



# MAKING POLICE REFORMS ENDURE

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## THE KEYS FOR SUCCESS



by TRENT IKERD and SAMUEL WALKER



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The Internet references cited in this publication were valid as of the date of this publication. Given that URLs and web sites are in constant flux, neither the authors nor the COPS Office can vouch for their current validity.

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Herman Goldstein's development of POP laid much of the groundwork in contemporary police innovations/reforms. This publication would likely not have been possible without his visions for policing.



## INTRODUCTION

Making reforms endure, or institutionalizing change, is a major challenge facing policing today. Police reforms seem to follow a pattern: Reforms are implemented; some are evaluated by independent researchers; but even in cases where there is evidence of success, it is not clear that reforms become a sustained departmental effort. Institutionalization of a police reform occurs when the reform becomes a way of regularly conducting police business. More specifically, institutionalization occurs when certain norms, values, and structures are incorporated into an organization.<sup>1</sup> For institutionalization of police reform to occur, therefore, a department must demonstrate a sustained commitment to the reform. This publication will demonstrate how to measure this commitment.

The process of institutionalizing police reform and the process of how planned changes become institutionalized have often been overlooked by police researchers and ignored in organizational development literature.<sup>2</sup> Some experts have put forth valuable recommendations for successful organizational change in policing, but these recommendations have not been tested previously to see how they affect the institutionalization process of police reform. As a result, there is no established framework for institutionalizing police reform.

*Making Police Reforms Endure: The Keys for Success* presents a framework that other police departments can use and test in their efforts to institutionalize police reforms. The points put forth are based on findings in the authors' 2007 study of problem-oriented policing in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg (North Carolina) Police Department, but have general applicability to various police reforms such as problem-oriented policing, community policing, and accountability measures.<sup>3</sup>

In addition, the guide discusses the key issue of the importance of understanding a department's culture when attempting to institutionalize police reforms. Such an assessment consists of examining officer attitudes, knowledge, and behavior toward reform. If deficiencies are found in any of these three areas, and if officer and organizational buy-in is not obtained, the likelihood of the reform becoming institutionalized is very low. The policy and procedural changes and recommendations outlined in this publication will help departments obtain officer buy-in. Throughout the document, the authors present 11 recommendations that can be considered strategies for implementing and institutionalizing police reform.

For a department embarking on an effort to institutionalize problem-oriented policing, community policing, or any other kind of police reform, this publication is a starting point.



## EXAMPLES OF CURRENT POLICE REFORMS

*Problem-oriented policing* is an excellent example of a police reform designed to develop more effective policing practices. It has been in existence for more than 30 years, ever since Herman Goldstein first put forth the idea in a scholarly article in 1979.<sup>4</sup> The systematic strategy in problem-oriented policing for addressing problems of concern to the police utilizes research, analysis, and assessments in dealing with police business.<sup>5</sup> The problem-solving process in problem-oriented policing is referred to as the SARA model, which stands for scanning (identifying problems), analysis (gathering information on problems), response (implementing solutions to problems), and assessment (evaluating the responses).<sup>6</sup> This research strategy helps move police away from the traditional incident-driven policing in which officers merely respond to calls for service. In contrast, Goldstein had asserted that police departments take a proactive stance to identify patterns and determine the underlying causes of the incidents that are occurring.<sup>7</sup>

Numerous projects that have used effective problem-oriented policing strategies are described on the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing's web page: [www.popcenter.org](http://www.popcenter.org). Many research efforts (Braga et al. 1999; Mazerolle, Ready, Terrill, and Waring, 2000; Green, 1995) have shown that problem-oriented policing efforts are effective in handling community problems. Nevertheless, prior research has not demonstrated that problem-oriented policing can become a sustained effort in a police department or what is needed to sustain it.

*Community policing* is another example of a reform movement that has been ongoing in many police departments for almost 3 decades. The Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (the COPS Office) of the U.S. Department of Justice defines community policing as "a philosophy that promotes organizational change strategies, which support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques, to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues, such as crime, disorder, and fear of crime."

The definition elaborates on three distinct elements:

1. Community partnerships, which involves sharing information between police agencies and members of the community, such as businesses, community organizations, individuals members of the community, and faith-based organizations, to name a few.
2. Organizational transformation, which refers to changing an organization's management strategies, policies and procedures, organizational structure, personnel decisions, and technology systems to facilitate community policing departmentally.

3. Problem solving, which refers to using techniques such as the SARA model to address and develop responses to crime and other community problems.<sup>8</sup> The ever-evolving strategies used in community policing mean that numerous programs and activities may fall under the community policing umbrella, such as varying types of patrol styles or community relations strategies.<sup>9</sup>

To coincide with the updated COPS Office definition of community policing, the COPS Office, the Police Executive Research Forum, and Caliber, an ICF International Company, developed a community policing self-assessment tool. This instrument enables police departments to assess some of their organizational efforts pertaining to community policing by providing questions and statements that determine:

1. How a police agency develops and utilizes partnerships in community policing efforts;
2. How departmental personnel engage in problem-solving activities; and
3. The extent to which an organization's practices have changed to align with the community policing philosophy.<sup>10</sup>

***Problem-oriented policing and community oriented policing share some similarities.*** Traditionally, it has been argued that the problem-solving process was much more in-depth in problem-oriented policing when compared with community policing.<sup>11</sup> This may no longer be the case because the rigors of problem-oriented policing's research and its problem-solving framework (that is, the SARA model) have been incorporated into the most recent definition of community policing put forth by the COPS Office. It now seems that the primary difference between problem-oriented policing and community policing is that community relationships are not always as strongly emphasized in problem-oriented policing when compared with community policing.<sup>12</sup> In other words, the close working relationships between the police and public are not always a necessity in problem-oriented policing. Nevertheless, research has shown that the most successful problem-oriented policing efforts incorporate the community into the process (Green, 1995).<sup>13</sup>

## CASE STUDIES

### **Learning from Previous Attempts at Organizational Change in Policing**

#### *Chicago Police Department's Reform Efforts*

The Chicago Police Department's efforts to adopt the Community Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) in the early 1990s faced the major obstacle of "winning the hearts and minds" of the rank-and-file officers.<sup>14</sup> To obtain cultural buy-in and move the department to community policing, the department engaged in in-depth planning, made a serious commitment to training, sought to incorporate the entire department in the community policing philosophy, and attempted to obtain community involvement in departmental efforts. Comparing a 1993 baseline survey of approximately 1,400 officers with a 1995 survey, researchers found that police officer attitudes toward the CAPS initiative had improved and the officers had become more open and optimistic about the philosophy of community policing. These attitudes also seem to reflect the fact that the department was actually using community policing as a way of doing business. Other surveys indicated that members of the community felt that the police were engaging in community policing efforts. Research also indicated that the CAPS strategy improved the conditions of neighborhood districts as reported by residents.<sup>15</sup>

While it is apparent that the department had made significant changes, there was still a need for further change and improvement; specifically, to incorporate the entire department in the community policing philosophy. Skogan and Hartnett note that certain units, such as the detective units and other specialized units, were not integrated into the community policing efforts. The department also ran into problems getting its crime analysis equipment up and running to facilitate various problem-solving and community policing efforts. There also was some debate about exactly how police officer performance should be measured under the community policing philosophy.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, the research indicated that the Chicago Police Department was relatively successful in implementing community policing.

### *Motor City Police Department's Reform Efforts*

The Motor City Police Department (MCPD) attempted to adopt community policing in the early 1990s. Initially, the MCPD selected a specialized unit to engage in community policing rather than attempting to change the whole department, but after approximately 4 years, the MCPD leaders decided to move the entire department to a community policing philosophy. The department's primary strategy was to develop a decentralized form of management that flattened the organization's rank structure to give more responsibility and decision-making ability to the officers.<sup>17</sup> The department also made some weak attempts to resocialize members of the department to become more accepting of the community policing philosophy. The resocialization efforts included what were characterized as half-hearted attempts at changing training, changing supervision emphasis, and changing the department's goals. A survey of 140 officers showed that officers did not feel that the department's goals were clear. Also, approximately 73 percent of the officers surveyed indicated that they would feel negative about being assigned to a community policing assignment.<sup>18</sup> Clearly, this effort of organizational change was unsuccessful.

### *The Keys to Institutionalizing Reforms*

Institutionalizing a police reform should be the ultimate goal of an organizational change effort. As stated in the Introduction, it occurs when the reform becomes a routine way of conducting police business and when certain values, norms, and structures are incorporated into an organization.<sup>19</sup> This requires a department to demonstrate a continued commitment to the reform. This publication will demonstrate how to measure this commitment.

## CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG POLICE DEPARTMENT

### Institutionalizing Problem-Oriented Policing

As with Chicago and Motor City, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg (North Carolina) Police Department (CMPD) began to move toward change in the early and mid-1990s by looking at and seeking to adopt a community policing philosophy. In 1991, the CMPD sponsored a workshop that was attended by representatives from the police departments of Madison, Wisconsin; Aurora, Colorado; Macon, Georgia; and Savannah, Georgia. As a part of the early efforts toward community policing, officers in the CMPD visited other cities to see what they were doing. In 1992, the Charlotte City Council endorsed community policing efforts in the department and the CMPD engaged in some pilot projects<sup>20</sup> primarily focusing on the traditional community policing elements of building partnerships with the community.

In 1994, the CMPD became more focused on problem-oriented policing elements and began using the term community problem-oriented policing, which it defined as “a philosophy under which the police and the community form an interactive partnership to identify community needs, establish priorities, and develop innovative police-community responses to problems.”<sup>21</sup> The department also changed its mission statement to one emphasizing problem-oriented policing ([www.cmpd.org](http://www.cmpd.org)). The SARA model also became synonymous with community problem-oriented policing in the department.<sup>22</sup>

From 1994 through 1999, the CMPD convened several retreats that incorporated problem-oriented policing and problem-solving training sessions. Herman Goldstein, the founder of problem-oriented policing, aided in these sessions. He also played a role in implementing two well-known problem-oriented policing projects in the department in 1997: a project concerning construction site theft, and the uptown larceny from autos project and parking lot-fencing ordinance. Continuing the training emphasis on problem-oriented policing, the department received a grant for SARA model training for all CMPD sergeants.<sup>23</sup>

In 1999, Darrel Stephens became CMPD chief, serving until his retirement in 2008. During his tenure, he continued and renewed the emphasis on problem-oriented policing in the CMPD. Most important, under Chief Stephens, the department incorporated problem-oriented policing elements into performance reviews, the promotions process, departmental awards, and technology systems. He also expanded the emphasis on problem-oriented policing by holding monthly meetings with the captains in which they discussed and presented new problem-oriented policing projects that were ongoing in their divisions. These steps were crucial to institutionalizing problem-oriented policing and changing the organizational culture of the CMPD.

A philosophy under which the police and the community form an interactive partnership to identify community needs, establish priorities, and develop innovative police-community responses to problems.

During the time in which the CMPD moved toward problem-oriented policing, it submitted numerous projects for the Herman Goldstein Award for Excellence in Problem-Oriented Policing, which recognizes and rewards innovative and successful problem-solving efforts. Between 1994 and 2009, the CMPD has submitted 20 projects for consideration, 6 of which achieved finalist status ([www.popcenter.org](http://www.popcenter.org)).

## A FRAMEWORK FOR INSTITUTIONALIZING REFORM

In 2007, the authors conducted a study of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department to further the knowledge of institutionalizing police reform. They used three data sources to assess the CMPD's efforts to determine if problem-oriented policing had become institutionalized in the department: the same framework for assessment can be applied, with some modification where necessary, to any significant reform in a law enforcement agency.

1. An assessment of the rank and file's culture, focusing on knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors, through a random survey of 150 officers, sergeants, and detectives.
2. An assessment of the midlevel managers' culture, focusing on knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors, through interviews with all 33 CMPD captains.
3. An examination of CMPD policy and procedural changes pertaining to problem-oriented policing.

The findings demonstrated that the department was successful in institutionalizing problem-oriented policing. It is evident in the culture of both the captains (midlevel managers) and the rank and file through their knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors, as well as evident in the department's policies and procedures (training, promotions process, performance evaluations).

How do we determine whether a reform has been institutionalized in a police department? What information is relevant? What questions should we ask? The methodology consists of four elements that will be covered in greater detail throughout the rest of this document:

First, what do officers in the department *know* about the reform? If they don't know about it, and cannot describe its basic elements, then it is doubtful that the reform has become institutionalized. In the CMPD study, 97 percent of the captains demonstrated knowledge of problem-oriented policing, and 99.2 percent of the rank and file had heard of it.

Second, what are the officers' *attitudes* toward the reform? If they don't like it, or are cynical about it ("the department talks about it but doesn't really support it"), then it probably is not institutionalized. The CMPD survey showed that both captains and the rank and file held favorable attitudes toward problem-oriented policing.

Third, do officer *behaviors* reflect the reform? If officers are not implementing the reform, it is unlikely that it has become institutionalized. All CMPD captains and 95.8 percent of the rank and file indicated that they had been involved in problem-oriented efforts and projects.

Fourth, has the reform been incorporated into the department's policies and procedures (for example, training, promotion criteria)? If not, then it is unlikely that the reform will survive very long. The policies and procedures of the CMPD reflect problem-oriented policing. It is present in the performance reviews, promotions process, training, technology systems, and mission statement. It also has been incorporated into the department's departmental plans as reflected in the CMPD's strategic communications plan for 2006 through 2008. The department is also revising its technology systems to facilitate problem-oriented policing even further.

The results from the Charlotte-Mecklenburg research provide a great deal of insight into what seems to be related to the successful institutionalization of police reform. These findings and previous research efforts of organizational change are discussed in greater detail in the following sections and will provide evidence of what seems to be the best policies and practices for institutionalizing police reform. In addition, the authors put forth 11 recommendations that police departments can take into consideration when attempting to institutionalize reform.

## LESSONS LEARNED FROM CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG AND PREVIOUS CASE STUDIES

### Key Areas for Consideration When Institutionalizing Police Reform

Key areas to address center on three elements:

1. Assessing the current culture.
2. Engaging in efforts to obtain a favorable organizational culture.
3. Obtaining midlevel management support for the organizational change efforts.

### RECOMMENDATION 1

#### A Department Must Address the Organizational Culture When Seeking to Institutionalize Police Reform.



One key area that should be addressed when institutionalizing police reform is an assessment of the department's organizational culture. The management of a police department must make efforts to "win the hearts and minds of officers in the department" to develop a culture that supports the proposed change.<sup>24</sup> A department needs to confront the attitudes of officers in the department early in the change process if the effort is to be successful.<sup>25</sup> The officers essentially need to be resocialized (that is, change the culture of the department) to accept the new philosophy.<sup>26</sup> Revised training, promotional guidelines, performance evaluations, and mission statements (all of which are discussed in later sections) may be very useful tools in resocializing officers.

#### *Illustrating the Importance of Culture*

Study of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department found that the department had developed a culture that was very supportive of problem-oriented policing. The research assessed the cultural elements and the status of the institutionalization of problem-oriented policing by asking the captains and rank and file about their knowledge of, attitudes toward, and behaviors related to problem-oriented policing.

**A** police department must make efforts to develop a culture that supports the proposed change.

### *Captains' Culture*

The first component of the framework involved the culture of the captains in the CMPD. What did they know about problem-oriented policing? What was their attitude toward it? Did they incorporate its principles into their day-to-day actions?

**Knowledge.** The results of the various questions demonstrated that CMPD captains presented favorable behaviors, attitudes, and knowledge of problem-oriented policing. For example, 97 percent, or 32, of the captains were able to demonstrate they have knowledge of problem-oriented policing by providing a strong definition (70 percent) or a general statement regarding it (27 percent).

A captain illustrated a strong definition of problem-oriented policing when he stated,

“POP is working with the community to identify problems using methods such as the SARA model. POP attempts to get at the root causes of problems. Responses are formulated for the problems, and then assessments are made to determine if the response(s) helped the problem.”

A captain providing a general statement said,

“POP is working with the community, looking at the problems that occur in the community, and then engaging with the community to solve the problems.”

The primary difference between a strong definition and a general statement is that the captains providing the general statement did not provide the specifics of the problem-solving process.

**Attitudes.** Numerous questions assessed the captains' attitudes toward problem-oriented policing. One question pertained to whether the captains informally discussed problem-oriented policing efforts in the department, thereby allowing the authors to assess if the practice is part of the department's day-to-day language and culture. Eighty-eight percent, or 29, of the captains indicated that they talk about their problem-oriented policing efforts with other officers in the department, with 27 percent, or 9, of the captains asking other officers about their efforts. As one officer explained,

“I just talk with my officers and ask them what's going on in the community. I have them tell me the trends and problems we are dealing with.”

**Behaviors.** All 33 CMPD captains indicated that they had engaged in problem-oriented policing projects. All captains also indicated that they had used the SARA problem-solving framework in their efforts. All captains also described at least one problem-oriented policing project in which they had engaged. One captain described a project aimed at addressing a problem with date rape drugs being placed in females' drinks at certain bars. The department worked with bars to develop a solution: use plastic cups and place lids on the drinks to keep something from being easily slipped in them, thereby essentially eliminating the problem.

In addition, 79 percent, or 26, of the captains indicated that they emphasized problem-oriented policing participation to officers under their command. The captains said that they did not have any direct officers under their supervision on certain special assignments and, therefore, 21 percent, or 7, of these captains indicated that they were not able to emphasize problem-oriented policing to the officers. Even these captains indicated that they emphasized problem-oriented policing to the officers under their command when they were at the sergeant rank or another captain position that had direct supervision of officers.

### **Rank and File's Culture**

What did the rank-and-file officers know about problem-oriented policing? What were their attitudes toward it? And how did it affect their day-to-day work?

**Knowledge.** Among the CMPD officers, detectives, and sergeants, 99.2 percent, or 118, indicated that they had heard of problem-oriented policing. Only one person said that he had not heard of it.

**Attitudes.** The CMPD rank and file also demonstrated favorable attitudes toward problem-oriented policing. Numerous questions were asked to ascertain these attitudes; for example, whether members of the rank and file felt that problem-oriented policing was a valuable tool in dealing with crime and fear of crime. A combined total of 49.2 percent either strongly agreed (16.9 percent) or agreed (32.2 percent). The rank and file were also asked if they informally talk about their problem-oriented policing efforts informally. Fifty-eight percent, or 69, answered in the affirmative.

**Behaviors.** Among the CMPD rank and file, 95.8 percent, or 114, indicated that they had engaged in problem-oriented policing, while 76.9 percent, or 90, said that their participation was in a division-wide project, demonstrating that they were using problem-oriented policing to handle issues and problems as they arose in the community.

### *Strategies for Developing a Favorable Culture*

When attempting to change behaviors, attitudes, and beliefs—the culture—of police officers across the ranks and a department so that they are conducive to police reform, a variety of techniques can be utilized. Changing the culture is important because many recognize that the culture of a department may very well be the major factor in determining police officer behavior.<sup>27</sup> Officers must have sufficient knowledge, favorable attitudes, and favorable behaviors if they are really going to utilize and embrace the philosophy in the department and the community. Departments should consider the following techniques for obtaining cultural buy-in and success when institutionalizing police reform:

- › Effective planning
- › Recruitment considerations
- › Revised training
- › Revised promotion standards and performance evaluations
- › Having clear goals and communication regarding the reform
- › Incorporating the entire department in the change efforts
- › Obtaining community involvement in the change efforts
- › Using technology to facilitate and emphasize the reform
- › Developing analytical skills for problem-oriented policing and community policing
- › Using various efforts to obtain midlevel management support.

The following sections will discuss these techniques, incorporating them into the remaining recommendations for obtaining a favorable organizational culture.

## **RECOMMENDATION 2**

### **Plan Effectively for the Transition to a New Way of Conducting Business.**

When attempting to change its the culture and operating style, a department needs to plan effectively and use the data it has to guide the change process. A department needs to plan and figure out what it wants the organization to look like once the effort has been implemented and institutionalized successfully.<sup>28</sup> Reorganization and planning committees should be formed to think through the change process. As part of this planning process, the department must consider budgeting for necessary resources, as well as potential sources for funding.<sup>29</sup> Unions should be involved in the planning process to eliminate



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possible dissent and organized efforts to sidetrack the change process. The unions can be a source of considerable opposition if they are not consulted and incorporated into the change process.<sup>30</sup> If the union is successfully incorporated into the change effort, the leadership of the union can help facilitate the change process.<sup>31</sup> Once various members take all sources of information into consideration and plan how the department will implement the change effort, they should consider a timeline for implementing the entire philosophy.<sup>32</sup> Essentially, the department needs to envision the entire change process while setting goals for how everything will look once successful change to the new philosophy has occurred.

Institutionalizing police reform is something that takes time, resources, and departmental planning and support. It is evident in the CMPD by looking at the historical outline of problem-oriented policing in the department. The CMPD also continued to put plans in effect to continue the emphasis of problem-oriented policing in the department, and has incorporated it into its communications plan and latest technology upgrades. The CMPD's success in institutionalizing problem-oriented policing demonstrates that police reform can be successful with sufficient planning and forethought.

### RECOMMENDATION 3

#### **Develop Recruiting Procedures to Target Officers Who Have the Skills Conducive to Problem-Oriented Policing and Community Policing.**

Individuals who enter a police department's applicant pool largely depend on the recruitment effort.<sup>33</sup> Problem-oriented policing and community policing change the way police organizations do business; therefore, there may also be a need to move away from recruitment procedures used in traditional reactive policing. Community policing tends to utilize more service-oriented skills such as communication ability, problem-solving abilities, patience, etc.<sup>34</sup> These service-oriented skills are also utilized in problem-oriented policing.

Research conducted by Scrivner and sponsored by the COPS Office indicates that police departments can change their recruitment strategies to target officers who may be more effective at handling community policing tasks. Specifically, five research sites—Sacramento (California) Police Department, Burlington (Vermont) Police Department, Hillsborough County (Florida) Sheriff's Office, Detroit (Michigan) Police Department, and King County (Washington) Sheriff's Office—changed and redeveloped their recruiting methods to help identify officers with the skills that may be most conducive for a community policing philosophy. Elements such as involving the community in the recruitment procedures, modifying selection tests to reflect community policing, and



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developing a strategy to market the “brand” of community policing were targeted as a part of the research (for a full description, see Scrivner/COPS *Innovation in Recruitment and Hiring: Hiring in the Spirit of Service*). By recruiting officers who have these skill sets coming into a police department, the department may be able to have greater success in implementing community policing and problem-oriented policing.

Problem-oriented policing and community policing require different skills when compared with traditional reactive policing; therefore, police departments may increase their likelihood of institutionalizing these philosophies by hiring the right officers for the job. This strategy is aimed at new officers coming in and may take some time for the benefits to be realized until the new officers penetrate an organization.

## RECOMMENDATION 4



### 4

### **Develop a Training Curriculum Focusing on the Elements of the New Program.**

Training may be the most important element in launching an organizational change process.<sup>35</sup> It is obvious that police officers must know about the specific functions of any police reform if they are to embody them in their work. Without sufficient training, new recruits may simply act the way they think police officers should act, which may reflect old stereotypes. Veteran officers may revert to old patterns of behavior that are inconsistent with the new philosophy.<sup>36</sup> Interestingly, it seems as though some departments have ignored the importance of sufficient training because earlier research has indicated that police chiefs listed lack of training as an impediment to the department’s attempts at adopting police reform.<sup>37</sup>

The Chicago Police Department’s relatively successful efforts at organizational change to community policing made a serious commitment to training and provided veteran officers with training pertaining to the CAPS philosophy.<sup>38</sup> In the CMPD’s successful institutionalization of problem-oriented policing, all captains and 89.1 percent of the rank and file indicated that they had training dealing specifically with problem-oriented policing. By contrast, in Motor City’s failed efforts to adopt community policing, the department made some weak attempts at training, and the officers said that they did not feel the department was clear about what they were to do under community policing.<sup>39</sup>

The CMPD provided specific training early in its effort to adopt problem-oriented policing through numerous retreats and workshops. All sergeants also received training in the SARA model.

Currently, all new CMPD recruits receive approximately 3 days of academy training in problem-oriented policing, covering the research process with the SARA model as the key focal point. The CMPD also implemented a PTO (Police Training Officer) training program that reflects problem-oriented policing elements and problem-based learning (real-life practical experience and the process of problem solving is a valuable learning tool).<sup>40</sup> As part of problem-based learning, each officer must develop a problem-oriented policing project based on a problem in the community and present his or her findings and solutions to the department. The CMPD has also held organized retreats for management and officers that emphasize problem-oriented policing.

The importance of a revised training program that emphasizes a reform can be seen from the CMPD's successful institutionalization of problem-oriented policing. Interestingly, 55 percent, or 18, of the captains said that the revised training facilitated the move toward problem-oriented policing. A captain illustrated this point by stating,

"We have provided officers training and retreats on how to get them engaged in POP."

Another captain stated,

"A facilitator the department has used is the way we train people on POP. We had some resistance in the early days, but now we don't have to preach it anymore."

If officers are to perform in accordance with the reform, they need to have the necessary skills to carry out their roles and duties effectively. Training is especially important with reforms such as problem-oriented policing because it requires officers to have an understanding of how to apply the concepts in their problem-solving efforts. If insufficient training is provided, the likelihood of the reform becoming institutionalized may be reduced, as was the case in the failed efforts of the Motor City Police Department.

## RECOMMENDATION 5

### **Include Elements of a Police Reform in the Promotions Process, Performance Evaluations, and Rewards Systems.**



A department's system of rewards and promotions is crucial to achieving organizational change. This includes the procedures for routine officer performance evaluation and for making promotion decisions. Keeping the traditional performance measures sends the message that the old ways of doing things are still important.<sup>41</sup> New performance measures should emphasize the principles supporting the new ways of doing policing and

**A** department's system of rewards and promotions is crucial to achieving organizational change.

officers need to be evaluated to determine whether they are performing in accordance with these values.<sup>42</sup> Performance evaluations, in short, socialize police officers in what is expected of them in the organization.<sup>43</sup> Related to this socialization aspect, new behaviors and job functions emphasized by the new organizational philosophy should have more values and weight placed on them in the new revised performance measures.<sup>44</sup> By rewarding and promoting officers who engage in behaviors in accordance with the new organizational philosophy, police departments and supervisors show what behaviors are important.<sup>45</sup> Essentially, these new accountability and performance measures can push officers to adopt the new strategy as a way of doing police business.<sup>46</sup>

The research findings in the CMPD demonstrate the importance of changing the performance and promotions process to reflect problem-oriented policing. Each rank and unit has its own performance reviews that emphasize problem-oriented policing. Throughout various evaluation elements, officers are evaluated on their ability to use problem-solving skills, and the patrol officers are specifically evaluated on their ability to apply the SARA model to their problem-oriented policing efforts.

A key finding is that personnel were aware of the emphasis on problem-oriented policing in the CMPD's performance and promotions evaluations. For example, 86.6 percent, or 103, of the rank and file and 76 percent, or 25, of the captains said that problem-oriented policing was factored into their performance reviews, while 82.4 percent, or 98, of the rank and file and 70 percent, or 23, of the captains felt that problem-oriented policing was factored into their promotions. Also, 85 percent, or 28, of the captains felt that they had been rewarded for their problem-oriented policing efforts, 30 percent, or 10, said that the department facilitated the move toward problem-oriented policing by incorporating it into the performance reviews, and 24 percent, or 8, also mentioned that the CMPD's emphasis on it through the rewards systems also facilitated the move toward problem-oriented policing.

The mere strength of the overall culture of the CMPD indicates that changing performance evaluations and the promotions process have helped build a favorable organizational culture. The captains who were the most favorable were those who felt that problem-oriented policing was in their performance evaluations, that they had been promoted because of it, and that they had been rewarded because of their involvement in it.

For officers to see the change as being beyond flavor of the month, incorporating the reform into these elements demonstrates that the department is committed to institutionalizing the police reform. Without providing clearly defined expectations, officers may not know what they are supposed to be doing in the organization.

## RECOMMENDATION 6

### Ensure That Members of the Department Understand the Organization's Goals in a Time of Change.



Another important element for successfully changing the operating philosophy of an organization is to have clearly defined goals for the change effort.<sup>47</sup> For the values of a department to be transferred among officers more effectively during a time of change, communication within the department is essential.<sup>48</sup> Lower ranking officers need more access to their supervisors to address the questions or problems they may encounter.<sup>49</sup> Some contend that police departments should reduce the hierarchical nature of their organizational structure to one that is more decentralized.<sup>50</sup> By thinning out their rank structures, communication in the department may be facilitated because there would be fewer communication blockades between officers.<sup>51</sup> Communication is important because police officers in the department have to know what the department wants them to do<sup>52</sup> because as Sparrow contends, police officers do not like uncertainty.<sup>53</sup> The department can reduce some of this uncertainty by clearly stating and emphasizing the goals, values, and directions of the department and the change effort through written mission statements or by the behaviors exhibited by individuals in the organization.<sup>54</sup> The department's mission statement, especially during a time of change, should show what the department considers important.<sup>55</sup> It also creates a public and community accountability element because the statement shows what the police should be doing in the community.<sup>56</sup> The statement also allows assessments that determine if the department really is performing according to its design.<sup>57</sup>

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department changed its mission statement to reflect problem-oriented policing. It states,

“The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department will build problem-solving partnerships with our citizens to prevent the next crime and enhance the quality of life throughout our community, always treating people with fairness and respect. We value: Our employees, People, Partnerships, Open Communications, Problem Solving, Integrity, Courtesy, The Constitution of North Carolina, The Constitution of the United States.” ([www.cmpd.org](http://www.cmpd.org))

The CMPD's mission statement tells officers what is important in the department. When surveyed, 85 percent, or 28, of the captains felt that the department was clear on its problem-oriented policing goals because, as 42 percent, or 14, of the captains noted, problem-oriented policing is clearly emphasized in the mission statement.

A CMPD captain conveyed this idea by stating,

“The CMPD is clear on its goals and my role related to POP in the department’s mission statement and values.”

Other considerations that can provide officers with clarity about departmental goals beyond changing the mission statement include: incorporating the reform into both the promotions process and performance evaluations, and having the police chief place a general emphasis on the reform. These elements have been discussed in the policing literature and were confirmed when CMPD captains were asked *how* the department was clear in its goals for problem-oriented policing: 30 percent, or 10, said that the department made its goals clear through an emphasis placed on problem-oriented policing in its performance evaluations. As one captain stated,

“The department is clear on its goals and my role as it relates to POP because you know what is expected of you as it is in the performance reviews.” Another captain asserted, “POP has been incorporated into promotional tests. Goldstein’s book dealing with POP was on my reading list.”

Previous researchers have argued that ensuring that members of the department understand the department’s goals is a necessary element. The findings from the CMPD research demonstrate that officers know what role they are to play in implementing problem-oriented policing. In Motor City’s failed efforts to adopt community policing, officers said that they did not know what was expected of them. A department’s goals in police reform can be communicated by various methods, including the chief’s and executive level emphasis on the reform, performance evaluations, promotions process, training, technology, and mission statement. These methods have been used successfully, so they should be considerations in attempting to institutionalize police reform.

## RECOMMENDATION 7

### **Involve the Entire Department in the Change Process and Reform Efforts. A Caution Regarding Implementing Reform Using “Add-On” Units.**

In some past change efforts, reform involved only small units instead of the whole department. Adding a new specialized unit to implement change can create problems. A systems perspective helps explain why.<sup>58</sup> According to Ford, a systems perspective is basically an understanding that even small incremental changes will have effects (often negative) on the organization.<sup>59</sup> A department that attempts to use add-on units is essentially taking small steps to experiment with the new philosophy. Past research has shown that department leaders feel that they can experiment with the concept in these

small units and that it will have little impact on the change effort or the organization at large;<sup>60</sup> however, research also has shown that this incremental approach may be the cause of several problems. Wilkinson and Rosenbaum looked at how organizational structure can affect the adoption of reform (specifically community policing in the research) and found that creating specialized units to experiment or implement a new philosophy or concept essentially served to create a “split” in the department. Other members of the department became cynical and judgmental of the unit’s efforts, and essentially, the culture of the rest of the department did not support the change effort.<sup>61</sup> This same effect was found in Sherman and his colleagues’ research on obstacles to the implementation of team policing in seven departments.<sup>62</sup> This “trial by peers” was an ultimate part of the failures of the efforts to adopt team policing in the 1970s.<sup>63</sup>

Researchers have outlined various failed attempts of organizational change in policing in which departments have tried to use specialized units to slowly change the way the organization conducts business. The use of specialized units to institutionalize police reform will more than likely result in a failed effort. To get the entire department involved in the change effort means that the department should set this goal early on in its change efforts. It is apparent that the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department obtained buy-in from the vast majority of its officers and midlevel managers because problem-oriented policing is evident in their knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors. It also is clear throughout various units and divisions and in performance reviews, promotions process, and training across various units and divisions.

## RECOMMENDATION 8

### **Implement Strategies to Obtain Community Involvement When Attempting to Adopt Any Kind of Police Reform That Utilizes a Community Oriented Philosophy.**



# 8

When making organizational change, especially toward a philosophy that requires community interaction, community involvement is a necessary element that needs to be incorporated into the process. Community awareness and involvement in dealing with a new organizational philosophy may allow citizens to provide valuable input necessary for the planned changes.<sup>64</sup>

In Chicago’s successful efforts to adopt community policing, the department and the management team made community involvement an important element of the change process. Police officers in Chicago were required to meet with community members on a frequent basis to encourage community involvement. During neighborhood beat meetings, for example, citizens and police exchanged information on crime problems and possible responses.<sup>65</sup>

In Charlotte’s successful institutionalization of problem-oriented policing, the CMPD also incorporated the community into the process, and 33 percent, or 11, of the captains said that community involvement was a key to success in their problem-oriented policing efforts. A captain conveyed the theme in this way,

“Getting the community involved in the POP efforts was an important reason for the success of the projects that I have engaged in. Community buy-in helped us better define and address the projects as the citizens played an active role in the project.”

To further involve the community in its efforts, the CMPD developed a strategic communications plan, part of which was to facilitate external communication with various citizens and stakeholders to share information about projects and issues, and convey the CMPD’s support and commitment to problem-oriented policing, while reinforcing the value of building partnerships. A lecture series further informed the community about ongoing issues and projects in the community.<sup>66</sup>

Community policing has to have some level of community participation to be successful. While problem-oriented policing does not rely as heavily on community participation, most successful problem-oriented policing efforts utilize community resources to effectively address problems. One-third of CMPD captains also mention the importance of community involvement in their successful problem-oriented policing efforts.

## RECOMMENDATION 9

### **Incorporate Advances in Technology into a Department’s Reform Efforts.**

In today’s new technological environment, using technology to aid in the institutionalization of police reform may be a sound practice. Technology can facilitate new roles and duties when moving to a police reform. The CMPD has used technology successfully in its institutionalization of problem-oriented policing: for example, a specialized computerized database provides officers with a resource to use in its problem-oriented policing efforts. Officers can enter their projects into the database and also search the database for problems that may already be receiving attention in other divisions in the department. The department also plans to revise the database to produce a greater accountability element and allow easier exchange of ideas and information pertaining to ongoing problem-oriented policing projects. The revised database will require more supervisor input into ongoing projects.

Technological advancements have provided police officers with tools to use in their crime-prevention efforts; therefore, the department's technology systems should reflect the reform elements. Creating a problem-oriented policing database to track projects and share past and current problem-solving knowledge is a good tool in which a department should invest. By incorporating the reform into the technology elements of the department, the department may be able to give its officers the tools to facilitate behaviors in accordance of the reform. Having these technology structures in place can also show officers that the department is really committed to institutionalizing the reform.

## RECOMMENDATION 10

### Develop a Research/Crime Analysis Unit to Help Facilitate Problem-Solving Initiatives.



In problem-oriented policing, developing the analytical part of the process has often been one of the most difficult challenges. Herman Goldstein has noted that injecting analytical capacities into police departments has been a slow process and has suggested that police departments should better utilize the skills of crime analysts in their problem-oriented policing efforts.<sup>67</sup>

One way of better integrating analytic thinking into police department activity is to establish a crime analysis and problem-solving unit, a growing practice among police departments. (Professional associations, such as the Law Enforcement Organization of Planning and Research Directors and The International Association of Crime Analysts, represent individuals in these units.) The CMPD uses this approach through its Research, Planning and Analysis Division (RPA). The RPA's vision statement says the following:

"To be a division that provides strategic support that enhances problem-solving initiatives, effectively facilitates internal and external collaborative partnerships, meets and exceeds the support needs of the department, and is recognized for innovative and creative approaches that contribute to the overall accomplishment of the department's mission."<sup>68</sup>

The RPA provides officer and departmental assistance regarding crime trends, problem-solving initiatives, GIS crime mapping, and other areas.<sup>69</sup>

Clearly, a research, planning, and analysis unit can be a sound investment for departments. To help departments make better use of its crime analysts and help the crime analysts hone their roles and skills for problem-solving initiatives, the COPS Office has published a guide, *Crime Analysis for Problem-Solvers in 60 Small Steps*.

If a department finds that it is struggling to develop analytical skills, utilizing crime analysis units may help facilitate its problem-oriented policing projects. These units should not be solely responsible for problem-solving functions, but instead be used as a resource for a department’s problem-oriented policing activities. The skills that crime analysts bring into a police department can be shared with other members of the department to further develop the agency’s analytical capacity.

## RECOMMENDATION 11

11

### **Ensure That the Culture of Midlevel Management Is a Focal Point When Attempting to Institutionalize Reform in a Police Department.**

When embarking on organizational change efforts such as problem-oriented policing and community policing, midlevel management may be a great source of resistance to the change effort. Sherman and his colleagues’ assessment of team policing in the 1970s found that this factor was a major issue.<sup>70</sup> Understandably, midlevel managers have much invested in maintaining their current systems of management. Major changes in operating philosophies may appear to threaten their past achievements, authority, and performance records.<sup>71</sup> Such resistance was evident in the earliest efforts toward a more community-oriented style of policing. Sherman’s and his colleagues’ research on team policing found that midlevel managers had negative perceptions of the new policing philosophy, and often failed to perform their roles in accordance to the new style of policing the department was trying to adopt.<sup>72</sup> The negative perceptions of midlevel managers were a part of the demise of team policing before the concept was fully established.<sup>73</sup>

Past research has demonstrated that managers play a crucial role in a department’s organizational change efforts. This is true of problem-oriented policing efforts; for example, Boba and Crank put forth a model for integrating problem-oriented policing into a department. As a part of this model, they said that accountability and management involvement in problem-oriented policing efforts should increase within the rank structure as problems become more complex. Specifically, they contend that more serious problems and analysis should be addressed and overseen by managers in a police department.<sup>74</sup>

#### *Getting Midlevel Managers Involved Through Training*

Strategies such as involvement in training and education are important ways for obtaining midlevel management involvement in a reform process.<sup>75</sup> Schneider asserts that changes in organizational procedures such as training can have a lasting impact on an organizational change effort.<sup>76</sup> Skogan and Hartnett say that without sufficient training in the new philosophy, police officers may revert to doing things the way they did according

to the old philosophy. Chicago's successful organizational change efforts to adopt community policing had a serious commitment to training.<sup>77</sup>

All 33 CMPD captains said that they participated in numerous training sessions pertaining to problem-oriented policing. Many of the captains also pointed out that the department had yearly command staff retreats that are aimed at furthering their knowledge and practice of problem-oriented policing. The overall strength of the favorable culture in the CMPD leads one to believe that this training is related to the department's successful institutionalization of problem-oriented policing.

### *Incorporating the Reform into Midlevel Management Performance and Promotion Systems*

In attempting to institutionalize police reform, departments should consider incorporating elements of the reform into the midlevel managers' performance reviews, promotions process, and reward systems. By doing so, the department creates an expectation of what is important and expected in the organization.<sup>78</sup> In its efforts to institutionalize problem-oriented policing, the CMPD had clearly incorporated it into the promotions process, rewards/awards systems, and performance evaluations of its captains. As a part of their evaluations and promotions process, captains have been evaluated on their abilities to lead the department in accordance with the CMPD's mission, which values problem solving. The department also has used verbal, formal, and written rewards for captains who have demonstrated they are effectively engaging in problem-oriented policing efforts. The Chief's Award for Excellence in Policing recognizes and rewards CMPD employees for outstanding problem-oriented projects.<sup>79</sup>

CMPD captains are very aware of the changes in the procedures for performance evaluation and promotion; 85 percent, or 28, said that they had been rewarded for their problem-oriented policing through verbal commendations, written commendations, and official awards. One captain stated,

"I have received both verbal and written commendations from my supervisors telling me that I did a good job with my POP efforts."

A captain receiving a formal award stated,

"I took part in a project that got the chief's award for excellence in problem-oriented policing."

What is particularly important is that the study of the CMPD did *not* find a high level of cynicism about problem-oriented policing among either the captains or the rank-and-file officers, even though cynicism about reform and innovations has a long history in policing.

Strategies such as involvement in training and education are important ways for obtaining midlevel management involvement in a reform process.

The study also did not find captains who said that the department says one thing but does something else, or that the department talks problem-oriented policing but does not reward officers for trying to implement it. The absence of such cynicism in the CMPD is further evidence that the culture of the department has changed significantly.

Seventy-six percent, or 25, of CMPD captains also demonstrated that they felt that problem-oriented policing was incorporated into their performance evaluations and performance reviews. When asked *how* it was factored into their performance evaluations, 52 percent, or 17, said that it was a part of the evaluation criteria in their performance reviews, and 21 percent, or 7, indicate that it was just a general expectation and known fact. A captain illustrated this by stating,

“Part of our evaluation has a category dealing with our involvement in POP projects and how I have facilitated officer engagement in POP.”

A captain indicating that problem-oriented policing was a general expectation stated,

“It is emphasized that my role as a leader in the department is to ensure that officers under my command are out engaging in problem solving. This idea is integrated into our SOP.”

The majority of captains (70 percent) said that problem-oriented policing played a role in the promotions process. Specifically, 70 percent, or 23, stated that they feel they had been promoted because of their involvement in problem-oriented policing efforts, 49 percent, or 16, indicated that it played a part in their promotions, 6 percent, or 2, said that it had played a big role in their promotions, and 6 percent, or 2, indicated that they had been formally recognized for problem-oriented policing efforts that helped them get promoted. A captain illustrated this by saying,

“Involvement in POP was a big factor in my promotions. Applying the principle of POP is an important component in the rating system we use for promotions.”

## DEMONSTRATING THE RELATIONSHIPS

### **Procedural and Policy Changes and CMPD Captains' Behaviors, Knowledge, and Attitudes**

As we have seen, the CMPD's changes are reflected in captains' performance reviews, promotional standards, rewards/awards systems, and training, showing that midlevel management culture was favorable toward problem-oriented policing; for example, 49 percent, or 16, of the captains were very favorable/very enthusiastic, while 39 percent, or 13, captains were generally favorable. The primary difference between the two is that the very favorable/very enthusiastic captains had additional positive things to say about problem-oriented policing, with 18 percent indicating that the department was on the right path and 12 percent saying that problem-oriented policing had benefited the department.

For the 49 percent, or 16, captains who were very favorable/very enthusiastic toward problem-oriented policing, all said that they had been rewarded or recognized for their efforts. Ninety-four percent, or 15, indicated that problem-oriented policing has been factored into their performance reviews. One captain in a specialized assignment indicated that problem-oriented policing was in performance reviews, but not in his current position. Eighty-eight percent, or 14, of these captains also felt they had been promoted because of their involvement in problem-oriented policing. Two captains felt that they had not been promoted because of problem-oriented policing, but one of the two indicated that problem-oriented policing was not in the department when they were promoted (both captains have more than 25 years of service).

For the 39 percent, or 13, of captains who were generally favorable toward problem-oriented policing, 85 percent, or 11, said that they had been rewarded or recognized for their involvement. Two captains indicated they had not been rewarded or recognized. Sixty-nine percent, or 9, of these captains indicated that problem-oriented policing was in their performance reviews. Thirty-one percent, or 4, provided answers that were more uncertain about whether problem-oriented policing was factored into their performance reviews. Three of the four said that it was in their past performance reviews, but was not as applicable in their current special or administrative assignment. The fourth captain said that he had just been promoted to his new assignment and was uncertain about the emphasis on problem-oriented policing in the reviews for the captain position. Also, 62 percent, or 8, indicated that they had been promoted because of their involvement in problem-oriented policing. Two captains (15 percent) were somewhat uncertain whether they were really promoted before problem-oriented policing came into the department, but acknowledge that involvement in it plays a role in promotions. Three captains (23 percent) indicated that they had not been promoted because of their involvement in problem-oriented policing. One stated specifically that she was promoted before the move toward problem-oriented policing in the CMPD.

**M**idlevel managers can facilitate the change process for other officers under their command.

While the overall midlevel management culture of the CMPD was very favorable/very enthusiastic or generally favorable regarding problem-oriented policing, four captains (12 percent) had mixed perceptions. Within these perceptions, the relationship regarding exposure to procedural changes presented themselves even more so. These captains were not necessarily negative or unsupportive of problem-oriented policing, but it was apparent that they were not totally happy with the way it had been implemented in the CMPD. Also, a captain in this category was the only captain to give the only weak definition of problem-oriented policing, indicating that it,

“Is just good policing in which officers follow up on calls.”

The majority of mixed perceptions/attitudes really came out in a question that asked if there was anything else they wished to say regarding problem-oriented policing in the CMPD. One captain indicated that the department was trying to quantify problem-oriented policing too much in the department. Another captain said,

“We still need to use traditional policing measures. We need to find a more comfortable balance between problem solving and traditional policing tactics.”

Mixed perceptions also presented themselves in some of the attitude-based questions. Combined, these captains were more likely to have mixed perceptions about four areas:

1. The current status of problem-oriented policing in the department.
2. Whether the department was clear on its goals pertaining to problem-oriented policing.
3. Whether other supervisors emphasized problem-oriented policing.
4. Whether the CMPD was making strides to better incorporate problem-oriented policing into the department.

The captains with mixed perception also were more likely to say that they felt that they had not been or had uncertainty pertaining to:

1. Being rewarded or recognized for their problem-oriented policing efforts.
2. Problem-oriented policing being related to their promotions process.
3. Problem-oriented policing being factored into their performance reviews.

Based on the evidence present in the captains' attitudes, knowledge, behaviors, and exposure to procedural changes, there appeared to be a relationship between procedural changes and an officer's behaviors, knowledge, and attitudes. The captains who were very favorable/very enthusiastic toward problem-oriented policing were more likely to feel that they had been rewarded and recognized for their efforts, that problem-oriented policing was factored into their performance reviews, and that they had been promoted because of their involvement in problem-oriented policing. Three of the four captains who had mixed attitudes either did not feel or were unsure that they had been recognized or rewarded for their problem-oriented policing efforts, that they had been promoted for their efforts, or that problem-oriented policing was factored into their performance reviews. All 33 captains said that they had had exposure to training in problem-oriented policing, therefore no real conclusive statements could be made and no real trends were present regarding overall perceptions toward problem-oriented policing and the frequency of training.

Midlevel management's involvement in the reform efforts may very well be the vital point in successfully institutionalizing police reform. In instances of organizational change in which the midlevel managers did not support the efforts (i.e., team policing in the United States in the 1970s), the result was a failed attempt to change the way a department conducted its business.

The CMPD clearly made efforts to involve its midlevel managers in problem-oriented policing and the favorable culture of the captains indicated that they have bought in to it. As outlined earlier in this document, the use of rewards, performance evaluations, and incorporating the reform into the promotion process seem to be related to getting the managers to support a police reform. Once brought on board with the efforts to institutionalize a police reform, the midlevel managers can facilitate the change process for other officers under their command. Midlevel managers can also play an important role in emphasizing and obtaining cultural support for the reform from officers under their command; that is, front-line supervisors or officers.



## CONCLUSIONS

Institutionalizing police reform in a department takes time. Embarking on the journey to change the way a department operates may seem to be a daunting task at first, but it can be done successfully if well-designed plans are put in place. The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department's successful institutionalization of problem-oriented policing has demonstrated that a department can change the way it conducts police business.

The CMPD had gone well beyond the documented previous organizational change efforts of other departments to obtain a favorable culture. Research findings from the CMPD demonstrate that the department implemented various policy and procedural changes that emphasized problem-oriented policing and obtained cultural buy-in. The department revised its promotions, training, performance evaluations, mission statement, technology systems, and rewards systems to reflect problem-oriented policing. Further, the department has continued to emphasize the practice in future departmental plans by incorporating problem-oriented policing into its communications plan and by revising its technology systems. The strength of the favorable culture in the CMPD confirms that these policy and procedural changes are related to the successful institutionalization of problem-oriented policing. Success also was shown in the relationships with the policy and procedural changes and the CMPD captains' and rank and file's knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors.



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**M**AKING POLICE REFORMS ENDURE: THE KEYS FOR SUCCESS presents a framework that other police departments can use and test in their efforts to institutionalize police reforms. The points put forth are based on findings in the authors' 2007 study of problem-oriented policing in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg (North Carolina) Police Department, but have general applicability to various police reforms such as problem-oriented policing, community policing, and accountability measures.



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