Inclusive development as a foreign urban intervention programme

Research on the Dutch interpretation of inclusive development with the foreign urban intervention programme Water as Leverage

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Abstract

Since the introduction of the Sustainable development goals in 2015 there has been an emphasis on inclusive development in urban development policies and an increase in literature on the concept in international development studies. However, there still exists disagreements in academic literature on what inclusive development means. Policy makers use different aspects of the concept as well and since there is no clear meaning of inclusive development their interpretation of the concept is important in urban development programmes. Since national governments are increasingly using inclusive development in their foreign urban development policies, research on their interpretation of the concept is necessary. This research focuses on the foreign urban development policy of the Dutch water sector, which has recently been using the concept of inclusive development as well. This thesis uses the case of Water as Leverage which is a foreign urban development programme that claims to work in an inclusive manner. By studying the case of Water as Leverage, this research aims to further understand the Dutch interpretation of inclusive development. This research connects the themes of inclusive development, urban development and foreign intervention and contributes to the literature by providing a further understanding of the interpretation of inclusive development during a foreign intervention, taking possible donor interests into account.

This thesis answers the following research question: *How is inclusive development interpreted in the foreign intervention programme Water as Leverage?* The theoretical framework discusses theories on inclusive development based on the climate justice perspective and how inclusive development can be interpreted. Theories on power relations and donor interests are used as a critical perspective to research the interpretation of inclusive development by a foreign intervention actor. This research uses a document analysis and stakeholder interviews to understand how the stakeholders are involved in the Water as Leverage programme and what the Dutch interpretation of inclusive development is within this programme.

This research has found that the Dutch government has interpreted inclusive development in a way where the Dutch stakeholders remain the most influential actors of the urban development projects. One of the key contradictions addressed in this research is the fact that the Dutch stakeholders claim to want to let the local teams do their work on urban development, but that the Dutch simultaneously want to be more

involved. They have even indicated that the goal is not to limit Dutch involvement in the world which contradicts the aim to work on local development and shows a lack of faith in local institutions to do their own urban development. Since the findings show that the intervening actor interprets inclusive development as itself remaining the most influential actor, this research shows the importance of researching donor interests in urban development projects that claim to be inclusive.

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Contents

1. Introduction

Since the introduction of the Sustainable Development Goals in 2015, the United Nations has put an emphasis on inclusive development. The Development Goals recognize that reaching the goals goes hand-in-hand with strategies to reduce inequality and work inclusively (UN, 2021). The United Nations has evolved urban development around inclusive development as well. SDG 11 reads: "Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable", wanting among other things to enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries by 2030 (UN, 2021).

This recent emergence of inclusive development asks for research on this subject. Which has indeed led to a growing amount of research on inclusive development, with there being contradictions about the meaning of the concept in the literature (Pouw & Gupta, 2017). According to Pouw & Gupta (2017) it is not just the academic literature that is not agreeing on the meaning of inclusive development, but policy makers also have different interpretations of the concept. National governments are increasingly using inclusive development in their foreign development policies. Some use the "leaving no one behind" concept of the United Nations, however different policy makers still tend to focus on different aspects of inclusive development (Pouw & Gupta, 2017).

National governments thus have a lot of power in deciding what inclusive development is executed in practice. This should be critically researched since literature shows that countries can have strategic interests in foreign aid development (Asongu & Nwachukwu, 2017). According to Apodaca (2017) for example, the driving force behind many foreign aid programmes is strategic and commercial interests of donor countries and policy makers can use foreign aid as a tool to realize their own foreign policy goals.

This research focuses on the foreign urban development policy by the Dutch water sector. After a report in 2017 by the IOB (the international research and policy evaluation by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs) concluded that the foreign development programmes need to work in a more inclusive way, there has been a greater focus on inclusive development in the Dutch water sector. The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs has also made international water management their spearhead in the development aid policy which has led to an increase in Dutch water development programmes around the world (IOB, 2017). Interestingly, the Dutch government openly

states that it uses its international water development projects for international economic benefits and the involvement of Dutch corporations is considered to be positive for the Dutch economy (van Nieuwenhuizen Wijbenga et al., 2019). According to Zegwaard et al. (2019) the Netherlands specifically brand themselves as the expert on water infrastructure to gain more international involvement of Dutch corporations.

This has led to a great reputation of the Dutch Delta Approach in international water management (Zegwaard et al., 2019). This reputation can give Dutch organisations more authority than other organisations (Eriksen et al., 2015). The Dutch have accordingly been exporting their knowledge on water management and thereby implying that other delta regions could learn from the Dutch, which has resulted in a one-way learning process where the Netherlands functions as the expert (Zegwaard et al., 2019). Besides, the IOB (2017) has also criticized the Dutch foreign aid policy for pushing economic interests and ineffectively intervening in foreign policy. This research will therefore take a critical stance towards the Dutch involvement in foreign water infrastructure projects since the Dutch specifically brand themselves as the water experts for economic development.

The fact that the Netherlands exports water infrastructure to other countries is a very economic form of sustainable development which asks for a critical stance towards the involvement of the Netherlands in foreign water infrastructure projects. Since the Dutch government determines the foreign aid policy and therefore determines what inclusive development means in practice, these interests need to be considered in this research. The climate justice perspective is used in this research to critically analyse the foreign intervention practices of the Netherlands since the concept of inclusive development originates from the climate justice perspective because sustainable development proved to be intertwined with economic interests and inequalities (Pouw & Gupta, 2017). This perspective will therefore help understand if there are any inequalities in the Dutch foreign urban development programme as well even though it is labeled as inclusive development.

This research discusses the inclusive development policy of the Dutch water sector with the case of Water as Leverage. The Water as Leverage programme puts inclusive development on the forefront and it claims to work differently than previous Dutch development programmes by striving towards an inclusive collaboration (Ovink, 2021). It is a programme by the Netherlands Enterprise Agency that does grand-scale

water projects to create resilient cities in delta regions. The Asian cities of Khulna (Bangladesh), Chennai (India) and Semarang (Indonesia) are the pilot cities in creating a methodology for future water projects. The programme is framed as an inclusive collaborative method with international and local stakeholders (Ovink, 2021).

By studying the case of Water as Leverage, this research aims to further understand the Dutch interpretation of inclusive development. This research will thereby contribute to the literature by providing a further understanding of the interpretation of inclusive development during a foreign intervention by taking possible donor interests into account. By researching the interpretation of inclusive development on the intervention level, this research uses a perspective that looks at how foreign aid is framed by the donor and the inconsistencies that exist with this. By taking a critical stance towards the Dutch involvement in foreign urban development projects this research connects the themes of inclusive development, urban development and foreign intervention. This thesis will therefore answer the following research question: *How is inclusive development interpreted in the foreign intervention programme Water as Leverage?* This research question will be answered with the help of the following sub-questions:

- *How are the stakeholders involved in the Water as Leverage projects?* This question helps to understand the way in which inclusive development is interpreted and applied in the Water as Leverage programme.
- *What is the interpretation of inclusive development of the Dutch stakeholders in Water as Leverage?* This question has the purpose to gain an understanding of how the Dutch stakeholders or intervening actors interpred inclusive development and what their assumptions are with this concept.
- *What are the implications of the findings for the Dutch concept of inclusive development in foreign intervention programmes like Water as Leverage?* With this question the goal is to take the empirical findings to the broader perspective of inclusive development in foreign intervention programmes.

The research questions will be answered with the use of a document analysis and stakeholder interviews.

This research starts with the theoretical framework where theories regarding inclusive development and the interpretation of inclusive development will be discussed which is followed by theories on power relations and donor interests. The methodology

chapter will explain how the concepts have been operationalized and how the research has been conducted. This is followed by the contextual framework, outlining the Dutch water sector, the Water as Leverage programme and the project teams that have been chosen for this research. The analysis chapters start with a precise analysis of the organisation of Water as Leverage which is followed by a chapter on how the stakeholders are involved in the programme. After this the interpretation of the stakeholders regarding the inclusive development of the Water as Leverage programme will be discussed. The analysis will eventually be related to the theoretical framework in the discussion and the broader themes of inclusive development, urban development and foreign intervention will be discussed. Finally, this thesis will end with the conclusion which answers the research question and provides recommendations for further research.

2. Theoretical framework

In this theoretical framework several theories will be discussed that are of importance when we look at cooperation between stakeholders in urban development programmes. The theories will be explained and the importance of these theories for this research will be discussed. The theories function as a framework to look at inclusive development in Water as Leverage. Firstly, inclusive development as a concept will shortly be discussed with the help of the climate justice theory which helps to understand inequalities and injustices in water governance practices and is used as a critical perspective in this research. The chapter discusses the importance of researching the interpretation of inclusive development as well. Furthermore, the importance of power relations in research on inclusive urban development is discussed which is followed by a discussion about donor interests in foreign urban development projects. Lastly, this chapter talks about how subjectivity and framing are used in this research with the critical discourse analysis.

2.1 Inclusive development

Urban development programmes have become more evolved around the concept of inclusive development since the introduction of the Sustainable Development Goals in 2015 (UN, 2021). This has led to the emergence of inclusive development in the 21st century, making it a rather recent concept in the field of international development studies (Pouw & Gupta, 2017). Urban development practices have increasingly been working with the concept of inclusive development which asks for research on the use of inclusiveness in urban development practices. According to Pouw and Gupta (2017) this recent emergence of inclusive development has led to the increased use of the concept in academic literature, there being contradictions about the meaning of the concept. Across different academic disciplines scholars have given a meaning to inclusivity providing many different aspects of the concept. Inclusivity can mean a focus on the needs of marginalized groups, participation in policy, the inclusion of marginalized knowledge, capacity building or a focus on the distribution of power (Pouw & Gupta, 2017).

Inclusive development stems from climate justice theories since sustainable development proved to be intertwined with economic interests leading to weak

sustainable development (Pouw & Gupta, 2017). The climate justice perspective is concerned with injustices in climate related policies and identifying which actors are excluded in climate governance. It can help understand the inequalities of governance processes and where inclusivity is not achieved (Sareen & Haarstad, 2018). The climate justice perspective sees that certain groups of people suffer worse consequences of climate change than others. It also relates to the fact that some groups are excluded from the decision making process and that not everyone is equally included in climate change governance. According to Hardy (2010) national governments are still the dominant decision making authority in collaborative sustainable development partnerships, even though they speak of the importance of inclusion themselves.

MacCallum et al. (2014) address the contradiction that even though inclusivity is recognized as necessary in sustainable development, it is still something that is not always realized. The inclusion of marginalized groups is often promised and attempted in the context of inclusive development by the actors that perform international development, but in reality this is rarely the case. Furthermore, a common discourse exists in climate change politics wherein the state as a policy maker wants to empower the community, which often turns out to be ineffective or even to have negative counter-effects (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016).

The climate justice perspective recognizes that even when groups are participating, they are not taken seriously (Agyeman et al., 2016). It is often the case that marginalized groups are included in the process, but that they are not seen as equals in the decision making which makes climate change according to Agyeman et al. (2016) a social and political issue rather than just an environmental one. Walker (2009) shows how disrespect and stigmatisation can lead to a devaluation of actors in climate policies causing unequal relations with other actors. These identities and perceptions actors have of each other are an important aspect of the climate justice perspective (Walker, 2009). This research will therefore look into these perceptions, mainly those of Dutch stakeholders in regards to local stakeholders.

In existing literature the term participation is no longer conceptualised as the simple involvement of a broad range of stakeholders in decision-making processes (Few et al., 2007). Instead, Few et al. (2007) define the participation of different actors in a range from passive participation, when actors adapt to decisions being made, to self mobilisation, when actors independently make decisions. The former is an example of

an actor that is officially participating but is not actively involved in the decision making process. MacCallum et al. (2014) also address the fact that social inclusion is more than just including a broad range of stakeholders and that it is important to look beyond this and ensure that all the stakeholders are empowered. The fresh ideas, opinions and knowledge that actors can bring to the table need to be accepted. After all, sustainable governance requires creativity, so people should be open to alternative perspectives (Geels, 2005).

Most definitions of empowerment evolve around people or groups of people gaining control and power over their own lives. However, some authors conceptualize empowerment with formal participation, whereas some authors focus on agency or the capability to act and express power (Úcar Martinéz et al., 2017). Schiffer (2007) combines the two perspectives and claims that empowerment depends on the agency of the actor and the institutional context that ensures the formal capability to participate. Tuuli & Rowlinson (2007) discuss that empowerment should be conceptualized as a structural and a psychological concept, whereby structural empowerment evolves around formal institutional changes and takes place when an actor is given the opportunity to express power. However, this perspective does not take cognitive aspects of empowerment into account, which is why Tuuli & Rowlinson (2007) advocate to use the psychological concept of empowerment as well. Their perspective interpretes empowerment more as a subjective phenomenon that occurs when someone feels competent or respected by other actors. This research uses the psychological concept of empowerment to conceptualise this as well.

The climate justice perspective is an important perspective in sustainable studies, but it is hardly applied to understand sustainable development practices (Sareen & Haarstad, 2018). In current policies there is a clear absence of thinking in terms of climate justice. Institutions often act without considering the inequalities that are discussed in the climate justice perspective (MacCallum, 2014). The climate justice perspective recognizes institutions as the ones that constrain the agency of excluded groups. This perspective can therefore help us understand how inclusivity is not currently realized (Sareen & Haarstad, 2018). The climate justice perspective is used to understand the concept of inclusive development and is used as a tool in this research to take a critical stance towards inclusion in climate related politics like Water as Leverage. Since this perspective shows that inclusivity is not always realized where it is promised,

it is also important to critically analyse Water as Leverage, which is another programme that promises inclusive development.

2.1.1 Interpretation

Pouw & Gupta (2017) have outlined the fact that there has been a significant increase of the use of the concept of inclusive development in policy documents and policy makers define inclusive development differently as well. Some inclusive development policies focus on social factors, some on economic inclusion or some focus on political participation (Pouw & Gupta, 2017). The political approach towards inclusive development focuses on governmental change and addressing the political process of unequal power relations (Pouw & Gupta, 2017). The social interpretation of inclusive development revolves around emphasizing the needs of marginalized groups and is in practice translated to the focus on community engagement and the empowerment of marginalized groups (Pouw & Gupta, 2017). This is related to the policy principle of "leave no one behind" which is used to define inclusive development by the United Nations (UN, 2021). This definition indicates that inclusive development means the non-existence of exclusion (Gupta et al., 2015). The "leave no one behind" principle is adopted by many other policy-makers which according to some scholars like MacCallum et al. (2014) is not what social inclusion contains. This shows that there can be many interpretations of inclusive development which shows the importance of understanding the interpretation of different actors.

Setting aside the search for a definition of inclusive development, this research acknowledges the fact that there is no clear definition of inclusivity or a roadmap of how inclusive development should work in practice. Since scholars and policy-makers have different perspectives on inclusive development, research should focus on who determines what inclusive development means and which of these perspectives is applied in practice. With Water as Leverage the Dutch government has its own way of applying inclusive development in practice and this research intends to gain an understanding of the interpretation of inclusive development of the Dutch stakeholders in Water as Leverage. By researching the interpretation of inclusive development on the intervention level this research uses a perspective that looks at how foreign aid is framed by the donor and the inconsistencies that exist with this. This perspective is supported by Gulrajani (2014) to research foreigd aid effectiveness. The following

section of the theoretical framework discusses power relations in multi-actor governances and donor interests of foreign actors which will elaborate on the importance of understanding the Dutch perspective of inclusive development and their use of the concept in practice.

2.2 Power relations

The climate justice perspective shows that inclusive sustainable development comes with inequalities. Avelino and Wittmayer (2016) discuss that since sustainable development asks for the involvement of a broad range of actors, it is important to understand the multi-actor power relations. However, there currently lacks an understanding about the power relations between different types of actors involved in sustainable development practices. In order to understand the changing politics of a transition towards inclusive development it is important to understand the actors involved and how the power relations between those actors are changing (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016).

Especially in the case of water governance, power is an important concept since the types of actors that work together are rarely equal.This is because the actors involved in water governance range from governants, the private sector, non-governmental organisations and citizens (Brisbois & de Loë, 2016). This unequal distribution of power and agency forms a problem for the collaboration between stakeholders since collaborative governance with asymmetrical power relations tends not to be collaborative at all (Förster et al., 2017). People often oversimplify power relations and overlook the underlying asymmetries of the heterogeneous actors involved when new institutions are designed. So, understanding agency and unequal power distribution is important for the success of collaborative governance (Förster et al., 2017).

Eriksen et al. (2015) discuss how it is important to understand how power and politics interact and how this creates vulnerability, but also how it can create empowerment. They advocate the importance of researching power as something that is exercised through authority, knowledge and subjectivity which essentially influences the politics of climate related policies. According to Eriksen et al. (2015), authority and how it relates to the actors involved is a tool to understand unequal power relations and how

actors exercise their agency. According to this perspective, actors can be labeled as vulnerable or less knowledgeable, which affects how they are viewed by other actors and their relationship with other actors. This can ultimately lead to a difference in authority and therefore difference in power between actors involved (Eriksen et al., 2015). For example, the reputation of the Dutch Delta Approach can give Dutch organisations more authority giving them more power in the programme (Zegwaard et al., 2019).

MacCallum et al. (2014) agree that this framing of groups as vulnerable has negative effects and they have even found that this leads to a top-down relation between the government and the 'vulnerable' community. The actor that is perceived as vulnerable is thereby often educated by the actor that feels it has the superior knowledge which therefore denies the agency of the 'vulnerable' actor (MacCallum et al., 2014). When actors are labeled as vulnerable it changes their relation with other actors in a sense that their abilities and the capacities they possess are questioned. Subjectivity is therefore an important aspect in research on power relations since it can help to understand social inequalities (Eriksen et al., 2015).

When we look at actor involvement and the power relations between those actors, there is a need to realize that different levels of power exist (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016). A common misconception is to say that all the actors involved are on the same level, for example policy makers and citizen organisations do not have the same amount of power or exist on the same level of governance. Avelino & Wittmayer (2016) discuss that different actors have power in different aspects of the politics of sustainable development. For example, actors can have power in transforming existing institutions and have a leading role, or have power in reinforcing these existing institutions and have a more passive role. While policy makers and citizen organisations both have power in an institution or governance structure, they exercise power on different levels (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016). This research will therefore analyse on what aspect or level of the Water as Leverage programme the stakeholders have power.

Actors also exercise their power differently and different types of actors can also have a different kind of power which transcends the common conception that actors can either have power over, or have less power than another actor. Avelino & Wittmayer (2016) distinguish three different types of power: actors that have power over another actor, actors that have more or less power than another actor, and actors that possess

different types of power. According to Grin et al. (2011) the different actors involved seek the opportunity to influence the policies of development practices, however all actors have different limits in their power to influence this. Schiffer (2007) states that agency together with the institutional context is the base of understanding the power of an actor.

According to Schiffer (2007), power can be measured in different approaches with the use of different indicators. The most common indicator used to measure power and the difference in power between actors is the distribution of material and financial resources (Brisbois & de Loë, 2016). However, Schiffer (2007) recommends understanding power as a relation between actors and measuring power relations with communicational and behavioral indicators. This means a focus on how different actors express their power or in other words: agency.

Power in terms of the distribution of communicational and behavioral indicators is the view that is used in this thesis to analyse the stakeholder involvement in Water as Leverage and research if there exist any inequalities within the cooperation. Literature shows that power relations exist and that actors can have different levels of power in water governance practices and describe the importance of realizing that different stakeholders can have different levels of involvement in a programme like Water as Leverage. Keeping this in mind, this research therefore critically analyses how the Dutch and local stakeholders are differently involved in the urban development projects.

2.3 Donor interests

The previous section has made clear that power relations must be taken into account in this research to understand sustainable development practices like Water as Leverage. However, what the literature on power relations in urban development seems to overlook is the role of international donors in the matter. Even in grand studies on urban development governance and power relations like the one by Broto (2017), the role of foreign intervention actors is hardly addressed. The same goes for the study by Avelino & Wittmayer (2016) and other studies that were named in the theoretical framework, which address the importance to research power relations but fail to mention the role of international intervening actors in the matter.

The use of foreign aid in international development is a subject of discussion in the current literature on the subject. Especially the fact that countries can have strategic interests in foreign aid development is something that scholars see as a reason to take a critical stance towards foreign aid (Asongu & Nwachukwu, 2017). According to Apodaca (2017) foreign aid serves many purposes and one of them is that policy makers use foreign aid as a tool to realize their own foreign policy goals. Apodaca (2017) argues that the driving force behind many foreign aid programmes is strategic and a commercial interest of donor countries. Therefore foreign aid is not applied for humanitarian reasons but is mainly used to promote geostrategic interests. For example by strengthening alliances and maintaining friendly relations with foreign governments, donor countries want to create economic relations for their own economic benefits (Apodaca, 2017). A common practice in foreign aid is that the country receiving the aid needs to purchase a good or service from the donor country, thereby increasing the market opportunities for the donor's businesses (Apodaca, 2017).

Inclusive development stems from climate justice theories because sustainable development indeed proved to be intertwined with economic interests leading to weak sustainable development (Pouw & Gupta, 2017). This has also been a point of critique for the Dutch international urban development projects, where the Dutch push their economic benefits (IOB, 2017). However, the Netherlands still openly address the fact that the foreign urban interventions by the Dutch water sector bring economic benefits for Dutch businesses and that these development projects are used to benefit the Dutch economy (Van Nieuwenhuizen Wijbenga et al., 2019). According to Zegwaard et al. (2019) the Netherlands specifically brand themselves as the expert on water infrastructure to gain more international involvement of Dutch corporations.

However, this does not mean that all foreign aid has the purpose to meet commercial interests and this is therefore a subject of discussion in the current literature. According to Van der Veen (2011) foreign aid can serve many goals and policymakers give many different reasons for their development aid. Research by Van der Veen (2011) has shown that countries use different frames for their foreign aid policy, like economic self-interest but also humanitarianism or a sense of obligation. This research showed that for the Netherlands humanitarianism is the most dominant frame used in the foreign aid policy, although it has declined in the past decades. The second most used frame by the Netherlands is related to political power, arguments that

are used are for example taking leadership in a field and obtaining international status (Van der Veen, 2011). According to Van der Veen (2011) self-interest has increasingly become a more important frame for the Dutch foreign aid policy.

Since the Dutch government determines the foreign aid policy and therefore determines what inclusive development means in practice, these interests need to be considered in this research. Following Zwarteveen et al. (2017) this is especially interesting, since they argue that the Dutch have a dominant position and more power in the field of water management which makes them a powerful actor. It is therefore time to question the Dutch presence in urban water development projects in other parts of the world and critically analyse their involvement. These theories about donor interests in foreign urban development programmes help understand the possible underlying interests and intentions of the Dutch actors in Water as Leverage which is used as a critical perspective towards the involvement of Dutch actors and their interpretation of inclusive development.

2.4 Critical discourse analysis

Many of the theories mentioned above ask for the understanding of subjective aspects of empowerment and power relations and the perception of the Dutch stakeholders towards the local stakeholders. In order to understand the interpretation of inclusive development of the Dutch stakeholders during Water as Leverage, this research uses a discourse analysis. Research on policy-making in development projects has become more focused on understanding the discourse and language of policy-makers by critically analysing their written and spoken statements (Jacobs, 2004).

Discourse analysis focuses on how versions of the world or society are produced in discourse or language which can influence interpretations of aspects of society. Language is thereby a lens through which the world is conceptualised, so in other words: the way in which we make sense of the world (Jacobs, 2004). The critical discourse analysis links discourse and how language is used to power and social inequalities (Bryman, 2012). MacCallum et al. (2014) advise to use critical discourse analysis to understand how climate change-related policies are shaped by frames and language. As Jacobs (2004) argues, an analysis that looks into political settings or policies cannot ignore power relations and the inequalities that come with it. According

to O'Brien et al. (2007) discourse and framing are vital in research about climate-related policies. Especially in research about social inclusion, the framing of vulnerability and how actors relate to this concept are important in understanding climate change politics (O'Brien et al., 2007). In this way, O'Brien et al. (2007) emphasize the importance of looking beyond the scientific analysis of vulnerability that focuses on the impact of climate change on nature and human life, but look into the social framing of the vulnerability or incapability of actors.

Central in this research is the interpretation of social inclusion of the Dutch stakeholders in Water as Leverage. As aforementioned, there exist different understandings and interpretations of how social inclusion and inclusive development should work in practice. Few et al. (2007) note that inclusion is an issue that strongly depends on how the policy-makers perceive this concept and the other stakeholders involved, especially since power is a fundamental aspect of inclusive processes. That is why this research analyses the discourse of the Dutch policy-makers of Water as Leverage related to inclusive development.

3. Methodology

This section will discuss the methodology of the research. Firstly, the research design and the research questions will be discussed. Secondly, the operationalization will discuss how the theories from the theoretical framework have been made researchable. Furthermore, this chapter will outline the research methods and discuss the cases and respondents. This chapter ends with a discussion of the positionality of the researcher.

3.1 Research design

This research has a qualitative approach because this research requires an in-depth understanding of Water as Leverage and how it relates to inclusive development. It is thereby important to get new insights in this project, that is why the research has an explorative and interpretive nature. The theoretical framework functions as a base to understand the concept of inclusive development and how this relates to power relations and donor interests. However, the qualitative nature of the research leaves space for new insights. A case study will be most appropriate for this research due to the complex nature and the specific case of Water as Leverage. This thesis will answer the following research question: *How is inclusive development interpreted in the foreign intervention programme Water as Leverage?* This research question will be answered with the help of the following sub-questions:

- *How are the stakeholders involved in the Water as Leverage projects?*
- *What is the interpretation of inclusive development of the Dutch stakeholders in Water as Leverage?*
- *What are the implications of the findings for the Dutch concept of inclusive development in foreign intervention programmes like Water as Leverage?*

The first sub-question has the aim to fully understand the policy and governance of Water as Leverage, hereby all the stakeholders that are involved and their work in the programme will be outlined. The second sub-question focuses on the interpretation of the Dutch stakeholders of inclusive development and their ideas and experience with this concept with Water as Leverage. The third sub-question discusses what the findings of this research mean for the inclusive development by the Dutch government and how the findings relate to the theoretical framework.

3.2 Operationalisation

The research questions will be answered with the help of the theories discussed in the theoretical framework. Table 1 shows a schematic overview of the concepts of this research and how they are operationalised. The indicators are used to make the interview guide which can be found in the appendices. The theories from the theoretical framework are used to analyse the secondary data as well.

Table 1: Operationalisation

Sub-question	**Theory**	**Concept**	**Indicator**
Stakeholder involvement	Power relations	The stakeholders involved possess different levels of power	- On what level of the WaL programme does the stakeholder have power? - Leading role / passive role - Transforming / reinforcing power
		The stakeholders have different types of power.	- How do the stakeholders express their power? - How do the stakeholders exercise their agency?
		Certain actors can have more power and authority.	- Do the Dutch stakeholders indeed have more power and authority?
	Climate justice perspective	The difference between the involvement of established	- Is there a difference in the involvement of Dutch and local

		stakeholders and new stakeholders.	stakeholders? - How are they participating, passive / self-mobilization?
		Are the marginalized stakeholders empowered?	- Expansion of agency - Do the marginalized stakeholders have the formal opportunity to express power? - Are the marginalized stakeholders respected? - Do the marginalized stakeholders feel competent?
		The involvement of all stakeholders.	- Which organisations are involved? - Are there any important stakeholders not involved?
		The inclusion of marginalized (local) stakeholders. How are they involved?	- How are the local stakeholders participating, passive / self mobilisation?
	Donor interests	The involvement of Dutch organisations.	- How are the Dutch organisations involved, what are their tasks?
		The amount of intervention by Dutch	- To what extent are the Dutch actors involved

		actors in inclusive development practices	in Water as Leverage projects? - How much are they involved in the community engagement or governance aspect?
Interpretation of inclusive development	Interpretation	Policymakers can have different interpretations of inclusive development.	- The "leave no one behind" perspective - Or more focus on empowerment
		Political development.	- Is there a focus on governmental change? - How is this translated into practice?
		Social development.	- Is there a focus on community engagement? - How is this translated into practice?
	Power relations	How do the Dutch stakeholders view the local stakeholders?	- Are the local actors labeled as vulnerable or less knowledgeable by the other actors?
	Climate justice perspective	Are the marginalized (local) stakeholders taken seriously?	- Do the Dutch stakeholders see the local stakeholders as equals? - Are the local

			stakeholders stigmatized? - Are the local stakeholders treated/ perceived with disrespect?
	Donor interests	The reason given for the foreign urban development intervention	- What is the reason given for the Dutch intervention in the WaL programme?
		The sense of obligation of the foreign intervention actor	- Do the Dutch actors have a sense of obligation regarding urban development?
		The goal of the inclusive development programme.	- What is the plan for the future involvement of the Dutch and local stakeholders? - Do the Dutch stakeholders intend to stay involved?

3.3 Methods

In order to answer the research question this research consists of a document analysis and stakeholder interviews. Firstly, to fully understand the work procedures within Water as Leverage an analysis of the policy documents has been done. The document analysis was done with documents found on the websites of the Dutch Enterprise Agency, Water as Leverage or participating organisations. A range of different types of documents was used to understand the stakeholder involvement of Water as Leverage. On the website of the Dutch Enterprise Agency policy documents were free for

download which describe the programme and process of Water as Leverage in detail. The website of Water as Leverage provided executive summaries about the projects and information about the proposition of the project teams. Beside this, on the website of the participating organisations information about their involvement in the project and related documents were used to further understand the involvement of each stakeholder. There were also some webinars by the project teams or participating organisations used which were found on Youtube or the website of the organisation. Furthermore, the report of the meeting of the Community of Practice about Water as Leverage was used for the document analysis which was provided by a respondent. All these documents are referenced in the analysis and can be found in the reference list.

Secondly, stakeholder interviews have been conducted to understand the experiences of the actors involved. The interviews were semi-structured, which means that some questions and conversation topics were determined beforehand but that there has also been freedom during the interviews to discuss other subjects. This freedom during the interviews is needed to acquire new insights from the respondents. The interview guide can be found in the appendices. The respondents were recruited in several ways, but the first step was reaching out to someone from the Dutch Enterprise Agency whose contact details were shared by my supervisor. This started a snowball effect where respondents shared or recommended other contacts with me. Furthermore, on the website and documents of Water as Leverage many names and contact details of people involved in the projects could be found, them either becoming a respondent or helping me find other contacts. In addition a simple search on LinkedIn with the words “Water as Leverage” has provided some more contacts and respondents.

The interviews were held online and were not recorded in order to let the respondents talk freely. The duration of the interviews varied between respondents but they were usually around an hour long and depending on the respondent the interviews were either held in Dutch or English. There have been notes taken instead during the interviews and the interviews have been written out immediately after the interviews were over. In order to analyse the interview these were coded, the coding overview can be found in the appendices. In order to address the issues of informed consent, the respondents were asked for permission to use their interview for this research and were asked if they would like to redact anything they have said after the interview was

conducted. In addition, before each interview the purpose of this research was explained and the respondents were able to ask questions about this.

3.4 Cases and respondents

The Water as Leverage programme operates in the cities of Chennai, Khulna and Semarang and in each city there are two project teams. This research will focus on three teams, one from each city. These teams are: *City of 1000 tanks* (Chennai), *Khulna as a Water Inclusive City* and *One Resilient Semarang: Water(shed) as Leverage*. The choice to research one team from each city has been made because this provides the opportunity to get a more general perspective of the Water as Leverage approach.

Table 2 shows an overview of the respondents of the stakeholder interviews. The overview shows the function of each respondent and for which organisation they work. In the text the code for the respondents is used to refer to their interviews, the first letters indicate in the text which organisation they represent. The respondents have been chosen because they are tied to Water as Leverage is some way. The majority of the respondents are from a Dutch organisation, this is to understand the Dutch interpretation of inclusive development. However, there are two respondents from a local organisation to get an alternative perspective.

Table 2: Respondents

Code	Function	Organisation	Date
RV1	Programme manager	RVO	20-04-2021
RV2	Lead water programmes	RVO	11-05-2021
D1	Facilitator community of practice	Deltares	26-04-2021
RV3	Sr. programme advisor	RVO	20-04-2021
RH1	Stakeholder advisor in Khulna	RHDHV	06-05-2021
RV4	Facilitator community of practice	RVO	20-04-2021
KK1	Programme manager	Kota Kita	17-05-2021
NL1	Special Envoy for International Water Affairs	Kingdom of the Netherlands	25-05-2021

UND1	Researcher department of urban & regional planning	UNDIP	27-05-2021

3.5 Data analysis

The data analysis consists of two parts, the secondary data analysis and the analysis of the stakeholder interviews. The secondary data analysis started with getting an understanding of the Water as Leverage programme and its process from the start. Furthermore, the exact composition of the teams has been outlined in order to understand what organisations are involved in the projects and how these organisations are involved in the projects. This was then critically reviewed and analysed with the use of the operationalised concepts from the theoretical framework. For example, per team the involvement of the different stakeholders was analysed to understand the different involvement of the Dutch and local stakeholders. Not just how many Dutch and local organisations were involved, but the different tasks and responsibility they have as well.

The analysis of the stakeholder interviews started with coding the interviews according to overlapping themes that have been discussed in the different interviews. This made for a clear overview of all the interviews which was then analysed with the help of each theory from the theoretical framework. The information from the interviews were used to answer the questions from table 1 and vice versa the questions were used to find useful information from the interviews. The theories from the theoretical framework were discussed separately in the analysis chapter which is translated into the structure of the chapter.

3.6 Positionality statement

Since this research focuses on the interpretation of inclusive development of the Dutch stakeholders it is important to discuss the positionality of the researcher. The researcher is not tied to Water as Leverage, the Dutch Enterprise Agency or any other organisation that is discussed in this research. Being independent from the Water as Leverage programme and its organisations has helped to be critical towards the organisations. There also do not exist any personal ties to any of the respondents or

people involved in the research. However, it is worth mentioning that the researcher is Dutch which can influence the positionality towards the inclusive development policy of the Netherlands.

At the start of the research process I was extremely skeptical towards Water as Leverage and its promise of it working in an inclusive manner. On top of that, I was critical towards foreign intervention programmes of the Dutch water sector in general being convinced the Dutch actors have ulterior motives for their work on water related urban development elsewhere in the world. This could mean that I as the researcher have been too sceptical towards the Dutch foreign urban development policy and the Water as Leverage programme. This personal belief prior to the data collection and analysis makes this research not completely unbiased. Since this research focuses on how the Dutch stakeholders interpret inclusive development which is researched by an analysis by the researcher, the personal bias of the researcher should always be considered.

4. Contextual framework

This chapter provides the contextual framework of this research. The chapter starts with discussing the Dutch water sector and its foreign development policy. In addition to this the Water as Leverage programme and the teams that have been analysed in this research will be discussed.

4.1 The Dutch water sector

This research focuses on Water as Leverage which is a programme within the Dutch water sector. Water management is the spearhead in the aid policy of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry understands water management as "the activity of planning, developing, distributing and managing the optimum use of water resources" (IOB, 2017). After 2006, improved water management has become more of a priority in the Dutch aid policy and the sector increased its attention to opportunities abroad. In 2011 water officially became one of the spearheads in the development aid policy. In the following years the Dutch water sector increased its development aid in other parts of the world and the government put more focus on the water management policy.

This has eventually led to the announcement of the International Water Ambition (IWA) in 2016 where several departments of the government and the water sector work to promote the international reputation of the Netherlands and work towards a world where people live safely with water (Rijksoverheid, 2016). The International Water Ambition was an initiative of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Economic Affairs and Climate Policy, Infrastructure and Water Management and Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality in cooperation with the Dutch water sector. The goal of this International Water Ambition is to increase the water safety and water security in urban delta's and to increase the Dutch part in realizing this (Rijksoverheid, 2016). Notice that increasing the Dutch involvement is explicitly mentioned as a goal in this ambition.

In 2019 the sequel of the IWA was announced called the Dutch International Water Ambition (NIWA) which incorporates the Sustainable Development Goals and focuses even more on the international approach of the Dutch water sector and long term international cooperation (van Nieuwenhuizen Wijbenga et al., 2019). The appliance of knowledge is central in the policy of the NIWA, especially the appliance of Dutch water policy elsewhere in the world. As part of the NIWA the Dutch government

also intends to further promote and invest in the reputation of the Netherlands in water management (van Nieuwenhuizen Wijbenga et al., 2019).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs argued that a large part of the world is facing pressing water related problems that need to be solved now and that the Netherlands with its reputation as a water management expert has the ability to tackle these water related problems. The Ministry has stated that "the Netherlands, as a world leader in water management, has an opportunity, as well as a duty, to be a driving force and provide a fundamental contribution to solving these problems" (IOB, 2017). According to the Dutch government the International Water Ambition is necessary because the Dutch have an international responsibility on the theme of water since the Netherlands has a strong national policy on water related climate adaptation (Rijksoverheid, 2016).

Later, the Dutch government gave another argument for the involvement in foreign water management, namely that it benefits the economic position of Dutch companies abroad (van Nieuwenhuizen Wijbenga et al., 2019). Van Nieuwenhuizen Wijbenga et al. (2019) specifically named optimizing the Dutch revenue model as a goal of the International Water Ambition. However, according to the IOB (2017) the foreign aid policy by the Dutch water sector should not be oversimplified and misinterpreted as something that is focused on economic gain instead of development, the Netherlands has carefully promoted itself as a trusted advisor. On the contrary, according to the IOB (2017) it has become clear that when countries reach a certain transition stage that the simple development assistance changes towards a more complex and broader involvement of the Dutch water sector which ultimately ensured economic benefit for the Netherlands. The IOB (2017) has advised that the Dutch water sector should be more framed towards the Sustainable Development Goals rather than trade objectives to keep this reputation as the trusted advisor. An important observation has been that governments and stakeholders that were involved with the Dutch water sector experienced that the Netherlands pushed their economic interests too aggressively (IOB, 2017).

It is not just economic interests that are being pushed, the Dutch water sector has also given institutional development and planning support to other countries for many years. However, this turned out to have a modest effect and according to the IOB (2017) this is because external agencies can only influence domestic institutional factors to a certain extent. There have indeed been cases in the past where the Dutch water sector

did not fully understand the local water management situation and failed to contribute (IOB, 2017). Various cases have shown that Dutch water authority concepts and approaches are usually not applicable elsewhere. Even when joint actions with local institutions had agreements to work on institutional development this turned out to be inadequate (IOB, 2017). Furthermore, according to the IOB (2017) institutional development from the Netherlands and other donor countries is also a politically sensitive subject and it has resulted in resistance from the governments of these countries.

Interestingly, the same IOB report that argued that external agencies cannot influence domestic institutional factors effectively pleads that the Dutch have no choice but to continue to try to build the capacity and improve the capacity of domestic national water management institutions. This is simply because change at the local level depends on an effective transformation of institutional frameworks and by ignoring institutional development, water management and urban development projects will not have a long term effect (IOB, 2017). Lastly, the IOB report ends by recommending a strong Dutch involvement in urban delta regions because this can be beneficial to the donor country and it would help international sustainable development. Besides, it gives another reason, namely a strong involvement would be profitable for the Netherlands as well since this would ensure engagement of the Dutch private sector internationally (IOB, 2017).

4.2 Water as Leverage

Water as Leverage is a programme by the Netherlands Enterprise Agency (RVO) that claims to work on innovative and inclusive water projects to create resilient cities in delta regions. In contrast to the established infrastructure like dikes and dams this programme uses more sustainable solutions to create resilient cities (Water as Leverage, 2021d). The Asian cities of Khulna (Bangladesh), Chennai (India) and Semarang (Indonesia) are the pilots in creating a methodology for future water projects. The objective of Water as Leverage is to develop proposals for urban water projects to address the water and climate adaptation needs in these three cities. The goal is to enable funding for the best proposals by connecting them to funding opportunities to develop the proposals towards implementation (RVO, 2018b).

Water as Leverage started from the idea that you can use a challenge, or a sort of competition, to challenge experts and international partners to work together in the places where people are most vulnerable (DDA, 2021). On 22 april 2018, Water as Leverage launched its first Call for Action to invite engineers, designers, architects, etc. to form interdisciplinary teams and to participate in Water as Leverage. This Call for Action was the start of a year-long competitive programme to identify the most feasible and innovative proposals and eventually start the development of sustainable urban water projects (RVO, 2018a). During the summer of 2018 the six teams were selected, establishing two teams per pilot city and the teams were eventually brought together in september 2018. These teams were selected to develop innovative approaches to tackle the climate and water challenges in the three cities that also need to gain local support through active stakeholder involvement (Water as Leverage, 2021a).

As aforementioned, Water as Leverage aims to be different then other water development projects by using more sustainable solutions. In addition, the Water as Leverage programme is framed as a programme that works differently than previous Dutch development programmes that works with an inclusive development perspective. The programme is framed as an inclusive collaborative method with international and local stakeholders instead of previous Dutch interventions that have been criticized for not working with local stakeholders (Ovink, 2021).

The Water as Leverage programme consists of 4 phases which will be discussed in depth in chapter 5. The first two phases form the pre-project preparation phase of the programme in which the winning teams of the design competition have received funding from the RVO. The total sum of this funding is 200,000.00 euros, the teams received 75,000.00 after phase 1 and the teams that completed phase 2 received an additional 125,000.00 euros (RVO, 2018b). After the first two phases of the programme the programme continued into the implementation phase. Since the goal of Water as Leverage is to connect the best design proposals to funding opportunities there did not exist an agreed fund for the implementation of the projects from the start. The implementation of the projects is funded by funders like The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the Dutch Development Bank (FMO) who are present from the start to identify the projects they want to fund (RVO, 2018b).

The last phase of the programme focuses on scaling-up and replication of the projects into other regions and cities which has also been an award criteria in selecting

the winning proposals (RVO, 2018b). The design proposals are therefore grand scale urban development projects consisting of multiple development projects in the city. In the following section three of the winning proposals will be discussed which will also show the scale of these urban development projects. From each city one team is selected as the focus in this research, these teams have been selected due to their similarity in their composition of types of stakeholders. The selected teams and its stakeholders will be discussed below.

4.2.1 Chennai: City of 1000 tanks

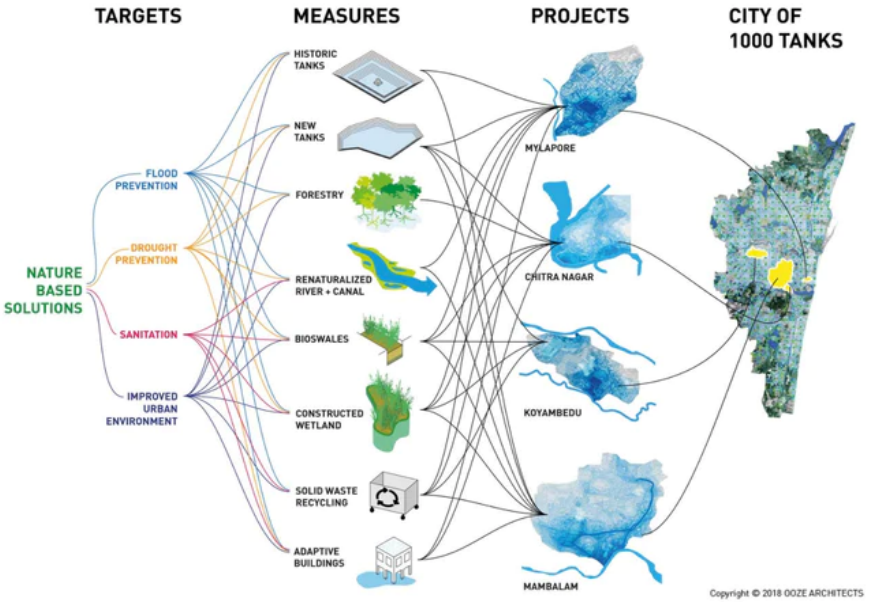
Chennai is a city with the second largest port in India and it is located on the south-east coast of India in the state Tamil Nadu. The city is the fourth most populated area in India and it is expected to attract 30% more residents by 2030 (RVO, 2018b). The city has the lowest water availability per citizen of all the large cities in India, which will only increase due to climate change. Water scarcity is therefore one of the primary problems of the city. Besides, a large part of Chennai's ground and surface water has been contaminated which has caused it to be undrinkable (Water as Leverage, 2018a). The rapid urbanization has also led to problems regarding waste collection and eventually pollution of the natural environment. The vast majority of Chennai's waste is stored in the wetlands and the canals which pollutes the water and clogs the drainage system. This failure of the natural draining system has led to the increase of floods in the city, especially during the monsoon season. These floods form a direct danger for human lives and cause failing crops (Water as Leverage, 2018a). Furthermore, the combination of rising sea-levels and grey constructions like dams and harbors has caused the erosion of the city's coastline which will lead to the displacement of many households (Water as Leverage, 2018b). The team intends to improve the water quality and protect the area from flooding and rising sea levels (Water as Leverage, 2021e).

The team leader has indicated that there exists institutional challenges in the local governance of Chennai which cause problems for the implementation of the projects. One of the biggest challenges is the cooperation between different departments of the government (Water Youth Network, 2020). The government intends to improve its internal cooperation and the collaboration with the private sector and citizens (Chennai Resilient Centre, 2021). As part of the city of 1000 tanks project the

team intends to improve local governance by integrating different departments of the government and be transparent throughout the project (City of 1000 tanks, 2021)

The team consists of local and international experts from various disciplines and the team is led by *OOZE Architects*, a Dutch architecture and urban design firm. There are several organisations from India in the team, the architecture firm *Madras Terrace*, *the Indian Institute of Technology Madras (IIT Madras), Care Earth Trust, Paperman Foundation, Pitchandikulam Forest Consultants, Information and Resource Centre for the Deprived Urban Communities (IRCDUC), Uravugal Social Welfare Trust* and *Rain Centre.* Furthermore, the team consists of some international organisations, *Biomatrix* (Scotland) which works on technology in the water sector, *Goethe Institute* (Germany), *Delft University of Technology* (the Netherlands), *IHE Delft Institute for Water Education* and *HKV Consultants* (the Netherlands) which is a knowledge entrepreneur on water management.

Image 1: City of 1000 tanks projects



Source: City of 1000 tanks (2021)

The city of 1000 tanks team works on four development projects in different neighbourhoods in Chennai that are all related to flood prevention, drought prevention, sanitation and improved urban environment. Image 1 shows the four projects of the overarching project and it shows the grand size of this urban development project. In Mylapore the team works on the restoration of the two temple tanks which were

historically used to retain water during the monsoon season for use during the dry season. The public spaces are designed with natural wetlands to deal with rainwater runoff (City of 1000 tanks, 2021). Image 2 shows how these developments would function during the summer and monsoon season.

Chitra Nagar is a low-income slum resettlement housing scheme and it is one of the worst areas in the city during floods. Besides, the residents of this neighbourhood have limited access to potable and non-potable water, have poor solid waste management and a lack of access to sanitation facilities. The team works on water collection and reuse in this neighbourhood as well accompanied by waste and sanitation management. The team has also developed a plan for the construction of 30% more housing in the area and a reconstruction of the neighbourhood with urban forestry (City of 1000 tanks, 2021). Image 2 shows what this neighbourhood would look like in the summer and monsoon season.

Image 2: Chitra Nagar (left) and Mylapore (right) artist impression

Source: OOZE Architects (2019)

Koyambedu is Chennai's primary industrial and logistics hub and it has the largest perishable goods market of the city. The neighbourhood is situated in a low area between the river and a channel and has therefore a high flood risk which endangers the food logistics and causes many problems for the entire city. The team works on the redesign of this area with stormwater absorbing measures and a waste recycling programme (City of 1000 tanks, 2021).

Lastly, the team works in Mambalam which is the commercial heart of the city with a large residential population as well. The project consists of redesigning public and private areas of the neighbourhood with a focus on rainwater collection and reuse. The canal will be transformed with planting natural wetlands to clean the water and a waste collection system is used to keep the area clean (City of 1000 tanks, 2021). Image 3 shows what the area looks like now and an impression of what the area would look like after the project implementation.

Image 3: Mambalam now and artist impression

Source: OOZE Architects (2019)

4.2.2 Khulna as a Water Inclusive City

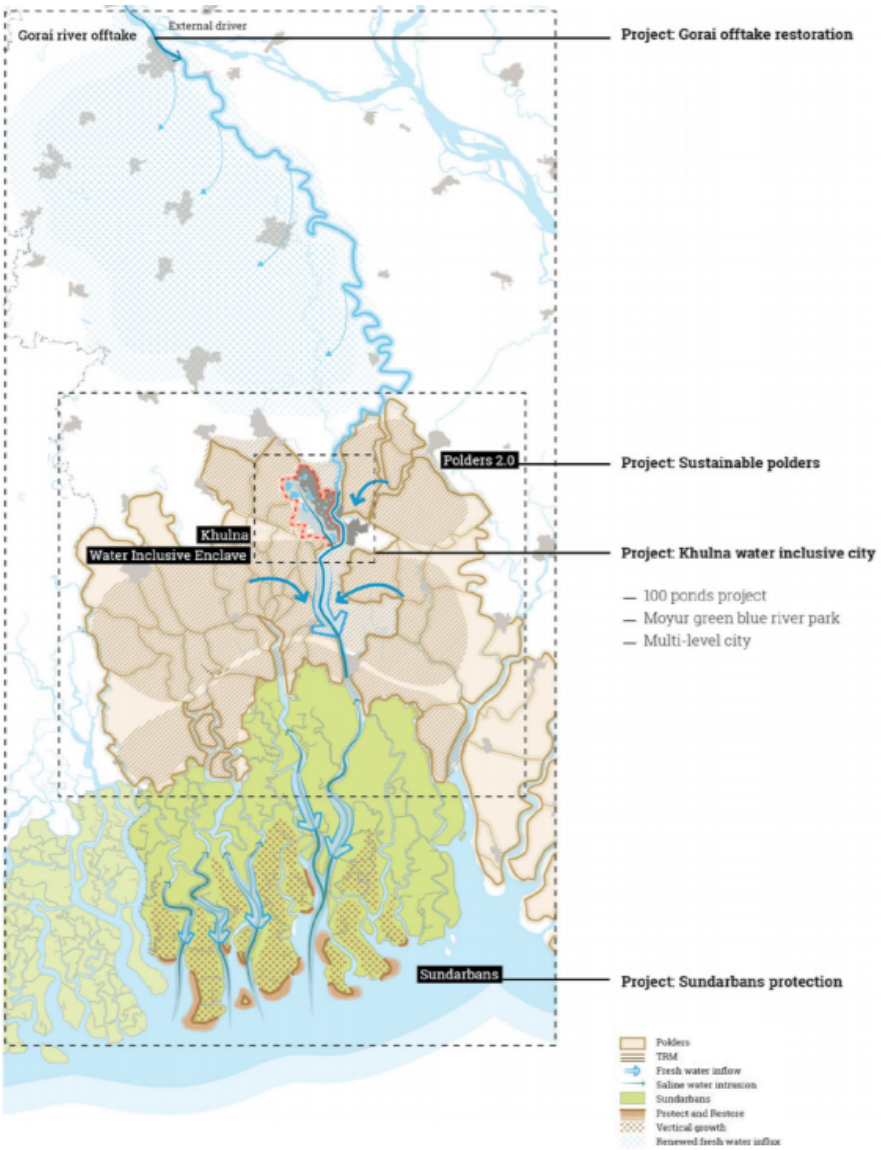
Khulna is a fast growing city in Bangladesh and it is part of the largest delta in the world: the Ganges-Brahmaputra Delta. The city attracts many climate refugees from rural areas and is now the third largest city in Bangladesh. The area consists for a large part of a labyrinth of channels, lakes, swamps and is the gateway to the world's largest mangrove forest (RVO, 2018b). With its many ponds the city has a sponge-like structure, however many of the channels and ponds have been drained for real estate development in the city removing direct access to potable water. In combination with salinization this forms a serious problem for the future clean water supply and food security of the city (Water as Leverage, 2019b).

The ponds and channels also form a natural drainage system and mostly due to legal and illegal real estate development almost 50 percent of this system has already disappeared (RVO, n.d.). Khulna is vulnerable to seasonal river flooding and storms and in combination with rising sea levels and the disappearing of the natural drainage system the city is increasingly experiencing floods. The informal settlements near the riverbanks are especially in direct danger due to the seasonal floods in the wet season (RVO, n.d.). According to representatives of the RVO there exist institutional problems in Khulna like corruption and bureaucracy (NL1, 25 May 2021).

The team leader is *CDR International*, a coast, delta and river engineering and consultancy firm based in the Netherlands. *Defacto Architecture and Urbanism* is the lead design actor which is a firm from the Netherlands. *DevConsultant* is an organisation from Bangladesh that assesses the social and environmental effects of the conceptual design. *Nelen & Schuurmans* is a Dutch water management and IT company which provides flood modeling and interactive visualisation. *Royal HaskoningDHV* is a Dutch engineering and consultancy firm and contributes to the team with its flood resilience experience. The *Khulna University* and the *Wageningen University and Research (WUR)* are both involved in the team, the WUR provides knowledge on complex Delta planning and the involvement of the Khulna University is meant to secure continuity of the team and its philosophy (Water as Leverage, 2021c).

The urban development plan in Khulna is divided into three scales, the fresh water zone upstream the Gorai river, the transition zone in the city of Khulna and the coastal zone in the polders and Sundarbans which is the largest mangrove forest in the world. Within these three zones there are regional and local projects to restore the water balance (Water as Leverage, 2019b). Image 4 shows the map of Khulna and the regional and local projects of the team. Firstly, the 'Gorai off-take restoration project' aims to ensure an adequate water flow in the river during the dry season which will ensure sufficient fresh water for the floodplains of Khulna (Water as Leverage, 2019b). The project 'sustainable polders' in the transition zone focuses on changing agricultural patterns and production. The team uses Tidal River Management which is a building with nature strategy to decrease waterlogging of low-lying polder areas. In the coastal area the project 'Sundarbans protection' intervenes in order to regenerate the mangroves naturally (Water as Leverage, 2019b).

Image 4: Map regional projects Khulna

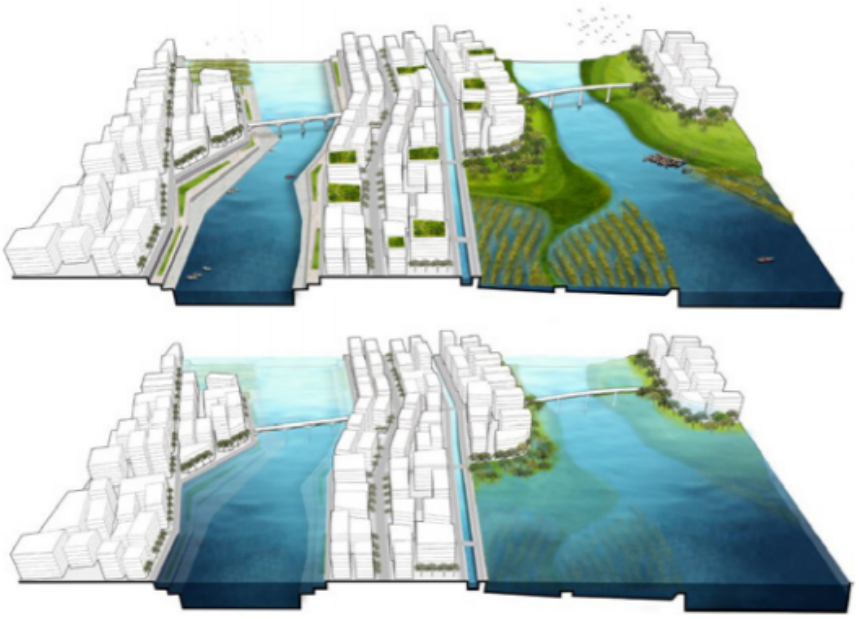


Source: Water as Leverage (2019b)

In the city the project 'Khulna water inclusive city' deals with the storage and the reuse of rainwater to reduce floods in the city. Besides, as part of this project there are regulations set up for future urban expansion in the western area of the city in the name of water inclusive urban development (Water as Leverage, 2019b). There are three local key projects for water storage as part of the 'Khulna water inclusive city' project. The '100 pond project' (1) focuses on preserving and increasing the water storage capacity of 100 ponds in the city, an existing water collection system on the rooftops of buildings in the city. The project 'Moyur river park' (2) aims to use the Moyur river as a water storage by using canals to direct rainwater towards the river while simultaneously

transforming the river area into a park. The project 'Multi-level city' (3) focuses on the application of different types of building regulations in order to provide sufficient water storage space for extreme events. Image 5 shows a visualization of this multi-level city approach and how the river would look like in these extreme weather events. These three water storage projects are complemented with projects on water reuse, water treatment, waste water, solid waste collection and awareness (Water as Leverage, 2019b).

Image 5: Khulna as a water inclusive city



Source: Water as Leverage (2019b)

4.2.3 One Resilient Semarang: Water(shed) as Leverage

Semarang is a coastal city located on the North shore of the Java island in Indonesia. The city and its port is important for local trade and is the fifth most populated area in Indonesia which is still experiencing rapid urbanization (RVO, n.d.). The urban area of Semarang lies between the sea and the mountains with Kampongs which are fenced communal compounds around the entire area forming smaller communities within the city. Along the coastline and mangrove forest there are several informal settlements that are especially in danger of the city's water issues (RVO, n.d.).

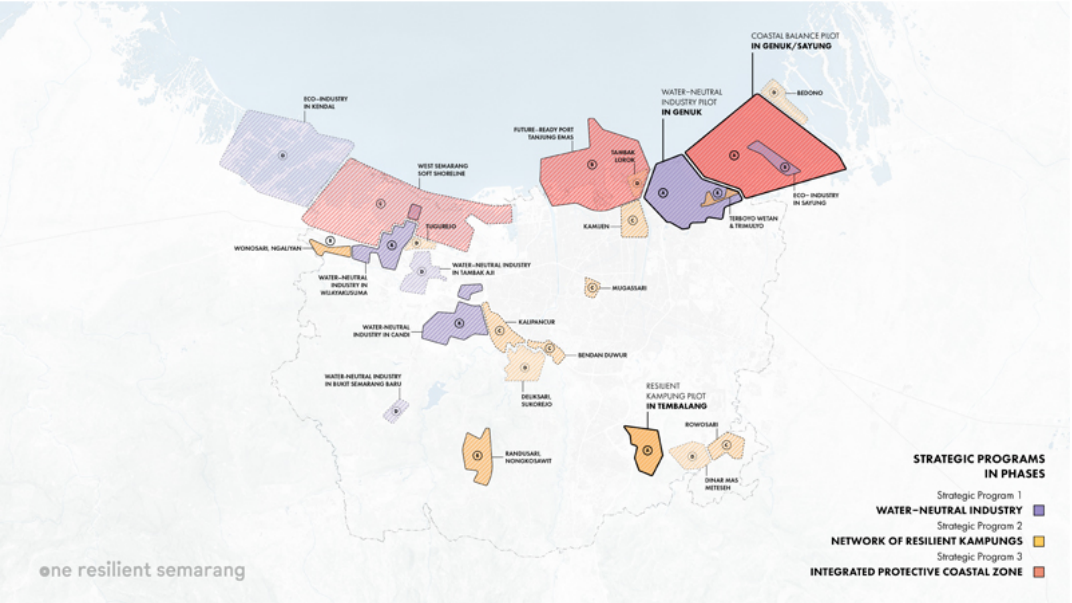
The rapid urbanization and expansion of the harbour of Semarang has caused the decline of the mangrove forest which is necessary to protect the coastline against flooding (RVO, 2018b). On top of that, the rivers of Semarang are filling up causing the

natural drainage system to fail and moreover decreasing the access to potable water. The increasing floods during the cyclonic season limit the city's access to potable water forcing the citizens to extract groundwater causing land subsidence. This makes Semarang a sinking city, each year the soil drops around 8 cm causing the city to be below sea level in the future making land subsidence Semarang's main water issue (RVO, n.d.). Due to climate change the city will face more heavy rainfall, rising sea levels and water pollution which causes problems for food security and increases migration (Beagan & Thoma, n.d.).

The city of Semarang has been involved with urban development programmes for over a decade now and has a lot of experience with cooperating with Dutch institutions (UND1, 27 May 2021). Water related urban development programmes where Dutch stakeholders are involved also focus on the improvement of water governance in Semarang. According to Partner voor Water (2021) the transition of the city towards a water resilient one asks for an organisational transformation. The Water as Leverage projects in Semarang intend to work on the improvement of the local governance as well (Beagan & Thoma, n.d.).

One Architecture and Urbanism Inc. is a design and planning firm based in Amsterdam and New York which aims to guide the process towards implementable, integrated solutions. *Deltares* leads the risk assessment and helps to develop a water-based approach to resilience (Water as Leverage, 2021c). *Wetlands International* is an international NGO dedicated to the conservation and restoration of wetlands and it focuses on social and ecological integration. *Kota Kita* is an Indonesian non-profit which is an expert in urban planning and citizen participation. *Sherwood Design Engineers* is a civil engineering firm from the United States which specialises in the integration of infrastructure, design and the environment (Water as Leverage, 2021c). *Hysteria Grobak* is an organisation based in Semarang which is specialised in youth empowerment and community engagement. *Iqbal Reza Fazlurrahman* is an international consultant for large-scale infrastructure projects in Indonesia. *Diponegoro University (UNDIP)* is a university in Semarang and a research group from the Urban Research and Planning Department is part of the team.

Image 6: One resilient Semarang



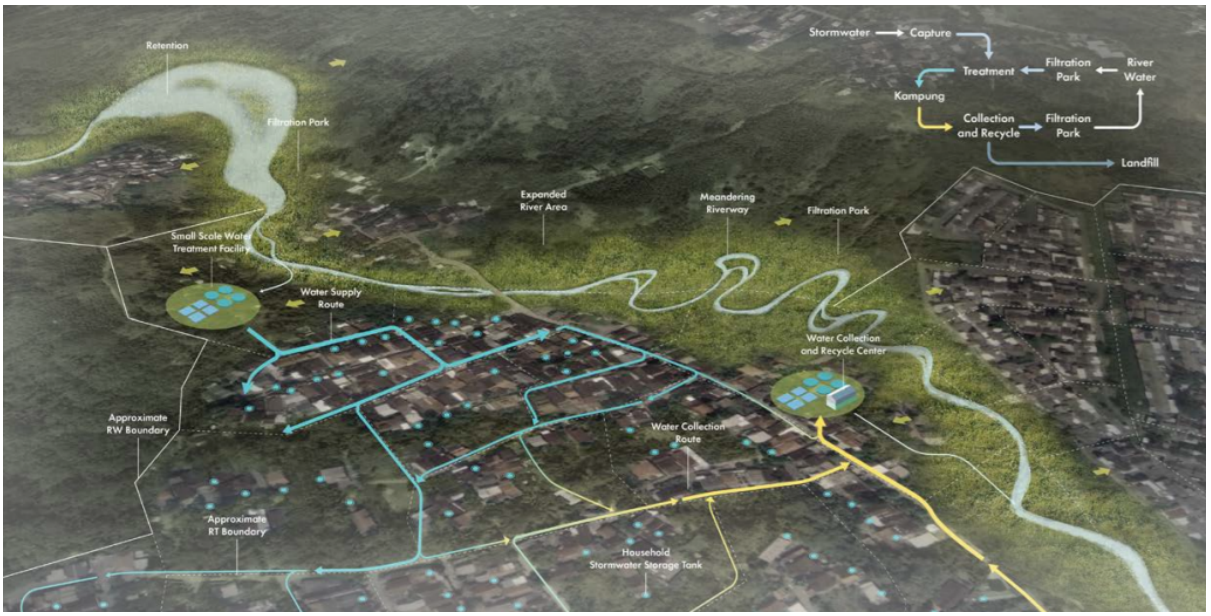
Source: Handayani et al. (n.d)

The two teams from Semarang eventually came together to cooperate on many aspects of the projects (UND1, 27 May 2021). As part of the Water as Leverage programme there are six strategic programmes in Semarang, three from each team. Image 6 shows a map of Semarang and the six strategic programmes of the city. The One Resilient team developed designs for a water-neutral industry, a kampong network and protective coastal zones (Handayani et al., n.d.). The 'water-neutral industry' programme promotes sustainable industrial development and a circular economy. By optimizing the water supply and water management of the growing industry of the city, the programme does a step towards stopping groundwater extraction and reducing land subsidence (Beagan & Thoma, n.d.).

The programme 'protective coastal zones' focuses on the balance between industrial growth and ecological restoration of the coastal area. The coastline of Semarang has shifted in the past three decades due to rising sea-levels, erosion and land reclamation. Besides, unmanaged industrial activities such as ground water extraction and contested land ownership adds to the ecological problem of coastal erosion. The programme consists of a development plan for the port partly ecological and fload protective and partly economic with the promotion of sustainable industrial growth and coordinated competition (Beagan & Thoma, n.d).

The 'network of resilient kampungs' programme consists of the development of sustainable infrastructure for water, waste and energy in the kampungs (Handayani et al., n.d.). Image 7 shows this plan for a network of kampungs and the smaller projects of this strategic programme. As part of the programme the team has developed upgraded infrastructure in the kampungs such as water supply, stormwater storage tanks, wastewater management and recycle centers. In addition to these various projects the programme consists of capacity building of the stakeholders from the kampong level, such as the community leaders, empower the local community and enable local water planning. The team has also created institutional arrangements with the city to dedicate a local budget to these and future kampong investments (Beagan & Thoma, n.d.).

Image 7: Network of resilient Kampungs



Source: Beagan & Thoma (n.d.)

5. Water as Leverage organisation

This chapter discusses the organisation of Water as Leverage, which actors are involved and how these stakeholders are involved in the programme. First of all, the Water as Leverage programme in its entirety will be explained from the start of the programme and the selection of the team to the implication of the projects. Besides, this chapter discusses the way in which Water as Leverage works with the concept of inclusive development and how the programme wants to involve the different stakeholders.

5.1 Water as Leverage programme

According to Henk Ovink, special envoy for international water affairs, existing urban development projects currently lack an inclusive and innovative approach to use water as a leverage for change. Water as Leverage claims to provide this innovative and inclusive approach towards sustainable innovation (RVO, 2018a). The programme started from the idea that you can use a challenge, or a sort of competition, to challenge experts and international partners to work together in the places where people are most vulnerable (DDA, 2021). On 22 april 2018, Water as Leverage launched its first Call for Action to invite engineers, designers, architects, etc. to form interdisciplinary teams and to participate in Water as Leverage. This Call for Action was the start of a year-long competitive programme to identify the most feasible and innovative proposals and eventually start the development of sustainable urban water projects (RVO, 2018a).

The proposals that were submitted by these teams were assessed by the Advisory Board of the programme on the basis of the award criteria which are discussed in the next paragraph. With the use of a point system the six highest ranked development proposals were eventually selected by the RVO (RVO, 2018a). In July 2018, the six teams in the cities of Khulna, Chennai and Semarang were selected with two teams per city out of all the submissions from several cities in Asia. The cities were chosen because of their water related issues and vulnerability and because they were open to the Water as Leverage collaborative design process (RVO, n.d.). The Call for Action focuses on the pre-project preparation phase and consists of two phases: Research and Analysis (Phase 1) and Development of Proposals (Phase 2). The RVO's objective of this pre-project preparation is to include all stakeholders from the beginning (RVO, 2018a). By setting up a coalition between local and global stakeholders,

design and implementation are meant to be combined. The goal is to create an inclusive learning environment where everybody understands the project from the beginning. So, the aim of this programme is that in contrast to projects where engineers present a full design, everybody helps and learns about the design from the start (RVO, n.d.).

After the first two phases financial arrangements for implementation are taken which starts Phase 3 of the programme (Laeni et al., 2021). The focus also lies on bankability, which means that the programme also has the very practical goal to make sure that financial partners will fund the development proposals. The teams therefore needed to present feasible plans and provide a feasibility analysis (RVO, 2018b). The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the Dutch Development Bank (FMO) are present from the start and help identify bankable projects. The goal is to connect the best projects to funders like the AIIB and FMO (RVO, 2018b).

With the involvement of local stakeholders from the start and the interaction they have with each other, Water as Leverage hopes to strengthen the local capacity and thus ensure a continuation of the projects. The RVO claims that the goal is to eventually engage interventions on all levels: from better overall governance plans to projects implemented in the complexity of the local planning scheme (RVO, n.d.) The RVO (2018b) states that by implementing the results of the Call of Action within the complex planning system, the local institutions will grow stronger and be able to tackle similar problems in the future. So, the water related processes become a driver for innovative urban planning strategies (RVO, n.d.). The RVO (2018b) hopes that this working method will eventually be an example for other cities and projects in Asia where local teams will work on sustainable solutions. This is also the fourth phase of the programme which includes the replication and scaling-up of Water as Leverage (Laeni et al., 2021).

5.1.1 Team selection

The proposals which were submitted for the challenge were assessed with the use of a point system, so the proposals with the highest number of points received the highest ranking. The proposals were assessed by the Advisory board which consisted of representatives from: the three cities, 100 Resilient Cities, the Global Centre of Excellence on Climate Adaptation and the International Architecture Biennale Rotterdam. In addition, the Advisory Board was observed by the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and the Dutch Development Bank (RVO, 2018b). The Advisory Board

then gave its recommendation to the Dutch Enterprise Agency (RVO) which selected the six teams with the highest ranking under the supervision of the Netherlands Special Envoy for International Water Affairs. From the three cities the two proposals with the highest ranking received were selected (RVO, 2018a).

The Advisory Board assessed the proposals with a set of award criteria which consisted of three categories. In order to be considered for the Water as Leverage programme the proposals needed to receive at least 70% of the points and the two highest ranked proposals from each city were recommended to the RVO. The Advisory Board individually assessed each proposal and awarded the amount of points per category the Board saw fit (RVO, 2018c). The assessment is therefore based on the evaluation of the members of the Advisory Board within the framework of the award criteria set beforehand.

These being: (RVO, 2018a).

- Understanding of the challenge (20 points)
    - Of the urgent urban, water and climate related challenges
    - Of the complex planning context of results of the Call of Action
- Quality of the approach and first ideas to address the city challenge (40 points)
    - The extent to which the proposal addresses the urban, water and climate related adaptation needs of the city
    - The extent to which the idea could address similar challenges in other cities
    - Reaching the deliverables within the timeframe and budget of the contract
    - An understanding of the risks and how to cope with these risks
    - Youth and gender balance in the local coalitions and building local capacity
    - Experience with similar relevant projects and quality of past work
- Quality of the team and project management (40 points)
    - Quality and composition of the team, taking youth and gender balance into account
    - The expertise of the team and de time dedicated by team members and organisations
    - A balance of the team composition between local and international experts

- A clear project management structure

5.1.2 Phase 1: Research and Analysis

After the winning teams were announced the teams were eventually brought together in September 2018. The programme started with local workshops where each team worked together with local experts, local community leaders and local government representatives on knowledge sharing and networking. According to the RVO the local workshops were designed to meet the needs of each team and city to give the teams an understanding of the local context and the strengths and vulnerabilities of the city (RVO, 2018b). The goal of these workshops was to transform the original proposal of the teams into conceptual designs (Water as Leverage, 2018b). The teams were obliged to take active participation in the local workshops and were responsible for local support and building local coalitions (RVO, 2018b).

The first phase consisted of two rounds of local workshops. The first round was from September until October 2018, in which the teams worked together with local stakeholders and developed three to five conceptual designs. During the second round of local workshops in November and December 2018 the teams presented and discussed their conceptual designs (Water as Leverage, 2021a). In December 2018 the first regional workshop was held where the teams from the different cities came together to present their conceptual designs to financial partners and the Advisory Board and this marked the end of the first phase.

At the end of phase 1 there was a go/no go decision to decide if the conceptual designs can move into phase 2 (RVO, 2018a). The members of the Advisory Board evaluated the conceptual design in order to decide which are feasible to move to Phase 2 of the programme. The evaluation is done within the framework of a set of criteria but is still a subjective assessment by the member of the Advisory Board. The assessment is based on the following subjects (RVO, 2018a, p. 12):

- Extent to which the conceptual design is locally supported. The Advisory Board evaluated the balance between local and international stakeholders and the role the local stakeholders play in the teams. The idea was essentially that a local team seeked for cooperation with international actors instead of foreign actors that drop in for an intervention (Watergezant, 2021).

- Comprehensiveness and extent to which the potential solutions fit with the described challenges
- Feasibility: Extent to which the team's vision on the way these conceptual designs could be developed into proposals for urban water projects
- Extent to which bankability has been addressed: whether it is reasonable to conclude that it is likely that the future project can be financed.

The RVO eventually made the go/no go decision based on the recommendation of the Advisory Board. After this it was up to the teams to decide which of the conceptual designs with a "go" would be developed, at least one needed to be developed but it could have been up to three.

5.1.3 Phase 2: Development of Proposals

The goal of the second phase is to develop the conceptual designs into concrete proposals for urban water projects that should work as a solution for the challenges in the cities (RVO, 2018a). In March 2019 the teams came together for the third round of local workshops which were attended by local and international actors to work on the feasibility and the implementation of the proposals (Water as Leverage, 2021b). To ensure the bankability, the proposals should have included a feasibility component and a preliminary costs benefits analysis. In addition, the proposals needed to fit the process and procedures of the potential funders (RVO, 2018b).

In April 2019 the second regional workshop was held where the teams from the different cities came together again to define the next steps. Besides presenting the proposals, the regional workshops had the purpose to come up with a systematic way to apply the Water as Leverage programme to other cities (RVO, 2018b). The intention has been to define governance aspects to make sure that the programme can be continued and that the local teams can work on upscaling the projects (Water as Leverage, 2019a). During these last sessions each team has developed up to three conceptual designs into proposals for urban water projects and the Advisory Board has selected the project proposals that will be implemented (RVO, 2018a).

5.1.4 Phase 3: Financial arrangements for project implementation

Water as Leverage is currently in the third phase of the programme (Laeni et al., 2021). The goal of this phase is to identify sustainable climate funding for the implementation

of the projects. Water as Leverage attempts to stimulate the cooperation between the stakeholders that work within the teams and the financial institutions. This was done by organizing financial workshops in which several financial institutions participated. There is also a bilateral cooperation between the Netherlands and the participating countries, Indonesia, India and Bangladesh, to support the implementation (Laeni et al., 2021). The challenge is that in order to receive financial funding, the programmes need to be approved by the national government and formally included in national and local planning documents. This requires an early involvement of the national government because the programmes need to be incorporated within the existing government institution and its development plans (Laeni et al., 2021).

5.1.5 Phase 4: Replication and scaling-up

RVO wants the working method of the Water as Leverage programme to eventually be an example for other cities and projects. The cities of Chennai, Khulna and Semarang were chosen as pilot cities of the Water as Leverage approach and serve as an example for other cities in Asia or other parts of the world (RVO, 2018b). Water as Leverage aimed to identify a collaborative and inclusive working method that could be replicated in other regions. And at the same time the aim is to scale-up the innovations to an international level (Laeni et al., 2021).

5.2 Inclusiveness and Water as Leverage

According to the programme manager of Water as Leverage the programme works with three types of social inclusion, these being: Inclusive community engagement, inclusive programme development and inclusive commissioning (RV1, 20 April 2021). An inclusive community engagement means that there needs to be a connection with the local communities. The inclusive programme development means that the teams develop their ideas, products and concepts in an inclusive manner. Inclusive commissioning means that the Dutch government played its role differently, more as a cooperative partner (Janssen et al., 2021). The way in which the teams work with these three types of social inclusion in practice was discussed during the Community of Practice meeting about Water as Leverage by several members of different teams. The Community of Practice is a recurring meeting that is organized to contribute to more

inclusive international interventions and activities of the Dutch water sector (Janssen et al., 2021).

5.2.1 Inclusive community engagement

Two people who worked on the identification of the project locations and liaison with the government agencies and stakeholders in Chennai discussed their experiences with Water as Leverage during the Community of Practice. One is a social activist and policy researcher who founded the Information and Resource Centre for the Deprived Urban Communities in Chennai. The other is a managing trustee at Care Earth Trust, a local organisation that assesses the human impact on biodiversity. They discussed that Water as Leverage is unique because there were not defined plans from the start yet, but there was international knowledge actually present. And besides international knowledge the vulnerable communities were involved, which they have never seen before. They have indicated that poor people who are the most vulnerable were normally excluded but with Water as Leverage these communities were included. These community groups participated in the process and could come up with solutions. Besides, different types of activist groups started working together (Janssen et al., 2021).

In Chennai the team used different stakeholder techniques to include vulnerable groups to the community and engage them in the process. There were multiple focus group discussions which they used as a methodology which was used to engage the citizens. With this the Chennai team was able to understand the priorities of the local community and understand what their needs, problems and aspirations are (Water Youth Network, 2020). The team involved the local community by making the development project transparent and visible for the community, they displayed the projects to the beneficiaries and created a feedback mechanism. Furthermore, the team formed community task groups and tried to motivate the community to participate by organising awareness campaigns and setting up a community resource centre (Water Youth Network, 2020). The team also approached the local street vendors and gave them a platform to provide input about the development of the neighbourhood (RV2, 11 May 2021).

In Khulna the team chose to engage local NGOs to represent vulnerable communities and students of the Khulna University as representatives of the younger generation. The Khulna team chose this method because according to the team

members the development project focuses on a large area of the city and is on a strategic level which makes directly involving the local community ineffective and too early in the programme (Water as Leverage, 2019b). In Khulna the team also realized that inviting the local community to a meeting in a full room where contradictions can arise is not useful and that it is important to go to these people and engage in a conversation (RV2, 11 May 2021). The team tried to look at how each actor should be involved. For example, when the Mayor of Khulna was present during the workshop he was considered the most important so no one else dared to speak, especially the local community. So then they spoke to the Mayor separately and engaged the community in separate sessions (RH1, 6 May 2021). The workshops could also not proceed in the same manner in Khulna as they do in the Netherlands. The Special Envoy of International Water Affairs (personal conversation, 25 May 2021) has indicated that it is important to understand how the community can best be engaged in the particular case of each city. In Khulna it was normal to sit in a row and to let everybody speak in turn, whereas somewhere else everybody sat around a table to start a conversation (RH1, 6 May 2021).

According to representatives from UNDIP and Kota Kita from the Semarang team, Water as Leverage had a more bottom-up approach with the engagement of the community, whereas before there was more of a top-down approach in Semarang (Janssen et al., 2021). In Semarang the team involved the local community by inviting community leaders and community organisations to the meetings. The local NGO in cooperation with the university also did household surveys to understand the needs of the vulnerable communities (KK1, 17 May 2021). Furthermore, the team in Semarang organised separate sessions to talk to community leaders and organisations as well. The teams talked to the community on a smaller level, so on the specific area level where that community lived. When there was something in the industrial area they talked to the industries of that area in a separate session and they talked to the community in another session when there was something that concerned the area where they lived. So the community leaders and organisations were not always present at the meetings where actors from major corporations were present, because it would not have been helpful to involve the community in these meetings. The community leaders are not as articulate when architects and external donors talk on a conceptual and technical level, the separate meetings help to involve the local community and to represent their needs

and interests (KK1, 17 May 2021). However, inclusiveness could be improved by making more use of the local capacity and involving more local organisations (Janssen et al., 2021).

5.2.2 Inclusive programme development

Inclusive programme development means that the teams develop their ideas, products and concepts in an inclusive manner. This mainly means that the teams consist of multidisciplinary actors, so the stakeholders are different types of organisations. Three people shared their experience on the programme development of Water as Leverage, one is sr. project manager at Deltares who worked in Semarang and from the Chennai team the owner of OOZE Architects and someone who works at Deltares (Janssen et al., 2021).

One of the aspects that makes the programme development of Water as Leverage more inclusive according to them is that the teams are multidisciplinaire. Technical partners work together with urban planners and local NGOs which the stakeholders acknowledge as tremendously valuable. According to them every different party involved is able to bring new ideas and different perspectives to the table (Janssen et al., 2021). For example, urban planners conceptualize ideas and the NGOs provide the local perspective. The fact that different types of stakeholders work together on a project is new for many of the organisations involved. Another aspect of inclusive programme development is that the teams have the responsibility to work inclusively which has not been the case in previous projects (Janssen et al., 2021). As aforementioned, the teams have to work according to a set of criteria like the composition of the teams and there has to be different types of organisations involved (RVO, 2018a). The Dutch government finances the teams but they have to work in a certain inclusive way. The commissioner set a quota, for example that the teams had to have a gender or an age balance (NL1, 25 May 2021).

5.2.3 Inclusive commissioning

The Water as Leverage approach takes inclusive commissioning into account. This means that the Dutch government plays its role differently, instead of being just the commissioner the government is a more cooperative party during the process (RV2, 11 May 2021). According to the three initiators of Water as Leverage with the approach of

the programme the Duth government is more of a partner in the process, whereas before the government mostly just commissioned the plan. The partners from the Dutch government indicated that it is important that the commissioner plays this active role in the process and that responsibility is also needed (Janssen, et al., 2021). The goal of the inclusive commissioning is that the government feels responsible that the project goes successfully, so that Dutch government representatives do not just lean back and watch the project unfold (NL1, 25 May 2021).

Inclusive commissioning also means that the Dutch government wants to make sure that the contracted teams perform the best they can. During the process the government as the commissioner wants to provide the space where all the stakeholders can work together. The government claims that they are actively engaged in the process and facilitate a space where the inclusive teams can work. This means that the role of the government is also smaller, it is about enabling the local teams so they can come together and work it out (Janssen et al., 2021). So, the role of the Dutch government is bigger in a sense that they are more involved in the process, but it is also smaller because there is more involvement by the local actors. By inclusive commissioning the government aims to be more flexible and have more attention to the local context (D1, 26 April 2021).

6. Stakeholder involvement

This chapter answers the first subquestion: *How are the stakeholders involved in the Water as Leverage projects?* The chapter starts with the team composition of the three teams and discusses the role of each actor in the team. This is followed by an analysis of the team composition and stakeholder involvement with the use of the theories discussed in the theoretical framework. Firstly, the power relations in the teams will be discussed which will be followed by a paragraph reviewing the stakeholder involvement with the use of the climate justice theories, and the chapter ends with discussing the Dutch involvement from the perspective of the donor interests theories.

6.1 The stakeholders

This section will discuss the composition of the three teams and what kind of organisations were involved in the process. Each stakeholder and its role in the team will be discussed to understand how they are involved in the Water as Leverage programme.

6.1.1 Chennai: City of 1000 tanks

The project of city of 1000 tanks offers a solution to water related problems in Chennai and it intends to develop a Water Balance Model across the city by collecting rainwater, treating wastewater and runoff pollution with decentralised Nature-Based Solutions (city of 1000 tanks, 2021). The droughts, floods and water pollution are all interrelated in Chennai and mostly due to the rapid urbanization. The programme follows the advice of the OECD on how to build effective, efficient and inclusive co-operation in water management.

The team consists of organisations mainly from the Netherlands and India. The project is led by *OOZE Architects*, which is an international design practice based in Rotterdam. This practice is mainly involved in developing designs that integrate the water cycle and this organisation also conducted community engagement workshops and stakeholder consultations. *Madras Terrace* is an architecture practice which is based in Chennai and together with *OOZE Architects* they specialize in the architecture and design of the projects in Chennai (OOZE Architects, 2019).

IIT Madras which is short for *The Indian Institute of Technology Madras* is a University in Chennai. From *IIT Madras* two people were involved in the team, both are

doctors in civil and water engineering. Together with *Biomatrix* the *IIT Madras* worked on the technical aspects of the projects as the engineers (OOZE Architects, 2019). *Biomatrix* is an ecological technology company based in Scotland that primarily works in the water sector (Biomatrix, 2021).

There are three knowledge partner organisations from the Netherlands involved in the team. From *Delft University of Technology* urban design researchers participate in the team (city of 1000 tanks, 2021). The *IHE Delft Institute for Water Education* is an international graduate water education facility and it focuses on research on water and environmental policy. The team member from *IHE Delft* assesses the current governance processes and co-develops a strategic plan for implementation (IHE Delft, 2021). Furthermore, a researcher from *HKV Consultants* is part of the team. *HKV* is a knowledge entrepreneur on flood risk and water management (HKV, 2021). It should be noticed here that these Dutch organisations work on the policy and governance of a foreign country.

The team also consists of people from NGOs from Chennai or its surroundings, the role of these people in the team and the organisations they represent will be explained per NGO. First of all, *Care Earth Trust* is part of the team which provides scientific services in the area of biodiversity by assessing the human impact on the environment and strategizing methods to improve this. The organisation works on issues of conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity and ecological restoration of wetlands and provides research on this to the team (Care Earth Trust, 2021).

The *Paperman foundation* is another NGO from Chennai and this organisation is concerned with recycling in India and provides technology to design and execute recycling projects (Paperman, 2021). Many waterways are polluted in Chennai and the foundation works on waste management and recycling in Chennai so the water does not become polluted again. The team members do this by identifying and removing the barriers to recycling in the urban regions in Chennai (Water Youth Network, 2020).

The *Pitchandikulam Forest Consultants* is an environmental organisation which works on restoration ecology and the regeneration of indigenous plants in Chennai. As part of the city of 1000 tanks programme this organisation works on a large reforestation park in Chennai. Besides this the organisation has community outreach programmes by involving them in the process of eco-restoration and empowering communities towards self-sustainability. The organisation does this by education and

awareness programmes including awareness on water and sanitation (Pitchandikulam Forest, 2021).

The *IRCDUC* or the *Information and Resource Centre for the Deprived Urban Communities* is a NGO which aims to enhance the capacities of vulnerable communities (IRCDUC, 2021). The organisation facilitates community-led initiatives, spreads information about laws and policies and undertakes policy research related to land and housing rights of the deprived urban communities. From the *IRCDUC* a policy researcher is part of the team who conducted a study about relocation of vulnerable communities (IRCDUC, 2019). The *IRCDUC* team member worked together with the team member from *Uravugal Social Welfare Trust* on an assessment of the long-term impacts of forced relocation, which are mostly due to restoration of water bodies (IRCDUC, 2019). The *Uravugal Social Welfare Trust* is a NGO which consists of college students who are involved in performing various services to homeless people (Uravugal Trust, 2021).

The *Rain Centre* is a NGO which is an information dissemination on rain water harvesting and ecological sanitation in India. The organisation spreads information on the importance of implementing rain harvesting and aims to create awareness among the community through education. In addition, this organisation works closely with the government (ICCW News, 2020).

Lastly, the *Goethe Institute* is also part of the team. The *Goethe Institute* is a German cultural institute which has locations all over the world and provides information about cultural, social and political life in germany. The team member is from the *Goethe Institute* location in Chennai and promotes awareness on sustainable water management. Through several artistic projects he encouraged the dialogue on water in urban spaces (Gowri, 2020). The *Goethe Institute* also funded the social media campaign of the project (city of 1000 tanks, 2021).

6.1.2 Khulna as a Water Inclusive City

In order to transform Khulna into a water inclusive city the project focuses on development projects on the regional and local scale. Instead of continuously increasing the height of the river embankments, the projects aim to restore the water balance in the area making use of natural ecosystems for a more sustainable solution (Water as Leverage, 2019b). The three main areas of the Khulna programme are interventions in the coastal zone regarding the biodiversity and sustainability in the area, increasing the

fresh water intake via the Gorai river and interventions to reduce the fresh water demand by re-using the water in the city (Water as Leverage, 2019b).

The team consists of organisations from the Netherlands and Bangladesh, these organisations and their role in the team will be discussed below. The team leader is *CDR International* which is a coast, delta and river engineering and consultancy firm based in the Netherlands. This organisation provides consultancy, engineering and project management services in the area of water related issues. The main tasks of *CDR* besides being the team leader are formulating the strategy of the projects, liaison with stakeholders, preparing reports and formulating and supervising the implementation (CDR, 2021).

Defacto Architecture and Urbanism is an architecture and design firm specialised in integrated urban landscape design from the Netherlands (Defacto, 2021). *Defacto* takes the design lead in the programme and is mainly concerned with the development of the design proposals. The organisation also brings their experience and ideas from their input in the Delta Plan 2100 for Bangladesh (Water as Leverage, 2019b). The Bangladesh Delta Plan is a long term plan that integrates all delta related plans and policies and is a consortium of companies and governmental organisations from the Netherlands and Bangladesh (Embassy of Bangladesh, 2020).

DevConsultant is an organisation from Bangladesh that assesses the social and environmental effects of the conceptual design. Their role in the team is to support the organisations from the Netherlands to place the Dutch designs in the context of Bangladesh (Water as Leverage, 2019b). *DevConsultant* works on supporting development initiatives in Bangladesh and provides water engineers and consultants to the team (M. Moniruzzaman, personal conversation, May 17 2021).

Nelen & Schuurmans is a Dutch water management and IT company which provides flood modeling and interactive visualisation. They focus on innovative data processing and visualization tools which were used in the regional workshops (Water as Leverage, 2019b). In the field of consultancy the organisation provides knowledge on urban water management regarding policy and technological innovation and the IT services they provide are a practical support for developing the design proposals (Nelen & Schuurmans, 2021).

Royal HaskoningDHV is an engineering and consultancy firm from the Netherlands and contributes to the team with its flood resilience experience and its

experience with compatible projects in other regions of the world (Water as Leverage, 2019b). The organisation aims to understand the complexity of the local water challenges in Khulna and provides knowledge on water management. The team members from *Royal HaskoningDHV* were mainly involved in the first two phases of the programme, so about nine months. The team members looked at the stakeholder involvement of NGOs and the local community and any challenges that exist with cooperation of the stakeholders involved in the programme. They also looked at any institutional challenges of the local government regarding water management and implementation of the projects (RH1, May 6 2021). This shows another case of a Dutch organisation that consults the policy and governance of a foreign country which previous chapters have discussed as counterproductive.

The *Khulna University* is involved in the team to ensure a permanent presence in Khulna and is there to ensure continuation of our philosophy to a younger generation of scholars and scientists (Water as Leverage, 2019b). The students shared their visions for the city during the workshops and contributed by discussing the bigger picture. This big picture thinking was during the conceptual phase of the programme and the students contributed by pointing out what other elements would be important to think about (RH1, May 6 2021). They have indicated that they want to realize the flourishing of the city socially and politically. The students also formed the local perspective on what is important for the people living in the city, like parks or being able to swim in the river (Defacto, 2019).

The *Wageningen University and Research* adds knowledge of the complex planning context of Bangladesh to the team. They mainly provide knowledge about delta planning and water management including agriculture and food nexus (Water as Leverage, 2019b). The university did studies on the water use of local farmers, stakeholders perception and any implementation and organisational challenges (Haldar et al., 2021). It is interesting to note that the Dutch university provided knowledge on delta planning to the team, whereas the Khulna university is a member of the team for the continuation of the philosophy, clearly indicating a teacher-student division of roles.

6.1.3 One Resilient Semarang: Water(shed) as Leverage

The two teams in Semarang eventually became one team and each team developed programmes to tackle the water related challenges in the city. After the teams developed

the designs they cooperated because many aspects of the designs are interrelated (KK1, May 17 2021). In total there are six strategic programmes within the Water as Leverage programme in Semarang. The One Resilient team developed designs for a water-neutral industry, a kampong network and protective coastal zones (Handayani et al., n.d.). The organisations that are members of the One Resilient Semarang team will be discussed below.

The team consists of organisations from the United States of America, The Netherlands and Indonesia. *One Architecture and Urbanism Inc.* is a design and planning firm based in Amsterdam and New York which aims to guide the process towards implementable and integrated solutions. The organisation has experience with the 'Resilience by Design' approach and with multi-disciplinary process management (Water as Leverage, 2021c). The members from this organisation mainly focussed on landscape architecture and urban design (One Architecture, 2021).

Deltares is a research organisation from the Netherlands that focuses on the application of research in the field of water. The members from *Deltares* lead the risk assessment process, planning and co-develop the water-bases approach to resilience. The members bring their knowledge on water systems in the local context of Semarang (Water as Leverage, 2021c). Their research besides risk assessment include analysing the financial barriers of nature based solutions (Kok et al., 2021).

Wetlands International is an international non-profit with its headquarters in the Netherlands. The NGO works on the safeguard and restoration of wetlands and brings this expertise to the team. The main focus of *Wetlands International* is on the social and ecological integration and project implementation (Water as Leverage, 2021c). The organisation contributes to the programme with its technical knowledge on wetlands and works as a partner with the government and civil society.

Kota Kita is an NGO from Indonesia and is the local leader of the team. The organisation is an expert on urban planning and citizen participation, the team members facilitate participation and communication with stakeholders and the Semarang government (Water as Leverage, 2021c). *Kota Kita* aims to involve citizens in the decision-making process and does this among other things by educating citizens and collective action (Kota Kita, 2021). The team members have indicated that they function as a bridge between the external partners of the programme and the local level. They invite several community leaders and local organisations and work on the involvement

of the local community. *Kota Kita* also does research in neighbourhoods with household surveys to determine the water use and demand (KK1, May 17 2021).

Sherwood Design Engineers is a civil engineering firm from the United States which is specialised in the integration of infrastructure, design and the environment (Water as Leverage, 2021c). The firm leads the framework for the Resilient Kampong project to indicate how neighbourhoods can engage water management and leads the development of resilient neighbourhoods across Semarang. *Sherwood* has also developed the water reuse concepts according to calculations of water supply and demand for the domestic and industrial sector (Sherwood Design Engineers, 2021).

Hysteria Grobak is a community laboratory based in Semarang and it is specialised in youth empowerment and community engagement. The organisation organizes art activities, discussions, exhibitions, workshops and community facilities for the citizens of Semarang. *Hysteria Grobak* facilitates group discussions which give attention to strengthening the capacity of citizens to engage in their city and to empower the local community(Grobak Hysteria, 2021).

Diponegoro University (UNDIP) is a university in Semarang and this university provides a research group from the Urban Research and Planning Department to the team. This research group has worked with the local government and has done many research on development projects in the past. The group does research on integrated governance, community capacity, rural resilience and other issues related to the realization of this programme (UND1, May 27 2021). The researchers also work on the liaison of stakeholders and community engagement (Janssen et al., 2021).

Lastly, the team also includes *Iqbal Reza Fazlurrahman,* he is an international consultant who focuses on economic and financial development for large-scale infrastructure projects in Indonesia (Water as Leverage, 2021c). *Fazlurrahman* works for the Islamic Development Bank (IsDB) and identifies the attractiveness of investment opportunities. On top of this he is involved in the team by developing a dialogue with governments and other stakeholders to identify challenges in the development programme (Iqbal Fazlurrahman, n.d.). The IsDB participated in the regional workshops where financial partners like the IsDB considered supporting the teams of Water as Leverage and providing financial support (IsDB, 2019).

6.2 Power relations

The previous section shows that there exist some unequal power relations within the project teams of Water as Leverage. First of all, the team leader of each team is a Dutch organisation showing that there exists different levels of power between the Dutch and local stakeholders. There is also a clear example of different power levels in the team composition of the team in Khulna. The Dutch architecture and design firm *Defacto* takes the design lead in the programme and the role of *DevConsultant* from Bangladesh is to support the Dutch organisations in placing the Dutch designs in the context of Bangladesh (Water as Leverage, 2019b). A similar situation in this team is the difference between the two universities. The role of the Dutch university is to provide practical knowledge about delta planning and water management whereas the role of the *Khulna University* is to ensure the continuation of the philosophy and to give some input during the conceptual phase (RH1, May 6 2021).

A representative from Semarang has indicated that the local NGOs did not have less input than the Dutch organisations like the RVO, but that the local actors were more on a different level than the Dutch actors (KK1, 17 May 2021). For example, the local NGOs worked a lot on community engagement (NL1, 25 May 2021) and the Dutch actors have leadership roles in the teams or work on the design and policy level. A clear example of this is seen in the composition of the team in Semarang. The design lead is a Dutch architecture firm and there are three Dutch knowledge partners involved that work on the urban design and policy structures in Semarang. The local NGOs work on a different level in the team as they have a more specific role in the team to support the design. They support the urban design plans by providing knowledge on for example rainwater collection, forest preservation and recycling. This aligns with the theory of Avelino & Wittmayer (2016) about how actors do not simply have or do not have power but that there are different levels of power which can still affect the collaboration. The examples discussed also confirm the theories of Eriksen et al. (2015) and Zegwaard et al. (2019) that the Dutch actors have more power than the local actors.

6.3 Climate justice perspective

The climate justice theory being the base of inclusive development helps to critically analyse how the different stakeholders are involved in the Water as Leverage

programme. The previous section about power relation already briefly discussed the difference between the local and Dutch stakeholders, but this section will elaborate on the difference in involvement. A simple but important aspect of the theories on stakeholder involvement discussed is that all actors should be involved (Sareen & Haarstad, 2018). In Semarang the stakeholders have indicated that the right local parties were present and that the Water as Leverage programme tried to involve everybody (KK1, 27 May 2021). The diversity of the teams concerning for example gender and age has also been perceived as a positive aspect of the Water as Leverage programme by the stakeholders (RH1, 6 May 2021).

However, the analysis has shown that the national governments of the countries where the development programmes take place is an important actor that is not involved. Water as Leverage is focused on involving local stakeholders but there is also a need to involve the national government. It is important to understand beforehand how the project can fit within the national policy, with Water as Leverage there was not enough time for this. An improvement would be to think more on the institutional level and understand how the national government can be better included (RH1, 6 May 2021). With grand projects like Water as Leverage vertical integration between the national and local government needs to improve, however Water as Leverage works on the city level so the communication with the national government is very limited. Important to note is that the responsibility of the project lies with the local government but the local government is still tied to and dependent on the national government. The fact that there is a call from stakeholders to work towards an integrated governance, but that the national government seems to be skipped in the process is contradictory. The national government was also a bit confused because at the start of the programme there was no fund yet, and the national government was mainly concerned with getting funded. However, the teams still needed to win the competition and get through the phases of Water as Leverage to receive the fund (KK1, 17 May 2021).

According to MacCallum (2014) just the involvement of stakeholders is not enough since stakeholders can be involved in the programme but do not have enough influence in the process. The analysis has shown this to be true for the involvement of the local NGOs. The composition of the teams show that many of the Dutch stakeholders work on community engagement and the governance aspects of the projects, however there is a call for more involvement of local NGOs on these aspects. The Water as

Leverage programme has shown that the local stakeholders are effective in engaging the local community and understanding the local governance (RH1, 6 May 2021). With Water as Leverage there was not enough time to fully understand the local institutions and as is often the case, the programme started with its own plan. In order to adapt to the local situation the local actors need to be more involved because they are crucial in understanding the local institutions and its organisation (RH1, 6 May 2021). Besides, the local government lacks trust in Dutch organisations but cooperates well with local NGOs (RV2, 11 May 2021).

To sum up, the critical perspective of the climate justice theories has shown that even though the local stakeholders are involved in the teams, how they are involved is important to consider. Besides there being unequal power relations which have been discussed before, the Dutch and local stakeholders are differently involved in the programme. One of the most interesting findings is the fact that many of the Dutch organisations are involved in improving governance which has been discouraged by the IOB (2017) and experience has shown that the local NGOs are more effective in working on governance (UND1, 27 May 2021). The same goes for community engagement where the local NGOs are not as involved as they should be (RH1, 6 May 2021). Besides, the team composition shows that local NGOs are not as involved as the Dutch stakeholder in the urban design and technical aspects of the projects. The strong involvement of the Dutch stakeholders will be elaborated in the next section of this chapter.

6.4 Donor interests

The theories discussed in the theoretical framework about donor interests in foreign urban development programmes have shown the importance of critically analyzing the involvement of Dutch stakeholders in the Water as Leverage programme. Especially the fact that countries can have strategic interests in foreign aid development is something that scholars see as a reason to take a critical stance towards foreign aid (Asongu & Nwachukwu, 2017). As aforementioned, how the Dutch stakeholders are involved in the projects should be reconsidered. In Chennai for example, the Dutch architecture and design firm does work on community engagement (OOZE Architects, 2019) and in Semarang the members of a Dutch organisation bring their knowledge on water systems in the local context of Semarang (Water as Leverage, 2021c). These examples and others

discussed in this chapter shows that Dutch stakeholders are involved in local aspects of the programme instead of the local stakeholders.

Another interesting aspect of the stakeholder involvement is how the Dutch government wants to change its role in the Water as Leverage programme to work in a more inclusive manner. During the programme the aim is for the commissioner to be more involved and share the responsibility of the success of the project with the executive actors. By strengthening the involvement of the commissioner, Water as Leverage hopes to change the unequal power relation between the commissioner and the contractor (RV2, 11 May 2021). According to the Special Envoy for International Water Affairs this is helpful for the long term, because by keeping involved in the project the commissioner is not asking for a quick short term solution anymore (NL1, 25 May 2021). Local stakeholders also indicated that with Water as Leverage there was an intenser engagement than with previous projects both by the local government and the Dutch government (KK1, 17 may 2021). This shows that the Dutch stakeholders have a strong involvement in the Water as Leverage programme. A stronger involvement by the Dutch government is an interesting manner in which the Dutch want to change the unequal power relation since the IOB report (2017) has stated that a strong Dutch presence is not well received by local stakeholders.

The theoretical framework also discussed the fact that the Dutch brand themselves as a dominant actor in the field of water management to gain more involvement of Dutch corporations (Zegwaard et al., 2019). The team composition indeed shows that in some cases there are more Dutch organisations involved in the projects than local organisations. For example the team in Khulna consists of two organisations from Bangladesh and five from the Netherlands (Water as Leverage, 2019b). And even in Chennai where there are many local NGOs involved, there are three knowledge partners from the Netherlands involved that work on the governance aspect of the project and none of the local NGOs are involved in this. The Dutch actors have also indicated that with Water as Leverage they were able to give more input about the development plans, whereas before the Dutch government already made the development plans and did most of the work (RV4, 20 April 2021).

However, one of the most interesting findings that came from the analysis is the fact that Dutch stakeholders have indicated that the goal is not to limit the involvement of Dutch actors in other parts of the world (RV3, 20 April 2021). This aligns with some

of the theories discussed about donor interests like the ones mentioned from Zegwaard et al. (2019) and Van der Veen (2011) who discussed the fact that donors can have other reasons for development aid policies. The fact that the Dutch stakeholders do not want to reduce their involvement and simultaneously claim to want to work on the local capacity is an indicator that these other reasons for development aid should be considered in Water as Leverage.

7. Dutch interpretation inclusive development

This chapter discusses the analysis of the stakeholder interviews and answers the sub-question: *What is the interpretation of inclusive development of the Dutch stakeholders in Water as Leverage?* The chapter has four sections each discussing a section from the operationalisation discussed in chapter 3. First of all, this chapter discusses how Water as Leverage fits in the different interpretations of inclusive development from the theoretical framework and how the Dutch stakeholders interpret political and social development. Then, an aspect of the theories on power relations regarding the perspective towards the local stakeholders is discussed which is followed by a section related to the climate justice perspective. This chapter ends with discussing donor interests of the Dutch that are related to their interpretation of inclusive development.

7.1 Interpretation

As mentioned in the theoretical framework Gupta et al. (2015) have discussed the fact that actors can have different interpretations of what inclusive development means in practice. This section of the chapter starts with comparing the different perspectives discussed in the theoretical framework with the Water as Leverage programme and the interpretation of inclusive development of the Dutch stakeholders. The interviews have made it clear that the "leave no one behind" principle from the UN (2021) is used by the Dutch stakeholders to describe the Water as Leverage programme and that they tried to involve everybody by working along this principle (NL1, 25 May 2021). The programme interprets inclusive development and intends to work in an inclusive manner by involving local stakeholders. According to the Dutch actors, to ensure that all actors have the same amount of input in the process there needs to be dived into the local context to understand what works best in each situation and that the local NGOs are used to understand this local context. However, the Dutch stakeholders interpret inclusive development as something that is more than just including marginalized groups, but that there is a need to look into how the Dutch working method fits in the international context (D1, 26 April 2021). So instead of the theory of MacCallum (2014) that discusses that inclusive development is more than including marginalized groups but that these

groups need to be empowered, the Dutch stakeholders focus on fitting themselves in the local context.

7.1.1 Political development

According to Pouw & Gupta (2017) some inclusive development policies focus on social factors, some on economic inclusion or some focus on political participation. With Water as Leverage the Dutch have interpreted inclusive development with a focus on political development and especially political development executed by the Dutch stakeholders. The Dutch government hopes that Water as Leverage will inspire institutions that developing things together is possible and that this will bring change in governmental institutions (Janssen et al., 2021). The Special Envoy for International Water Affairs (personal conversation, 25 May 2021) has indicated that during Water as Leverage it has become clear that it is important to strengthen the institutional context, and that in order to solve the water challenges of the cases there is a need for a strong water alliance to work on sustainable projects.

The stakeholder interviews have made it clear that the Dutch stakeholders want to intervene in local governance since they experience this as ineffective (NL1, 25 May 2021). For instance a project manager from Deltares has said that the programme did not connect well to the powerful ministries in Semarang because there was no strong rule of law (Janssen, et al., 2021). Furthermore, according to a Dutch knowledge partner the cooperation between different departments of the local government comes with challenges since in the project cities there is not really anyone responsible for the water management. The organisation is often not clear and it is especially not clear who exactly is in control and is responsible for the water issues of the city (RH1, 6 May 2021). This is also an area where the Dutch stakeholders want to offer support in (RV2, 11 May 2021). This shows that Water as Leverage is another case where a Dutch programme does institutional development in another country. Even though the IOB evaluation reported that external agencies can only influence domestic institutional factors to a certain extent and that Dutch institutional interventions have not been effective in the past, this institutional development policy has continued anyway (IOB, 2017).

This is especially interesting since the stakeholder interviews have made it clear that the local NGOs have been able to improve local governance. In Semarang for

example there have been improvements regarding the integration of the government, especially on the kampong level the different departments got together and it is now possible for them to do more by themselves (UND1, 27 May 2021). Local stakeholders from Semarang indicated that Water as Leverage helped the city with city scale strategy instead of just working on smaller different projects. This made it really clear for the local government since in the entire region it was clear for the government what needed to happen. There was one strategy for the entire city which is also why the two Semarang teams eventually fused together (KK1, 17 May 2021). Chennai has seen an improvement as well, according to a designer at OOZE architects the city of 1000 tanks team was able to form the first water alliance in Chennai. They brought different kinds of stakeholders together and facilitated a dialogue, she especially found it incredible that different parts of the government came together (Water Youth Network, 2020). These examples show that the local institutions are capable of water governance.

Furthermore, in Chennai the local government was a bit exhausted from the many development projects and lacked trust in the Dutch stakeholders. However, the local NGOs had an activist nature, were very cooperative and brought many new insights to the project. These organisations were also able to give the local poor citizens a voice in the matter (RV2, 11 May 2021). This example shows how local NGOs stimulate cooperation whereas the Dutch stakeholders have created distrust. With the strong involvement of local stakeholders a sort of drive is created to keep the local actors connected to each other which makes them enthusiastic to keep working together (RV3, 20 April 2021). On another note, the stakeholders have indicated that in Khulna the political development needs a significant improvement and that there is a need for a stronger involvement of local NGOs to make a positive difference on the governance aspect (RH1, 6 May 2021). One of the respondents has discussed that with Water as Leverage there was not enough time to fully understand the local institutions and as is often the case, the programme started with its own plan. In order to adapt to the local situation the local actors need to be more involved because they are crucial in understanding the local institutions and its organisation (RH1, 6 May 2021).

Important things to notice from this section of the analysis is that Dutch stakeholders easily blame local governance for the problems of the programme. This seems to be a motive for Dutch stakeholders to intervene in the local policy, even though experience showed that it is moderately effective for a foreign actor to do this. Local

stakeholders acknowledge the institutional challenges as well, but they indicate the importance of the cooperation between local NGOs and the government to improve governance (UND1, 27 May 2021). Many of the governance challenges that were discussed in the interviews could have been prevented if there was more time invested in understanding the culture and problems of the local organisation (RV2, 11 May 2021) which the local NGOs seem to understand. The fact that the Netherlands keeps working on institutional development with Water as Leverage is very contradictory to the fact that it turned out to be ineffective in the past and the call from local NGOs that their work is more effective. This shows that it is important to question the Dutch involvement.

7.1.2 Social development

Besides political development, social development is an important aspect of the Dutch interpretation of inclusive development. Inclusive community engagement is one of the aspects in which the Water as Leverage programme wants to work towards inclusive development and the Dutch want to play a significant part in realizing this as well. By supporting the local community and giving the local citizens a voice in the process, Water as Leverage wants to stimulate the community to give input in the projects (RV2, 11 May 2021). However, the analysis has shown that the local NGOs have made a positive difference by engaging the community in Water as Leverage (NL1, 25 May 2021).

According to a researcher from UNDIP (personal conversation, 27 May 2021) it has happened before that when a development project has ended that what has been achieved on community engagement falls apart, but now in Semarang the local stakeholders are aware of the problems of the past and are more confident that it will sustain. Community engagement is something that takes time to do right, but by trying again when something goes wrong it will slowly improve (UND1, 27 May 2021). Water as Leverage is not perfect regarding community engagement but it gets a bit better each time a development project tries, which will bring change for the long term (NL1, 25 May 2021). However, the local stakeholders were mainly the actors that work on the community engagement in the programme and according to the Special Envoy of International Water Affairs, the local NGOs have been a major help in making the community engagement in Water as Leverage a bit better (NL1, 25 May 2021). The

analysis has made it clear that local NGOs seem to understand well what needs to happen to improve community engagement, which according to the stakeholders involved is important for inclusive development.

However, there still exist problems with the capacity of the local community to participate, for example illiteracy of the local community is still an obstacle in the community engagement (Janssen et al., 2021). The difference in level of education is an important aspect of why the local community is not capable enough to participate. In order to improve their capacity it is important to educate the local community and work on literacy, this will truly empower the local community. To ensure this the programme needs to work closer with the university and local NGOs (UND1, 27 May 2021). This shows again the importance of local NGOs in this programme and how they know how community engagement can be improved.

Furthermore, in later phases of the projects the local community does not have enough capacity to participate and is able to come up with their own initiatives. There has been a lot of community engagement during the first phases of the project to gain knowledge and understand the local perspective, but there is little community engagement during the implementation phase (UND1, 27 May 2021). At the start of the project it is still very conceptual so there do not exist many clashes between the stakeholders, but during the later phases when the projects are implemented it is possible for problems to arise. For example, when the government starts building people could be driven away from illegal settlements. This is why it is important that the community stays engaged during this phase as well, so in the future this will need more attention (RV2, 11 May 2021). So, the local stakeholders put an emphasis on the lack of capacity of the local community to engage in the programme and have ideas how this can be improved. Instead, the Dutch stakeholders want to increase community engagement for the teams to understand the local culture and are enthusiastic about examples like the street vendors in Chennai who provided knowledge about the neighbourhood. This seems like a positive development, but it is important to research if it has truly benefited the local community when the programme is over or if it has been another case of inclusion for the sake of inclusion. Especially since in later phases of the project, during the implementation of the project, problems can arise for the local community and this is when community engagement seems to decline. So, the question

is if it has been useful for the community to be engaged since they are less engaged in the phases of the projects that matter most to them.

It is also not really a benefit for the project when the local community is engaged during the strategic meetings when the plan is not concrete yet, it should first be relevant for the community to participate. With Water as Leverage the local community should have been involved during later phases of the project since they were involved too soon. It was not helpful to include the community when the discussions were still very vague because there was no development plan yet and when the technical issues of the development plans were discussed (RH1, 6 May 2021). This shows again that community engagement may not be used to benefit the community, but more as a promotion of the programme. According to a representative of a local NGO from Semarang, the local communities were mostly interested in what was actually going to happen and would ask many questions about the implementation (KK1, 17 May 2021).

On a concluding note, this section has made it clear that the local stakeholders are vital for the success of Water as Leverage, this has been indicated by both Dutch and local actors. It has become clear that local NGOs are helpful for an improvement in governance and for a better community engagement. Several examples from the analysis have shown that the local NGOs understand how the community can be properly engaged in the process and how local governance can be improved. However, during Water as Leverage there could have been more involvement by local NGOs and that is why multiple actors have indicated that this should be addressed in the future.

7.2 Power relations

The previous chapter has discussed the power relations within the project teams of Water as Leverage by researching the team compositions and the roles of the different stakeholders. This chapter discusses one more aspect of the power relations theories to help understand the interpretation of inclusive development of the Dutch stakeholders. Eriksen et al. (2015) have discussed the importance of understanding how marginalized groups, or in the case of this research the local stakeholders, are labeled by other actors. If the local actors are labeled as vulnerable or less knowledgeable this affects how they are viewed by the other actors which can ultimately lead to a difference in authority and unequal power relations.

The previous chapter has already discussed the interesting difference between the roles of the Dutch university and the *Khulna University* where a student-teacher relation is present. However, another interesting aspect of the power relation regarding the local university came from the stakeholder interviews. A representative from the RVO explained that to get a local perspective the teams worked with local universities, but he discussed his doubt if the students were actually with their feet on the ground to get an actual local perspective (RV2, 11 May 2021). The Dutch actors felt that there should have been more time put into getting the local perspective by going on the streets. This is an interesting statement from a Dutch stakeholder, wanting to get a better local perspective as a Dutch actor and doubting the local perspective of the students who are actually locals. Another example came from a team member from OOZE Architects who has indicated that convincing other parties of other sustainable possibilities is difficult (Water Youth Network, 2020). This sentiment indicates that the team members from OOZE Architects, the organisation that is the team leader of the Chennai team, feel the need to educate the other actors.

Furthermore, the Special Envoy for International Water Affairs has started his TEDtalk about Water as Leverage with addressing the democracy of the Dutch water governance (Ovink, 2019). This statement and the fact that the Dutch stakeholders want to intervene in the local water governance seems to indicate that the Dutch feel like they have superior knowledge on water governance and that the local actors do not. The local water governance is criticized and an intervention is proposed. This is even more interesting since the Lead in Water Programmes of the RVO (11 May 2021) has indicated that these organisational problems of integration and implication also form a challenge for many sustainable urban development projects in the Netherlands. These examples indicate that in some cases the local stakeholders are labeled as less knowledgeable by the Dutch stakeholders which is already leading to the Dutch stakeholders wanting to take over tasks of the local organisations.

7.3 Climate justice perspective

In order to help understand the interpretation of inclusive development of the Dutch actors this section will pay attention to how the Water a Leverage programme ensures that everybody is involved. The theoretical framework has discussed the fact that with

many urban development programmes not all stakeholders are included (Sareen & Haarstad, 2018). That is why this research will analyse how the Dutch stakeholders intend to involve everybody since the Water as Leverage programme is promoted as being inclusive. The Dutch government tried to involve everybody and work along the "leave no one behind" principle by starting a competition and choosing the teams that were most inclusive (DDA, 2021). The winning teams were selected on the basis of having a balance in the teams regarding age, gender and including local organisations which was meant to force the teams to think about inclusivity (NL1, 25 May 2021). The RVO chose the best teams according to the award criteria, so the Dutch government did not have any influence on the composition of the teams (RV1, 20 April 2021). The teams organised workshops during the pre-project phase of the programme to determine which other stakeholders should be involved in the projects (RH1, 6 May 2021).

With the Water as Leverage programme the way in which the teams try to involve everybody is by focussing on the involvement of local NGOs and the teams being interdisciplinary (D1, 26 April 2021). According to a representative of a local NGO it is not practical to involve everybody but that the right local parties are involved in the programme to include the poor community for example (KK1, 27 May 2021). However, there exists some criticism towards the approach to focus on involving local NGOs. The stakeholders have indicated that there are some other actors that should have been involved in the programme. For example, even though there are local NGOs involved and different departments of the local government the local private sector needs to be more involved (UND1, 27 May 2021). From the stakeholder interviews it has also become clear that there also exists a lack of involvement of the national government where the development projects are taking place and that in the future the national governments should be more involved (RH1, 6 May 2021).

In line with the previous section of this chapter the climate justice theories also discuss the importance of the perspective actors have towards the marginalized actors. Agyeman et al. (2016) have discussed the fact that in many of the cases where local stakeholders are involved in development projects they are not taken seriously. This research will therefore consider the fact that even though local NGOs are involved, the Dutch actors do not take them seriously and do not view and treat them as equal actors. Throughout the stakeholder interviews it has become clear that Dutch stakeholders easily name local factors as problems within the programme. Most Dutch stakeholders

answered the interview question about how they experience the cooperation with the local government with the fact that with foreign development projects you have to deal with corruption that exists in some national and local governments in Asia (NL1, 25 May 2021; RV2, 11 May 2021; RV3, 20 April 2021). This statement together with the existing criticism that the national governments of the Asian countries should be more involved, indicates that the Dutch actors do not take the government bodies of the Asian countries seriously.

This issue came up again when the cooperation within the teams was discussed during the interviews. In Chennai for example, the Dutch actors explained that the teams consist of adequate local organisations that have come up with sustainable development plans but that the local government is not cooperating as well as they would have hoped (RV1, 20 April 2021). According to the Special Envoy of International Water Affairs (25 May 2021), there exists a complicated process of approval in Chennai that the project has to go through before it can be implemented and that these struggles are mainly caused by the bureaucracy that exists in the local governments. The Dutch stakeholders anticipated that the project implementation would have gone faster, but that they have experienced obstacles due to this bureaucracy of the local government which made the process go slower than they would have hoped (RV1, 20 April). On another note, the Dutch stakeholders have expressed that they are enthusiastic about the involvement of the local NGOs (D1, 26 April 2021). However, the next section of this chapter will discuss how the Dutch actors want to be more involved in the projects instead of the local actors which indicates that the Dutch actors do not take the local organisations seriously.

7.4 Donor interests

In the theoretical framework the importance of researching donor interests in inclusive development practices has been discussed. For example Apodaca (2017) has outlined the fact that countries can have various incentives for executing foreign urban development programmes besides having a humanitarian reason. The Dutch International Water Ambition that intends to increase water related foreign urban development programmes has the goal to increase the water safety and water security in urban delta's. However, the Dutch government also has the goal to increase the Dutch part in realizing this (Rijksoverheid, 2016). Besides, the Dutch government has given the

fact that foreign urban development interventions by the Dutch water sector benefits the Dutch economy as a reason to increase interventions. Programmes like Water as Leverage benefit the economic position of Dutch companies abroad and optimizing the Dutch revenue model is explicitly called as a goal of these programmes (van Nieuwenhuizen Wijbenga et al., 2019).

Besides wanting to increase the Dutch involvement and reaping the economic benefits, the Dutch government also seems to have a sense of obligation in the matter. This aligns with the theory of Van der Veen (2011) which discussed that the Netherlands feel obligated to intervene in water related issues which is related to obtaining a leadership role in this area. This is confirmed with the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that stated that "the Netherlands, as a world leader in water management, has an opportunity, as well as a duty, to be a driving force and provide a fundamental contribution to solving these problems" (IOB, 2017). According to the Dutch government the foreign water management interventions are necessary because the Dutch have an international responsibility on the theme of water since the Netherlands has a strong national policy on water related climate adaptation (Rijksoverheid, 2016). It is not just foreign intervention in general, but the Dutch actors also seem to have a sense of obligation in realizing inclusive development during the Water as Leverage programme. The Special Envoy of International Water Affairs (personal conversation, 25 May 2021) has indicated that setting criteria like a gender and age balance was necessary because otherwise certain groups would not have been involved. This statement shows that the Dutch government representatives have a sense of obligation to perform inclusive development since they feel like they need to intervene in order to complete the programme successfully.

The analysis from the stakeholder interviews showed several examples that indicate that the Dutch stakeholders feel superior towards the local stakeholders and demand a leadership role in the programme. For example, the Dutch stakeholders think it is undesirable that in some cases the first point of contact is the local government or the Mayor and describe this as an unappealing top-down approach (RV1, 20 April). However, there already exists criticism on the programme concerning the fact that the national government is not well included and in addition to this, the Dutch do not desire the local government to take the lead. It seems highly unusual to not have the local

government as the first point of contact in regard to urban development in its own city since it is the city's responsibility after all. Who else should be the first point of contact?

Furthermore, the Dutch stakeholders have indicated that with future programmes they want to work more on community engagement and liaison with the local government which contradicts the praise the local NGOs have received for their work in this area. According to the Dutch stakeholders there was not enough time to understand the local perspective with Water as Leverage so they want to spend more time on this themselves in the future (RV2, 11 May 2021). The same sentiment seems to exist towards the governance aspect of Water as Leverage. The Special Envoy for International Water Affairs has talked in his interview about how in order to connect the institutions it is important to create trust (NL1, 25 May 2021). However, the analysis has shown that this trusting relationship seems to already exist between the local NGOs and the local government (KK1, 17 May 2021). According to a researcher from UNDIP (personal conversation, 27 May 2021) who has worked with the local government for over a decade, this experience helps to overcome many challenges. The experience that the local government has gained is important for better cooperation, both with Dutch stakeholders and local actors (UND1, 27 May 2021). If the local NGOs truly cooperate well with the local government, it would solve many problems the Dutch stakeholders seem to experience regarding the involvement of the local government.

However, one of the most interesting findings from the analysis is that the Dutch actors do not wish to reduce the Dutch involvement in the future even though the Water as Leverage programme is promoted as strengthening the local capacity for future development projects. When asked about whether they want to reduce Dutch foreign interventions, the Dutch stakeholders have indicated that the goal is not to limit the involvement of Dutch actors in other parts of the world, but to cooperate more with local actors (RV3, 20 april 2021). Furthermore, the Dutch stakeholders have indicated that the teams need to be steered in the right direction and that they should not be left alone too soon. They want to enhance long term commitment as well to create a proper engagement (Janssen et al., 2021). These statements contradict the will to work on local development and show a lack of faith in local institutions to take the lead in urban development practices in their own city. It also confirms what Zegwaard et al. (2019) discussed, namely that the Dutch actors want to gain more international involvement of Dutch organisations.

With Water as Leverage the Dutch government was more involved than in previous development programmes for the sake of responsibility sharing and long term engagement (NL1, 25 May 2021). This seems a well-meant intention of the Dutch government but it is unusual to keep this long term engagement in the cities. One of the spearheads of the Water as Leverage programme is that local development is the starting point instead of flood protection (Janssen et al., 2021). Which is again unusual since this has been ineffective in the past, but it is also unusual to want to improve the capacity of the local teams and at the same time want a long term and stronger engagement. Why does the Dutch government want to be more involved when the whole point of Water as Leverage is to let the local teams do their work on urban development? Previously, the Dutch mindset during development programmes has been that they would quickly fly in and that they would just fix everything, but this turned out to not be successful at all. Now, according to someone from the RVO, the actors were brought together from the start of the programme so knowledge could be combined instead of when just the external actors flew in with their knowledge (RV4, 20 April 2021). So, according to the Dutch stakeholders the approach is changing from flying in, towards flying in and cooperating with the local actors. The Dutch still want to come to foreign countries and they seem to not want to decrease the foreign interventions of the Dutch water sector.

8. Discussion

This chapter discusses the key findings and reflects on the implications of these findings for the interpretation of inclusive development in foreign intervention programmes. The analysis has shown that the Dutch government has great power in deciding what inclusive development means. An interesting manner in which the Dutch government wants to change the unequal power relation between the commissioner and the contractor of the programme is by creating a stronger involvement by the Dutch government. With a stronger involvement from the start to the end of the project the Dutch intend to share the responsibility of the project. However, this could also work contradictory since the IOB report (2017) has stated that a strong Dutch presence is not received well by local stakeholders, because Dutch stakeholders push their economic interests and unwelcomely intervene in local institutions.

The analysis has also shown that even though the IOB evaluation (2017) reported that external agencies can only influence domestic institutional factors to a certain extent and that Dutch institutional interventions have not been effective in the past, this institutional development policy has continued anyway. Water as Leverage is another case where a Dutch programme does institutional development and wants to bring governmental change in another country. The fact that the Netherlands keeps working on institutional development with Water as Leverage is very contradictory to the fact that it turned out to be ineffective in the past and the call from local NGOs that their work is more effective. One of the key contradictions addressed in this research is the fact that the Dutch stakeholders claim to want to let the local teams do their work on urban development, but that the Dutch simultaneously want to be more involved. They have even indicated that the goal is not to limit Dutch involvement in the world, but to work in a more cooperative manner. This contradicts the will to work on local development and shows a lack of faith in local institutions to do their own urban development.

This is especially interesting since the analysis has shown the importance of local NGOs which is acknowledged by the Dutch stakeholders as well. Several examples from the analysis have shown that the local NGOs understand for instance how the community can be properly engaged in the process. Interestingly, the Dutch stakeholders have indicated that they want to work more on community engagement themselves. However, the analysis has also shown that out of the teams the Dutch

stakeholders are already much involved in the governance aspect and community engagement. This contradicts the praise the local NGOs have received for their work on community engagement. Besides, the analysis showed that the community is not properly engaged in phases of the programme that matters most to the community. So, the question is if the community engagement has been useful for the community or if it has been another case of inclusion for the sake of inclusion.

In conclusion, the Dutch government has interpreted inclusive development in a way where the Dutch stakeholders remain the most influential actors of the urban development projects. This builds on some of the existing literature discussed in chapter 2. First of all, the lack of faith by the Dutch in local organisations corresponds with the theory of Agyeman et al. (2016) that even though local stakeholders are often included in the process, they are usually not taken seriously. This research has also shown that power relations are in play in urban development projects, even the ones that claim to do inclusive development. The findings fit with the theory discussed in Grin et al. (2011), which states that actors seek power to influence policies and that all actors have different limits in their power to influence these policies.

Furthermore, this research has shown the importance of researching inclusive development with the perspective of it being a foreign intervention. In the theoretical framework some theories on donor interests have been discussed and the results provide some new insights to the discussion on this concept. The findings show that the Dutch want to be more involved in work on community engagement and policy change even though they have been ineffective, in contrast to the local stakeholders. This indicates that the donor in a foreign intervention programme might have other incentives to perform urban development than just humanitarian reasons. Since the findings show that the intervening actor interpreted inclusive development as itself remaining the most influential actor, this research shows the importance of researching donor interests in urban development projects that claim to be inclusive.

9. Conclusion

This research has aimed to contribute to the knowledge and integration of the concepts inclusive development, urban development and foreign intervention by answering the following research question: *How is inclusive development interpreted in the foreign intervention programme Water as Leverage?* This research has used theories on power relations in multi-actor governance structures to analyse the involvement of stakeholders in Water as Leverage. However, this research has also taken into account the fact that Water as Leverage is a foreign intervention programme on urban development which means that there can be donor interests at play. The Dutch government and other stakeholders have been intensively engaged in the urban development in the cities of Chennai, Khulna and Semarang. By taking a critical stance towards this involvement this research has brought new insights into the power dynamics of urban development and inclusive development. The document analysis has provided an outline of how the Dutch government as a foreign development actor has interpreted inclusive development with Water as Leverage. In addition, the stakeholder interviews have given insight into how the Dutch interpret inclusive development and what their thoughts are on this subject. This has made it possible to critically analyse the urban development of Water as Leverage and discuss how inclusive development is interpreted by a foreign intervention actor.

The findings of this research have shown that the inclusive development of Water as Leverage still means a strong involvement of the Dutch actors. The most significant contradiction this research has addressed is the fact that local stakeholders seem to be effective in inclusive development but that they are not as involved in the process as the more ineffective Dutch stakeholders. In addition, the Dutch stakeholders claim to want to increase the involvement of the local stakeholders, but do not want to reduce their own involvement and foreign interventions. The Water as Leverage programme has made some progress towards community engagement and the involvement of local NGOs but the intervention by the Dutch actors has shown to be a major factor in the interpretation of inclusive development. To answer the research question, inclusive development in the foreign intervention programme Water as Leverage is interpreted as a significant involvement of the foreign intervention actors.

9.1 Recommendations for future research

This research has used Water a Leverage as a case of a foreign intervention programme which is currently working towards implementation, so the projects of the programme are not finished yet. This has made it impossible to understand the effects of the Dutch interpretation of inclusive development of Water as Leverage during and after project implementation. It would be interesting if future research would reflect on the Dutch intervention and its inclusive development during the entire Water as Leverage programme. Furthermore, future research should aim to understand the local perspective on the Dutch inclusive development policy, because even though a critical stance has been taken towards the Dutch policy the majority of the information came from Dutch sources.

This research has shown the relevance of the role of foreign interventions in research on inclusive and urban development. Therefore, future research on power relations in urban development or research on inclusive development in general should take the intervention of external actors into account. For future research on foreign development by the Dutch water sector it would be interesting to further look into why the Dutch actors are involved in these development projects. Further research should focus on the incentives of the Dutch actors to do foreign urban development projects, these being for economic benefits which have been discussed before or other reasons to work on foreign urban development projects.

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11. Appendices

11.1 Interview guide

Water as Leverage

What is according to you the most important thing that WaL does differently?

General experience?

Transition

How was the change to a project like WaL? Difficult?

- Routines

How did the role of the Netherlands change?

- before criticism about 'bringing the dutch'

Were there any institutional challenges? How can this change?

Cooperation

How is the cooperation between the different parties?

Are there any issues?

How is cooperation with the local government?

Inclusivity

WaL has an interdisciplinary team, how do you make sure that the right parties are involved?

How do you make sure that no one is forgotten during the process?

Power relations

How do you make sure that all the parties have the same amount of input in the process?

Is there a difference between the old parties and the new ones that were not included in the process before?

- input of the local communities

11.2 Coding overview

Colour code	*Indicator*
Yellow	Governance challenges
Orange	Stakeholder experience, trust
Green	More involvement local stakeholders
Light blue	Community engagement
Red	Work local NGOs
Dark blue	Dutch involvement
Pink	Diverse teams