

LOCAL REFERENDUMS FOR URBAN AREA DEVELOPMENT:

HOW PUBLIC VALUE CONFLICTS CONTRIBUTE
TO THE DESIGN AND DECISION-MAKING

Including two nature and housing related local referendum case studies:
IJburg and Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk



Master Thesis

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Local Referendums for Urban Area Development: How public value conflicts contribute to the design and decision-making

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Preface

This thesis report is the result of my graduation year of my master Management in the Built Environment at the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment at the TU Delft. During my studies, I became interested in large-scale area development and the decisions municipalities and developers take into account when they decide to (re-)develop an urban area. Besides this, the housing crisis in the Netherlands makes it urgent to rapidly develop housing to solve this problem. These development issues and considerations are interesting to me, especially when space is scarce and green areas are considered to be suitable for housing development. This research combines the development and environmental conflict between housing and green areas, but also local democracy and how citizens can try to influence the decision-making of the municipality. This report provides recommendations for local referendums with urban area development topics, and how these can be beneficial.

First of all, I would like to thank all the interviewees for participating. I was very lucky to receive many positive responses and help during my data collection. Also, I would like to thank my study friends who made my study days in the library more fun and supporting. Lastly, I would like to thank both my mentors. They were very supportive in the process and really helped me to finally finish my studies.

I have learned a lot during my graduation year, which I enjoyed. However, I am also glad that this phase is finished, and I am looking forward to what is coming next.

Abstract

Local referendums are part of the local democracy and give citizens more direct decision power by their votes. The instrument can be used by the citizens to express their resistance towards the municipal plans or used by the municipality to consult their citizens about their plans. In the Netherlands, local referendums are despite their non-binding character still used nowadays. This instrument is also used for Urban Area Development plans, such as Amsterdam IJburg (1997) whereby citizens and special interest groups were concerned about the loss of nature in the area due to the large-scale land reclamation project. Another example is Arnhem Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk (2016), whereby a group of citizens expressed their concerns about building in the floodplains after the national policy 'ruimte voor de rivier' was introduced to make more space for the river instead of building in these areas. Until now, studies have been done about local referendums in general, the topics, about voting behaviour and the frequency of it. In addition, some research has been done on local referendums in urban development areas in Europe and America. However, studies about the added value of a local referendum in the Netherlands specifically about Urban Area Developments are missing. The report answers the following research question: *How can a local referendum for urban area development contribute to the design and decision-making?* The goal of the research is to gain a better understanding of the added value of a local referendum used for larger urban area development topics and how this influences design and decision-making. The research question will be answered by a literature review and the use of qualitative data, including interviews and archive documents on the case studies of IJburg and Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk. The research output is a list of recommendations for municipalities, on how the local referendum process can be improved specifically for UAD topics. The added value of local referendums for urban area development topics is mainly the contribution to legitimate decision-making. Also, citizens have more decision power next to the regular voting moments. In addition, the arguments on how this plan will support the city become clearer. Besides, the counterarguments and doubts about the plan are better heard than without a referendum. This research shows that conflicting public values, such as environmental values and development values, can by using a referendum create more awareness and could even turn into a positive outcome. However, from the analysis of the interviews, it became clear that there is a desire for an alternative form of referendums for UAD due to its more complex character wherein many interests are involved. The recommendations are mainly focused on the implementation of communication in the process. A participation process included in the referendum process is regarded as an essential part for municipalities and citizens to produce a coherent and feasible solution. This could even avoid conflict and thus corrective referendums.

Keywords: *Local Referendum, Urban Area Development, Design changes, Decisions-making, Public Value Conflict, Nature, (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk Arnhem, Amsterdam IJburg)*

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1. Introduction

Problem Statement

Cities are expanding and must explore their possibilities for future urban growth. Some cities chose the option of densification within the existing city for growth, or they use 'groeikernen' (growth centres) or 'villes nouvelles' (new cities) as their urban renewal policies (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2021). These areas function as overflow areas for the larger nearby city. Another option to expand the city is through land reclamation, which is a method of adding land commonly used over the Dutch history. Nowadays, green areas are also considered as options to expand cities further.

The municipal council has obtained the power to make these urban planning decisions for the municipality by the votes of the citizens. However, these urban development plans made by the local government are not always well perceived by citizens and the topic can cause friction or conflict. These disagreements between citizens and the municipality can lead towards a local referendum. Citizens or organizations can express their resistance to a recently approved law or decision by using a corrective referendum. The use of referendums gives more direct power to the citizens in the decision-making of a specific topic, including urban area development. Besides, there is a need for extra legitimization on certain topics and a local referendum can be used in these cases. The instrument can also be used to ask citizens for their advice to make a legitimate decision on a specific matter (Zonneveld, 2019). The outcome of the referendum can therefore be useful to support and validate the reasoning of the decision-making in urban planning and conflicts.

Referendum Definition and Typologies

A referendum is a tool that allows citizens to vote directly on a specific political issue (Van Dale, 2022). A referendum is a form of direct democracy that can be used in addition to the national or local government to give citizens more influence on governmental decisions. Several typologies of referendums have been made in literature. Most often, categorization is based on who initiates the referendum (citizens or government), whether it is mandatory or facultative by law, and whether the outcome is advisory or binding. The timing of the referendum determines whether it is a reaction to a taken decision (corrective) or not. The results of the votes must be respected if the referendum is binding, while the results of an advisory referendum are given to the government as advice rather than being legally binding. After the government passes a measure or new law, citizens can request a corrective referendum (Correctief Referendum, n.d.). The literature mentioned below provides an overview of the typologies used.

Altman (2011) makes a distinction between in his terms 'MDDs'- Mechanisms of direct democracy worldwide, and the term direct democracy considers referendums, plebiscites, recalls, and initiatives. Altman's typology of twelve categories is based on the initiator, the purpose, and the final decision-making (figure 1). Three types of initiators are identified: the citizens(bottom-up), government/politicians(top-down), and the constitutional regulations. Then two actions are defined as proactive and reactive. The final decision-making is defined by the binding or non-binding character. The literature states that the twelve categories theoretically exist, but not all are used in practice.

Hendriks et al. (2017) made an adaptation of the referendum types made by Altman (2011), figure 2. First, the authors similarly made a distinction between bottom-up, top-down, and constitutional mandatory referendums. The top-down plebiscites are consulting referendums initiated by the government, while bottom-up referendums are initiated by the initiatives of citizens. Both types can have an advisory or a binding character. The constitutionally obligated referendums are always binding, an example is the 2008 Lisbon Treaty referendum in Ireland. Examples of top-down referendums are Brexit in 2016 and the European constitution referendum in 2005 in the Netherlands. Examples of bottom-up referendums are the reform of the Colombian government in 1990 and the Ukraine referendum in 2016 in the Netherlands. The typology of Hendriks et al. (2017) added a type which was according to Altman (2011) not used in practice, the bottom-up advisory corrective referendum. However, the Netherlands introduced this referendum type in their national referendum legislation in 2015, and the Ukraine referendum from 2016 is an example of this type.

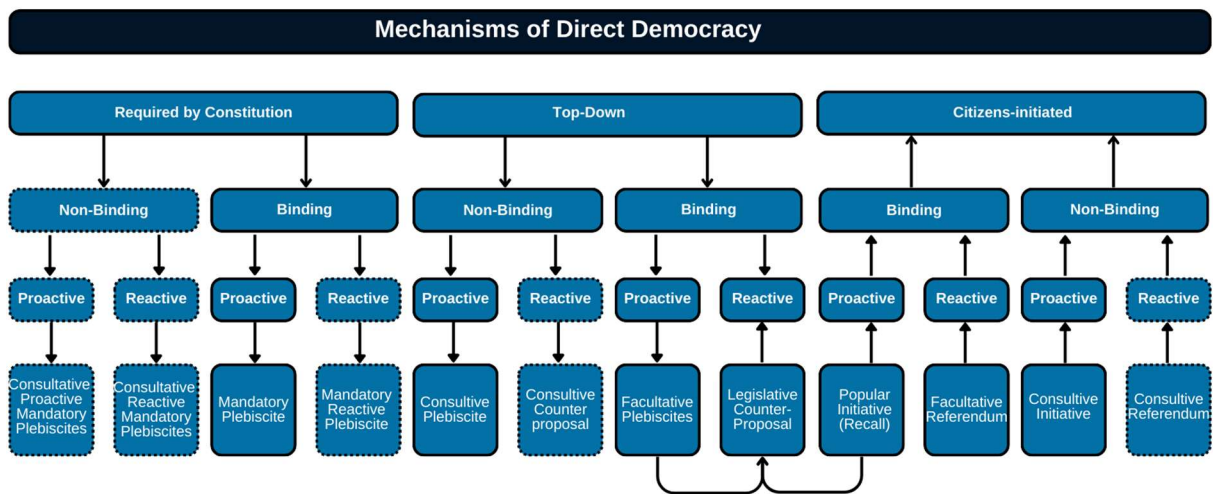


Figure 1: Typology of Mechanisms of Direct Democracy, the dotted lines represent a type that theoretically exists but has not happened in practice. By Altman (2011, p.11)

| Volksstemmingen (stembusvarianten) | | | | | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---|--|------------------------------------|---|
| Top-down plebiscieten (raadplegende referenda) | | | Verplichte referenda (obligatoir, niet-facultatief) | Bottom-up kiezersinitiatieven (raadgevende initiatieven) | | | |
| Adviserend | Bindend | | | Bindend | Bindend | Adviserend | |
| Avancerend | Avancerend | Correctief | Avancerend | Avancerend | Correctief | Avancerend | Correctief |
| Raadplegend referendum | Bindend plebisciet | Correctief tegenvoorstel | Verplicht goedkeurings-referendum | Volksinitiatief | Bindend correctief referendum | Niet-bindend initiatief | Adviserend correctief referendum |
| Bv UK '16, Brexit | Bv Frankrijk '69, Staatshervorming | Bv Zwits. '10 Criminele buitenlanders | Bv Ierland '08/ '09, Lissabon Verdrag | Bv Zwits. '10, Criminele buitenlanders | Bv Italië, '11 privatisering (Ned. '17, voorliggend wetsvoorstel) | Bv Colombia, '90, Staatshervorming | Ned. '16, Oekraïne-referendum |
| Ned. '05, EU grondwets-referendum | | | | | | | |

Figure 2: Typology of plebiscites incl. referendums by Hendriks et al. (2017, p.109)

A characterization of local referendums in Amsterdam has also been done by Neijens et al. (1998). He mentions that there is a difference between initiatives and referendums because initiatives are not on the municipal agenda. Besides this, a distinction between characters is made. Local referendums are compulsory or optional/facultative referendums, binding or advisory, corrective, or non-corrective, initiated by the population or politicians. An example of a non-corrective local referendum is the one of the Car Traffic Policy in Amsterdam in 1992, which was initiated by the municipal city council. An example of local corrective referendums is the ones of the city province of Amsterdam and IJburg (Neijens et al., 1998).

Another typology is made by Broeksteeg and Van der Krieken (2017). This shows a distinction between the legal basis, legal effect, and the moment of the referendum. The legal basis can be split into consultative and decisive forms, which are the same as non-binding and binding. The legal effect can be obligatory or facultative, which depends on each country's legislation. For example, the constitutions of Ireland, Switzerland, and Denmark make sure that some matters need to be addressed in an obligatory referendum. Facultative referendums can be advisory or consulting, depending on who initiates the referendum (citizens or government). The moment of the referendum will determine if it is a corrective or non-corrective referendum. Corrective means after a municipal decision has been made, and non-corrective referendums can be about decisions which are not made yet.

Although referendums can have the label of binding or non-binding, in practice government can act differently. It is possible that outcomes from an advisory referendum are respected by the government, this was the case in the Brexit referendum (NOS, 2017). Also, binding referendums can be overruled by the government, this occurred in Switzerland. The outcome of a referendum about an immigrant quota put the government in a difficult position since they are part of the Schengen treaty. The government needed three years to find another solution to this difficult matter (Hendriks et al., 2017).

Urban Area Development (Local) Referendum Cases in the Literature

The literature shows some insights into cases of how citizens were able to veto or alter municipal decisions on urban area development by defending the values of the city. The case of the Tempelhof referendum in Germany gives insight into how citizens valued the open urban area of a former airport as a recreational area and its ecological value. It showed how citizens were able to preserve a valued public area against the redevelopment plans (Carver and Gardner, 2021). Another example, the case of a waterfront media park in Berlin shows how citizens were concerned about gentrification and the loss of the creative character of this area, whereby a referendum successfully cancelled the development. The goal was to pressure the municipality to alter the plans since the scale of the development would have an enormous impact on the city and area (Scharenberg and Bader, 2009). In these cases, citizens were successful in safeguarding their values and expressing their resistance to urban area development through a local referendum. Referendums can give citizens veto power (Henley et al., 2020). These conflicts relate to the Public Value theory in urban planning, which includes liveability, conservatism, ecological quality, social equity, economic opportunity, and health (Herzog et al., 2022). Related to conflicts such as externality conflicts and gentrification conflicts (Herzog et al., 2022). This will be further explained in Chapter 2.

Societal and Scientific Relevance

Referendums became a more popular instrument in the nineties, and this still is. This popularity can be explained by the more individualistic age wherein citizens want to vote on certain topics (Henley et al., 2020). Although the Netherlands had a long history of discussions about referendums, it abolished their referendum legislation in 2018, after it was introduced in 2015 (van der Meer et al., 2020). The national referendum law was introduced to make it possible for citizens to initiate a national referendum. They had an advisory (non-binding) character, which is different than in other European countries (NOS, 2017). After the abolition, the effectiveness of national referendums has been discussed by the Dutch government (van der Meer et al., 2020). The return of the referendum in any form is still a discussion topic of the Dutch government nowadays (NOS, 2022).

Nowadays, the democratization of the city is a topic of societal relevance whereby municipalities are searching for ways to include their citizens during plan developments. This is also visible in the municipal vision 2050 of Amsterdam, whereby “samen stad maken” translated as ‘building the city together’, is stated as one of the five main goals (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b). According to the municipality, when citizens contribute to the city

by participation and initiatives, it will not only enlarge trust in the future of the city, but also enlarge trust in their neighbourhoods. However, there is still a barrier between the municipality and citizens because participation meetings are mostly attended by higher educated Dutch-speaking citizens, which is not a good representation of all citizens. Besides, the municipality is aware that certain groups of citizens are not participating in local decision-making because they are not interested or have other social problems which makes it difficult to participate. Therefore, an important note in their agenda is to reach out to a broader audience (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b). Local referendums could contribute to this issue since voting includes a broader sample of citizens than participation meetings. Besides, it is less time-consuming for the citizens to participate in local decision-making by voting. Moreover, a referendum could be easier to understand with language barriers since the answers are supposed to be simple.

There is scientific literature available about the added value of the (local) referendum as a tool. For example, a PhD thesis from Van der Krieken (2019) described the added value of local referendums in general and focused on the pathways that lead to win or lose. However, there is a lack of knowledge about the added value of a local referendum for urban area development specifically. Moreover, a considerable amount of scientific research has been done on referendum cases in Europe and America, but only a small amount of these cases is related to urban area development. This means there are still many unanswered questions concerning local urban area development referendums. There is a scientific gap in the literature about the added value of a local referendum used for urban area development cases. Especially what the added value in the Netherlands might be nowadays, and how the instruments affect urban area development, regarding design and decision-making. This research particularly devoted to UAD local referendums can be justified by the distinctive character of UAD wherein many interests and policies are considered when plans are developed and wherein citizens have an interest in the outcome. It is about their living environment and therefore experience the positive and/or negative effects from the development.

Case studies

While land reclamation has been used on a larger scale in the Dutch history, in the nineties this led to protests for the development of IJburg in the lake IJmeer which is part of a protected area (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2022a). In the meantime, scientists gained knowledge of the negative effects of land reclamation on the ecosystem and habitats, and this led to environmental protests (Tian et al., 2016). Citizens and organizations became more aware of the environmental value and therefore it became more difficult to continue urban development plans without the support of the citizens. By 1996, the municipality finally agreed on the development of IJburg and in 1997 a local referendum was initiated by Natuurmonumenten (Natuurmonumenten et al., 2014). They were concerned about the ecosystem and habitats in the IJmeer because they believed that this project would cause damage and destroy the environment. The referendum had more votes against IJburg (133.000 No/93.000 Yes); however, the threshold (155.000 No-votes) was not met and therefore the development of IJburg could continue (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2022a). Despite the concerns about this area's development through a referendum, the development of IJburg includes several nature-enhancing elements, which caused a growth in certain animal species and an improved water quality (Steenbergen & Van Bemmelen, 2011). In addition to the obligated nature compensation, Natuurmonumenten, the municipality of Amsterdam, and the province of Noord-Holland collected money for a special fund to support nature projects in the area for the coming 15 years (Natuurmonumenten et al., 2014). This example of a local referendum shows how a referendum after a municipal decision may influence the decisions of the municipality and can contribute to a better-planned outcome within the design. The local referendum IJburg referendum is a unique case since there was much attention to this because the municipality decided to develop in a protected area that had environmental value for citizens and organizations. Besides, the number of voters for a referendum was never this high in the Dutch history until that day (Neijens & van Praag, 1999).

In Arnhem, a comparable situation occurred: a plan was made to redevelop the area Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk, an area in the floodplains of the river. The area has potential because it is a former industrial area located near the inner city of Arnhem. However, a group of citizens and organizations did not agree with the plans. They did not want housing to be developed in the floodplains, a location which is a buffer zone for high water levels. This

location already suffered from high water levels in the nineties. Therefore, the opponents believe that water safety cannot be guaranteed in the future regarding climate change. This case is compared to IJburg a smaller case, but similar.

Research Questions

This thesis answers the following research questions:

RQ: How can a local referendum for urban area development contribute to the design and decision-making?

- *SQ1: Why are local referendums used for urban area development plans?*
- *SQ2: What are the advantages, disadvantages, or barriers of local referendums?*
- *SQ3: How did the use of a local referendum affect the design and decisions regarding the urban area development of the cases IJburg and Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk?*
- *SQ4: How do the actors of the cases IJburg and Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk look back at the instrument of a local referendum for urban area development?*

To answer the research question, the local referendum cases about urban area development cases can be studied to understand the value of local referendums regarding the contribution to design and decision-making in the Dutch context. Two cases are selected with relate to a conflict between developing housing in nature areas, IJburg (Amsterdam) and Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk (Arnhem).

Report Structure

The structure of the report is as follows. Chapter 2 contains the (scientific) literature study about referendums, land reclamation, and public values, which led to the conceptual model. The methodology will be described in Chapter 3, including the research output, data management and ethical considerations. Chapter 4 and 5 describe the case studies IJburg (Amsterdam) and Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk (Arnhem) respectively. This is based on available materials on the cases from archives and newspapers and policy documents. The results from the data collection are written down in Chapter 6 and describe the insights related to the added value from the cases and what effect the referendum had on the decisions and design. After this, Chapter 7 discusses the remarks and dilemmas of local referendums, the methodology, limitations of this research and suggestions for further research. In the concluding Chapter 8, the main research question will be answered, and recommendation will be given. This is also the output of this research, recommendations on how to organize a local referendum for UAD topics. Lastly, in the appendix, a reflection of this graduation thesis topic, master studies, and graduation process can be found.

2.Literature

This chapter will answer the sub-questions: *Why are local referendums used for urban area development plans?* & *What are the advantages, disadvantages, or barriers of local referendums?* This will start by explaining the context of referendums (section 2.1), local referendums for area developments (section 2.2). The advantages, disadvantages, and barriers (section 2.3) Followed by Land reclamation drivers (section 2.4) and public values (section 2.5). This adds up to the conceptual model (section 2.6). Lastly, the relationship between the literature and the cases will be concluded (section 2.7).

2.1 The context of (local) referendums: Levels, History and Procedures

2.1.1 Levels of referendums (in Europe)

Referendums can take place at diverse levels: national, state/district and local referendums are most common in literature. National referendums in other countries in the past have made it possible to vote about a nation's independence, borders, nuclear power, immigration, whether to drive on the right (Sweden), external financial aid (Greece), the Scottish parliament, gay marriage, and abortion in Ireland (Henley et al., 2020). National referendums in Europe are used differently by each country. In some European countries such as Bosnia and Herzegovina and Belgium, a national referendum is not an option (NOS, 2017). Since 2018 the Netherlands abolished their national referendum and is therefore not used anymore (van der Meer et al., 2020). Norway, Cyprus, and the Czech Republic have not included referendums in their national legislation, but they have organized them before. While in Switzerland, referendums are very well integrated into the democracy and citizens can vote 3-4 times a year (NOS, 2017; Hendriks et al., 2017). The procedures also differ in European countries. In Latvia, only citizens can initiate a national referendum (NOS, 2017). This was also the case in the Netherlands, between 2015-2018 when the referendum law was in practice (van der Meer et al., 2020). In East-European countries, both citizens and the government can initiate a national referendum, whereas in West-European countries referendums are more often initiated by the government. This difference can be explained by the younger constitutions of East-European Countries. Lastly, the outcome of a national referendum is in most European countries binding when a certain threshold is reached (see figure 3), however, this was not the case in the Netherlands (NOS, 2017).



Figure 3: Binding referendums in dark yellow, sometimes in light yellow. Advisory only in the Netherlands, Sweden, and Finland, however since 2018 the Netherlands does not have a national referendum legislation anymore (NOS, 2017).

Special case: Switzerland

A special case in Europe is Switzerland because this country is very experienced with referendums. It is well-known for its referendum culture and referendums are a big part of its democracy. It is quite common for the Swiss to vote several times a year for a referendum. On a national level, the Swiss can vote for referendums on four pre-defined dates. From previous years it can be concluded the Swiss voted around seven to twelve times annually (Hendriks et al., 2017). For changes in the constitution, citizens are invited to vote for a constitutional mandatory referendum. In addition, corrective referendums and citizen initiatives are part of the direct democracy. Besides, local referendums are also well integrated into their democracy. In 'Gemeindeversammlungen' citizens of the municipality are allowed to vote publicly in the open air on local decisions. This takes place in 80% of Swiss municipalities (Hendriks et al., 2017).

The Swiss value their referendum culture and 93.7% believe this is important for the future of their country (Hendriks et al., 2017), however, this strongly integrated direct democracy can also have downsides. Bardsley et al. (2021) argue that the Swiss democratic system might give citizens the impression that they are entitled to decide on local planning or that they might think they should be heard in all major decisions. This research partly argues the uniqueness of citizen participation in the Swiss government. Hendriks et al. (2017) also mention that the downside in Swiss could be that the referendum is a constant threat to the government's decision-making. In Swiss, referendums lead to collaboration in groups to create support for political plans and this tendency makes it very accessible for minority groups to initiate a referendum.

National Referendums in the Netherlands

The Netherlands is not very experienced with national referendums, only three referendums took place on a national level. Remarkable is that national referendums are not possible in the Netherlands due to the abolition of the referendum legislation in 2018 (van der Meer et al., 2020). This abolition of a referendum law is unique because the Netherlands was late with introducing this legislation and then also became the first democratic country who abolish its national referendum legislation. This was the opposite tendency of several other Western democratic countries who chose to introduce or expand their referendum legislation (van der Meer et al., 2020).

In the Dutch history, the introduction of the national referendum has been a topic of discussion several times in the past decades (van der Meer et al., 2020), and the re-introduction is still a debatable topic in 2022 (NOS, 2022). This discussion started in 1884 and it took until 2002 to introduce a temporary referendum law (Trw=tijdelijke referendum wet) (Hendriks et al., 2017). With this Trw existing (between 2002 and 2004) it became possible to have corrective non-binding referendums (Hendriks et al., 2017; van der Meer et al., 2020). However, no referendum took place due to high barriers such as collecting many signatures in a brief time (600.000 in 6 weeks) (van der Meer et al., 2020). In 2005, the Dutch parliament initiated a non-binding referendum about the European Union Constitution Treaty. The turnout was more than 60% and more than 60% voted no, this gave a strong message to the government. Due to this first national experience, a couple of political parties became supportive of the instrument and proposed two bills in 2005: a bill for the introduction of a binding referendum and a non-binding referendum. Non-binding, because it is difficult to introduce a binding referendum in the Netherlands since the constitution needs to be changed for this. In 2015, the Netherlands introduced a non-binding referendum law (Wrr=Wet raadgevend referendum), which allowed citizens to initiate corrective non-binding (=advisory) referendums on a national level (van der Meer et al., 2020). Which was according to Altman (2011) only a combination that exists in theory but was non-existent in practice. The Netherlands used this uncommon referendum type. In the period between 2015-2018, two national referendums took place. The first one was in 2016 about the association treaty between Ukraine and the EU, and the second one was in 2018 about the act of the Intelligence & Security Services. Both referendums had more no-voters than yes-votes, and the thresholds had been reached. The government had lost in both cases, but they reconsidered these laws. The government still supported the Ukraine treaty; however, they negotiated on a part that was the reason for initiating this referendum. Similarly, for the second law, they made some adjustments which were the reason for initiating the referendum. However, according to Van der Meer et al. (2020) it is debatable whether this solution was satisfactory for the initiators. After losing two referendums, the Dutch government abolished their national referendum in 2018. The research by van der Meer et al. (2020) argues that

coalition politics is a reason for the rise and fall of the referendum between 2015-2018 and the non-satisfactory effect. The instrument was not working as was expected.

Levels and types of referendums in the Netherlands

Nowadays, it is possible in the Netherlands to organize advisory referendums in municipalities, some provinces (Noord-Holland, Utrecht, Zeeland, Friesland, and Limburg), and regional water authorities (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017). It is also possible to have a referendum on a neighbourhood scale or an area of a city when only this part of the citizens will relate to the issue. While referendums in (some) provinces and water authorities are possible, they have not made use of a referendum before (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017; Zonneveld, 2019)

Coming back to the typologies, what types of local referendums are possible in the Dutch municipalities? According to Broeksteeg and Van der Krieken (2017), it is possible according to the Dutch legal framework to organize consultative, facultative, advisory, consulting, corrective, and non-corrective (local) referendums. This means that the obligatory and decisive form (binding) types are not possible in the Netherlands. Municipalities are not allowed to act in violation of the constitution and municipal law, therefore binding referendums are not possible. The municipal law states that only the municipal council is allowed to make the decisions.

2.1.2 Local referendums in the Netherlands

History of local referendums in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, since 1906 more than 200 local referendums have taken place in Dutch municipalities, see Figure 4 by Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken (2017). Wherefrom thirty-three by initiative from citizens (Zonneveld, 2019). This is a large amount compared to the three national referendums that took place. In the early years after 1906, a couple of referendums took place. Only since the seventies referendums became more popular, probably because many municipalities were dealing with the re-arrangement of their municipal borders, and this caused an opposing group of citizens who were allowed to initiate a referendum. (This was however more a protest than a solution because those decisions could only be made at the national or provincial level. Only later around the zeros, it became part of the municipal decisions. Therefore, the usefulness of the instrument has changed.)

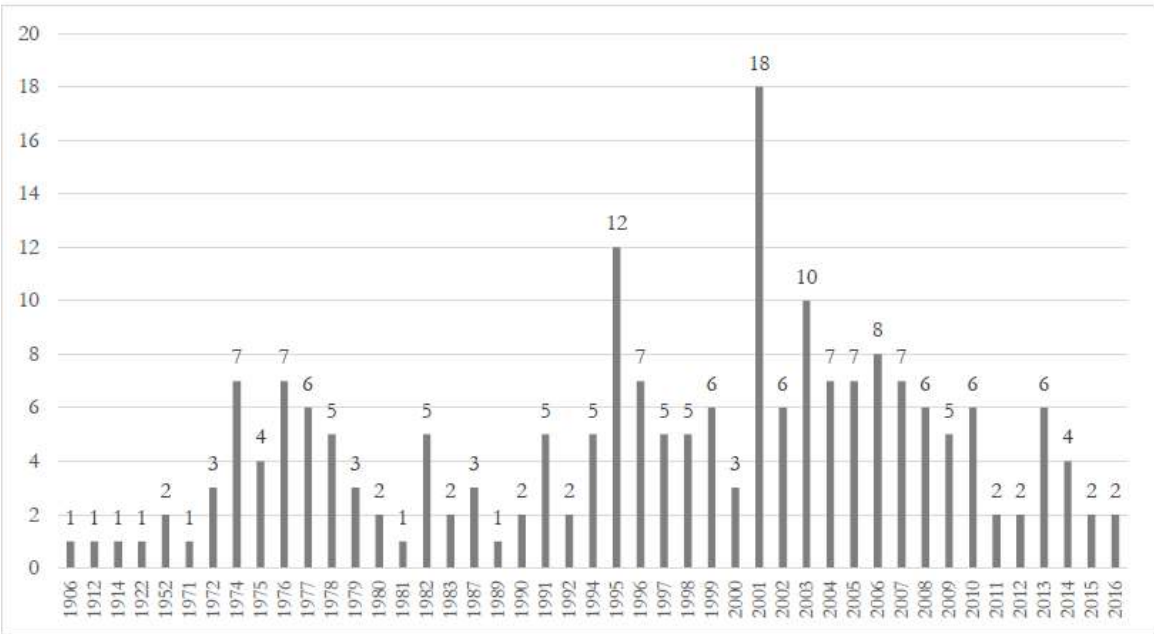


Figure 4: The number of local referendums in the Netherlands 1906-2016 by Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken (2017)

After 1990, local referendums became even more popular: 150 of the 206 local referendums took place since then. In the nineties, 49 local referendums took place; and in the zeros, 77 referendums, see figure 5 (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017).

In the nineties, the Netherlands did not had experience with a national referendum yet, but the local referendum became a rediscovered tool (Neijens et al., 1998). The instrument became more popular, probably due to low turn-out at the municipal council elections (Neijens et al., 1998; Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017). Besides, there was a participation movement whereby citizens were more included in decision-making (Zonneveld, 2019) Moreover, municipalities were looking for ways to involve their citizens e.g., in Amsterdam and Leiden, both municipalities tried to involve their citizens in the decision-making process through a referendum before they made actual plans (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017). Initially, the referendum was a tool for the municipality to ask the citizens for their advice to make a legitimate decision. However, referendums also tend to get a more corrective character to stop recently made municipal decisions, besides, the topics also shifted more towards urban development topics (Zonneveld, 2019).

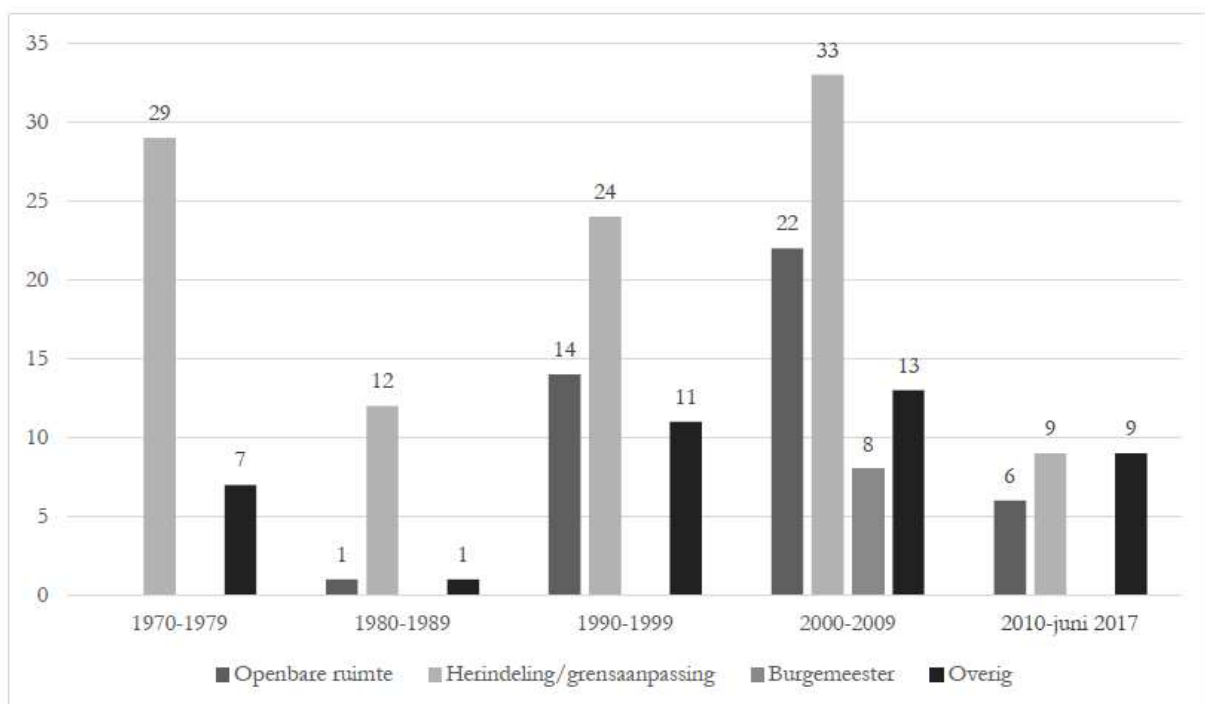


Figure 5: The number of local referendums in the Netherlands including topics by Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken (2017)

Local Referendum Topics

Most often, municipal referendums are related to the re-arrangement of municipal borders or the merging of municipalities. Other local referendum topics were carnivals, swimming pools, public transport, area development plans, and choosing a mayor candidate (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017; Nijeboer & Vos, 2018). In the zero's a couple of times the mayor was chosen by referendum, this was only in this area due to the legislation at this time (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017). In Figure 5 a division of topics per decennia is shown. In the nineties the topics also shifted more towards urban development, examples in Amsterdam are the local referendums about the metro line Noord-Zuid lijn and the neighbourhood IJburg.

The added value of local referendums

Van der Krieken (2019) has done research (PhD thesis), regarding local referendums in the Netherlands. The research included all 215 local referendums, from the first in 1906 until 2018. The research is focused on giving an overview of all local referendums in the Netherlands and in addition to understand which factors lead to victory for local advisory referendums for the initiators. His research gives a clear overview of all local

referendums in the Dutch history related to all topics. Van der Krieken (2019) states that local referendums have added value in general to municipal decision-making. From the data was described that on average the turn-out is low. However, when the turn-out is sufficient the municipality is willing to respect the outcome, this happened in 67,4% of the cases. Besides the voting aspect of a referendum, there is also a discussion going on about the referendum topic around the citizens and government. According to this research, it is just as valuable to hear all different opinions behind the vote (Tilburg University, 2020). Based on the high number of local referendums that took place, the research states that local referendums can work well together besides the municipal council decision-making (Zonneveld, 2019). In comparison, this master thesis research is more focused on the built environment and more specifically on local referendums about urban area development. In addition, this research will focus in-depth on two UAD cases with qualitative methods.

2.1.3 Procedures and Thresholds

National referendum procedure

During the Wrr law (2015-2018) citizens could initiate a corrective non-binding referendum by first collecting 10.000 signatures in 4 weeks and after this 300.000 signatures in 6 weeks (collected digitally and physically). There was a voter threshold of 30%. Non-binding means that the government was allowed to make its own decision after the voting outcome, however, they were obligated to reconsider the law. Some topics are not suitable for a referendum under the Wrr law, such as the monarchy, the governmental budget, and the constitution (van der Meer et al., 2020).

Local referendum procedure (and design)

According to Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken (2017), local referendums in the Netherlands are different in each municipality, they have more freedom since there is a lack of national regulations. Municipalities can decide on the admissible topics, the formulation of answers and questions, the number of answers, the number of signatures, the type of referendums, and the thresholds quorums (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017). Most often, in 49% of the cases, the answer is yes/no or in favour/against. This is always the case with a corrective referendum. In 35,4% of the local referendums, the answers were alternative options/variants. Sometimes multiple questions were asked during referendums which could include yes/no and open answers. Some experiments have been done whereby citizens could choose the order of preference (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017).

Thresholds/quorums

Thresholds or quorums are used to determine if the outcome should be considered valid. If the threshold has not been reached, the outcome can be determined to be invalid. Often the quorum is used to make sure the outcome of the voting is representative for the majority and not a minority. In case of the former Dutch national cases, the government was obligated to reconsider the law or decision when the outcome is valid. But the government was still responsible for the final decision. However, this is not the case for municipalities since municipal law states that only the municipal council is allowed to make the decisions (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017).

In local referendums, two types of quorums are most common: the participation quorum and the approval quorum. The participation quorum is a percentage/amount of the electorate who should participate in the voting. An approval quorum means, the majority needs to vote one answer and this group should be at least a predefined percentage of the whole electorate. Most often a participation quorum was used in local referendums. In 34% no quorum was used at all because the outcome is not binding, and a quorum would suggest the municipality should act on the outcome (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017).

2.1.4 Local Referendums in Amsterdam

Since one of the case studies is IJburg, this section provides some background information about local referendums in Amsterdam.

History of Local Referendum Protocol in Amsterdam

The first referendum in Amsterdam was about a car traffic policy initiated by the municipal council. Afterwards, the municipality decided to introduce the corrective referendum with a turnout threshold of 60% of the turnout from the municipal elections. After this protocol change, two referendums were held on the same day in 1995 with high percentages against the municipal plans (Neijens et al., 1998). Several referendums took place in the history of Amsterdam with a high percentage of voters against the proposal, which was a problem for the municipality since they could not continue their plans (Soetenhorst, 2021). Therefore, the referendum protocol was changed again, they increased the threshold and now more than 50% of the turnout from the municipal election should vote to make the outcome valid. Under these new rules, the IJburg referendum took place (Neijens et al., 1998). For example, the referendum of IJburg (60% against) and the Noord-Zuidlijn (65% against) in 1997 did not reach this new threshold. This also raises the question of what the value of a referendum is when the rules of the referendum are adjusted in favour of the municipality's development plans (Soetenhorst, 2021). Since 2003, citizens in Amsterdam can start a petition for initiating topics on the municipal council's agenda and start a referendum with a voter's threshold of 20%. However, in the following decade it was noticed that organizing a referendum from the bottom-up was not easy (Soetenhorst, 2021), therefore in 2021 the alderman wanted to simplify the referendum protocol by lowering the number of signatures for a petition, giving citizens more time to collect the signatures, allowing more topics, and abolish the voter's threshold of 20% for local referendums (Soetenhorst, 2021; Koops, 2021). Despite these changes, it will remain a non-binding corrective referendum (Koops, 2021). In 2022, Amsterdam introduced a new and more accessible referendum protocol (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021a).

New Amsterdam protocol

Since February 2022, Amsterdam has introduced a new and more accessible referendum protocol. The new protocol offers more options for citizens. In the new protocol, fewer signatures need to be collected, there is more time to collect the signatures, more topics are allowed, no voter threshold and more alternative options are included. In addition, it is allowed to have a referendum on topics that are decided by the mayor and alderman, which was not allowed before (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021a). Until now, the corrective referendum with yes/no votes was used, but they now introduce a new type of referendum whereby citizens are allowed to vote for alternatives (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021a). The new protocol exists of two types, the corrective referendum and the citizens' initiative referendum (volksinitiatief). With the citizens' initiative citizens can offer an alternative plan to the municipality. The municipality can accept this alternative plan, or organize a referendum to vote for plan A or plan B. Besides this, the municipal council can also offer an alternative plan to the initiators. The initiators can decide to accept this alternative plan, or a referendum can be organized to let citizens vote for plan A or plan B (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2022c). These routes are visible in the Appendix 1.

The current municipal referendum protocol is as follows (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2022d): To request a referendum, 1000 signatures should be collected for an initial request. For a definite request, 10,000 signatures are required within 10 weeks. When the referendum is organized, no threshold is required. Citizens can use the corrective referendum to dismiss/approve a municipal decision. Besides, they can use a referendum to vote for an alternative option. In the "Referendumverordening Gemeente Amsterdam 2022" is the protocol stated in detail (Overheid, 2022). The organization is explained and describes that not all topics are allowed, such as the municipal budget, taxes, and land-use plans. There is a referendum commission, the members will work for 6 years in their role with a maximum extension of another term of 6 years. This commission helps with the process, they check if the requirements are met, help to formulate the referendum question, and plan the date. They guard the referendum protocol and whether this is followed correctly.

2.2 Local Referendums for Urban Area Development

On a local level, it is also possible to vote in referendums about area development plans. Table 1 shows a list of referendums about area development plans in the Netherlands.

Table 1: List of local referendums used in larger area development or nature-related areas, an adaptation of Nijboer & Vos (2018).

| Project | Year | Type of project | Threshold met? | In favour | Against | % Of voters | Cancelled |
|---|------|--|----------------|------------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|
| IJburg (Amsterdam) | 1997 | Land reclamation | No, <155.000 | 40% | 60% | 41% | no |
| Noord-ZuidLijn (Amsterdam) | 1997 | Infrastructure inner city | no | 34,9 | 65,1 | 22% | no |
| Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk (Arnhem) | 2016 | Nature | Not determined | | | 24,1% | no |
| Weilandje Vrije Geer (Amsterdam) | 1995 | Development of apartments in a green area | - | 13% | 87% | 38% | yes |
| Woonbeleid (Rotterdam) | 2016 | *Not a project, but includes a large amount of demolition in an area | - | 25,6 | 72,5 | 16,9 | - |
| Build a Campus (Cuijk) | - | Larger area development | - | 42,4 | 57,6 | 43% | - |
| Extending a camping area (Delft) | - | Camping in a green area | - | 35,4 | 64,6 | 65,3% | - |
| Development of a Business Park in the nature area Usseler Es (Enschede) | - | Development in a nature area | - | 14,9 | 84,7 | 26% | - |
| Construction of an international business park (Heereveen) | 1995 | Larger area development | - | 51,5 | 48,5 | 46,8 | - |
| Re-construction of the city centre (Nieuwegein) | 1999 | Larger area development | - | 25,6 | 74,3 | 24,9 | - |
| Land sells to construct an Eco duct (Soest) | 2005 | - | - | 29,3 | 70,7 | 39,9 | - |
| Mega shopping mall (Tilburg) | 2009 | Larger area development | - | 53,11 | 46,25 | 35,8 | yes |
| Station area redevelopment (Utrecht) | 2002 | Infra/area development | - | Vision A: 70,1%. | Vision1: 29,9% | 65% | no |

Approval of urban area development projects

Several local referendums have been studied by Wrede (2021); this research states that urban area development plans such as densification often negatively affect the nearby neighbourhood. His research is about the influence of travel distance between the development and the approval of a project in a referendum. Also, he mentioned by the example of a referendum about a soccer stadium and how people living nearby the project did not support the project, while the other voters further away supported the project. Besides this, he argues that the citizens who are financially negatively affected by the project will not give their supporting vote. According to this research, homeowners are less likely to consent to a housing project, because they fear a loss of value from their dwelling. However, homeowners are more likely to support commercial space, since this will affect the demand for houses and therefore the prices will increase which is to their benefit. In those examples of referendums, where arable land was used for development, nature conservation organizations played a role in the initiative and public discussion.

Example of a local referendum: Groningen

A special case of a local referendum about urban development is the one in Groningen concerning the redevelopment of the city centre in 2001. It was a special case because never had the turnout (56,5%) of a local referendum been so high, in addition with 81% no-voters regarding the redevelopment plans of the municipality (Ashworth, 2001). The municipality of Groningen had an ambitious plan to redevelop the area around the Grote Markt, whereby internationally renowned architects and designers should take care of the new design of the area. However, they did not have enough capital to execute the plans and therefore private parties were willing to invest if the plans would include an underground parking space under the Grote Markt, this to improve the economic competitiveness. Although in an early stage, the citizens had expressed they were in favour of redevelopment, some groups were opposed from the start because they were afraid of damage to historic buildings, such as the Martini Toren. Later in the process, other counterarguments arise such as wanting to preserve the architecture and not wanting to promote car use in the inner city. The main issue by citizens and special interest groups was that they were not involved in the decision-making of their city and now this city was taken over by the outsider's opinion, which were the investors. This example was about a corrective referendum whereby the outcome is binding when at least 30% of the electorate vote against the plans (Ashworth, 2001).

Example Tempelhof Airfield

Research by Carver and Gardner (2021) about Berlin's Tempelhof Airfield also shows how an urban area can be valued by the public and how two referendums influence the use of the airfield. The first referendum was held to prevent the closure of this commercial airport, however, this failed, and the airport closed in 2007. The municipality made re-development plans for the area including housing and offices, however, a second referendum in 2014 cancelled the project. The trend of re-nature the city influenced the re-development of Tempelhof airfield. The time in between the closure of the airport and the re-development plans, the open urban area became a beloved recreational area for citizens. By the citizens' initiative, the movement against the re-development started. Also, there were special breeds that they wanted to protect. According to Dubeaux & Cunningham-Sabot (2016), the location became a 'no building land zone' in 2014 after the local referendum.

Example Berlin waterfront

A case study by Scharenberg and Bader (2009) shows another example of public protest against urban development, whereby a referendum successfully cancelled the development. The waterfront area is a prime location for real estate developers. However, this area's re-development is not supported by the current creative industries and culture in this area. The goal of the petition was to pressure the municipality to alter the plans since the scale of the development would have an enormous impact on the city and area.

2.3 Advantages, disadvantages, and barriers of (local) referendums

Advantages

Hendriks et al. (2017) collected the arguments from the public and scientific debate on referendums and generalized them. The generalized pro-referendum arguments are: Referendums give citizens influence and shared responsibility for public matters. Therefore, citizens will become more aware of the public matter they vote on. The referendum topic can be freely discussed in public, and everyone can participate in this public debate. In contrast to other types of citizen participation, referendums are more accessible since everyone who is allowed to vote can do this anonymously. Besides, the instrument focuses on the topic only and the outcome is clearly in favour or against the matter. Lastly, the existence of a referendum keeps politicians more aware of their own policies and decisions, and whether the citizens would accept these. There could always be a threat of a referendum, therefore they must ensure their plans have sufficient support. Besides this, other literature describes the advantages of a referendum as a tool for the municipality to ask the citizens for their advice to make a legitimate decision (Zonneveld, 2019). It includes citizens in the decision-making of the municipality. Besides the voting aspect of a referendum, there is also a discussion going on about the referendum topic around the citizens and government. This can be valuable to have an open discussion about the topic (Tilburg University, 2020). Lastly, an advantage is the possibility of having a referendum on a neighbourhood scale or an area of a city, then only the citizens who relate to the topic can vote (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017).

Disadvantages

Generalized against-referendum arguments from Hendriks et al. (2017) are: Referendums allow citizens to vote about a matter, however, the citizens can hardly understand the consequences of their choice in time. Besides, there is a chance that citizens are not receiving the complete story and therefore influenced wrongly. From the governmental perspective, the use of direct democracy in addition to representative democracy can disorganize the system by using two systems next to each other because it can add pressure on the authority and the role of representatives. In addition, referendums can lead to 'erratic decision-making' and lead to no long-term vision when the same topic can return for debate. Also, referendums cost money and time to organize. Lastly, referendums and their campaigns are based on two polarized sides, which gives no room for compromising or exploring other options (Hendriks et al., 2017). Besides this, other literature describes the disadvantages of a referendum related to the design of the questions, the geographical borders, and crises within the municipality. The design of the corrective referendum is binary, only no or yes is applied. Sometimes it was not the intention to veto the whole act but to vote on certain aspects of the act (van der Meer et al., 2020). It is often mentioned that a yes-/no answer is a disadvantage since it can be an oversimplification for a complex matter. However, in Dutch local referendums, there is more freedom to design the referendum and formulate different answer types. Multiple experiments have taken place in the past (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017). Therefore, this argument is less powerful for local referendums. Also formulating local referendum questions is a secure job because it can influence the outcome (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017). Besides, a local referendum within the municipal border can be about a topic that not only has an impact on the municipality itself but also outside this municipal border. However, these citizens are not included in the voting. For example, a shopping mall in Tilburg, the municipal council initiated a referendum to ask their citizens for advice. However other cities in the province of Brabant were not pleased with the plans either, due to the local economy which was already not doing well. Regional referendums do not exist yet, but they could be useful for topics when multiple municipalities are involved or affected, such as infrastructure, re-arranging of municipalities, and building in nature (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017). This issue also occurred in the IJburg referendum. Although sometimes a referendum with the same topic is held at the same time in different municipalities, the referendum outcomes and design can differ and therefore difficult to compare (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017). Moreover, a negative outcome of a local referendum, such as in Groningen, can lead to a crisis within the municipality and its planning policy, then a new plan needs to be made (Ashworth, 2001). A negative outcome can also question the 'political instinct' of the municipal council (Ashworth, 2001). Lastly, the corrective referendum can have a negative character, since plans can only be cancelled and not be initiated (Ashworth, 2001). Therefore, the corrective referendum gives a voice to nay-sayers (van der Meer et al., 2020).

Barriers

There are several barriers to referendum related to the turnout, the type, the outcome, and the organization. First of all, the organization: collecting the number of signatures can form a barrier even as for the amount of time to collect them (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017). In 1999, there were also plans for a national corrective referendum with a protocol of gathering 600.000 signatures, which is impossible for citizens on their own, but not for larger organizations (Van Haastrecht, 1999). In Amsterdam, they noticed that organizing a referendum from the bottom up was not easy. This can be improved by lowering the number of signatures, giving citizens more time to collect the signatures, allowing more topics, and abolishing the voter's threshold (Soetenhorst, 2021; Koops, 2021). Secondly the type of referendum and legislation: Despite the non-binding character, citizens want the government to act on the outcome when the turn-out threshold is met, which was not the intention of this referendum design (van der Meer et al., 2020). In 34% of the local Dutch referendums, no quorum was used at all, because the outcome is not binding, and a quorum would suggest the municipality should act on the outcome (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017). Binding referendums are not possible because municipalities are not allowed to act in violation of the constitution and municipal law which states that only the municipal council is allowed to make the decisions and not citizens (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017). To introduce a binding referendum requires an adaptation in the constitution, which is in the Dutch case difficult because the majority of both houses need to agree and in addition (2/3rd) need to approve an adaptation of the constitution (van der Meer et al., 2020). Non-binding (national) referendum legislation is not laid down in the constitution and therefore could also be more easily abolished (van der Meer et al., 2020). Moreover, during the Dutch national (non-binding corrective) referendum in 2018 it was already announced by multiple political parties that the outcome would be ignored (van der Meer et al., 2020), which did not contribute to citizens' motivation to vote. Besides, municipalities sometimes do not have the power to make the decision, topics such as the re-arrangement of their municipal borders are more symbolic since the municipality is not allowed to make this decision, but only the country or province. Around the zeros, this topic became a municipal decision (Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017) Lastly the turn-out: The turn-out of local referendums in the Netherlands is low, rarely higher than 35% (Ashworth, 2001). Van der Meer et al. (2020) explains a turnout threshold of 30% to validate the referendum will make the yes-voters doubt to show up. They can show up and vote yes and contribute to this 30% or they choose to stay at home to reach an invalid outcome.

2.4 Land reclamation

Locations

Land reclamation means reclaiming land from the sea (or open water) and this strategy is often applied in coastal regions to expand their land for urban development (Sengupta et al., 2017). This strategy for urban development is not new, since the Middle Ages (12th century AD) land reclamation was used in the Netherlands and it started with transforming the lakes into polders by dry pumping (de Mulder et al., 1994). In the 20th century, land reclamation in the Netherlands continued large scale (see Figure 6). The whole province of Flevoland was constructed between 1937 and 1968 (Hoeksema, 2007). Later this province was used for population growth and to take the pressure off the growing city of Amsterdam. This development made room for 400,000 inhabitants (Sengupta et al., 2017). Recently, the land reclamation of IJburg phase 2 has almost finished which means this method is still used today (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2022a). Not only the Netherlands, but many global coastal cities use land reclamation to expand their land. According to Sengupta et al. (2017), many global megacities used this strategy such as Tokyo, Shanghai, Mumbai, Osaka, Buenos Aires, Karachi, Istanbul, Lagos, Manila, Rio de Janeiro, Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, Tianjin, Shenzhen, Jakarta, Chennai, and Lima. Well-known major examples of land reclamation areas are the Palm Resorts islands in Dubai, Hong Kong airport, and the Dutch province of Flevoland.

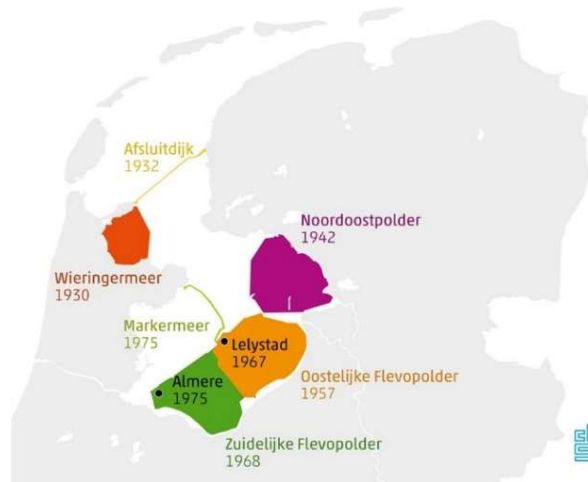


Figure 6: Land reclamation in the Netherlands in the past, the IJsselmeer polders (CBS, 2018)

Types

Land reclamation can happen in different forms. Sengupta et al. (2017) classifies three types of land reclamation: expanding land construction, offshore construction, and merged construction. One example is building artificial islands (offshore construction), which happens often in Asia and the Middle East. Also, the extension of the shoreline (expanding land construction) is a common strategy in Dubai, Qatar, Singapore, and the Maldives (Chee et al., 2017).

2.4.1 Land Reclamation Drivers

There are several drivers for using land reclamation as a strategy, categorized, and described in Table 2.

In exceptional cases, the driver for land reclamation is environmental as a solution to let nature develop. For example, in case further development is blocked by the existence of a national park, which was the case in Malaysia Penang Island [one of the fastest-growing places in the world, which used land reclamation for the growth of transportation] (Chee et al., 2017). Another special case is when land reclamation is used to improve biodiversity, this has been done at the Markerwadden after a decline in biodiversity in the past decades by developing five new nature islands (NOS, 2016). Another driver is topographic: Coastal areas always have been popular settlement areas due to their accessibility for transport and trading (Chee et al., 2017; AlQahtany et al., 2022). Land reclamation is often used when there is land scarcity and no other land is available for new developments (Chee et al., 2017). Besides, it is easier to build on flat land around the coastline (Sengupta et al., 2017), than to build in hilly or mountain areas in the hinterland. Besides, there are demographic drivers, which relate to rapid population growth (Chee et al., 2017; AlQahtany et al., 2022), and this is used as a solution for reducing the high population density (AlQahtany et al., 2022). Economic drivers are the most common driver. Due to economic growth, the land becomes scarcer (Meng et al., 2017; Tian et al., 2016). This economic development also contributes to an increase in transport capacity, harbours, and airports (Sengupta et al., 2017), and these functions need to be built on the land. Other functions related to economic development are an increase in agriculture use, food production (Meng et al., 2017; Tian et al., 2016; AlQahtany et al., 2022) and industry (Meng et al., 2017; Tian et al., 2016). Related economic drivers are to increase job opportunities, tourism, and commercial developments. For example, in the Arabian Peninsula, land reclamation is mostly related to leisure and tourism (AlQahtany et al., 2022) and land reclamation was an option for Malaysia due to the economic growth in the '90s (Chee et al., 2017). Since then, at least 31 land reclamation projects have taken place in Malaysia, including the construction of 18 artificial islands. Besides, governmental drivers for land reclamation are part of the strategy of a nation to develop, since it is known that land reclamation has huge economic returns (Meng et al., 2017). In addition, to increase the construction land quota as part of their strategy to also increase the national GDP. Lastly, the technological driver: nowadays it is possible to expand land rapidly and on a large scale.

Table 2: The drivers behind the land reclamation strategy

| Drivers | Explanation |
|---------------------------|---|
| Natural/ Environmental | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improving biodiversity by adding artificial islands (NOS, 2016) - National parks with protected species prevent urban growth in this direction, therefore land reclamation in the other direction is an option (Chee et al., 2017). |
| Topographic | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Coastal and waterfront areas are popular settlements in history due to their accessibility for transport and trading over the waterways (Chee et al., 2017) - Increased interest in coastal urbanization (AlQahtany et al., 2022). - Continent borders are important access points for trading and production (AlQahtany et al., 2022). - Coastal areas have often a flat surface, which is easier to access and build on (Sengupta et al., 2017) |
| Demographic | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rapid population growth (Chee et al., 2017; AlQahtany et al., 2022) - To reduce high population density (AlQahtany et al., 2022). |
| Economic | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Land scarcity caused by economic growth (Meng et al., 2017; Tian et al., 2016) - Economic growth (Chee et al., 2017; Meng et al., 2017) - Rapid economic development (Sengupta et al., 2017; Meng et al., 2017) - Socio-economic activities (AlQahtany et al., 2022) - Increasing transport capacity, harbours, and airports (Sengupta et al., 2017) - Leisure, tourism, hospitality, and commercial developments [in the Arabian Peninsula] (AlQahtany et al., 2022). - To create job opportunities (AlQahtany et al., 2022). - To create investment opportunities (AlQahtany et al., 2022). - To increase food production and agricultural use (Meng et al., 2017; Tian et al., 2016; AlQahtany et al., 2022). - For industrial use (Meng et al., 2017; Tian et al., 2016) |
| Governmental | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Huge economic returns by using land reclamation (Meng et al., 2017) - Construction land quota (Meng et al., 2017) - National GDP |
| Technological | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The technological revolution makes it possible to expand land rapidly (Sengupta et al., 2017) |

2.5 Public Values

Public values are defined as follows (Bozeman, 2007, p.132): “Public values” are those providing normative consensus about (a) the rights, benefits, and prerogatives to which citizens should (and should not) be entitled; (b) the obligations of citizens to society, the state, and one another; and (c) the principles on which governments and policies should be based.” While the public values theory is used for many purposes e.g., project management, this research focuses on the public values regarding urban area development. Herzog et al. (2022) developed a Public Values Spheres theory for urban planning and shows there is a diversity of public values that can conflict with each other, see Figure 7 (Herzog et al. 2022). The research identified conflicts related to urban development projects.

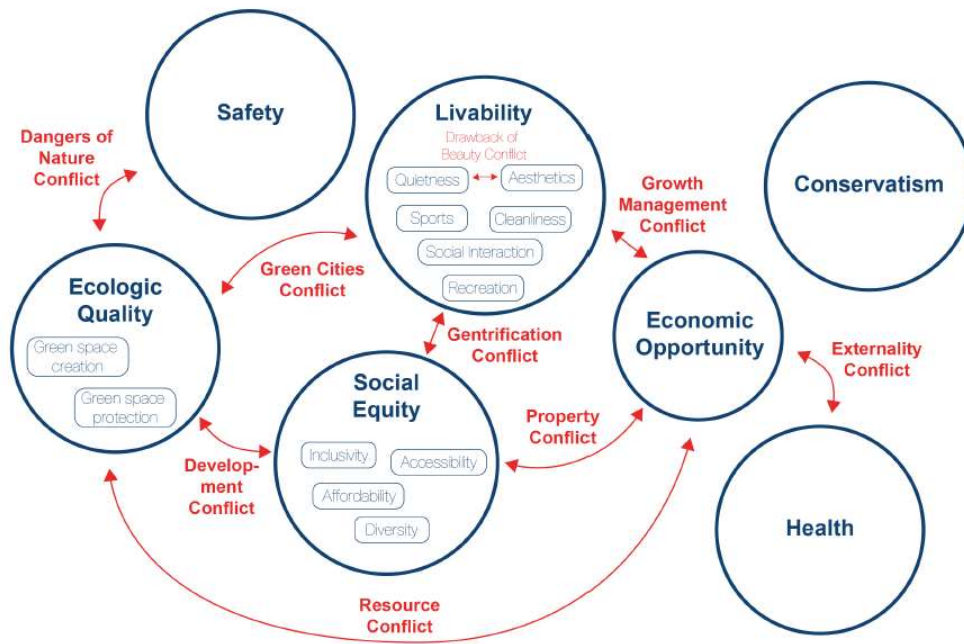


Figure 7: public values spheres theory in urban area planning (Herzog et al. 2022).

The research is partly based on the ‘triangle of conflicting goals for planning’ by Campbell (1996, p.298), which shows three potential conflicts in the way of “green profitable and fair/ sustainable development” also stated as ‘the elusive deal of sustainable development’ (see figure 8). According to Campbell (1996), there is a property conflict between social justice and economic growth, a resource conflict between economic growth and environmental protection, and a development conflict between social justice and environmental protection.

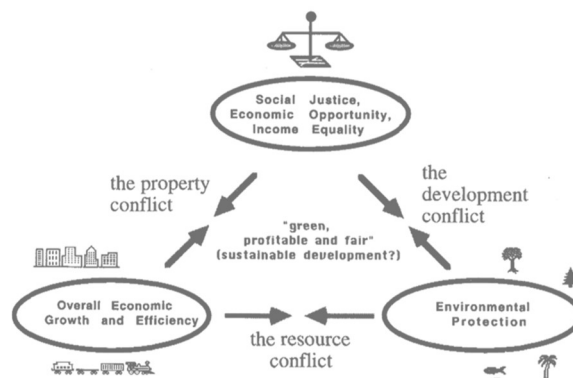


Figure 8: The ‘triangle of conflicting goals for planning’ by Campbell (1996, p.298)

Herzog et al. (2022) developed this theory of conflicting values further into a Public Values Spheres theory for urban planning. The spheres of Campbell (1996) are rephrased and in addition liveability, safety, conservatism, and health are added. The sphere of ecological quality includes the creation and protection of green areas. The sphere of social equity is related to inclusivity and accessibility for every citizen in urban planning. Some conflicts are noticeably clear, such as the externality conflict, whereby economic development is a disadvantage to citizens' health. The gentrification conflict arises when the liveability in an area needs to be improved but will become less inclusive or accessible to all citizens (social justice). In addition, the public value spheres show a relationship between social equity and liveability (figure 9). And more interesting for this research regarding environmental conflict, is the relationship between Health, liveability, and ecologic quality, within the centre the protection and creation of green areas.

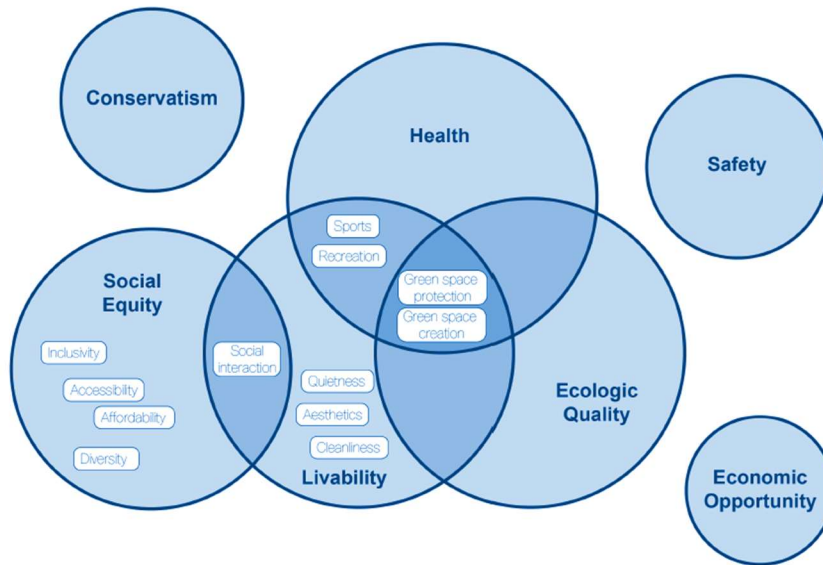


Figure 9: public values spheres theory in urban area planning with relations (Herzog et al. 2022)

2.6 Conceptual Model

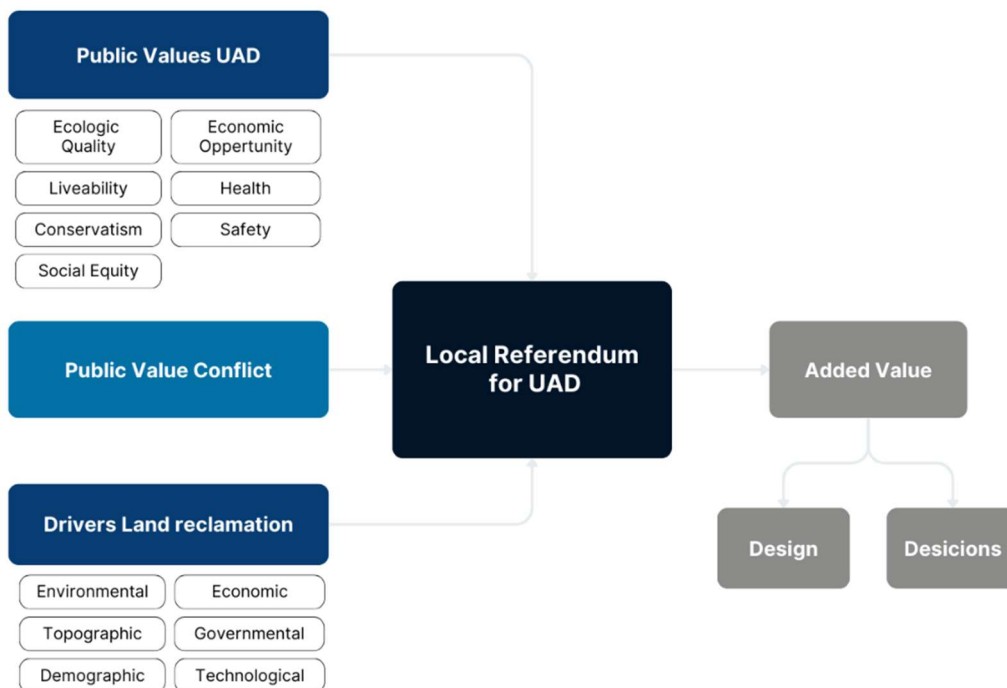


Figure 10: Conceptual Model of this research about the added value of local referendums in urban area development.

The public spheres of Herzog et al. (2022) include the public values of safety, liveability, conservatism, ecological quality, social equity, economic opportunity, and health. These values are related to the drivers for urban development plans. In this research, the drivers for land reclamation are categorized by environmental, topographic, demographic, economic, governmental, and technological drivers (Meng et al., 2017; Tian et al., 2016; AlQahtany et al., 2022; Sengupta et al., 2017; Chee et al., 2017; NOS, 2016). The drivers are motivations for the government or municipality to choose the strategy of land reclamation. For Amsterdam IJburg, the drivers

for land reclamation were demographic, topographic and economic. The area should make room for 45,000 citizens who were now not able to live in Amsterdam, it would provide job opportunities, and it was needed because there was not enough space in the inner city to make room for this number of citizens and amenities. However, land reclamation was perceived as a conflict with the ecological quality of the IJmeer area. The relationship between public values for urban development and drivers for land reclamation can conflict with each other and can create tension between governmental planning and citizens. In the case of IJburg, the municipal decision for Amsterdam led to a citizens-initiated referendum.

The goal of the research is to understand how a local referendum for urban area development with public value conflicts can contribute to design and decision-making. Examples of relatable public value conflicts are the danger of nature conflict, green cities conflict, and development conflict. This is summarized in the conceptual model (Figure 10).

2.7 Relation between the literature and the cases

Referendum Typology

Using the typology of Altman (2011) to position the case of IJburg, first, it is needed to look at the type of initiator. In the case of IJburg, it was initiated by environmental organizations and therefore defined as ‘bottom-up’ which is referred to in the table as ‘citizens-initiated’ (figure 11). According to Broeksteeg and Van der Krieken (2017), in the Netherlands binding referendums do not exist, therefore the category ‘non-binding’ is suitable for IJburg. It is a reactive type since it reacts to a municipal decision. This route leads to the ‘consultative referendum.’ However, in other literature, this is called a (non-binding) corrective advisory referendum (Hendriks et al., 2017) because consultative would suggest that the referendum is initiated ‘top-down’ by the government (Broeksteeg and Van der Krieken, 2017). The referendum of Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk can be placed in the same category.

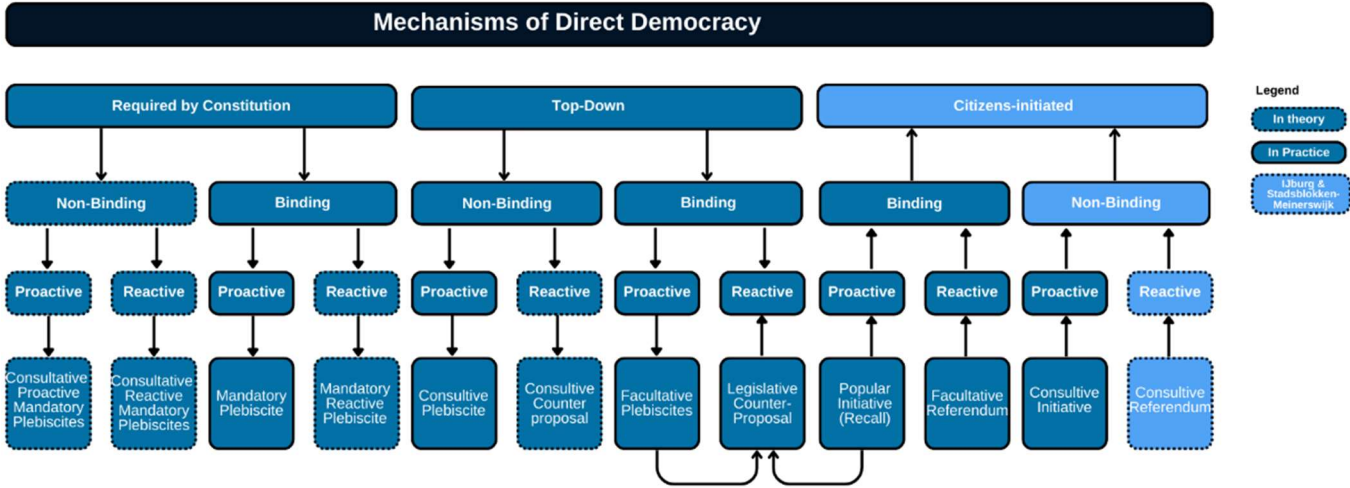


Figure 11: Categorization of the case studies, an adaptation of the model by Altman (2011, p.11).

Referendum Level

Despite that the environmentally protected area IJmeer could be seen as a national value to treasure, it was only up to the citizens of Amsterdam to vote about the future of the IJmeer and whether they would vote against in favour of the construction of neighbourhood IJburg. Therefore, it is called a local referendum. The referendum in Arnhem was also a local referendum, for citizens within the municipality. There was no external conflict in this case.

Procedure and threshold

The initiators of the IJburg referendum in Amsterdam should have collected 24,000 signatures to make an initial request. The threshold was determined as more than 155,000 votes against IJburg. This was an approval quorum according to Broeksteeg and Van der Krieken (2017) because the majority needs to vote one answer(no) and it is pre-determined as a percentage of the municipal electorate. In the case of IJburg, the outcome would be respected when a threshold was reached, which was determined by 50%+1 of the number of voters who showed up for the previous municipal council elections (Soetenhorst, 2021). It was a corrective referendum and therefore a yes-no vote is common. In the case of Arnhem, the signatures also needed to be collected on paper. In this case, there was no threshold determined. However, the municipality decided to respect the outcome.

The time of the local referendum

The IJburg case took place in the nineties, a decennium wherein local referendums became more popular (Neijens et al., 1998; Broeksteeg & Van der Krieken, 2017). In this period, local referendums were often corrective, and the topics shifted more to urban development (Zonneveld, 2019). Of the total of 49 local referendums in the nineties, 14 were related to urban planning (Broeksteeg and Van der Krieken, 2017). The case of Arnhem took place 20 years later (2016), around this time local referendums for urban planning were less common.

Advantages, disadvantages, and barriers of the referendum

The advantage of the IJburg referendum is that the municipality could make a legitimate decision for building in an environmentally protected area and include citizens in the decision-making. The referendum was not initiated by the municipality. At least, the voting outcome was clear, and the whole electorate of the city was allowed to participate. In addition, the referendum threat made politicians more aware of their policies to ensure their plans would get enough support. During the referendum campaign, the municipality must understand the demands of the citizens to get their approval.

The disadvantage of the corrective referendum is that there is no room for compromise. Another disadvantage related to IJburg is that only the citizens of Amsterdam were allowed to vote. The municipality of Diemen and Muiden had nothing to decide, while they were also located near the IJburg location. These citizens lived closer to the location of IJburg, compared to citizens of Amsterdam-West or Amsterdam Zuid-Oost. While according to the environmental organization, the effects of land reclamation would be even noticeable outside the Dutch borders, therefore the local referendum is a limited tool. The Dutch legislation in 1997 did not allow other types of referendums, such as regional or national referendums. Nowadays, according to Broeksteeg and Van der Krieken (2017), regional referendums are not possible either. In the case of Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk also only citizens of Arnhem were allowed to vote. The project was seen as not safe or future-proof by the opponents. However, such a project is not limited to the city of Arnhem, the plan could have been built everywhere in the flood plains. Therefore, the opponents also believe this should not happen anymore anywhere, however national referendums also do not exist now. Lastly, a disadvantage for the opponents in the Arnhem case was that this was organized by citizens who had fewer financial resources to bring this topic under attention, compared to the developer and municipality.

3. Methodology

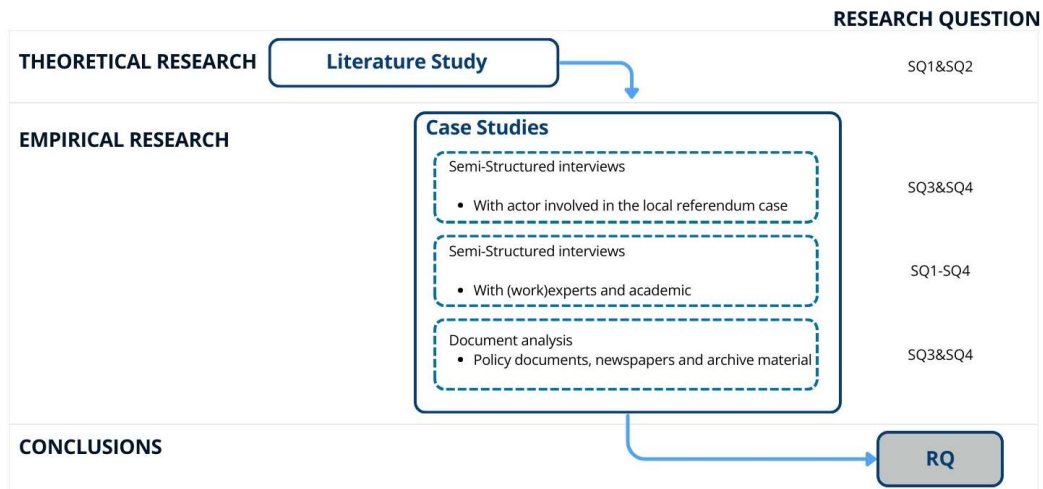


Figure 12: Research Methods (own work)

3.1 Methods Research Questions

This section shows the main research question and four sub-questions, which in the end will answer why a municipality wants to organize a referendum for urban area development projects and what they can learn from the insights of a previous case and literature.

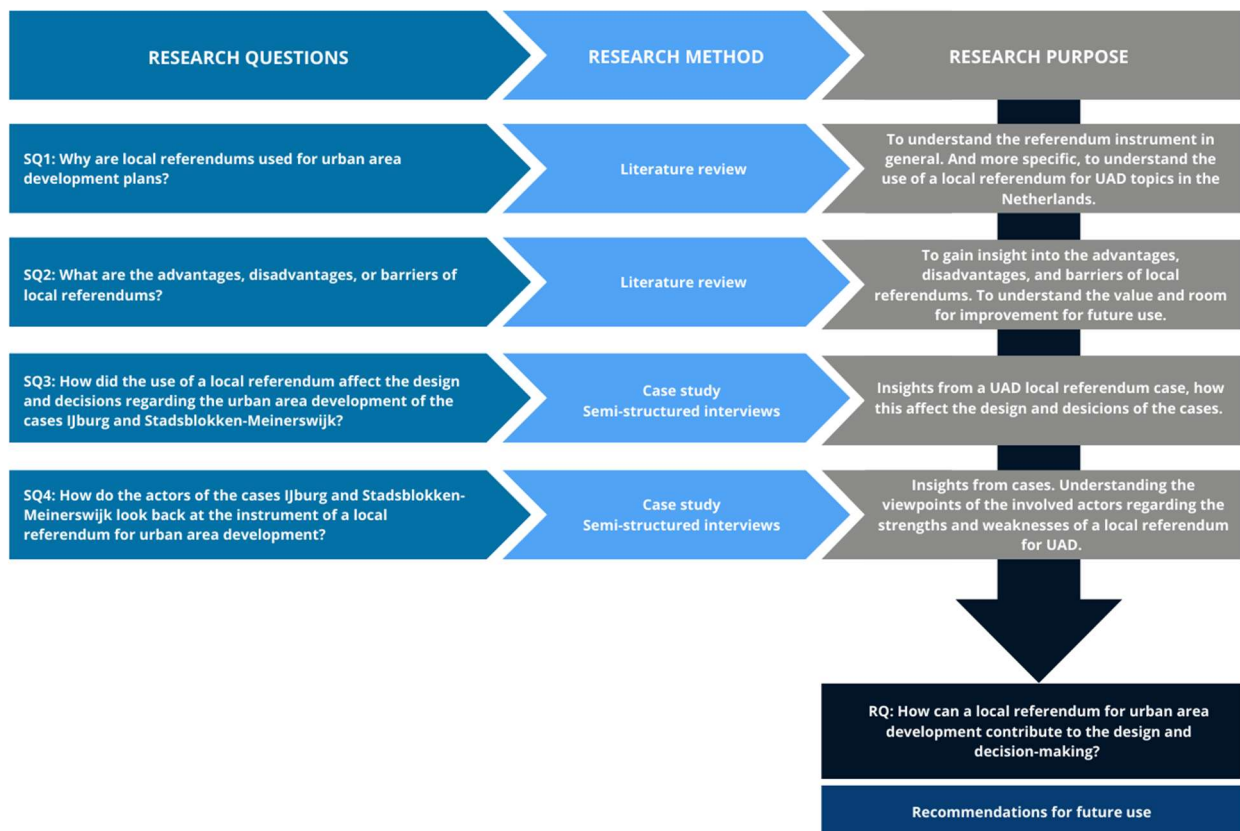


Figure 13: Research Design: Research Questions, Methods, and Purpose (own work)

3.2 Methods, data collection, and data analysis

To answer the main research question, first, a literature review is used to understand the concept of the referendum, the local referendum, and how this can play a role in urban development. In addition, to answer the main research question, qualitative data will be collected (see Figure 12&13). This research will be exploratory research with a case study on IJburg (1997) and Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk (2016).

The literature review questions will be answered by scientific literature, policy documents, and newspaper articles. The available scientific literature on local referendums in general and cases in other countries will be used to gain a better understanding of the use of this instrument in general. Policy documents and municipality websites can be analysed for a better understanding of the situation in a specific municipality or area. The city archive in Amsterdam is used as a source for data collection due to its rich collection and several types of data materials. In the case of Arnhem, websites and news articles are used.

The case of IJburg is selected as a critical case sample. Critical cases allow it to make a logical generalization and to apply information to other cases and therefore valuable. In addition, a critical case is chosen to prove or explain the findings (Miles & Huberman, 1994). To understand a critical case, whereby the opponents lost the referendum despite all their efforts to correct a municipal decision, is a useful case to generalize and apply this information to other local referendums in the Netherlands. When understanding the added value of the IJburg referendum, this can be transferred to other cases. The case of Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk is selected as a mirror case. It is a smaller case, but it has the case criteria: a conflict about larger urban area development in a nature area in the Netherlands. This mirror case can be used to check the outcome of the critical case.

The qualitative research data is collected by semi-structured interviews and archive documents on the case. Semi-structured interviews are used because this gives guidance during the interview by preparing a couple of interview questions related to the findings from the literature. In addition, it gives a certain freedom during the interview to ask follow-up questions or to react to certain parts of the interviewees' responses (Blaikie & Priest, 2019). Stakeholders will be interviewed to find out how they look back on the referendum cases. In addition, referendum experts and academics are interviewed about their views on the added value of local referendums. For qualitative research, a small sample of participants is studied in depth (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The sampling of participants is done by literature research, to find out who are the main actors in this case. In addition, some experts regarding the referendum and academics can be selected by the organization or knowledge about this topic in literature.

3.3 Research Output

Goals and objectives

By studying a local referendum from the past, insights can contribute to the understanding of the added value of this instrument in urban area development. This study aims to evaluate the influence of local referendums in urban area development by two case studies. To find out how it is used in the case of the land reclamation project IJburg and the case of Arnhem. This can lead to insights for future local referendums and how they can be improved (do's and don'ts).

Deliverables

The research output will be recommendations for local UAD referendums. This is based on the insights from the case studies and the input by experts and academics on the value of a referendum this also includes the advantages, disadvantages and barriers mentioned in the interviews. Therefore, this could lead to insight and improvements in the use of a local referendum in urban area development in the future.

Dissemination and audiences

The research is written for municipalities to better understand the use of local referendums for larger-scale urban area projects, which can be related to land reclamation or other environmental conflicting cases. For municipalities, it is useful to understand how they can make use of a local referendum for urban area development in the future. And to get insight into the added value of a referendum to make legitimate decisions.

3.4 Data management plan

A data management plan is made by a template 'DMP tool' provided by the TU Delft to make sure that the data is protected. This plan includes how and where informed consent forms, video and audio recordings, and transcripts are stored. Informed consent forms need to be stored confidentially since this includes names and signatures. Besides, it describes what happens with the data when the student leaves the TU Delft and how data will be shared for the long term. Data management during and after the project will be described by the FAIR Data (FAIR: Findability, Accessibility, Interoperability, and Reusability) principles from Wilkinson et al. (2016). These guidelines are made to enhance the reuse of data:

- Findability: After the research is conducted, data will be stored in a TU Delft data repository. Metadata is attached to the data to describe the content of the data and make it findable.
- Accessibility: After the research, the data is available on request from the 4TU.researchdata location. The data is anonymized to protect the participants.
- Interoperability: The original data and the metadata are accessible in English or Dutch in a comprehensive language. If needed, the (meta) data will include references to other (meta) data.
- Reusability: The metadata will give a detailed description of how the data is produced under what kind of circumstances. In addition, the accuracy of the data needs to be mentioned.

3.5 Ethical considerations

It is important to take ethical considerations into account when preparing a research where human participants are involved. First, the research should not harm the participants and the researcher. To minimize harm, privacy and voluntary participation are needed. The research questions are not harmful, and the answers are not expected to be harmful. It is important for the research that participants feel safe and free to answer the questions, therefore their privacy is valued, and the data will be anonymized afterwards. Direct quotes will not be used with their names and not without permission. To make sure this happens, an informed consent form is offered to the participant to read and sign before participating. This form includes background information about the research and makes sure the participant is aware of the data being used for this research. Besides, it states that the participation was voluntary and that the participant is at any time free to resign from this research. When participants are fully aware of the use of their data before and choose to participate, it will benefit the research and give more reliable data.

It is also important to take the reliability, validity, and (mis)interpretation of data into account. In this research, several categories of participants are selected. The categories include the people who are interviewed based on their experience and they will explain their answers based on their own experiences. Their opinion may be biased and not factual. This could make their answers less reliable. However, there are several participant categories and therefore overall, the research is unbiased because it contains different perspectives. The findings and results of the research need to be discussed to be reliable. This needs to be done to make other researchers aware of the limitations and the reliability of the data when they want to reuse the data. Master students who are conducting research involving Human Research Subjects, such as interviews, need to submit an application to the HREC. This will include a Data Management Plan, an Informed consent form, and an Ethics Review Checklist. The human ethics informed consent template from the TU Delft is used and attached in the appendix.

3.6 Case study methodology

Insights from the literature on local referendums are limited, and therefore case studies with interviews will be used to get a better understanding of the value of local referendums for urban area development. The collected data is primary data, which will be collected by the researcher through interviews. The interviews will be held individually since all participants have diverse backgrounds or jobs and therefore different answers. The interviewees are categorized by their characteristics, such as their perspectives from their role in their (former) job, their perspectives, or their expertise on referendums (table 3). There are six categories: category 1-4 contains interviewees from the cases and category 5-6 contain interviewees from an academic or expert/work perspective. The categorization is done to have a clear structure and a perspective from each different group. This is to prevent a one-sided biased result.

This research contains individual unstructured and semi-structured interviews based on the theory of Blaikie and Priest (2019). Before the planned research interviews, an unstructured interview took place with the former project manager of IJburg 1 to get insight into the different actors, conflicts, and processes. This type of interview is without the preparation of questions and an open conversation. The planned interviews in the six categories are semi-structured. These are useful when questions are prepared, but a certain freedom can be needed to react to certain parts of the interviewees' responses. The participants were selected by a snowball technique, often during interviews other participants could be contacted due to recommendations or requests.

The goal of the interviews in categories 5 and 6 is to get a general overall vision of local referendums and to understand the value or barriers of local referendums for UAD. They are not specific case study related, but more general on several cases and processes. The goal of the interviews in categories 1,2,3,4 is to understand the challenges and values of the referendums for the UAD case studies. The interview questions per category can be found in the appendix. Table 3 shows the fourteen participant and their roles, divided into six categories.

Table 3: Six categories of participants

| 1. Plan/process (municipality or developer) | 2. Municipal Board | 3. Opponents | 4. IJburg 2 | 5. Expert/work | 6. Academic |
|--|--------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|--|-------------|
| Case 1 IJburg | | | | General | |
| Project manager Urban Ecologist Urban Designer | Alderman | 3x Special interest group | Project manager | 2x Academic/ referendum committee members | |
| | | | | 1x experience/work | 1x Academic |
| Case 2 Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk | | | | | |
| Project Developer *Municipality unavailable | * Unavailable | 1x Special interest group | | | |

The interviews are recorded to write a full transcript. Afterwards, the recordings will be deleted, and the transcripts will be shared with the participant for a last check. Then in Atlas Ti, the transcripts were analysed. Before coding the transcripts, a couple of codes were pre-defined (inductive coding). These codes were derived from the research questions and things that stood out from the literature and by memory of the interviews. After re-reading three transcripts on paper, some extra codes were added to the list. While coding when some useful quotes did not fit the pre-defined codes, then extra codes were added. The list of codes and subcodes can be found in the Appendix.

4. Case study: Local Referendum IJburg



Figure 14: View on phase 1, with visible water structures in between (Van Dongen, n.d.-a).

4.1 Introduction Case IJburg

In Amsterdam, there was no longer room for the number of citizens who worked in the city. There was a tendency of citizens moving out of Amsterdam, but they still had to commute every workday to the city. The demographic numbers changed: The population was declining, households became smaller, but dwellings became bigger. There was a need for different neighbourhoods (Ginneken, 2001). In 1996, after lengthy discussions, the municipal council decided that IJburg would be constructed. IJburg (Figure 14) was planned to become a new neighbourhood with 18,000 dwellings and would make room for 45,000 citizens. However, this neighbourhood would be built on non-existing land. Therefore, the municipality needed to create land by land reclamation in the IJmeer. While land reclamation has been used on a larger scale in the Netherlands, in 1996 this led to a major discussion. Scientists gained knowledge on the negative impact of land reclamation on the environment, ecosystems, and habitats (Tian et al., 2016). This decision caused a conflict between the municipality and citizens and environmental organizations who were protecting the ecological value of the IJmeer. This conflict led to a citizens-initiated referendum, which was challenging for the municipality because they planned IJburg according to the national Vinex policy (Projectgroep IJburg van de gemeente Amsterdam, 1997). Figure 15 shows the plan of IJburg in phases.



Figure 15: Plan IJburg (Phase 1 in green, Phase 2 in blue). The urban plan is slightly changed (Amsterdamhv, 2023).

4.2 Point of view

Positive opinions

Project Bureau IJburg collected different opinions concerning the plans for IJburg. The positive opinions were coming from water sports associations, elderly care organizations, historians, participants of the municipal council, and ANWB. They were positive about IJburg because it would fit in the Amsterdam tradition of islands and living around water. Besides, this new suburb would be more exceptional by its design. IJburg was a promising plan because it would not only add housing to the city stock but also have room for many amenities that were hard to integrate into the current structure of the city. The undefined grid gave more possibilities to urban design and planning. There was room for new living concepts, recreation, water sports, walking and cycling, elderly care centres, a harbour, energy concepts, and floating houses. It should become an island with a high spatial quality and at the same time create a high density of dwellings per hectare. This would be beneficial to create a variety of dwellings with different segments and therefore create an accessible housing market for all citizens of Amsterdam. The islands would create locations for employment, and the distance from the inner city was small. They believed this would be beneficial to reduce traffic jams because there was more room for commuters to live in Amsterdam near their jobs in the city. Citizens would live between the city and nature. In addition, a heavily polluted area near the location of IJburg, Diemerzeedijk, needed to be remediated which also was beneficial for this area. For these reasons, the plan of IJburg got supportive opinions (Projectgroep IJburg van de gemeente Amsterdam, 1996).

Negative opinions

But there were also negative opinions coming from Vogelbescherming Nederland, ecologists, and other environmental organizations. These were mostly related to the environment and the lack of understanding of why land reclamation was seen as the only possibility. Opponents were afraid of nature loss and the loss of threatened animal species. The IJmeer area was ecologically invaluable and an important habitat for international bird species. Therefore, IJburg would affect not only the species from here but also from abroad. Opponents did not understand why Amsterdam could not grow elsewhere, such as above the Ring. There was a fear that IJburg would exceed the 18,000 dwellings and this city expansion would grow towards Almere and that the unobstructed view over the lake will be gone forever. Besides, there were opinions that the current building stock was not used efficiently and therefore there was not a need for extra dwellings but a need to adapt the current stock. For these reasons, the plan of IJburg got no support from these groups (Projectgroep IJburg van de gemeente Amsterdam, 1996).

Politicians' opinions

Also, political parties were spreading their opinions in public debate. A VVD member from the municipal council mentions that people who work in Amsterdam should also have the possibility to live in the city. D'66 was despite the environmental aspects pro-IJburg because nature would be compensated and otherwise densification within the city would mean more loss of open green areas. De Groenen was against IJburg and thought city expansion above the Ring would be a better solution since then nature would not be lost. For CDA IJburg would be important because it will increase the housing stock for the middle segment, which is currently moving out of the city due to this issue. GroenLinks was convinced that IJburg would be good for the environment, there would be less traffic towards the city than when they would expand the city further away (Projectgroep IJburg van de gemeente Amsterdam, 1996).

4.3 The IJburg referendum

4.3.1 The process towards and during the IJburg referendum (campaign)

In 1992 there was already a protest movement by Milieucentrum Amsterdam against the plans in the IJmeer. After a tentative decision in 1994 to construct IJburg, the first protest group against IJburg 'Red het IJmeer' was formed (Ginneken, 2001). From previous municipal decisions, the municipality learned that not all plans are easily accepted by the new generation and thought it would be better to organize a form of participation to get more support for IJburg. They tried to involve environmental groups at an early stage, however, this was not successful (Ginneken, 2001). Two weeks after the municipal council decided to develop IJburg (Sept 1996), a campaign strategy proposal was developed by the project bureau IJburg to make sure less than 155,000 people voted against IJburg(threshold). Initially, the plan was to prevent IJburg from becoming a big, heated topic in the city or to have an active campaign to convince the opponents (Projectgroep IJburg van de gemeente Amsterdam, 1997). After the municipal decision, signatures were collected for a referendum. The referendum committee 'IJmeer Open!' consisted of Milieucentrum Amsterdam, Vereniging Behoud van IJsselmeer and other smaller (environmental) organizations in the beginning. Natuurmonumenten, a large environmental organization with 800,000 members, joined them later (Ginneken, 2001). Figure 16 shows a campaign pamphlet with the opponent's message. Mileucentrum was against IJburg and suggested densification in Zuid-Oost and West would be better, however, this caused resistance from the citizens in those areas. The board of Natuurmonumenten was more interested in nature compensation and making restricted deals with the municipality regarding the size of IJburg. The municipality needed to convince them that there would be no more than 18,000 dwellings and building towards Almere was not in the plans. They promise a lot of public transport and fewer traffic jams. In addition, 30% of social housing (Ginneken, 2001).

Municipalities' efforts to gain support and build a campaign.

The project bureau Amsterdam needed support for their plans and therefore included other parties such as water sports associations, housing associations, organizations for the elderly, and allotment gardeners. They organized meetings to inform the citizens and to reach out to them (Ginneken, 2001). In addition, there was a special campaign to reach out to the citizens who are affected by the housing shortage, such as the younger generation, students, and immigrants. The preliminary research showed that these groups were less likely to vote, however, they were mostly supportive of the plans. Therefore, this was an important target group to reach out to. With twenty meetings with mainly Turkish organizations, commercials on MTV, and commercials on immigrant channels the municipality tried to reach out to this group. Besides this, the youth got involved in meetings at the universities and reached out in radio commercials (Projectgroep IJburg van de gemeente Amsterdam, 1997).

The municipality of Amsterdam wanted/needed to win the referendum and therefore they included experts and academics to build their campaign strategy. The project bureau Amsterdam involved the University of Amsterdam to research their argumentation and the power and effectiveness of the arguments. They did an

interview sample over the telephone to assess the arguments with citizens. Also, slogans and images were scientifically assessed for their effectiveness before they were used in the campaign (Ginneken, 2001). The UvA research resulted in the delivery of the strongest arguments. The daily sample research made it possible to steer the campaign more in the weeks before the referendum (Projectgroep IJburg van de gemeente Amsterdam, 1997). In addition, an American advisor in political marketing, Phil Noble, was hired. His advice was to stick to four arguments within a box and leave nature out of the arguments. The four arguments were: more housing, islands are a tradition in Amsterdam, more economy, and fewer traffic jams (Ginneken, 2001).



Figure 16: Referendum Pamflet opponents (Oneindig Noord-Holland, z.d.)

Campaign Strategies

The municipality chose to focus on two strategies at the same time. The first strategy was to negotiate and discuss with the opponent about the development plans. Between September 1996 and February 1997, both parties were trying to negotiate with each other on several topics: the necessity for IJburg, juridical environmental protection, nature development, a maximum number of dwellings and creating extra funds for nature. They developed a 'Natuurontwikkelingsfonds IJmeer' NOFIJ around 20 million Gulden (=around 9 million euros). The second strategy was to actively have a public campaign, wherein proponents and opponents would be able to address their opinions and concerns. Besides, it was decided to create their own publicity besides the public media (Projectgroep IJburg van de gemeente Amsterdam, 1997).

The main argument in the campaign was that IJburg would make living in Amsterdam possible again and prevent the tendency of people to move out of Amsterdam. The municipality made every effort to be successful in the referendum campaign. The municipality included an academic perspective, this helped them develop convincing campaign material and a slogan 'Amsterdammers willen in Amsterdam blijven wonen'. In this stage also the involved organizations in the IJburg planning were included in the campaign and invited to join (Projectgroep IJburg van de gemeente Amsterdam, 1997).

When the agreement with Natuurmonumenten was off the table, the campaigns became heavier and stronger (feb-mar '97). The campaign budget became larger, and they made use of two hundred billboards, radio commercials, and a TV program on Amsterdam's local TV network. Besides this, the province Noord-Holland, GroenLinks and housing associations in Amsterdam also started their own campaign to support and promote IJburg. Municipal council members became more involved in the public debates. Lastly, in this phase the municipality was also able to counter the densification arguments from opponents because research showed that this was not effective and would lead to loss of green space (Projectgroep IJburg van de gemeente Amsterdam, 1997).

Role of the Municipality during a Referendum

Interestingly, the municipality is responsible for two jobs in this case. First, they made a referendum protocol, and they should take care of the process when using this instrument. The second job is related to the municipal council which does the decision-making, such as the plans for IJburg. Different aldermen were responsible for the jobs to take care of the referendum and to care of the argumentation (Projectgroep IJburg van de gemeente Amsterdam, 1997).

4.3.2 After the IJburg referendum

Uniqueness

The IJburg referendum was unique in its extensive campaigns from both sides by Natuurmonumenten and the municipality (Neijens et al., 1998). The amount of money that engaged in both parties' campaigns was excessively more than was spent on national elections. The size of attention in the media and paid commercial spots were large (Ginneken, 2001).

Understanding citizens

A study on four Amsterdam referendums has been done by Neijens et al. (1998) to understand how citizens could form an opinion based on the referendum campaigns and whether they were able to have meaningful participation in the referendums. For this study, they interviewed citizens over the phone (on the day of the referendum and the two days before) and asked about their awareness of the referendum to what extent they were able to form an opinion by the referendum campaigns, and how they got access to the information. This study shows that in the IJburg referendum, 87% of the participants were aware of the referendum and received the information. The newspaper (69%) and the local TV (66%) most often informed the participants. Those numbers are remarkably higher than for other three previous referendums. The paid publicity, which was used on a large scale for IJburg, was surprisingly a less important source to form an opinion. The research concludes that all four campaigns helped to inform the citizens about the referendum topics. In general, the awareness of all the referendums was high (87-96%), and the participants had gained knowledge about the topic (67-82%) However, only 50-70% of the respondents felt they were able to judge on this topic (Neijens et al., 1998).

Evaluation IJburg referendum

The municipality was pleased with the full political support for IJburg, and the active role of the mayor. Before the referendum request, there was already a group formation on the municipality side. This was valuable to have support from organizations, therefore the media was more two-sided and supportive of the development plans. They got help from allotment gardeners and some housing associations without asking. Therefore, it was good to include parties and organizations before the referendum discussion started. The campaign had a clear strategy and message. And they looked back positively towards trying to make an agreement with the opponent. The province of Noord-Holland was pro-IJburg but supportive in the negotiation phase with both parties. Lastly, the daily sample research made it possible to steer the campaign more in the weeks before the referendum (Projectgroep IJburg van de gemeente Amsterdam, 1997). The plans of the municipality got more support in the last weeks (Neijens et al., 1998)

However, the municipality also had some problems during the campaign. First, there was less trust in the government by citizens. The decisions were lately not received well/popular. For example, the plans regarding public transport. Therefore, it put them in a difficult position. In addition, the arguments from the opponent about the environment were noticeably clear, while their arguments were more difficult and needed more explanation. For example, why IJburg was necessary and why at this particular location. In addition, during the campaign, the municipality was able to address the affordability and social housing of the plan. They were not able to address the issue of public transport and accessibility, because there were no agreements on this issue with the Dutch government (Projectgroep IJburg van de gemeente Amsterdam, 1997).

Some points of approval for the municipality is making use of national media and making more use of the plan IJburg. They were not prepared for the national attention in the media. The plan of IJburg could have been included more since the quality and uniqueness of the plan seemed to get the attention of the citizens and audience (Projectgroep IJburg van de gemeente Amsterdam, 1997). Lastly, the opponent Natuurmonumenten hired students to collect signatures, which was not appreciated by the municipality because then every rich person could start a movement and referendum easily (Ginneken, 2001).

In 1999, the municipality of Amsterdam evaluated its referendum experiences. They recently had several referendums, about projects such as the metro network Noord-Zuid Lijn and the new neighbourhood of IJburg (Van Haastrecht, 1999). Comparing four referendums in Amsterdam between 1992-1997, the turnout is between 27.7%-40.2% which is lower than the turnout in the elections, which is often the case. In all attempts, the citizens disagreed with the municipality (Neijens et al., 1998). However, the mayor (during this time) believed that the IJburg referendum was a success. The referendum allowed citizens to choose between the environment and a new neighbourhood. The mayor reflected on the high threshold and believed it was appropriate since a corrective referendum is used to change a democratic decision (Van Haastrecht, 1999). Therefore, it cannot be too easy, and people should show in numbers how much they are against this democratic decision.



Figure 17: View of IJburg phase 1 and IJmeer Lake (Van Dongen, n.d.-b)

4.4 Timeline IJburg plan and referendum

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| 1965 | Initial idea of 'Stad op Pampus' bij Broek&Bakema. However, the municipality chose to expand by Purmerend, Almere and Bijlmermeer. |
| 1980s | Initial plans 'Amsterdam Nieuw-Oost' as part of the VINEX locations. |
| September 1996 | Municipal council decided to develop 'IJburg'. |
| September 1996 | Campaign strategy proposal developed by project bureau IJburg. To prevent IJburg will become a heated discussion topic. |
| Sept '96 – Feb '97 | <i>Opponents and the municipality negotiate on several topics. Including the necessity, juridical environmental protection, vision of nature development, max. 18,000 dwellings, and a nature development fund.</i> |
| Sept-Nov 1996 | The referendum committee 'IJburg open' including Vereniging tot Behoud van het IJsselmeer, Milieucentrum Amsterdam and Natuurmonumenten collected the necessary 24.000 signatures to initiate the referendum. |
| Nov 1996 | Municipal council decided that the referendum would be held on 19 March '97. In the meantime, both parties were trying to negotiate and close an agreement before the end of '96 to prevent the referendum. |
| Nov-Dec 1996 | Set up campaign plan by municipality, including help from an American campaign expert and the University of Amsterdam. In this period, the municipality also included the other involved organizations in the campaign. |
| Jan-Feb 1997 | Campaign phase, multiple forms of media. |
| End of January 1997 | Natuurmonumenten and the municipality attempted to an agreement, however, this was not accepted by the members of Natuurmonumenten. |
| Feb-Mar 1997 | Campaign became heavier and stronger. |
| March 1997 | Conflict gets national attention and political parties and media are choosing sides. |
| 17 March 1997 | Local referendum IJburg. The turnout was 40%, with 130.199 votes against and 93.399 votes in favour. |
| 1999 | Start development phase 1 |
| 2002 | First residents arrived. |
| 2013 | Start development Phase 2 |
| 2023 | Start development last island, Buiteneiland. |

5. Case Study: Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk



Figure 18: Area around Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk (KWP, 2023).

5.1 Background

The river Nederrijn runs through the city of Arnhem, the capital city of Gelderland with 162.424 citizens in 2021 (CBS, 2021). Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk is an area of 289 hectare located along the flood plains of the river (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk, n.d.-a). This area (see figure 18) became a topic for a local referendum in 2016. The area (red circle figure 19 & figure 20) is a floodplain area of the river Nederrijn and is located in the middle of Arnhem and Arnhem-Zuid. The area was formerly used as an industrial area with a dockyard, but this ended 45 years ago in 1978 (Arink, 2022), which now brings new opportunities for re-development. In the years after the industry left, the municipality was already excited about new development in the area. However, development was financially unfeasible for the municipality without help from the province. Later on, in the '90, the development plans were again unfeasible, this time due to the many landowners in the area (Arink, 2022).

In 1993 and 1995, the Netherlands suffered from flooding. The water levels were too high, due to climate change because there is more rainwater and melting glacier water nowadays. In 1995 the situation was severe, 250.000 people and one million animals around the river area in the province of Gelderland had to evacuate. These events led to the reinforcement of the dikes and the policy 'ruimte voor de rivier' initiated in 2000. This policy focuses on giving space back to the river, to be more resilient to future flooding. In 2019, the program of 'ruimte voor de rivier' was completed, with a cost of 2,3 billion euros (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2022). In and around the river area of Arnhem, the measures of the program 'ruimte voor de rivier' included relocation of the dikes, to create more flood space for the river. And widening of the dikes (Figure 21) (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat, 2023). The advantage of the program 'ruimte voor de rivier' is that the measures not only gave more area back to the river for flooding but also created more space for nature and leisure areas. Unfortunately, the program also led to buying out residents and companies near the river, to make this program measurements happen (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat, 2023).

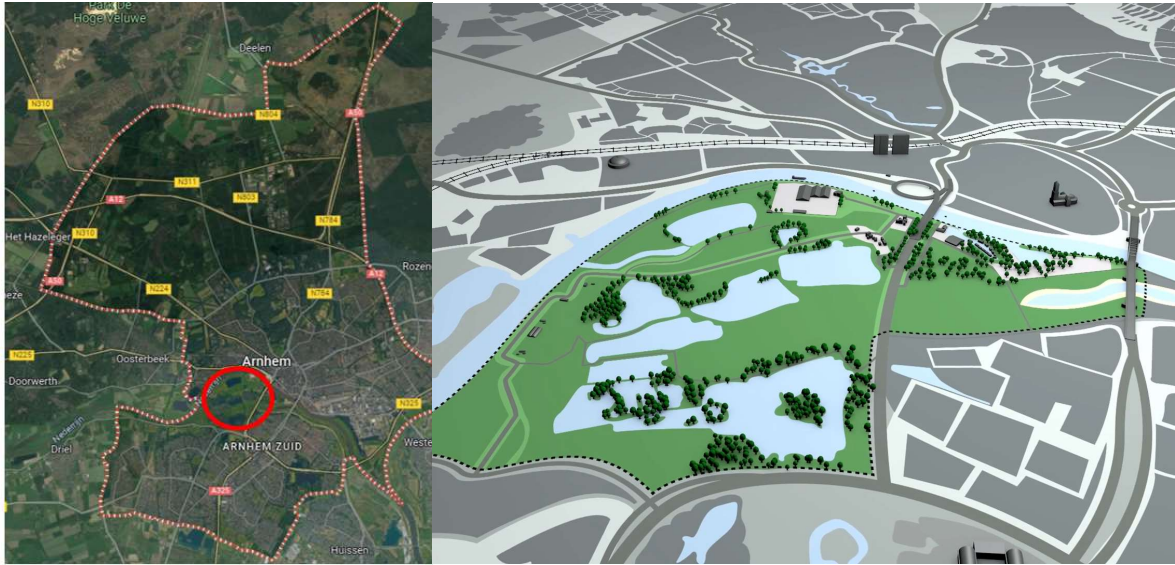


Figure 19: Location Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk inside the municipality of Arnhem (Google Maps, 2023) Figure 20: Location Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk, n.d.-e)



Figure 21: The thirty-nine measures of 'Ruimte voor de rivier'. Around Arnhem, a broadening of the dike and relocation were planned measures (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat, 2023).

5.2 The Development Plans

After the flooding and high-water levels in 1993 and 1995, the Netherlands and Arnhem became more cautious about building plans in the flood plains due to the related risks. The municipality decided to mark Meinerswijk as a nature area. Later, developer Phanos acquired a large part of the land of the area Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk and had big development plans for the area including 10,000 new dwellings, 'Chicago aan de Rijn'. The citizens did not well accept this plan. In 2012 Phanos went bankrupt, and the plans did not continue. A curator became in charge and a new plan 'De Eilanden' was developed (Arink, 2022). The curator asked KWP if they were interested in buying the land owned by Phanos and KWP indeed bought the land in 2015 (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk, n.d.-g). Before the re-development plans, there were already some problems with the location, for example drug labs, violence, and decay of the area. Besides, the area is divided over multiple landowners, which makes parts of the area inaccessible for the citizens of Arnhem.

The municipality of Arnhem made an urban area re-development vision: Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk. The municipality of Arnhem made the decision on the 27th of June 2016 (De raad van de gemeente Arnhem, 2016). The municipality wishes to make the area more accessible for citizens and make nature and leisure essential elements. Besides, the weaknesses of the area should be improved (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk, n.d.-e). The re-development plan includes the transformation of two parts of the area, shown in red in Figure 22. These areas contain currently a couple of companies, such as a paintball centre and a water sport centre, see Figure 23a&b.



Figure 22: The red areas will be transformed (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk, n.d.-e).



Figure 23a&23b: The current state of the areas which will be transformed (Google Maps, 2023).

KondorWesselsProjecten would be the owner of the largest part of the land in the area, and therefore they can re-develop this area. By adding dwellings, it becomes possible to re-develop the area and partly finance the plan (De raad van de gemeente Arnhem, 2016). The plan included the following goals: enlarging the nature in the area by up to 98%, removing the former industry halls and pavements of 'Meinerswijk', unless some of them could be reused for other purposes, such as recreation, education, or cultural programs. In addition, the goal is to develop

30% of social housing and affordable (below 200.000euro) owner-occupied housing. Overall sustainability is an important target, and therefore all new buildings should score high on energy, environment, and health (De raad van de gemeente Arnhem, 2016).

The redevelopment plans include buildings, nature, culture, and leisure. The buildings will be constructed on a higher level in case of future flooding and only on locations where already buildings were situated. The buildings include a public yacht harbour with dwellings and horeca. Besides, former historical elements of the harbour will stay and can be reused for other purposes (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk, n.d.-b). There will be over fifty-six hectares of nature created and there is even the ambition to become a National Park. To create more space for the river, a side channel (Figure 24) will be added to lower the water level by 10cm (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk, n.d.-e). Wetlands will be constructed to improve this nature area. In addition, 19.500m² of pavement will be removed (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk, n.d.-a). Leisure activities such as dining, drinking, BBQing, hiking, cycling, sporting, swimming, and other water sports are welcomed in the area. In the side channel, it is possible to do water sports at the city beach and there is a restaurant in a former ship dock building (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk, n.d.-d). For cultural activities, the area for organising festivals remains for the future. In addition, some former industrial harbour buildings remain for cultural activities. A theatre will also be part of the cultural program (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk, n.d.-c).



Figure 24: The new side channel (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk, n.d.-g).

First, 51.2% of the land was owned by KWP, but in the future, the municipality will gradually become the owner by taking over the land from KWP (figure 25). The area used to be not accessible due to the different landowners, with this plan, the fences will be removed to create a large nature area of seventy-one hectares in total (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk, n.d.-a). Moreover, the re-development of the area will not cost the municipality any money. KWP will hand over 126 hectares of nature park to the municipality of Arnhem. The borders of the former areas of different landowners will disappear and therefore the area will become accessible for the citizens (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk, n.d.-g)

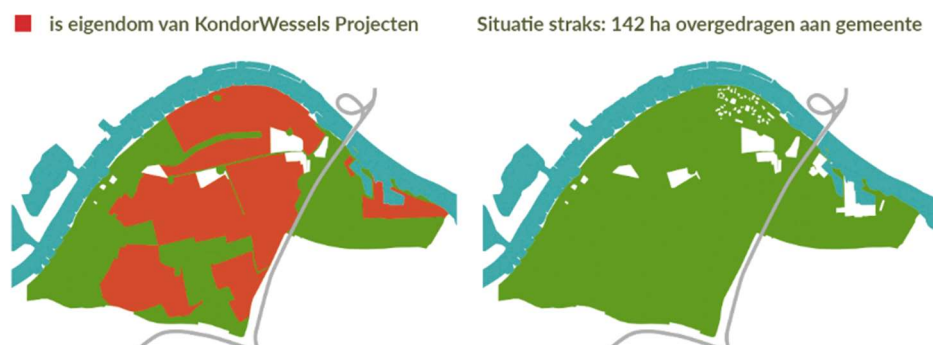


Figure 25: Former (KWP) and future landowner (municipality) (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk, n.d.-e)

5.3 Resistance towards re-development plans

The citizens organization 'Burgercoalitie Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk' were against the development of housing in this nature area and the development in the flood plains in Arnhem (NOS, 2016). Building in flood plains can be risky, which is known from the Dutch history of flooding. Moreover, the city of Arnhem experienced huge flooding in 1995, and many citizens had to evacuate. However, some Dutch municipalities still decide to plan new developments in the flood plains. Arnhem is one of them, and the plan is to build 430 dwellings in the flood plains (Salden, 2023). One of the reasons why municipalities are willing to develop in the flood plains could be economically beneficial for them. Because municipalities earn money by selling their building plots to developers, and the municipality wants new development in this era of the housing shortage (Salden, 2023). This reason is not the case for Arnhem because KWP develops the plan and afterwards hands it over to the municipality.

The opponents of 'Stichting Kloppend Stadshart' (since 2012) do not want any new housing developments, and in their opinion, the area should be preserved for nature and leisure. In addition, they are worried about future flooding and think that the development plans do not match the policy 'ruimte voor de rivier' which includes creating more space for the river's excess water (Salden, 2023). However, the municipality and the project developer emphasised that the new development will only take place on currently occupied plots (NOS, 2016). This amount is smaller than 1% of the whole area according to the developers (Omroep Gelderland, 2016). In addition, the dwellings will only be built at locations with higher elevations (Salden, 2023). The opponents of 'Stichting Kloppend Stadshart' also address that the municipality needs to include all stakeholders and citizens to produce a new plan in line with the 'Gebiedsvisie 2012' which is made based on a large participation process with citizens (Stichting Kloppend Stadshart, 2016b).

5.4 Referendum

In the first round, 750 signatures needed to be collected for an initial referendum request. In the second round, 3,000 signatures are needed to request the referendum. Citizens (who are allowed to vote) need to sign the paper in person, not digitally (Stichting Kloppend Stadshart, 2016a). After the opponents (Burger Coalitie, Groenlinks and Milieudefensie) reached the number of signatures for the request, the campaign became stronger on both sides. The opponents are mainly focussed on the flood risks of the area and housing should be prevented (Arink, 2022). From the side of the municipality and KWP, they tried to engage the citizens with the facts, and they used images and tours around the area to do this. In addition, during the entire process, there was the opportunity to participate and have open conversations about the plan to involve the citizens of Arnhem (Transcripts).

Citizens got the opportunity to vote yes/no for the redevelopment of the Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk plan. The referendum was advisory and therefore non-binding, and there was no voter threshold determined (NOS, 2016). The referendum was about the "uitwerkingskader" (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk, n.d.-a). This means that the citizens were voting about the further development of the plans 'De eilanden.' An "uitwerkingskader" includes for example the maximum amount square meters, maximum heights and the sustainability requirements (Stadsblokken Meinerswijk, n.d.f).

Referendum outcome

Only 24.1% of the electorate showed up to vote, but the majority voted in favour of the development, 64.7%. And 34.5% voted against the development plans (Omroep Gelderland, 2016). The municipal council had agreed to respect the outcome (NOS, 2016).

5.5 After the referendum

After the referendum, the winning parties KWP and the municipality started conversations with the opponents to come to a solution. They decided to build nature-inclusive housing in the area to get some opponents on board. Other opponents were not satisfied with the plans and the referendum outcome and decided to go to court/raad van state. The Raad van State advises the Second Chamber and the Dutch Government. In addition, they judge matters where citizens are in conflict or do not agree with the governmental decisions. The members of 'Stichting Kloppend Stadshart' and Milieudefensie decided to go to court to block the development plans (Salden, 2023). They believe that the re-development plans are not future proof regarding climate change and flooding (Arink, 2022). However, the court/Raad van State/ did not agree in favour of the opponents. Because the small number of dwellings will not cause less space for the river to flow. In addition, the development plans include water measurements which will lower the water level by 10cm. The court decided that the plans follow the rules, and therefore developing in the flood plains is allowed (Van der Storm, 2023).

Besides, the Dutch government decided in 2022 to let the water and soil conditions in the area determine the development potential of future development plans for the area. One of the mentioned examples is to prevent development in areas which are needed for water storage, such as flood plains (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2022).

Latest news

According to the latest newsletter of Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk, they planned to dig sand for an entire year to create a side channel, and the excess sand will be used to level up the Meiners Eiland. This is needed to build on the island. In addition, the area was affected by the Roman Empire and the second world war, therefore there are explosives and archaeological treasures in the ground, which take time to be dug up very carefully ("Stadsblokken Meinerswijk | Digitale Nieuwsbrief juni 2023", 2023).

5.6 Timeline of the development of the area

| | |
|-------------|---|
| 1899 | 'ASM werf' shipyard founded in Stadsblokken |
| 1978 | 'ASM werf' industrial site closed |
| 1988 | 'Rijnsoeverplan', a plan by the municipality of Arnhem incl. 1500 dwellings and a monorail |
| 1990s | Multiple plan attempts did not proceed. |
| 1993 & 1995 | High water levels and floodings |
| 2008 | 'Chicago aan de Rijn', a plan by Phanos incl. 10.000 dwellings. The citizens did not well accept the plans. |
| 2012 | Citizens participated with the municipality to determine the Gebiedsvisie of Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk |
| 2012 | Phanos went bankrupt, therefore the plans were cancelled. |
| 2012 | New plan 'Eilanden 2.0', incl. 350 dwellings and cultural areas on land at higher levels. This plan emphasized the nature and water aspects. |
| After 2012 | KondorWessels Projecten bought land in the area after the bankruptcy of Phanos and is somewhat interested in 'Eilanden 2.0' <i>Citizens were already against the plans of Phanos, and now they could continue to organize themselves with Groenlinks and Milieudefensie to object to the plans. Mostly citizens who currently live in the flood plains object.</i> |

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 2015 | KWP bought the land which was formerly owned by Phanos |
| June 2016 | Decision Municipal board urban area re-development Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk |
| Before the referendum | Collecting signatures, Campaigns. |
| November 2016 | Local Advisory Referendum about Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk. <i>The opponents lost the referendum. KondorWessels Projecten could continue their plans. Including the masterplan, and land-use plan.</i> |
| December 2016 | Agreement on the future of the area |
| 2017 | Agreement on the Masterplan 'De Eilanden 3.0' by the municipal council after participation. |
| 2019 | First part of the area re-development is realised. |
| Dec 2020 | Land-use plan accepted by the municipal council. |
| Sept 2021 | Raad van State, Rijkswaterstaat is positive about the future issues related to water. |
| May 2022 | Raad van State discussed for the third time and last time the plans of Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk. |
| November 2022 | Dutch Government decided to let the water and soil conditions in the area determine the development potential of the area. One of the mentioned examples is no development in flood plains. |
| March 2023 | Court agrees with development in the flood plains. |

6. Results

This chapter discusses the results of the data collection and the semi-structured interviews. Particularly, the results from the cases IJburg and Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk. The results will be presented and guided by the sub-questions: *SQ3: How did the use of a local referendum affect the design and decisions regarding the urban area development of the cases IJburg and Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk?*; *SQ4: How do the actors of the cases IJburg and Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk look back at the instrument of a local referendum for urban area development?*

6.1 Public Values and the Conflicts Between Them

The public values spheres theory in urban area planning by Herzog et al. (2022) focuses on safety, ecological quality, liveability, social equity, economic opportunity, conservatism, and health. These topics are addressed in this chapter and linked to the case studies. Table 4 gives an overview of the identified public values and the value conflicts in each of the cases, based on the theory of Herzog et al. (2022). These values will later be explained in more detail.

Table 4: Public values and conflicting values for both cases identified by the model of Herzog et al. (2022).

| Public Value | Amsterdam IJburg | Arnhem Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk |
|----------------------|---|--|
| Safety | - | + |
| Ecologic quality | + | + |
| Liveability | + | + |
| Social equity | + | - |
| Economic opportunity | + | - |
| Conservatism | +/- | +/- |
| Health | +/- | +/- (sports) |
| Value Conflict | 1. Development Conflict = <i>ecologic quality vs. social equity</i> 2. Green cities Conflict = <i>ecologic quality vs. liveability</i> | 1. Dangers of Nature Conflict = <i>safety vs. ecologic quality</i> 2. Green Cities Conflict = <i>ecologic quality vs. liveability</i> |

6.1.1 Motivation development IJburg

The motivation for the development of IJburg was that the municipality was forced to expand their housing stock according to the national VINEX policy. This policy was made to develop 600,000 dwellings close to existing cities because it would also support the amenities of these cities. In the seventies, the development of satellite cities made young families move away from the city to Purmerend and Almere, and the city was shrinking. At the end of the 'eighties the opposite happened, and the need for dwellings became larger, there was a housing shortage (of 30.000-40,000 dwellings). Besides, the housing prices increased and there were fewer people within the households. So, the municipality was focused on expanding the housing stock with affordable housing for its citizens, especially for young families who cannot afford expensive housing but are the ones they want to keep in the city.

There were several motivations for the location: It was close to the city and therefore fewer citizens need a car to travel to work, less traffic jams. Besides, it would benefit the employment of the city and create more amenities like museums, theatres, public transport, and shops. And lastly because an island fits in the tradition. However, therefore land reclamation was needed. The location of IJburg was the main conflict since it was in an environmental area. A whole land reclamation project needed to be done to develop this new neighbourhood.

Land reclamation drivers

The drivers for land reclamation can be environmental, topographic, demographic, economic, governmental, or technological (as explained earlier). In the case of this project, the main drivers were demographic, topographic and economic. The demographic reasons were to keep the city affordable for their citizens and to expand for them. Topographic drivers relate to the location of the islands, near the city centre of Amsterdam and therefore less traffic jams would be expected due to the shorter distance to the inner city and businesses. The economic drivers are less visible, but they also made room for businesses on IJburg. Moreover, the amenities of the city could benefit from this expansion. Governmental drivers are not applicable here since the national government did not force the municipality to use land reclamation as a strategy.

6.1.2 Public Values and Conflicts IJburg

To refer to Table 4 the aspects will be discussed for IJburg in Table 5:

Table 5: public values and value conflicts of the development of IJburg

| Public Value | Explanation |
|---|---|
| Safety | Not an issue |
| Ecologic quality (incl. green space creation & protection) | Green space protection was needed since the IJmeer was an important environmental area for many species. In addition, it was promised to be one of the most environmentally friendly neighbourhoods. Later, green space was also created. |
| Liveability (incl. quietness, aesthetics, sports, cleanliness, social interaction, recreation) | They strived to develop the plan as environmentally friendly as possible. For example, focussing on public transport, car-less areas, energy neutral neighbourhoods. The VINEX neighbourhood should have a higher density than other VINEX locations, also to make it more attractive. Recreation was also part of the plan, but it was not the main driver of the plan. |
| Social equity (incl. inclusivity, accessibility, affordability, diversity) | Affordability (part of social equity) was an important aspect of keeping certain demographic groups within the city and give them access to everything the city has to offer, including work opportunities. Then young families were also able to find affordable housing in Amsterdam. It needed to have good accessibility to the inner city. Citizens were kept within the city, instead of moving out to satellite cities. Therefore, inclusivity was considered. |
| Economic opportunity | Businesses were in Amsterdam, and by creating an island nearby, the citizens would be kept nearby in the city. Also, this would be beneficial to the amenities of the city. In addition, the plan was also focused on attracting businesses to the island, by creating extra lofty ceilings for businesses along the street. |
| Conservatism | Conservatism is not physically applied. However, traditions were kept alive. For example, expanding the city by developing new islands. Amsterdam consists of ninety islands, such as Bickerseiland, Realeneiland, KNSM, and Java eiland. Therefore, IJburg fits in the tradition of Amsterdam, when there is not enough land, they add land. In addition, the urban design of Amsterdam resulted in a finger model. Every extension of the city kept green space in between the expansions of the city. |
| Health | The municipality included healthcare organizations to get support and plan the amenities. This was needed to be accessible for the elderly too. |
| Value Conflicts | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • development conflict <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ ecologic quality vs. social equity • Green cities conflict <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ ecologic quality vs. liveability |

6.1.3 Value Conflicts IJburg

Referring to the theory of Herzog et al. (2022), the 'Development conflict' and 'Green Cities conflict' could be identified for this case. The development conflict is a conflict between ecologic quality and social equity. In this case, the opponents were against the plans of the municipality which planned a land reclamation project to develop a neighbourhood in the ecological main structure, also an area which was on the nomination list to become Natura 2000. The opponents were afraid that IJburg would harm or even destroy the environment and surrounding nature. Besides, they were convinced that the 18,000 dwellings could also be added by densification of the city instead of using land reclamation as a strategy. In addition, Natuurmonumenten also defended their property in Amsterdam.

P11-opponent emphasizes the following: *"Look IJburg is of course not just an urban plan. It is a complete land reclamation with a complete infrastructure, complete transport, water management, and polluted wasteland. It was more than just an urban plan. It was not 'We're going to build a neighbourhood' It was something else, a very long-term ongoing plan. So, in terms of complexity, this was on the high side of complexity." (..) "The plan is extremely drastic from an urban development point of view, but also very radical from a nature point of view because it destroys that entire bay, which is classified as an international wetland. And Natuurmonumenten stands up for its interests, but also the interests of Nature in general. That combination was irrefutable."*

P4-municipality summarized the conflict: *"An opposition movement pro-nature and against expansion arose. And then the referendum was about that: do we want to live here, or do we want nature?"*

The Green Cities conflict is a conflict between ecologic quality and liveability. In this case, the municipality wanted to build affordable housing for its citizens, to keep them within the city. However, improving the liveability of the city, by choosing land reclamation over densification also causes a conflict with the ecologic quality. In Durgerdam, on the opposite side of the water, they were afraid that their unobstructed view would disappear. This relates to NIMBY, citizens who are afraid that their own pleasure of living in an open nature environment will disappear by improving the 'liveability' of citizens elsewhere.

6.1.4 Motivation development Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk

This motivation for the development is improving the liveability of the area. In the plan, there is room for a lot of recreation, sport, and social interaction. Now it is a former industrial area in decay with violence and drug labs, therefore the redevelopment contributes to the safety and liveability of the area. In addition, an extra channel is developed to lower the water levels for safety. Rijkswaterstaat, the province of Gelderland and local cultural interests have been involved in this process. Moreover, the developer emphasized that this is not a housing plan, because only a small percentage of dwellings will be built. Buildings will only be developed on the more elevated grounds and in the decayed areas (violence and drug labs), land where already buildings were. The dwellings were needed to finance the plan.

6.1.5 Public Values and Conflicts Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk

To refer to Table 4 the aspects will be discussed for Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk Table 5:

Table 5: public values and value conflicts of the plan Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk

| Public Value | Explanation |
|---|--|
| Safety | The main problem was about water safety, building in the flood plains was seen as not future proof by the opponents. In the past the high-water levels in the area already cause problems. The plan included a contribution to the 'safety' of the water levels, by digging an extra channel which would lower the water levels. Besides, it was an area in decay, with vacant industry and drug labs. The redevelopment would improve safety. |
| Ecologic quality (incl. green space creation & protection) | Green space will be created and a side channel to give the river more space. Now the area is in decay, but there is an ambition/desire to develop this area as a national park in the future. |
| Liveability (incl. quietness, aesthetics, sports, cleanliness, social interaction, recreation) | An area in decay becomes a recreation, sport, and clean recreation area. The developer planned to improve 'liveability' by developing an area with was now in decay, to add recreation facilities and opportunities for social interaction and sports. |
| Social equity (incl. inclusivity, accessibility, affordability, diversity) | Not Discussed |
| Economic opportunity | Not discussed in detail, but the area can be beneficial for the city by including recreation facilities. This promotes job opportunities and tourism. |
| Conservatism | Reusing former dock buildings as heritage. |
| Health | Not discussed in detail, but sports and recreation facilities contribute to this. |
| Public Value Conflicts | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dangers of Nature Conflict <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - safety vs. ecologic quality - Green cities conflict <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Liveability vs. ecologic quality |

6.1.6 Value Conflicts Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk

The 'dangers of nature conflict' is a conflict between safety and ecologic quality. In this case, the plan was to redevelop an area in the flood plains, including housing. The main conflict was about the addition of housing. The opponents think that the area has a larger recreative value and that water safety would not be guaranteed in the future. The area already suffered from water safety issues in the '90s. Therefore, a group of citizens collected in "Kloppend Stadshart" to oppose the plan. Later, Milieudefensie Arnhem joined the opponents. Together they tried to produce a citizen's initiative to give the area a more nature-rich future instead. The opponents believe it could be done without housing; however, the developer thinks it is necessary to finance the plan. The Green Cities conflict is a conflict between ecologic quality and liveability. In this case, the plan by the developer is to improve the area and include recreation, social interaction, and cleanliness. However, this is planned in a nature area which needs to make room for this (the buildings are built on less than 1% of the areas land). In addition, the opponents now try to delay the project by another way, the law of nature protection.

6.2 Insights IJburg

The insights from the municipality and opponents regarding the added value of the referendum are described in this section. The results of the municipality and opponents in this section are presented together, due to many overlapping insights. The more expressing quotes are clearly distinguished by mentioning the roles of the participants.

6.2.1 Positive

Threat & collaboration

First, the threat of a referendum stimulated the municipality to explain their plan more carefully or find support for their plans. This phase was especially important because it made the need for collaboration necessary to gain support among parties in an early stage. Collaboration took place with for example housing associations, health care institutions and water sports associations. Together they discussed what kind of neighbourhood IJburg should become. P4-municipality says: *"A couple of years before the referendum, we already knew that there was going to be a referendum because this was a very tricky subject. We did our best effort in our plans to pay attention to nature."*

It made them more careful and precise. In the years before, the municipality lost a couple of referendums and therefore hoped to avoid that this time. Natuurmonumenten a large organization (900,000 members) joined the opponents and then the threat became more serious. The threat made the municipality try harder to include nature in the initial plan. P1-opponent says: *"When the largest nature organization in the Netherlands joined us, it was very likely that there was a risk that the municipality would lose this referendum and that the plans could not continue. The conflict or battle became more serious."*

Public debate: awareness & promises

One of the most important findings is that the public debates around the referendum put the conflict in the spotlight and therefore enriched the political process. All citizens could follow the story in the local news and shape their opinion. The citizens of Amsterdam became more aware of the importance of nature in their city and realized they actually lived near a natural area of European importance. They would not have been aware of this without the referendum. P2-municipality supports this: *"The whole city of Amsterdam was involved in the public debate, which was actually really nice. Everyone knew about IJburg, and everyone knew what this meant for the nature around. (...) And the notion that nature was so important was not realized yet by the municipal council."*

Also, the municipality had to convince their citizens that this was the most suitable place for city expansion. Therefore, they made brochures to explain the whole argumentation of why IJburg and needed and why this was the best location for it. The arguments from the opponents are also better heard now, and in the end, this can contribute to the design. There was more attention for both sides of the story: the international importance of the area for nature. On the other hand, the housing shortage becomes clearer for Natuurmonumenten and nature lovers in Amsterdam. In the beginning, there was more polarisation, however, later there was more understanding towards each other. This led to breakthroughs and creative solutions which otherwise would not have happened. P10-opponent supports this: *"It does, however, contribute to the quality of the plan because arguments why the plan would not be good are heard much more strongly than if there had been no referendum. The referendum does put a spotlight on the plan. And that ultimately improves the quality of the plan."* In addition, to convince citizens design and visualisation was important to show how it could become. P9-municipality says: *"In that sense, the referendum has influenced our work that you have to enter into a conversation about 'the how'. The need for it became even greater. That's not just talking and pointing on the map, that's also making drawings and, for example, drawing the perspective from Durgerdam to the other side, just about how it could be."* Lastly, the opponents mentioned that collecting 30,000 signatures in person took quite an effort (the era before the Internet was accessible to everyone). But the advantage was that face-to-face conversations took place and there was room for asking questions and understanding the problem.

After the referendum: extra compensation due to conversations

The municipality was very aware of the fact that they won the referendum, but not really won due to the high number of no-voters. They realized they could not just continue their plans without including the opponent's arguments regarding the environment. After the referendum, an extra budget was raised due to the efforts of Natuurmonumenten to develop more nature compensation in collaboration with the province. Twenty large nature projects were created from this fund and continuously supplemented from the IJburg project budget. P4-municipality supports this: *"The referendum definitely ensured that much more attention and also much more money was devoted to nature."* The nature organizations have taken this one more time to the Raad van State, because they felt that the measures were not enough, and they won. As a result, more measures were implemented, such as artificial mussel beds.

Results after the referendum: Extra nature compensation, but not all promises were held.

Despite their loss, the opponents believe that the referendum had added value. The conversation in the city was alive, a high number of citizens showed up and voted no, therefore they believed their arguments were well delivered. Unfortunately for them, they did not reach the quorum. Despite this, they are convinced that this process enriched the debate and the quality of the plan. The outcome clearly showed that the majority of the voters gave priority to nature. Natuurmonumenten also was convinced they did well by defending their interest and the expectations of their member, by defending the nature around IJburg. Moreover, they put their organization back on the map. Lastly, the referendum added millions for nature compensation during negotiations, so on these aspects the opponents are content. P6-academic also sees the value of the referendum and says: *"It has, in any case, contributed to a policy of the municipality that is much more aware of the environmental risks and the environmental quality, and sustainability. The quality of the plans for IJburg have improved enormously under the influence of the referendum."*

Nowadays: Land reclamation as a strategy for nature development

These nature projects seemed to work very well, and land reclamation projects are still used recently in the Netherlands for environmental purposes. Interestingly, the opponent Natuurmonumenten now worked on the land reclamation of the Marker Wadden. P9-municipality mentioned: *"And the interesting thing is, I think that Natuurmonumenten, partly as a result of the referendum, has started to think differently about changes in the landscape, with nature. So, for example, nature conservation and building have become much more on their agenda. The fact that they have now realized the Marker Wadden. I also contributed to that."*

6.2.2 Negative/room for improvement

Long term vision

Some points of critique from the municipality on the instrument is that political parties have a long-term vision for the development of the city and therefore these UAD referendum questions are interfering with this. There are already many policies and interests considered when plans are made by the municipality, while a referendum is often focused on one aspect of the plan that is not agreed on by citizens or organizations. The referendum delays the plan and besides, if there are many no-voters it can lead to further delays of the project. Then the issue of housing shortage remains, and no plan is created.

Campaign: black and white and untruths

In the campaign phase, you soon get opponents and supporting parties, which makes the campaign biased and black-and-white. Mostly because you need to keep it simple. For example, with IJburg P4-municipality says: *"The opponents said: If this plan continues, then the Veluwe is next. Which was nonsense of course. But we did the same and said: Citizens of Amsterdam want to stay in Amsterdam. If this plan can't continue, then everyone should move away. Which was also nonsense. Things get blown out of proportion"*. P10-opponent thinks that the black-white thinking also goes both ways: *"The fact that it is not nuanced means that the referendum also provokes discussion. But at the same time, the disadvantage of a referendum is that it is not nuanced."*

In addition, financial resources were an issue. Natuurmonumenten could spend more money than a municipality that is expected to use a sober budget. Natuurmonumenten already had a communication department and 900,000 members to mobilize. The municipality spent more on the campaign than they intended because they felt overpowered by the capabilities of the opponent. When money plays a role, it will distort the conflict and it might become unequal. Despite that many participants think this is unfair, they also think it is impossible to lay down in a protocol. P4-municipality supports this financial issue: *“The conflict is not only about the content anymore, it also matters who has the most money and resources?”*

Organization

Opponents mentioned that it could have been more successful if the referendum was combined with another voting event, to get a larger turnout. Now they did not reach the quorum, which was introduced later on, and this was not known at the time that Natuurmonumenten joined the opponents. P11-opponent says: *“Yes, look, the referendum instrument is vulnerable because it conflicts with the direction of the municipal plans. If it is used, they should take it seriously from the outset. The credibility of the referendum only works if the same standards are used and not adjusted because it would be bad if people disagreed with them for once. They [the municipality] sensed that they were going to lose this.”*

Asking the right question and to who?

Also asking the right question is difficult, because the citizens who moved out of Amsterdam could not vote about this issue that already had affected them. P7-municipality says: *‘Actually I don’t think they asked the right question at that time because you are asking citizens who already have a house: Do you want more citizens to come to live here? Or are you okay with the situation right now? But they already have a house’* For them it is not about an urgent problem.

NIMBY and surrounding municipalities

What the municipality also learned is that it was difficult to get other nearby municipalities on board, and this also caused some friction at a later stage. They did not agree with an infrastructure connection like a metro line or bridge on their municipal grounds. A road was 4-5 years delayed because the municipality of Diemen was not satisfied with the plans. They thought they were not well included in the plans, and this was their way to express their disagreement. A bridge which was intended to connect IJburg and Diemen, now it shifted away to the municipal border of Amsterdam, because of the disagreement. This makes the development of a new urban area more difficult since citizens demand to have an accessible place to live.

Result: not all promises developed

However, the other aspects of the plan like sustainability and accessibility are not satisfying according to the opponents. What they noticed, is that a lot of promises made during the campaign were wiped off the table afterwards. This makes the islands less accessible by public transport than what was promised. Only one tramline goes to IJburg, which does not fit the sustainable ambitions. P11-opponent says about the result: *“It was ultimately developed much later, but also at a lower ambition level. Yes, a bit of extra nature has probably been added, which is nice. Then a few herons and a few extra ducks breed there. But for us, it was about preserving the open space of the IJmeer. That is gone and it will never come back. And then all those people say: yes, it is good for nature if more great birds start breeding or something like that. But that wasn’t the idea. So that is what we have lost. We have lost a piece of open water, while investments in the city of Amsterdam could have been made. Did it turn out beautiful? Meh, not even interesting actually. Will it ever live, I really don’t think so.”*

6.3 Design and Decisions of IJburg

Many participants agreed that IJburg has changed a lot due to the referendum. The plan from 1995 which was the topic of discussion stayed essentially the same, however, a lot of improvements and additions were made. According to P9- municipality, to get citizens on board, you need to take the conflict seriously. And from your profession, you can translate this into a good as possible plan. P9- municipality says: *“As a designer you try to*

stimulate the conversation during the conflict. (...)I have always tried my best with our team to explain the details of the plan in the discussions about that referendum.” In addition, P9-municipality: *“As a designer, sometimes by doing something slightly different you can also make it better. That is always strange in our profession: Some things that seem incompatible on a political level, green and living can never go together. And if you start looking at how to design it, then sometimes it can go together. Find the solution.”*

Design Process

All disciplines were together in one building on the same floor which made the process easier and was called a success factor by several participants. There were also things they could not think of themselves, and the ecologists could advise them. In the beginning, the ecologists were opponents of IJburg. However, once the decision IJburg was made, they were willing to cooperate with the municipality to make the plan as good as possible. They have used environmental research data to negotiate during the process, but now they could co-create IJburg as environmentally friendly as possible. In the background, Natuurmonumenten was looking critically over the shoulders of the municipality, and an important partner for the ecologist.

In the end, designing also means finding solutions. P9-municipality supports this *“some problems could be unthinkable on a political level be unthinkable. But could be solved by an iterative design process.”*

Design changes Phase 1

Initially, there was already nature compensation in the plan because this was protected and needed by the law. These included dams to create shallow water around Muiden and Waterland. The municipality knew from all the research that shallow waters are valuable food sources for specific birds. One of the largest decision changes was to make multiple islands instead of one big island. This was beneficial for nature because at the banks of the islands, shallow water could be created. And now there was more surface created for this. The development of multiple islands instead of one, is also addressed as the central design trick because it was better for nature and a convincing design for citizens. The plan contains water that can flow in and around the islands, which is the same water as outside the islands. This will increase the ecological quality, and this creates a relationship between the city and nature. This decision was already made, but the referendum made it more important to be extra attentive towards nature in an early stage. Also, the sizes of the islands and the sight lines from Durgerdam are reconsidered again in a later stage.

Later with the extra budget, the Hoeckelingsdijk and new banks were created as part of a ring of nature that was planned. In addition, another area nearby (Diemer Vijfhoek) was appointed as a nature area and is supposed to stay this way for nature to develop over the years. This area is handed over to Staatsbosbeheer so that it will stay this way. This could be seen as a form of protection, so that the municipality cannot develop anymore in the future. The Diemerzeedijk, which used to be a poisoned area, turned into a nice park because now there was money to solve this problem.

In the end, not all of the promises by the municipality were realized, but it can be seen as attempts to make improvements in the design during the process. At least, it resulted in more attention to sustainability themes than would have happened without the referendum.

Design changes phase 2

Lastly, the effects of the referendum are still visible nowadays in the second phase of the development. The nature compensation projects have been researched for around 15 years and what worked is continued, and what was not working was adjusted. Phase 2 took place later than planned due to the economic crisis, however, the plans look quite different than 10 years ago, and nature and sustainability are especially important in this phase. The project became even more nature inclusive. The plan used to have a kilometres-long beach, but now this became a border assigned to nature. In addition, wetlands are constructed now in agreement with Natuurmonumenten. This is also a way to ensure that IJburg will not be expanded in the future in that direction. The municipality decided to devote the last island Buiteneiland to nature. The planned houses are transferred to another island, which allows the creation of a whole natural island. It will be a circular island, made from leftover sandpiles from other projects in the city. Therefore, this island will develop slowly, and, in the meantime, nature can develop too. On the other island are also more sustainable/environmental measurements in order now, for example, a lower parking norm, higher demands on sustainability and nature inclusivity.

Some say this is due to the referendum because it worked out well for nature. However, others think this is also part of our current society, where nature and sustainability have become essential parts of every plan. Much more knowledge and experience are available to develop sustainable and environmentally friendly neighbourhoods. P9-municipality supports this: *“The whole process from 1995 onwards of making these next islands is constantly learning from what has been done and adjusting. Far in the background, of course, the lessons of the referendum can still be heard. But of course, it is also just the spirit of the times, isn't it? You can't come up with a plan anymore without taking those things into account.”*

6.4 Insights Arnhem Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk

6.4.1 Positive

Public debate: awareness & promises

The project developer was initially not so positive about the referendum because it was an obstruction to their work. However, on some parts, they could see the added value of the referendum. They were able to explain their plan better to the citizens than they would usually. They needed to convince citizens that the added buildings were limited and would not lead to more flooding. In addition, the plan had covered more space for the river. In addition, they also needed to have conversations with citizens and explain the facts. It made them more careful and focused, and therefore the plan improved on some points. P12-process says: *“The referendum has somewhat ensured that we were a little more focused and were able to explain our plan better to the citizens of Arnhem.”* The developer needed to explain the facts because the campaign also caused the spread of fake at the time. They showed images of the area to show them the locations of the new building and where it stays intact. There also have been guided tours in the area to get more support for the plans.

The opponents made an alternative plan to show that it is also possible without adding dwellings/buildings to the area, however, it did not enough support. The opponents at least were able to explain the problem and had the chance to bring it to the attention of the city and country. With this procedure, they gained support and understanding that building in the floodplains is not future proof. They got support from professionals, scientists and policymakers who think these types of projects should not be allowed anymore. Lastly, the case got national attention after the recent flooding in the summer of 2021.

Conversations after the referendum

After the referendum, there was a conversation with the opponents of the plan about integrating more nature inclusivity into the plans. P12-project says: *“So in that respect, the referendum may have ensured that some extra attention and care was paid to it afterwards. The IVN wanted nature-inclusive homes, and we took that into account to get them involved in the plans. That was successful.”*

Results after the referendum:

Even though the opponents of the development plans lost the referendum, they see some value in the referendum case. The neighbourhood and the number of dwellings will be limited. Besides, there are agreements made between the developer and that they should keep their agreements. In addition, they have the precedent that the water law will be changed in the future, which means that building in the floodplains will not be possible in the future. Until today, they are still trying to stop the project in other ways.

6.4.2 Negative/room for improvement

Not being heard

The opponents were also dissatisfied with the municipality's process. A long participation period with one thousand people in 2007-2008 had cost around two million euros, led to a vision which was accepted by the citizens. The vision would have included water safety, nature, recreation, and conservation of cultural monuments. According to the opponents, this process is quite the opposite of what is happening now. Eventually, the developer made a plan with dwellings because the land use plan was not updated according to the results from the participation process. Eventually, the land use plan was adjusted by the municipality and 'Kloppend Stadshart' and Milieudéfensie and other parties think this was on false grounds. These opponents were not well included in the process according to them. In addition, the opponents made an alternative plan, but this was not considered. P14-opponent says: *"We have drawn up an alternative plan and a vision for the development of this area without housing. And we also frequently publicized that plan and presented it there. That plan can also be done without building a single house. We think this is the most future-proof, climate-proof and socially responsible, and of course that costs money."*

Campaign: black and white and untruths

According to the opponents, there was also fake news from the other side, which might have scared off citizens. They used social media to get the attention and national media. The local media was used, however, was less supportive of their side of the story. In addition, debates in local cinemas were organized.

During the campaign phase, the opponents experienced fake news, untruths, and aggressive threats, which gave a distorted image of the actual situation. Also, the unequal financial resources in the campaign budget seemed to be a problem in this case. The opponent's campaign budget was ten times as small as the developer's. Therefore, they felt like they were at a disadvantage compared to the other party. Local newspapers would not publish their story, which could be due to a lack of financial resources. They think both parties should at least have equal access to communication resources during a referendum process.

Organization

The process has been difficult according to the opponents: the formulation of the question was unclear and to their disadvantage. They seemed to have got little support from the government. In addition, they believe that the campaign was unfair because the municipality supported the plan of the developers, while politicians should remain aloof until the referendum has taken place. Unclear and lack of support were felt, also because no referendum committee existed, and the rules were unclear. Interestingly, the opponents see the non-existing threshold as a disadvantage.

Outcome can lead to nothing

According to the developer, there is also a downside to referendums for UAD. In case the no-voters would have won, it would have led to nothing. No plan, no nature development, and no extra room for the river.

P12-project says: *"The Netherlands is a full country, and we have to make something of it together: from agriculture, nature development, infrastructure, or housing. Then we just must make certain choices. And if we (everyone, eh, the farmers, nature, etc.) remain very black-and-white in that, then nothing will get off the ground. So that just means you have to talk to each other, and you have to make compromises. And the moment you start referendums, and the result of a referendum means there will be or there will be no plan. Yes, you know, there are also just in-betweens, right? That's why I don't think a referendum is a good tool within area development."*

NIMBY and individual interest

The conflict about a plan can be about a personal interest, but in the interest of the city, it might be the best possible plan taking all interests into account. P12-project explains this issue: *"There will always be people against it, against the common good. You simply have to make choices in which many interests are taken into account. We had a small group who didn't like that. If you then use the referendum as a means (which is their good right at that time, let's not create any misunderstanding about that), it simply does not benefit the*

development of the Netherlands in the broad sense. Ultimately, we want to achieve something with 18 million people.”

Result

Some of the opponents are still trying to stop the project by the route of environmental laws because animals are living there and might need to be protected.

6.4.3 Evaluation referendum protocol

The municipality of Arnhem was not available to participate in an interview. Therefore, their evaluation of their adjusted referendum protocol is used to fill the information gap in this section (Gemeente Arnhem Onderzoek en Statistiek/Juridische Zaken, 2017).

Parties were dissatisfied that collecting digital signatures was not possible, since the number of signatures for a final request has been changed from 750 to 3000. Now citizens had to pass by the city hall to leave their signature, which required more effort. This was not very accessible when only two locations were open for this purpose. The abolishment of the threshold was seen as beneficial because the turnout will also reflect how much the topic is alive under citizens. For the campaign, all parties agreed that the municipality could be more supportive by offering access to buildings for debates and offering subsidies for campaigns. Then, both parties can be more equal in presenting themselves and this shows that the municipality takes the instrument seriously. Also, offering an equal amount of media space can be recommended. Not all parties agreed that this would help because it cannot be checked if parties are only depending on the budget. In addition, the municipality needs to be neutral otherwise this causes distrust in the government. This was one of the issues in this referendum campaign. It might be unclear to citizens how the municipality arranged their double role. Therefore, an external referendum committee can be beneficial too. Moreover, it is addressed that the referendum question was difficult to understand by citizens, while citizens need to understand what they are voting about. Some recommended that the question could be more specified since now the question was very unclear which caused parties to frame the question differently. Therefore, they recommend letting an independent referendum committee formulate the referendum question. Lastly, the use of a corrective referendum is a last resort when opponents are not being heard through other routes, therefore the municipality is reflecting on this matter, and why this could not have been prevented in the first place. In this case, citizens will lose trust in the local government and will be less likely to be interested in other cases.

6.5 Design and Decisions of Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk

Note that the voting was about a ‘uitwerkingskader,’ and the plan still needs to be developed, therefore there is not yet much to say in detail about possible design changes. Still, the plan has improved a bit due to the referendum. P12-process says: *“The added value is that the plan has improved in some areas.”*

Design changes and future perspectives

After the referendum, the developers and the opponents had some conversations. These conversations eventually led to the integration of more nature inclusivity in the plan, there was extra care and attention towards nature. Another party wanted nature-inclusive dwellings; the project developers included this in the plan to get them on board. P12-project explains: *“After winning the referendum, we continued to talk with the opponents, just to improve the plan. That was a positive influence of the referendum.”*

Despite that the opponents lost the referendum; they achieved that the number of dwellings in the area would be limited. In addition, they have a precedent that in the future the water law will be altered, and therefore building in the flood plains will become impossible.

6.6 Comparison cases

Both referendum cases are about conflicts of building in a nature area. Motivations are social equity or liveability, but this can conflict with safety and ecologic quality. Both developments have the motivation to solve a problem in the city. In Amsterdam, affordable housing and in Arnhem also the liveability of a decayed area. The two cities are also different from each other, Amsterdam is the capital city and therefore has more interest in making room for citizens due to its location, companies, and amenities. This was also the reason for this VINEX policy. While Arnhem on the other hand, is located near a nature area with National Parks. Table 6 shows a list of comparable factors.

In both cases, the possibility of bringing the topic to the attention of citizens is very much appreciated. Also, the developers are satisfied that they had the opportunity to explain their plans better to citizens, usually, they do not have the chance to do this. Unfortunately, in both cases, the opponents felt that the process was made more difficult for them than needed. In addition, all parties in both cases experienced negative effects during the campaign. The conflict gets out of context and financial resources are unequal. In Amsterdam, the threat and pressure were highly effective, while in Arnhem this was not mentioned. Both developing parties in the cases mentioned that a referendum for UAD is not the best instrument, since many interests are taken into account to come up with a coherent plan, and citizens are not aware of all policies that have been taken into account to come up with this plan. Then a referendum focuses on an aspect of what might be wrong in their interest, but often this NIMBY attitude is not contributing to the long-term plans of the city. Despite this, both cases are improved due to the effort after the referendum to continue the conversation with the opponent about the conflict. Therefore, it can be highly effective when conversations are part of the process to solve parts of the conflict and come to a consensus. In the case of IJburg, a lot of design changes were considered and developed due to the pressure, threat, and consensus afterwards. From the case of Arnhem, less can be said about the design changes in detail, but some improvements are made afterwards.

Table 6: comparison case studies

| | Amsterdam IJburg | Arnhem Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk |
|---|--|---|
| Year | 1997 | 2016 |
| Number of Dwellings | Max.18.000 | Max. 430 |
| Area in hectare | 220 Hectare + 150 ha Strandeiland | 289 Hectare |
| Issue referendum | Nature loss due to land reclamation | Adding housing/buildings in a nature area with 'flood risk' due to possible high-water levels in the flood plains |
| National Policy | VINEX | Ruimte voor de Rivier |
| Voters Threshold | Yes | No |
| Participation | Difficult, since there was no land and few citizens around the area. But there were information nights to show the drawings. Years before, the municipality collected a group of organizations to cooperate (water sports, health care etc.) | Yes, there was participation for the "Gebiedsvisie 2012", however according to the opponents, this is not the same plan as what was proposed in the end for the area. |
| To inform citizens about the future situation | Images and drawings to show citizens. | Give citizens the opportunity of a tour of the area including participation and showing images. Also tours in the referendum campaign stage. |
| Housing Plan | Large housing plan for the future, based on national policy VINEX. | Adding housing to finance the whole plan. |
| Plan Nature | Add nature-enhancing elements as nature compensation. | Improve nature, desire to become a National Park. |
| Plan | Mainly housing, businesses, some leisure, less culture, nature compensation | Lots of culture and leisure, little housing and horeca. |
| Referendum type | Corrective | Corrective |
| Referendum based on | masterplan including phase 1&2. | Initial ideas of the "uitwerkingskader" The masterplan was developed later. |
| Actions After Referendum | Communication and cooperation with the opponent. They made a fund together with the province to add more nature-enhancing elements and to keep this going for the coming 15 years. | Communication with the opponent, however not all were satisfied with the improvements of the plan. Nature-inclusive housing and buildings were added. |
| Raad van State | Yes, for nature compensation. | Yes, for water regulation |

7. Discussion

Further remarks

Despite that in both cases a local referendum for UAD had a contribution to the design and decision-making, this does not always have to be the case. Therefore, some dilemmas and remarks for local UAD referendum need to be mentioned. A referendum specifically for urban area development also include some difficulties due to the more complex character of the UAD topic, wherein multiple interests and public values are considered. These topics are often more relatable and important to citizens when it is about their living environment. Therefore, some dilemmas and remarks need to be given regarding the value of referendums for urban area development, before concluding the added value for the design and decision-making in the next chapter. Figure 26 visualizes these dilemmas which are further discussed in this section. Figure 27 shows the dilemmas in clusters.

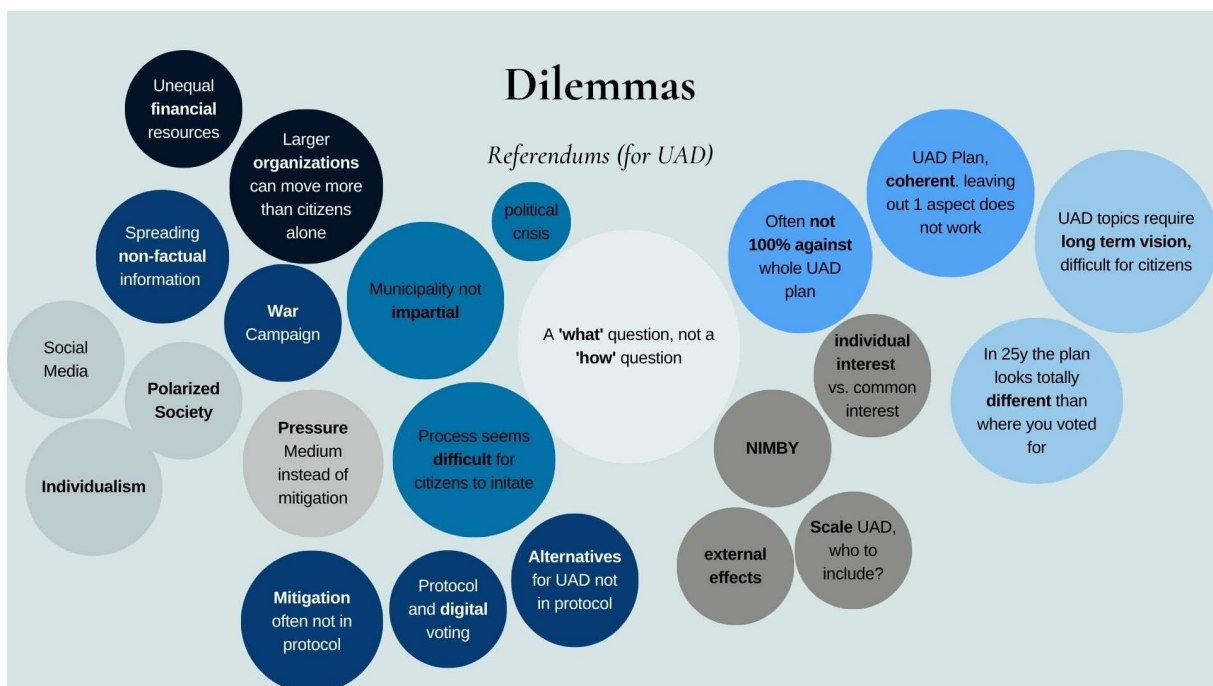


Figure 26: Dilemmas for local referendums for UAD topics clustered, based on interviews (own work).

A referendum is a strong instrument and is not always the best instrument. The use of a corrective referendum already showed that something went wrong, citizens felt not heard before, and they made use of this instrument as a last resort to express their disapproval. On the other hand, the attitude of society changed and has become more individualistic and polarized. Citizens have become higher educated, better informed, and more assertive. In addition, there is less trust in the government and citizens do not accept everything anymore nowadays. This attitude is difficult to combine with a referendum in which black-and-white thinking comes to the forefront.

Also, a referendum is difficult for UAD because personal interest conflicts with the interest of the city, this is the NIMBY problem. Some plans can be not beneficial to an individual, but beneficial to the city and this way of thinking disappears in a referendum and then the tool can be less suitable. Another NIMBY related dilemma is the scale, the effects of the UAD are often visible outside the borders of the municipality. Municipalities do not want to let other cities decide about the plans; however, other cities can have the power to interfere with your plans if they are not involved or considered in the process.

Furthermore, UAD plans are supposed to be coherent with many considerations, interests and policies considered in the interest of the whole city. This makes it difficult to vote (yes/no) against the whole plan because often the conflict is not about 100% of the plan, but about part of the plan. However, leaving some parts out of the plan can mean that the plan is not feasible anymore. The municipality or developer took a lot of steps to produce this plan, which often disappears into the background with referendums. Often citizens do not realize that it takes a lot of effort to produce a reasonable plan for the future. Therefore, a binary referendum question might not be the best fit for UAD topics.

Moreover, UAD topics require long-term vision and therefore members of the municipal board are hired to foresee the long-term perspective, while citizens often have a short-term vision. They might not understand or know where they stand in 25 years. This also means that the citizens who voted 25 years ago for IJburg might not even live in Amsterdam anymore, and the development is not even finished yet. This timescale is difficult to understand in a referendum discussion. Also, in these long periods the plans can change based on societal and regulatory changes. Then the developed plan is not reassembling the plan citizens voted for.

Also, campaigns can be black-and-white, unequal, and quite a battle. And therefore, do not always reflect the true conflict. Non-factual information is spread, things get out of context, get exaggerated and unrealistic promises are made towards the voters. In addition, unequal positions of parties can distort the conflict, e.g., unequal financial resources of one party can overpower the campaign and unequal access to information about the conflict. This means that larger organizations can move more citizens than citizens alone due to their access to resources.

Furthermore, one of the weaknesses is that the municipality makes the protocol. Municipalities should be impartial, but this seemed to be challenging due to the many barriers and resistance opponents experienced during the process. It was made more difficult than needed according to them, regarding changing the rules, unclearly formulated questions, and little support. This was demotivating and disappointing for citizens and as well does not contribute to the trust in the government.

Lastly, a referendum is not a 'how' question, but a 'what' question, therefore municipalities might not know how to continue the plan after the voting. It can become clear that this is not accepted but unclear what is accepted. Municipalities still want to continue, but do not know how to still get support for their plans. Let alone, when a political conflict arises, plans cannot be executed in the short term at all. Often the tool is used as a pressure tool by citizens, however the mitigation part to solve the conflict is missing.

Hence, alternative forms of referendums are desired including more forms of communication e.g., additional stages in referendum procedures for conversations, forms of mitigation, or open and honest participation. However, not all protocols allow this and therefore municipalities are not prepared for all cases and conflicts that may arise with UAD topics. In other words, there is no room to be more flexible if needed when the protocol does not allow it.

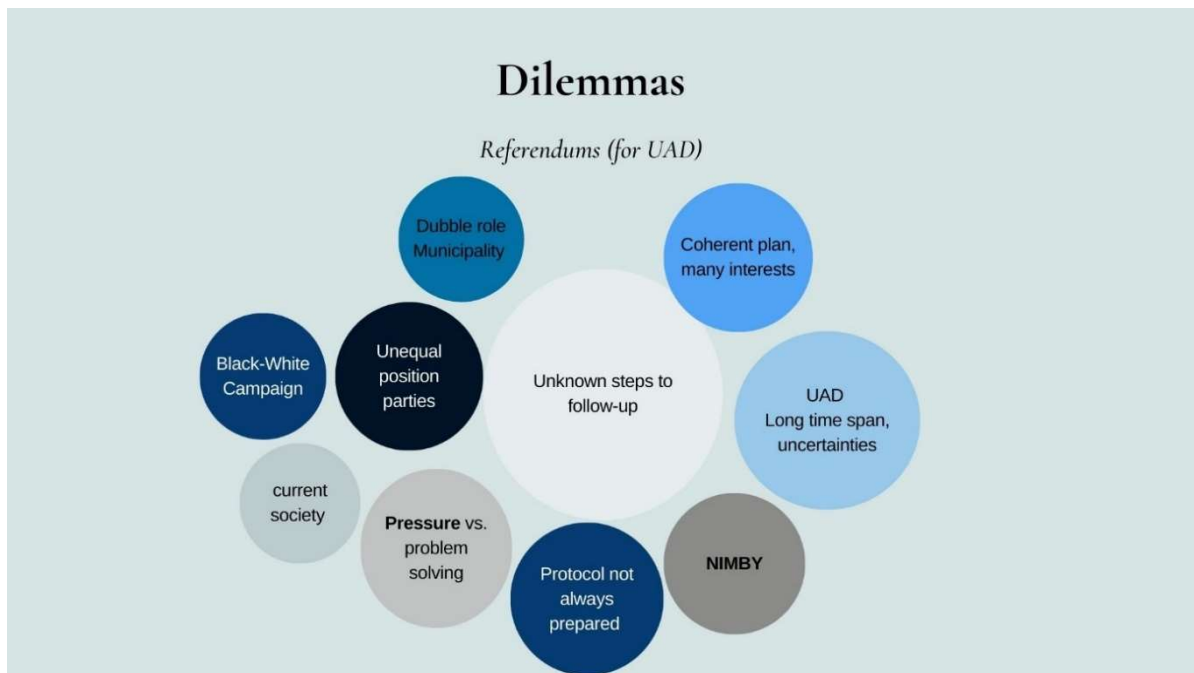


Figure 27: Dilemmas for local referendums for UAD topics clustered, based on interviews (own work)

Relation to the literature

Despite all these dilemmas and remarks, can a local referendum indeed have value for urban area development. This value is not only related to the voting day or the outcome, but it is also related to the entire process before and after a referendum. This can include debates, tours, campaigns, and conversations afterwards. This means what is arranged around it can be even more important and effective. It contributes to the process of decision-making and understanding of the topic. The literature already stated that one of the added values of a local referendum is the debate and the discussions in the city, which was confirmed in this research. That the public debate is particularly important was already one of the findings in the literature by Hendriks et al. (2017). However, his research was more in the general sense of the instrument, while this research is focussed on urban area development topics especially.

Often, with UAD topics the conflict can be more related to NIMBY and the discussion can therefore become more black-and-white. Citizens might be more likely to value their personal interest over the interests of the city, and this becomes clearer in topics regarding the built environment. Wrede (2021) mentioned that citizens are voting differently in various parts of the city. While the term NIMBY was not mentioned in this research, the issues discussed clearly shows that citizens and the location have influence on each other.

In addition, Van der Meer et al. (2020) mentioned that often the purpose of a corrective referendum is not necessarily to veto the whole act, but parts of the act. This relates to not to be against 100% of the UAD plan.

Van der Meer et al. (2020) also addressed the issue that money and high thresholds may be difficult barriers for citizens, so only larger organizations can easily request one in these cases. These issues were also mentioned in the cases: the opponents of IJburg became more powerful when Natuurmonumenten joined them and the developer in Arnhem had more resources to organize a campaign than the citizens.

Also, the scale of referendums was already addressed in the literature. The interviewees had diverse arguments on this topic, but what can be discussed is that the scale is always an issue when other municipalities have the external effects of the development and do not benefit from this. Often developments are at the borders of the municipality. This was also clear in the case of IJburg, but for Arnhem this was not an issue.

New findings

New in this research is, that the referendum instrument now is approached from the perspective of the built environment and urban development. This thesis linked the two topics more together and combined the terminology of the built environment terms such as NIMBY, design, urban area development to the referendum terms. In addition, (corrective) referendums are often initiated due to a Public Value conflict, and with the use of a local referendum these public value conflicts can add something to the decision-making in the process and in the end in the design outcome. Also, the term, land reclamation is not used in combination with local referendums before in the international scientific literature.

Furthermore, some cases in the literature study described that citizens sometimes can be powerful enough to cancel re-development plans with the use of a local referendum. However, these cases were outside the Netherlands, this also means that these referendums often have a more binding character. And yet, cancelling plans do not contribute to the design and decision-making of UAD plans. While this research showed that a referendum in some cases also can contribute to the design and decision-making.

From the interviews, it became clear that there is room for improvement for UAD referendums, which was not found in the literature for UAD specifically. However, there is literature available which explores the more deliberative forms of referendums. This is also one of the main findings of this report, to combine the voting with more communication processes around it. These deliberative aspects can be further explored, what works well for UAD and what does not. The alternative options suggested are often a combination of participation and voting afterwards. Other new suggestions were to consider more digital forms of including citizens or less formal ways of voting. This can be applied to close the gap between citizens and government, but also since referendums in the Netherlands are not binding, it could be more effective to involve citizens more often and earlier in UAD topics to prevent conflict and enlarge trust.

Interestingly, from the data collection in this research, one of the new findings was that our current society had changed and that this current attitude might be less suitable for referendums. A referendum is a powerful tool and makes the debate very black-and-white, which might not match the attitude of citizens nowadays. Individualism and polarization were patterns overlapping with the lack of trust in the government, which was found in this data analysis.

Lastly, what often was addressed is that the processes of a referendum for UAD can be improved because the 'how question' is unclear and unanswered with corrective referendums. It can become clear that citizens do not want this plan, but what alternatives are still accepted is not clear. Therefore, it can be helpful to integrate participation and communication processes, to understand the arguments of the opponents better.

Limitations and remarks

On Scopus and academic search engines little literature was found related to referendums and urban development. Writers focussed more on the instrument in general or were more focussed on voting behaviour, or perhaps no one was interested in UAD specifically before. This is surprising because these topics can cause friction or (public value) conflicts between citizens and municipalities. Literature was often in Dutch, which was not expected initially. Indeed, the context of local referendums in the Netherlands is mostly interesting for the Dutch reader. Despite this, countries could learn from each other and therefore a translation into English could be interesting.

For the cases, a large amount of background information is also collected from local newspapers. Often newspapers are not known as the best sources to use. However, as an outsider to the cases, it is a way to get acquainted with the same source of information citizens got at the time. Therefore, it makes you just as informed as local citizens. In addition, the data collected from the interviews gave more in-depth information about what

it was really like from multiple perspectives of the story. This often was in line with the information used from the newspapers.

The cases

There are only a few housing-in-nature referendum cases in the Netherlands on a larger scale. There have been some about sports fields, which were too minor compared to the topic of this research. Therefore, selecting more case studies was not suitable for this research topic. While both cases are about building in nature, it is important to mention the differences. IJburg has a much bigger scale and could therefore be more of an extreme discussion topic because adding 18,000 dwellings has a way bigger impact on the city than adding 340 dwellings. Also, the group of opponents in Arnhem was not as big and organized as in IJburg. While selecting the cases, both were considered as housing plans, however during the interviews it became clear that housing was not the main motivation for the area development in Arnhem.

Lastly, the development of IJburg started more than a decade ago, therefore there can be more said afterwards about what the effect of a referendum is on the design. In Arnhem, the area still needs to be developed. So, it is not known yet if what is promised is going to be developed and what the effects might be on the environment. From the interviews, it is also known that the plan you voted on is often different than what will realized in the end, due to external factors over time. Therefore, this can be seen as a limitation of this research.

Interviews

Initially, the participants were divided into six groups. However, during the interviews, it became clear that some opponents now work for the municipality or that the academic has more work experience with referendums and can also be categorized as an expert. One of the opponents is also a developer in another company of urban area development. Therefore, it is difficult to put people in boxes. Most often, the interviews were in-person and sometimes online or over the phone. It was noticeable that the interviews in person were often longer and therefore the data was more extensive. Participants were more likely to discuss more in person. Unfortunately, there were less participants available in the Arnhem case. Therefore, the comparison could be less extensive and can be seen as a limitation of this research. However, the information gap is solved by using documentation about the referendum evaluation of the municipality of Arnhem.

Generalization and transferability

A snowball technique was used to collect my participants. This means when repeating this research, it might lead to the selection of other participants. However, they were well known actors in these cases and the general participants were also involved. Therefore, a substantial change in the research outcome would not be expected. In addition, there were more responses from the IJburg case, than from Arnhem. It might be because of the size of the organization of the municipality of Amsterdam and the impact the referendum and the case had on the city. In Amsterdam, documents were carefully collected and available and participants were very willing to cooperate, while in Arnhem this was more difficult. This case is more recent, and there are still things going on with the plan. No one was available at the municipality; they were or too busy at the moment or left the organization. Also, the documentation from the municipality was little. Most information was from websites and newspapers. Most likely because the plan was made by a developer and not by the municipality. They could be less invested or have fewer employees who have the time to connect for this research. Therefore, the referendum evaluation written by a department of the municipality was used instead.

Furthermore, the transferability of the results is questionable. All municipalities have different protocols therefore not all arguments apply to every municipality. However, if they are open to changes in the protocol, they always could consider this. Also, more case studies could have led to different results or generalizations, however, as mentioned earlier, there are few housing-in-nature referendum cases in the Netherlands on a larger scale.

Lastly, it is more likely that larger municipalities are interested in the recommendations than smaller municipalities. This due to the more complex urban development projects in larger cities.

Further research

This study was focused on the added value to design and decision-making of local referendums about large-scale urban area developments in nature areas in the Netherlands. The case selection was therefore focussed on a limited selection of cases which were fitting this profile. The research could be extended with other UAD cases focused on non-nature areas or smaller-scale UAD projects. Since urban area development topics are also often related to NIMBY, it could also be interesting to focus more on the scale of the referendum: for example, when is NIMBY influencing the outcome?

Further research could also focus more on how to design one of the recommendations, for example how to design a participation process with experts. And evaluate if this was considered as effective. Further research could also focus more on the effects: what happens when we abolish the threshold? However, the Netherlands is not very experienced in referendums. Therefore, it might take a while before these numbers will give any conclusions.

Additionally, a quantitative approach could be used to ask citizens how the effects of a referendum are visible for them and whether it contributes something for them. Also, whether the instrument is a known tool by citizens for urban area development plans, and whether they might be interested in using this tool over other options. Moreover, it is interesting to know whether they have had experience with this tool in their municipality and what their thoughts are about this instrument. And how many citizens are interested in the idea of participating in urban area development projects in their municipalities if they could have the chance to be arbitrarily selected by the municipality for a Citizens forum. These answers might be important before changing the protocol since not every municipality has the same interest or amount of development.

8. Conclusion

In previous chapters, the process of each referendum case is described. In addition, in detail is described what the public values and conflicting values are of each case. In addition, the design and decision changes became clear. In this chapter and the concluding remarks of the thesis and the answer to the main research question will be given. *How can a local referendum for urban area development contribute to the design and decision-making?*

Added Value

First, to understand how a local referendum for urban area development can contribute to the design and decision-making, it is necessary to understand the added value of the local referendum instrument (for UAD) in general first. The added value for citizens in general, is that they have by the use of a local referendum more opportunities to get involved in local democracy than once in 4 years by their vote for the municipal council. Besides, a referendum is also a contribution to the local democracy to express concerns about municipal decisions. Citizens do not accept everything anymore nowadays; therefore, can a local referendum be a tool they can use to express their distrust in the government. It can make citizens feel more powerful when they have access to such an instrument because now, they can add pressure towards the municipality to change its decisions, including urban area development plans. In the case of urban area development, citizens could request corrective referendums when (often unresolved) conflict arises. In these corrective referendum cases, municipalities are confronted with external arguments about the plan which might not have been included in the decision-making before. On top of this all, the use of a local referendum gives legitimization to municipal plans. The outcome of the referendum can help municipalities to gain support and approval of the plans or to identify any disagreement.

The added value for urban area development topics can be further specified since the referendum has several functions in different phases to add value. It is not only about the voting and outcome, but the entire process around a local referendum can contribute in a way to UAD plans. In some phases it contributes more to the understanding of citizens and municipalities about the necessity, while in other phases the design of the plan can be influenced.

First, the existence of the instrument could make municipalities more careful in the plan development phase wherein they can involve citizens and organizations at stake. The existence of the referendum makes municipalities aware that there is a possibility that a referendum might be requested and therefore they can be more careful in their decisions and plans to avoid conflict. Later, when a disagreement or conflict becomes clear the threat of a referendum becomes more seriously. This can already be valuable, because it allows municipalities to explain their plan more carefully, including all the considerations they took and all the policies they have considered to produce this plan. The threat also makes municipalities more motivated to collaborate with citizens or organizations to create more support for their plans, which in the end can contribute to the design and decision-making. The threat could even have a preventive effect, then a referendum could be avoided when the municipality and opponents are motivated to try solving the conflict at an early stage.

During the campaign phase, the political discussion and the debate are valuable aspects in the process that can influence the design and decision-making. The discussion can allow hearing concerns which are not being heard from inside the municipal council. Now, the counterarguments of the plan are addressed externally by citizens and other organizations. The public debates in this phase can be valuable for both parties to better understand each other's arguments, and for citizens to shape an opinion when this topic is discussed over a longer period of time. Each party has the opportunity to explain their motivations to support this plan or not. These arguments are better heard than without a referendum because it puts the plan in the spotlight. With these public debates, municipalities can also find out the reasons of citizens behind their vote. This can create more understanding regarding the issues with the plan and might create opportunities to make promises or adjustments to accommodate the opponents. The municipality feels the need to accommodate the opponents to continue the plan, therefore this can lead to more promises including plan adjustments from the side of the municipality.

The phase of voting and the outcome of the referendum can also be valuable, despite the non-binding character. From the literature by Van de Krieken (2019) it was known that often municipalities are likely to decide in line with the outcome, but this was not focussed on UAD topics specifically. Now, from this research can be concluded that in these two UAD cases the municipality also decided to respect the outcome to continue with more support from the opponents. In addition, in both cases the opponents were invited to discuss the outcome and how to continue. The phase after the voting can therefore also contribute to the design and decision-making when parties look for rapprochement.

Lessons from the cases

From the case of Amsterdam IJburg can be seen that several stages in the referendum process contributed to the design and decision-making, and in the end resulted in a better quality of the plan. First, in the plan development phase the municipality decided to collaborate with organizations years before the referendum to gain support for the UAD plan. This decision was later also effective in the campaign phase, but also for the decision-making and quality of the plan due to the input from organizations. The threat of a referendum made that the municipality needed to explain their decisions for the urban plan IJburg better, including the motivation for the location in an environmental area. The campaign phase included debates wherein the conflict became more polarized, also contributed to the understanding of each other's point of view because the arguments from both sides became stronger and clearer. This was not only raising awareness under citizens but also in the municipal council. The counter arguments of the development in an environmental area were not yet heard so strongly before internally. On the other hand, it also became clearer that the municipality needed to develop IJburg in this location and the number of dwellings was not feasible elsewhere in the city by densification. This process led to decision changes by making promises towards the opponents and slight adjustments to the design of the plan to accommodate the opponents. It can be concluded that the referendum as a pressure tool was used to add more nature compensation and other environmental and sustainable themes in the plan. While not all promises were realized in the end, the referendum improved the quality of the plan. In the phase after the voting, both parties worked together to establish a fund to financially support extra nature compensation projects for the coming 15 years. Which also created a bond between opponents and the municipality. In the end, the process resulted in a consensus between the parties and paid extra attention to nature. Therefore, the referendum contributed in several stages to the design and decision making of IJburg.

From the case of Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk in Arnhem can be seen that the referendum also contributed to the design and decision-making. The referendum had some added value in the campaign process because it gave both parties the opportunity to explain their motivations of the plan and the objections of the plan. The developer usually does not have this opportunity and opponents were not heard before. The referendum put a spotlight on the issue of building in the floodplains of a river and the case got some national attention later in the process. The voting showed that the majority of the voters supported the development in the floodplains. In the phase after the voting, the developer sought rapprochement with the opponents. Some opponents and the project developer discussed the issues of the plan and how to proceed. The developer achieved to accommodate one group of the opponents by promising to develop nature-inclusive buildings. By this decision, the developer got at least one of the opponents on their side and better plan quality. However, still not all opponents were satisfied, but at least they could bring this topic of their concern to the attention of the citizens, the municipality, the Raad van State and national government. Thereby awareness was created for building in the floodplains in the future.

From the cases can be concluded that design improvements are made due to the process and mostly due to the communication that took place during the phases of the process. This shows that the communication phases during and after the voting can contribute to finding a consensus in the plan. In both cases, the opponents at least achieved something despite that the projects continued. The referendum put a spotlight on the plans and each plan got more nature included in the plan than initially planned. While there are 19 years between the cases, from the analysis there is not much difference in the process. From the case studies can be concluded that a conflict about environmental values in combination with a local referendum can lead to a positive outcome.

Recommendations

The insights from all the interviews (including interviews from all six categories) are used to provide the output of this research: recommendations for the future use of local referendums for urban area development topics. Hereby are the dilemmas and remarks, which are mentioned in the discussion section, taken into account. The output can be helpful advice for municipalities to know how to deal with these UAD topics and what can be done to make UAD referendums more effective. The following six recommendations can benefit the process for UAD local referendums specifically.

'6 recommendations to improve local referendums for UAD'.

1: Avoid and initiate seldomly

First, it is best to try to avoid a referendum. It is a strong and costly instrument, and for UAD also causing delays. Besides, a referendum does not have to be the best option for the problem, therefore consider which problem fits which instrument. Furthermore, in the case of a corrective referendum it means that citizens are already upset and distrusting the government, so from both perspectives it is not beneficial to wait until this distrust between citizens and government is created by perhaps a lack of participation or information.

A referendum from the initiative of the municipality is only recommended for project with a large impact on the city, whereover the municipality cannot decide. Examples are large infrastructure changes. This can also be done in the initial stages of the plan to test initial sketch designs or parts of the plan for gaining support and engagement to develop the plan further. This can be more contributing to the design and decision-making than waiting until the plan is final. In these cases, consulting citizens can give extra input in the decision-making process to further develop their initial plan. This is only recommended as long as this topic is important for citizens, and only when it is necessary to involve all citizens. Do not initiate a referendum too often.

2: Communicate with the opponent: Build in conversation models

A combination of a referendum with conversation models can help to come to a consensus. It could provide a start to cooperate with the opponents to improve the quality of the plan. These mitigation moment before the voting are not possible when it is not determined in the protocol. While this could be interesting to include for UAD projects especially because specific issues within the plan can be discussed separately. Therefore, consider integrating moments in the protocol to make it possible to build in time with the opponents to discuss the problem. There are several moments when conversations in the process can take place:

- Conversations in an early stage could prevent a referendum request and might solve the issue with the opponents. For example, when the conflict is only about a part of the plan.
- Consider discussing the topics within the plan separately to adjust the referendum question on the conflict, instead of the whole plan.
- Before the final request it can be useful to have an open dialogue to create more understanding towards each other why this is necessary or unnecessary. In some cases, a referendum is not even necessary if a compromise can be made.
- After the voting, conversations can still contribute to an improved plan. This is also needed to still have support to continue the development, or understand what alternatives are still possible.

3: Communicate to citizens: inform and involve them

To make citizens feel more included, it is important to communicate the plans with them in an early stage. Then they can address their concerns early on instead of when the plan is almost finished. This improves trust in the government. Besides, citizens need to be aware of the timing of starting a referendum procedure, otherwise it creates distrust. Furthermore, clear expectations are important, thus make the referendum possibilities of your municipality well-known so that citizens are aware of their options. For example, if municipalities offer the possibility for citizens to offer an alternative plan, it should be communicated clearly. Also, be clear to what extent a proposal needs to be developed, not every citizen has the capabilities to propose an urban plan in detail. Support citizens with their alternative ideas in details, calculations, feasibility, and regulations.

Accessibility

Creating too many or high barriers makes a referendum not accessible, it becomes too difficult for citizens to participate. Combining it with another voting event will lead to a higher turnout and this shows that the municipality takes it seriously and wants to have a high turnout to know what to do with the result. However, do not wait too long to combine these events because citizens might forget about the topic.

Besides, consider no threshold since the outcome is non-binding. There is already enough support for a referendum, and everyone could vote. No threshold can be a solution to stop having the illusion that the outcome is binding, but it might also be possible that fewer citizens show up (case Arnhem). The municipality can decide after the voting if they think the outcome is representative enough. However, a threshold can help to legitimize the plan. To enlarge trust between citizens and government, decide up front if the outcome will be respected or not.

Informal ways of voting could be an option to explore to make it more accessible, since referendums in the Netherlands are non-binding anyway. The advantage is that voters can be informed while they are voting by including scenarios and information in the digital environment. Digi-D could for example be used to give it a more formal character. Lastly, a municipality can choose to use these informal ways of voting more often for non-corrective referendums to see the opinions of citizens in the initial stages of the project. It involves more citizens, and they become more practiced in the decision-making process while the voting does not become a big important event. Furthermore, digital tools can be helpful in reaching out to citizens and is an affordable way of spreading information.

4: Communicate to citizens, together: make it understandable

The topic needs to be understandable for citizens to be able to make an informed decision, otherwise the outcome is not useful for municipalities. For example, a policy related to the built environment can be more difficult and too substantial to use in a referendum. The question will be oversimplified and the arguments too complicated to explain. In these cases, it needs to be explained very well for citizens to be able to shape an opinion based on facts. When topics are too substantive for a yes/no question, consider other options. For example, referendums with variants or referendums with multiple questions for specific subjects. Furthermore, in these cases, formulating the right question can be difficult and therefore it is recommended that both parties decide what would be a suitable question after the conflicting element of the plan is clearly identified.

Visualize

One of the advantages of UAD topics is that visualization techniques can help citizens understand how the area will look with 3D images and models. In addition, different variants/scenarios, or prognoses could be visualized by showing the situation with or without this development in 25 years. This can help citizens shape their opinions and decide for which to vote.

Spread (factual) information together

Spreading factual information together could lead to well-informed citizens who can make a decision based on facts. (Because spreading non-factual information and making false promises will not contribute to the trust in the government and support for future projects.) Another advantage is that it could be seen as fair when both parties have equal access to communication tools to inform citizens. Both parties can for example create a website or brochure together to spread the information together. Include the municipality, developers, and opponents, and collect the arguments 'in Favor' or 'against.' Especially with UAD topics, prognoses could be made to make the issue understandable and factual by the help of experts. Also, scenario planning can be used to make the consequences of each option understandable.

Create dialogue

Create an environment wherein dialogue is possible between citizens, opponents, and the municipality. This will allow citizens to ask questions and enhances the understanding of the topic. Also, this helps the municipality to understand the arguments of citizens to vote a certain direction and the importance of the topic. This can enlarge

the support from citizens and in the meantime the outcome is more representative since it enlarges the number of voters. Besides, it has shown that open debates contribute to the awareness and involvement of citizens.

5: Include forms of Participation

Well-organized participation processes are often seen as a better option to mitigate such conflicts, but these can also be combined with a voting afterwards. These democratic processes involve more interaction and have the benefit of understanding the reasoning behind a vote. Besides, participation can create more support for the plans when there is an incentive to participate e.g., when citizens have the opportunity to influence the outcome. The participation should be interactive with citizens and experts to show the feasible options and considerations to define the 'how'. To easily translate the plans into a sketch, urban planners and designers can help visualize the consequences of each scenario. Afterwards, it is still possible to have an informal or formal vote about it with citizens. The citizens who participated in creating the variants know all the arguments to communicate this to the other citizens. Note that participation can also be done on different scales e.g., for a part of the city which is affected by this topic. Several suggestions to use forms of participation:

- A participation process can be organized for a conflicting part within the plan to produce feasible options. For example, if this building is necessary to finance the plan or is needed, then involve citizens in the decision of the location in the area. Show the possibilities which are still feasible in the plan. Then the expectations can be met.
- Other examples of participation are 'Stadsgesprek' or a Citizen's forum. Citizens are arbitrarily selected and invited to come to discuss a certain topic, provided with all the information upfront. In the case of a forum, they are asked to produce a piece of advice or recommendations, for example in a brochure. These could be assessed afterwards in a referendum. Besides, it could also be helpful to further develop your plans without voting. Advice from a citizen forum also has more legitimacy because it comes from ordinary people who have studied the subject in depth.
- Inviting citizens to a citizens' forum can also help to formulate the referendum question.
- Inviting citizens for their advice after the referendum outcome regarding the following steps, and how to work with the outcome in order to still continue any UAD plan.
- Lastly, make sure to involve surrounding municipalities, because they can make it more difficult for you if they are not on board.

6: Adjust protocol for UAD

For UAD it might be more interesting to vote on parts of the plan. However, if the protocol does not allow it, then it is not possible. Therefore, consider adjusting the protocol for UAD topics to be able to be more flexible about the question of the referendum and determine the main issue within the whole plan. If the plan is still feasible, it might be interesting to allow citizens to vote about parts of the plan.

Besides this, some municipalities have protocols wherein they allow opponents to produce an alternative plan. Then the municipality can decide to take over this plan, which avoids a referendum. This could especially be useful for UAD topics, wherein the conflict does not have to be black-and-white, and the outcome does not have to be all-or-nothing. This solution can be applied in the protocol. However, as mentioned earlier, citizens need to know to what extent the alternative plan needs to be developed. Also, offering some help by the guidance of an urban planner or (urban)designer with developing this alternative plan is recommended. Not all citizens have the skills to develop this alternative plan on their own.

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Appendix 1: infographic local referendums Amsterdam

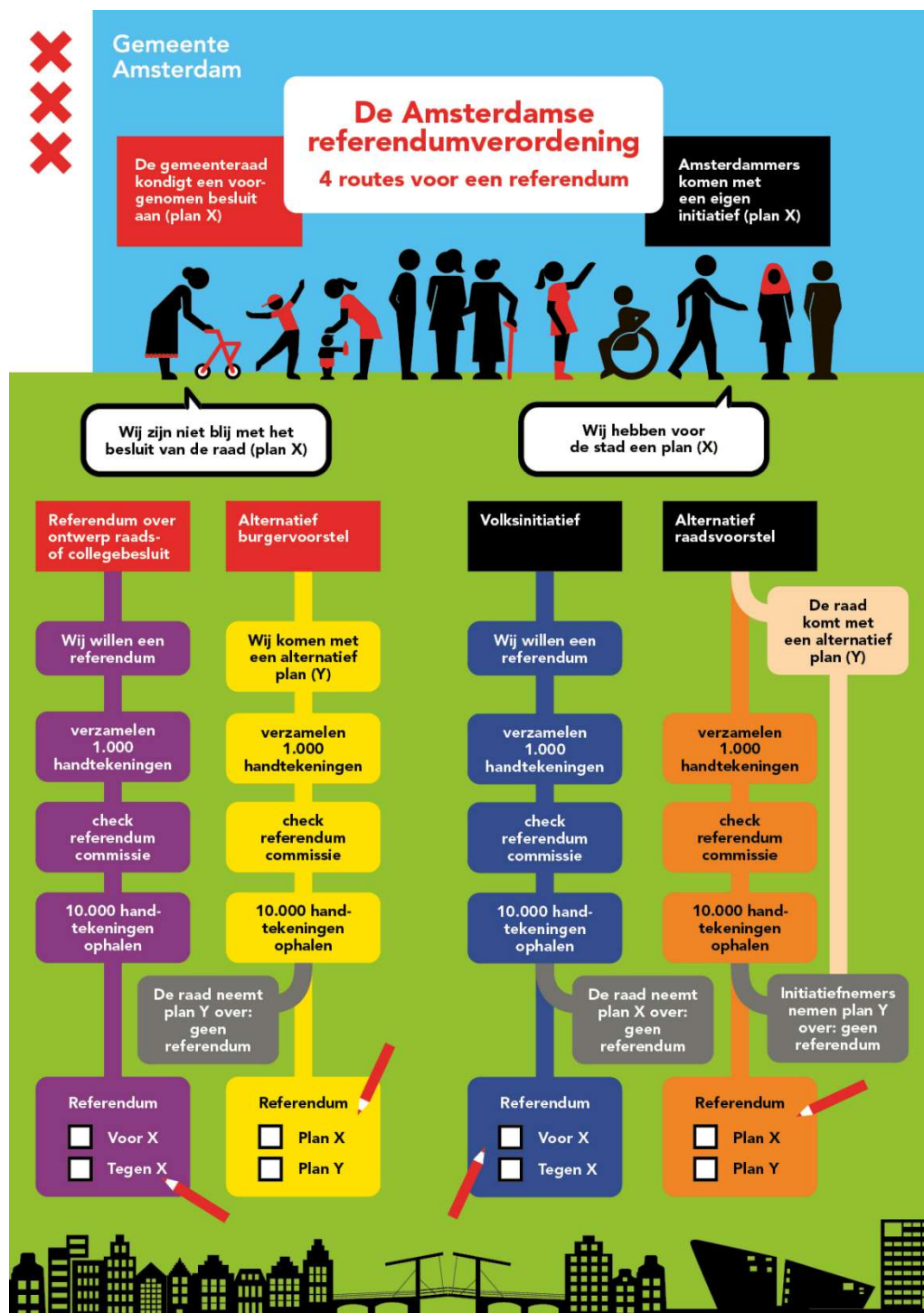


Figure A1: infographic showing the procedure consisting of four routes toward a local referendum in Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2022c).

Appendix 2: Informed consent form

Betreft: Toestemmingsformulier Deelname Onderzoek

U wordt uitgenodigd om deel te nemen aan een onderzoek genaamd 'The added value of local referendums in urban area development' of in het Nederlands 'De toegevoegde waarde van lokale referenda voor gebiedsontwikkeling.' Dit onderzoek wordt uitgevoerd door Tessa den Hartog, masterstudent Management in the Built Environment van de TU Delft.

Het doel van dit onderzoek is om vanuit verschillende perspectieven de toegevoegde waarde van lokale referenda in gebiedsontwikkeling te onderzoeken. Het interview zal ongeveer 60 minuten in beslag nemen dit kan op locatie of online plaatsvinden. De data zal gebruikt worden voor mijn masterscriptie die gepubliceerd zal worden in de repository van de TU Delft waar alle masterscripties zijn opgeslagen. U wordt gevraagd om ongeveer 5 vragen te beantwoorden vanuit uw perspectief over de toegevoegde waarde van het referendum. De vragen betreffen onderwerpen over uw ervaring met een referendum, wat voor invloed dit heeft op een gebiedsontwikkelingsproject en hoe in de toekomst een referendum nog waardevol kan zijn.

Zoals bij elke online activiteit is het risico van een databreuk aanwezig. Wij doen ons best om uw antwoorden vertrouwelijk te houden. We minimaliseren de risico's door uw data anoniem te verzamelen zodat de data niet teruggeleid kan worden naar individuele deelnemers.

Uw deelname aan dit onderzoek is volledig vrijwillig, en u kunt zich elk moment terugtrekken zonder reden op te geven. U bent vrij om vragen niet te beantwoorden. Het interview transcript wordt na afloop met u gedeeld, zodat u deze kunt controleren of corrigeren indien nodig. De verzamelde data wordt verwijderd eind 2023.

Uitvoerende onderzoeker: Tessa den Hartog t.denhartog@student.tudelft.nl

Verantwoordelijke onderzoeker: Aksel Ersoy a.ersoy@tudelft.nl

| PLEASE TICK THE APPROPRIATE BOXES | Yes | No |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| A: GENERAL AGREEMENT – RESEARCH GOALS, PARTICIPANT TASKS AND VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION | | |
| 1. Ik heb de informatie over het onderzoek gedateerd [dag-maand] ___ - ___ - 2023 gelezen en begrepen, of deze is aan mij voorgelezen. Ik heb de mogelijkheid gehad om vragen te stellen over het onderzoek en mijn vragen zijn naar tevredenheid beantwoord. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Ik doe vrijwillig mee aan dit onderzoek, en ik begrijp dat ik kan weigeren vragen te beantwoorden en mij op elk moment kan terugtrekken uit de studie, zonder een reden op te hoeven geven. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Ik begrijp dat mijn deelname aan het onderzoek de volgende punten betekent: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • De interview data is opgeslagen door middel van een audio en/of video recording. Om daarmee een interview transcript te kunnen uitschrijven. • Na afloop van het onderzoek kunnen de audio en video opnames worden verwijderd, maar het transcript wordt bewaard. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Ik begrijp dat de studie eind 2023 eindigt. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| B: POTENTIAL RISKS OF PARTICIPATING (INCLUDING DATA PROTECTION) | | |
| 5. Ik begrijp dat mijn deelname de volgende risico's met zich meebrengt: Data vanuit een organisatie, perspectief of ervaring wordt gedeeld in dit onderzoek. Deze data wordt verwerkt in categorieën en verwerkt in een scriptie. Ik begrijp dat deze risico's worden geminimaliseerd doordat mijn onderzoek data geanonimiseerd wordt en niet meer terug te leiden zijn naar een persoon. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. Ik begrijp dat mijn deelname betekent dat er persoonlijke identificeerbare informatie en onderzoeks data wordt verzameld, met het risico dat ik hieruit geïdentificeerd kan worden. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. Ik begrijp dat de volgende stappen worden ondernomen om het risico van een databreuk te minimaliseren, en dat mijn identiteit op de volgende manieren wordt beschermd in het geval van een databreuk: het interview transcript wordt deels geanonimiseerd alleen het perspectief vanuit de organisatie/bedrijf wordt genoemd, de opnames worden na het onderzoek verwijderd, de data is alleen toegankelijk tot het studieteam. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. Ik begrijp dat de persoonlijke informatie die over mij verzameld wordt en mij kan identificeren, zoals naam en emailadres, niet gedeeld worden met anderen. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. Ik begrijp dat de persoonlijke data die over mij verzameld wordt, vernietigd wordt eind 2023 na afstuderen. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| C: RESEARCH PUBLICATION, DISSEMINATION AND APPLICATION | | |
| 10. Ik begrijp dat na het onderzoek de geanonimiseerde informatie gebruikt zal worden voor het onderzoek om een aanbevelingsdocument te schrijven voor de toekomst van lokale referenda in relatie tot gebiedsontwikkeling. Wat aanbevolen wordt om wel of niet te doen bij lokale referenda in dit onderwerp. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. Ik geef toestemming om mijn antwoorden, ideeën of andere bijdragen anoniem te quoten in resulterende producten. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| D: (LONGTERM) DATA STORAGE, ACCESS, AND REUSE | | |
| 12. Ik geef toestemming om de geanonimiseerde transcript die over mij verzameld worden gearhiveerd worden in 4TU.ResearchData opdat deze gebruikt kunnen worden voor toekomstig onderzoek en onderwijs. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13. Ik begrijp dat de toegang tot deze repository beperkt is. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Appendix 3a: Interview Protocol

Six different groups were invited, and therefore each group received different questions. The questions were mostly the same, but more adjusted to their roles. Therefore this appendix presents the general protocol, and the interview questions separately.

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL IN GENERAL

Introductie

Ik ben Tessa en ik studeer Management in the Built environment aan de TU Delft. Ik ben momenteel aan het afstuderen en dit interview is onderdeel van mijn data collectie voor mijn scriptie. Het onderzoek gaat over de toegevoegde waarde van stadsreferenda in gebiedsontwikkeling en daarvoor heb ik meerdere groepen uitgenodigd. Ik zal een aantal vragen stellen over uw ervaring met een stadsreferendum en hoe dit instrument in de toekomst nog gebruikt kan worden of verbeterd. Een manier vinden hoe het lokale referendum beter ingezet kan worden in de toekomst voor gebiedsontwikkelingsplannen.

Het interview zal ongeveer 60min in beslag nemen en zal opgenomen worden zodat het gesprek uitgeschreven kan worden na afloop. Na het uitschrijven van het transcript worden de opnames verwijderd. Voor het afnemen van het interview en het gebruik van de informatie vraag ik schriftelijk toestemming met een informed consent form.

Algemeen

- Ondertekenen informed consent form
- *Ik ga nu de Opnamen starten en transcriptie*
- *-2^e recording?*

A. Profiel deelnemer

1. Kunt u uzelf kort voorstellen en vertellen bij welke organisatie uw werkt/werkte?
2. Wat is/was uw rol in deze organisatie?
3. Wat zijn/waren uw verantwoordelijkheden van uw beroep binnen de organisatie?

B. Interview inhoudelijke vragen

....verschillend per groep... zie appendix 3b voor inhoudelijke vragen.

Afronding interview

Dan zijn we nu aan het einde van dit interview gekomen. Na het uitschrijven van het transcript, zal ik deze met uw delen voor controle. Heeft u verder nog vragen voor mij? Na afloop wordt mijn scriptie gedeeld in de TU Delft repository.

Bedankt voor uw deelname!

Appendix 3b: Interview Questions

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS GROUP 1: MUNICIPALITY/PROCES&DESIGN

CASE AMSTERDAM IJburg

Q1a: Wat was de motivatie van de gemeente om IJburg te ontwikkelen?

- demografische redenen? Of wat anders?
- was was de toegevoerde waarde van IJburg? Natuurontwikkeling al meegenomen?
- toekomstperspectief? Hoe de 18.000 woningen meer zouden kunnen worden in de toekomst en de effecten daarvan op leefbaarheid, milieu etc.

Q2: De ontwikkeling van IJburg leidde tot weerstand en een referendum.

A. waar was het voornaamste conflict over wat niet was op te lossen zonder referendum?

B. Hoe was het mogelijk om toch steun te krijgen voor de plannen van de gemeente, om de plannen door te zetten en het referendum te winnen?

- Compromis voor referendumprocedure? Inspraak? Participatie?
- Leefbaarheid, economisch impuls, natuur, etc. wat was interessant voor de inwoners van amsterdam om JA te stemmen.

Q3: Hoe heeft het referendum de beslissingen en ontwerpkeuzes van IJburg 1 beïnvloed?

- Is de leefbaarheid veranderd?
- Het milieu?
- De natuurontwikkeling?
- eiland contouren?
- Economische, bedrijvigheid ?
- Bereikbaarheid? Autoluw, OV, afstand van de snelweg.
- andere beslissingen/ontwerpkeuzes naar aanleiding van het referendum?
- Hoe werd dat dan besloten naar aanleiding van het referendum?

Q4. Terugkijkend op het IJburg referendum: Hoe zou een lokaal referendum kunnen bijdragen bij het bemiddelen van conflicten (tussen beleid en inwoners) ?

- Hoe heeft het referendum bijgedragen aan een eventueel betere uitkomst (na het conflict)?
- Heeft het conflict nog effect gehad op IJburg fase 2?

*Nu is er ook weer een lokaal referendum in Amsterdam in opkomst. Weer over het behouden van groen in de stad. Denkt u dat een referendum een effectief instrument is voor het behoud van de ecologische structuur? Om een conflict tussen burgers en stadmakers op te lossen?

Q5: Wanneer is een lokaal referendum een effectief instrument volgens u? Hoe zouden we het lokale referendum in de toekomst beter kunnen gebruiken als effectief instrument?

Vanuit uw ervaring:

- timing: voor of na besluitvorming (correctief of niet-correctief) burgerinitiatief?
- initiatief van de gemeente of burgers?
- het aantal handtekeningen voldoende/te weinig?
- kiesdrempel of geldige deelname?

- Schaal: Regionaal/gemeente/stadsdeel?
- bindend niet bindend?

CASE ARNHEM Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk

Q1a: Wat was de motivatie van de gemeente en KondorWessels om Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk te herontwikkelen in het uiterwaardengebied?

- demografische redenen? Of wat anders?
- was was de toegevoerde waarde voor Arnhem? En natuur?

Q2: De ontwikkeling leidde tot weerstand en een referendum.

A. Wat was het voornaamste conflict wat niet was op te lossen zonder referendum?

B. Hoe was het mogelijk om toch steun te krijgen voor de plannen van de gemeente en KondorWessels, om de plannen door te zetten en het referendum te winnen?

- Inspraak? Participatie?
- Leefbaarheid, economisch impuls, natuur, etc.
- Wat was interessant voor de inwoners van Arnhem om JA te stemmen?

Q3: Hoe heeft het referendum de beslissingen en ontwerpkeuzes van Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk beïnvloed?

- Is de leefbaarheid veranderd?
- Het milieu?
- De natuurontwikkeling?
- Ontwikkelings contour/grootte veranderd?
- Economische, bedrijvigheid ?
- Bereikbaarheid? Autoluw, OV?
- andere beslissingen/ontwerpkeuzes naar aanleiding van het referendum?
- Hoe werd dat dan besloten naar aanleiding van het referendum?

Q4. Terugkijkend op het referendum: Hoe zou een lokaal referendum kunnen bijdragen bij het bemiddelen van conflicten (tussen beleid en inwoners) ?

- Hoe heeft het referendum bijgedragen aan een eventueel betere uitkomst (na het conflict)?

Q5: Wanneer is een lokaal referendum een effectief instrument volgens u? Hoe zouden we het lokale referendum in de toekomst beter kunnen gebruiken als effectief instrument?

Vanuit uw ervaring:

- timing: voor of na besluitvorming (correctief of niet-correctief) burgerinitiatief?
- initiatief van de gemeente of burgers?
- het aantal handtekeningen voldoende/te weinig?
- kiesdrempel of geldige deelname?
- Schaal: Regionaal/gemeente/stadsdeel?
- bindend niet bindend?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS GROUP 2: MUNICIPAL BOARD

CASE AMSTERDAM IJburg

Q1: Wat was de motivatie van de gemeente om IJburg te ontwikkelen?

Q2: De gemeente besloot in 1996 dat IJburg er zou komen. Waarom, of in hoeverre dacht de gemeente dat dit plan geaccepteerd zou worden door de burgers van Amsterdam?

-Wat was de mismatch in de verwachtingen van beide partijen, burgers en de gemeente?

Q3: In de jaren '90 waren er meerdere lokale referendums georganiseerd in Amsterdam. Wat was de reden voor deze ontwikkeling? En hoe beïnvloedde deze ontwikkeling de gemeentelijke (ruimtelijke) plannen?

-En zorgde dit voor een conflict intern of extern? Hoe kunnen gemeenten hiermee omgaan?

- Hoe beïnvloedde deze ontwikkeling de toekomst van de stad? Was het referendum een dreiging of een toevoeging ?

Q4: En IJburg vond ook plaats in de jaren '90, hoe zijn jullie als gemeentelijk bestuur omgegaan met het referendum instrument?

- Protocol?
- Vooraf al nagedacht of het georganiseerd moet worden vanuit de gemeente zelf ipv correctief? Waarom wel/niet?
- Vraagstelling?
- En de opkomstdrempels?
- Hoe kijkt u hier achteraf op terug?

Q5: Zijn lokale referenda een effectieve toevoeging tot de lokale democratie? En waarom?

- Denk aan: Bijvoorbeeld uw ervaring met het IJburg referendum
- Hoofdgroenstructuur
- Andere referenda in Amsterdam? Of elders.

Q6. Hoe zouden we het lokale referendum in de toekomst beter kunnen gebruiken als effectief instrument?

- timing: voor of na besluitvorming (correctief of niet-correctief) burgerinitiatief?
- initiatief van de gemeente of burgers?
- het aantal handtekeningen
- kiesdrempel of geldige deelname?
- Schaal: Regionaal/gemeente/stadsdeel?
- bindend niet bindend?
- organiseren voor de toekomst.

Q7. Terugkijkend op het IJburg referendum: Hoe zou een lokaal referendum voor inwoners kunnen bijdragen bij het bemiddelen van conflicten ?

- Hoe heeft het referendum bijgedragen aan een eventueel betere uitkomst (na het conflict)?
- Compromis? Samenwerking?

CASE ARNHEM Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk

Q1: Wat was de motivatie van de gemeente om Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk te ontwikkelen?

Q2: In hoeverre dacht de gemeente dat dit plan geaccepteerd zou worden door de burgers van Arnhem?

-Wat was de mismatch in de verwachtingen van de partijen, burgers en de gemeente?

Q3: Hoe zijn jullie als gemeentelijk bestuur omgegaan met het referendum instrument?

- Protocol?
- Vooraf al nagedacht of het georganiseerd moet worden vanuit de gemeente zelf ipv correctief? Waarom wel/niet?
- Vraagstelling?
- En de opkomstdrempels?
- Hoe kijkt u hier achteraf op terug?

Q5: Zijn lokale referenda een effectieve toevoeging tot de lokale democratie? En waarom?

- Denk aan: Bijvoorbeeld uw ervaring met het referendum

Q6. Hoe zouden we het lokale referendum in de toekomst beter kunnen gebruiken als effectief instrument voor gebiedsontwikkeling?

- timing: voor of na besluitvorming (correctief of niet-correctief) burgerinitiatief?
- initiatief van de gemeente of burgers?
- het aantal handtekeningen
- kiesdrempel of geldige deelname?
- Schaal: Regionaal/gemeente/stadsdeel?
- bindend niet bindend?
- organiseren voor de toekomst.

Q7. Terugkijkend op het referendum in Arnhem: Hoe zou een lokaal referendum voor inwoners kunnen bijdragen bij het bemiddelen van conflicten ?

- Hoe heeft het referendum bijgedragen aan een eventueel betere uitkomst (na het conflict)?
- Compromis? Samenwerking?
- Probleem opgelost nu de meerderheid JA gestemd heeft?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS GROUP 3 : OPPONENTS

CASE AMSTERDAM IJBURG

1. Wat was de motivatie (vanuit uw organisatie) om een referendum te starten tegen de plannen van IJburg?

- Wat was het voornaamste conflict (vanuit uw organisatie) met de plannen voor IJburg? (Overlappende vraag)
- Wat was de reden om een referendum te gebruiken om de weerstand te uiten i.p.v. een ander middel? (Ander middel, protest, rechtzaak etc., participatie)

2. Uiteindelijk leidde de ontwikkelingsplannen voor IJburg tot een lokaal referendum. Hoe zorgden jullie als tegenstanders om steun te vinden bij de burger van Amsterdam om 'nee' te stemmen tegen ijburg?

- hoe kijkt u terug op de werking van het lokale referendum? (Heeft het toegevoede waarde gehad?)

3. Hoe heeft het referendum het proces, de beslissingen, en het ontwerp van IJburg fase 1 beïnvloed?

- En hoe is het ontwerp en de ontwikkeling van IJburg veranderd door het referendum?
- Positief (Verbeterd)/neutraal/negatief beïnvloed?
- was het referendum een effectief middel om uw doel enigszins te bereiken?

4. Hoe zouden we het lokale referendum in de toekomst beter kunnen gebruiken als effectief instrument?

- timing: voor of na besluitvorming (correctief of niet-correctief) burgerinitiatief?
- initiatief van de gemeente of burgers?
- het aantal handtekeningen
- kiesdrempel of geldige deelname?
- Schaal: Regionaal/gemeente/stadsdeel?
- bindend niet bindend?

5. Terugkijkend op het IJburg referendum: Hoe zou een lokaal referendum voor inwoners kunnen bijdragen bij het bemiddelen van conflicten ?

- Hoe heeft het referendum bijgedragen aan een eventueel betere uitkomst (na het conflict)?

CASE ARNHEM Stadsblokken-Meinerswijk

1. Wat was de motivatie (vanuit uw organisatie) om een referendum te starten tegen de plannen van Arnhem?

- Wat was het voornaamste conflict (vanuit uw organisatie) met de plannen? (Overlappende vraag)
- Een referendum is vaak een laatste redmiddel,

Wat was de reden om een referendum te gebruiken om de weerstand te uiten i.p.v. een ander middel? (Ander middel, protest, rechtszaak etc., participatie)

2. Uiteindelijk leidde de ontwikkelingsplannen tot een lokaal referendum. Hoe zorgden jullie als tegenstanders om steun te vinden bij de burger van Arnhem om 'nee' te stemmen tegen de ontwikkeling?

- hoe kijkt u terug op de werking van het lokale referendum? (Heeft het toegevoede waarde gehad?)

3. Hoe heeft het referendum het proces, de beslissingen, en het uiteindelijke ontwerp beïnvloed?

- Positief/neutral/negatief beïnvloed?

- was het referendum een effectief middel om uw doel enigszins te bereiken?

4. Hoe zouden we het lokale referendum in de toekomst beter kunnen gebruiken als effectief instrument?

- timing: voor of na besluitvorming (correctief of niet-correctief) burgerinitiatief?

- initiatief van de gemeente of burgers?

- het aantal handtekeningen

- kiesdrempel of geldige deelname?

- Schaal: Regionaal/gemeente/stadsdeel?

- bindend niet bindend?

5. Terugkijkend op het referendum: Hoe zou een lokaal referendum voor inwoners kunnen bijdragen bij het bemiddelen van conflicten ?

- Hoe kan een referendum bijgedragen aan een eventueel betere uitkomst (na het conflict)?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS GROUP 4: IJBURG 2

Aim of the interview: to find out if IJburg 2 was changed in any way or was more aware of the conflict regarding the referendum in '97. To find out how they adjusted their future plans and if they were still aware of the conflict. How they made the plans more acceptable. Or was IJburg 1 such a success that no worries are left concerning this issue?

Q1: Wat was de voornaamste motivatie van de gemeente om fase 2 van IJburg te ontwikkelen ondanks de weerstand en het referendum tegen de plannen van fase 1?

Q2: Welke lessen hebben jullie geleerd van het proces van IJburg fase 1?

Q3: Zijn er aanpassingen gedaan aan de 2^e fase van IJburg, na de opgedane ervaring van IJburg 1?

- Zo ja, wat?

- Gerelateerd aan het referendum ?

Q4: Terugkijkend op het IJburg referendum: Hoe zou een lokaal referendum voor inwoners kunnen bijdragen bij het bemiddelen van conflicten ?

- Hoe heeft het referendum bijgedragen aan een eventueel betere uitkomst (na het conflict)?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS GROUP 5: REFERENDUM EXPERT

Q1: Wat zijn meestal de (waarde) conflicten die aanleiding geven tot het organiseren van een correctief referendum?

Q2: Denkt u dat lokale referenda een goede toevoeging zijn tot de lokale democratie? En waarom denkt u dat?

Q3: In de jaren '90 hebben meerdere lokale referenda plaatsgevonden in Amsterdam. Wat was de reden voor deze ontwikkeling? En hoe heeft dit een effect gehad op de plannen van de gemeente?

Q4: Wellicht bent u bekend met het IJburg referendum. Zo ja; Hierop terugkijkend: Hoe zou een lokaal referendum door inwoners kunnen bijdragen bij het bemiddelen van conflicten ?

Q5: Wat voegt een lokaal referendum toe voor inwoners in de stad?

-Ziet u dit als waardevol?

Q6: Hoe zouden lokale referenda waardevol kunnen zijn voor gebiedsontwikkeling?

-Denkt u dat het iets toevoegt?

Q7: Wanneer is een lokaal referendum een effectief instrument volgens u?

-Denk dan aan het aantal handtekeningen inzamelen?

- Wat is een effectieve kiesdrempel?

Q8: Hoe zouden we het lokale referendum in de toekomst beter kunnen gebruiken als effectief instrument?

- timing: voor of na besluitvorming (correctief of niet-correctief) burgerinitiatief?

- initiatief van de gemeente of burgers?

- het aantal handtekeningen

- kiesdrempel of geldige deelname?

- Schaal: Regionaal/gemeente/stadsdeel?

- bindend niet bindend?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS GROUP 6: ACADEMIC

Q1: Wat zijn meestal de (waarde) conflicten die aanleiding geven tot het organiseren van een correctief referendum?

Q2: Denkt u dat lokale referenda een goede toevoeging zijn tot de lokale democratie? En waarom denkt u dat?

Q3: In de jaren '90 hebben meerdere lokale referenda plaatsgevonden in Amsterdam. Wat was de reden voor deze ontwikkeling? En hoe heeft dit een effect gehad op de plannen van de gemeente?

Q4: Wellicht bent u bekend met het IJburg referendum. Zo ja; Hierop terugkijkend: Hoe zou een lokaal referendum door inwoners kunnen bijdragen bij het bemiddelen van conflicten ?

Q5: Wat voegt een lokaal referendum toe voor inwoners in de stad?

-Ziet u dit als waardevol?

Q6: In de literatuur is nog niet veel te vinden over gebiedsontwikkeling in combinatie met lokale referendums.

→ Wat zou de toegevoegde waarde kunnen zijn voor lokale referenda voor gebiedsontwikkeling?

Hoe zouden lokale referenda waardevol kunnen zijn voor gebiedsontwikkeling?

-Denkt u dat het iets toevoegt?

Q7: Wanneer is een lokaal referendum een effectief instrument volgens u?

-Denk dan aan het aantal handtekeningen inzamelen?

- Wat is een effectieve kiesdrempel?

Q8: Hoe zouden we het lokale referendum in de toekomst beter kunnen gebruiken als effectief instrument?

- timing: voor of na besluitvorming (correctief of niet-correctief) burgerinitiatief?

- initiatief van de gemeente of burgers?

- het aantal handtekeningen

- Wat is een effectieve kiesdrempel of geldige deelname?

- Schaal: Regionaal/gemeente/stadsdeel?

- bindend niet bindend?

Appendix 4a: Codes Atlas Ti before coding

Codes and Subcodes

- Added Value
 - added value for UAD
 - added value in gen.
 - Threat of a referendum
- Advantages, Disadvantages, Barries
 - Advantages/Strenghts
 - Barries/annoying things
 - Disadvantages/Weakness
 - Room for improvement
 - UAD- NIMBY
 - Unfair Game (money, unqual, biased, campaign misinformation)
- Current society and referendum
 - attitude society
 - polarized
 - Social media & internet
- How to get citizens on your side
 - campaign
 - miss information
- Impact/effect Referendum on UAD
 - How org./citizens are able to influence mun. decisions (not outcome related, so the threat and aftertalk)
 - How outcome ref. effects design/decisions
- Lessons Learned Arnhem
 - LL- Municipality
 - LL- Developer Arnhem
 - LL- Opponent Arnhem
- Lessons Learned IJburg
 - LL municipality
 - LL opponents
- Motivations/Conflicting
 - Conflict Arnhem
 - Conflict IJburg
 - Motivation Development IJburg/Arnhem
 - Other motivations to initiate referendum
- Other cases/examples mentioned
- Procedures
- Recommendations Future use
 - Binding/Non-binding
 - Campaign
 - Conversations/polderen/mitigate
 - Gen. Recommendations future use
 - Money campaign
 - No referendum at all
 - Scale
 - Signatures
 - Timing- before or after municipal desicion
 - UAD Recommendations, (incl. alternative systems & Participation)
- Tool to mitigate conflict?

Appendix 4b: Codes Atlas Ti final codes

Codes and Subcodes

- Added Value
 - added value for UAD
 - added value in gen.
 - Trust in government declines
 - Threat of a referendum
- Advantages, Disadvantages, Barries
 - Advantages/Strenghts
 - Barries/annoying things
 - Disadvantages/Weakness
 - Room for improvement
 - UAD- NIMBY & not able to forsee the future.
 - Unfair Game (money, unqual, biased, campaign missinformation)
- Current society and referendum
 - environment became more important
 - attitude society
 - polarized
 - Social media & internet
- How to get citizens on your side
 - campaign
 - miss information
 - work together (workshops for example)
 - participation options
- Impact/effect Referendum on UAD
 - How org./citizens are able to influence mun. decisions (not outcome related, so the threat and aftertalk)
 - How outcome ref. effects design/decisions
- Lessons Learned Arnhem
 - LL- Municipality
 - LL- Developer Arnhem
 - LL- Opponent Arnhem
- Lessons Learned Uburg
 - LL municipality
 - LL opponents
- Motivations/Conflicting
 - Conflict Arnhem
 - Conflict Uburg
 - Motivation Development Uburg
 - Motivation Development Arnhem
 - Other motivations to initiate referendum
- Other cases/examples mentioned
 - Other remarks or background info
- Procedures
- Recommendations Future use
 - Campaign
 - Combine with other voting/event
 - Conversations/polderen/mitigate
 - Gen. Recommendations future use
 - Money campaign
 - No referendum at all
 - Online tools
 - Protocol
 - Questions/variants/yes-no
 - Scale
 - Signatures
 - Threshold/quorum
 - Timing- (before or after municipal desicion)
 - Topics
 - Types - (Binding/non-binding/corrective)
 - UAD Recommendations, (incl. alternative systems & Participation)
- Tool to mitigate conflict?

Reflection

Personal reflection

It was interesting to choose a topic and see it develop over time. The approach of interviews was good to get a better in-depth understanding of how things work in practice. Human participants are more likely to tell anecdotes, comparisons, and real-life experiences and this is different than learning from books. Therefore, the topic is more diverse and looked at from a broader perspective. However, in this thesis, you still need to answer a research question and it should be more focused again. Despite this, it was nice to have all these interviews and make some sense out of it.

The feedback from my mentors was often positive, but also often addressed that it could be simplified or more structured. Which I understand, but for me it was difficult to filter the information, because I thought everything my participants told me was interesting. I think the coding in Atlas ti was a bit too much, it could have been simpler. I used my mentors' feedback to try to make my report more structured and to focus more on what is important. I learned from my work that sometimes you forget what you have written down. Afterwards, you think about it and see that you already thought about this very well earlier, but just forgot it. I can recommend myself to be a bit more structured in the future when working on a report for a year. I have learned a lot from my topic. It was interesting to combine area development with democracy because I did not realize before that citizens could also be powerful enough to make an impact on the design of urban areas with the use of a referendum. Lastly, I am happy to finalize this university phase of my life and to go into practice.

Reflection on the research

The topic of local referendums for urban area development has a relation to the master and the track MBE. Management also means creating a balanced and coherent plan for the city. Municipalities or developers develop plans for the citizens, however, there must be a demand for it, and in addition, a coherent plan needs to be made to take as many interests into account. However, sometimes a conflict still arises between citizens and the development plans by the municipality and developers, and then a local referendum is an instrument that can be used to express their concerns and block the plan. Therefore, it can be interesting to know how this tool can have value and how to improve when you organize a local referendum for urban area development topics. And knowing when it can lead to a better outcome.

During this master track, students learn about cities, citizens, and the demands of creating new areas. Topics such as nimby and interests of stakeholders were often discussed, also the housing crisis and the urgent need to develop new dwellings. These topics are also passed by in this thesis.

The scientific relevance is clear by the research gap. There is little known about the use of a local referendum for urban area development specifically and how this affects the design afterwards. Also, it was not clear whether this tool was valuable for urban area development projects specifically. More specifically, knowing that conflicts about nature topics in combination with a local referendum can lead to a more positive outcome when parties are collaborating to discuss the possibilities of the plan.

During the literature search, I noticed that literature is very scattered. Some topics were discussed elsewhere, but in other terminology, other jargon than how it is used in the construction and built environment sector. Therefore, these things often were found later in the research or connected later to this research. Often recommended by the participants with an academic background who know a lot about the referendum as an instrument, but do not know much about design and the built environment.

The methodology used has some weak and strong points. The advantage of using semi-structured interviews is that participants often discuss topics which you did not prepare for in your literature study. They mention topics, you did not expect, and interestingly these topics came back in multiple interviews, which means there are patterns visible. This is interesting because then you discover patterns you did not expect initially. Another advantage was that this methodology was not used or mentioned in other research about this topic, and therefore more in-depth information about the topic and the cases were gathered. Also, several groups were

interviewed which gives an unbiased story and a more real-life perspective instead of only using scientific literature as a research method. The disadvantage of semi-structured interviews was that they could be a bit disorganized during the analysis phase because different topics were discussed during all the interviews. Sometimes, this can make it more difficult to see a pattern in the transcripts. Overall, the use of the chosen case studies was effective in collecting the data for answering the research question. I considered multiple cases, but these two cases fitted best in the profile. Besides, the housing crisis makes these projects more urgent for citizens and then there is a real dilemma to vote about.

During the data collection, only small problems arise. There were more participants available in the case study in Amsterdam than in Arnhem. I did my best to contact multiple participants of the municipality and opponents in Arnhem, however, they were less available or open to participate in this thesis. Mainly because they were not available or did not work at the municipality anymore or were just too busy now. This is mentioned in the discussion of this thesis. In addition, I had invited more participants with an expertise or academic background in referendums, so I could still have a general overview. To close the gap in data collection of Arnhem, my mentors suggested adding more evaluation material.

The results from the cases and the general participants are quite overlapping. However, talking about transferability, it might be more difficult to implement the result of this thesis. Every municipality has its own protocol and therefore they have the right to develop their own rules in their protocol. Therefore, the recommendations and sometimes not possible. But, on the other hand, the recommendations are based on fourteen participants with diverse backgrounds, therefore it is a generalization of what could be implemented if the municipality is willing to make changes. Therefore, the results have a utilisation potential in the Dutch context if they are open to it. In a broader context, this could also apply to urban area development cases in the world, because the system voting yes/no for UAD topics and the disadvantages for this specific topic can be experienced everywhere. However, again their system or protocol is different and therefore part of the recommendations is not transferable.

Ethical issues and dilemmas can arise during your thesis; therefore, you need to write your ethical considerations in an early stage and hand in documents to the ethics commission to prepare yourself and to consider how to minimize risks. During the research (literature study and data collection), it was clear that a topic about conflicts could be a little bit more challenging to write about because both sides of the story need equal attention to prevent writing a biased text. Sometimes, it was challenging to get participants to explain things from a broader perspective. Some had negative experiences or lived in their bubble, and therefore negative about the government in general or the instrument, or how the case ended for them. This took a little more effort to collect the required data from the prepared questions and to explore the valuable aspects of the local referendum or any improvements that could be made. Also, after the data collection, the results need to be written down neutral. You cannot write a text at the disadvantage of a stakeholder or pick a side. Then the results are biased, and it could be damaging to certain stakeholders. To avoid this, I tried to write it down as neutral as possible and give each party equal ground in explaining their main issue for the conflict.

Ethical issues and dilemmas can arise from the results in practice, but not from this research. All participants were anonymized however it was still obviously clear from which municipality or organization they were. Therefore, one of the challenges is to not blame a party for negative behaviour or making mistakes, however, if that is one of the patterns in your data, then what should you do? That was a little bit difficult to write this down properly. I noticed this negative pattern was seen in the case studies and some experiences of other participants. Therefore, I could generalize this instead.