
NETWORKED POLICING: TOWARDS A PUBLIC MARKETING APPROACH TO URBAN SAFETY

Kuno Schedler
University of St. Gallen

Abstract

Although modern forms of control, such as the ones designed under the new public management regime and others being the fruit of a public governance debate, have lead to new models for policing, practitioners still need more support in their operational use. This paper argues that both the new public management and public governance are valuable concepts for urban safety as a policy field. Additionally, it suggests to borrow the structure and thinking of public marketing for the creation of practical solutions in networking and performance management. The result is a new conceptual approach to networked policing.

1. Introduction

The issue of urban safety is increasingly understood as an issue that can be dealt with by the police alone. The citizens' sense of security, in particular, is not only a consequence of crime but is influenced by many other factors. A survey among inhabitants of two Viennese residential quarters revealed that crime only played a secondary role in their sense of security. Most experiences of insecurity related to incidents or observations that did not involve any punishable acts. These were observations of disorder in public spaces, problems of social interaction,

and interference in the residential sphere through noise and conflicts with neighbours (Karazman-Morawetz. 1995).

Approaches to an optimisation of the leadership, structures or resources of the police alone fall short of expectations, as Goldstein (1979) recognised early on. Rather, work in the field of urban safety must be aligned with the problems of urban safety. The more complex these problems turn out to be, the more difficult they will be to deal with. In terms of systems theory, the problem-solving systems must be capable either of reducing the complexity of their task or of building up a sufficient degree of complexity themselves in order to master the problems.

In order to be able to solve the problems of urban safety, integrated solutions have been called for. The outstanding model, which has also attracted most attention in the German-speaking area, is the approach of community policing (Aronowitz. 2003). It is undisputed today that societal factors exert a great influence on urban safety (Correira. 2000). It is for this reason that demands have been made that safety is no longer a task of an interventionist police force, but that the police must apply more "social" methods, particularly in order to be successful in the fields of prevention and integration.

2. Approaches to problem-solving

In the 1980s, two schools of a neo-institutionalism evolved, which were based on two different views of people: rational-choice institutionalism, which was based on "homo economicus", and sociological institutionalism, which was based on "homo sociologus". Hall and Taylor (1996) emphasised that the view of man on which the characters of institutionalism are founded, has a crucial impact on theoretical conclusions. To this extent, the theories that have been derived from these stances may be

institutional approaches, but they implicitly refer to a certain view of the actors.

I will argue in this paper that in practical life, the two different theoretical perspectives have resulted in two different approaches to control in the public domain (or: in Public Governance). In this context, it must be borne in mind that practice never assumes a "purely" theoretical perspective but always constructs its solution approaches with elements from several sources that prove useful in concrete application. Rational choice institutionalism is considered to be one of the most important sources of New Public Management, whereas sociological institutionalism is one of the most important sources for actor-oriented institutional approaches (Peters. 1999).

2.1 Rational choice institutionalism and its governance model: New Public Management

In the 1990s, public management was steered in a new direction. Under New Public Management, administrative units that had previously been controlled through detailed budgets and regulation (input control) were now managed on the basis of requirements with regard to expected performance and results (output control). This went hand in hand with an increased decentralisation of operative responsibility so that administration managers were provided with room to manoeuvre (Hood. 1991; Rhodes. 1991). In order to compensate for the newly-gained freedoms, a new form of accountability was established at the same time, namely a political control over outputs. Technically, this meant that all the performances of public administration had to be prescribed as objective, and that subsequently they had to be measured. For the management culture, this meant that a detachment from the administration mentality became necessary, and that an

increase in management by objectives was called for (Willoughby and Melkers. 2002).

The soil of existing administrative cultures on which these conceptual ideas fell was of varying fertility. Whereas in Scandinavian countries the ideas were used to refine the already existing intensive contacts with civic groups, the rule-oriented administrations of continental Europe used the instruments of NPM in conformity with their rules. During a first stage of unquestioning belief in the instruments, thousands of products were defined and assigned an equal number of indicators, which led to enormous efforts being expended on performance measurement (Schedler, et al. 1998). Thus it was not without reason that New Public Management was criticised for creating new bureaucracies rather than reducing old ones (Finger. 1997).

Less bureaucratic applications, which could be observed with equal frequency, yielded considerable positive results, also and particularly in the field of policing: a higher degree of orientation towards citizens' requirements, a clarification of the tasks of the police, especially also more transparency regarding the police forces' performance results. A broadly-based study by Proeller and Zwahlen (2002) in Switzerland showed that compared with all other types of administration, the police possessed the best structural conditions for a systematic cultivation of their customer relations. However, the decentralisation and autonomisation of individual administrative units – including police forces – additionally reinforced an old problem, namely thinking in terms of one's own areas of responsibility. The police forces received their own performance agreement and were measured against how they fulfilled it, which did not make it necessary for them to assume an inclusive perspective. The consequence was individual solutions and a lack of

systematic cooperation – admittedly a problem that is also known to administrations that are not under NPM.

The credit for the fact that these problems did not remain undetected must be awarded to the exponents of New Public Management. Once again, the pioneers of administrative reforms – New Zealand and the Netherlands – were the first to recognise these problems and to take measures to tackle them. In New Zealand, the stage of decentralisation was followed by a stage of strategic management (Boston, et al. 1996), i.e. an attempt was made to counter the fragmentation of the control of public life by means of a comprehensive strategic view. Cities such as Christchurch developed medium-term strategic plans that had to be integrated into the offices' individual performance agreements (Grünenfelder. 1997). The Dutch cities also combined the strategic view with a political view in that they placed a higher value on civic participation (Herweijer. 1996). When all is said and done, this means nothing other than that the purely economically motivated performance orientation of administration control was supplemented by a political-sociological perspective. This was the birth of what today is called Public Governance.

For police work, New Public Management primarily means that performance must be defined and measured by means of indicators. In a joint project of the Eastern Swiss Police Concordat, for instance, the following definitions have been adopted:

Performance groups	Performance elements
Maintenance of safety and order	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Preventive presence- Protection of property and persons- Management of flowing traffic

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Management of stationary traffic- Police approvals
Incident management	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Accident management- Operations in major incidents- Crime intervention- Conflict management- Counselling of incident victims- Major incident management
Investigation and detection	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Recovery of persons and objects- Criminal investigation- Recording of routine circumstances- Search for persons and objects- Investigation reports
Information and training	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Media and public relations work- Prevention- Warnings/alerts- Training of external actors- Road traffic education- Statistics

Other services in which the police are involved	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Transport- Lost property office- Accommodation of prisoners- Ambulance service- Fire-fighting- Hunting and angling- Opinions and consultancy- Living space protection- Mountain rescue service- Diving for third parties- Policy preparation and support- Road traffic technology
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Table 1: Police performance catalogue (example: Eastern Swiss Police Concordat)

Performance was reported and controlled on the basis of this catalogue. The Canton of Lucerne, which uses a slightly adapted catalogue for performance controlling, noted after the first reporting round that only a small part of overall working hours was spent on activities which were regarded as strategic by the police management. The consequence was a redefinition of the police force's objectives, job descriptions and performance agreement. This example makes clear that the transparency thus created resulted in very concrete improvements in police management where the management really worked with the new information.

Even though the history of NPM is set down in the past tense in this paper, it must be emphasised that this

management model represents present-day reality for many police forces in Switzerland. Both on the local and the cantonal level, performance contracts have been signed between politicians and police officials, and police are being controlled under the performance management regime of the new public management.

2.2 Sociological institutionalism and its governance model: policy networks

Besides the economic angle, a further perspective is customary: the sociological one. It is particularly in political science that this view is widespread, which does not take notice of any monetary exchange conditions but focuses on social interactions. If several different actors or groups of actors pursue the same interests, and if in so doing they establish contact with each other, this may lead to so-called policy networks. Policy networks are characterised by the fact that as a rule, they possess a low degree of formalisation, i.e. in contrast to the contractual relations of New Public Management, networks are often based on purely informal arrangements. They are held together by the actors' shared interests, and their essential element of success is a win-win situation: only if – at least in the medium term – all the actors derive some additional gain from cooperation will the network continue in its present form. This prerequisite may sound trivial; in practice, however, it is a highly complex problem since membership in a network often entails rather high transaction costs. As soon as a member is no longer able to expect any net profit from his membership in a network, he will usually leave the network.

Then again, the sanctioning possibilities of a policy network are usually only weak, the strongest sanction being exclusion from the network. As a consequence of all this, policy networks are by and large hardly in a position to survive any crises. They are actual fair weather models and

require a fall-back position, i.e. if they fall apart, an ongoing problem will still have to be solved either through the (anarchic) market or through a (hierarchical) intervention. Now, sociological institutionalism examines the conditions under which networks emerge as institutions, what rules they impose upon themselves, and what their relationships with other institutions are like. An actor-centred view, such as that which is strongly propagated by Fritz Scharpf in Germany, probes below the surface of institutions and asks questions about actors' behaviour, about their individual interests, and about their ability to form constellations. If a constellation of actors develops a sufficient degree of controlling power, it will also acquire political influence. If this controlling power fails to materialise, the network will remain insignificant, make no impact, and yield no long-term (political) profit. As a rule, such a network will fall apart.

As far as police work is concerned, this perspective is only relevant if the police are no longer able to enforce their interests, such as the assurance of law and order, on their own. In such a case they would be left with the basic possibilities of involving other institutions in the pursuit of their interests through market solutions (such as contracts) or hierarchical intervention (such as a municipal council order), or of playing a more active guiding role to encourage the establishment of networks for the enforcement of security interests. In the field of urban safety, such networks are typically made up of both internal and external actors. Internally, they come from administrative units such as social security, the planning authorities, educational authorities, or urban planning. Externally, they include a community's small business owners, associations of foreign nationals, regional associations, and real estate owners. Deicher (2005) reports on the laborious but successful efforts made by a network of administrative

units against vandalism in the Swiss city of Lucerne which led to a situation whereby external actors are now being sought for cooperation in the network. Particularly in Switzerland, where thanks to a system of concordance, political conditions are stable but decidedly complex, community policing is predominantly associated with cooperation in networks (Sauter. 2005).

An alternative that is related to the network, but is often neglected in discussions, is the governance form of the community. Although community policing has this notion in its name, classic governance research takes too little heed of this practical manifestation. In this case, attempts are made, through an appeal to citizens' sense of responsibility, to form a community which will then look after its own safety. The police do not conclude any agreements but motivate citizens to assert their rights and fulfil their duties. However, cooperation with citizens does not take place within defined networks either; rather, it happens spontaneously, evolving from the participants' sense of community. Thus "community" is a fourth possible form of governance, which is of great significance in the context of policing in particular.

3. How to make things work: Integrated Marketing as a means towards networked policing

The above theoretical considerations are relevant to practice, but practitioners are often confronted by implementation problems. Of course there is the possibility of copying certain solutions ("benchmarks"), or a performance agreement is drawn up for the police force. The creation of a network, however, requires a concerted course of action to appeal to the right actors. If you draft a performance agreement, you should know what the right services are that

ought to be provided. What is still often lacking in this context is an integrative view of the problem, which may at the same time supply instructions as to a concrete course of action.

On the way towards such a practicable approach, the concept of Integrated Marketing that has been suggested by Kuss and Tomczak (2002) for the private sector may provide important help. Others have already experienced some success in similar attempts. Bradley (1998) points out that important results were achieved in policing when using a marketing approach in the UK, and Etter (1999) stresses marketing know-how to be valuable for communication strategies of police.

Integrated Marketing follows six principles when it comes to the determination of performance programmes and market strategies.

Focus on needs. The top priority is the requirement of taking one's bearings from the needs of those involved, particularly from the municipality's citizens. These needs consist of a confused mixture of demands that are pronounced explicitly and usually underpinned by rational reasons, and of wishes that often emerge emotionally and only work in the subconscious. A strategic concept for urban safety must ask itself the question as to what the citizens' relevant needs are which have to be satisfied. In this context, it would be a mistake to base this assessment on previous police performance. What is essential is what citizens want – and they do not care who satisfies these needs.

The role that the state assumes here can be one of clarification. In the age of the multi-option society (Gross, 1994), many people are confused about what they are supposed to want. The notion of consumer confusion, a phenomenon that can also be explained by the multi-option

society model (Gross. 2004), is now being bandied about. Government action may have a normative effect, i.e. the rules that are provided by the state and applied by its actors may have an impact on societal development. If, for instance, citizens notice that the police integrate them directly into crime prevention, this may result in a new awareness of everyone's responsibility in this field.

Segmenting the market. The debate about who the customers of the police are and whether the police have customers at all is perfectly well known from the discussions of New Public Management. Public marketing has a slightly different perspective, and it uses this to circumvent this debate. From the perspective of public marketing, all those actors are customers of the administration who are involved in influencing the success of the programmes. This means that a very wide range of stakeholders must be regarded as customers and that the complexity resulting from this must be reduced by means of segmentation. Typifications of customers of public administration are adequately known from the literature (Ho. 2002; OECD. 1996; Willoughby and Melkers. 2002). As a rule, however, the definitions of these groups are of general validity rather than focused on a certain marketing strategy.

In the course of action proposed in this paper, the various stakeholders must be segmented with a view to achieving the programme objectives. In marketing, we speak of a buying centre when the number of (differing) actors participating in a purchase are meant (Kuss and Tomczak. 2000). Within a buying centre, distinctions can be made between users, purchasers, influencers, decision-makers, information selectors and initiators (Bonoma. 1982), each of whom assume different roles to influence the buying decision. In the public domain, the point is not a buying decision in the narrower sense of the term; rather, the objective is to trigger off the relevant actors' active

cooperation. Distinct groups of actors must be checked for their interests in order to discover by what means their activity for the benefit of the programme can be acquired, for in the public domain, too, there is a relationship of exchange between the supplier (i.e. the city) and customers, and this relationship must be analysed and optimised. For the city, however, this means that each of the varying segments must be addressed with specific services or measures. Possibly, the police may not be in a position to provide all these services, i.e. it will become necessary to establish cooperation between different offices. Again, this kind of cooperation will follow its own rules (Bardach. 1998).

Focus on competition. Focus on competition seems to be an odd demand in an environment that is basically not organised along competitive lines. Yet it makes sense since urban safety works in a context that is characterised by competition. However, it is not primarily cities that vie with each other, nor does one police force appear to compete against another. Even so, there is competition in a wider sense, namely through solutions provided by third parties. Where the police are either unable or unwilling to guarantee private individuals' safety, private security firms take their place (in spite of a lack of democratic legitimation). Where a municipal police force is unable to keep crime under control, it is – at least in Switzerland – frequently the cantonal police force that takes over this task (in spite of a lack of proximity to citizens). Where the government is unable to enforce its rules, other sources prescribe rules of their own. In marketing, a company tries to differentiate itself clearly from its competitors by striving for an edge over them in terms of price or performance.

Transposed onto the state this means that municipally organised solutions must be more efficient than their alternatives (in analogy with the price advantage). This may

mean that all in all, the costs that are generated are lower; it may also mean, however, that less effort is required from the citizens concerned, including their own protection measures. The advantage in terms of performance would consist in a situation whereby municipal solutions are more effective than their alternatives.

Focus on competence. When it comes to solving a complex problem, "naked" products are often not enough. Marketing speaks of naked products when only the actual product is offered – for instance, a car. As a rule, integrated solutions must be provided for specific groups of actors; in this case Belz (1997) speaks of performance systems. In respect of the car, this covers all the additional services that prompt the buyer to buy exactly this make again, such as a retrieval service for repairs, membership of clubs, etc. In such a case, the car manufacturer profiles himself as a supplier of a holistic solution that is capable of satisfying all the buyer's needs in connection with automobility. The car producer becomes a partner in mobility.

Transposed onto the state this means that the city should profile itself as a competence centre for safety. Instead of only supplying the "naked" product of crime intervention, it can establish entire performance systems aimed at improving citizens' sense of security in the city. The objective does not consist in the generation of services that no one really needs. Private-sector marketing aims to provide only those supplementary services which are in fact paid for. In public-sector marketing, the point is to provide supplementary services which in fact improve the effects of the programme, for example through a better activation of citizens in the field of crime prevention.

Focus on communication. The way in which a good or service is communicated has a crucial impact on customers' perception. It is not without reason that private enterprises often plough a large part of their turnover into

advertising in order to differentiate themselves from the basically very similar products offered by their competitors. Such communication may contain surprises, may provide food for thought, and is meant to ensure that a certain brand is imprinted on potential customers' minds and will be activated when a concrete need arises.

For an urban safety policy context, using the segmentation of customers to choose the most appropriate media and messages for each segment (Bradley. 1998) may be a key to success in networked policing.

Focus on satisfaction. Satisfied customers will return. They are loyal. Thus it is important for every company to satisfy its customers with high-quality goods and services if it does not want to have to acquire new customers time and time again. In the public context, the goal is also loyalty, but a loyalty that does not manifest itself through renewed purchases but through citizens' personal commitment to the city and its concerns.

Satisfaction, however, is a double-edged sword for, in simplified terms, it is created by the interaction of two factors: the expectations of a good or service to meet the subjectively perceived quality of that good or service. For a city, this means that it must actively influence both factors even though both have a big emotional component. In Scandinavia it was noticed that citizens had a lower sense of security after a community policing programme than they had had before because all the communication triggered off exorbitant expectations that could not be satisfied (Holmberg. 2002).

Many elements that are addressed by public marketing are already implicitly the objects of urban policies. The new element that Integrated Marketing can provide is a systematology for the structuring of complex questions such as typically also emerge in the context of urban safety. It can provide practical help for municipal authorities to

work out a clear-cut plan and schedule for their programme. However, the approach will prove its fitness in the effect displayed by those programmes which were developed in accordance with its criteria.

4. The application: urban safety in the City of Zurich

The City of Zurich has about 200,000 inhabitants. It is regarded as the economic centre of German-speaking Switzerland and displays the customary advantages and disadvantages of a central city:

thanks to its good transport connections, it attracts the big service companies, which are concentrated in certain quarters;

owing to the degree of anonymity, which is generally higher in a city, it attracts people who belong to the socially weaker strata – foreigners, single parents, dependents, old people, unemployed people, etc. – which leads to social tensions and higher crime rates in certain districts, particularly when poverty is combined with social uprooting;

as a consequence of the tardy reaction by the traffic planning authorities, certain neuralgic points of the city experience traffic congestion problems that seem virtually insoluble.

In one district, the problems appear to be accumulating: in the area of Langstrasse. The Langstrasse runs from one traffic junction to another and cuts through two municipal districts, both industrial in character. Multiple dwellings are the rule; the quota of foreign nationals is 70%. Many bars/restaurants in Langstrasse can be assigned to the red-light scene, i.e. prostitution is rife here. Basically, the city tolerates prostitution as long as it keeps to regulated

tracks, i.e. as long as it takes place in the locations intended for it. However, street prostitution is increasingly becoming a problem: congestion caused by kerb-crawlers, openly conducted competition fights between prostitute rings of different ethnic origins, and an increase in drug-related prostitution.

Actually, both districts have a very positive history: they have always been the city's working class quarters and there have always been guest workers living there. Many people who live there – in the less neuralgic areas – enjoy the uncomplicated atmosphere, the open Turkish, Spanish and Italian shops, the bars and restaurants. It comes as no surprise that these people will not simply be driven out by the rough and tumble of the Langstrasse. The chairman of the district association is makes frequent appeals to the city to make sure that the Langstrasse does not run to seed even more and that whatever can be rescued in the quarters will be done.

The municipal councillor (political executive) who is responsible for safety has now decided that the Langstrasse problem will be tackled as a main thrust of her political programme. In order to take some of the load off the regular police organisation in this neighbourhood, it was defined as a so-called "focal point", which is given more attention and more resources. In the summer of 2001, the *Langstrasse PLUS* project was launched, which aims at a quick and distinct improvement in public order and safety in this area. In the medium and long term, socio-cultural and planning measures are expected to effect durable improvements in the quality of life in the Langstrasse neighbourhood (City of Zurich. 2003). Measures are intended to be taken on three levels:

- public order and safety;
- living and recreation spaces;
- medium- and longer-term neighbourhood develop-

ment.

What method is public marketing able to offer at such a starting point? If the task force follows the six principles of marketing, then the most important questions can be approached systematically:

Marketing principle	Examples of questions to be dealt with
Focus on needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What are the central needs that the programme is supposed to satisfy? - What are the rational and emotional aspects of these needs?
Segmenting the market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Which are the most important groups of actors who influence the success of the programme? - What are the interests pursued by these groups of actors?
Focus on competition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What are the alternatives to municipal efforts with regard to safety? - Which strategy should the programme choose to demarcate itself from alternatives: differentiation through efficiency or services?
Focus on competence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What service packages should be offered to which groups of actors? - What supplementary services are capable of persuading the groups of actors to become more active in the desired manner?
Focus on communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How should the substance of the programme be communicated? - In what way should the municipal programme stand out from competing

	<p>alternatives?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What message should be imprinted on citizens' minds?
Focus on satisfaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What expectations do the groups of actors have of the city's safety situation? - What services from the programme do the groups of actors perceive subjectively? - In which proportion will or should the subjective perception of services be with regard to expectations?

In the city of Zurich, it quickly became clear that the population's most important need was the quality of life and residence. The inhabitants of the quarter wanted to be able to move around freely again in their habitual environment, and they wanted to be able to feel at ease. The segmentation of the market – which was not designated as such, however – showed that the city had to cooperate with women's organisations, foreigners' associations, neighbourhood associations, small business owners and the scene as a "buying centre". The analysis of competitors revealed that the rules of the red-light scene, in particular, were threatening to replace the rule of law. Moreover, there was a danger of self-help outside the boundaries of the state, which was unwanted in this form. One last and also negative alternative was the citizens' withdrawal from their responsibility for the community. In order to be able to develop performance systems, a new intensity of cooperation between the various administrative offices had to be found in the city. Besides the municipal police, the social department, the office of city planning and the office of urban construction are also involved in the project. Apart from crime prevention and intervention, neighbourhood

appreciation projects are conducted, youth clubs established, social projects for female addicts and victim counselling offices set up. Primary importance is accorded to open youth work and to contacts with the scene, which are cultivated by specialised municipal institutions.

How can the effectiveness of these measures be examined? Until a short time ago, the only measuring systems available were the crime statistics in which the annual changes in previously selected offences could be followed. This only allowed for propositions concerning objective safety. The municipal police are now supposed to establish a new, comprehensive information system which compares, say, the development of the volume of services provided by the police with urban development, i.e. with development factors and economic factors in the field of demography and urban construction. According to Sauter et al. (2004), information that has been made available through surveys among the people concerned will also be included in the analysis.

Lessons Learned

In this paper, I have tried to demonstrate how the reform approaches of New Public Management and Public Governance, with their emphasis on networks, impact on the institution of urban safety.

In New Public Management, the predominant control method is that of contractual management: a performance agreement is drawn up between the politically superior authority and the administrative unit, and this agreement lists the services to be provided and the outcomes to be attained. This has the advantage that individual administrative units' objectives have been clearly defined and can be clearly assessed. However, the disadvantage is that each administrative unit focuses on its own tasks alone, which

may impair cooperation with other units. The solution which New Public Management is able to offer for this problem is the definition of entire programmes in which several administrative units participate. Within the framework of such a programme, one specific outcome is defined as an objective, and various participating units are involved in its attainment. The task of the programme directors now consists in the definition of areas for the respective units that are capable of providing the relevant services. These services are included in the units' respective performance agreements. When it comes to defining such programmes, many cities apply the methods of strategic management. New Public Management, which is actually a model of delegated management, thus receives a strong top-down component – coordination between administrative units is regulated from the centre.

In the Public Governance approach, which is more strongly characterised by aspects of sociology and political science, the focus is on interaction processes. The solution to the highly complex problems of modern society, it is argued, can only be achieved through a corresponding complexity of public service provision. For this reason it is necessary for the state to withdraw from the role of a hierarchic problem-solver and to assume that of supervisor or moderator instead (Willke. 1997). Whereas New Public Management does not ask the question as to whether the state is capable of controlling society in the first place, the pessimism regarding controlling capability that is prevalent in the continental European debate leads to a situation whereby society's self-control powers become the focus of observation. The state, and in this case government organisations that are involved in urban safety, are supposed to learn to activate the urban community's self-healing powers. Metaphorically speaking, this is a transition from western intervention, which tackles physical

malfunctions with pharmaceuticals and scalpel, to a Far Eastern medicine that motivates the body to heal itself. It comes as no surprise that the surgeons among the urban safety experts find it difficult to come to terms with alternative medicine.

Even so, the two approaches of New Public Management and Public Governance are not incompatible. It may perfectly well be part of a police force's performance agreement to cooperate with internal and external partners in order to establish networked policing in a city. The law and the performance agreement will then define the scope within which such strongly informal processes may run their course. The notion of "networked policing" alone already shows, however, that here, too, the police will be in overall control. Whether this can be changed, whether urban safety becomes a higher-level issue that will be dealt with by the entire municipal council together, strongly depends on the concrete political situation, at least in Switzerland. The predilection for delegating difficult problems to others is deep-seated in this country so that a great political obstacle would have to be removed before all those concerned were prepared to embark in the same boat and share the same responsibility. Pragmatically, it will have to be assumed that the police will have to continue to coordinate urban safety programmes, which means that "networked policing" is not really a misnomer, either.

As to the concrete work that the setting-up of such urban safety programmes entails, it is important to be aware of the fact that finally, such work must lead to a performance agreement for the administrative units concerned. However, it is also important to know what significant role networks play in the solution of complex societal problems. What the actors involved in the programme design need in addition, though, are assistance in and pragmatic approaches to formulation. What are the important services?

Who has to be involved specifically? How will the programme have to be communicated? Here, the exchange-oriented approach of Integrated Marketing may indeed provide a new perspective which would very deliberately focus not only on pecuniary exchange situations but also on non-pecuniary ones and would try to give these a specific form.

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