Article

# Police Reform Through Data-Driven Management

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#### Abstract

Over a 2-year span, the New Orleans Police Department (NOPD) transformed from a department struggling to comply with its expansive federal consent decree to one exploring even broader reforms through a data-driven management approach. NOPD believes more than ever in the adage *you manage what you measure*. NOPD conducts monthly audits of consent decree compliance and distributes the results to hold leadership accountable for implementing reforms. Through frequent audits, NOPD has produced dramatic, swift compliance improvements. Concurrently, NOPD leadership introduced a data-driven management framework that addressed all facets of management: MAX (Management Analytics for Excellence). This article presents the viewpoints of two sides of the consent decree: NOPD and the federal judge overseeing implementation of the consent decree. NOPD and its monitoring partners use MAX's performance metrics to monitor reform implementation and address areas requiring improvement. This article details how to implement reforms through a data-driven management approach.

#### **Keywords**

police reform, consent decree, police management

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A police department consent decree does not come with an instruction manual. Not for the court and not for the police department. This is the quandary faced by the target department and federal judges. Of course, a one-size-fits-all instruction manual is not feasible, as every consent decree is as unique as the police department to which it applies. This leaves the judge, with the assistance of court-appointed monitors and the police department, to chart a course from entry of the decree to substantial compliance, preferably in the shortest period of time and with due consideration for the department's budgetary concerns.

In New Orleans, the reform process started slowly as the court and the court's monitors struggled with identifying and quantifying the reforms mandated by the 492 paragraphs of the decree and determining how to measure incremental compliance over time. The first measurable progress was noted when the monitors began developing audits, often using checklists, to identify with specificity what was expected of the NOPD in a particular area, such as photographic lineups, and using the audit results to gauge compliance.

The NOPD Compliance Bureau replicated these audits, using the checklists created by the monitors, in advance of the monitors' monthly visits. The Compliance Bureau coupled its internal audits with annotations and instructions to be sure that supervisors and patrol officers understood what was being measured, what needed to be done to pass the audit, and why compliance was key to reforming the department. Just as importantly, the Compliance Bureau rapidly published to supervisors the results of the internal audits so that deficiencies could be addressed before the monitors arrived to complete their checklists.

The original concept has morphed into individual topic scorecards and the data-driven management system, known as MAX, which is described later. The success of these management tools demonstrates why a strong compliance bureau is the key to successfully implementing and sustaining reforms.

Only 2 years after the New Orleans Police Department accelerated its efforts to implement an extensive federal consent decree, NOPD has built the infrastructure to manage change effectively. Now, other police agencies are looking to the New Orleans Police Department for guidance on implementing reforms (Crocket, 2017; New Orleans Police Department, 2016; Police Executive Research Forum, 2016; Texas A&M University, 2016). No one could have predicted this would happen. Where once full compliance with the consent decree seemed a near impossibility, NOPD is now pursuing reforms even beyond the scope of its comprehensive consent decree to ensure that it becomes the department its community deserves.

# How Did This Happen?

The New Orleans Police Department embraced a data-driven management strategy that delivered significant, rapid change (see Demir, 2009; Rousseau, 2006). As a result, NOPD now believes more than ever in the adage *you manage what you measure*. The New Orleans Police Department is continuously instituting accountability measurements to expedite reforms of the consent decree and beyond. Through this process, NOPD is emerging as the robust self-monitoring, self-reforming agency envisioned by the consent decree.

# **Becoming a Self-Monitoring Department**

The New Orleans Police Department has been involved in an ongoing transformation from a department requiring external oversight into a robust self-monitoring department. Throughout this process, NOPD *defined* expectations, *measured* performance, and *responded* aggressively to address deficiencies.

The Department began by defining performance standards that would lead to compliance with the specific paragraphs of the consent decree. Compliance officers and auditors then measured performance frequently against these standards to hold leadership accountable for compliance. This process produced dramatic, sustained results. The success of this data-driven approach to consent decree compliance demanded further development.

Starting in late 2014, NOPD leadership called for a more holistic data-driven management approach. NOPD envisioned replacing Comstat, which focused almost exclusively on crime, with management meetings that hold leadership accountable for all facets of their responsibilities, including crime, consent decree compliance, response times, and other topics.

To accomplish this goal, NOPD created MAX (Management Analytics for Excellence). MAX is a data-driven management system that provides dynamic performance metrics spanning the spectrum of departmental operations. Supervisors use MAX daily to identify successes and pinpoint deficient performance areas needing improvement. Through weekly MAX meetings, NOPD holds leadership accountable for performance across all responsibilities.

MAX provides invaluable insight into NOPD operations not only for NOPD leadership but also for the federal judge, the consent decree monitors, and the Department of Justice. NOPD and its consent decree partners are able to ask specific questions and receive timely, specific data-validated answers. MAX facilitates internal and external monitoring of consent decree compliance and helps answer whether reforms are improving policing services for the community.

With MAX, NOPD has developed the infrastructure to manage organizational change effectively. As MAX's positive performance trends indicate, NOPD is progressing swiftly toward becoming the self-monitoring department envisioned by the consent decree. But to get to this point, NOPD first needed to determine how to measure compliance.

# **Measuring Compliance**

The 492 requirements and seemingly endless subrequirements of the NOPD consent decree were daunting. It was not immediately clear where—or

how—to begin. One could not help but wonder if full compliance would ever be reached. While the consent decree's many policy and training requirements provided some direction in the early stages of the process, a larger question loomed: how could the Department reliably measure progress toward compliance with the vast array of requirements? Even more important, how could NOPD ensure and demonstrate the full *implementation* of the required reforms? It is one thing to require a practice by policy and reinforce it in training; it is another thing entirely to implement that practice on the street.

Defining how compliance is measured is integral to a consent decree's implementation. Measuring compliance often requires establishing a deeper level of compliance criteria and audit methodology beyond the terms of the consent decree. Defining compliance measurements ultimately delineates the actions necessary to comply, providing clarity both for implementation and monitoring. This shared understanding between officers and monitors is critical to accelerating the change process.

For example, NOPD initially struggled with demonstrating compliance with certain supervision requirements during consent decree monitor visits. While the monitors had already provided the audit checklist for these reviews along with verbal explanations of expectations, districts demonstrated inconsistent understandings of the exact requirements for these assessments. As a result, they often performed inconsistently and inadequately. To clarify, NOPD produced an annotated version of the monitor's checklist clearly stating the requirements for each assessment item. NOPD then initiated monthly internal reviews of compliance with the requirements and distributed the results across the Department to hold leadership accountable. These actions greatly improved performance during both internal and monitor reviews in short order. Not surprisingly, the consistent application of clear performance expectations helped improve performance.

Through such efforts, NOPD sharpened its self-monitoring capacity and ability to implement reforms. Defining performance standards, frequently measuring performance against these standards, and holding leadership accountable for the results represented a simple yet effective model to drive and sustain organizational change.

#### **Developing a Replicable Model for Organizational Change**

NOPD's widespread implementation of body-worn cameras (BWCs) in 2014 signaled a critical turn toward enhanced accountability (Swanson, 2014; WVUE, 2016). But the Department needed a mechanism to ensure officers were using the cameras—and not just wearing them. NOPD began consistently monitoring the use of BWCs in 2015. Initially, informal reviews demonstrated insufficient BWC use. These disappointing results prompted the Department to institutionalize monthly BWC audits to hold officers and leadership accountable for using the cameras according to policy, thereby increasing camera coverage of NOPD's responses. When NOPD conducted its first formal review of BWC use in May 2015, the Department learned that officers activated BWCs in 85% of the instances required by policy. This represented an increase over prior, informal compliance measurements, possibly due to the impact of discipline on BWC noncompliance along with the expected increase in technology adoption over time (Rogers, 1983; Skogan & Hartnett, 2005). To conduct this review, NOPD auditors compiled officer activity reports for a given day and determined whether footage existed for all required activities. The Department published the results as a "Body-Worn Camera Scorecard" (Figure 1) that clearly visualized compliance scores from the department level down to the platoon level. This presentation of the audit results enabled leadership to pinpoint deficient units (highlighted in red on the scorecard) and respond accordingly. By improving the performance of deficient units, leadership elevated the performance of the Department as a whole. By producing BWC scorecards monthly, NOPD held leadership accountable for addressing deficiencies swiftly.

Two months later in August 2015, NOPD's BWC use rose from 85% to 96% of required instances and has not slipped since, scoring 97% or above in all subsequent reviews (see Figures 2 and 3). Leadership used the scorecards to work with struggling units to improve performance and produced consistently strong performance thereafter. Through clear and repeated measurements, the Department institutionalized the use of BWCs to promote accountability, professionalism, and transparency.

Through the lessons learned from the BWC scorecard, the Department developed a replicable mechanism for organizational and cultural change: frequently measure what you want to manage; produce actionable, clear results; and hold leadership accountable for performance. Over time, NOPD applied this model to other areas with significant results, building accountability and transparency across the Department.

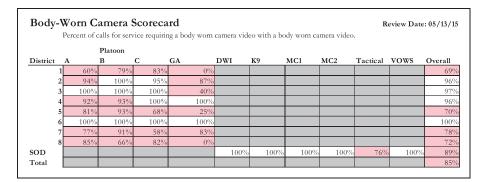


Figure 1. Body-worn camera scorecard with noncompliance highlighted, May 2015.

Percent of	calls for se	rvice requi	ring a body	worn came	era video v	vith a body	worn came	era video.				
		Platoon										
District	Α	В	С	GA	Other*	DWI	К9	MC1	MC2	Tactical	vows	Overall
1	96%	100%	100%	100%								99
2	100%	100%	100%	100%								100
3	100%	100%	100%	100%								100
4	100%	100%	100%	100%								100
5	95%	97%	100%	na								98
6	100%	100%	100%	100%								100
7	100%	100%	98%	100%								100
8	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%							100
SOD						90%	100%	na	100%	na	100%	98
Total	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%							99

Figure 2. Body-worn camera scorecard with noncompliance highlighted, October 2016.

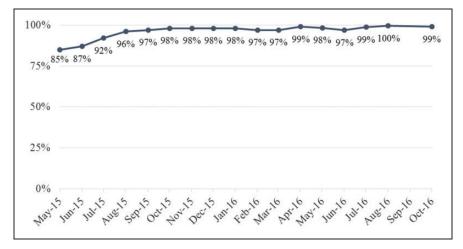


Figure 3. Body-worn camera compliance over time, May 2015 to October 2016.

#### **Expanding Reforms Through Data-Driven Management**

To expand this data-driven model across the department, NOPD had to dedicate additional resources to measuring performance (Phillips, 2013; Stone, Foglesong, & Cole, 2009). To implement changes fully, NOPD needed a clear understanding of where it was in the change process and what work remained to achieve reforms. NOPD hired four performance auditors in 2015 to enhance its

self-monitoring capacity. These auditors helped provide that clarity through frequent, wide-ranging reviews.

The original conception for the audit unit was to conduct "classic" audits assessing compliance for selected topics over a substantial period of time modeled after other police departments (Phillips, 2013). Audit results would then be released often months later producing delayed, infrequent feedback. While this more formal approach is appropriate in some instances, NOPD quickly identified the need for rapid feedback across many operational areas. NOPD has 492 requirements to implement—not a handful. Classic audits would likely consume significant resources and limit the reach and impact of the four NOPD auditors. NOPD needed to change many operations at once and do so quickly; the classic approach would not do.

NOPD decided instead to replicate the BWC Scorecard model across numerous operational areas concurrently. By doing so, NOPD tightened the feedback loop between performance and assessment for many operational areas and thereby accelerated wide-ranging change. Leadership used the frequent performance assessments to address deficiencies, and the improvements were considerable—and swift.

The results speak for themselves:

- 1. BWC use increased from 85% to 96% in 2 months and has sustained compliance rates of 97% or above for over a year and counting.
- 2. In-car camera use for required calls for service increased from 74% to 99% between January and October 2016. To conduct this review, NOPD compiled activity reports for a given day and determined whether footage existed for all required activities.
- 3. In-car camera testing at the beginning of each shift to ensure proper functionality steadily increased from 27% in January 2016 to 95% in October 2016. To conduct this review, NOPD compiled activity reports for a given day and determined whether officers performed test videos at the beginning of each shift.
- 4. Photographic line-up compliance increased from 87% in June 2016 to 98% 3 months later in September 2016. The Department reviewed every photographic line-up for the month for compliance with the consent decree to produce this scorecard.
- 5. Custodial interrogation compliance has remained above 95% after 2 months of reviews. NOPD reviewed every custodial interrogation video for the month for compliance with the consent decree to produce this scorecard.
- 6. Compliance with certain supervision requirements rose from 70% to 95% in slightly over a month. NOPD conducted monthly supervision reviews in person at districts or divisions to assess compliance with certain supervision requirements of the consent decree.
- 7. Crisis intervention form submissions increased from 41% to 92% over 2 months. The Department produced this scorecard through an automated

Category	Initial Score	November '16 Score	Increase
Body Worn-Camera	85%	99%	14%
In-Car Camera Calls For Service	74%	98%	24%
In-Car Camera Test Videos	27%	96%	69%
Photographic Line-Ups	87%	96%	8%
Custodial Interrogations	92%	95%	3%
Supervision - Paragraph 306	70%	96%	26%
Supervision - Technology	96%	100%	4%
Crisis Intervention Forms	42%	95%	52%

Figure 4. Performance over time table, November 2016.

review of whether required forms existed for crisis calls for service. After compliance rates hovered in the forties for a few months, leadership asked sergeants why the forms were not being turned in as required. Sergeants provided a simple, illuminating response: They did not have an easy method for identifying outstanding crisis intervention forms. In response, NOPD created a tool to identify outstanding forms by unit. In short order, compliance rapidly surged and has sustained at very high levels. This example illustrates the power of frequent performance measurements: They not only identify deficient practices but also foster rapid problem-solving to improve deficient performance.

The improvements seen at NOPD are dramatic, consistent, and replicable. No matter the starting level of compliance, these review areas have all risen from noncompliance to nearly 95% compliance or above—and remained there (see Figures 4 and 5). These improvements—and some of the low preliminary compliance levels—reinforced what NOPD already knew: we manage what we measure. It was clear we needed to measure more.

But make no mistake: Compliance measurements are just a tool. Managers' aggressive response to deficiencies revealed by compliance measurements and subsequent follow-through by rank-and-file officers produced this change. A data-driven management framework without an institutional commitment to aggressive data-driven management would have failed.

#### Making the Data Actionable

Clear data facilitate action. With this in mind, NOPD's scorecards clearly emphasize successes and deficiencies to focus leadership's actions on future improvement. Every month NOPD internally distributes scorecards compiled

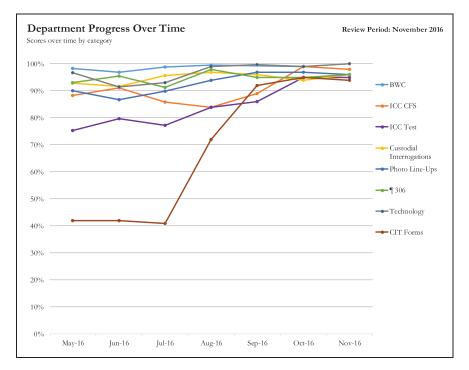


Figure 5. NOPD performance over time graph, November 2016.

electronically in one packet, referred to collectively as the compliance scorecards. This packet includes the following components:

- 1. A summary scorecard which provides an overview of the results of the month's compliance measurements;
- 2. Departmental performance over time for all review topics;
- 3. District or division dashboards with all metrics relevant to the district or division; and
- 4. Topic scorecards (e.g., the BWC scorecard) with granular details on performance for each review topic.

This packet contains a staggering amount of information, so it is critical to present the information in a digestible way (Tufts, 1990). To accomplish this, the compliance scorecards and dashboards guide leadership toward the areas where improvement is needed amidst the many other data points. Each major component of the compliance scorecards is described later.

		Supervision							
		ICC	ICC	Custodial	Photo			CIT	
District BV	WC*	CFS	Test	Interrogations	Line-Ups	¶ 306	Technology	Forms	Legend
1		100%	100%	92%	98%			89%	95-100%
2		100%	100%	80%	88%			95%	90-94%
3		94%	100%	100%	93%	86%	100%	96%	80-89%
4		100%	100%	95%	100%	86%	100%	97%	≤ 79%
5 <sub>Bi</sub>		100%	86%	96%	100%	100%	100%	95%	
6	- onthly	100%	100%	100%	96%	100%	100%	100%	
7	view*	91%	80%		99%	100%	100%	85%	
8	.vicw	100%	100%	100%	100%			100%	
SOD		100%	100%	100%		100%	100%		
svs				96%	100%				
Iomicide				89%	88%	100%			
Total		98%	95%	96%	96%	96%	100%	94%	

Figure 6. Summary scorecard, November 2016.

# Summary Scorecard

The summary scorecard (Figure 6)<sup>1</sup> provides an overview of NOPD's performance and each district or division's performance across all review scorecards for the month. This scorecard uses a clear legend graphically categorizing compliance levels. Dark green represents compliance (95% or above), light green represents near compliance (90%–94%), yellow represents partial compliance (80%–89%), and red indicates noncompliance (79% or below). This simple yet striking depiction of the compliance results provides leadership with immediate clarity on overall successes to be sustained and deficiencies to be addressed.

# Department Progress Over Time

The next section of the scorecard packet is a demonstration of departmental compliance progress over time for all review areas (see Figure 5). This graph allows leadership to track progress and remain vigilant against possible backsliding. Figure 5 clearly demonstrates the success of NOPD's data-driven management model, with all lines trending upward toward or above 95% compliance.

# District or Division Dashboards

Dashboards provide leadership all actionable data from the scorecards on one page on a district by district basis (Figure 7). Dashboards concisely visualize a summary of the most recent scores for each review category, percentage change from prior reviews for each category, district or division progress over time by

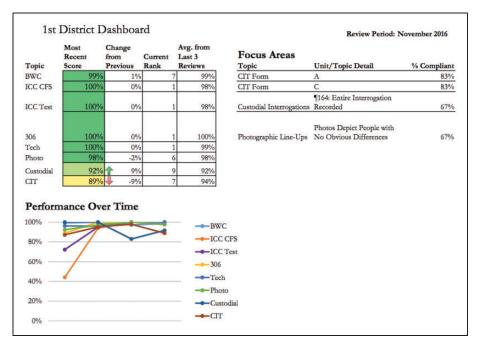


Figure 7. District dashboard, November 2016.

category, and a "focus areas" table detailing every component of the month's reviews that failed to meet the desired 95% compliance threshold. With dashboards, leadership can quickly assess the progress of the unit and identify all noncompliant practices. If leadership successfully addresses all of the noncompliant practices listed on the "focus areas" table, the unit will be in compliance with everything under review on the next audit. On one page, leadership has all it needs to know to comply with current scorecards. This simplicity and clarity makes the consent decree, initially daunting, significantly more manageable.

# **Topic Scorecards**

The Department produces a separate scorecard for each review topic, from BWC use to photographic line-up compliance (Figure 8). Topic scorecards provide detailed results for each district or division to pinpoint deficiencies for that review topic. If a unit fails to score 95% or above on any component of a topic scorecard, that component is highlighted in red on the topic scorecard. Performance below 95% on any review component is also highlighted as a "focus area" on the district or division dashboard to clearly identify all non-compliant practices in need of improvement.

		Log is		Scanned	Photos Depict	If Witness IDs a Photo,		
	# of	0	Admin. is not	Photos are in	1	Witness Initials	Form 277 is	
District	Line-Ups	Compliant	the Case Det.		1	Each Photo*	Complete	Overall
1	3	100%	100%	100%	67%	100%	100%	98%
2	4	100%	75%	100%	25%	100%	75%	88%
3	6	100%	100%	83%	67%	100%	83%	93%
4	6	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
5	2	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
6	2	100%	100%	100%	100%	50%	100%	96%
7	6	100%	100%	100%	100%	80%	100%	99%
8	4	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
SOD	0							
SVS	6	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Iomicide	3	100%	100%	100%	100%	0%	78%	88%
Total	42	100%	98%	98%	86%	84%	94%	96%

Figure 8. Topic scorecard: photographic line-up scorecard, November 2016.

# **Expanding Accountability Measurements**

While current scorecards cover significant portions of the consent decree, they do not cover every topic. As NOPD's data-driven management produces and sustains high levels of compliance for a given review topic, the Department decreases the review frequency for that topic as appropriate to create time to review other important topics and, consequently, produce operational improvements in other areas. For example, BWC reviews transitioned from monthly to bimonthly to quarterly as a result of sustained compliance, allowing more time to pursue other reviews.

With this freed time, NOPD is expanding accountability measurements through automation and qualitative reviews. First, NOPD is automating additional accountability measurements by embedding compliance checks into electronic forms and tracking systems. For example, NOPD is endeavoring to produce automatic checks of the completeness and timeliness of reports.

Automation will expand the scope of NOPD's compliance reviews while preserving time for more time-intensive qualitative reviews of officer performance. For instance, NOPD will review BWC footage to assess compliance with stop, search, and arrest policies along with procedural justice tenets. NOPD also will create a use of force scorecard enhancing ongoing reviews of all instances of force. Constitutional stops, appropriate uses of force, and positive police–citizen interactions are the heart of NOPD's consent decree, and measuring compliance is critical to ensure the highest standards in these areas. As with current score-cards, NOPD will produce these future scorecards with clarity, specificity, and frequency to promote rapid improvements where needed.

# **Moving Beyond Comstat**

Concurrent with the development of the first compliance scorecards, NOPD leadership sought a more holistic data-driven management framework to address all facets of management. Because NOPD's Comstat model solely focused data-driven accountability on crime (McCarthy, 2010), the superintendent charged the Department with expanding the scope of accountability to include crime investigations, consent decree compliance, response times, misconduct, and other integral areas.

In response, NOPD launched MAX (Management Analytics for Excellence) in Fall 2016 to provide a data-driven supervision platform and organizational meeting framework that monitored all facets of the organization—and not just crime. Through MAX, NOPD is creating the infrastructure to manage organizational change effectively.

# What Does MAX Look Like?

MAX includes four separate data components to support daily supervision and weekly internal management meetings called MAX meetings, described in greater detail later. MAX is intended to bring all of the necessary data tools together to enable supervisors to manage the Department effectively. The four components of MAX are as follows:

- High-level dashboard with key performance data spanning the spectrum of department operations. Leadership uses the high-level dashboard to facilitate weekly departmental meetings. The dashboard is accessible to the public via NOPDnews.com. The dashboard covers the following topics: (a) calls for service, (b) crime (see Figure 9); (c) clearance rates, (d) DA acceptance or refusal rates, (e) personnel data, (f) integrity control (misconduct trends and measurements), (g) uses of force, (h) vehicle pursuits and vehicle collisions, (i) consent decree compliance, (j) response times, and (k) community policing (under development). Internal and external users can customize data by the desired district or division and timeframe.
- 2. Interactive ArcGIS map visually detailing crime activity along with proactive policing efforts to enable in-depth conversations related to crime and deployment strategies. The map visualizes activity at a granular, census-block level to precisely portray crime hot spots and policing activity.

<ul> <li>Table of Cont</li> </ul>	ents Calls for Service	Crime Clearance Rates		reptance Rates	Personnel Data	Integrity Contro	an
N®PD		MA	х.				
Crime							
Last 4 Weeks	1st District			NOPD			
Previous 4 Weeks	UCR Crime Total						
District	OCK Chille Iotai						
1st District     2nd District	Total	129		Total		1,434	9%
O 3rd District	Total		161	Total		1,494	11%
<ul> <li>4th District</li> <li>5th District</li> </ul>	Violent Crime Total						
O 6th District	Total	21		Total		250	8%
O 7th District	Total		38	Total		281	14%
Other	Violent Crime by Typ	A					
Crime Type			_	A			201
<ul> <li>Violent Crime</li> </ul>	Agg. Assault			Agg. Assault	5	2	2%
<ul> <li>Property Crime</li> <li>Other CFS</li> </ul>	Agg. Battery 2	5		Agg. Battery	22		12%
O Other CFS	Agg. Dattery	3		Agg. battery	32		9%
Date Range	Armed	9		Armed	32	94	10%
Last 4 Weeks	Robbery	J	17	Robbery		91	19%
<ul> <li>Year to Date</li> <li>Last 52 Weeks</li> </ul>	Homicide 1			Homicide	13		8%
C Last 52 Weeks	2				16		13%
Type of Data	Rape	4		Rape	22		18%
Values		6			30		20%
O Percent Change	Shooting 1			Shooting	35		3%
Approval Status	2				38		5%
(All)	Simple	3		Simple	12		25%
Approved	Robbery	3		Robbery	32		9%
✓ DataEntry							
Disapproved     Incomplete							
Pending							
94% of Violent Crime are approved in EPR	The enclosed data should b Crime Report statistics plea	e interpreted with caution and is not se see <u>http://nola.gov/nopd/crime-da</u>	considered Ita.	the official reported	statistics of the NOPD	If you are interested i	n Uniform
for this time period.				[			
	Search by Crime by	Type (call description)					

Figure 9. MAX high-level dashboard: Crime.

- 3. Detailed reports on a variety of topics that allow supervisors to evaluate and address specific problems highlighted by the high-level dashboard. For example, one detailed report provides district and platoon-level statistics on police reports that have not been approved by a supervisor and links to those unapproved police reports to facilitate their completion. NOPD has created similar reports for other required forms, such as crisis intervention forms, to facilitate timely completion as mentioned earlier. To improve response times, NOPD created a graphical report depicting spikes in response times to help leadership identify and minimize delays.
- 4. Follow-up task reports detailing action items generated after each meeting to ensure appropriate follow up.

The dashboard and maps are updated weekly (but are always available on the internal NOPD website) so that the data remain both recent and consistent as the week progresses. All of the detailed reports are dynamic and reflect current information to facilitate close and effective supervision on a daily basis.

# The MAX Meeting

Prior to MAX, NOPD leadership often demanded performance improvements but lacked the data to verify future performance. Now, leadership holds supervisors directly accountable across a spectrum of operational areas through MAX. Importantly, supervisors can identify what needs improvement with precision and efficiency through MAX's dashboard, map, and reports.

MAX's data-driven system of accountability is the heart of NOPD's weekly organizational MAX meetings. MAX meetings consistently hold leadership and their subordinates accountable for improvements on key performance topics. This consistent application of data-driven accountability has accelerated compliance with consent decree requirements and improved performance across many departmental operations, from more timely report submissions to decreased response times (Figure 10). Leadership will continue to use MAX meetings to sustain and expand improvements across the Department's operations.

#### The Future of MAX

The implementation of MAX in 2016 focused primarily on district commands. NOPD will continue to incorporate additional district-related measures, including community policing measures developed in collaboration with community members. Additionally, NOPD will expand MAX more robustly to non-district commands and bureaus beyond field operations.

Finally, MAX will incorporate more data. As more processes are captured electronically, NOPD will incorporate them into MAX in order to manage them more effectively. In addition, MAX will incorporate new consent decree compliance scorecards on topics such as stops, searches, and arrests, use of force, and procedural justice to advance consent decree compliance.

#### Monitoring Change Internally and Externally

When the consent decree was signed, it was often difficult for NOPD to determine its compliance with many requirements (Daley, 2015; Morgan, 2015; Office of the Consent Decree Monitor, 2015). Through the development of the compliance scorecards and MAX, NOPD now knows where it stands in the change process—and where it has to go. Leadership uses MAX on a daily basis to address identified deficiencies and advance toward full compliance with the consent decree and other reforms.

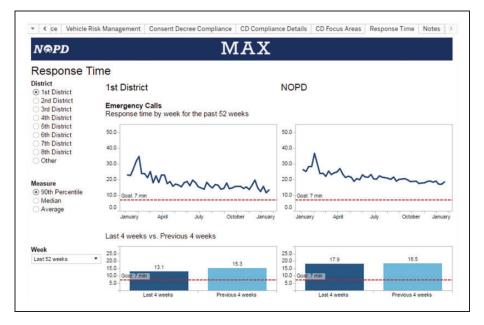


Figure 10. MAX high-level dashboard: decrease in response times.

As NOPD works toward full compliance, the federal judge, the consent decree monitors, and the Department of Justice monitor NOPD's progress through MAX. While monitoring and approving required policies and training is somewhat straightforward, confirming the implementation of reforms often requires clear data demonstrating compliance. In essence, MAX helps NOPD's external monitors evaluate compliance and whether reforms are having the desired effects. Beneficially, as NOPD's consent decree partners monitor MAX, they have provided crucial guidance to help build MAX into a management tool that will help sustain reforms beyond the consent decree.

Finally, but critically, the public can monitor NOPD's performance through MAX on NOPDnews.com. NOPD's reforms are for the betterment of the community, and the transparent presentation of wide-ranging policing data and MAX's performance metrics allows the public to participate in the reform process.

# **Driving and Sustaining Organizational Change**

Over a 2-year span, the New Orleans Police Department transformed from a department struggling to comply with its expansive consent decree to one exploring even broader reforms through MAX and other efforts. The consent decree, once daunting, presented an opportunity for NOPD to build new systems of

accountability from the ground up to reshape the future of the Department. Now, NOPD has developed a replicable model of data-driven management that has produced significant results. NOPD is applying this model across departmental operations to institutionalize the many requirements of the consent decree and the broader reforms it has embraced. Of course, NOPD's success with data-driven management starts and ends with the daily dedication of NOPD members to improve the services they provide to the community in a difficult time for policing.

MAX and its counterparts could not succeed without the right culture and support. Some keys to successful data-driven management include the following:

- 1. Buy-in from the top: The current superintendent and other leadership supported MAX and data-driven management from the start, helping institutionalize its place in the organization's culture.
- 2. Investment in resources to create data-driven frameworks: NOPD would have struggled to accelerate compliance or create MAX without substantial investments in data-related resources, such as its improved data-reporting ecosystem and the hiring of a director of analytics, compliance managers, auditors, IT staff, and crime analysts. These investments have shed years from the compliance process. That said, departments with fewer resources can still implement and benefit from data-driven management.
- 3. Defining change and performance standards: Defining specific goals and the processes to achieve them makes the change process more tangible and realizable. Clarity in performance expectations facilitates performance improvements.
- 4. Frequently assessing performance: Tightening the feedback loop between performance and assessment provides leadership closer to real-time performance results, allowing them to adjust promptly to expedite change.
- 5. Clearly visualizing performance measurements: The visualization of performance metrics must clearly emphasize successes and deficiencies to direct leadership toward areas of need.
- 6. Framing management meetings around data: Placing performance measurements at the heart of organizational meetings helps institutionalize the use of performance metrics across the department to improve performance. If top leadership expects performance gains at the next organizational meeting, district or division commanders and their subordinates will monitor performance metrics continually to drive performance improvements.
- 7. Creating tools to facilitate performance improvements: When performance metrics indicate deficiencies, the department must work proactively with the officers engaged in those tasks to understand and eliminate obstacles to improvement through the creation of new reports, tools, or processes.
- 8. Embedding data-driven management within a broader culture of accountability: The New Orleans Police Department has undertaken numerous initiatives to develop a stronger culture of accountability, including a large-scale deployment of BWCs, posting open policing data available for public

analysis, the creation of the EPIC (Ethical Policing Is Courageous) peerintervention program to equip officers with tools to intervene before misconduct takes place, and the implementation of a new early intervention system to facilitate close and effective supervision and address potential problems before they manifest themselves.

9. Publicly displaying performance measurements for heightened accountability: MAX's high-level dashboard is publicly available via NOPDnews.com. This transparency creates public accountability which will instill greater urgency into the change process. Public accountability and transparency will help ensure NOPD sustains consent decree and other reforms after the Department has successfully complied with the consent decree.

By following these steps, NOPD is becoming the robust, self-monitoring agency envisioned by the consent decree. NOPD's simple recipe of *define*, *measure*, *respond* is facilitating change across the Department.

Through MAX, the New Orleans Police Department learned from the current literature on data-driven management and created a comprehensive data-driven management infrastructure to expedite and sustain reforms over time with one goal in mind: to better serve the community. To comply with the consent decree and deliver the services the community deserves, NOPD established a foundation of best-practice policies and training and built systems of accountability to monitor implementation. With the foundation in place, NOPD, the federal judge, the consent decree monitors, and the Department of Justice alike can now assess compliance and outcomes of reforms through MAX, peeling back the layers of departmental performance as necessary to identify and address issues. In the end, MAX provides clarity on performance and the implementation of NOPD's consent decree and broader reforms. With the public availability of MAX and NOPD's policing data, the community can watch NOPD as it improves, demonstrating a core tenet of the new NOPD: We do not have any-thing to hide anymore. We want you to see what we are doing.

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#### Note

1. The original figures are in color but have been printed in gray scale for the purposes of publication.

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