pretty, 1995), where participation may be a matter of interaction and shared decision-making, but generally only after major decisions are set.

It shows how a plea for participation is not automatically a plea for democratic decision-making (Cornwall, 2008). *Empowerment* makes this very clear. Especially from the perspectives of Collins & Ison (2006) and Tritter & McCallum (2006): policy issues of water safety on a higher level set the limits of participation and consequently, shape the nature of the process and degree of empowerment. Citizens are empowered to participate when the municipality expects them to contribute to their goals. Ironically enough, the municipality currently struggles to find participants to 'empower' for current events in the Noordereiland case. This use of empowerment shows degrees of tokenism as described by Arnstein (1969). It relates to *interests* that influence the form and function of the planning process (White, 1995). First, higher level interests (i.e. the Port of Rotterdam in the Noordereiland-case) dominate the framework of possibilities for the area. Second, while legal responsibilities oblige the municipality to involve citizens of outer-dike areas, the role stays limited by the dominating collective interests of Dutch FRM (Meijerink & Dicke, 2008). This limits the role and power of neighborhoods and makes the subsequent form of participation best described as instrumental (White, 1995).

This research indicates how the municipality intends to build social capacities of citizens through a participative approach. However, it is dominated by a paternalistic view where the municipality assigns deficits of capacities that need to be increased as efficient as possible, within a set structure of policies. Consequently, the approach for social capacity building can be defined as the deficit model (Beazley et al., 2004; Kuhlicke & Steinführer, 2013). In short, the dominant coordination of the municipality leads to a capacity building approach where the perspective of the 'builder' leads. This may explain why it is hard to find participants for current events and can affect the integration of contextual knowledge, experiences and perceptions (Kuhlicke et al., 2011). Moreover, it currently leads to an unequal distribution of social capacities, especially for the Kop van Feijenoord. This case is considered to be unsuitable for social capacity building because the situation is perceived to lack the capacity for effective capacity building.

Knowledge capacities and raising awareness are overemphasized, as recognized in the literature (Höppner et al., 2011). Table 5-2 showed the emphasis of current events on increasing knowledge and motivational capacities of citizens. A focus on organizational, financial and procedural capacities may be expected in the future however, as they were mentioned during interviews. The lacking focus on institutional capacities confirms how the municipality currently misses an inward view for facilitating capacity building and instead approaches it as a deficit-builder where the participants have to adjust to.

Relating this analysis of citizen participation and social capacity building back to flood resilience planning of Rotterdam, it is clear to see how exclusionary practices are at hand in both cases. The

coordination of both participation and capacity building leads to the result that ‘what’ and ‘who’ are involved, and ‘what’ is desired by ‘whom’, are predominated by policies and interests. Consequently, public involvement and strengthening of communities to improve flood resiliency is for the Kop van Feijenoord not even up for discussion and for the Noordereiland a selective and cumbersome process so far. Hence, this research shows how the approach for citizen participation and social capacity building in the multiple case study of Feijenoord affects the results of flood resilience planning. Barriers and opportunities for this planning process are now presented, followed by recommendations in the next paragraph.

Barriers

- A public collectivity approach (Meijerink & Dicke, 2008) conflicts with empowering local interests for a participative process and limits the form and function as discussed by White (1996);
- Socio-cultural and individual factors influence the situation- and the by the municipality perceived ability of citizens to act;
- The municipality thinks to know the deficits that need attention and consequently shapes the requirements to take part in specific participative events;
- Combined, the barriers lead to attempts for citizen participation that fail to trigger involvement, or to decisions that purposefully omit citizens.

Opportunities

- Citizen participation as part of flood resilience planning is acknowledged as a promising concept and there is a willingness to implement it as a repetitive learning process.
- Legislation forces outer-dike areas as valuable test cases for citizen participation and flood resilience planning.
- The area networker of Kop van Feijenoord currently coordinates citizen participation through a promising small-scale approach that can be included to address the diversity in the neighborhood that is currently left out.

6.2 Recommendations

Recommendations can be made from the conclusions to improve flood resilience planning in Rotterdam, especially for outer-dike areas. The most important one that can be specifically addressed to the municipality is to change the paternalistic view on citizens and their capacities. Instead, the municipality should approach citizen participation as a long-term process that cannot be started through strictly set-up events. This needs the courage and patience to have less (detailed) goals and demands, before facilitating involvement. It comes with embracing the idea that not every movement will move the same way as planned or intended. This can help to develop self-confidence of citizens to set an agenda that is adapted to the local interpretation of knowledge. Embracing a more small-scale approach as discussed as opportunity, can improve the inclusiveness of social capacity building and citizen participation for areas that are currently left out.

Theoretically, it is recommended to leave the goals and demands as much as possible open to the public, in order to create space for an independent agenda setting and open participative process. However, and this relates to the next recommendation, the current policy and strategy framework of Dutch FRM conflicts with this kind of approach. From the local perspective of this research, the theoretical recommendation is clear. However, this work did not research the effects of such a change for the regional and national policy framework. Thus, the first recommendation is an indirect plea to clarify the effects of these hypothetical changes before putting them to practice.

The ‘public/private’ divide of the current approach, where the collective and individual interests collide, is hard to recommend on. Simply because this divide is an inherent contradiction of the current system. The current public collectivity is key for the planning of collective safety (robustness) by dikes and barriers, but limits the possibility of local initiatives. Regarding planning practice, this is something that policy- and strategy makers should be more than aware of when opting for a locally adapted approach through the involvement of citizen. When this is considered, the question should be raised whether policies and interests on a higher level can be adjusted to make room for such an approach, otherwise it will inevitably result in local conflicts. With the first recommendation in mind, a clearer divide in topics and areas that can be influenced by citizen participation should enhance a planning process with citizens in a more influential role and a more suitable environment for social capacity building.

6.3 Contributions to Planning Theory and Practice

This research generated an extensive insight in the role of citizen participation and social capacity building in the cases of Noordereiland and Kop van Feijenoord. From a theoretical perspective, it is most important to observe how empirical research on a local level reveals discrepancies between intentions and actual events. This is first and foremost a contribution to, and appeal for, empirical research on planning practice of flood resilience. It shows how embracing a concept in plans and strategies faces several barriers for implementing it to practice and most specifically, the effect of local (contextual) aspects.

Regarding literature and research on citizen participation, the framework that is constructed for this research works as a useful tool to assess the ‘true’ nature of a process. The combination of different dimensions explores the content very extensively and highly critical. Results that are found in one dimension are explained or underlined by the other. Used as a non-hierarchical framework, the interaction between ‘use’, ‘empowerment’, ‘interest’ and ‘context’ reveals the complexity of participative planning. This is also useful for evaluating planning practice to improve policy- and strategy making, as it helps to identify underlying factors that may fail successful participation. There are however some remarks on the model too. First of all, the use of typologies risks leading to a simplified labeling of dimensions. This would lead to labels of ‘tokenism’, or ‘functional’ participation, without the nuance of underlying processes that the author tried to discuss in this work. Thus, despite the usefulness of the multidimensional framework, it should only be used when embedded in an extensive theoretical framework. Regarding Arnstein’s ‘ancient’ ladder; the author tried to replace it for more contemporary work, but simply could not find a substitute that suited the research. Although the work may be nearly

fifty years old, as a typology supported and criticized by a considerable amount of theory, it fulfilled its task to grasp the empowerment dimensions as well as it could. Nevertheless, the ladder could use some ‘maintenance’.

In case of social capacity building, this research contributes to contemporary theory by confirming current notions of how this can be part of planning practice. It does not come up with completely new insights, but does stipulate that the approach in which it is embedded is very influential for how it is coordinated. The typologies of social capacities proved to be very useful to identify specific types of capacities. Especially when fit into a table, it results in a clarifying overview of what is empirically found. The author is not aware of any other work that has used the framework for case study research, but recommends a further exploitation and exploration of the it in further work. For the planning practice of Rotterdam, this research shows how capacity building is approached from a model that does not suit the intention and should be adapted as long as they aim to increase social capacities. Embracing the results can help to improve social capacity building in case of Feijenoord and emphasize on possible pitfalls for other cases.

6.4 Reflection

Last but not least, this paragraph reflects on the process and outcomes of this research. To start with outcomes (part of them were reflected on in the previous paragraph). The policies and strategies that stood on the basis of the cases that have been researched are all relatively new. In fact, implementation of flood resilience is relatively new, which influenced the amount of areas that could be researched as part of this theme. Although the cases were assigned as one of the first areas and research and citizen participation has been part of the areas for some years, time will tell whether the current findings are part of a project phase, or the project as a whole. For example the current focus of social capacity building may develop to a focus on more types of social capacity in the future. This research tried to make this clear, but risks to ‘judge’ the approach before it had the chance to develop. It relates to what has been discussed in paragraph 3.1 as a critical constructive point of social phenomena. Nevertheless, as long as both the author and reader are aware of this pitfall, the consequences for the usefulness of the outcomes are limited.

A critical note on the multiple-part of this case study design is a lack of clear one-to-one comparison between the cases. Although the author tried to explain this already during the methodology and discussion chapter, it is something to reflect on here. This presentation namely risks blurring the distinction between both cases and consequently, the internal validity from a reader’s point of view. However, the author tried to avert this as well as possible by a clear divide between the cases in the results chapter and clear references in the discussion and conclusion chapter. As the results were analyzed per case and the results are separated, the internal validity was never at stake, although the combined presentation may raise this idea. After all, as a final product, the author believes that the current presentation is most attractive to read.

At first, this research had the intention to incorporate a survey or questionnaire to develop a better insight in the perception of citizens of participation and their social capacities. However, along



with the development of the research and findings, it turned out to be impossible to conduct an academically sound survey with the limited time and capacity of the author. It would be highly valuable to add the opinions and experiences of citizens to the outcomes of this research. The outcomes are limited to the context of the cases, but do result in a useful identification of barriers, opportunities and recommendations for other cases, as long as the contextual circumstances that led up to them are not lost out of sight.

The research process has sometimes been a research within a research. Portland (Oregon) and London passed the scope of the researcher and the latter was a serious part of it for a long time. It took a lot of time to set a fixed scope for this master thesis and this affected the possibilities of what could be researched after it was set. A survey is an example of what would have been a valuable part, but was no longer realistic after the stroll reached its destination. This is primarily due to the fact that the author kept circling around theoretical approaches, without automatically posing accurate research questions. As a result, it took a long time before the empirical research started.

To improve future research, the author will have to combine the theoretical exploration phase with a more in-depth orientation of planning practice. This should lead to more accurate estimates on the feasibility of particular cases and help to steer the theoretical exploration towards more specific concepts and questions. As a result, the scope is set in an earlier stage to leave more room (and possibilities) for future research.

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8 APPENDICES

A. Interview Guides

Interviewee: Interviewee A, Area manager Noordereiland
Date: June 18, 14.00 hrs.
Location: Maashaven Oostzijde 230, Rotterdam

QUESTIONS

- Zou u uw functie kunnen omschrijven in het algemeen en mbt Noordereiland?
- Hoe zijn de RAS/KvK/DP programma's onderdeel van uw werk?
- Wat verstaat u onder het begrip bewonersparticipatie?
- Hoe gaat dit? Uitnodigingen? Regelmaat?
- Hoe is dit gelinkt aan waterveiligheid; wat is het doel?
- Wat zijn de middelen?
- Spelen de capaciteiten van bewoners op het gebied van kennis, motivatie (urgentie), organisatie en financiën een rol tijdens bewonersparticipatie? Hoe?
- Wat zijn de moeilijkheden?
- Wat zijn de plannen voor de nabije toekomst?

Interviewee: Interviewee B, Engineering department public works, City of Rotterdam
Date: June 22, 16.00 hrs.
Location: Wilhelminakade 187, Rotterdam

QUESTIONS

- Zou u uw functie kunnen omschrijven?
- Hoe zijn de RAS/KvK/DP programma's onderdeel van uw werk?
- Wat verstaat u onder het begrip bewonersparticipatie?
- Hoe is dit gelinkt aan waterveiligheid; wat is het doel?
- Wat is de meerwaarde van een dergelijke 'gezamenlijke aanpak'?
- Wat voor rol speelt de 'nieuwe' verantwoordelijkheidsverdeling hierin?
- Hoe is bewonersparticipatie onderdeel (geweest) van de ontwikkeling van de RAS/Regionale Adaptatiestrategie?

- Wat is de intentie?
- Hoe is dit gelinkt aan vergroten van het aanpassingsvermogen?
- Speelt de ontwikkeling van (specifieke) sociale capaciteiten van bewoners daarbij een rol?
- (Hoe spelen de capaciteiten van bewoners op het gebied van kennis, motivatie (urgentie), organisatie en financiën een rol tijdens bewonersparticipatie?)
- Wat zijn de middelen?
- Wat zijn de moeilijkheden?
- Wat zijn de plannen voor de nabije toekomst?

Interviewee: Interviewee C, Area manager Feijenoord

Date: June 23, 10.00 hrs.

Location: Rijnhaven metro station, Rotterdam

QUESTIONS

- Zou u uw functie kunnen omschrijven in het algemeen en mbt de Kop van Feijenoord?
- Wat verstaat u onder het begrip bewonersparticipatie?
- Hoe gaat dit? Uitnodigingen? Regelmaat?
- Hoe is dit gelinkt aan waterveiligheid?
- Hoe zijn de RAS/KvK/DP programma's onderdeel van uw werk?
- Wat is het doel? Wat zijn de middelen?
- Hoe ervaart u de vraag naar bewonersparticipatie vanuit de gemeentelijke dienst? Welke intentie?
- Spelen de capaciteiten van bewoners op het gebied van kennis, motivatie (urgentie), organisatie en financiën een rol tijdens bewonersparticipatie? Hoe?
- Wat zijn de moeilijkheden?
- Wat zijn de plannen voor de nabije toekomst?

Interviewee: Interviewee D, Representative neighborhood committee

Date: June 23, 13.00 hrs.

Location: Prins Hendrikkade 146, Rotterdam

QUESTIONS

- Zou u uw rol binnen de gemeenschap van het Noordereiland kunnen omschrijven? (Buurt Bestuurt)
- Wat verstaat u onder het begrip bewonersparticipatie?

- Wat verwacht u van bewonersparticipatie voor waterveiligheid?
- Hoe ziet u uw rol voor u en die van medebewoners?
- Hoe ervaart u bewonersparticipatie met betrekking tot de waterveiligheid van het Noordereiland?
- Hoe gaat dit in zijn werk?
- Wat is uw doel/intentie van ‘participeren’?
- Welke intentie ervaart u vanuit de autoriteiten voor bewonersparticipatie?
- Wat zijn de moeilijkheden?
- Hoe schat u de situatie van het Noordereiland in met betrekking tot waterveiligheid?
 - Urgentie van de situatie;
 - Eigen mogelijkheden ‘oplossingen’ te organiseren;
 - Financiële gevolgen.
- M.b.t. bovenstaande punten; hoe heeft u deze opgedaan?
- ‘participatie’ van waarde geweest?

Interviewee: Interviewee E, Urban Development, City of Rotterdam

Date: June 29, 17.00 hrs.

Location: Wilhelminakade 179, Rotterdam

QUESTIONS

- Zou u uw functie kunnen omschrijven in het algemeen en m.b.t. Noordereiland/Kop van Feijenoord?
- Wat verstaat u onder het begrip bewonersparticipatie?
- Hoe is dit gelinkt aan waterveiligheid; wat is het doel?
- Wat is de meerwaarde van een dergelijke aanpak?
- Wat voor rol speelt de verantwoordelijkheidsverdeling hierin?
- Hoe is bewonersparticipatie onderdeel (geweest) van de ontwikkelingen op het Noordereiland/Kop van Feijenoord?
- Wat is/was de intentie?
- Speelt de ontwikkeling van (specifieke) sociale capaciteiten van bewoners daarbij een rol?

- (Hoe spelen de capaciteiten van bewoners op het gebied van kennis, motivatie (urgentie), organisatie en financiën een rol tijdens bewonersparticipatie?)
- Wat zijn de middelen/moeilijkheden?
- Wat zijn de plannen voor de nabije toekomst?

Is het mogelijk om de resultaten/data van de bewonersenquête van het Noordereiland te delen?

<http://www.rotterdam.nl/eCache/TER/22/35/693.html>

Quote: "Om op een zinvolle manier lokale bewoners te betrekken zal er eerst geïnvesteerd moeten worden in bewustwording (awareness) van de (toekomstige) problematiek alsmede in kennisoverdracht inzake de mogelijke effecten, risico's en maatregelen. Pas daarna kan op een constructieve wijze gesproken worden over handelingsperspectieven." HOE?

"Geen bewoners betrokken bij Kop van Feijenoord door verschil in eigendom en bevoegdheid/vermogen t.o.v. Noordereiland. Belangrijke overweging: scheidt verwachting." Wat dan wel om dit te overkomen?

Kunt u dit toelichten? (Namelijk: *Om op een zinvolle manier lokale bewoners te betrekken zal er eerst geïnvesteerd moeten worden in bewustwording (awareness) van de (toekomstige) problematiek alsmede in kennisoverdracht inzake de mogelijke effecten, risico's en maatregelen*) Kip en ei? Daarnaast spreekt het rapport ook uit dat het van belang is urgentie op de kaart te zetten.

Interviewee: Interviewee F, Hoogheemraadschap van Schieland en de Krimpenerwaard

Date: July 1, 13.00 hrs.

Location: Maasboulevard 123, Rotterdam

QUESTIONS

- Zou u uw functie kunnen omschrijven in het algemeen en m.b.t. Noordereiland/Kop van Feijenoord?
- Wat is de rol van het HHSK voor het buitendijks gebied Noordereiland?
- Wat voor rol speelt de verantwoordelijkheidsverdeling hierin?
- Wat verstaat u onder het begrip bewonersparticipatie?
- Hoe is dit gelinkt aan waterveiligheid; wat is het doel?
- Wat is de meerwaarde van een dergelijke aanpak?
- Hoe is bewonersparticipatie onderdeel (geweest) van de ontwikkelingen op het Noordereiland/Kop van Feijenoord? Wat deed HHSK?
- Wat is/was de intentie?

- Speelt de ontwikkeling van (specifieke) sociale capaciteiten van bewoners daarbij een rol?
- (Hoe spelen de capaciteiten van bewoners op het gebied van kennis, motivatie (urgentie), organisatie en financiën een rol tijdens bewonersparticipatie?)
- Wat zijn de middelen/moeilijkheden?
- Wat zijn de plannen voor de nabije toekomst?

Interviewee: Interviewee G, Delta Program

Date: July 21, 14.00 hrs.

Location: Muzenstraat 93, Den Haag

QUESTIONS

- Zou u uw functie kunnen omschrijven?
- Hoe is het DP en DP-deelprogramma onderdeel van uw werk?
- Wat verstaat u onder het begrip bewonersparticipatie?
- Hoe is dit gelinkt aan waterveiligheid; wat is het doel?
- Wat is de belangrijkste meerwaarde van bewonersparticipatie?
 - Meerlaagse veiligheid: nadruk op evacuatie en zelfredzaamheid van bewoners
- Hoe is bewonersparticipatie onderdeel van het Delta (deelprogramma)?
 - Hoe uit dit zich (in Rotterdam)?
 - Wat is de intentie?
 - Wat zijn de moeilijkheden?
- Speelt de ontwikkeling van (specifieke) sociale capaciteiten van bewoners daarbij een rol?
- (Hoe spelen de capaciteiten van bewoners op het gebied van kennis, motivatie (urgentie), organisatie en financiën een rol tijdens bewonersparticipatie?)
 - Wat zijn de moeilijkheden?
- Wat zijn plannen voor de nabije toekomst?

Interviewee: Interviewee H, Woonstad Rotterdam

Date: July 28, 10.00 hrs.

Location: University of Groningen, Groningen (telephone)

- Zou u uw functie kunnen omschrijven?
- Welke rol speelt Woonstad Rotterdam momenteel met betrekking tot waterveiligheid in Noordereiland en Kop van Feijenoord?
- Wat verstaat u onder het begrip bewonersparticipatie?
- Wat voor rol spelen huurders/bewoners in het watervraagstuk?
- Wat voor rol speelt de samenwerking met Stadsontwikkeling en waterschappen?

B. Example of Transcript

TRANPSCIRT INTERVIEW A JUNE 18, 14.00 – 15.00 HRS. MAASHAVEN OOSTZIJDE 230, ROTTERDAM

[Recording started after brief talk with interviewee and agreement on recording the conversation]

Dat zijn dus een beetje de verschillen, het laatste wat hij heeft gevraagd is of ik bewoners wist van door hem nader genoemde gebieden met overstromingsgevaaren. Heb ik in m'n jeugdige onbezonnenheid gezegd dat ik dat wel wilde doen, maar laatst ben ik even gaan bellen en na 3 kwartier had ik er 1. Ondertussen heb ik 5 anderen gehad die me tussendoor over andere dingen wilde spreken...

En met wie belt u dan?

Nou ik heb, ik zit in een soort, het heet buurt bestuurt, mensen die zich bezighouden met hoe het gaat op het eiland, en ik weet dat die man, ik kan het wel goed met hem vinden, ik weet dat hij ook op de kade woont, dus ik had hem eigenlijk benaderd. En vervolgens gaf hij mij twee adressen van bewoners die eigenlijk geschiktere adressen hadden, met souterrain erbij, dat is wel interessant voor de overstromingen. Maar toen ik hem aan de lijn had begon hij natuurlijk over 10 andere dingen en voordat ik dan die nummers heb van andere mensen ben ik drie kwartier verder en toen had ik er 1 en ik moest er 5 dus ik dacht ja dat gaat niet werken.

5 woningen?

Ja, waarvan drie ken ik echt mensen, ik zal het zo laten zien en heb een tekening waar het op staat. Op punten die het meest bedreigd worden dus ik had een beetje daar zitten kijken want daar ken ik wel een paar mensen. Ik heb hem toen gestuurd dat het toch wel vrij lastig wordt, ik kan moeilijk 5 uur per week.

Om alleen al te benaderen?

Ja om alleen al te benaderen, uit te leggen waar het over gaat, inschatten of ze de goede zijn, om ze te vinden, ik had Peter (van Veelen) een noodkreet gestuurd van dat gaat zo niet werken we moeten iets anders verzinnen. Ik had het met hem erover van in Dordrecht doen ze hetzelfde he, daar zijn ze ook mee bezig maar dan echt in het centrum volgens mij en daar willen ze mensen laten inschrijven, die kunnen dan een bouwkundig onderzoek krijgen, kijken of hun huizen bestendig zijn.

Dat zijn dus huiseigenaren?

Ja, er zitten ook wat woningcorporaties bij dus dan zou het via de corporatie moeten lopen.

Want als u uw functie in het kort zou moeten omschrijven, hoe zou u het dan beschrijven?

Verbinden, netwerken, iemand die ingangen heeft zowel bij de gemeente, de diensten, de ondernemers, bewoners om het een beetje bij elkaar te brengen.

Wat zijn voorbeelden dan daarvan in het algemeen?

Mijn broer is onderwijzer, als die zegt ik ben onderwijzer dan is het vrij duidelijk, maar ik moet dan een half uur gaan zwammen, dan denk ik dit is het niet precies. Het is ook nog eens een nieuwe functie en ik zit pas een jaar in het gebied, want ik heb eigenlijk altijd ergens anders gezeten in Rotterdam. In het Noorden. Wat concreet speelt is ik zit bijvoorbeeld in het Buurt Bestuurt, dat

wordt wel voorgezet door een bewoner, maar ik ben daar wel bij aanwezig en dan kan ik alle tips geven voor als er vragen zijn, voor hoe je dat moet aanpakken. Dus ik probeer die mensen, die bewoners met die vragen, te verbinden met mensen in de clusters van de gemeente die het kunnen oplossen. Ik los niet zelf problemen op maar ben een soort van verbinder, dat is een lastige rol. Vaak hebben mensen het idee dat ik het wel oplos en dan denken ze ja wat heb ik dan aan jou verder? Dat is lastig, maar ik moet zeggen dat de meeste mensen dat wel kunnen plaatsen, dat gaat wel goed. Het is meer mijn eigen gevoel; vroeger had ik meer te zeggen bij de deelgemeente en nu is de frustratie dat ik mij vooral met de participatie moet bezighouden en niet met het oplossen van het probleem.

Ja dat is toch ook eigenlijk de verandering geweest? Dat het oplossen centraler is en lokaal een netwerker?

Ja, maar doordat het centraler is, is het weer verder van het gebied af dus die weten weer wat minder wat er speelt en daar word ik dan verwacht om in beeld te komen. Die belangen van die bewoners, die behartig ik. Dat, nou ja, heb ik laatst nog ruzie over gehad. Mensen bij de gemeente vonden dat ik te veel de kant van de bewoners koos, toen had ik zoiets van ja als ik dat niet kan doen dan kan ik helemaal niet meer werken. Maar goed, zij hebben zoiets van ja, dit is gemeentelijk beleid. Maar als ik het er niet mee eens ben dan zeg ik dat... Het lijkt me sterk dat het over vijf jaar nog hetzelfde is. Het is gewoon heel, al het slechte van de deelgemeente, de politieke laag, die is eruit, maar het goede ook: mijn eigen budget van rond de 20, 25 duizend euro per week was helemaal niet zo veel maar daar kon je heel snel mensen mee bedienen. En niet steeds toestemming te vragen en alles te regelen. Nu heb ik geen eigen middelen.

Dan weer even terug op waterveiligheid; hoe eeb, je hebt hier RAS/KvK/DP, hoe heeft deze waterveiligheidsagenda invloed op wat u doet?

Nou eigenlijk alleen in de zin van hoe de bewoners erdoor geraakt worden. Al die rapporten enzo daar heb ik niks mee, daar doe ik niks mee. Het verhaal van het Noordereiland is volgens mij gewoon dat loopt zo nu en dan onder water. Hoe kan ik ervoor zorgen dat mensen daar zo min mogelijk last van hebben en hoe kan ik kijken vanuit mijn rol kijken hoe de gemeente ervoor kan zorgen dat het zo weinig mogelijk gebeurt.

En hoe gaat dat?

Slecht haha.

Haha oh, hoe loopt dat?

Nou die samenwerking met Peter gaat eigenlijk wel goed denk ik. Ik kan me voorstellen, ik weet niet, of hij er altijd zo blij mee is. Maar zoals ik al zei had ik gezegd 'dat ga ik wel regelen' maar ik kwam er eigenlijk al snel achter zo van ja, dat werkt zo niet. Dus dan moet ik hem toch een beetje teleur stellen. Maar hij heeft mij opgezocht met die vragen van zo dit speelt er wat gaan we er aan doen en ik had zoiets van 'dan moeten we ze gaan informeren'.

En wat is dan de boodschap?

Voor die avond?

Nou in het algemeen en ik kan me voorstellend dat dat ook voor die avond was.

Nou voor die avond was het wel de harde boodschap; ga er maar aan wennen want met de klimatologische ontwikkeling dat jullie eens per tien jaar werd geloof ik eerst gezegd maar het is inmiddels al twee keer gebeurd, maar dat jullie deels onder water kunnen gaan lopen. Met het sluiten van de maaslandkering, wat veel mensen denken, is niet de oplossing van jullie probleem. Ja dat is weer hinderlijk voor het scheepvaartkwartier. Maar dat is een lastige want bewoners hebben toch de neiging om te zeggen van 'ja dat teringding staat daar toch, gebruik 'm dan vaker' en ja, ik heb nu twee die hele uitleg gehoord en denk van het zal allemaal wel, maar gevoelsmatig heb ik het idee van er klopt iets niet.

En dan heb je de rationale keuze tussen schepen blokkeren of waarschuwen...

Ja met een geluidswagen over het Noordereiland rijden en zeggen 'daar kan je zandzakken' ophalen. Ja, daar ga ik niet over oordelen.

Er is dus die avond geweest en die vijf huizen gecontact.

Ja die avond is dus gedaan en een oproep geweest voor een werkgroep waar mensen zich konden opgeven. Dat hebben niet zo heel veel mensen gedaan en een aantal mensen die op twee hoog wonen of aan een binnenterrein waar ze geen hinder van water hebben. Dat was dus niet helemaal de doelgroep waar naar gezocht werd en toen kwam dus het idee om vijf mensen gericht te vragen van willen jullie een bouwtechnisch onderzoek? Om te kijken hoe veilig je woont en wat moet er gebeuren.

En die werkgroep, wat was daar dan het idee achter?

Nou ja, eigenlijk een werkgroep van hoe ga je dat dan aanpakken richting bewoners met die wateroverlast, dus eigenlijk meer vooral van. Ja, dat maakt het misschien wel lastiger. Aboutaleb heeft ooit in een soort emotionele bui gezegd van 'anders bouwen we een muurtje om het eiland heen'. Ja dat is vrij kostbaar natuurlijk, lastig, er zijn een aantal parkeerplaatsen daar en sommige bewoners zeggen van ja ik zie het probleem niet. Dat doen ze in Antwerpen ik. Muurtje eromheen met een aantal metalen schuiven erin en ik heb zoiets van het is enorm duur. Voor een klein probleem een redelijke dure oplossing, vervuilend voor het

uitzicht. Maar goed, de opdracht van de werkgroep was eigenlijk van welke oplossingen zijn er voor de aanpak van de wateroverlast, van waar moeten we aan denken of anders van hoe kunnen we mensen goed informeren van als het gebeurt. Dat is de lijn die over het algemeen gekozen wordt volgens mij.

Maar die werkgroep is er uiteindelijk niet gekomen?

Nou volgens mij was het geen representatieve afvaardiging. Volgens mij wordt daar nu niets mee gedaan, maar dat liep via Peter van Veelen hoor dat weet ik niet. Dat wordt een technische werkgroep natuurlijk dus daar heb ik niet veel aan te doen.

Ok dus als onderdeel van de klimaatagenda van Rotterdam is het vooral die bijeenkomst geweest en daaruit volgend de werkgroep..

Ja en contacten met Dordrecht omdat zij hetzelfde probleem hebben en dus kijken van wat kan je van elkaar leren en wat kunnen we van elkaar overnemen. Vanuit de gemeente is dat, ik denk ook meer vanuit de gemeente daar en om te zien van hoe doen jullie het nou en hoe betrekken jullie de bewoners erbij. Daar hebben ze wel een soort van open prijsvraag aangeschreven en dan kunnen de bewoners zich zelf aanmelden.

Want hoe zijn er nu dan verder contacten geweest, of was die avond het enige?

Ja, voor bewoners wel, plus nu dan mijn paar telefoontjes.

Voor die huizen?

Ja

Bewonersparticipatie is een begrip waar veel verschillende ingevingen aan gegeven kunnen worden, ik bedoel hoe zou u het definiëren?

Ik moet een beetje lachen, want mijn collega die doet hetzelfde als ik en die vroeg aan mij; wat vind jij nou eigenlijke bewoners participatie? En we liepen allebei een beetje vast, we hadden allebei wel zoiets van we weten wat het is, maar om het nou vast te nagelen op 1 definitie, dat wilde niet echt vlotten. Wat is in zo'n geval participatie moet je je afvragen en ik denk dat waar bewoners in hun eigen omgeving geraakt worden dat ze daar voor zover mogelijk medezeggenschap in hebben. Maar het gaat niet zo ver dat als ze zeggen 'de maaslandkering moet dicht' als er 2,5 meter hoog water is. Maar ik vind het wel terecht dat ze die vraag kwijt kunnen en dat ze dan weten van eeh... maar het is wat anders dat er dan ook echt wat gebeurt. Kijk als ik een plein ga inrichting weet ik wat ik moet gaan doen, maar ja bewonersparticipatie bij natte voeten krijgen; ja het is hun eiland waar ze wonen dus worden ze er direct mee geconfronteerd en dus mogen ze er iets van vinden en voor zover mogelijk mee beslissen maar ja het houdt wel ergens op. Dus ik vind dat ze recht hebben op zandzakken enzovoorts maar niet op het schema van sluiting van de maaslandkering.

Maar participatie is dan dus het contact met de bewoners?

Ja dat ze in ieder geval goede informatie hebben over wat en wanneer iets gebeurt en waarom iets gebeurt. Dus dat ze daar wel kennis van hebben en voor zover mogelijk invloed op uitoefenen.

En hoe ziet u dat voor u?

Nou dan kom ik weer bij die eerste flauwe bijeenkomst, dat was een begin, de allereerste keer dat mensen in ieder geval weten waar het over gaat, dat ze de kennis hebben en vervolgens kunnen meedenken als ze dat willen over hoe het verder moet gaan. Maar het grappige is, er is best wel een honkvaste bewoning daar, heel veel mensen wonen er al lang en heel bewust. Die weten niet beter, dit gebeurt gewoon zo nu en dan. Toen op die avond ook merkte ik van die weten er veel meer van dan ik joh. Die hadden zoiets van, ja dat gebeurt gewoon.

Dus u heeft het idee dat ze goed op de hoogte zijn?

Een bepaalde groep ja, de mensen die aanwezig zijn geweest. Maar goed, er wonen 3300 mensen en er komen 60 naar zo'n avond en dat is een goede score hoor. Dat hele binnenterrein, waar ze er minder last van hebben, die mensen bereik je bijna niet. Dat is bijna met alles zo, dat is met participatie, die mensen die er bewust voor kiezen die bereik je en hele grote groepen bereik je niet.

Hoe is dat gegaan die avond, hoe hebben jullie ze proberen te bereiken?

Iedereen is uitgenodigd via een huis aan huis bezorgde brief. Ja, ik weet dat het niet zaligmakend is. Met een geluidswagen rondrijden ofzo, ik weet het niet. Het is wel echt een probleem hoor, sommige groepen bereiken we gewoon niet.

Zijn er specifieke groepen?

Ja de allochtone bewoners, die bereik je überhaupt niet. Ik heb lang in Noord gewerkt, daar had ik een soort van sleutelfiguren, een soort van woordvoerders van de gemeenschap waar ik dingen kon inbrengen, die stoorde zijn dan wel weer door en dan kreeg ik het ook wel weer terug van zo.

Als ingangen in een netwerk?

Ja je hoeft geen 100 mensen te kennen, je moet 1 mens kennen die er 99 kent. Maar goed dan ben je wel weer afhankelijk van hem. En hij zou toch geneigd zijn zijn eigen soort mensen te contacteren.

Heeft u die hier ook al?

Nee, nee. Een beetje, maar dat is in een ander gebied. Ik heb twee gebieden, kop van zuid entrepote, daar heb je de paperclip, ook vrij problematisch. Dat is een vrij beruchte buurt. Daar ken ik wel wat meer mensen die echt in de geledingen zitten, bij het Noordereiland heb ik dat niet echt zo.

En dan wel de VVE's ofzo.

Nee die zijn voor mij geen echte partner. Als ik naar de VVE ga en ik presenteer me, dan hebben ze zoiets van ja, leuk. Je moet meestal wel of een concrete vraag hebben of een concreet iets te bieden. Een voorbeeld is een islamitische stichting, daar ga ik naar binnen, daar kan ik mee praten en kijken hoe kan ik jullie nou beter integreren op het noordereiland. Dan heb ik een gerichte vraag en gericht antwoord.

In het geval van waterveiligheid mist u dat?

Nou dat betreft gewoon iedereen. Dat is voor het hele eiland, ik wil daar sowieso geen onderscheid in maken. Ik ken bijvoorbeeld iemand met een Noordereiland site en die ken ik toevallig en dan stuur ik hem iets en vraag ik of het op die site kan zodat het daar ook op staat. Niels Heelkes, hele leuke jongen, heeft een facebooksite dus dan stuur ik hem een berichtje van kan je dit er even opzetten. Hij woont op het Noordereiland, helaas drie hoog anders had ik hem kunnen vragen voor zijn huis.

Dus als ik het goed begrijp op waterveiligheid gebied, is er post verspreid als uitnodiging voor een avond en is dat het 'echte' contact geweest tot nu toe.

Ja daar is een verslag van gemaakt en of dat nou naar iedereen is gestuurd weet ik niet. Wat het voor mij wel een beetje is, het is maar een marginaal onderwerp dat ik er een beetje bij doe. Ik vind het heel fijn dat Peter mij informeert en erbij betreft, maar eigenlijk raakt het mij nauwelijks, als er 1 keer in de 10 jaar wat gebeurt.

Is er geen urgentie dan?

Voor mij niet, voor hun wel denk ik. Voor de mensen die er echt last van hebben. Dat is wat ik bedoel, op zo'n avond merk ik van dat mensen kennen het wel, die zijn ermee geconfronteerd, maar ik heb niet echt het idee dat ze er wakker van liggen. Wat ik heel leuk vind, mensen komen met hele goede dingen waar ik zelf niet over nagedacht had. Je hebt van die elektrische oplaadpalen tegenwoordig voor auto's, mensen zeiden van zijn die wel goed beveiligd tegen een overstroming? Dat vind ik een hele goed, dat soort dingen kwamen uit die avond,

Zijn er meer voorbeelden?

Wel, dit was er 1 die mij heel erg aansprak, er waren wel meer van dat soort opmerkingen. Ik weet wel een hele leuke bewoner voor je als je daarover wil praten, Jack van Messel, moet ik even z'n gegevens halen? (...) Kijk dit is het kaartje wat ik bedoelde en ik dacht dus van in eerste instantie van ja ik ken wel genoeg mensen, maar heel specifiek van dit stuk, dit stuk dit stuk, ja dat werd wel heel lastig. Kijk hier tussenin zitten weer andere kleurtjes dat ik denk wat ben je nou aan het doen joh. Kijk hier ken ik dan iemand, die heeft een bedrijf dus kan ik benaderen maar heb ik weer geen telefoonnummer. Zo wordt het wel een heel tijdrovende grap. Zij zeiden deze adressen zijn relevant, hier woont er bijvoorbeeld eentje, daar heb ik dan ook geen nummer van, moet ik ook langs gaan. Ik had zoiets, mag ik er even een week of 2 over doen dan red ik het. Ik heb er nu twee voor hem, allebei op dit stukje. Even kijken hoor...

Waarom denkt u dat Van Veelen, of de gemeente om u vraagt, om bewonersparticipatie. Hoe moet ik dat formuleren; wat denkt u dat de belangrijkste motivatie is vanuit de gemeente om bewonersparticipatie toe te passen?

Nou, kort gezegd om bewoners tevreden te stellen. Na die overstroming in december 2013 is er een aantal mensen aan het twitteren en bellen geslagen en naar Aboutaleb gegaan en daar ook terecht gekomen. Dus, het is voor de gemeente ook wel goed, sowieso is het je morele plicht om te doen dat vind ik het belangrijkste, maar het is daarnaast natuurlijk ook wel prettig natuurlijk dat je die mensen een beetje rustig kan houden. Dat zij niet tegen Aboutaleb zeggen 'ja we hoorden helemaal niks, wat is dat?'. Snap je dat? Is dat een antwoord op je vraag?

Ja wat ik mij afvraag, het is uiteindelijk de gemeentelijke verantwoordelijkheid, omdat niet het waterschap de officiële verantwoordelijkheid heeft. Die hebben allemaal plannen waarin staat dat zij bewonersparticipatie willen toepassen en daar schakelen ze u voor in, onder andere, en ik vraag mij af; hoe ziet u dat, wat denkt u dat hun belangrijkste motivatie daarvoor is?

Tevreden bewoners, die het gevoel hebben zoals het hoort dat ze serieus genomen worden door de mensen die ze vertegenwoordigen.

Dus dan niet letterlijk om ideeën samen met bewoners op te doen?

Jawel tuurlijk, dat hoop je er ook wel uit te krijgen. Je wilt weten, wat leeft er nu eigenlijk onder die bewoners. Wat vinden zij er nou van en ook wel een soort van begrip kweken voor de onmogelijkheden, die maaslandkering die bijvoorbeeld niet eerder dicht kan door het scheepvaartverkeer enzo.

Eigenlijk meer hun boodschap duidelijk maken?

Nee dat vind ik te negatief, het is niet alleen maar informeren. Ook wel van waar mogelijk bij betrekken en mee laten verzinnen in de oplossing. Ze hebben hele lokale kennis. Ik zit er net een jaar, ken het redelijk, maar als ik soms hoor wat zijn weten dan denk ik van 'o ja, het zal wel als jij het zegt maar ik heb het nog nooit gezien'. Als je ergens woont zie je meer, weet je gewoon meer.

Ik vermoed dat Jack van Messel ook degene is geweest die richting Aboutaleb is gegaan. Hij is bewoner, eigenaar van een woning, eigen bedrijfje nog en voorzitter van Buurt Bestuurt en bemoeit zich met alles wat los en vast zit.

Ok, ja misschien moet ik dit even uitleggen. Ik doe onderzoek naar bewonersparticipatie en dat probeer ik te linken naar sociale capaciteit van bewoners in het kader van resilience.

Wacht even, mag ik een tegenvraag stellen? Wat zou jij van bewonersparticipatie maken bij dit onderwerp, hoe zou jij het aanpakken?

Nou ik vind dat sowieso lastig om nu te zeggen, en misschien is het handig om daar aan het einde van het interview op in te gaan, dan kan ik het gesprek niet beïnvloeden. Daar kom ik zo op terug. Dus ik was bij sociale capaciteit gebleven; het idee is, in de literatuur, dat participatie kan bijdragen aan de capaciteit van bewoners. Dat staat dan voor kennis, motivatie, organisatie en economische capaciteit om te kunnen handelen met de verantwoordelijkheid die langzaam aan toeneemt.

Ga je een keer mee naar de paperclip? Kan je het verhaal daar een keer vertellen. Maar wat bedoel je met sociale capaciteit?

Voor kennis is dat bijvoorbeeld dat je mensen informeert en daardoor bewustzijn van de dreiging en motivatie dat ze de urgentie inzien van het probleem en bijvoorbeeld zandzakken in de kelder hebben liggen voor het geval dat.

Dat was nu natuurlijk het doel, van let op, het is er. Volgens mij rijden er ook geluidswagens rond als het gebeurt en dan worden er maatregelen genomen die kan je namelijk goed voorspellen.

Hoe schat u de waarde van participatie in op het gebied van dat soort capaciteiten?

Participatie vind ik eigenlijk al een grappig woord. Op wat voor manier participeren ze dan? Het zou kunnen zijn van wij leggen die zandzakken ergens neer en dat zij zeggen nee dat moet je niet doen, dat moet je daar leggen. Dat is veel handiger bereikbaar, kijk maar. Dat is dan misschien participatie dan in deze, gebruik maken van de lokale kennis van de bewoners.

Maar wat ziet u dan als waarde?

Ik moet een beetje eeh ik vind het geweldig, ik vind het heel theoretisch zo'n verhaal. Ik ben van de participatie maar zo denk ik gewoon niet. Ik probeer alleen maar dat als mijn oude moedertje op het eiland woont en dan bijvoorbeeld met die zandzakken, ok, ik ben tachtig, en dan?

Maar wat ziet u dan als waarde van participatie voor dit probleem?

Nou de waarde is wat ik zeg, voor beide partijen is dat het voor de mensen waar het om gaat dat die erbij betrokken zijn. Dat die er in ieder geval van weten hoe het zit, en waarom dingen gaan zoals ze gaan dat daar een logische reden achter zit. En dat ze daar waar nodig een positieve invloed op kunnen hebben. Dus bijvoorbeeld heel basaal, die zandzakken moet je daar niet neerleggen. Zo iets, de laadpalen, noem maar op. Ik zou bijna zeggen, zo'n zin uit een leerboek. Als ik een praktijkvoorbeeld mag geven; noemt voorbeeld van participatie bij een ander project waar ze het binnenterrein van sociale woningbouw willen vernieuwen maar weinig respons krijgen op de poging om bewoners te betrekken. Na twee uur had hij het gevoel het verhaal uit te moeten trekken.

Waar het vandaan komt is, de plannen en strategieën en literatuur staan er vol mee, en daardoor ben ik enorm geïnteresseerd en denk ik van mooi, maar hoe gaat dat dan?

Dat is wat ik bedoel; op papier kan je het kloppend maken, maar uit het voorbeeld van het binnenterrein sta je uiteindelijk alleen met de drie vrijwilligers op 540 woningen.

Hoe ziet u dan de waarde van participatie op waterveiligheid; hoe kan het dan bijdragen daaraan?

Nu moet ik voorzichtig zijn. Ik zou bijna zeggen, het heeft een kleine praktische waarde. De lokale kennis; de sluitijden blijven allemaal hetzelfde, het water blijft ook gewoon stijgen, het eiland blijft laag liggen.

En het muurtje komt toch niet?

Het muurtje zie ik er niet komen nee.

En de bewoners zijn over het algemeen op de hoogte?

Ja de meeste wel. Je moet maar eens goed kijken, sommige hebben zo vlak naast de deuren een soort van spleten waar ze schuiven in kunnen zetten. Oftewel, het is niet van vandaag en gisteren, het is iets van 40 jaar geleden.

Het zijn nu natuurlijk nog redelijk lage standen.

Ja het is nu nog niet echt, maar ik geloof wel dat kruipkelders vol zijn gelopen. Als de hele onder verdieping onder water staat piepen de mensen wel.

Dat is onderdeel van het idee; nu is het nog redelijk makkelijk met een 'beetje' water maar de voorspellingen en de onzekerheid daarin dat het 10 of 150 centimeter wordt. Dan wil je waarschijnlijk elk middel dat een beetje bij kan dragen, gebruiken.

Het gaat vooral om op positieve manier gebruik maken van de kennis van de bewoners, dat zie ik hier als participatie.

Wat zijn dan de moeilijkheden?

Dat mensen niet snappen hoe het zit, blijven terugkomen op dezelfde dingen. Altijd die klote waterkering. Dat moet je maar eens vragen; hij heeft met technici gesproken. Die zou maar 10 of 20 keer dicht te kunnen gaan. Hij zegt het uit eerste hand te hebben en hij is wel goed met dat soort dingen. Ja je moet hem echt bellen.

Maar wat zijn dan de echte moeilijkheden?

Iedereen te bereiken, de invloed die mensen hebben, hoe ver gaat dat nou eigenlijk.

Schrikt dat af?

Dat zou ik niet weten, zo van 'er wordt toch niet geluisterd'. Dat is wel een beetje de standaard zure reactie, van mensen die hun zin niet krijgen. Dan wordt er toch niet geluisterd zeggen ze dan. Maar ik moet zeggen, ik heb dat niet heel veel, maar een paar die zuur zijn. Die bijeenkomst was in de gymzaal, gaan een paar mopperen dat het zo koud was. Denk ik; doe je jas dan aan.

Ok, dus het moeilijke bereiken, sommige mensen hebben het idee niet gehoord te worden.

Ja mensen hebben de neiging dat als ze hun zin niet krijgen, dat er niet naar hun geluisterd wordt. Misschien ook wel een beter bereik, dat is het wel denk ik.

Mist u dan iets?

Het perfecte netwerk. Nee, de illusie is dat je iedereen zo betrokken krijgt. Als je een bewonersavond uitschrijft dan krijg je gewoon 3 op de 100 mensen.

Merkt u een verschil qua huurders en koopeigenaren?

Nou, eeh ja. Laat ik het maar gewoon zeggen. Op de kop van Zuid is het heel sterk. Ik heb twee buurten, kop van zuid en noordereiland. Daar bij kop van zuid heb je een hele sterke tweescheiding, het ene stuk scoort een negen, het andere altijd een vier. Dat is allemaal sociale woningbouw

En op het eiland?

Nou op het eiland heb je zeg maar aan de buitenkant de grotere woningen en de binnenkant is zeg maar het meer armere stuk. Het gouden randje. Het is niet zo extreem. Ik heb over het algemeen op het noordereiland het idee dat het wel redelijk mixt. Al heb ik bij het armere deel soms wel een wat zuurdere reactie van 'oh dan hebbe ze zeker weer...'. Maar het is hier niet heel duidelijk.

Zijn er nu concrete ideeën om op het gebied van waterveiligheid hiermee door te gaan?

Het eerste idee is om een scan te maken van die vijf woningen om te kijken hoe waterveilig die zijn en wat voor maatregelen je zou moeten nemen en aan de hand daarvan te kijken wat betekent dat voor de rest van de woningen en die mensen dan te informeren ofzo stel ik me voor. Ik bedoel je krijgt er informatie uit en dan moet je er ook wat mee doen. Dat is het eerste ding. Inventariseren hoe erg is het nu en wat moet er gebeuren en hoe duur is dat? Maar ik krijg wel het idee dat het heel erg bij de mensen zelf komt te liggen.

Dus om de moeilijkheden volledig te maken met participatie is dus bereiken en idee hebben dat ze niet gehoord worden..

...en misschien het onderwerp zelf. Dat mensen als je de straat voor hun huis gaat inrichting, of dat je zegt stel dat er een overstroming komt.. En dan geldt ook van mensen in het middengebied, daar zal het minder spelen.

Wordt dit nu een vast onderdeel in uw werk?

Eigenlijk niet; wanneer de gemeente met de vraag komt dan wordt ik ingeschakeld maar een vast onderdeel is niet aan de orde. Het is voor mij ook vrij abstract, ik ben met dagelijkse zaken bezig en dit is toch ook wel lange termijn. Echt het is een technisch probleem.

Want?

Nou ja, laat ik het zo zeggen vanaf dag 1 word ik benaderd waarom hebben we geen buurthuis, pinautomaat, dokter op het eiland. Doe eens wat aan parkeeroverlast. Dit heb ik nooit gehoord. Mensen komen er niet mee bij mij dus het leeft ook niet zo en op zo'n avond merk ik dat mensen al heel veel weten. Er is al min of meer een waarschuwingssysteem, er gebeurt al heel veel. Als mensen naar mij komen dan heeft dat meer dan als ik naar mensen moet gaan van; moeten we hier even een probleem van maken. Het komt niet vanuit de bewoners, nu vanuit de gemeente. Dat is de omgekeerde wereld. Ik merk dat het daardoor van mij ook een beetje een probleem is van oh ja, dat moet ik ook nog doen. Parkeeroverlast leeft, daar krijg ik vragen over, gevolgen en daar kan ik wat mee doen dat is heel concreet voor mij. Die wateroverlast, ja ik kan het niet sturen, ik weet niet wanneer het gebeurt, ik heb er geen enkele invloed op, ik heb geen technische kennis. Iemand anders is ermee bezig.

Dus het is geen dagelijks onderdeel.

Nee tuurlijk niet. Dat maakt het soms ook wel een beetje lastig. Ik heb wel eens het gevoel dat ik Peter dan een beetje laat zitten. Dat hij mij vragen stelt die als ik me heel erg kwaad over maak wel kan doen, maar het kost me zoveel tijd en moeite. Daar kom je in de praktijk niet toe.

Heeft u het idee dat het vanuit die afdeling als waardevolle en nodige bijdrage aan het grotere plan?

Dat moet je aan hem vragen denk ik.

Maar welke intentie ervaart u waar die vraag mee wordt gesteld?

Ik denk dat hij de mensen en mij er echt mee willen betrekken. Ik ben benieuwd naar zijn antwoord.

Uitleg over het onderzoek naar de insteek van als je participeert; hoe dat is opgezet en of het naar behoren functioneert.

Ik vind het wel heel goed dat bewoners betrokken worden en daar een rol bij hebben, misschien is 95% techniek maar ik vind dat mensen bij die 5% wel een rol moeten hebben. Ook voor de mensen, de acceptatie. Maar wat ik zeg, ik bel Jack op met een verhaal en hij begint ja ze moeten die maaslandkering sluiten. Hij is slim, maar blijft in zijn eigen oplossing denken.