1 2

The seventh facet of uncertainty: wrong assumptions, unknowns and surprises in the dynamics of human-water systems

3

Giuliano Di Baldassarre¹, Luigia Brandimarte^{1,2}, Keith Beven^{1,3}

4

¹Department of Earth Sciences, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden

6 ²UNESCO-IHE Institute for Water Education, Delft, Netherlands

7 ³Environment Centre, Lancaster University, Lancaster, United Kingdom

8

9 Abstract

The scientific literature has focused on uncertainty as randomness, while limited credit has 10 been given to what we call here the "seventh facet of uncertainty", i.e. lack of knowledge. 11 12 This paper identifies three types of lack of understanding: (i) known unknowns, which are things we know we don't know; (ii) unknown unknowns, which are things we don't know we 13 don't know; and (iii) wrong assumptions, things we think we know, but we actually don't 14 know. Here we discuss each of these with reference to the study of the dynamics of human-15 water systems, which is one of the main topics of Panta Rhei, the current scientific decade of 16 the International Association of Hydrological Sciences (IAHS). In the paper, we argue that 17 interdisciplinary studies of socio-hydrological dynamics can help coping with wrong 18 assumptions and known unknowns. Also, being aware of the existence of unknown unknowns 19 20 and their potential capability to generate surprises or black swans can contribute to more 21 robust decisions in water management and disaster risk reduction.

22

23 Keywords: Epistemic uncertainty, Feedbacks, Socio-hydrology, Black swans, Resilience

24

25 Introduction

The number seven has been very popular and widely used for a long time: the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Wonders of the World, the Seven Hills of Rome, the Seven Dwarves and the much more recent Murakami's Little People of 1Q84. Mandelbrot (1997) introduced the seven states of randomness, and the number seven also has some popularity among hydrological scientists dealing with uncertainty: Pappenberger et al. (2006) discussed seven reasons not to use uncertainty analysis, while Juston et al. (2013) provided seven reasons to be
positive about uncertainty.

Uncertainty is usually associated with the throwing of dice, which, strangely enough, have only six (and not seven) facets! A die was used, for instance, as the official logo of the 2013 Leonardo Conference in Kos, Greece, titled "Facets of Uncertainty". We think that this is consciously (or subconsciously) due to the fact that uncertainty is often directly (or indirectly) related to the concepts of randomness and probability.

Sources of uncertainty can be classified in a variety of ways (Knight, 1921; Ferson and 38 Ginzburg, 1996; Apel et al., 2004; Beven, 2012). These classifications enable a better 39 exploration of the different sources of (unreducible or reducible) uncertainty and contribute to 40 explicitly recognize the limitations of our analytical frameworks. It has been showed, for 41 instance, that scientists and experts have a tendency to over-confidence as we tend to grossly 42 underestimate uncertainty (Cooke, 1991; Shlyakhter et al., 1994) across a variety of studies, 43 experts and questions (Lin and Bier, 2008). Differentiating the sources of uncertainty also 44 supports the selection of appropriate methods (e.g. probabilistic or fuzzy) to deal with 45 uncertainty and support the decision making process (Klir, 2006). 46

In the 1920s, Frank Knight proposed a differentiation between the uncertainties that can be treated as probabilities and what he called the "true uncertainties" that cannot be quantified in probabilistic terms (Knight, 1921). More recently, Ferson and Ginzburg (1996) demonstrated the importance of distinguishing between variability and ignorance as their proper assessment requires different methods. In this paper, we refer to a similar classification, which differentiates between aleatory and epistemic uncertainties (Apel et al., 2004; Beven and Smith, 2014).

Aleatory comes from the Latin *alea*, which means a die or game of dice. Aleatory uncertainty 54 is related to the random variability of processes (Koutsoyiannis, 2010; Montanari and 55 Koutsoyiannis, 2012). Probabilistic methods are valuable tools for dealing with the 56 uncertainty related to chance and randomness, which, at the current time, cannot be reduced 57 58 by improving our knowledge of the systems through scientific efforts. For instance, flood risk is often estimated by referring to the expected annual flood damage (Arnell, 1989) over long 59 time horizons, such as 20 or 30 years. However, the actual damage (direct and indirect, 60 tangible and intangible; see e.g. Giupponi et al., 2014) of future flood events will significantly 61 depend on unpredictable factors, such as the exact time of the day, and day of the week, when 62 the big, extreme flood event will eventually occur (Di Baldassarre et al., 2009a), e.g. the same 63

64 event would result into significantly different damages if it occurs on Sunday night during 65 summer or during rush hours on a Friday afternoon. While the exact time of occurrence of 66 future flood events cannot be deterministically predicted, this intrinsic uncertainty can be 67 assumed to be predominantly aleatory and can be easily treated in probabilistic terms.

Epistemic comes from the Greek ἐπιστήμη, which means knowledge. Sources of epistemic
uncertainty are related to the lack of knowledge (Beven and Young, 2013). In some instances,
we may understand some essential processes and be able to elaborate a number of stylized
facts (Kaldor, 1957), but we do not have adequate or sufficient knowledge of all the details
needed to properly capture these essential processes into our analytical frameworks.

As epistemic uncertainty is not about the game of dice, here we call it the "seventh facet of 73 74 uncertainty" and discuss its role in the observation and modelling of human-water systems, 75 which is one of the main topics of Panta Rhei, the new IAHS Scientific Decade dealing with changes in hydrology and society (Montanari et al., 2013). In particular, as social dynamics 76 77 and their interplay with hydrological changes is largely unknown, and surprises might play a major role, we posit that the study of human-water systems will require going beyond current 78 79 approaches, whereby epistemic uncertainty is neglected or treated as if aleatory, as well as 80 heavy reliance on quantitative predictions.

Our discussion is structured by differentiating three types of lack of understanding, with reference to the study of human-water systems: (i) *known unknowns*, which are things we know we don't know; and (ii) *unknown unknowns*, which are things we don't know we don't know; and (iii) *wrong assumptions*, things we think we know, but we actually don't know.

85

86 Human-water systems

Societies strongly rely on access to water resources, which is essential to support livelihoods
and provide favourable conditions for socio-economic development (Di Baldassarre et al.,
2010a). While benefiting from water services, humans also alter the hydrological regime
(Koutsoyiannis et al., 2009; Vörösmarty et al., 2010; Wagener et al., 2010; Lane et al., 2011).

91 Savenije et al. (2014), for instance, identified four main types of human impacts on 92 hydrology: (i) direct diversion of water flows (water supplies to cities, industries and 93 agriculture), (ii) stream network transformation (construction of dams and reservoirs), (iii) 94 changing river basin characteristics (deforestation, urbanisation, drainage of wet-lands and agricultural practices), and (iv) alteration of the regional or global climate (greenhouse gasemissions and land cover changes).

Hence, as societies change the hydrological regime, hydrological changes simultaneously
shape societies. Figure 1 shows the coupled dynamics of hydrology and society driven by
global changes in climate, economy, technology and culture.

Fully coupled human-water systems are complex and non-linear. And the dynamic interplay between hydrology and society (Figure 1) is still poorly understood. Thus, the seventh facet of uncertainty plays a major role in the study of dynamic human-water systems, which is the main goal of socio-hydrology (Sivapalan et al., 2012; Srinivasan et al., 2012; Di Baldassarre et al., 2013ab; Montanari et al., 2013).

105 Recognizing and assessing uncertainty is crucial to provide useful information to decision makers (Pappenberger et al., 2006; Faulkner et al., 2007; Montanari, 2007; Blazkova and 106 Beven, 2009; Koutsoyiannis et al., 2010; Brandimarte and Di Baldassarre, 2012, Beven, 2012; 107 2014; Krueger et al., 2012; Juston et al., 2013). To this end, a number of probabilistic 108 methods have been developed (e.g. Beven, 2009; Di Baldassarre et al., 2010b; Neal et al., 109 110 2013). As they are often based on an (unavoidably) incomplete collection of potential 111 scenarios, the issue of what is exactly meant by probability arises. As a matter of fact, the uncertainty affecting the interconnected dynamics of hydrology and society is much more 112 113 complex than the probabilities that e.g. gamblers estimate when playing dice or enjoying casinos. 114

Figure 2 shows examples of ludic, hydrological and socio-hydrological time series whereby 115 the reliability of probabilistic methods decrease as the seventh facet of uncertainty plays an 116 increasingly major role. The first diagram (Figure 2a) is generated by simulating the outcomes 117 of a fair-sided die, which are assumed independent and identically distributed. This is an 118 example of ludic processes. Ludic comes from the latin ludus, which means "play or game". 119 Taleb (2007) introduced the term "ludic fallacy" to refer to the misuse of the narrow world of 120 games, casinos and dice (whereby probabilities are known) to simulate the uncertainty of real-121 122 world processes. The second time series (Figure 2b) is a long time series of hydrological data, i.e. annual minimum water levels of the River Nile at Roda. Figure 2b shows long duration 123 124 structure, memory and persistence (Koutsoyiannis and Montanari, 2007, Koutsoyiannis, 2013). Probabilistic methods can still be used to handle this type of uncertainty, but they 125 require the identification of a model of the underlying stochastic structure (Montanari and 126 Koutsoyiannis, 2012). Lastly, the third time series (Figure 2c) refers to the growth and 127

collapse of the Maya civilization. It shows the evolution of the human population over 128 centuries and the potential relations with hydrological conditions. It has been showed, for 129 instance, how technological revolutions triggered population and economic growth in the 130 Maya lowlands, whereas the persistence of drought conditions eventually led to the societal 131 collapse (Haug et al., 2003; Gill et al., 2007). However, it is difficult to rigorously test these 132 causal links because the temporal resolution of human population data reconstructed from 133 archeological records is very coarse (Figure 2b), while the proxies used for dating historical 134 droughts are affected by significant uncertainties (Aimers and Hodell, 2011; see also 135 136 Yancheva, 2007 and related discussion).

137

138 Known unknowns

Major flooding occurred in Brisbane (Australia) in 2011. More than 10,000 properties were 139 affected and 25 people died (Bohensky and Leitch, 2014). This flood disaster was perceived 140 as a surprise by the local population despite the occurrence of major flooding in 1974. People 141 were surprised because, after the 1974 event, a number of flood protection measures were 142 implemented, including the Wivenhoe Dam. The presence of this flood protection structures 143 "led to the popular belief that Brisbane was flood proofed" (Bohensky and Leitch, 2014). 144 Similarly, a few years before in 2005, people in New Orleans were surprised by the 145 catastrophic flooding caused by levée failure during the Katrina event (Kates et al., 2006). 146

147 New Orleans and Brisbane are only two recent examples of the so-called levée effect or 148 paradox: that the consequence of building (or strengthening) flood protection measures is that 149 the memory of flooding (and risk awareness) tends to decay over time and therefore more 150 socio-economic development often takes place in flood prone areas. Hence, the reduced 151 probability of flooding might generate increasing potential consequences.

The levée paradox is an example of a known unknown. The paradox was already identified by White (1945) and has been discussed by several authors (Kates et al., 2006; Montz and Tobin, 2008; Di Baldassarre et al., 2009b; Castellarin et al., 2011; Viglione et al., 2014). Most flood scientists know about it. Yet, methods to capture it in the assessment of future flood risk (which can be defined as a combination of flooding probability and potential adverse consequences) are completely lacking. For instance, when flood defense structures are planned and designed, current methods can indeed estimate the corresponding reduction of 159 flooding probability. However, they do not assess how such a reduction might trigger an160 increase of the adverse consequences of flooding.

161 This is not a trivial aspect in assessing a realistic flood risk. There is evidence that flood risk 162 might even increase in the long term as a result of flood protection measures (Di Baldassarre et al., 2013a). Thus, while there have been an enormous development of rigorous, formal, 163 164 probabilistic methods to estimate uncertainty in flood hazard assessment, we still lack fundamental understanding of how flood risk actually evolves in time. It is bizarre that we 165 166 provide estimates of future flood hazard with sophisticated uncertainty bounds, while neglecting crucial aspects (such the levée effect) that might determine if flood risk will 167 168 actually increase or decrease!

Other examples of known unknowns are the spontaneous adaptation of human societies to 169 170 changing environments. For instance, there is empirical evidence that flood damages are lower when a flood event occurs shortly after a similar one. Wind et al. (1999) showed that 171 the losses caused by the 1995 flood at the Meuse River were much lower than those caused by 172 a previous event, of similar magnitude, that occurred in 1993. Similarly to the levée effect, 173 this process of human adaptation effect, or learning processes, cannot be captured by the 174 current methods of flood risk assessment. Mechler and Bouwer (2014) recently showed 175 176 similar spontaneous dynamics with reference to Bangladesh, and demonstrated the limitations of our analytical frameworks in projecting future disaster risk. 177

Moreover, many puzzles encountered in dealing with water sustainability challenges are caused by our inadequate explanatory power (e.g. water trade paradox, efficiency paradox, peak-water water; see discussion in Sivapalan et al., 2014) of feedbacks between social and hydrological processes. These effects are not mere paradoxes or exceptions. They actually drive the dynamics of many human-water systems (Di Baldassarre et al., 2013ab; Sivapalan et al., 2014).

Sometimes, experts argue that these paradoxes are caused by irrational human behavior, or mismanagement. But, our point is that the study of human-water systems should first aim to understand and simulate how the human-water systems actually work, including spontaneous social dynamics, informalities, values and norms.

Historical analyses of human-water interactions over long time scales, i.e. centuries, can be very challenging. The aforementioned example of the collapse of the Maya civilization shows the issues encountered when dealing with long time series of archeological data (human

population, Figure 2c) and proxies of historical climate conditions: causality links between 191 social and hydrological dynamics are difficult to test (Yancheva, 2007; Aimers and Hodell, 192 2011). Nevertheless, empirical studies of human-water interactions at time scales relevant for 193 water management and disaster risk reduction, i.e. years to decades, can be much more 194 feasible. Urbanized deltas and floodplains, for instance, are examples of ideal laboratories for 195 the (inter- or trans-disciplinary) study of the interplay between social and hydrological 196 processes as the interactions between human and water systems are apparent and have 197 relevant impacts (Di Baldassarre et al., 2013a). In these flood-prone areas, human settlements, 198 flood control measures, and memory of flooding have gradually co-evolved at similar 199 temporal (years to decades) and spatial (floodplain) scales, while they have been also 200 significantly affected by the sudden and localized occurrence of flooding events. 201

202 Long time series of demographic, economic and hydrological data along with information about human adjustments to floods are already available for many case studies, such as New 203 Orleans, the Tiber in Rome, and the Dutch delta (Werner and McNamara, 2007; Aldrete, 204 205 2007; de Moel et al., 2011). Yet, to understand the dynamics emerging from the poorly 206 explored interactions and feedbacks between human and water systems, there is a need to start collecting more empirical evidence. Socio-hydrological models (Di Baldassarre et al., 2013b, 207 Viglione et al., 2014) can provide insights about the type of data that we need to collect to 208 observe the dynamic interplay between physical and social processes. Hence, we think that 209 more observations and empirical studies can significantly contribute to a better understanding 210 of the dynamics of human-water systems and therefore reduce this type of epistemic 211 212 uncertainty.

213

214 Unknown unknowns

The study of human-water systems requires an explicit treatment of the interplay between 215 social physical processes. In this context, besides the aforementioned paradoxes that urge 216 more understanding, there are many other things we don't even know we don't know (as 217 stated by Donald Rumsfeld in February 2002). Some of these unknown unknowns may 218 occasionally result in the so-called "black swans": unexpected events with an extremely high 219 220 impact on the system, which are essentially impossible to forecast. Yet, after their occurrence we will usually attempt to rationalize and explain them (Taleb, 2013). These unexpected 221 events are typically created by unique, unrepeatable combinations of contexts and cascades of 222

contingencies. However, after they occur, humans tend to over-react and over-estimate theirprobability, potentially leading to some unintended consequences.

225 While, as discussed above, more interdisciplinary research exploring the dynamics of human-226 water systems can help reducing the epistemic uncertainty related to known unknowns, there is nothing we can do about unknown unknowns as we don't even know what we don't know. 227 228 However, being aware of their potential occurrence is crucial as it supports the process of water management and disaster risk reduction. In this sense, black swans remind us about the 229 230 importance of reducing the negative impacts of unexpected events, rather than focusing only 231 on the precise (but most likely inaccurate) estimation of their close-to-zero probability 232 (Makridakis and Taleb, 2009ab). Decreasing the potential adverse consequences of waterrelated disasters by enhancing the resilience (and reducing the vulnerability) of human 233 234 societies, can be more robust than heavily relying on predictions of the close-to-zero (but essentially unknown) probability of water-related disasters caused by unrepeatable 235 combinations of contexts and cascades of contingencies. For instance, improving evacuation 236 and contingency plans does not necessarily require an accurate and precise estimation of 237 probabilities, but it can significantly increase the resilience of human-water systems, i.e. the 238 ability to recover after an event. 239

240 Thus, potential surprises and black swans suggest the need to go beyond heavy reliance on predictions, and traditional top-down approaches based on probabilistic assessments of 241 hydrological hazards. In this context, Blöschl et al. (2013) comprehensively discussed the 242 potentialities of complementing traditional top-down approaches with bottom-up ones. 243 244 Bottom-up approaches do not start from probabilistic prediction, but, rather, from the societal and economical vulnerability of communities and individuals and explore the possibilities 245 (rather than the probabilities) of failures by explicitly considering the expertise of local 246 stakeholders and risk managers (see e.g. Lane et al., 2011). For instance, Wilby and Dessai 247 248 (2010) showed how the vulnerability of the human-water systems to droughts and water scarcity can be reduced by enhancing the connectivity of water supply infrastructures and 249 making abstraction licenses time-limited. While this combination of measures could not be 250 considered "optimal", it is more robust than alternative low-regret options to the potential 251 252 occurrence of unexpected events with potentially devastating consequences. Thus, it is by acting from a vulnerability's viewpoint that water managers and scientists can reduce the 253 254 negative impacts of unknown unknowns and potential surprises.

255

256 Wrong assumptions

Besides unknowns, there are also things we think we know, but we actually don't know. This is what we call here "wrong assumptions". Any scientific work, including hydrological or socio-hydrological studies, is necessarily based on a number of assumptions. Aware of the limitations of our hypotheses, we typically follow a parsimonious approach and focus on the dominant processes that drive the dynamics. However, while some assumptions may work for a number of case studies, they can be significantly wrong in other cases.

- To make this point, we introduce two fictitious characters that are inspired by the ludic fallacy (Taleb, 2007). Dr. Maria Smith, graduated summa cum laude at MIT, the youngest professor at Princeton University. She is a "logical positivist". "Smart" Angie, perhaps graduated somehow/somewhere, is a great entrepreneur that got very rich in a few years. She is a "sceptical empiricist".
- A test is made. A coin is flipped 99 times, and each time it comes up heads. The two ladies are asked what the odds are that the 100th flip would also come up heads.
- Without any hesitation, Dr. Smith says: "Odds are not affected by previous outcomes, so theodds must be 50%!"
- Smart Angie thinks about it and eventually says: "Well, if it came up heads 99 times in a row
 there must be something wrong with this coin! So, odds must be much more than 50%!"
- The point made by Smart Angie is that the coin must be loaded. In classical terms, odds of the coin coming up heads 99 times in a row are so low that the *assumption* that the coin had a 50% chance of coming up heads *is most likely wrong*.
- Similarly, the occurrence of many 1-in-100 year flood events within a few years may suggest 277 issues with the typical assumption of treating annual maximum flows as time series of 278 independent and identically distributed random variables. Hydrological extremes can be 279 affected by long-term persistence and memory related to climate variability. Bloeschl and 280 281 Montanari (2010) as well as Hall et al. (2013) showed examples of occurrence of flood-rich and flood-poor periods. Also, by analyzing Figure 2b one can observe alternating cycles of 282 283 drought-rich periods, whereby annual minimum levels are persistently lower than the average, and drought-poor periods, whereby annual minimum levels are persistently higher than the 284 285 average.

This an example of the many hypotheses that have become standard and have not been sufficiently challenged (similarly to the way Dr. Smith keeps assuming the coin to be fair). While the assumption of treating hydrological extremes as independent and identically distributed can result acceptable (from a practical viewpoint) in a few instances, this assumption should be tested and not merely be taken for granted. For another hydrological example see the discussion of preferential flows in relation to the transport of phosphorus and pesticides in Beven and Germann (2013).

When it comes to the non-linear dynamics of human-water systems, the issue of making fundamentally wrong assumptions becomes even larger as the perception of hydrological change and attitude towards risk can strongly vary across human societies depending on political and socio-economic conditions as well as cultural values (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979; Thompson et al., 1990; Viglione et al., 2014). And given wrong assumptions, of course, we should expect surprises in the future (as seen also in other disciplines, such as economics).

It should be noted that some wrong assumptions can be related to known unknowns. For instance, while historical changes show that the dynamics of future flood risk can be significantly affected by socio-hydrological feedbacks, such as the levee effect, these feedbacks are, as mentioned above, assumed not to matter in state-of-art assessments of future flood risk. Moreover, some other wrong assumptions can be caused by unknown unknowns and we (might) become aware of their fallacy only after the occurrence of surprises or black swans.

306

307 Conclusions

Despite centuries of water management, we still lack the fundamental knowledge of the essential dynamics driving the long term behaviour of human-water systems. Over the past decades, focus has been given to assess in probabilistic terms the uncertainty of the assumed behaviour (how it should work) of the system, rather than exploring ranges of the actual behaviour of the system (how it actually works). This has been related to the focus on uncertainty as randomness along with limited credit to epistemic uncertainty, which we called here the seventh facet of uncertainty.

The increasing impact of human activities on hydrological dynamics, in a time that some calls Anthropocene, has led to a growing interest on the study of water-society interactions. As the dynamics of human-water systems are still largely unknown, and social dynamics are highly

unpredictable, we argued that there is a need to go beyond current approaches (focusing on 318 uncertainty as randomness and probabilistic methods) and give more credit to the seventh 319 facet of uncertainty. In particular, we proposed new observations and empirical studies of 320 321 coupled dynamics of hydrology and societies to increase our knowledge of the behaviour of fully coupled human-water systems and reduce epistemic uncertainty. Hence, scientific 322 understanding is believed to be a way to deal with wrong assumptions and known unknowns 323 in the study of the interplay between social and hydrological processes, which one of the main 324 325 focuses of Panta Rhei, the current IAHS's scientific decade.

We also discussed that, while unknown unknowns cannot be understood as we don't even know what we don't know, being aware of their existence and their potential capability to generate surprises, can help from a management viewpoint: we cannot predict black swans, but we can act to reduce their adverse consequences.

330

331 Acknowledgments

We would like to acknowledge the Guest Editor, Dr. Steven Wejis, and two Anonymous Reviewers for providing constructive comments to our paper. The present work was developed within the framework of the Panta Rhei Research Initiative of the International Association of Hydrological Sciences (IAHS).

336

337 **References**

Aldrete, G.S., 2007. *Floods of the Tiber in ancient Rome*. John Hopkins University,
Baltimore, 368 pages.

- Apel, H., Thieken, A. H., Merz, B., and Blöschl, G., 2004. Flood risk assessment and associated uncertainty, *Nat. Hazards Earth Syst. Sci.*, 4, 295-308.
- Aimers, J., and Hodell, D., 2011. Societal collapse: Drought and the Maya. *Nature*,
 479(7371), 44-45.
- Arnell, N., 1989. Expected Annual Damages and Uncertainties in Flood Frequency
 Estimation. *Journal of Water Resources Planning and Management*, 115(1), 94–107.
- Beven, K.J., 2009. *Environmental Modelling An Uncertain Future?* Routledge, London,
 294 pages.

- Beven, K.J., 2012. Causal models as multiple working hypotheses about environmental
 processes. *Comptes Rendus Geoscience, Académie de Sciences*, Paris, 344: 77–88,
 doi:10.1016/j.crte.2012.01.005.
- Beven, K J, 2014. What we see now: event-persistence in predicting the responses of hydro-
- 352 eco-geomorphological systems? *Ecological Modelling*,
 353 http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolmodel.2014.07.019.
- Beven, K. J. and Germann, P. F., 2013. Macropores and water flow in soils revisited, *Water Resour. Res.*, 49(6), 3071-3092, doi:10.1002/wrcr.20156.
- Beven, K.J., and Young, P., 2013. A guide to good practice in modeling semantics for authors
- and referees. *Water Resources Research*, 49 (8), 5092-5098.
- Beven, K.J., and Smith, P., 2014. Concepts of Information Content and Likelihood in
 Parameter Calibration for Hydrological Simulation Models. *Journal of Hydrological Engineering*, in press.
- Blazkova, S., and K. Beven, 2009, A limits of acceptability approach to model evaluation and
 uncertainty estimation in flood frequency estimation by continuous simulation: Skalka
 catchment, Czech Republic, *Water Resour. Res.*, 45, W00B16, doi:10.1029/2007WR006726.
- Bohensky, E.L., and Leitch, A.M., 2014. Framing the flood: a media analysis of themes of resilience in the 2011 Brisbane flood. *Reg. Environ. Change*, 14, 475-488.
- Blöschl, G., and Montanari, A., 2010. Climate change impacts—throwing the dice?. *Hydrological Processes*, 24(3), 374-381.
- Blöschl, G., A. Viglione, and A. Montanari, 2013. Emerging approaches to hydrological risk
- 369 management in a changing world. *Climate Vulnerability*, Elsevier Inc., Academic Press, 3-10.
- Brandimarte, L., and Di Baldassarre, G., 2012. Uncertainty in design flood profiles derived by
 hydraulic modelling. *Hydrology Research*, 43(6), 753-761.
- 372 Castellarin, A., Di Baldassarre, G., and Brath, A., 2011. Floodplain management strategies for
- flood attenuation in the river Po. *River Research and Applications*, 27(8), 1037-1047.
- 374 Cooke, R.M., 1991. *Experts in uncertainty: opinion and subjective probability in science*.
- New York, Oxford University Press, 366 pages.
- 376 Di Baldassarre, G., A. Castellarin, A. Montanari, A. Brath, 2009a. Probability weighted
- 377 hazard maps for comparing different flood risk management strategies: a case study, *Natural*
- 378 *Hazards*, 50(3), 479-496.

- Di Baldassarre, G., A. Castellarin, and Brath, A., 2009b. Analysis on the effects of levee
 heightening on flood propagation: some thoughts on the River Po, *Hydrological Sciences Journal*, 54(6), 1007-1017.
- 382 Di Baldassarre, G., Montanari, A., Lins, H., Koutsoyiannis, D., Brandimarte, L., and Blöschl,
- G. 2010a. Flood fatalities in Africa: From diagnosis to mitigation. *Geophysical Research Letters*, 37, L22402, doi:10.1029/2010GL045467.
- Di Baldassarre, G., Schumann, G., Bates, P.D., Freer, J., Beven, K., 2010b. Floodplain
 mapping: a critical discussion on deterministic and probabilistic approaches, *Hydrological Sciences Journal*, 55(3), 364-376.
- Di Baldassarre, G., Kooy, M., Kemerink, J.S., and Brandimarte, L., 2013a. Towards
 understanding the dynamic behaviour of floodplains as human-water systems. *Hydrology and Earth System Sciences*, 17, 3235-3244.
- Di Baldassarre, G., Viglione, A., Carr, G., Kuil, L., Salinas, J. L., and Blöschl G., 2013b.
- Socio-hydrology: conceptualising human-flood interactions, Hydrology and Earth System
 Sciences, 17, 3295-3303, doi:10.5194/hess-17-3295-2013.
- Faulkner, H., Parker, D., Green, C., Beven, K.J., 2007. Developing a translational discourse
 to communicate uncertainty in flood risk between science and the practitioner. *Ambio*, 16(7),
 692-703.
- Ferson, S. and Ginzburg, L. R. (1996). Different methods are needed to propagate ignorance
 and variability, *Reliability Eng. and Syst. Safety*, 54, 133–144.
- Gill, R. B., Mayewski, P. A., Nyberg, J., Haug, G. H., and Peterson, L. C. (2007). Drought
 and the Maya collapse. *Ancient Mesoamerica*, 18(02), 283-302.
- Giosan, L., Clift, P. D., Macklin, et al. (2012). Fluvial landscapes of the Harappan
 civilization. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 109(26), E1688-E1694.
- 403 Giupponi, C., Mojtahed V., Gain A.K., Biscaro C., and Balbi S. (2014). Integrated risk
- assessment of water related disasters. In *Hydro-meteorological Hazards, Risk and Disasters*(edited by P.Paron and G. Di Baldassarre), Pages. 164-197, Elsevier, Amsterdam, The
 Netherlands.
- Hall, J., Arheimer, B., Borga, M., et al., 2013. Understanding flood regime changes in
 Europe: a state of the art assessment. *Hydrology and Earth System Sciences Discussions*, 10,
 15525-15624.

- 410 Haug, G. H., Günther, D., Peterson, L. C., Sigman, D. M., Hughen, K. A., and Aeschlimann,
- 411 B. (2003). Climate and the collapse of Maya civilization. *Science*, 299(5613), 1731-1735.
- 412 Juston, J.M., Kauffeldt, A., Quesada Montano, B., Seibert, J., Beven, K. J., and Westerberg,
- 413 I.K., 2013. Smiling in the rain: Seven reasons to be positive about uncertainty in hydrological
- 414 modelling. *Hydrological. Processes.* 27, 1117–1122.
- Kaldor, N., 1957. A model of economic growth. *The Economic Journal*, 67 (268), 591-624.
- 416 Kahneman, D., and Tversky, A., 1979. Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision Under Risk.
- 417 *Econometrica*, XLVII, 263–291.
- 418 Kates, R. W., Colten, C. E., Laska, S., Leatherman, S. P. (2006). Reconstruction of New
- 419 Orleans after Hurricane Katrina: a research perspective. *P. Natl. Acad. Sci.* 103, 14653420 14660.
- 421 Klir, G. (2006). Uncertainty and Information. Wiley, Chichester.
- 422 Knight, F.H. (1921). *Risk, Uncertainty and Profit*. Houghton-Mifflin Co. (reprinted
 423 University of Chicago Press, 1971).
- Koutsoyiannis, D., 2013. Hydrology and change. *Hydrological Sciences Journal*, 58 (6),
 1177–1197.
- 426 Koutsoyiannis, D., and Montanari, A., 2007. Statistical analysis of hydroclimatic time series:
 427 Uncertainty and insights. *Water Resources Research*, 43(5), W05429.
- Koutsoyiannis, D., Makropoulos, C. Langousis, A., Baki, S., Efstratiadis, A., Christofides, A.
 Karavokiros, G., and Mamassis, N., 2009. HESS Opinions: "Climate, hydrology, energy,
 water: recognizing uncertainty and seeking sustainability", *Hydrology and Earth System Sciences*, 13, 247-257.
- Koutsoyiannis, D., 2010. HESS Opinions: "A random walk on water". *Hydrology and Earth System Sciences*, 14(3), 2010, 585-601.
- 434 Krueger, T., Page, T., Hubacek, K., Smith, L., and Hiscock, K., 2012. The role of expert
- 435 opinion in environmental modelling. *Environmental Modelling & Software*, 36, 4-18.
- 436 Lane, S. N., Odoni, N., Landstrom, C., Whatmore, S. J., Ward, N., and Bradley, S., 2011.
- 437 Doing flood risk science differently: an experiment in radical scientific method, *Trans. Inst.*
- 438 Brit. Geogr., 36, 15–26.
- 439 Lin, S.W., and Bier, V.M., 2008. A study of expert overconfidence. *Reliability Engineering &*
- 440 *System Safety*, (93) 5, 711-721.

- 441 Makridakis, S., and Taleb, N., 2009a. Living in a world of low levels of predictability.
 442 *International Journal of Forecasting*, 25, 840-844.
- Makridakis, S., and Taleb, N., 2009b. Decision making and planning under low levels of
 predictability. International Journal of Forecasting, 25(4), 716-733.
- 445 Mandelbrot, B., 1997. Fractals and scaling in finance. Springer, London, 548 pages.
- 446 Montanari, A. 2007. What do we mean by 'uncertainty'? The need for a consistent wording
 447 about uncertainty assessment in hydrology. *Hydrological Processes*, 21(6), 841-845.
- Mechler, R., Bouwer L.M. (2014). Understanding trends and projections of disaster losses and
 climate change: is vulnerability the missing link? *Climatic Change*, doi: 10/1009/s10584-0141141-0.
- 451 de Moel, H., J.C.J.H. Aerts, and E. Koomen (2011). Development of flood exposure in the
- 452 Netherlands during the 20th and 21st century. *Global Environ. Chang.*, 21(2), 620-627,
 453 doi:10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2010.12.005.
- Montanari, A., et al., 2013. "Panta Rhei Everything Flows": Change in hydrology and
 society The IAHS Scientific Decade 2013–2022. *Hydrological Sciences Journal*, 58(6),
 1256-1275, doi:10.1080/02626667.2013.809088.
- Montanari, A., and Koutsoyiannis, D., 2012. A blueprint for process-based modeling of
 uncertain hydrological systems. *Water Resources Research*, 48, W09555.
- Montz, B. E., and Tobin, G. A., 2008. Livin' large with levees: lessons learned and lost. Nat.
 Hazards Rev. 9, 150-157.
- 461 Neal, J., Keef, C., Bates, P.D., Beven, K.J., and Leedal, D., 2013. Probabilistic flood risk
 462 mapping including spatial dependence. *Hydrological Processes*, 27 (9), 1349-1363.
- Pappenberger, F., and Beven, K.J., 2006. Ignorance is bliss: Or seven reasons not to use
 uncertainty analysis. *Water Resources Research*, 42(5), W05302.
- Savenije, H.H.G., Hoekstra, A. Y., and van der Zaag, P., 2014. Evolving water science in the
 Anthropocene. *Hydrology and Earth System Sciences*, 18, 319-332.
- Shlyakhter, A.I., Kammen, D.M., Broido, C.L., and Wilson, R., 1994. Quantifying the
 credibility of energy projections from trends in past data—the United States energy sector. *Energy Policy*, 22(2), 119–130.

- 470 Sivapalan, M., Savanjie, H.H.G., and Blöschl, G., 2012. Socio-hydrology: A new science of
 471 people and water. *Hydroogical Processes*, 26, 1270-1276.
- 472 Sivapalan, M., M. Konar, V. Srinivasan, A. Chhatre, A. Wutich, C.A., Scott, J.L. Wescoat,

473 and Rodríguez-Iturbe, I., 2014. Socio-hydrology: Use-inspired water sustainability science for

474 the Anthropocene. *Earth's Future*, 2, doi:10.1002/2013EF000164.

- 475 Srinivasan, V., Gorelick, L., and Thompson, R., 2012. The nature and causes of the global
- 476 water crisis: Syndromes from a meta-analysis of coupled human-water studies. Water
- 477 *Resources Research*, 48, W10516.
- Taleb, N.N., 2007. *The black swan: the impact of the highly improbable*. Penguin, London,
 444 pages.
- 480 Taleb, N.N., 2013. *Antifragile: things that gain from disorder*. Penguin, London, 520 Pages.
- Thompson, M., Ellis, R., and Wildavsky, A. (1990). *Cultural theory*. Westview Press, 296
 pages.
- Viglione, A., Di Baldassarre, G., Brandimarte, L., Kuil, L., Carr, G., Salinas, J. L., Scolobig,
 A., and Blöschl, G., 2014. Insights from socio-hydrology modelling on dealing with flood
- risk–roles of collective memory, risk-taking attitude and trust. *Journal of Hydrology*, in press.
- Vörösmarty, C. J., et al., 2010. Global threats to human water security and river biodiversity. *Nature*, 467, 555–561
- Yancheva, G., Nowaczyk, N. R., Mingram, J., et al. (2007). Influence of the intertropical
 convergence zone on the East Asian monsoon. *Nature*, 445(7123), 74-77.
- Wagener, T., et al., 2010. The future of hydrology: An evolving science for a changing world. *Water Resources Research*, 46, W05301.
- Werner, B.T., McNamara, D.E. (2007) Dynamics of coupled humanlandscape systems, *Geomorphology*, 91, 393–407.
- White, G. F., 1945. *Human Adjustments to Floods*. Department of Geography Research, Paper
 no. 29, The University of Chicago, Chicago.
- Wilby, R.L., and S. Dessai (2010). Robust adaptation to climate change. *Weather*, 65, 180-185.

Wind, H. G., T. M. Nierop, C. J. de Blois, and J. L. de Kok (1999). Analysis of flood damages
from the 1993 and 1995 Meuse Floods, *Water Resour. Res.*, 35(11), 3459-3465,
doi:10.1029/1999wr900192.



Figure 1. The socio-hydrological cycle: societies change the hydrological regime via human activities,
while the experience of hydrological changes shape societies. Human and water systems are deeply

508 intertwined and respond to global changes in climate, economy, technology and culture.

509





Figure 2. Examples of ludic, hydrological and socio-hydrological time series. a) Fair-sided dice
outcomes. b) River Nile at Roda, Egypt: annual minimum levels 622-1284. Note the presence of longterm persistence and memory (Koutsoyiannis, 2013). c) Maya Lowlands: human population history.
Note demographic growth periods and collapses, plausibly due to persistent drought conditions (Gill et al., 2007).