Safety Management *and* Performance-based Management - an excellent match

Paul van Musscher
Peter Versteegh

Haaglanden Police

August 2012

The authors have developed an innovative management model that represents the new vision of the Haaglanden Police Service of effective policing. This police service vision focuses on the ingredients of problem-oriented policing, intelligence-led policing and community policing that have proven effective: 'The Best of Three Worlds'. The management model spans the policy to implementation process. It consists of three connected elements: the police vision, a corresponding management cycle, and reputation management. In this model, performance-based management and safety management form an integral whole. The legitimate wishes and expectations of citizens play a central part. One of the main conditions is good leadership. Even though the safety strategy the police have chosen has been proven to be effective, even though police information is reliable, valid and current and even though safety intelligence and analyses are of high quality, police chiefs who only aim for measurable performance figures will not prove to be effective police chiefs.

1. Introduction

Let's just keep it simple. New York: 8 million residents, 1 police force. London: 7 million residents, 1 police force. Tokyo: 13 million residents, 1 police force. Paris: 9 million residents, 1 police force. The Netherlands: 17 million residents, 26 police forces. Not even that long ago - before 1993 - the Netherlands with its 16 million residents even had over 60 police forces: 1 national police force and about 60 municipal police forces. So many different police forces means very many different information systems, very many support services in the field of personnel and finances, very many differently trained staff members, very many different police cars, and so on and so forth ad infinitum. And, of course, many coordination and cooperation problems.

A single national police force can therefore be nothing but a significant step in the direction of a more efficient as well as effective police. The transition from 26 police forces to one national police force is an unprecedented reorganization. Such a huge reorganization has never taken place before in the Netherlands and compels a lot of respect. In spite of this, there are concerns about whether the National Police will indeed provide the policing the citizens are waiting for.[1] Will the main safety problems – especially those at local level - be tackled with priority? This is a legitimate question and maybe a legitimate concern as well. Policing geared to the wishes and expectations of citizens requires an adequate structuring of the police organization and a clear view of the performance of duties.[2] An appropriate model of management of the police work itself, in which an explicit role is given to the wishes of citizens, is certainly indispensable in such a large police organization. Fortunately, a lot of experience has been gained in recent years in the management of the police - and of other non-profit organizations - at home and abroad. Knowledge that can be used very well in the years to come.

[1] See e.g. the recent interview with Cyrille Fijnaut in the NRC of February 11, 2012 (Wittenberg, 2012).
[2] See *Kwartiermaker Nationale politie* (KNP, 2012).

In anticipation of the start of the National Police, the Haaglanden Police Service have already begun to set up an innovative management model in keeping with their new vision of effective policing. This police vision contains the ingredients of problem-oriented policing that have proven effective, intelligence-led policing and community-oriented policing.[3] In this article, we reveal our ideas about the way that this vision can be converted into the actual performance of effective police work, namely by a combination of performance-based management and safety management attuned to the vision, by reputation management and supported by an adequate provision of information.

2. Effects of supervision and control

The Dutch government frequently experimented in the last decade with forms of management derived from the business world. A better 'product' was expected to be delivered for less money with so-called '*New Public Management*', in which the management model of the private sector was applied to the public sector. A lot has meanwhile been written about the pros and cons of performance and result-based management. In this article, we will deal mainly with three recent studies.

COMPSTAT[4]

The forerunner in the field of number-based management by local government is undoubtedly New York City in the United States. Although COMPSTAT was presumably the best known, there are also numerous other municipal services in New York that, under the heading 'smart governance', manage the performance of work by using statistical number sequences. We, however, limit ourselves here to the New York police: the New York Police Department (NYPD). COMPSTAT is undoubtedly one of the major police innovations of the past decades.[5] There is no misunderstanding about this. "*Accurate and timely intelligence, effective tactics, rapid deployment, and relentless follow-up and assessment*" have undoubtedly made New York safer in the last few years. The uninterrupted decrease in so-called *index crimes* in the period 1990 – 2009 by as much as 78 percent nevertheless gives rise to questions, also about the management of the police force.

Very recent research by Eterno en Silverman (2012) shows that in New York in the last few years, there were - presumably unintended but - very harmful effects due to very rigorous management by the precinct commanders of the police chiefs ('blaming and shaming') during the weekly COMPSTAT meetings. If the agreed results - namely a decrease in index crimes compared to the year before - were not achieved, the local police chiefs were rigorously fired. There were also numerous random arrests and citations in the City without any account being taken of the citizens' wishes. The number of times that searches on suspicion were conducted ('*stop-and-frisks'*) increased from about 100,000 in 1992 to as many as 600,000 in 2009, whereas crime decreased by almost 80 percent in that period. Stop-and-frisks were conducted mostly in deprived areas. In 85 percent of the cases, the citizen concerned subsequently proved to be innocent. It also appeared that under pressure from the rigorous number-based management, there was systematic manipulation of crime figures (downgrading and refusing reports of crimes). The huge decrease in crimes such as rape, assault and use of weapons could not be found in other sources of information of, for example, the hospitals.

[3] See Versteegh, Van der Plas and Nieuwstraten (2010 & 2012).
[4] Eterno & Silverman (2012).
[5] See f.e. Silverman (1999).

The visible, bad example of police managers led to increased corruption in the workplace. The psychological pressure exerted by the management allegedly resulted in a culture of secrecy and cynicism in the workplace. There was also apparently undue influencing of the media by manipulating reports. In conclusion: time and time again, the authors let no misunderstanding exist about this. From its origin, COMPSTAT has been extremely promising and praiseworthy as a safety strategy. The management model of the NYPD, however, was derailed by extremely rigorous management by the senior management whereby local police officers were required to improve the figures year after year. Silverman: "*The name of the game is LOOK GOOD, year after year.*"

Organizing Counterforce[6]

In our own country, the research report '*Tegenkracht organiseren*' (Organizing Counterforce) by the Netherlands Council for Social Development (RMO) was recently published, in which the flaws in purely number-based performance-based management in social sectors is discussed. Although the report mainly deals with examples from the financial world, education, care and welfare, lessons can also be learned in relation to safety assurance and the police. In performance-based management, good intentions can turn out wrong, according to the RMO. Usually, the initial intention is to improve the performance of one's own organization so it can be used to optimize social output. In the course of time, productive working methods can, however, transform into working methods with perverse effects. In that case, one loses sight of the original targets. The use of classifications often results in a simplification of the reality on which management is subsequently based. The same pattern reoccurs time after time. The first step is that of *abstraction*. While there are multiple interests in every (large) organization, simplification occurs for the purpose of comparison by looking at quantity instead of quality. In the second step, a selection is then made of targets that *dominate* the others. These are often interests that are the most visible and easily measurable. If one or a few interests dominate, the multiplicity of interests comes under pressure, resulting in a reduction of the available room for opposition and capacity for criticism. The path is then clear for the third step: *strategic action*. People adapt their behavior to the forces exerted on them by, for example managers and executives who want to achieve the agreed targets. If financial incentives are linked to the targets, this can strengthen the process. But, remarkably enough, in the practice of performance-based management, most of the pressure comes from coworkers and competitors, who also act strategically. This pattern from abstraction through domination to strategic action is accompanied by *reflectivity*. Reflectivity means that social systems can look at themselves and as a rule respond to new input. According to the RMO, this also means that actors in such systems constantly attribute meaning to reality and adjust their behavior accordingly. If reality is abstracted to a single interest, the tools and working methods chosen can indeed elicit strategic behavior.

The Best of Three Worlds[7]

In conclusion, we briefly discuss the study by the Haaglanden Police of the special development of reported crime in the period 2002 – 2008: *The Best of Three Worlds.* After a substantial decrease in the number of reports of crime in the first period 2002-2006, there was an increase in the second period 2006–2008. In the study, the possible effects of performance-based management were also examined. It seems plausible that the decrease in crime in the first period can largely be ascribed to the general increase in the chance of being arrested through firm performance-based management

[6] Netherlands Social Development Council (RMO) (2011).
[7] See footnote 5.

to increase the number of 'crime suspects sent to the Public Prosecution Service' and the number of times persons are 'stopped and questioned' after a misdemeanor'.

The general awareness of this provided in the initial years of the Police Agreement presumably contributed to a higher expected chance of being arrested, which may have caused many potential perpetrators to refrain from criminal behavior. The strong focus on a repressive approach to the usually addicted repeat offenders, with the accompanying custody effects, must have played an important part. According to the authors, the increase in reported crime in the period 2006-2008 could, on the one hand, presumably be ascribed to a change in the problems. While the first group of former repeat offenders returned to society, a stubborn group of 'new' repeat offenders arose in the meantime: young adults, not addicted and usually Moroccan Dutch or from Eastern Europe in particular. The regular approach to repeat offenders was not in keeping with this new target group. In many cases, the new repeat offender did not satisfy the customary definition of repeat offender (a criminal record of more than 10 offenses in the past 5 years) and therefore did not count. On the other hand, the effect of performance-based management seems to have lost its force. A certain 'disappearance of benefits- effect' occurred. The chance of being arrested decreased, as well as the clearance rates and the suspect ratios. For the rest – as in the NYPD – researchers did not find any significant perverse effects at the Haaglanden Police. The pressure exerted by the management could therefore presumably not be compared to the pressure exerted on the local police chiefs in America.

The main lessons that can be learned from the above-mentioned reports are:

- Policing should be tuned to the local circumstances and the wishes and expectations of citizens ('Community Partnership')
- The measurable performance indicators should relate to (the approach to) the underlying problems
- Performance-based management should always deal with quantity and quality
- Too much pressure to perform has undesired effects
- There should always be counter pressure and opposition, in and outside the organization
- Information on crime and nuisance should be absolutely valid, reliable and as up-to-date as possible
- Provide for a great degree of transparency
- Do not only aim for a decrease in unsafety and nuisance compared to the last year
- Combine performance-based management (*top down*) with safety management (*bottom up*)
- Good leadership is of decisive importance.

3. Management model

Given the experience gained in the past few years, we are of the opinion that the effectiveness of performance-based management will be considerably increased and, at the same time, the chance of perverse effects will be considerably decreased if performance-based management is combined with safety management. The Haaglanden Police Service believes that in tackling crime and danger, there should be a coordinated combination of problem-oriented policing, intelligence-led policing and community-oriented policing.

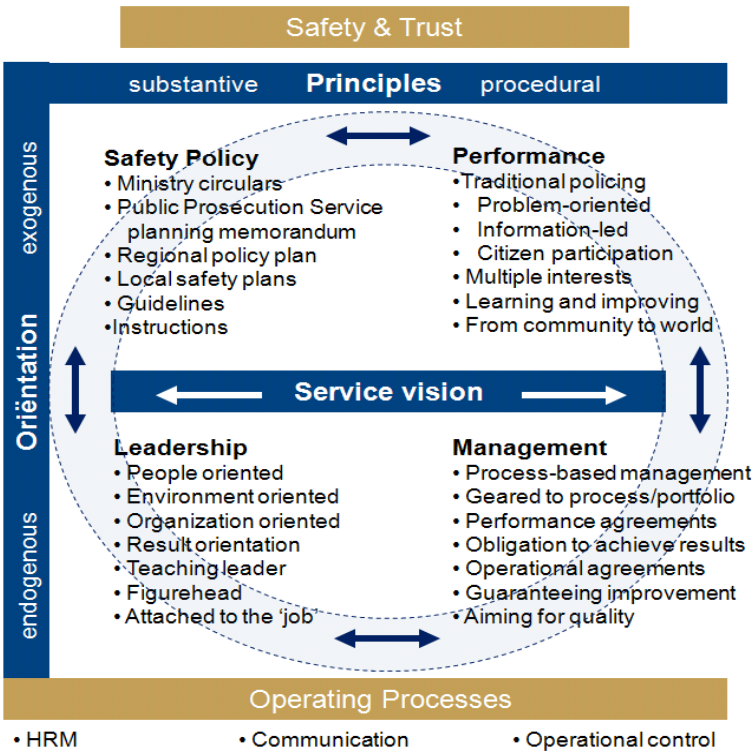
Practice, however, has taught that converting a convincing and credible strategy into actual performance of police work is extremely complex and is certainly not a matter of course. To get from policy to performance, we have developed a management model for the police in which we combine our police vision with a corresponding management cycle. Because it is very important for citizens to have realistic expectations of the police, we have included reputation management as the third component in our model. The three elements of the model are interrelated.

The first element – the force vision - is about the police we want to be, now and in the future. A police organization that is equipped to serve society and to effectively tackle the most urgent problems in relation to crime and unsafety. The second element – the management cycle - is about managing policing. It is intended to enable policing to actually tackle the most urgent problems and thereby fulfill the justified wishes and expectations of society. The third element – reputation management - is about *really* letting society know, see and perceive that the police are doing the right things in the right way. Together, the different aspects of policing summed up in the three elements of our model are also considered a checklist. A police organization that provides for these aspects makes a maximum contribution to safety in society and will also be able to count on the citizens' trust.

4. Police vision: from policy to performance

When it comes to the desired performance of police duties – the police vision - we make a distinction between Principles and Orientation. Principles are the starting points that apply to working on Safety & Trust, the general objectives of the police. We make a distinction as well between a substantive side and a procedural side. In Orientation, we distinguish exogenous orientation (from outside to inside) from endogenous orientation (from inside to outside). This forms a quadrant with four dimensions - clockwise: safety policy, performance, management and leadership. See Figure 1.

Figure 1 Police vision: from Policy to Performance



6.1 Safety Policy

Principles	Substantive
Orientation	From outside to inside

In a democracy based on the rule of law, it is not possible for the police to set its own course. The police perform their duties subordinate to the competent authority and within the agreements set out in various policy plans, guidelines and instructions. That means that the police are not authorized to determine on their own which safety problems will be tackled with priority. A distinction can be made between national, regional and local safety policy. In this context, there are two types of subordination: the lower geographic level is always subordinate to the higher geographic level. For instance, the police have to adhere to various guidelines and agreements set out in the national safety plan, circulars from the Ministry and letters from the Minister. The tackling of national priorities undoubtedly has an effect at regional and local level. The Regional Board determines the long-term policy plan, which contains the regional priorities. The municipalities have a local safety program in which agreements are made on the tackling of the main local safety problems.

6.2 Performance

Principles	Procedural
Orientation	From outside to inside

With that, we come to the performance by the police of their duties. We want to be very clear about this. The main duties of the police are and will remain to track down criminals and enforce laws, maintain public order and provide emergency assistance. The police are there if a citizen needs the police. This is the traditional police work citizens expect of the police.[8] The difference from before is, however, that the 'remaining' patrol time is no longer filled with unfocused preventive patrolling or more, untargeted 'blue' on the streets. This has proven ineffective, whereas what citizens really want is effective police.[9] That is why we put better blue on the streets. This means that police work will be performed on the basis of *'evidence based policing':* safety strategies that have proven effective on the basis of research. The most recent studies show that the tackling of safety problems should always expressly involve the environment of the police. The police are hardly ever able to do it alone. This smoothly creates an exogenous orientation: from outside to inside.

This should focus on the main problems, namely national priorities – insofar as relevant to the geographic area – *and* local priorities. At local level if possible, supralocal or even national if necessary: from the community to the world. Such a problem-oriented approach means that actions are especially focused on concentrations of problems: the *hot crimes & hot disorders, hot spots & hot areas, hot shots & hot groups*, and those structural improvements are always made in the area where the safety problem originated.[10] We can find out what the causes are by using tactical problem analyses. In this context, a director's role for the municipalities and cooperation with other organizations, authorities, entrepreneurs and citizens are extremely important conditions.

For the purposes of such a problem-oriented approach, the police are neighborhood-based with robust base teams, and organized close to the citizens. Precisely because safety problems always arise outside the police organization, in seeking sustainable solutions, the police look beyond the

[8] See Berghuis and De Waard (2011).
[9] See e.g. *Intomart GfK* (2007).
[10] The 80-20 rule is followed in this regard: 20 percent of the causes provide for 80% of the consequences. See Koch (1997)..

boundaries of their own organization. Problem-oriented policing and networking make it possible to take account of the interests of everyone involved. The intensive involvement of various organizations and organizational units results in continuous alertness to the multiplicity of interests and automatically leads to the desired reflexivity. Safety partners keep one another alert.

6.3 Management

Principles	Procedural
Orientation	From inside to outside

For proper implementation of the adopted safety policy, of course, a police organization is needed that has its affairs in order, which is a matter of good management. This means that important processes – intake, emergency assistance, enforcement, investigation, information and intelligence – are structured according to the qualitative standards agreed nationally. Combining problem-oriented policing, intelligence-led policing and community-oriented policing and creating the organizational preconditions needed for this in order to keep the agreed performance and result agreements, are also a matter of good management. Performance (output) means the activities, products and services for which only the police can be held responsible. Results (outcome) refers to the desired effects of the integrated approach in society. All organizations, authorities and persons involved are naturally responsible for the results. If there is an orientation to the most urgent (local) safety problems, this is precisely where performance-based management and safety management come together. Reflexivity can be achieved by aiming to improve quality, guaranteeing desired improvements in the organization as well as improving operational agreements. Aiming at quality results in orientation to the operations, and the manager and those he/she manages will enter into discussions about the professional performance of police work. Naturally in light of the desired results. If this does not make things safer - even with the best of intentions - something has nevertheless gone wrong. With this, we automatically come to the issue of leadership.

6.4 Leadership

Principles	Substantive
Orientation	From inside to outside

The management model described here sets high requirements on leadership within the police. These are police managers who implement the adopted policy, and in doing so place themselves at the service of the officers on the beat, and are able to unite the desired approach with their management duties. A police manager takes the lead and – together with the community police officer - constitutes the so-called “figurehead role” of the local, area-based police organization. By working together and networking, the police manager continuously seeks a connection with society. By knowing what is going on in his/her own work territory and, of course, across the borders as well, the police manager makes room for professionalism. By taking the lead in operations and showing great interest in what is going on in the community and among the workers, the manager will be outstandingly able to anticipate major developments. He/she must also show courage and respond with alertness. The police manager is always searching for working methods and especially uses innovative (evidence-based) knowledge and experience gained elsewhere and does not try to reinvent the wheel time and time again – to his/her own honor and glory. The police manager also links safety management to performance-based management, with an eye for unintended management effects, and organizes opposition in order to remain connected with the surroundings. Operating processes are geared to the operation. The police manager has an eye for the work

environment and wellbeing of the employees as the most important condition for arriving at effective safety assurance. Lastly, the police manager is a role model and manages him/herself.

6.5 Supporting operating processes

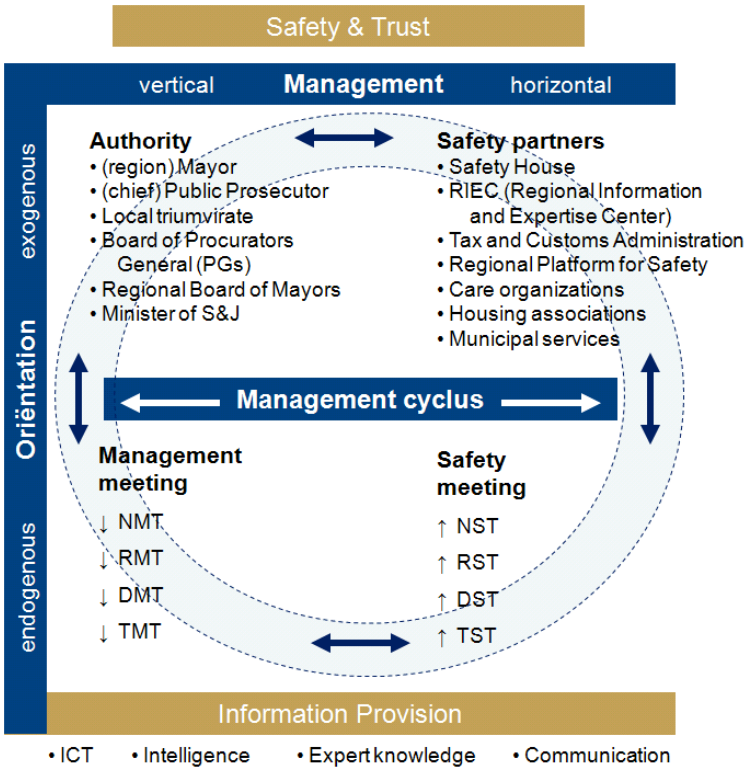
HRM	Communication	Operational control

It is self-evident that effective safety assurance benefits from good support by the operations. This concerns the production of operational products such as a service model, articulation of questions, accommodations and quality assurance. It is clear that each of these products can make its own important contribution - also at local level - to effective policing and to safety and citizens' trust in the police. In spite of this, we will not deal further with these national processes. We will, however, discuss the processes that will be placed with regional and national units: HRM, communications and operational control. Each of these support services will be discussed separately in the following.

7. Management cycle: performance-based management *and* safety management

The above-mentioned operational control is intended to keep the day-to-day work of police officers – from management to policing – in line with the agreed safety policy, safety programs and agreed performance and result agreements. Using a management cycle in managing the police organization as a whole connects the different dimensions of the police vision on safety assurance and in that way steers and keeps the organization as a whole in the desired direction. See Figure 2 for a schematic representation.

Figure 2 Management Cycle: Performance and Safety Management



Quantitative performance gets together with qualitative performance-based management if the underlying police vision, the manner in which it is performed, management and leadership are discussed as well. Experience is now being gained with this hybrid management cycle in the Haaglanden region. Because a distinction is made on the one hand between vertical and horizontal management and on the other (once again) between endogenous and exogenous orientation, the following four related dimensions can be distinguished: police authority and management meetings, safety partners and safety meetings. The two management cycles in this hybrid management model can be distinguished, but not separated. These are, respectively, performance-based management and safety management. They form one cohesive whole. The characteristic distinction is that (traditional) performance-based management takes place from the top down, while safety management runs from the bottom up. In this way, policy and performance are brought together.

7.1 Police Authority

Management	**Vertical**
Orientation	**From outside to inside**

In performance-based management, there is accountability to the police authority for the tackling of crime and unsafety. No guidelines are included for the structure of the management consultations in the new police regions in the bill for the formation of the National Police. The regional mayor has the discretion to give shape to these management consultations, together with the other mayors and the Public Prosecutor. In the bill, there are three organizational levels: (1) the police force as a whole, (2) the national unit and regional units containing (3) territorial units (district and base teams). Each level has his own local triumvirate.

7.2 Management meetings

Management	**Vertical**
Orientation	**From inside to outside**

Within the police, there is vertical performance-based management by the National Management Team (NMT), Regional Management Team (RMT), District Management Teams(DMT) and Team Management Teams (TMT). In performance-based management (*planning & control*), looking back, the performance and result agreements made in the various policy plans took a central place. In our management model, in the management meetings and Management Reports, not only the quantitative targets come up for discussion, but reports are made as well on the (problem-oriented) tackling of the main safety problems, the production and use of intelligence and crime analyses, cooperation with safety partners as well as the way in which citizens and entrepreneurs are involved in tackling these problems. In this way, performance-based management is mixed with aspects of safety management. Each report is accompanied by an appropriate strategic assessment of local crime and safety: the Crime & Safety Area Scan.

7.3 Safety Partners

Management	**Horizontal**
Orientation	**From outside to inside**

Performance-based management is about keeping agreements made with others on the basis of a joint analysis of the problems, which is set out in a joint action plan. Performance is managed and accounted for both vertically and horizontally. Account for the tackling of problems and the results is rendered not only to the above-mentioned police authority, but also to the safety partners, including

citizens, entrepreneurs and social organizations. This creates a horizontal effect. Safety partners call one another to account for keeping agreements made.

7.4 Safety Consultations

Management	Horizontal
Orientation	From inside to outside

Compared to performance-based management, safety management runs in the opposite direction bottom up, starting with the main safety problems in the districts and neighborhoods of the region. Safety consultations deal with the safety problems that most seriously impair safety and quality of life, and which citizens expect to be tackled with priority. These are often national priorities as well (such as home burglaries), but they can also be other problems (such as theft from cars or illegal parking). When these local priorities and their tackling are included in the performance indicators, safety management is mixed with performance-based management. The safety strategy chosen in safety management is naturally of fundamental importance. In the Safety Teams problem-oriented tackling of the main *hot crimes, hot disorders, hot spots, hot shots* and *hot groups* takes a central place. Area scans give a view of these *hot problems*. Identification and advice are provided to the police authority through the performance-based management line (TMT or DMT). This creates the desired situation that in problem-oriented tackling, by way of top-down management, the police officers on the beat, e.g. community police officers, come in contact with professionals from other organizations who know in advance that their own organizations will support them. This can close the gap between policy and performance. Policy does not stand in the way of performance, but actually enhances it. Supralocal problems are tackled at district, unit or national level and are brought up for discussion - insofar as relevant – in all Safety Meetings.

In the Safety Meetings the problem-oriented tackling of the main safety problems and the (other) successful operations achieved take a central place. Based on the operations of the police chief concerned, the safety situation and relevant approach are discussed against the background of current developments in crime (last week, last 4 weeks and since January 1 of this year).[11] The discussion is about policy-related aspects, the safety strategies followed, the (problem-oriented) approach, management and the leadership role. See the questions in Box 1 below. It is self-evident that the attainments and results achieved or not will also be discussed in the safety meetings. Nevertheless, the safety meetings may expressly not be considered a time for hierarchical management. Hierarchical management takes place along the vertical line of police authority in management meetings. The emphasis in horizontal safety meetings is on cooperation. Police managers are given the professional room to discuss together how the main safety problems are being or can be tackled as effectively as possible on the different geographical levels.

Box 1 Some relevant questions in Safety Management

Policy	1. Has an Area Scan been made? What points for attention were discussed with the police authority? What was agreed? What is the relationship between national priorities and local priorities? Has the police authority assumed a director's role in tackling them? Has a project group been formed?
Performance	2. Has a problem analysis been made together with the partners? Why is there a persistent/acute problem? Has attention been paid to offenders, victims, environmental and occasional factors? Who has influence? 3. Has an action plan been made together with the partners in case of a persistent

[11] This way of monitoring we have copied from the New York Police Department.

Management Leadership	problem? What agreements have been made? What measures will be taken by whom? What costs will be incurred? Is there a budget? 4. How will citizens /entrepreneurs be involved? How will the chance of being arrested in the act be increased? Will citizens be used as role models? 5. What results have meanwhile been achieved? What has fundamentally changed as a result of the approach? Will there be an evaluation? 6. What kind of internal and external communication is there about the approach? How are the local residents /entrepreneurs informed?

7.5 Provision of supporting information

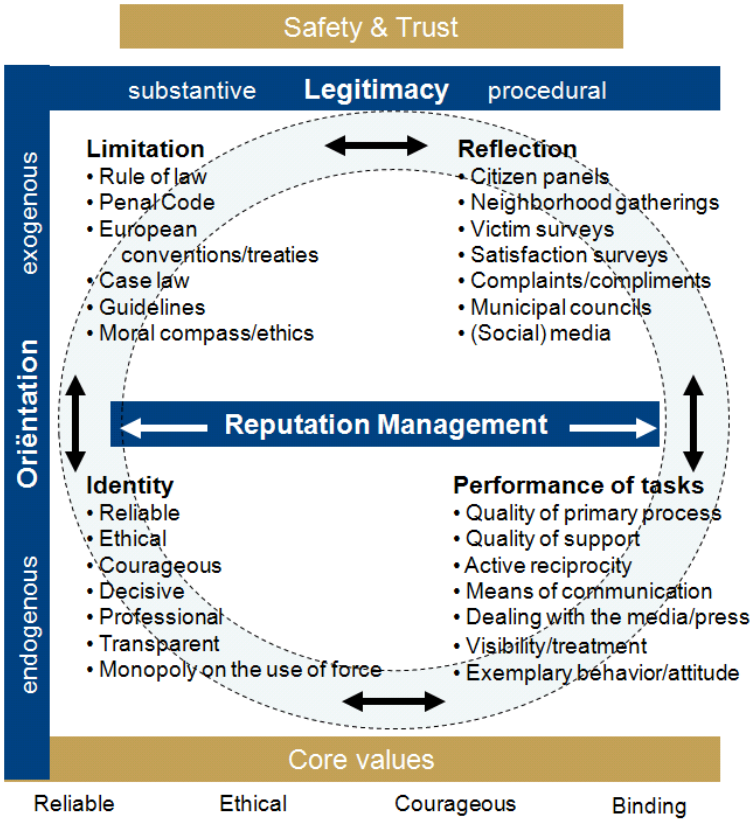
ICT	Intelligence	Expert Knowledge	Communication

Policing according to the principles of problem-oriented policing, intelligence-led policing and community-oriented policing sets high requirements on the operations and the support services and products. It would be going much too far to deal with this in detail. We limit ourselves by stating that the services and products which we believe are decisive in this context, namely those having to do with the provision of supporting information, are : ICT, analysis and communication.

8. Reputation management

For effective police work, the connection the police is able to make with society is of exceptionally great importance. A good relationship between society and the police benefits from citizens and other safety partners knowing well what they may and can expect from the police. In this context, nowadays we call this "reputation management". It is clear that good reputation management plays an extremely important part in the above-mentioned police vision and in aiming for it. In reputation management, we once again distinguish endogenous and exogenous orientation. In addition, we use the term legitimacy in this context.

Figure 3 **Reputation management : performance of tasks and reflection**



Legitimacy is even above authority and is about citizens' trust in police that take sufficient account of their legitimate wishes and expectations. Police who are not adequately able to guarantee safety in society will therefore lose their legitimacy and right to exist.[12] The police will lose the trust of the citizens if they are not effective enough, whereas citizens' trust in the police is a condition for effective policing. In this way safety and trust affect each other and legitimacy is the key concept. By dividing legitimacy into a substantive and procedural side, combined with the two orientations, the four dimensions arise: identity, limitation, reflection and performance of tasks. See Figure 3 for a schematic representation. We go through the four dimensions again, starting with identity.

8.1 Identity

Legitimacy	Substantive
Orientation	From inside to outside

Reputation management has everything to do with the manner in which the police are able to bring their appealing qualities to the attention of society. Identity concerns the question of the kind of police we want to be: reliable, ethical, courageous and binding. Police close to the citizens, who know what is going on and decisively help to solve problems. Police who are successful in fighting crime through active cooperation with others. Police who stand up for the interests of well-meaning citizens. Without shortchanging other police officers, the view of the quality of the organization is largely determined by the police officers with the positions that stand out: police managers *and* community police officers. Policy and performance come together in these police officers. In the teaching of leadership programs and courses for community police officers, a lot of attention needs to be paid to this aspect. Another important characteristic of police identity is transparency. Everyone may see - to the extent the law allows - the way in which the police work and achieve results. This is also allowed in the case of an organization entrusted with a monopoly on the use of force. One reservation needs to be made: we will, of course, never disclose our tactics and methodology particularly in relation to investigation, but we do guarantee that they will always be used within the limits of laws and regulations.

8.2 Performance of tasks

Legitimacy	Procedural
Orientation	From inside to outside

The identity of the police recur as a matter of course in the performance of the tasks of the police. In both the primary process and support we have to meet stringent quality requirements. For instance, in order to gain trust in performing our tasks, there has to be active reciprocity. In relation to, for example the provision of information after a report of victimization, and reporting back if the citizen has had contact with the police in a different way (e.g. after reporting a criminal caught in the act) a world can still be gained. Lastly, the quality of the communication is, of course, tremendously important. With the present means of communication, including social media and internet, there are very many possibilities to offer citizens custom information about the safety in their own living or working environment, to advise them about what citizens can do on their own to improve their safety situation and to allow citizens to take an active part in improving their own safety situation. Very recent research has shown that the provision of information to citizens on internet by using

[12] See also Van Dijk, Hoogewoning and Welten (2011).

crime maps with information on the local police and crime prevention has very positive effects on the satisfaction with and trust in the police. A major research finding was that the information did not increase the feelings of a lack of safety, but the reverse. In most criminal districts and among victims, the provision of information gave the citizens concerned more reassurance.[13] Another possibility for communication is to consult citizens about the main safety problems in their district or neighborhood. With that, we come to the third dimension of reputation management, perhaps the most important: reflection.

8.3 Reflection

Legitimacy	Procedural
Orientation	From outside to inside

In the current police vision, through close cooperation with other organizations and especially with citizens and entrepreneurs, reflexivity is as it were embedded. Organizing counterforce and opposition is an important characteristic of a police organization that develops along with the society of which it is a part. By way of neighborhood panels and satisfaction surveys, citizens are periodically offered the opportunity to hold up a mirror to the police regarding the performance of their tasks, the choices made, the problems tackled and the manner in which this is done. Also during the neighborhood meetings, which are organized according to need, e.g. on hot spots, citizens can indicate whether the police are on the right path. Citizens can, of course, always contact the police for complaints - and compliments. The periodic meetings in which the local administration - in the person of the mayor - account to the municipal council for the performance by the police of their tasks and the choices made, are also important times to find out whether the police are on the right track and meet the wishes and expectations of the citizens and the political administration. Lastly, articles, letters sent in, reports and messages in the (social) media about the police, about policing and about events that affect the police, can be considered important feedback from our main allies - the citizens - on the police organization. From viewpoint of reflection, it is therefore extremely important for the police to closely follow the reports in the media.

8.4 Limitation

Legitimacy	Substantive
Orientation	From outside to inside

These wishes and expectations of the citizens should, however, be realistic. With that, we come to the last dimension of reputation management : limitation. Citizens may well expect a lot of the police, but the police, as part of a democracy under the rule of law, must indeed adhere to the law, to the Rule of Law. This means that the work of the government, including the police, is limited by laws and regulations, case law, democratic agreements and human rights. Organizations such as private detective agencies are less bothered by this, although 'bother' might not be the right word. Lastly, there are also such things as a moral compass and ethical limitations. What is allowed does not necessarily have to happen. Policing is balancing time and again between what can and what may be done. That also makes it such a fine, challenging, but also complicated profession.[14]

[13] See Quinton (2011).
[14] See also Eterno & Silverman (2012: pp. 204, 226 and 256).

8.5 Core values

Reliable	Ethical	Courageous	Binding

We finally return to the core values of the police: reliable, ethical, courageous and binding. In reputation management, these core values do not just serve as characteristics of the identity of the police, but also as guiding principles. The expectation is that if these elements are given sufficient substance and attention in the communication with citizens, this will have a positive effect on the legitimacy of trust in the police.

9. In conclusion

"*Performance-based management at the police encompasses strategies such as hot spot policing and evidence-based policing and is based on the fundamental conviction that in tackling crime, policing can make a difference and continuous improvement is always possible.*" This is how the opening quote reads from O'Connell & Straub (2007) in *The Best of Three Worlds* (2010). Based on the experiences with performance-based management described in this memorandum, a decisive condition can be added to this fundamental conviction: good leadership. Even if the safety strategy chosen by the police has proven effective, even if police information is reliable, valid and up-to-date and even if their safety analyses and means of communication are of high quality, police leaders who aim only at measureable performance figures will not prove to be effective police managers.

Based on three important aspects of policing – namely the police vision, management cycle and reputation management - we have developed a management model for the police and described it in this memorandum. In conclusion, we discuss the way in which these aspects are connected. See Figure 4.

Figure 4 Cohesive Police Vision, Management Cycle and Reputation Management

Effective policing starts with effective leadership. High requirements are set on police managers. Police managers are first of all thoroughly aware of the new vision of policing as described in the National Police Organizational Design Plan (2012). Policing is problem-oriented and intelligence-led. Safety policy is implemented in close cooperation with other safety partners. The local administration is in charge. Citizens and entrepreneurs are expressly involved in tackling the most important problems. Police managers understand that this safety strategy will require a totally different management style in the future.

Naturally, as usual, the police manager takes the lead if account has to be rendered to the police authority. If in consultation with that authority, the matter is brought up of which acute and persistent safety problems should be tackled with priority, the police leader, as a subordinate WITH authority, gives shape to the identifying and advisory task of the police. As a safety expert, the police manager and his/her organization have evidence-based knowledge at their disposal of what can and may be done and what is effective. The police manager also knows where the possibilities of policing are limited by laws and regulations, treaties and conventions and ethics. The management of his/her own organization is also self-evidently a core task of a good police manager. If the organization is not in order, the desired professional quality cannot be delivered. The police manager's own management team is directed to do so and the police manager is directed by the higher ranking police manager. From the top down with the last word for the police authority, this is how it goes in the Dutch democracy under the rule of law. And then caring for one's own personnel. A good police manager has trust in the skills of the police workers on the beat and gives them the professional space to work together on a safer society.

The main adjustment is, however, that the police manager acts more than before as the visible figurehead of the police. The accent is less on quantitatively measurable achievements and more on providing for quality and satisfaction of the citizens. Police managers are more involved in the actual work than before. This is called "management by operations". This automatically provides for more focus on the surroundings of the police. The police manager takes the lead together with the community police officers in cooperating with citizens, entrepreneurs and other safety partners. Also in the (social) media, the police manager, together with the community police officers, is the face of the police. A police manager who serves as a role model for both police and citizens through reliability, integrity and transparency. Courageous and decisive when necessary, but always ethical and fair. This is performance by the police manager that should definitely benefit the reputation of the police and with that its legitimacy and authority.

The police manager does not only organize opposition in his/her own organization, but also outside it. By entering into discussions with citizens, entrepreneurs and other safety partners the police manager can continuously check whether the police are still on the right path and meet the legitimate wishes and expectations of the citizens. Municipal councils are also periodically informed about local policing, the choices made in it and the results achieved. The proposed model may well offer the local police more opportunities than before to get closer to the citizens. And it will provide the citizens with more possibilities than before to exert influence on the policing in their own neighborhoods.

As the figurehead, the police manager therefore holds weekly safety meetings with the community police officers, is optimally aware of what is going on in his/her own coverage area and is interested

in the solutions thought up from the operation. In addition, the same police manager has safety consultations chaired by the district head with the other heads of the base teams in the district every two weeks. The district head then has safety consultations every two weeks with the other district heads, chaired by the head of the regional unit. Lastly, at national level, the force management has safety meetings every four weeks with the heads of the regional units and the national unit. In this way, from the bottom up, the safety meetings create a focus on the main problems: local, supralocal, regional, national and international. At the same time, the specific tackling of the main problems self-evidently contributes to the national priorities and agreements with the competent authority from the top down. In this way, safety management and performance-based management definitely form an excellent match, but on condition of good leadership.

The Hague, August 2012.

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