



# WIJKBUDGETTEN

Towards a balance between the certainty of rules  
and freedom around citizen initiatives

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## Preface

This thesis is my final work as fulfillment for the degree of Master of Science in Public Administration in Faculty Behavioural, Management and Social Sciences at the University of Twente, titled:

“Wijkbudgetten - Towards a balance between the certainty of rules and freedom around citizen initiatives”.

First of all, I would like to thank my first supervisor Dr. Pieter-Jan Klok for his guidance and feedback throughout the entire process. His expertise and advice really helped me writing this thesis. Secondly, I would like to thank my second supervisor Prof. Dr. Michiel Heldeweg for his great support and feedback throughout the process. I could not have done it without their regular feedback. Next, I would like to thank Drs. Ir. Wilmien Haverkamp and James Micola von Furstenrecht from the municipality of Enschede for their hospitality, knowledge of the subject and their overall support.

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I hope you will enjoy reading this thesis.

Sincerely,

**Yoei Timmerman**

Eibergen, August 2017.

## Abstract

This research offers insights in the search for an ideal balance between the certainty of rules on the one hand and the freedom for citizens to contribute to citizenship participation. A lot of (Dutch) municipalities, such as the municipality of Enschede, have taken big steps in supporting the participation society by introducing the society-oriented approach. This entails the involvement of citizens in improving the quality of life in their district or village. Since January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2011, the municipality of Enschede introduced the concept of *wijkbudgetten*. *Wijkbudgetten* is a tool that citizens within the municipality can use to improve the quality of life in their immediate environment. Citizens can submit a proposal at a community organization which in turn decide whether to approve the proposal or not. The municipality does not interfere with regard to the decision-making.

As the year's progress, it became increasingly clear that *wijkbudgetten* policy does not perform optimally. From the point of view of the municipality, the lack of a legal basis, the lack of structure within work processes and recurring reservations are seen as problem areas. Community organizations find that *wijkbudgetten* are working well in practice, despite the need for more structure. Eventually, this led to the development of new rules. The legal expansion consisted of a new subsidy regulation and additional rules.

The question is, does the new legal basis deliver a positive contribution to the desired ideal balance? The key take home messages are obvious. From the perspective of the municipality, the new institutional setting ensures the desired legal certainty, which includes more structure, clarity, uniformity, and more control on *wijkbudgetten* policy without completely restricting the freedom of action. In addition, the municipality meets the legal requirements of the legislature and achieved their intended objectives. From the point of view of community organizations, they see an increase in administrative red tape, particularly in terms of accountability requirements and the restriction of not being allowed to reserve remaining *wijkbudget* remains a pity as well.

In sum, big steps have been taken to improve *wijkbudgetten* policy for all involved actors. For the community organizations, it will be a matter of getting used to the new institutional setting and given structure as given by the municipality. From municipal perspective, the new legal basis provides legal certainty and structure. This means that from the point of view of municipal perspective the ideal balance has been achieved. From the perspective of the community organizations this is not yet the case but at least the balance has been improved. However, a perfect balance can now only exist in a fairy tale, due to the large number of thoughts and interests of the various actors involved.

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# 1. Introduction

This research focuses on finding a balance between on the one hand the certainty of rules within the system world (local government, municipality) and on the other hand the freedom for the living world (society, citizens) to contribute to citizen participation.

## 1.1 Motivation

Each year, on the third Tuesday of September, the government of the Netherlands presents its budget for the coming year. On this day, our king Willem-Alexander holds its king's speech where he addresses the policy intentions for the coming year. In 2013, at the king's first appearance on the national stage, he argued that the classic welfare state of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is slowly but surely turning into a "participation society". In our current network and information society, people are more assertive and more independent than in former times, and in combination with fewer resources for the government to govern the country, people have been asked to take responsibility for their own lives and living environment. According to the king's speech, a well-functioning participation society is in need of a compact, but powerful government, providing space and opportunities where it can and protect when necessary (Rijksoverheid, 2013).

A lot of (Dutch) municipalities, such as the municipality of Enschede, have taken big steps in supporting the participation society by introducing the 'society-oriented approach'. The society-oriented approach basically means that municipalities chose to involve citizens in improving the quality of life in their district or village (Oude Vrielink & Van De Wijdeven, 2008). This shift in approach also creates a changing relationship between government and society. Social parties, such as citizens and businesses, are increasingly developing their own ideas and initiatives. Realizing these ideas and initiatives requires cooperation with the municipality. The goal of this society-oriented approach is to reach equal cooperation between the municipality and society, where trust and clear communication are the most important factors (Gemeente Enschede, n.d.). In Enschede, this confidence is reflected in so-called "wijkbudgetten".

In 2011, the municipal council of Enschede introduced the concept of wijkbudgetten. A wijkbudget is a financial resource made available by a municipality for the benefit of citizen initiatives in a district or village (Gemeente Enschede, n.d.) with the aim of improving social cohesion, citizen participation and the quality of life in the immediate environment (Lunsing, 2009). Wijkbudgetten is the result of merging former budgets like 'BuurtInActie', 'Bewonersbudgetten', Wonen-Werken-Integratie, 'Buurtinitiatieven' and 'JeugdInactie'. Within the municipality of Enschede, every citizen can make use of a wijkbudget to organize a street party, refurbish a playground, organize a market, the deployment of an additional youth worker, etc. Each community organization within a district has its own budget that is provided by the

municipality. This budget is based on factors such as the number of citizens, the degree of safety and social factors such as the number of elderly, non-western ethnicity and school dropout rates (Gemeente Enschede, 2011). The total amount of wijkbudget that is divided among the community organizations is annually around 1.4 million euros.

In 2013, Saxion university did a study of the first experiences with wijkbudgetten. Results of this study showed that there was an increased commitment and responsibility of citizens to their own district or village, but that there is still room for improvements, whereby the promotion of citizen participation remains an important aspect. Moreover, this research also showed that there are some uncertainties about the tasks of the municipality in relation to citizens and vice versa, which can also be referred to as 'democratic professionalism', meaning the "facilitating involvement of the public in addressing significant social issues" (Ayres, 2008). In addition, it became clear that citizens do want to take responsibility for their immediate environment, but also have the need for a professional safety net. Citizens are in fact volunteers and they do not seek an 'additional job' (De Bruijn, T., Straatman, E., Kuyper, J., Klein Braskamp, Y., Boswinkel, K., 2013).

In the coalition agreement 2014-2018 'together sustainably stronger', the college of mayor and alderman agreed to boost the society-oriented approach by developing and optimizing the wijkbudgetten policy, in particular on the practicality of the working process for citizens. This is further elaborated in the Councils Decision of December 14<sup>th</sup>, 2015, with the objective to set up new rules regarding the spending of wijkbudgetten, the ability for community organizations to save a part of the wijkbudget for later use and the ability for community organizations to receive an advance of the wijkbudget. In addition, there have been uncertainties about the treatment of wijkbudgetten. In fact, it has been a subsidy since the introduction of wijkbudgetten, however, it has not been treated as a subsidy. Due to stricter legislation and in view of the auditing exercise which each municipality must undergo annually, it is decided to treat wijkbudgetten as a form of subsidy. This has implications not only for the municipality itself but also for those who receive wijkbudget. By treating a wijkbudget as a subsidy, an increase of rules is inevitable. This means that there is a need for a new ordinance to ensure that wijkbudgetten policy meets the requirements of the legislator.

But what are the other problems or obstacles that led to change of wijkbudgetten policy in order to find the ideal balance? First of all, it has been found that most of the community organizations did not spend their annually allocated budget. This caused the forming of a growing reserve when the municipality faces heavy financial times. This feels strange for both the college of mayor and alderman and community organizations. In recent years, there were considerable cuts in the landscaping of the city, while the wijkbudgetten reserve annually has more than one million euros. For that reason, it is decided to only spend wijkbudget in the year of allocation. However, despite this shortened spending period, community

organizations still have the need to carry out major projects. In order to make this possible, there is a need for the ability for community organizations to save a part of the wijkbudgetten in order to finance major projects. The third point of criticism is the speed of which approved initiatives are established. The vast majority of community organizations have no direct access to the wijkbudgetten allocated to them, distribution of wijkbudgetten to citizens whose initiative are approved happen via district management (SDM). Citizen organizations ask for an advance to ensure that initiatives come about more quickly. Another important note is the professionalism requested from volunteers from community organizations. The organization of wijkbudgetten turned out to be a lot of work for community organizations, primarily because of the high degree of freedom in determining the working process. Only a handful of rules and frameworks were given to community organizations, how to give substance to the working process of wijkbudgetten was completely left in the hands of the community organizations. Due to the high degree of freedom in designing the working process, community organizations started to develop various rules which ultimately led to different working processes between community organizations. For them, this was not a problem, however, the municipality experienced this as unclear. In short, from the perspective of the municipality, there is a need for more certainty of rules and more awareness of wijkbudgetten among the citizens of Enschede. The community (organizations) have an interest in clear and defined rules with a high degree of freedom of action and where they are adequately supported by professionals of the municipality. Basically, an ideal balance must be found between the perspectives of both actors. On the basis of the introduction of new rules in 2017, this research is a search for whether that ideal balance has been achieved.

## 1.2 Research- and subquestions

Considering the above, this translates into the following research question:

*To what extent has the ideal balance been achieved between on the one hand the certainty of rules regarding wijkbudgetten and on the other hand the freedom for citizens in the municipality of Enschede to show initiative and continue the promotion of citizen participation?*

To give an answer to the research question, answering the following sub-questions is necessary:

- Which rules structured the previous institutional setting and how does that relate to the ideal balance?
- Which rules structures the current institutional setting and what impact will that have on finding the ideal balance?

### 1.3 Scientific and social relevance

The use of wijkbudgetten is gaining popularity among municipalities. Some municipalities have a lot of experience with some form of wijkbudgetten, while others have little to zero experience. The municipality of Enschede is using the concept of wijkbudgetten since 2011. A recent study has shown (De Bruijn et al., 2013) that there is a positive change in the participation and influence of citizens in directing their own immediate environment. However, there is always room for improvement. This research aims to create a certain clarity and explain if the ideal balance between the system world and the living world is achieved or not. Because little is known about this matter, this research might be interesting for other municipalities facing the same difficulties. The outcome(s) of this research can later be used for an evaluation study to see whether this research has been helpful in the development and optimization of wijkbudgetten policy.



## 2 Theoretical framework

The previous chapter mentioned some concepts that need clarification in order to fully understand this study. In addition, a clear explanation will follow how and by what means this research will be conducted.

### 2.1 Citizen participation

An important concept within this study is the concept of citizen participation. Citizen participation has different, yet comparative meanings, but this study understands citizen participation as the involvement of citizens, more specifically stakeholders, in the development, implementation and/or evaluation of policies whereby a public or common objective should be pursued (e.g. a clean and safe neighborhood) (Van Houwelingen, Boele, & Dekker, 2014). The literature distinguishes three generations of citizen participation which should not be seen as generations that replace each other, but rather as generations that expand and further develop over time (Van De Wijdeven, 2012). The *first* generation of citizen participation is the possibility for citizens to respond to governmental policies, mostly when important decisions have already been made (Van Houwelingen et al., 2014). In the *second* generation, citizens have been given the opportunity to, at an early stage, interact with the local government about the shaping of policies (Van Houwelingen et al., 2014). The third generation refers to citizens initiatives, which is about the changing roles between citizens and government. Citizens adopt the role of principal and the government is taking on a more facilitating role (Van de Wijdeven, 2012). This means that citizens take their own initiative to carry out an idea, where the (local) government can provide support if necessary.

Hence we can see a clear shift in the manner of approach. The first two generations clearly show a top-down approach, where the government is taking initiatives, whilst the third generation show more of a bottom-up approach, where citizens take the initiative for the realization of certain activities (Oude Vrielink & Van De Wijdeven, 2008). Blom, Bosdriesz, Van Der Heijden, Van Zuylén, and Schamp (2011) give a clear explanation of what they consider as a citizen initiative. They see citizen initiatives as “a voluntary initiative of one or more citizens launched for the benefit of others or society (p. 12).” This third generation of citizen participation does not include the term policy or any other form of more participation in decision-making. Therefore, the definition of citizen participation can be seen as an expansion rather than a substitute.

### 2.2 Shift in approach

The third generation is all about citizens taking the initiative to solve social problems or to improve their living environment. But what are the underlying reasons for this shift in approach? In the first place, due to an increased empowerment and organizing power of citizens in society, and partly because of increased ICT opportunities among the vast group of the population. Secondly, the Dutch government has

had to deal with unavoidable cuts, which meant in practice that the government has fewer resources to govern the country. Subsequently, the central government shifted more tasks towards the local governments, which makes the local government more responsible in areas of reintegration, youth crime, quality of life, etc. Lastly, a lack of social cohesion ensures that there is a need for mutual trust between citizens and between citizens and government. This asks for an improved cooperation between the (local) governments and society to create more solidarity (Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2013, pp. 14-15). These aforementioned reasons triggered the shift in approach to more citizen involvement in public affairs, sometimes simply because the government does not have sufficient resources. To improve society, citizens now have to rely on their own abilities, by doing activities and initiating initiatives. However, this does not mean that the government is no longer involved (Van De Wijdeven, De Graaf & Hendriks, 2013, p. 10). Initially, the initiative or activity is carried out by citizens themselves until they can no longer make progress without help from the government (Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2013, p. 15). This asks for a new division of roles between government and social parties (both citizens and businesses).

The shift in approach has been under discussion for years and in academic fields of public administration, they call it even a shift from government to governance or from old public administration to network governance. The old public administration, which can also be referred to as a hierarchy, stands for vertical, monocentric and unilateral governance, whereas network governance involves horizontal, decentered and multilateral governance. In network governance, the government is no longer the principal but acts as one of the many stakeholders, similar to the third generation citizen participation (Hendriks & Van De Wijdeven, 2014, p. 17). Figure one shows the main differences between hierarchy and networks.

	Hierarchy	Networks
<b>Positions of actors and the taking of decisions</b>	<p>A clear distinction between the authority and citizens.</p> <p>Decisions are taken by the authority based on constitutional legal rules.</p> <p>Each authority position is specified by constitutional rules from top positions to lower positions.</p>	<p>Actors are simply members or non-members. Decisions are (mostly) taken collectively. The positions of actors are based on roles they have agreed on together and basically every participant is equivalent.</p>

<b>Use of resources</b>	Decided by the authority with consideration of general rules.	Decisions on resource use are taken individually or collectively with the aim of achieving certain benefits.
<b>Sharing of information</b>	Through public motivation of decisions by authorities	Mostly restricted to members of the network.
<b>Actors interest</b>	Authority is serving the common interest, whilst citizens serve mainly their personal interest	Actors have a mix of common and personal interest

Figure 1. Differences between hierarchy and networks (Van Heffen & Klok, 2000).

Although a clear shift takes place, the 'old' and the 'new' type of governance are often contradictory instead of two worlds moving together. The reason for this is that the 'network society' is constantly evolving and hierarchy is still deeply rooted in public administration. This results in the fact that local governments should continue to refocus and citizens, entrepreneurs and community organizations have to find their own place and role. What is certain is that society is increasingly giving their opinion and undertakes actions to serve the public good (VNG, 2013, p. 3). In short, more and more initiatives have emerged from society itself. The government is trying to support this shift in approach by finding ways to facilitate the society.

Wijkbudgetten is a part of the third generation citizen participation, but it cannot be fully seen as a citizen initiative. However, citizen initiatives and in this study more specifically, wijkbudgetten, can be seen as a means of promoting self-organization. Self-organization is defined as a new form of interactive governance with implications in local government (Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk, 2017) which is not determined by a single actor, but rather a collection of multitude interactions between members of the community (Van Meerkerk, Boonstra, and Edelenbos, 2013). When placing self-organization in the citizen participation 'ladder', it is clear that self-organization is essentially the third generation of citizen participation where citizens come up with an idea and take responsibility to implement their own idea. Nederhand, Bekkers & Voorberg (2015) speak of self-organization in the context of meta-governance with the idea that "forms of power beyond the state can often sustain a government more effectively than its own institutions, and that coercive forms of control are replaced by a complex arrangement of subtle strategies, techniques and forms of knowledge" (p. 1066). One of these strategies is used by the municipality of Enschede with the introduction of wijkbudgetten. By using this strategy, the government is trying to participate by designing the institutional setting where self-organization takes place. This implies

that within the institutional setting, the government determines the positions of the actors, their relationships and the rules of play (Nederhand et al., 2015). Despite the fact that wijkbudgetten is in its core controlled by the government, the actual implementation itself is self-organized. In that case, the wijkbudgetten can be seen as a combination of self-organization and participation. With participation (not to be confused with citizen participation, but more in a general sense) the government is mainly taking the initiative, while on the basis of self-organization, the initiative can occur anywhere in society (Boonstra, 2010). In the case of wijkbudgetten, the government participated by introducing wijkbudgetten, which allowed citizens and other members of society to self-organize their initiatives. Therefore, wijkbudgetten can be seen as a hybrid form of third generation citizen participation and citizen initiatives.

### 2.3 Finding the ideal balance

Since the introduction of wijkbudgetten in 2011, the municipality of Enschede was one of the municipalities that provided the largest amount of wijkbudget, that is to say, more than one million euro. This budget is distributed to each district to further promote citizen participation. The community organizations were enthusiastic and really would like to make this step into improving citizen participation. This led to the introduction of wijkbudgetten with a minimum number of rules and plenty of room for community organizations to fill in their own method of working. As stated earlier, this led to a heavier workload for community organizations. The previous paragraph explained the reasons for a change in wijkbudgetten policy, where there is a need for improvements. In other words, you could say that there was an imbalance in wijkbudgetten policy. The municipality of Enschede was seeking to a more rule-based wijkbudgetten policy that not only is lawful but also contributes to further development, standardization and optimization of wijkbudgetten.

It is clear that community organizations do not want unnecessary bureaucracy, meaning that there must be a degree of freedom for community organizations in which they can operate. Community organizations rather work from a more principle based perspective, with clear frameworks and rules in which they can operate with considerable freedom. Thus, in order to make wijkbudgetten succeed, there must be found a way in which the ideal balance between on the one hand the certainty of rules and on the other hand the degree of freedom for community organizations to operate, can be established.

Important for both sides of the coin is the question: “how to be in control?” The ‘control’ for the municipality of Enschede refers to security. Security is the key from a government perspective, meaning that the municipality wants to prevent the possibility of abusing the freedom of action that is given to community organizations and citizens individually. This calls for a way of governing where mutual trust and responsibility are key factors, resulting in the right for community organizations to enjoy much operational freedom, but the obligation to be accountable. Controlling wijkbudgetten for community

organizations refers to a certain degree of freedom of movement in using wijkbudgetten. This implies that there is as little as possible governmental involvement and only in the case where community organizations request support from the municipal professionals or when they do not follow the rules. Key factors from this perspective are again mutual trust and responsibility, but also a degree of self-organization.

By comparing the old institutional setting with the new institutional setting, differences can be found in the legal framework, as well as the aforementioned key factors representing the balance between rule based and principle based.

## 2.4 The Institutional Analysis and Development Framework

In order to find the ideal balance between on the one hand the certainty of rules within the system world (local government, municipality) and on the other hand the freedom for the living world (society, citizens) to show initiative and continue promoting citizen participation, the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework (IAD framework) will be used as a tool that helps identifying the relationships between all stakeholders in the policy process and how they interpret the policy frameworks to which they must adhere. This framework is a helpful tool to map the rules and institutional arrangements regarding wijkbudgetten and can be a useful to find answers for both the research question and related sub questions.

Institutions play a major role in the IAD framework and to understand the mechanisms of the IAD framework it is important to have a clear definition of what is meant by an institution. According to Ostrom (2005), "institutions are the prescriptions that humans use to organize all forms of repetitive and structured interactions including those within (...) governments at all scales." (p. 3) Actors who interact in situations with certain rules face consequences for themselves and others for the strategies and actions they take (Ostrom, 2005). Rules are an important aspect of this concept as they structure the situations where actors interact. Rules, or lack of rules, influence the thinking and reasoning of the actors, shaping the outcomes of the interactions of actors (Ostrom, 2005), which is highly relevant for this research.

The IAD framework is a systematic way of analyzing existing arrangements and generating alternatives to be eventually compared to each other. The intention of the IAD framework is to help understand social situations and subdividing these situations into manageable sets of practical activities (Polski & Ostrom, 1999). Figure two shows a schematic representation of the IAD framework.

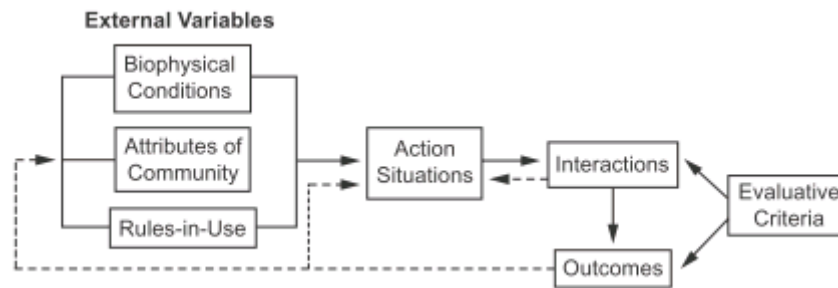


Figure 2. Schematic representation of the IAD framework (Ostrom, 2011, p. 10)

The IAD framework allows researchers to find a way of understanding the policy process by creating a systematic approach for analyzing institutions that govern action and results within collective actions arrangements. On the basis of so-called ‘action situations’, analysis, predictions, and explanations of behavior and outcomes of problems or situations can be mapped. This research refers to the situation (or problem) of the institutional changes of wijkbudgetten, as well as the roles of stakeholders involved in the process of wijkbudgetten.

The action situation is the key part of the framework. It functions as the ‘space’ where actors interact, create outcomes and evaluate these outcomes. In other words, this is the place where decisions are taken. Ostrom used to use the term ‘action arena’ instead of an action situation. In former articles, an action arena existed out of two components: an action situation and actors. Some readers found the differences between an action arena and action situation unclear, therefore Ostrom simplified the IAD framework to create more uniformity. Figure three is showing the internal structure of the action situation.

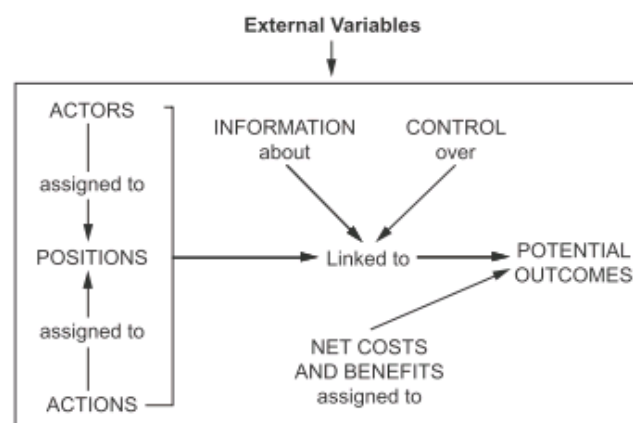


Figure 3. Internal structure of the action situation (Ostrom, 2011, p. 10)

The first step in using the IAD framework is to identify the action situation. This is useful in analyzing, predicting and explaining the behavior of institutional arrangements (Ostrom, 2011). Action situations exist of seven variables as shown schematically in figure three. Within the action situation, actors exchange goods and services, argue, create problems, solve problems, etc. Summarizing, actors interact

(Ostrom, 2011). *Actors* can either be an individual or act as a corporate actor. These actors hold *positions* in which they can take certain *actions*. These actions are about the possible and allowable actions of actors and how they link towards the *potential outcomes*. These potential outcomes depend on the amount of *information* that is available to each actor and the level of *control* each actor has over the action. Lastly, there are *cost and benefits* that may incur when actors take action (Ostrom, 2011). In explaining the behavior of the actors, Ostrom makes a distinction between four attributes for the variable 'actors': firstly, the number of resources each actor brings to the situation; secondly, the selection criteria actors use when deciding upon a particular course of action; thirdly, the way in which actors acquire, process, retain and make use of knowledge contingencies and information; and lastly, the preferred evaluation each actor assigns to potential actions and outcomes (Ostrom, 2011).

The 'external variables' arrow pointing towards the action situation in figure three refers to the external variables represented in figure two and indicate that the external variables influence the action situation. These external variables consist of biophysical conditions, attributes of community and the rules-in-use (Polski & Ostrom, 1999). Given the fact that in this study is based on doing a policy analysis and the focus of rules shaping the actions of stakeholders, the main external variable is the rules-in-use (Ostrom, 2011).

Rules are defined by Ostrom (2011) as "shared understandings among those involved that refer to enforced prescriptions about what actions (or states of the world) are required, prohibited, or permitted" (p. 17). In understanding the rules, it is important to know where the rules actors use within the action situation, come from. Rules can be found anywhere, from governmental organizations to private organizations, as well as voluntary associations and families (Ostrom, 2005). Ostrom makes a distinction between two types of rules: rules-in-form and rules-in-use. In doing an institutional analysis, the first thing to examine is the rules-in-form, also known as the working rules. These working rules are used by actors to make decisions and where actors make reference to explain and justify their actions (Ostrom, 2005). The working rules are linked to the seven elements of the action situation, therefore seven working rules can be distinguished. How these working rules affect the action situation is represented in figure four, whereas figure five operationalizes these rules.

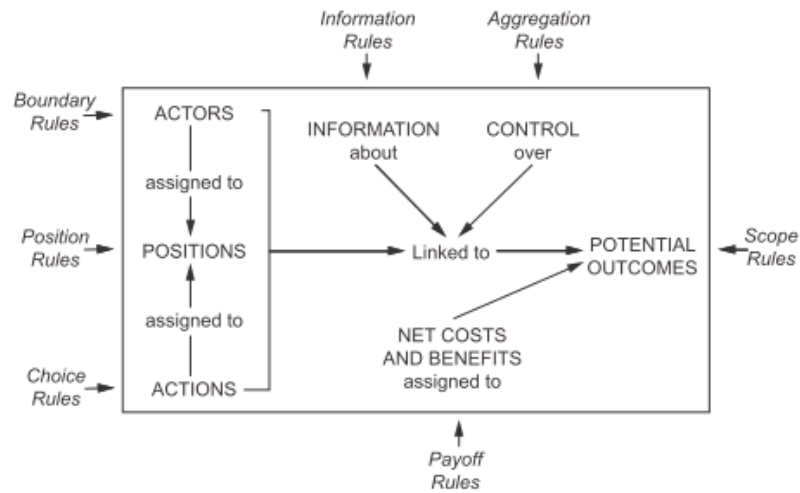


Figure 4. Placement of the working rules within the action situation (Ostrom, 2011).

Considering the rules-in-use as the most important external variable within this research, attributes of the community is considered a valuable variable as well. Attributes of the community refer to the social and cultural values of the community and are about demographic characteristics of the community, the rate in which the community is involved with policy activities, to what extent they can influence the political and policy activities, etc. Trust, self-organization, and responsibility are also included. Trust is important since trust is a factor that influences the relationship between government and citizen, whereas self-organization and responsibility may be a consequence of trust issues between government and citizens.



<b>Rules</b>	<b>Operationalization</b>
<b>Position</b>	Makes a distinction and defines the roles between the positions in the action situation (Polski & Ostrom, 1999). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Indicator: There is/are ... (positions) (Denters &amp; Klok, 2001)</li> </ul>
<b>Boundary</b>	Relates to the access and exit-rules and control the access to the decision-making process (action situation). The boundary rules influence the amount of actors within the action situation, as well as the contributions and resources of the actors, whether actors can join freely or not and the conditions under which they have to leave the action situation (Ostrom, 2011). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Indicator: Actors become the position of ... by ... (condition/procedure) (Denters &amp; Klok, 2001)</li> </ul>
<b>Choice</b>	Specifies what actions an actor in a particular position may take, cannot take or can take (Polski & Ostrom, 1999). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Indicator: If .. (condition), in the ...(position), operator (should or is allowed to), ...(behaviour) (Denters &amp; Klok, 2001)</li> </ul>
<b>Scope</b>	Defines the possible outcomes that can be achieved and thus the actions associated with certain outcomes (Ostrom, 2011). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Indicator: The scope of ...(situation) is ... (a certain outcome) (Denters &amp; Klok, 2001)</li> </ul>
<b>Aggregation</b>	Determines whether a decision on taking action have to be taken collectively or not; also influences the amount of control that an actor on a certain position can have in the choice for a specific action or decision (Ostrom, 2011). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Indicator: ... (a certain outcome) is obtained by ... (aggregation mechanism) (Denters &amp; Klok, 2001)</li> </ul>
<b>Information</b>	Determine the types and amount of information that is available to actors (Polski & Ostrom, 1999); guides actors in making decisions on keeping information secret or what information must be made public (Ostrom, 2011). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Indicator: If.. (information)... is available or not, then ... (made public/keep secret)</li> </ul>
<b>Pay-off</b>	Influence the costs and benefits that are generated within the action situation. This could mean in the form of penalties to those who violate other rules, who oversees that actors comply to the rules, who is responsible for the consequences for the taken decisions, etc. (Ostrom, 2011). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Indicator: a specification (per position or per situation) of the costs and benefits / compensations / required contributions (Denters &amp; Klok, 2001).</li> </ul>

Figure 5. Schematic representation and operationalization of the working rules.

Digging deeper in the analysis of policy systems, most policy situations consist of overlapping action situations that are linked sequentially or simultaneously and where multiple levels of rules may exist. Figure six shows how these different levels of rules may influence each other.

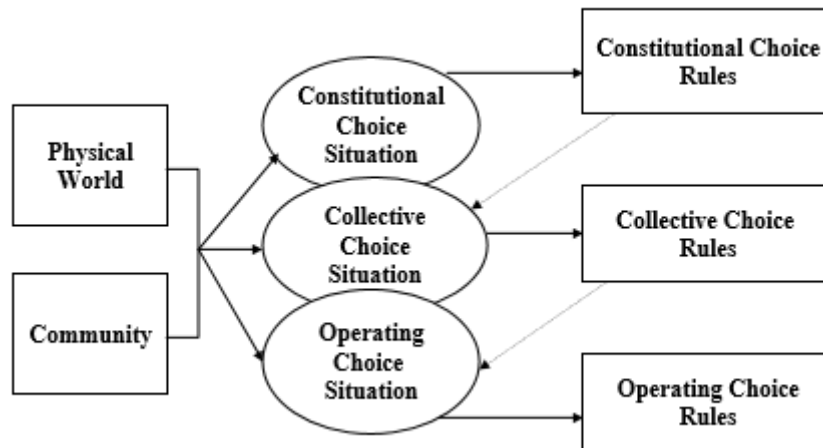


Figure 6. The complexity of levels of rules (Polski & Ostrom, 1999).

Considering figure six, three levels of rules can be distinguished which affect actions within the action situations. The first and 'highest' set of rules are the *constitutional choice rules*. These rules determine the eligible actors that may set up the collective choice rules and the way these rules may be changed. The second level of rules are the *collective choice rules* and these determine the eligible actors that may set up the operation choice rules and the way these rules may be changed. The third and last level of rules are the *operational choice rules*. These rules affect the daily affairs in decision-making and political or economic settings. Each level of rules influences (Polski & Ostrom, 1999)

## 2.5 Applying the IAD framework on wijkbudgetten policy

After the general explanation of the IAD framework in the previous paragraph, this paragraph will explain how this framework is to be used in regards to this research. Finding the ideal balance between on the one hand the certainty of rules regarding wijkbudgetten and on the other hand the freedom for citizens in the municipality of Enschede to show initiative is the goal, while the IAD framework provides guidelines on how that goal can be achieved. The IAD framework helps in explaining the positions of government and citizens within the actions situations regarding wijkbudgetten policy. By analyzing the attributes of the community and the rules-in-use, the IAD framework helps to understand, or at least, give more insight in what can be defined as the ideal balance between the certainty of rules and freedom of citizens to show initiative. In other words, the freedom for citizens to self-organize and take their own responsibility. By identifying the institutional arrangements within the political and administrative action situation and the civil action situation, and showing the difference between the wijkbudgetten policy before the implementation of new rules and after the implementation of new rules, an analysis can be made which makes clear what the differences between the two mentioned situations are and clarify the roles of the participating actors, i.e. government and citizens.

For this study, two actions situations can be distinguished: the collective choice situation and the operational choice situation. The collective choice situation refers to the action situation where policy is made; where mostly governmental actors, but in collaboration with community organizations, work on shaping the institutional setting of wijkbudgetten. The operational choice situation refers to the daily decision-making process where community organizations set out rules for the individual citizens. Each action situation can be viewed from two sides: that of the system world (government) and the living world (community organizations, individual citizens).

The previous paragraph mentioned the collective choice situation, which refers to the action situation where policy is made, and the operational choice situation, alluding to daily decision-making about the allocation of wijkbudgetten by community organizations to individual citizens. The rules-in-use as of given by Ostrom: position, boundary, choice, scope, aggregation, information and payoff rules, are used to describe the institutional environment. The institutional environment will be explained in both the old and new institutional setting, where the old institutional setting sets out the rules-in-use before the introduction of new rules on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017, and the new institutional setting stands for the rules-in-use after the introduction of new rules.

### 3. Methodology

Whereas the previous chapter elaborated the theoretical framework, this chapter focuses on the research methodology. The preceding chapter gave a presentation of the framework that is to be used as the infrastructure of this thesis. The focus is on the action situation and the rules-in-use that influence the action situation. The next paragraphs provide an overview of the research design, as well as the ways in which data is collected and how the data will be analyzed.

#### 3.1 Research design

My research question is explanatory in nature and as Yin (2004) mentions; explanatory questions are well suited to be answered by doing a case study (p. 2). Since I am doing an internship at the municipality of Enschede where I got asked to do research for the development of new rules of game regarding wijkbudgetten, my case is focused on the municipality of Enschede. However, just drafting new rules has not enough scientific depth. To create scientific depth, digging deeper in the matter of wijkbudgetten is necessary, so we came up with the current research question leading to an institutional analysis of the situation of wijkbudgetten. I looked for explanations why certain decisions have been taken and whether outcomes contribute to the ideal balance that is to be desired. In this research I will be following the IAD framework by Ostrom. This requires the involvement of multiple stakeholders and finding answers to questions of how each stakeholder manages in wijkbudgetten policy and how they perceive their role and tasks. Ultimately, this will lead to a conclusion where different roles of stakeholders will be compared to discuss where the differences are and how balance can be found between the certainty of rules and freedom around wijkbudgetten

#### 3.2 Interviews

Answering my research- and sub questions required interviewing actors within the action situation. This includes community organizations, which are the representatives of the citizens and play an increasingly important role in the decision-making process. To get a good overview of opinions, recommendations and answer to my research questions, it is necessary to include most of the participating stakeholders in the interview process to prevent inequalities. This will require interviews with the department of finance of the municipality and the community organizations who work with wijkbudgetten. The next table shows the interviewees. They have been chosen in consultation with Drs. Ir. W.A.M. Haverkamp-Wenker:

<b>Borough</b>	<b>Role</b>
<b>Municipal office</b>	Department of Finance (mr. P. Davina, mr. A. de Vries, mr. T. Looman, mrs. C. van der Meer and mr. G. Oude Nijhuis)
<b>Centre</b>	Community organizations: de Bothoven (mr. H. Haasnoot) / De Laares (mrs. J. van Oostrom)
<b>North</b>	Community organizations: Tweekelerveld (mrs. T. Kamst) / Mekkelholt (mr. R. Kip)
<b>East</b>	Community organizations: Velve-Lindehof (mr. P. van der Veen) / Diekman (mr. M. Wijma)
<b>South</b>	Community organization: Stroinkslanden (mr. B. Kollenhof and mr. F. Geuvers)
<b>West</b>	Community organizations: Pathmos (mrs. B. van Voorst) / Boekelo (mr. H. Guchelaar and mr. J. Verhaak)

Table 2. Overview interviewees.

### 3.3 Literature review

To find answer to the aforementioned research questions, a large part of the research was conducting an extensive literature research. Several scientific databases (like Scopus, Science Direct, Web of Science, Google Scholar) are addressed to search for related articles about the IAD framework and subjects regarding citizen participation. Besides the use of scientific articles, policy documents is also a main source within this research.

Using the IAD framework in this research requires a lot of research on policy (documents), as it can be compared with a policy analysis. The beginning of a policy analysis is a policy problem which holds its basis in policy. The search for the ideal balance between the certainty of rules and the level of freedom required finding out how current rules come about and how these were implemented in wijkbudgetten policy.

### 3.4 Data Analysis

The results from the literature review and interviews will be used to 'fill in' the rules-in-use of the IAD framework. How each stakeholder fills in their role and tasks is for a part dependent on how they give substance to the rules to which they must adhere. Retrieving the information from the interviews as well as literature will lead to an identification of the structure of the action situation. It will clearly show how the various rules and frameworks affect the action situation and shape the interactions leading to a certain outcome which in this research is the route to finding the ideal balance. This means that every actor can have a different view on how to deal with the policies and rules regarding wijkbudgetten. Therefore, the ideal balance has been reached when all actors completely agree that the legal basis meets both the requirements and needs of the actors involved. In practice, it is unlikely that the ideal balance will ever be reached. For that reason this study focusses on the search to what extent the ideal balance

has been reached and looking for where improvement is possible. In order to do that two institutional settings must be compared to each other. Consequently, the next chapter will set out the old and new institutional setting and in the last paragraph of this chapter, I will compare both institutional settings to see to what extent the ideal balance has been achieved.

## 4. Research findings

Chapter two explained how the IAD Framework will be applied in this research and what topics will be addressed. This chapter analyses two periods of wijkbudgetten policy: the institutional setting before the introduction of new rules and the institutional setting after the introduction of new rules. In addition, this research will focus on two action situations: first, the collective action situation in which government actors and community organizations work together on shaping wijkbudgetten policy and secondly, the operational action situation referring to the daily decision-making in which community organizations decide within the rules and frameworks of wijkbudgetten policy about individual project requests of citizens.

### 4.1 Describing the old institutional setting

Both action situations within the collective and operation action situation will be viewed from the perspective of the system world and that of the living world. The collective action situation describes the rules that influence the development of wijkbudgetten policy. The moment that this action situation occurred, back in 2011, eventually led to the introduction of wijkbudgetten. Ultimately this led to the development of new rules and frameworks in the form of ‘subsidy regulation’ and ‘detailed rules’, which in this context will be referred to as the new institutional setting. The operational action situation explains the daily decision making and will be clarified on the basis of four mechanisms: the application, final decision, distribution of wijkbudget and accountability. This paragraph starts with an in-depth analysis of the collective choice situation followed by the operation action situation.

#### 4.1.1 Collective Choice Situation

*Position and Boundary rules* determine the position of the government and community organizations and how they enter and/or leave the action situation. The positions of the government can be further broken down into specific positions, each of which has their own role. First of all, there is the board of the municipality that consists of the city council and the college of mayor and aldermen. Based on the Dutch Municipality Act (DMA, Gemeentewet), these bodies are competent. This act includes the duties and powers of the board and sets out the frameworks in which they can operate. This act also prescribes who may join as a city council, a mayor or alderman. Admission to the city council is possible when someone is a citizen of the municipality, reached the age of 18 years and is not excluded from the right to vote (article 10, paragraph 1 of the DMA). City council members are elected democratically during municipal elections. In order to achieve the position of alderman, this person must be elected by the council (article 34 of the DMA). In addition, the same requirements apply for an alderman as for a city councilor: this person is a citizen of the municipality, has reached the age of 18 years and is not excluded from the right to vote (article 36a, paragraph 1 of the DMA). A mayor is appointed by royal decree (Article 61, paragraph 1 of

the DMA). The city council establishes a trust committee that sends a recommendation of the right candidate or candidates to the Dutch Minister of Home Affairs and Kingdom Relations (Article 61, paragraph 3 of the DMA). The Dutch Minister of Home Affairs and Kingdom Relations eventually elects the mayor (Article 61, paragraph 7 of the DMA).

Deeper down the hierarchy of the municipality of Enschede and closer to the living world is SDM. Since the introduction of the society-oriented approach in Enschede, the city has been divided into five districts: north, east, south, west, and center. The foundation of the society-oriented approach and the tasks of SDM are contained in the Council's Decision of March 1994 "Organisatie Stadsdeelgewijs werken". SDM is a team that consists of a number of actors: A district manager, (senior) project staff members and a management assistant. SDM is the key between citizens and the government and ensures that the dividing line between citizens and government is short. The district manager is head of SDM and acts as the forefront of the municipal organization of a particular district. The district manager bears responsibility for encouraging and supporting citizen initiatives, identifying difficulties about viability and safety, as a bridge between citizens and the municipality about participation and policy making, etc. (Schuitemaker et al., 2008). Other functions within SDM can be fulfilled by applying, meaning that everyone meeting the vacancy requirements can claim these positions. Furthermore, every district has their own district committee. The district committee meets on subjects for which the city council is responsible, but only on those subjects relating to the concerning district. The foundation for the district committee is contained in the regulation on the urban committee and district committees (verordening op de stedelijke commissie en de stadsdeelcommissies, 2005). Within the district committee, city councilors meet to stay connected with the concerning district. Regulation of the composition of district committees is included in article 5 of the regulation on urban committee and district committees. A district committee consists of city councilors and a chairman; the chairman is also a councilor.

In addition to positions within the government, there are also positions outside the government. For example, each district has multiple community organizations that serve the interests of individual citizens. These community organizations could be neighborhood associations, neighborhood- or village councils or other citizen interest groups. In principle, anyone living in a district or village within the municipality of Enschede, with the age of 18 years or above, can become a member of a community organization. They may also take part in the Advisory Committee on Community Organizations (Adviescommissie Wijkorganen). The college of mayor and aldermen of the municipality of Enschede established an Advisory Committee on Community Organizations (ACWO) under the 2008 Community Organisation regulations (Regeling Wijkorganen 2008). The ACWO provide asked or unsolicited advice on topics that concern 2008 Community Organizations regulations, such as those of wijkbudgetten policy. Rules regarding membership of this ACWO can be found in Article 7 of the Community Organisation regulations. Figure seven gives a brief overview of the position and boundary rules concerning the collective choice situation.



<b>Position</b>	<b>Boundary</b>
<b>Councillors</b>	Dutch Municipality Act: Elected by municipal elections, must have reached the age of 18 years and must not be excluded from the right to vote.
<b>Court Mayor &amp; Aldermen</b>	Dutch Municipality Act: Elected by the city council, must have reached the age of 18 years and must not be excluded from the right to vote.
<b>SDM</b>	Council decision March 1994: 'Organisatie Stadsdeelgewijs werken', meeting the vacancy requirements.
<b>(Un)Recognized District Bodies; community organizations</b>	2008 Community Organization regulations, (adult) citizens of Enschede.
<b>ACWO</b>	2008 Community Organisation regulations, (adult) citizens of Enschede; instituted by the college of mayor and aldermen.
<b>Individual citizens</b>	(Adult) citizens of a district or village within the municipality of Enschede.

Figure 7. Positions and their boundaries.

*Choice rules* determine the actions that government or community organizations can take, may take or cannot take. The city council has the power to adopt municipal regulations (Article 147 of the DMA). As a result, the city council has the possibility of setting up *wijkbudgetten* policy and are able to decide on the future of *wijkbudgetten*. Ultimately, they determine how much of the municipal budget is being reserved for *wijkbudgetten*. The city councils powers are included in the DMA. The college of mayor and aldermen are another key player in this action situation. Their powers are also included in the DMA. They carry out the day-to-day administration of the municipality, set out rules for the official organization, implement the city councils decisions (Article 160 of the DMA) and is in the context of *wijkbudgetten* policy the granter of subsidy.

Acting as an extension of the college of mayor and aldermen, SDM is important as a player who stands close to citizens. SDM can take decisions on behalf of the college of mayor and aldermen by mandate. In most cases, SDM manages the budget reserved as *wijkbudgetten*, but also acts as an advisor to both government officials and citizens.

In most cases, community organizations are involved because developed policies ultimately affect what happens at the operational level. This ensures that a transparent process is used by the municipality which gives the ordinary citizen the opportunity to influence decision-making. After all, the society-oriented approach implies that decisions should be taken on the basis of the true intention. In other words, policies must be clearly formulated and bureaucratic terms should be avoided as much as possible.

*Scope rules* determine the possible outcomes that can be achieved and thus affect the results to be achieved. Decisions taken by the city council, for example, to change *wijkbudgetten* policy, is a decision that cannot be taken by any of the other actors. The city council has the ultimate competence to determine the scope of *wijkbudgetten*, which means that they not only determine the rules and frameworks that apply to *wijkbudgetten* but also decide how much of the annual municipal budget will be reserved for *wijkbudgetten*.

*Aggregation rules* determine how decisions should be taken and whether actions of other actors are needed (Ostrom, 2011). The foregoing rules provide a good introduction which decisions can be made. Changing *wijkbudgetten* policy is a decision that cannot be taken by any of the other actors. Ultimately, they decide the direction in which *wijkbudgetten* policy will go. Every city councilor has a voice and every vote weighs equally. A majority of the votes are enough to make a decision (Article 30 of the DMA). Community organizations and the ACWO have an advisory role and no direct power to reject policies. Therefore, they cannot take direct decisions that determine the future of *wijkbudgetten* policy.

*Information rules* relate to the information made available to all actors within this action situation. An important aspect is transparency. City council meetings and meetings of the urban committee are (in most cases) always public and the discussed documents will be made available online ([www.raad053.nl](http://www.raad053.nl)). Even the municipal budget is available online for anyone to see, including the total amount of *wijkbudget* available each year. Transparency is very important for both the municipality and citizens (organizations) because *wijkbudgetten* should be an easily accessible way of involving citizens in their living environment. *Wijkbudgetten* is intended to minimize legal and bureaucratic obstacles. However, the exact formulation in the form of a policy document failed to happen which resulted in ambiguities among citizens. Nevertheless, possible policy changes always involve deliberation with community organizations about future methods. With the introduction of *wijkbudgetten*, community organizations, united in the ACWO, responded enthusiastically when seeing the proposal, but suggested a step-by-step approach with incremental additions and changes over time.

*Payoff rules* determine the impact on costs and benefits that result from certain combinations of actions and results. The city council makes available financial resources that can be spent as *wijkbudget*. Deviating from this budget is not possible. *Wijkbudget* will then be distributed to the community organizations within each district. SDM is responsible for the distribution of *wijkbudget*. The financial ratios of

wijkbudgetten are set out in the Council's proposal of 2011 "Introductie van wijkbudgetten". The amount of wijkbudget is divided by using certain indicators such as ethnicity, early school leavers, the elderly, unemployment, healthcare needs and current living environment, where some indicators weigh heavier than others.

#### 4.1.2 Operational Choice Situation

*Positions and Boundary rules* determine the positions of government, community organizations and individual citizens and how they are able to join this particular action situation. SDM represents the system world in this action situation. In particular, SDM has a more of an advisory role and is involved in allocating wijkbudgetten from community organizations to individual citizens. The latter mentioned actors are also the most important positions within the living world. Community organizations, or basically district bodies, can be either recognized or unrecognized. The foundation for recognized district bodies can be found in the 2008 Community Organization regulations. Recognized district bodies have legal personality; un-recognized district bodies do not have legal personality in most cases. To claim wijkbudget, it does not matter whether a community organization is a recognized or non-recognized district body on account of the 2008 Community Organization regulations. The college of mayor and aldermen determine (in collaboration with SDM) which community organizations are eligible for wijkbudgetten. Every district or village has at least one community organization that receives financial resources in the form of wijkbudget. To become a member of a community organization, or, as an individual citizen, apply for wijkbudget, the person in question is required to live in a district or village within the municipality of Enschede and have reached the age of 18 years. In both cases, access or applying is entirely voluntary, meaning that any citizen who fulfills the conditions has the right to join a community organization or to apply for wijkbudget.

*Choice rules* determine the actions that SDM or individual citizens may take, can take or cannot take. With SDM being the extension of the college of mayor and aldermen, SDM is an important player operating closely with the living world. SDM can make decisions on behalf of the college of mayor and aldermen by mandate. In most cases, SDM manages the budget reserved as wijkbudgetten, but also acts as an advisor to both government officials and citizens. Citizens can fulfill two positions within this action situation. First of all, citizens can act as a "neighborhood representative" in a community organization. Each district or village may have one or more community organizations. A community organization has been given the authority by the college of mayor and aldermen to decide on a part of the wijkbudget that has been made available to them. As a result, citizens themselves can decide on community budgets. In most cases, decisions are taken by a select group of citizens who are members of a community organization. These citizens decide on received applications, whether to approve, reject or that the application requires additions. In case a small amount of wijkbudget is requested, community organizations will decide immediately. In case a large amount is requested, a meeting will be held where citizens from the district

can be present to vote. If a project or idea has been carried out, the community organization must take care of the accountability for how the budget is spent and adopts, generally in consultation with SDM, whether the accountability is sufficient. On the basis of accountability, the project executor receives the entire requested wijkbudget or only a part of the requested wijkbudget. If at the end of the calendar year, the allocated wijkbudget has not been fully spent, the community organization has the opportunity to save a part of the wijkbudget for the following year. However, wijkbudget must be spent within two years.

The individual ordinary citizen has the privilege to apply for a part of the wijkbudget to make a positive contribution to his or her living environment. Citizens themselves ensure the application and, on approval, they carry out the project or idea themselves. Afterward, they are held accountable for the spending of the wijkbudget in order to claim the entire amount of requested wijkbudget. This is mandatory to ensure the purpose of wijkbudgetten.

*Scope rules* determine the possible outcomes that can be achieved and thus affect the results to be achieved. Community organizations receiving wijkbudget have control over the approval of individual applications. The city council set out the main areas within which wijkbudgetten should be spent. The main areas are:

- Improving the living environment.
- Promotion of labor participation.
- Improving sense of security.
- Promotion of social cohesion.
- Promotion of the livability.
- Caring for stimulation of care-dependents.
- Encouraging sustainability.

In addition, the city council has set out rules that individual citizens should meet in order to apply for a wijkbudget. An application:

- May not be in violation with laws and regulations;
- must fit within municipal and administrative frameworks;
- may not be of private interest;
- must contain sufficient support within the district or village of where the initiative takes place;
- should be practically feasible; and
- must be carried out by the applicant and, if necessary, fellow citizens of the district.

Citizens must comply with the above rules and frameworks laid down by the city council. In principle, community organizations have the final vote in approving or rejecting individual applications and the distribution of wijkbudget to the applicant. In this particular case, I say 'in principle', because in practice

the distribution of wijkbudget often happens via SDM. Recognized district bodies, such as Dorpsraad Lonneker and Bewonersteam Stroinkslanden, receive the entire amount of their wijkbudget on their bank account. They are accountable to SDM. Un-recognized district bodies do not have the entire amount of wijkbudget on their bank account and must notify all approved applications to SDM. Individual citizens must be accountable to the community organization who approved the application and SDM, in order to receive wijkbudget.

*Aggregation rules* determine how decisions should be taken and whether actions of other actors are needed. The municipality did not provide a certain protocol at the time of the introduction of wijkbudgetten on how community organizations should set up the decision-making process. All wijkbudget recipient community organizations have their own method and rules on the decision making. Nevertheless, community organizations often use a similar method. For example, the community organizations who subdivide applications into categories. Bewonersteam Stroinkslanden uses three categories: requests up to € 1500, - requests between € 1500, - and € 5000, - and requests of € 5000, - or above. For applications up to € 1500, -, community organizations have been given the mandate of citizens of the district to decide independently on an application. In the other two categories, a (public) district meeting is required, which means that citizens of the district can vote, with each voice being equally heavy and where a majority of the votes is enough to decide on the application (Stroinkslanden, 2016). Other community organizations, such as Tweekelerveld, do not distinguish between categories but require a majority of the votes (three or more) of the members of the Tweekelerveld community organization (Tweekelerveld, 2016). Community organization Pathmos uses, just like Tweekelerveld, members of the community organization (intends to involve non-members of the community organization), but also explicitly states that they are being assisted by an employee of SDM (Raad053, 2016). SDM has a facilitating role and provides, if necessary, the community organizations with advice. They basically have no voice in making decisions on applications from individual citizens. However, SDM manages a part of wijkbudget that has been allocated by the city council to the various districts. Via SDM, budgets are managed, or distributed among the several community organizations. Some community organizations, in practice the recognized district bodies, receive the total amount of entitled wijkbudget to their bank account. In other cases, SDM is the manager of wijkbudget.

*Information rules* relate to the information made available to all actors within this action situation. With the introduction of wijkbudgetten, the city council barely provided community organizations with rules and frameworks to set up their work process. As a consequence, community organizations have been given all the freedom to set up their own work processes and they should only alert individual citizens to comply with the rules and frameworks given by the city council, as mentioned earlier. Through meetings between SDM and community organizations, rules regarding the accountability of wijkbudget have been developed and implemented. Community organizations should be able to justify the spending of

wijkbudget. In the spending plans which community organizations have to deliver each year, the accountability must be correct. These spending plans are discussed annually in the district committee meetings which eventually receive approval or require completion. A clear accountability for community organizations automatically implies a clear accountability for the individual applicant. Although every community organization is free to determine their own rules and frameworks, they often use the same manner of accountability. For example, the applicant should write a substantive report on the implemented idea or initiative, adding photos, providing bank notes, invoices, etc., everything that can account for expenses (Wesselerbrink, 2016). If the accountability meets the requirements, the applicant will receive the full or remaining part of the wijkbudget. Since SDM manages most of the wijkbudgetten of community organizations, there is actually a double check, which means that in theory, nothing can go wrong.

*Payoff rules* determine the impact on costs and benefits that result from certain combinations of actions and results. Community organizations often make certain demands on the amount of wijkbudget that can be deducted from an activity. A common rule is that only a small amount of wijkbudget is allocated for neighborhood barbecues. For example, there are community organizations who pay a maximum of € 250,- for a neighborhood barbecue ('t Ribbelt-Stokhorst, Eschmarke-Zuid, De Laares), where other community organizations set a different maximum or do not even allow neighborhood barbecues (Boekelo). In addition, there may be other requirements, such as non-compensation of food or a fee for hiring materials such as bouncy castles, refrigerators, etc. (Wesselerbrink).

Community organizations were given two years to spend their allocated part of wijkbudget. If at the end of the year a certain amount of wijkbudget is still available, this part can be reserved for the next year. The remaining wijkbudget from the previous year should be spent first before spending the new budget. Using this method caused a citywide reserve of not spent wijkbudget.

#### 4.1.3 Reflection

The institutional setting of both the collective action situation as the operational action situation has been explained, meaning that a first look can be thrown on how these rules relate to the ideal balance between the certainty of rules on the one hand and on the other hand the freedom of citizens to develop their initiatives. By introducing the wijkbudgetten, the aim of the city council was to initiate a move in which citizens have greater control over changes in their own living environment by allowing them to be the initiator and in which civil servants have a supporting role. Ultimately this has to increase citizen participation. The city council then decided to give only a handful of rules and frameworks to citizens and community organizations to which they must adhere to. These rules and frameworks were meant for the individual citizens who would like to apply for a wijkbudget and not so much for the community organizations. Community organizations only need to check the applications if they meet the rules and

frameworks as of given by the city council. The council's decision leading to the introduction of wijkbudgetten can be consulted for e.g. the dividing of wijkbudgetten among community organizations. However, the way in which community organizations can set up their work processes has not been discussed.

In 2013, Saxion University did a study on the functioning of wijkbudgetten, a sort of mid-term evaluation. This study showed that citizens and community organizations saw wijkbudgetten as a positive tool to engage citizens more in their district or village and shaping their own living environment. Nevertheless, there appeared to be issues that required the necessary attention. Especially the voluntary role of the community organizations in relation to the role of the government raises some questions. Community organizations were worried about the professionalization of their voluntary work. Due to increased responsibilities, there has been a need for a professional safety net (De Bruijn, T., Straatman, E., Kuyper, J., Klein Braskamp, Y., Boswinkel, K., 2013). The increased professionalization calls for more clarity, certainty, and structure regarding the implementation of wijkbudgetten.

From the municipality's point of view, there have been a number of developments that are in line with findings of community organizations: there is a need for a more clarified and improved method for implementing wijkbudgetten, especially in terms of responsibility and the absence of a legal basis. From different spending plans presented during the district committee, it appears that a global description is given where wijkbudgetten should be spent on. These spending plans do not fully display the exact projects and expenses. This makes the accountability not fully recoverable. In addition to the accountability, there is no (well-functioning) legal basis. A good example is the subsidy regulation 'Subsidieverordening Activiteiten Stadsdeelgewijs Werken 2006 (SASW2006)', which proved to be active but completely outdated and practically incorrect, therefore necessary for replacement. Another important point of criticism from the municipality's point of view was the fact that many community organizations did not spend their entire annual allocated wijkbudget. As a result, most of the community organizations created a 'piggy bank' with large surpluses, while the municipality had to cut a lot in other policy areas. This did not feel correct from both the municipality and community organizations.

Despite the criticisms, from the moment of introducing wijkbudgetten systematics, wijkbudgetten have been working fairly well in practice. The city council saw an increase in citizen participation, while citizens and community organizations, within the rules and frameworks, have full control over improving living ability in their district or village. However, with the view of giving more responsibility and freedom to citizens and community organizations, the city council has ensured that there are only a few rules and frameworks that can serve as a guiding principle for the way in which wijkbudgetten work. As the mid-term evaluation of Saxion University in combination with information from members of different community organizations has shown, this freedom and responsibility were too big. Community

organizations felt the need to professionalize due to increased work time and accountability requirements. In addition, there were no policy documents on how to set up wijkbudgetten working processes. Despite the fact that there seems to be a lot of rules and frameworks in which to operate, the rules and frameworks were in practice pretty spacious. A citizen initiative meets the rules and frameworks very easily. This spacious setup is of primary importance as wijkbudgetten should be an accessible way to involve citizens in improving their living environment, but also offers a lack of structure and clear legal framework. As a result, this lack of rules and structure does not give much certainty to the municipality in case of abuse of wijkbudget by citizens or community organizations. On the other hand, it is questionable whether the municipality meets the legislative requirements in the absence of a legal framework. Due to the absence of a properly functioning legal framework, most community organizations that receive wijkbudget created their own rules and frameworks to take care of the lack of structure and sustainability. Where the city council just wanted to regulate and bureaucrate as little as possible, community organizations needed more structure and clarity and therefore they self-regulated, resulting in different working processes between the community organizations.

## 4.2 The new institutional setting since 2017

Based on the collective and operational action situation, the new institutional setting will be explained. The collective action situation will not discuss the rules and frameworks again but reflects the substantive interaction that led to the introduction of new rules and frameworks for wijkbudgetten policy. The new institutional setting will be discussed in the *operational action situation*.

### 4.2.1 Collective Choice Situation

Based on the criticisms and points of improvement mentioned in paragraph 4.1.3, there have been several meetings between civil servants of the municipality and community organizations on the subject of finding ways to improve wijkbudgetten policy and on creating a better balance between the security of rules on the one hand and the freedom for citizens and community organizations to develop initiatives on the other hand.

An important point of criticism from the point of view of the municipality has been the fact that a lot of community organizations did not spend their annually designated wijkbudget, resulting in more and more savings. The rule stated that wijkbudgetten had to be spent within two years. However, these annually returning reservations felt uncomfortable for both the city council as community organizations, because in other policy areas it was necessary to cut costs, while in the wijkbudgetten policy area there was plenty enough money. Therefore, it is decided to only allow the spending of wijkbudgetten in the year of allocation. The expected consequence could be the increased pressure on community organizations to spend allocated wijkbudgetten within one year. To tackle this pressure the city council introduced a new



rule to allow community organizations under certain conditions to save some of the wijkbudget. In addition to the option of saving a part of wijkbudget, there are a number of other changes within the wijkbudgetten policy that should ensure the development and optimization of working processes and the use and application of wijkbudgetten by citizens and civil servants of the municipality. Due to the fact that not every community organization is a recognized district body and therefore does not have their entire allocated wijkbudget directly available, it has been decided to allow community organizations to apply for an advance, primarily to initiate citizen initiatives more quickly. There is also an interest in a municipality-wide communication plan to increase the awareness of wijkbudgetten in districts and villages. For example, the website Jijmaaktdebuurt.nl is being renewed and urban campaigns are being launched. By further highlighting wijkbudgetten, there is a greater chance of an increasing amount of citizen proposals, resulting in community organizations that spend more of their wijkbudget.

The lack of a legal basis has been an important point for ensuring greater security and structure. However, the SASW2006 was still in force and never been adjusted to the situation after the introduction of the wijkbudgetten policy. Partly because of this outdated regulation, wijkbudgetten have not been treated as a subsidy, at least not in practice. Still, nothing else could be concluded other than that wijkbudgetten must be treated as a subsidy. With this in mind, the Algemene wet bestuursrecht (Awb) and the Algemene Subsidieverordening gemeente Enschede 2016 also apply to the wijkbudgetten policy. Article 4.1 of the Awb provides that a subsidy can be granted if an application has been made (by citizens). This is not in line with the intention of wijkbudgetten and would involve unnecessary bureaucracy. Reason enough to come up with new regulation which should together with rules on savings and advances serve as a legal basis. In doing so, these rules should also comply with the accounting rules such as the Besluit Begroting en Verantwoording (BBV), Corporate tax (VPB) and the Audit.

The new regulation and rules came into force on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017 under the names of Subsidieverordening Wijkbudgetten 2017” (SW2017) (appendix 2) and “Nadere regels bij de uitvoering van de Subsidieverordening Wijkbudgetten 2017” (NRW2017) (appendix 3) and provide a clear interpretation of the intended objective. This involves the improvement, development, optimizing and uniforming of work processes in wijkbudgetten policy, which makes it easier for community organizations and requesting citizens to make use of wijkbudgetten. These new rules and frameworks must provide a legal basis and legal certainties for both the system world and the living world, especially at the operational level.

#### 4.2.2 Operational Choice Situation

The introduction of new rules and frameworks relates to the day-to-day decision-making process and mainly affect community organizations, SDM, and citizens. The rules-in-use of the new institutional

setting will be explained in this paragraph. Given the fact that not the entire institutional setting has been changed, similarities with the old institutional setting are there.

Regarding the *position and boundary rules*, no changes have occurred in relation to the old institutional setting. The position of SDM still represents the system world in this action situation. SDM remains involved in the allocation of wijkbudgetten by community organizations to citizens. Also, with respect to community organizations and individual citizens, there are no changes if it comes to becoming a member of a community organization or doing a request for a wijkbudget. A person still has to reach the age of 18 years and must live in a certain district of the municipality of Enschede. If citizens meet the age and residency requirements, they have the right to apply or become a member of a community organization. There is no obligation, the occupant decides whether he wants to participate or not.

*Choice rules* determine the actions that SDM, community organizations and individual citizens may take, can take or cannot take. SDM is, as an extension of the college of mayor and alderman, authorized to take decisions by mandate. SDM can act as a provider of subsidy and may decide on applications for wijkbudgetten of community organizations. Community organizations are the subsidy applicants in this context. In case SDM grants subsidy to community organizations, individual citizens can claim part of the wijkbudget allocated to the relevant community organization. This can be done by means of an application in the form of a proposal.

Community organizations decide on the allocation of wijkbudgetten to individual citizens in their field of work. If a proposal for wijkbudget has been received, the community organization checks whether this request meets the rules and frameworks as drawn up by the municipality and by community organizations. They can either approve, disapprove or request replenishment of the proposal. If a wijkbudget proposal has been approved, the citizen is allowed to implement his idea or initiative. Implementation is done by the citizen himself or with help of local residents.

A recognized citizen organization has the ability to manage their own allocated wijkbudget. Unrecognized community organizations do not have this ability. In that case, SDM manages their part of the wijkbudget. Community organizations may ask for an advance of wijkbudget.

When the citizen's proposal has been approved by the community organization, the citizen is entitled to make use of the amount of wijkbudget as mentioned by the occupant in the proposal. Despite the fact that the proposal has been approved, cancellation of the application may still take place, as the college of mayor and aldermen can rely on the hardness clause (Article 15 of the SVW2017). In case the hardness clause will not be used, the amount of wijkbudget can either be paid before or after implementation of the initiative. Community organizations decide on this. Individual citizens, however, have the duty to justify their expenditure. Community organizations may provide instructions on how to be accountable.

Unrecognized community organizations must send the accountability to SDM, where SDM checks the accountability and decides whether the accountability is sufficient or requires additions. When the accountability appears to be sufficient, wijkbudgetten will either be paid out or will not be recovered.

A community organization only has a limited budget of wijkbudget. In case a citizen intends to request a proposal that covers a large part of the total amount of wijkbudget that is available within a community organization, there is the possibility to set up a savings plan for that specific initiative. The initiative will be spread over several years, leaving space to accept other proposals. In the case of a 'big' proposal, the community organization sets up a savings plan and send it to SDM, where SDM can either approve or reject this request or can ask for additions.

There is also a possibility that at the end of the calendar year a community organization did not spend their entire amount of wijkbudget or there is a shortage of wijkbudget. Community organizations then have the opportunity to reallocate wijkbudget. This may be the case when district A has received an attractive proposal but ran out of wijkbudget. In that case, they can ask other districts for a favor. However, community organizations have a duty to discuss this redistribution with SDM, on which SDM may ultimately decide on this request.

If the college of mayor and aldermen or SDM believes that an (approved) proposal is contrary to the intention of wijkbudgetten, they have the opportunity to make use of the hardness clause as explained in the SVW2017, meaning that they can reject an initiative at all times, but with good arguments.

*Scope rules* determine the possible outcomes that can be achieved and thus affect the results to be achieved. In the new situation, there are no changes with regard to the rules and frameworks to which citizens who submit a proposal for wijkbudget must comply with. There is, however, an increase in rules. The important aspect is the change in saving remaining wijkbudget. Wijkbudgetten must be spent in the year of allocation, otherwise leftovers will return to the general reserve of the municipality. This can create additional pressure for community organizations, but it might also work as an incentive to bring wijkbudgetten under attention with the result of getting more proposals. Ultimately there is a greater chance that the entire wijkbudget will be spent.

*Aggregation rules* determine how decisions should be taken and whether actions of other actors are needed. There are certainly some changes in this area in relation to the old institutional setting. The community organization to whom a subsidy application form has been sent has to return this application form written and signed to SDM (Article 9 of the SVW2017), in which SDM will decide on the application within at least thirteen weeks (article 11 paragraph 1 of the SVW2017). Upon approval, the community organization is entitled to use the amount of wijkbudget specified in the application. The wijkbudget must be spent within one year. Any leftovers of the wijkbudget will be recovered by SDM and refunded to the

general reserve of the municipality. Once the community organization has received their part of the wijkbudget, the budget can be divided amongst the approved proposals. Community organizations decide what proposals they approve on the basis of the rules and frameworks given by the city council and their own. If a proposal meets the rules and frameworks, it will be approved. If not, the community organization may permanently reject the proposal or they can ask for additional information.

In most cases, recognized community organizations manage their entire allocated amount of wijkbudget by themselves where they can make demands on how wijkbudgetten are distributed to individual citizens. Unrecognized community organizations do not have full disposal of their allocated wijkbudget. In that case, SDM manages their budget. Therefore, it will be mostly unrecognized community organizations who want to make use of an advance. Community organizations that would like to apply for an advance of wijkbudget discuss with SDM whether an advance is necessary and what the amount of the advance should be (article 2 paragraph 2 of the NRW2017).

The distinction between recognized and unrecognized community organizations also affects the manner of accountability. The accountability is to prove that wijkbudget is actually been spent on at least one of the intended goals of wijkbudgetten policy. Recognized community organizations somewhat set up their own rules how citizens have to meet the accountability requirements. Unrecognized community organizations follow the requirements of SDM when it comes to accountability, as SDM manages their part of the wijkbudget and usually provides the distribution of wijkbudgetten to individual citizens.

The individual citizens are accountable to the community organization where they have submitted a proposal. The applicant shows by means of vouchers, photographs, videos or other evidence that the initiative has taken place and that the entire wijkbudget has been spent as mentioned in the proposal. If the accountability is sufficient enough, the applicant will receive the issued amount of wijkbudget. The community organization is also held accountable for the amount of wijkbudget they spend and must submit this to the college of mayor and aldermen and the district committee. The financial accountability takes place at the college of mayor and aldermen, the substantive accountability at the district committee. If the accountability is incomplete, the college of mayor and aldermen may withdraw or recover a part or the entire subsidy (wijkbudget) (Article 13 of the SVW2017). An incomplete accountability implies that expenditures have not taken place in accordance with the spending plan (substantive accountability) or certain expenses or activities have not taken place.

*Information rules* relate to the information made available to all actors within the action situation. In the new context, a number of things have changed. Now that the city council agreed to implement the SVW2017 and NRW2017, there has been more clarity about wijkbudgetten policy and the corresponding rules and frameworks. Previously, there were only a few (unwritten) rules and frameworks that individual citizens and community organizations had to meet. Wijkbudgetten policy is now much more

understandable. Now there is clarity in the form of subsidy regulation, detailed rules and adding city council decisions of April 11<sup>th</sup>, 2011 (Wijkbudgetten), December 12<sup>th</sup>, 2011 (Spelregels gebruik bestemmingsreserve wijkbudgetten) and November 4<sup>th</sup>, 2015 (Wijkbudgetten) as official policies. All these new rules and frameworks form the legal basis on which the actors from the system world and the living world can appeal. Community organizations and citizens may find the new rules and frameworks difficult to read and that is not the intention of wijkbudgetten policy. Therefore, it has been chosen to explain these rules and frameworks simply and clearly in a flyer (appendix 4), to serve as a simple tool for community organizations and citizens.

*Payoff rules* determine the impact on costs and benefits that result from certain combinations of actions and results. In the new context, wijkbudgetten are officially considered as subsidies, leaving wijkbudgetten bound by subsidy rules. This implies that a community organization needs to submit an application for a subsidy to make use of wijkbudget and that the subsidy can be stopped (article 13 of the SVW2017). In practice, it is not the community organization that submits an application for a subsidy. SDM sends an application form to all community organizations that receive wijkbudget. Community organizations must fill in and sign the application form and send the application form back to SDM for a successful application. Since the subsidy can be stopped, providing a complete spending plan and accountability of the spend wijkbudget is of great importance to community organizations. This entails that a community organization must be able to accurately demonstrate how and on what wijkbudget has been spent. By virtue of Article 12 of the SVW2017, the college of mayor and alderman has legal means for obliging community organizations to provide an appropriate accountability. Previously, this accountability took place only in the district committee which takes place in the first quarter of each year. In addition, the compulsory expenditure of wijkbudget within one calendar year should, in theory, be an additional incentive for community organizations to highlight wijkbudgetten in their living environment since unspent wijkbudget returns to general resources of the municipality and will be spent on something that citizens have no control on.

#### 4.2.3 Reflection

Both the old and the new institutional setting have now been explained. The next step is to find out whether the new institutional setting has created an improved balance between the certainty of rules on the one hand and freedom of citizens to develop initiatives on the other hand. Despite the fact that wijkbudgetten worked well in practice and that it increased citizen participation, there was a need for change, improvement, and optimization in all aspects of wijkbudgetten policy. The main criticisms are:

- Recurring reserves of wijkbudget because many community organizations could not spend their entire allocated budget. This created a large reserve for wijkbudgetten while other policy areas had to make cutbacks.

- The lack of a legal basis on which both the municipality and citizens can refer to.
- A lack of structure within work processes and an increase of activities for community organizations.

#### *4.2.3.1 Recurring reservations*

In the city council's decision of November 4<sup>th</sup>, 2015, the city council decided that community organizations are only allowed to spend wijkbudget in the year of allocation instead of spending wijkbudget within two years. This prevents the creation of a (new) reserve and ensures that any remaining wijkbudget returns to the general resources of the municipality. In order to accommodate community organizations, two specific agreements are made to ensure that community organizations are able to save a part of the remaining wijkbudget to finance a future plan. In addition, community organizations are given the opportunity to request an advance of wijkbudget to make sure that initiatives initiate faster. For community organizations, this might give some pressure to ensure that they spend the entire budget, as they can no longer reserve wijkbudget for later use without making a savings plan.

#### *4.2.3.2 Fundamental legal basis*

On December 6<sup>th</sup>, 2016, the city council agreed (appendix 1) on introducing new rules and frameworks for wijkbudgetten, not only creating a legal basis but also in which the wijkbudgetten policy is further developed, informed and optimized. This legal basis came into force on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017, in the form of subsidy regulation and detailed rules for wijkbudgetten. The SVW2017 ensures that previous city council decisions on wijkbudgetten are now identified as policy documents, making these documents part of the legal basis.

By the entry into force of the SVW2017 and the NRW2017, efforts have been made to meet the desired legal basis. This legal basis relates mainly to the relationship between community organizations and the municipality and provides community organizations guidelines on how to receive wijkbudgetten, the involving obligations and the manner of accountability. The SVW2017 mainly prescribes the duties of community organizations, while the NRW2017 emphasizes on community organizations rights. The NRW2017 contains rules that relate to saving wijkbudget and receiving an advance.

From the point of view of the municipality, a legal basis is of paramount importance, in particular, to ensure that the funding process is legitimate. Before the introduction of the SVW2017 and NRW2017, the SASW2006 was in force, which was completely outdated and substantively and practically incorrect. For example, SASW2006 stated that the maximum amount of subsidy is € 25.000, -, while the majority of community organizations received more than € 25.000, - of wijkbudget. Wijkbudget has also not been treated as a subsidy, even though that is what should be the case. Apart from the fact that there was a regulation that was substantively and practically incorrect, no further official rules were into force. City

council decisions regarding wijkbudgetten could be consulted, but official policy documents or rules on wijkbudgetten were not available at that time. With the introduction of the SVW2017 and the NRW2017, a legal basis has been created in which wijkbudgetten are officially treated as subsidies and comply with the requirements of the legislature.

The lack of legal certainty regarding wijkbudgetten has been improved by creating a legal basis. In other words, the new rules and frameworks have a positive impact on the 'certainty of rules', which applies to both community organizations and the municipality. Although there has been an increase in rules and, more specifically, in the field of subsidy applications by community organizations, these rules do not directly affect community organizations on how they divide the budget over individual applications. Community organizations must continue to take into account the rules and frameworks that came into force January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017, but they will also continue to regulate themselves. Indirectly, community organizations may introduce stricter rules regarding the accountability of wijkbudgetten as they are faced with stricter accountability requirements: the college of mayor and alderman may, under article 12, paragraph 1 of the SVW2017, oblige community organizations to be accountable for a realized initiative or a to be realized initiative. In addition, a distinction is made between substantive accountability and financial accountability, with the substantive accountability to be approved by the district committee and the financial accountability must be approved by the college of mayor and alderman (article 14, paragraph 4 of the SVW2017). These stricter accountability requirements may flow to the rules for individual applications. The annually drafting of the spending plan now plays a big(ger) role: community organizations have already been set up spending plans since the introduction of wijkbudgetten back in 2011 on how they intend to spend their allocated wijkbudget. However, the SVW2017 offers the college of mayor and alderman the opportunity to withdraw or recover subsidy (partially) if expenditures have not been made in accordance with the spending plan (article 13 of the SVW2017).

The increase of rules has mainly led to more legal power for the community in case a community organization violates the purpose of wijkbudgetten. As a result of the introduction of the new rules, community organizations now have guidelines on how to apply for subsidy and how they are able to prevent losing the right of making use of wijkbudget. The municipality has mainly created legal certainty: they have the right to deviate from provisions in the SVW2017 (article 15 of the SVW2017) and may refer to other provisions to make sure that community organizations treat wijkbudgetten correctly.

#### *4.2.3.3 Optimizing work processes*

The entry into force of the SVW2017 not only provides a legal basis but also establishes some kind of structure. The SVW2017 provides guidelines on how to apply for a subsidy, the corresponding obligations, as well as the way in which subsidy can be recovered by the college of mayor and alderman. This applies to all community organizations, creating structure and uniformity in the application process and

determination of subsidy. In addition, the new rules and frameworks relate mostly to the relationship between community organizations and the municipality, changing hardly anything between the community organizations and individual applicants. Theoretically, individual applicants may notice that new rules have been introduced. For example, community organizations are obliged to spend their wijkbudget in the year of allocation. Depending on the popularity of wijkbudget within the district, citizens may find out that proposals are approved more easily or that a stricter assessment takes place. If wijkbudgetten are popular in a certain district and when the community organization can spend their entire wijkbudget effortlessly within one year, the community organization can judge individual proposals more strictly because they want to spread out the distribution of wijkbudget evenly throughout the year. On the other hand, in districts where wijkbudgetten are not so popular, community organizations may ask for fewer demands in order to approve proposals more rapidly, thus preventing the reflux of wijkbudget into the general resources of the municipality. In addition, the hardness clause contained in the SVW2017 may also play a part in the approval of individual applications. By virtue of this provision, the municipality is entitled to intervene at all times when the approved application for an initiative is contrary to the intention of wijkbudgetten. Of course, the use of the hardness clause requires extreme care.

Wijkbudgetten is in fact tax money and taxpayers money should be spent wisely. Therefore, rules are needed to prevent abuse and to protect citizens against themselves. At the introduction of wijkbudgetten, the aim was giving citizens more guidance on directing their own living environment. This includes a certain freedom of action based on mutual trust. The municipality barely provided rules and frameworks, which caused community organizations to self-regulate, resulting in different working processes between community organizations. There was an obvious lack of certainty of rules and a high degree of freedom of action. By entry into force of the SVW2017 and NRW2017, the lack of certainty of rules has been reduced in any way. The municipality has gained a lot of legal certainties, while community organizations do not have so much more legal certainty, but more or less some guidelines how to work with wijkbudgetten. The new rules and frameworks obviously affect the accountability and freedom of citizens to develop initiatives. The municipality sets out certain provisions that community organizations must comply with, such as achieving the goals according to the spending plan, the obliged spending of wijkbudget in the year of allocation, etc.

The next section will discuss the extent to which the changes affect the ideal balance between the certainty of rules on the one hand and the freedom of citizens to develop initiatives on the other hand.



## 4.3 Working towards the ideal balance

Working towards an ideal balance between on the one hand the certainty of rules and on the other hand the freedom for citizens to develop initiatives, requires time and change. This section explains whether an ideal balance has been achieved or there are things that should be considered in the future to achieve that ideal balance.

### 4.3.1 Recurring reservations

With introducing *wijkbudgetten*, the city council provided only a handful of rules and frameworks including some rules to prevent inappropriate use of *wijkbudgetten*. *Wijkbudgetten* policy is implemented to give citizens more control in changing their living environment and thereby increasing citizen participation. During the implementation of *wijkbudgetten* policy, the city council has taken into account a possible start-up phase that might be necessary for community organizations to introduce *wijkbudgetten* to the public. For this reason, community organizations were allowed to reserve remaining *wijkbudget* so that they can spend the remaining *wijkbudget* in the next year, provided that a clear spending plan has been formulated. In practice, reserving *wijkbudget* was quite easy. The annually submitted spending plan by a community organization is almost always approved with the result that a large part of the *wijkbudgetten* is not spent, resulting in an ever growing reserve. Eventually, this ended up with more than one million euros of *wijkbudget* within the reserve. In this sense, the reservation of *wijkbudget* was structurally in nature. In the same period, the municipality had to cut back in other policy areas, causing uncomfortable feelings to both the college of mayor and alderman and community organizations of having so much *wijkbudget* reserved. In summary, the ideal balance was still far to be found.

New rules had to prevent the establishment of a huge reserve of *wijkbudgetten*. On November 4th, 2015, the city council decided that *wijkbudgetten* could no longer be reserved. From that moment, *wijkbudgetten* may only be spent in the year of allocation. Any remaining *wijkbudget* would then flow back to the general resources of the municipality. This measure ensures that community organizations are somewhat restricted in spending *wijkbudgetten*, as large proposals can no longer be approved because there is simply no money left. For example, the district 'De Bothoven' has an annual budget of approximately € 65.000,-. They wanted to build a bridge over the train track between 'the Performance Factory' and district 'De Laares', with a large part of the costs being funded from the *wijkbudget*. Due to the rule that *wijkbudget* may only be spent in the year of allocation, this is no longer possible because De Bothoven could no longer spend reserved *wijkbudget*. The municipality foresaw this problem as well and decided that there should be rules on saving *wijkbudget*.

Since January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017, it is possible for community organizations to save a part of the wijkbudget to fund larger projects, for example, to fund the building of a bridge. According to article 1 of the NRW2017, the community organization is given the opportunity to reserve a part of the subsidy for a maximum of three years, with the aim of saving for a pre-named major or specific initiative. This rule still has a number of conditions to be met, such as the submission of a savings plan at the college of mayor and aldermen (article 1, paragraph 2 of the NRW2017) which describes at least the content and purpose of the initiative, the way of implementation, planning and budgetary and proof of sufficient support (article 1, paragraph 4 of the NRW2017). Despite the fact that the freedom of action and equity of citizens was somewhat restricted, at the same time the rules gave more certainty. Rules that are clearly defined and can only be interpreted in one way.

The new institutional setting is in force for about half a year. Community organizations who spend their entire annually wijkbudget say nothing has changed concerning the reservation (savings) of wijkbudget. Community organizations such as Stroinkslanden and Boekelo indicate that they still use the same working process as of before the entry into force of the new rules and that they cannot make a substantive judgment of this aspect of the new rules. Other community organizations such as De Laares and De Bothoven think that they mainly focus on smaller proposals because larger proposals are covered by the savings rules. Therefore, they can hardly save for a bigger project (Bothoven bridge example). They usually spend the entire annual budget. Latter mentioned community organizations indicate that community organization that do not spend their entire annual budget are more likely to approve proposals more quickly.

#### 4.3.2 Fundamental legal basis

At the introduction of wijkbudgetten back in 2011, the municipality spoke about giving citizens complete control over spending wijkbudget, with citizens submitting proposals themselves and take care of the realization of their initiative. Citizens have to take their responsibilities of improving their direct living environment. Based on only a number of frameworks in which initiatives can take place and a handful of rules that are about what is allowed or not, citizens can decide with help of wijkbudget how to improve their direct living environment. The full control that citizens receive over the spending of wijkbudgetten and the minimal governance given by the municipality resulted in a certain degree of self-regulation by community organizations. Community organizations began to draft rules about how to apply for wijkbudget, the way in which decisions are taken and how to meet the accountability issue. This led to differences between community organizations about how eventually decisions are made regarding wijkbudgetten.

What has been a big obstacle for both the municipality and community (organizations) was the fact that there were hardly any written policy documents which could serve as some kind of structure and legal

certainty. The documents that could be consulted were the city council proposals, an irrelevant subsidy regulation and self-established work processes of various community organizations. There was clearly a need for a legal basis. The development of a new subsidy regulation and new rules had to take care of that. Following the introduction of these new rules, not only the need for a legal basis was met, but there was also a noticeable increase in a number of rules. Rules for which community organizations and individual citizens must comply with in order to claim a part of the wijkbudget.

The new institutional setting increases the number of rules but adds some kind of structure for community organizations to follow. For the municipality, it provides more legal opportunities for controlling wijkbudgetten policy. Stricter accountability rules ensure that community organizations have to apply stricter accountability rules to individual applications. How this works out in the future is not clear yet. Before a proper evaluation of the new policy can take place, it is important that the new rules have been in force for at least one year. At present, community organizations have indicated they do not even notice new rules have been introduced. An anonymous community organization even indicates that all these changes will not have a positive effect and might even delay the application and accountability process. Other community organizations like Stroinkslanden, De Laares, and Boekelo indicate that in theory the rules are well-formulated, but in practice leads to red-tape. For example, they should be much more alert when applicants present the accountability over their spent wijkbudget. In addition, they mention that it is important for community organizations that do not control their (entire) wijkbudget by themselves, payment by SDM to community organizations takes place on time. The new rules and frameworks require that community organizations need to pay much more attention to the entire process, from the beginning of the process (proposal) till the end (accountability). For community organizations this requires that they must be able to provide a complete accountability for every part of the process. Incomplete accountability may result in withdrawal or recovery of wijkbudget.

#### 4.3.3 Optimizing work processes

As discussed earlier, the new legal basis also creates structure in the twist of old, often unwritten rules prevailing before January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017. From the municipality, guidance will be given to community organizations, leading to fewer differences in the working processes of the community organizations. However, the different working processes are initially not the problem. The citizen who is planning to submit a proposal must always submit the proposal to the same community organization. There have been scenarios that a stricter policy by community organization 'A' led to a rejected proposal, while a similar proposal is approved by community organization 'B' because the policy is less strict. Nevertheless, the working processes of community organizations will probably not change immediately as the community organizations Stroinkslanden, De Laares, and Boekelo already indicated. Although the new rules have been introduced and community organizations have to take necessary measures to comply with the accountability rules, in practice, community organizations prefer to continue in the old way. They

expect that municipality makes it harder for community organizations to work with wijkbudgetten than it was before the implementation of the new regulation. They state that with this new institutional setting, the municipality has gained more grip on wijkbudgetten policy, allowing them more control over community organizations. Particular attention should be paid to the correct follow-up of the spending plan, the compulsory spending of wijkbudget in the year of allocation and the hardness clause that the municipality can use to disapprove approved applications. For the time being, it is mainly assumptions, but by the end of the year, more will be known about this matter.

## 5. Conclusions

Based on a changing institutional setting in combination with views from community organizations, an analysis has been made on how the institutional changes affects the ideal balance between on the one hand the certainty of rules within the system world and on the other hand the freedom for the living world to show initiative and continue promoting citizen participation. This answers the research question which stated: “To what extent has the ideal balance been achieved between on the one hand the certainty of rules regarding wijkbudgetten and on the other hand the freedom for citizens in the municipality of Enschede to show initiative and continue the promotion of citizen participation?”

### The old ‘balance’

The society-oriented approach is increasingly taking shape. Where previously the municipality itself determined policy measures within the municipality, we now see a transition to a municipality that increasingly involves citizens in policy making, shaping their own living environment, etc. At the introduction of wijkbudgetten in 2011, the municipality aimed at giving citizens more authority and influence on improving their living environment. Citizens have certainly taken advantage of this influence. In practice, wijkbudgetten have worked quite well. The municipality saw an increase in citizen participation and community organizations have, within the rules and frameworks, reviewed many proposals which gave citizens the chance to improve their living environment.

Since the introduction of wijkbudgetten, citizens and community organizations have been given a high degree of freedom and responsibility to set up their own working processes. The municipality gave only a limited number of rules and frameworks that community organizations had to meet. This resulted in community organizations creating their own (but different) working processes to meet the accountability requirements. Community organizations felt that they had to professionalize in order to meet all the (unwritten) requirements from the municipality. Information obtained from interviews and the mid-term evaluation by Saxion University showed that the amount of freedom and responsibility was too high. Being a member of a community organization became time-consuming. Despite the small amount of rules and frameworks, which in practice proved to be quite broad, a citizen's proposal meets one of the requirements quite easily. The reason for this is that wijkbudgetten should be a low-threshold way for citizen participation. However, the original structure offers mostly a lack of structure and unclear rules. The lack of structure means less certainty for the municipality, especially in the case of abuse of wijkbudget by individual citizens or community organizations. The spending plan that must be submitted by community organizations each year and in which the accountability has been formulated, has in most cases been approved without any difficulties.

The low number of rules and frameworks for wijkbudgetten raises legal questions. Wijkbudgetten is considered to be tax money and since the municipality is not allowed to 'just give away money', wijkbudgetten should be indicated as a subsidy. The problem was that in practice, wijkbudget was not treated as a subsidy. In addition, there appeared to be an old subsidy regulation (SASW2006) that was legally incorrect. Therefore, it can be concluded that the municipality did not meet the requirements of the legislature. At the introduction of wijkbudgetten, the municipality aimed at minimizing the amount of regulation and bureaucracy with the result that community organizations moved to self-regulation in order to create more structure and clarity in the wijkbudgetten process. This already indicates that citizens were given too much freedom and responsibility at the time of the introduction of wijkbudgetten. On the other hand, the municipality has been unable to create a certain degree of certainty due to a few amount of rules and frameworks. The excessive amount of freedom and responsibility for community organizations and individual citizens in combination with a lack of structure and legal basis means that there is no balance between the freedom for citizens to show initiative and the need for certainty of rules for the municipality.

#### The new balance

On January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017, new rules were introduced in the form of SVW2017 and NRW2017 to provide a legal basis that will also serve as a guideline for the implementation of the wijkbudgetten policy. This will, in any case, provide a certain structure that will be the same for all community organizations that receive wijkbudget. After all, community organizations, but also the municipality, are obliged to comply with legislation.

Community organizations are required to comply with the subsidy regulation, meaning that they will have to comply with the rules for applying wijkbudget, the obligations, the determination, and accountability of wijkbudget. Theoretically, these rules mainly influence community organizations accountability requirements. The municipality can exert pressure on the submission of proper accountability by means of article 12 of the SVW2017. The regulation does not indicate in what way but a possible consequence of incomplete accountability is negative change or suspension of subsidy.

For community organizations, this means that they are less free in determining their own working processes and the spending the wijkbudget. In that sense, their freedom of action is limited. However, the individual citizen, the applicant, will probably not notice anything due to new rules, except that accountability requirements, especially by the end of the year, will be stricter. In addition, the municipality can use the hardness clause to reject approved wijkbudget proposals and the applicant may at most notice a stricter accountability required by community organizations.

For the municipality, the introduction of the SVW2017 and NRW2017 means that wijkbudgetten policy is legally correct and that they meet the requirements of the legislature. Before the introduction of new rules, an old subsidy regulation was in force which was completely outdated and substantively and practically incorrect. In addition, subsidy rules were in practice not complied with and there were no clear rules regarding the implementation of wijkbudgetten. Now there is a legal basis that guarantees the municipality legal certainties.

The question is whether the new rules work well or not in practice. Some community organizations have already indicated that they do not think the new rules have a positive impact, especially because they have to meet all the requirements in the new rules and subsidy regulation while working on voluntary basis. However, the advantage of the new rules is that a complete overview is given of what is being asked from community organizations in terms of applications, the granting of subsidy, obligations and accountability requirements. Currently, practice shows that community organizations still work in the same way as before the introduction of the new rules. The actual cover will take place by the end of 2017. By the end of 2017, wijkbudget applications will be submitted by the community organizations. Upon approval, community organizations must provide a substantiated spending plan in order to prepare the financial and substantive accountability at the time of adoption (before April 1<sup>st</sup> of the following year).

#### The ideal balance

The question whether the ideal balance between on the one hand the certainty of rules and the freedom for citizens to take initiative on the other hand, to a certain extent, is achieved, can be answered as both positive and negative. It depends on what perspective you look at. In any event, the balance has become a lot better. A complete freedom for citizens sounds beautiful in theory but is practically not feasible. Community (organizations) simply need some kind of basis provided by rules and frameworks that add structure and clarity, for example, to be protected against themselves as citizens have been given a relatively large budget to develop initiatives. Some community organizations even have more than 100,000 euros to spend.

In addition, the introduction of new rules and frameworks creates more structure in the implementation of wijkbudgetten policy. This structure was needed but lacked until recently. There are community organizations that think the new rules will only benefit the municipality because they are more in control than before. The municipality has caused this mindset itself; In 2011, at the introduction of the wijkbudgetten policy, the municipality should have provided community organizations legal stability and structure. In this way, the municipality could slowly give more freedom to community organizations by deregulation over time. Now restrictions on freedom of action were necessary, something that could have been prevented in advance.

The addition of a legal basis has significantly improved the certainty of rules, for both the municipality as the community (organizations). The municipality has now full control over wijkbudgetten policy without limiting the freedom for the community (organizations). The directions by the municipality must be present, especially because wijkbudget is tax money that should be spent wisely and in accordance of the municipal goals.

Wijkbudgetten have now entered their seventh year and the path to the ideal balance is slowly found. Initially, small steps were taken, but on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017, a major step was taken to improve wijkbudgetten policy that will not only work out for the municipality but also works for the (community) organizations.

From the perspective of the municipality, the new institutional setting ensures the desired legal certainty. They have created more structure, clarity, uniformity, and more control on wijkbudgetten policy without completely restricting the freedom of action of community organizations and individual citizens. By implementing the new rules, the municipality signals that there is a lack of mutual trust, otherwise they would not implement rules as, for example, the hardness clause. In addition, the municipality meets the legal requirements of the legislature and achieved their intended objectives. However, from the perspective of the community organizations, the new institutional setting may have ensured structure and clarity, although they see an increase in administrative red tape, particularly in terms of accountability requirements. All community organizations think it is a pity that wijkbudgetten may only be spent in the year of allocation. Reserving remaining wijkbudget made the wijkbudgetten process a lot easier in terms of granting wijkbudget to implemented initiatives. Nonetheless, community organizations do understand the reason behind the rule of only spending wijkbudget in the year of allocation.

In conclusion, from the perspective of the municipality, it can be said that the ideal balance has been achieved. From the perspective of the community organizations, you could say that the right path to finding the ideal balance has been taken, but practice must show whether this is actually the case or that policy adjustment is needed. In my opinion, major steps have been taken to improve wijkbudgetten policy for all involved actors. For community organizations, the legal basis will hardly burden the voluntary process. It will be a matter of getting used to the new institutional setting and given structure as given by the municipality. However, because of the rule of only spending wijkbudget in the year of allocation, projects of larger size might require more effort to realize, but this is also a matter of adaptation and getting used to the new way of operating. In short term they will see a small increase of red tape, but for the long term, the given structure and legal framework will be beneficial. Nevertheless, a perfect balance can now only exist in a fairy tale, due to the large number of thoughts and interests of the various actors involved.



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## 7. Appendices

<b>Onderwerp</b>	Subsidieverordening wijkbudgetten en nadere regels wijkbudgetten		
<b>Portefeuillehouder</b>	Hans van Agteren, agendaletter (C)		
<b>Programma</b>	DV	Aangeboden aan Raad	6 december 2016
<b>Stuknummer</b> (invulling door Griffie)		Corsanummer	1600100629

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### Wij stellen u voor te besluiten om:

1. In te stemmen om de subsidieverordening Activiteiten stadsdeelgewijs werken in te trekken.
  2. In te stemmen om de subsidieverordening Wijkbudgetten 2017 vast te stellen.
  3. Kennis te nemen van de nadere regels Wijkbudgetten 2017.
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### Inleiding

In het coalitieakkoord 2010-2014 is ingezet op het versterken van de burgerparticipatie. Daarvoor zijn de wijkbudgetten ingevoerd.

In 2013 is de uitkomst van de tussenevaluatie dat wijkbudgetten goed werken maar tijd nodig hebben zich door te ontwikkelen.

Het coalitieakkoord 2014-2018 borduurt hierop voort door een impuls te geven aan de wijkgerichte aanpak: het samenlevingsgericht werken. De wijkbudgetten zijn hierin een belangrijk instrument.

Eind 2014 geeft de raad het college de opdracht de wijkbudgetten te verbeteren.

Eind 2015 besluit de raad de bestedingstermijn van wijkbudgetten te beperken tot één jaar. Ook wordt het college gevraagd om samen met bewonersorganisaties regels op te stellen voor wijkbudgetten. De regels gaan over sparen, bevoorschotting en over de herverdeling van wijkbudgetten.

De regels hebben een juridische basis nodig. Omdat de subsidieverordening Activiteiten stadsdeelgewijs werken niet meer voldoet, wordt voorgesteld deze in te trekken en te vervangen door de subsidieverordening Wijkbudgetten 2017. De door het college vast te stellen nadere regels worden aan deze verordening gehangen.

### Beoogd resultaat

Invoering en toepassing van de regels Wijkbudgetten dragen bij aan de doorontwikkeling, uniformering en optimalisering van de werkprocessen. Bewonersorganisaties kunnen wijkbudgetten hierdoor eenvoudiger en doelgerichter gebruiken en inzetten. Daarnaast vinden de regels wijkbudgetten een deugdelijke juridische grondslag in de subsidieverordening Wijkbudgetten 2017. De subsidieverordening voldoet aan de boekhoud- en accountantsvoorschriften zodat het proces van subsidieverlening rechtmatig is.

### Argumenten

#### 1. Nadere regels Wijkbudgetten 2017

Tot 2016 konden wijkbudgetten binnen een periode van 2 jaren besteed worden. Onvoldoende initiatieven leidden jaarlijks en stadsbreed tot een reserve aan wijkbudgetten. Deze 'boeggolf wijkbudgetten' was ongewenst. Reden waarom de raad in 2015 heeft bepaald dat wijkbudgetten vanaf 2016 binnen één kalenderjaar besteed moeten worden. Nadeel hiervan is dat bewonersorganisaties hierdoor in het gebruik van de wijkbudgetten beperkt worden. Om de bewoners hierin tegemoet te komen is in nauwe samenwerking met hen onderzocht waaraan behoefte bestaat. Dit heeft tot gezamenlijk opgestelde regels geleid die bewoners de mogelijkheid tot sparen, bevoorschotting en het herverdelen van wijkbudgetten bieden. Het vaststellen van deze nadere regels Wijkbudgetten is een bevoegdheid van het college.

Het samenlevingsgericht werken houdt in dat vanuit de bedoeling gewerkt wordt. Het past hierbij niet om bewonersorganisaties lastig te vallen met juridische zaken als een subsidieverordening en nadere regels. Voor hen wordt daarom in januari 2017 een aparte folder gemaakt die dient als eenvoudige en praktische werkinstructie voor de toepassing van de wijkbudgetten.

## 2. Intrekking van de subsidieverordening Activiteiten stadsdeelgewijs werken

Eerder, voor de invoering van de wijkbudgetten in 2011, is al ingezet op het versterken van de burgerparticipatie. Twex Enschede, Buurt aan zet en Buurt in actie zijn hiervan voorbeelden. Subsidie werd verleend op grond van de subsidieverordening Activiteiten stadsdeelgewijs werken uit 2006. Na de invoering van de wijkbudgetten is deze verordening niet aangepast, maar wel gebruikt als grondslag voor de subsidieverlening. Omdat de verordening ontoereikend is, komt hiermee de rechtmatigheid van de subsidieverlening in het geding. Ter illustratie is de maximale subsidiehoogte van deze verordening vastgesteld op € 25.000. Echter werden in 2016 aan 21 van de 33 bewonersorganisaties subsidies verleend die groter waren dan dit bedrag. Tevens is de gebruikte terminologie niet meer in overeenstemming met die van de wijkbudgetten. Reden waarom de raad wordt voorgesteld deze verordening in te trekken.

## 3. Vaststellen van de subsidieverordening Wijkbudgetten 2017

Met de nieuwe subsidieverordening Wijkbudgetten 2017 wordt beter ingespeeld op de eisen van deze tijd. Daarnaast voldoet de verordening aan de boekhoudkundige regels als de BBV (Besluit Begroting en Verantwoording), de VPB (vennootschapsbelasting) en aan de vereisten voor de accountantscontrole. De nieuwe verordening hangt aan de Algemene subsidieverordening gemeente Enschede. De nieuwe verordening verklaart de raadsbesluiten van 11 april 2011 'wijkbudgetten', van 12 december 2011 'spelregels gebruik bestemmingsreserve wijkbudgetten' en van 4 november 2015 'wijkbudgetten' van toepassing als waren deze beleidsregels.

Kernpunten in de nieuwe verordening:

a. De Algemene subsidieverordening gemeente Enschede bepaalt dat er voor subsidies hoger dan € 50.000 een accountantsverklaring overgelegd moet worden over de financiële verantwoording.

Omdat dit niet past binnen de geest en bedoeling van de wijkbudgetten is een afwijking hiervan in de verordening opgenomen die bepaalt dat er geen accountantsverklaring nodig is.

b. Bewonersorganisaties krijgen subsidie in de vorm van wijkbudgetten zonder die aan te vragen. Dit strookt niet met het subsidievereiste in de Algemene wet bestuursrecht. Om de geest en de bedoeling van de wijkbudgetten niet aan te tasten, maar tegelijkertijd aan dit subsidievereiste te voldoen, is voor het volgende gekozen. Om subsidie verleend te krijgen, zal het college de bewonersorganisaties voortaan een aanvraagformulier sturen dat ingevuld en ondertekend geretourneerd moet worden.

c. Aan het draagvlakvereiste wordt enkel voldaan indien de bewonersorganisatie die het wijkbudget verstrekt, kan aantonen dat een groep bewoners op actieve wijze kenbaar heeft gemaakt het initiatief te ondersteunen. Bij twijfel kan het college de bewonersorganisatie op grond van artikel 12 verzoeken zich hierover te verantwoorden.

Artikel 4:48 Algemene wet bestuursrecht biedt voor het uiterste geval de mogelijkheid om de subsidie te wijzigen. Dit kan betekenen stopzetting van de subsidieverlening.

d. Naast de gebruikelijke hardheidsclausule kent deze subsidieverordening een 'omgekeerde hardheidsclausule'. Hiermee krijgt het college de bevoegdheid om in situaties die naar hun aard niet voldoen aan de bedoeling van de wijkbudgetten, niet mee te werken aan de uitvoering, ook al is sec aan de aanvraag voorwaarden voldaan.

## Kanttekeningen

Getracht is de verordening en de nadere regels zoveel mogelijk in te richten vanuit de bedoeling. Dit wil zeggen de bewoners zo min mogelijk opzadelen met juridisering en bureaucratie. De subsidieverordening en de daaraan gekoppelde regels dienen vooral om de juridische- en financiële rechtmatigheid te borgen. De bewonersorganisaties krijgen niet direct met de verordening en nadere regels te maken. Voor hen wordt in januari 2017 een aparte folder gemaakt die dient als eenvoudige en praktische werkinstructie voor de toepassing van de wijkbudgetten.

## Bijdrage aan duurzaamheidsdoelstellingen

n.v.t.

## Kosten, opbrengsten, dekking

n.v.t.

## **Communicatie**

De bij dit proces betrokken bewonersorganisaties en alle wijk- en dorpsraden, de commissies wijkbudgetten en de ACWO worden door stadsdeelmanagement geïnformeerd over dit besluit.

## **Vervolg**

1. Zodra de raad de subsidieverordening en de nadere regels heeft vastgesteld, wordt er een folder opgesteld voor de bewonersorganisaties die dient als eenvoudige en praktische werkinstructie voor de toepassing van de wijkbudgetten.
2. Na de tussenevaluatie van de wijkbudgetten in 2013, komt er een evaluatie van de wijkbudgetten.
3. Dit jaar is gestart met het proces bewonersvertegenwoordiging en zeggenschap "Samen maken wij de stad".
4. De uitkomst van deze ontwikkelingen zullen mede richting geven aan hoe bewonersorganisaties in de toekomst functioneren en op welke wijze de wijkbudgetten daarin een rol kunnen spelen.

## **Bijlagen**

1. Nadere regels wijkbudgetten 2017.
2. Tekst regels wijkbudgetten voor bewonersorganisaties.
3. Subsidieverordening Activiteiten stadsdeelgewijs werken.
4. Subsidieverordening Wijkbudgetten 2017.  
Memo verordening wijkbudgetten en regels.  
Concept folder regels wijkbudgetten.

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**Burgemeester en Wethouders van Enschede,** \_\_\_\_\_

**De Secretaris,**

M.J.M. Meijs

**de Burgemeester,**

dr. G.O. van Veldhuizen

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## **Besluit**

**Van de Raad van de gemeente Enschede, gelezen het voorstel van Burgemeester en Wethouders van**

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Vastgesteld in de vergadering van \_\_\_\_\_

**De Griffier,**

R.M. Jongedijk

**de Voorzitter**

dr. G.O. van Veldhuizen

## Appendix 2. SVW2017.

Gemeentebblad van Enschede

De raad van de gemeente Enschede, gelezen het voorstel van het college van 6 december 2016,  
besluit,

gelet op artikel 149 van de Gemeentewet, titel 4.2 van de Algemene wet bestuursrecht, de Algemene subsidieverordening gemeente Enschede 2016, het besluit van de Raad d.d. 11 april 2011 'wijkbudgetten 2011', het besluit van de Raad d.d. 12 december 2011 'Spelregels gebruik bestemmingsreserve wijkbudgetten' en het besluit van de Raad d.d. 4 november 2015 'wijkbudgetten',

vast te stellen de Subsidieverordening wijkbudgetten 2017

### Hoofdstuk 1 Inleidende bepalingen

#### Artikel 1 Begripsbepalingen

In deze verordening wordt verstaan onder:

- a. Wijkbudget: de door het college aangewezen bijdrage die door een bewonersorganisatie kan worden verstrekt ten behoeve van het realiseren van bewonersinitiatieven.
- b. Bewonersorganisatie: een instelling, die de belangen van bewoners behartigt in een buurt, wijk of dorp.
- c. Aanvrager: een bewonersorganisatie in een buurt, wijk of dorp, die bij het college een schriftelijk verzoek heeft ingediend om subsidie te verkrijgen.
- d. Bestedingsplan: een plan, dat onderdeel kan zijn van een wijkprogramma of anderszins, waarin de bewonersorganisatie aangeeft welke door de buurt, wijk of dorp ingediende verwachte initiatieven zij het komend jaar wil gaan realiseren.
- e. Draagvlak: steun van een groep bewoners die op een actieve wijze aangeven een initiatief te ondersteunen.
- f. College: college van burgemeester en wethouders van de gemeente Enschede.

#### Artikel 2 Bevoegdheid college

Het college is bevoegd tot het beslissen op aanvragen om subsidie op grond van deze verordening, het besluit van de Raad d.d. 11 april 2011, 'wijkbudgetten' en het besluit d.d. 12 december 2011 'Spelregels gebruik bestemmingsreserve wijkbudgetten'.

### Hoofdstuk 2 Subsidiebepalingen

#### Artikel 3 Toepassingsbereik; doel

1. Deze verordening is een bijzondere verordening als bedoeld in artikel 3 van de Algemene subsidieverordening gemeente Enschede 2016.
2. Het verstrekken van subsidies krachtens deze verordening heeft betrekking op het beleidsterrein stadsdeelgewijs werken.
3. Subsidieverstrekking krachtens deze verordening heeft als doel om de leefbaarheid en veiligheid te verbeteren en de betrokkenheid van bewoners bij en de inzet voor hun buurt, wijk of dorp te stimuleren.

#### Artikel 4 Subsidiabele activiteiten

1. Het wordt aan de bewonersorganisatie aan wie subsidie is verleend overgelaten naar eigen inzicht het aan hun toegekende deel van het wijkbudget te verdelen onder de ingediende bewonersinitiatieven.
2. Het in lid 1 van dit artikel bedoelde bewonersinitiatief moet bijdragen aan een of meerdere van de hierna te noemen activiteiten:
  - a. het bevorderen van de arbeidsparticipatie;
  - b. een schone en hele leefomgeving;
  - c. het vergroten van het veiligheidsgevoel;
  - d. het stimuleren van wijkdiensten voor zorgafhankelijken;
  - e. het stimuleren van duurzaam gedrag;
  - f. het bevorderen van de leefbaarheid;
  - g. het bevorderen van de sociale samenhang.

#### Artikel 5 Subsidiecriteria

De bewonersorganisatie die wijkbudget kan toekennen ten behoeve van een initiatief dient zich te houden aan de volgende criteria:

- a. Het initiatief is niet strijdig met de wet- en gemeentelijke regelgeving.
- b. Het initiatief past binnen de genoemde politiek bestuurlijke kaders.
- c. Het initiatief dient geen privé belang.
- d. De bewoners fungeren als opdrachtgever.
- e. Er is aantoonbaar draagvlak in buurt, wijk of dorp voor het initiatief.
- f. Het initiatief dient haalbaar te zijn.

#### Artikel 6 Subsidieplafond

1. Als subsidieplafond geldt het in de gemeentebegroting vastgestelde bedrag.
2. Het college verdeelt de subsidie over de bewonersorganisaties op basis van het verdeelmodel in het besluit van de Raad d.d. 11 april 2011, 'wijkbudgetten'.

#### Artikel 7 Vereisten subsidieaanvrager

Subsidie wordt slechts verstrekt aan een bewonersorganisatie.

#### Artikel 8 Bestedingstermijn en spelregels wijkbudgetten

1. De bewonersorganisatie aan welke subsidie verleend is mag deze alleen in de periode waarvoor de subsidie verleend is besteden.
2. Niet bestede subsidie wordt bij de vaststelling van de subsidie teruggevorderd.
3. In afwijking van het gestelde in lid 1 en 2 kan het college op verzoek van de bewonersorganisatie beslissen voor een periode van maximaal 3 jaar een deel van de subsidie apart te zetten met als doel te sparen voor een vooraf benoemd groot of specifiek initiatief.
4. De bewonersorganisatie kan een voorschot op de subsidie krijgen.
5. Het college kan nadere regels vaststellen ten aanzien van het bepaalde in lid 1, 3 en 4.

### Hoofdstuk 3 Procedurele bepalingen

#### Artikel 9 Aanvraag

De aanvraag voor subsidie wordt schriftelijk ingediend bij het college met gebruikmaking van een door het college vastgesteld aanvraagformulier.

#### Artikel 10 Aanvraagtermijn

Een aanvraag om subsidie wordt ingediend uiterlijk voor 1 oktober, voor aanvang van het jaar waarop de aanvraag betrekking heeft.

#### Artikel 11 Beslistermijn; goedkeuring bestedingsplan; subsidieverlening; voorschotten

1. Het college beslist uiterlijk 31 december van het jaar waarin de aanvraag om subsidie is gedaan, tenzij de aanvraag later dan 1 oktober is ingediend. In het laatste geval beslist het college binnen 13 weken nadat de aanvraag is ingediend.
2. Het college beslist in geval van toekenning tot subsidieverlening onder het voorbehoud dat in het eerste kwartaal van het jaar waarvoor subsidie is verleend een bestedingsplan, dat onderdeel kan zijn van een wijkprogramma of anderszins, moet worden aangeboden ter goedkeuring aan de stadsdeelcommissie van de raad.
3. De stadsdeelcommissie van de raad beslist in het eerste kwartaal van het jaar waarvoor de subsidie is verleend of het bestedingsplan, dat onderdeel kan zijn van een wijkprogramma of anderszins, wordt goedgekeurd. Indien de beslissing niet in het eerste kwartaal kan worden genomen, wordt deze in het tweede kwartaal genomen.
4. De subsidieverleningsbeschikking vermeldt de eventuele voorschotverlening en de wijze van betaling daarvan.

#### Artikel 12 Verplichtingen

1. Teneinde de besteding van de subsidie te kunnen controleren, kan het college een bewonersorganisatie verplichten verantwoording af te leggen over de besteding van subsidie voor een gerealiseerd dan wel nog te realiseren initiatief.
2. Indien een bewonersorganisatie aan wie subsidie verleend is zich niet houdt aan de in artikel 5 genoemde criteria, dan kan het college de subsidieverlening wijzigen of stopzetten.



#### Artikel 13 Intrekking- en terugvorderingsgronden

Op grond van artikel 12 Algemene subsidieverordening gemeente Enschede 2016 kan de subsidie in ieder geval geheel of gedeeltelijk worden ingetrokken en teruggevorderd indien naar het oordeel van het college:

De bestedingen niet conform het bestedingsplan, dat verwerkt kan zijn in een wijkprogramma of anderszins, hebben plaatsgevonden.

1. Een uitgave of activiteit ten behoeve van een initiatief niet heeft plaatsgevonden.
2. Het bestedingsplan, dat verwerkt kan zijn in een wijkprogramma of anderszins, niet in het eerste kwartaal van het jaar waarvoor de subsidie is verleend is aangeboden aan de stadsdeelcommissie van de raad en niet in het eerste of tweede kwartaal van het jaar waarvoor de subsidie is verleend en geaccordeerd is door de stadsdeelcommissie van de raad.

#### Artikel 14 Subsidievaststelling

1. De bewonersorganisatie dient uiterlijk op 1 april volgend op het jaar waarvoor de subsidie is verleend een aanvraag tot vaststelling, vergezeld van een financiële- en inhoudelijke verantwoording, in.
2. In afwijking van artikel 20 Algemene subsidieverordening gemeente Enschede 2016 is voor subsidies groter dan € 50.000,- geen accountantsverklaring nodig.
3. De subsidiebeschikking vermeldt de wijze van betaling van het subsidiebedrag en een verrekening van eventuele voorschotten.
4. De subsidiebeschikking wordt niet eerder vastgesteld dan nadat:
  - a. Het college de financiële verantwoording heeft goedgekeurd;
  - b. De stadsdeelcommissie van de raad de inhoudelijke verantwoording heeft goedgekeurd.

#### Hoofdstuk 4 Slotbepalingen

#### Artikel 15 Hardheidsclausule

Indien de toepassing van deze verordening leidt tot onbillijkheden van overwegende aard, dan kan het college afwijken van bepalingen in deze verordening.

#### Artikel 16 Intrekking bestaande verordening

De Subsidieverordening Activiteiten stadsdeelgewijs werken, vastgesteld door de gemeenteraad op 13 februari 2006, wordt ingetrokken.

#### Artikel 17 Overgangsrecht

Subsidieaanvragen die zijn ingediend voor de datum van inwerkingtreding van deze verordening worden afgehandeld volgens de bepalingen van de subsidieverordening Activiteiten stadsdeelgewijs werken.

#### Artikel 18 Inwerkingtreding

Deze verordening treedt in werking op de dag na die van haar bekendmaking.

#### Artikel 19 Citeertitel

Deze verordening wordt aangehaald als Subsidieverordening wijkbudgetten 2017.

Vastgesteld in de openbare vergadering van 12 december 2017.

De Griffier ,

De Voorzitter,

R. Jongedijk

dr. G.O. van Veldhuizen

Opgenomen in het gemeenteblad van Enschede d.d. ....

Verordening nr. ....

### Appendix 3. NRW2017.

Nadere regels bij de uitvoering van de Subsidieverordening Wijkbudgetten 2017

Burgemeester en wethouders van de gemeente Enschede,

besluiten,

gelet op artikel 8 van de Subsidieverordening wijkbudgetten 2017,

vast te stellen de Nadere regels Wijkbudgetten 2017

#### Artikel 1 Sparen

1. De bewonersorganisatie krijgt de mogelijkheid om voor maximaal 3 jaar, een deel van de subsidie apart te laten zetten met als doel te sparen voor een vooraf benoemd groot of specifiek initiatief.
2. Om in aanmerking te komen voor het apart zetten van de subsidie met sparen als doel, dient de bewonersorganisatie vóór 1 oktober van het jaar waarvoor subsidie is verleend, schriftelijk of per e-mail een spaarvoorstel in bij het college.
3. Voorstellen die na 1 oktober zijn ingediend, worden niet in behandeling genomen.
4. Het spaarvoorstel bevat in ieder geval:
  - a. Een beschrijving van het initiatief en van het doel;
  - b. Een duidelijke beschrijving van hoe het initiatief wordt uitgevoerd met daarbij een zo concreet mogelijke planning en begroting;
  - c. Een onderbouwing waarmee voldoende draagvlak voor het initiatief wordt aangetoond.
5. Het college toetst het spaarvoorstel aan de in lid 4 sub a. t/m. c. gestelde eisen en beslist hierover binnen 8 weken. De beslissing wordt schriftelijk aan de bewonersorganisatie meegedeeld.
6. Het college beheert het gespaarde deel van de subsidie.

#### Artikel 2 Voorschot

1. De bewonersorganisatie krijgt de mogelijkheid om (een deel van) het wijkbudget voorgeschoten te krijgen met als doel de praktische uitvoerbaarheid van initiatieven te versnellen.
2. Het college bepaalt:
  - a. Of een voorschot redelijkerwijs noodzakelijk is om de realisering van initiatieven te bevorderen;
  - b. De hoogte van het voorschot, tot een maximum van de totale subsidie van het toekenningsjaar dat aan de bewonersorganisatie is toegekend.

#### Artikel 3 Overschrijding kalenderjaar

Indien blijkt dat een goedgekeurd initiatief wegens omstandigheden niet gedurende het jaar waarvoor de subsidie is verstrekt kan worden uitgevoerd, dan is het toegestaan om dit initiatief binnen 3 maanden van het daarop volgende kalenderjaar alsnog uit te voeren.

#### Artikel 4 Inwerkingtreding

Deze nadere regels treden in werking op het tijdstip dat de Subsidieverordening Wijkbudgetten 2017 in werking treedt.

#### Artikel 5 Citeertitel

Deze nadere regels worden aangehaald als “Regels Wijkbudgetten”

## Toelichting artikelen

### Artikel 1 Sparen

Lid 5: Aan het indienen van een spaarvoorstel worden een aantal vereisten gesteld. Een voorstel bevat tenminste een duidelijke beschrijving van het initiatief en de doelen die daarbij zullen worden behaald. Daarbij is het noodzakelijk om duidelijk aan te geven hoe het initiatief wordt uitgevoerd en welk tijdpad daaraan gekoppeld wordt. Dit houdt in dat redelijkerwijs inzichtelijk moet zijn gemaakt wat de start- en einddatum van het initiatief is. Een belangrijk onderdeel van het spaarvoorstel is het toevoegen van een zo concreet mogelijke begroting. Het moet duidelijk zijn hoeveel jaarlijks van het wijkbudget gespaard gaat worden. Dit betekent, waar mogelijk, het bijvoegen van offertes, dan wel een onderbouwde kostenraming, eventuele manieren van cofinanciering of andere manieren om de begroting te verantwoorden, zodat inzichtelijk kan worden gemaakt hoeveel geld er met de totstandkoming van het initiatief gemoeid is. Daarnaast is van belang dat duidelijk is hoeveel bewoners betrokken zijn bij het project, om voldoende draagvlak te waarborgen.

### Artikel 2 Voorschot

Het is gebruikelijk dat er voorschotten op subsidies gegeven kunnen worden. Om die reden zou het logisch zijn dit artikel in zijn geheel weg te laten. Echter, zijn deze nadere regels ook en nadrukkelijk bedoeld als een soort werkinstructie voor de medewerkers van stadsdeelmanagement en de bewonersorganisaties die zich bezighouden met de wijkbudgetten. De 'regels wijkbudgetten' zijn er dus mede voor bedoeld deze bewonersorganisaties houvast en richting te geven waar het gaat om het sparen, bevoorschotting en het herverdelen van wijkbudgetten. Hoewel vanuit juridisch perspectief overbodig, rechtvaardigt de praktische bruikbaarheid en de duidelijkheid voor de medewerkers van stadsdeelmanagement en de bewonersorganisaties de opname van dit artikel in deze nadere regels

### Artikel 3 Overschrijding kalenderjaar

Het kan voorkomen dat uitgaven niet synchroon lopen met het kalenderjaar, omdat tussen moment van het besluit en de uitvoering veel tijd zit. Daardoor kunnen initiatieven tegen het einde van het kalenderjaar goedgekeurd worden, maar pas in het volgende kalenderjaar worden uitgevoerd. Door middel van een kortlopende verplichting kan een dergelijk initiatief alsnog uitgevoerd worden. In dit geval dienen projecten binnen 3 maanden worden uitgevoerd.

#### Appendix 4. Concept folder rules wijkbudgetten.

CONCEPT

REGELS  
WIJK  
BUDGETTEN



# ALGEMENE REGELS WIJKBUDGETTEN

## WIJKBUDGETTEN

In 2011 heeft de gemeenteraad van Enschede de wijkbudgetten ingevoerd. Volgens een vastgestelde verdeelsleutel krijgen buurten, wijken en dorpen in Enschede een wijkbudget. Hiermee kunnen bewoners zelf invulling geven aan het verfraaien van de eigen buurt, wijk of dorp. Bewoners initiëren en beslissen zelf over ingediende initiatieven en de uitvoering daarvan middels het toekennen van wijkbudget.

## AANVRAAG EN VERLENING WIJKBUDGET

Omdat wijkbudget een subsidie is, moet deze aangevraagd worden. Daarom stuurt stadsdeelmanagement (SDM) de bewonersorganisaties jaarlijks een aanvraagformulier wijkbudgetten. Indien aan de voorwaarden is voldaan, wordt de subsidie aan de bewonersorganisatie verleend onder het voorbehoud dat de stadsdeelcommissie het bestedingsplan, dat onderdeel kan zijn van een wijkprogramma of anderszins, goedkeurt.

## KADERS

De gemeenteraad heeft 7 kaders vastgesteld waarbinnen de wijkbudgetten besteed moeten worden. Dit betekent dat een bewonersinitiatief moet bijdragen aan een of meerdere van de volgende activiteiten:

1. Het bevorderen van de arbeidsparticipatie.
2. Een schone en hele leefomgeving.
3. Het vergroten van het veiligheidsgevoel.
4. Het stimuleren van wijkdiensten voor zorgafhankelijken.
5. Het stimuleren van duurzaam gedrag.
6. Het bevorderen van de leefbaarheid.
7. Het bevorderen van de sociale samenhang.

## SPELREGELS

De bewonersorganisatie die wijkbudget kan toekennen ten behoeve van een initiatief, moet zich houden aan de volgende regels:

1. Het initiatief is niet strijdig met de wet en de gemeentelijke regelgeving.
2. Het initiatief past binnen de genoemde politiek bestuurlijke kaders.
3. Het initiatief dient geen privé belang.
4. De bewoners treden op als opdrachtgever.
5. Er is aantoonbaar actief draagvlak in buurt, wijk of dorp voor het initiatief.  
Hiermee wordt bedoeld dat een groep bewoners op actieve wijze kenbaar heeft gemaakt het initiatief te ondersteunen.
6. Het initiatief moet praktisch uitvoerbaar te zijn.

## VERANTWOORDING

Iedere bewonersorganisatie aan wie wijkbudget is verleend, moet jaarlijks een financiële en inhoudelijke verantwoording indienen.

1. SDM keurt de financiële verantwoording namens het college.
2. De stadsdeelcommissie keurt de inhoudelijke verantwoording.
3. In geval van een exces kan SDM namens het college een bewonersorganisatie te allen tijde verplichten zich te verantwoorden voor de besteding of de voorgenomen besteding van wijkbudget.



# AANVULLENDE REGELS WIJKBUDGETTEN

## WIJKBUDGETTEN

Enschede werkt sinds 2011 met subsidies die we wijkbudgetten noemen. Jaarlijks kunnen bewoners hun buurt, wijk of dorp naar eigen inzicht verfraaien met behulp van wijkbudgetten. Sinds 2016 moet het wijkbudget in één kalenderjaar besteed worden en mogen bewoners sparen voor grote initiatieven. Ook kunnen voorschotten verstrekt worden en kan wijkbudget herverdeeld worden over andere bewonersorganisaties. De regels hiervoor zijn:

## BESTEDING WIJKBUDGET

Een wijkbudget wordt per kalenderjaar verstrekt aan een bewonersorganisatie en moet in datzelfde jaar besteed worden.

## SPAREN

Een bewonersorganisatie kan voor maximaal 3 jaar een deel van het wijkbudget apart laten zetten bij SDM met als doel te sparen voor een vooraf benoemd groot of specifiek initiatief. De voorwaarden:

1. Het spaarverzoek moet vóór 1 oktober van het jaar waarvoor wijkbudget is verstrekt, schriftelijk of per e-mail worden ingediend bij SDM.
2. Het spaarverzoek bevat in ieder geval:
  - Een beschrijving van het initiatief en het doel.
  - Een begroting van het initiatief en het doel.
  - Een onderbouwing waarmee voldoende actief draagvlak van het initiatief wordt aangetoond.
3. SDM toetst het spaarverzoek namens het college aan deze regels en beslist schriftelijk binnen 8 weken.

## VOORSCHOT

Om de praktische uitvoerbaarheid van initiatieven te versnellen kan het nodig zijn om te werken met voorschotten. De voorwaarden:

1. Het verzoek om een voorschot wordt schriftelijk of per e-mail ingediend bij SDM.
2. Het verzoek bevat in ieder geval:
  - De aanleiding tot het verzoek.
  - De hoogte van het gevraagde voorschot en een begroting.
  - Een onderbouwing waarmee de noodzaak van een voorschot wordt aangetoond.
3. SDM beslist namens het college op dit verzoek.

## HERVERDELING WIJKBUDGET

Indien aan het einde van het jaar wijkbudget ongebruikt blijft, kan dit restant overgeheveld worden aan een andere bewonersorganisatie die wijkbudget tekort komt voor de realisering van initiatieven. De voorwaarden:

1. In overleg met SDM wordt onderzocht of er ruimte en mogelijkheden zijn om het wijkbudget te herverdelen.
2. Bewonersorganisaties die wijkbudget met elkaar kunnen herverdelen treden in overleg met elkaar.
3. Het gezamenlijke herverdelingsverzoek van de bewonersorganisaties wordt schriftelijk of per e-mail ingediend bij SDM.
4. SDM beslist namens het college op dit verzoek.