

# **Enhancing the Rule of Law and Culture of Lawfulness in Pereira, Colombia**

**Assessing the Impact on Citizens**

## **REPORT ON THE RESULTS**

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Beginning on January 1, 2008, the Culture of Lawfulness project began a concerted effort to bring together the social and political forces in Pereira, Colombia to present a unified view of the rule of law and the value in promoting a culture of lawfulness. As the effort prepared to get underway, project staff and consultants adopted a straightforward evaluation to assess the impact of the project's efforts among the city's residents. Since the project's interventions and the areas where they would be introduced had not yet been determined, however, no controls could be established prior to the beginning of data collection. As such, during July 2008 pretest measures began with a citywide survey of citizens. For the next 27 months the project's participants introduced a variety of efforts including public advertising, police interactions with neighborhood residents, park reclamation activities, neighborhood contests and school culture of lawfulness programs in an effort to reach as many Pereira residents as possible. During November 2010 posttest measures were gathered so that the impact of the project's efforts could be examined. The data for both pre and posttests were gathered using in-person interviews with more than 1,000 residents from a sample of the city's residential communes. What follows is a review of the information gained.

### **The Survey**

The survey used for the project's pretest consisted of 42 multiple part questions yielding a total of 130 analyzable variables. The posttest instrument was modified somewhat to include 48 questions offering 130 variables. The combined data set resulted in 150 analyzable variables. Beyond just demographic questions, both

survey instruments inquired of the respondents' knowledge of the concepts of rule and culture of lawfulness, adding questions about where those who have knowledge may have learned of the concepts. After giving their own assessment of the importance of both concepts, respondents were then asked how interested they believed that those who are influential in Pereira government, media and public affairs are in promoting a lawful culture. For those familiar with both concepts, individual and scaled measures were also included to examine each respondent's own:

- Obedience to the law,
- General social responsibility, and
- Personal responsibility to promote lawfulness.

Specific questions concerning the respondent's or their family's experiences with the police and as crime victims are added to assist in the interpretation of the opinions given, although these questions varied considerably between the pre and posttest measures. Finally, the survey's participants were asked to evaluate a variety of personal safety issues and activities to determine which they believe should be the sole province of the police, the community or the responsibility of both working together.

### **Administering the Survey**

The final drafting and actual administration of both surveys was undertaken by *Estudios Y Consultorias Socioeconomicas*, a private research firm located in Pereira. Once provided with the initial draft of the first survey, Consultancy staff reviewed its content with an eye towards unfamiliar language or awkward translations into Spanish. In all, about one-dozen revisions were completed during this process. Based on their experiences during the pretest administration, additional revisions were made to the posttest instrument.

For each survey, a multi-stage sampling process was employed to select an actual sample of respondents. To do so, city zoning maps from the Secretary of Municipal Planning were employed by Consultancy staff with the local researchers and the city's planning staff designating the city's socio-economic strata on a block-by-block basis throughout the city. For their own planning purposes, Colombia classifies residents into one of six socio-economic groups varying from 1 to 6 with a higher designation indicating a higher income level. Since a specific goal of this evaluation's sampling frame was to insure participation of residents at each income level, a general determination of the areas where each group of citizens were likely to be found was the necessary first step in sample selection.

Once the socio-economic groupings were established before the pretest, the remaining phases of the initial sample selection occurred as follows:

**Stage 2:** Next, a proportionate group of blocks within each of the strata groups were randomly selected for participation.

**Stage 3:** Local research staff then visited the selected blocks to count housing units located within each. Housing units were then organized into groups of eight. Specific housing groups were then systematically chosen for inclusion.

**Stage 4:** Within each housing unit, a primary household was selected for participation. After making contact with the household, interviewers inquired about the number of residents over age 18 who might be presently on site. Using a table of random numbers, a respondent would be chosen from among those adults.

Selection of the sample for the posttest followed a similar process building upon the earlier background work completed by the local researchers.

For each survey, the interviews themselves were conducted by local staff selected by the Consultancy for their previous survey and interview experience. Prior to the pretest each interviewer participated in a two-day training course given to familiarize each with the instrument, explain the respondent selection process and identify any anticipated problems so that solutions could be devised. In

addition, two experienced survey supervisors monitored the interview process to insure consistency and the quality of information gathered. Finally, before data collection began each interviewer conducted a small number of pre-tests of the survey instrument to insure his or her own comfort with the process as well as identify any content or translation problems that might remain. Final revisions to the instrument were made by the Consultancy with this input in mind and the actual survey administration was begun.

A total of 1,002 pretest surveys and 1,042 posttest surveys were completed with this process.

Despite the care in their selection, it is likely that the samples surveyed are not fully representative of the population of Pereira. Although with its nearly 400,000 residents (Pereira is the sixth largest of Colombia's cities) surprisingly little demographic information about the city's communities is readily available. Still, from the 2005 national census of Colombia conducted by the National Administrative Department of Statistics (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística - DANE) we do have a reasonable picture of the Colombian people generally.<sup>1</sup>

Clearly, the sample's demographics differ from that of the Colombian population as a whole with an oversampling of women and an under representation of lower income citizens. This may result from an apparent oversampling of less populated communes of the city.

While these differences are some cause for concern, their influence on this evaluation are manageable. First, recall that one goal of the sample selection process was to insure that respondents from all socio-economic levels were selected for inclusion. While the local researchers went to considerable effort to do so, it appears that they did not succeed in adjusting the selection process to achieve

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<sup>1</sup> Estudios Y Consultorias Socio Economicas (2008). *Preliminary Report to the National Strategy Information Center*. Pereira, Colombia: Author.

proportionate representation. This is true for respondents' gender as well. Still, in each case while the differences may influence our ability to generalize about the larger population of Pereira, they will have little impact on our ability to understand any specific group's views on the issues of culture of lawfulness. Also, should greater representative be required, the sample is large enough to allow the responses of respondents to be weighted for such analysis.

**Table 1**  
**The Culture of Lawfulness Respondents**

	Colombia	Pretest	Posttest
<b>Gender:</b>			
Male	49%	32%	36%
Female	51	68	64
<b>Median Age:</b>	26 Years	43 Years	45 Years
<b>Socio-economic Level:</b>			
Upper Class	5%	18%	15%
Middle Class	20	39	40
Lower Classes	75	43	45
<b>Education:<sup>2</sup></b>			
None	10%	14%	16%
Primary	37	36	39
Secondary	32	24	24
Technical or Special	8	10	12

<sup>2</sup> Respondents coded as none includes all not completing primary school; primary includes those not completing secondary school. Nearly 16% of respondents were attending or had completed a college education; comparable figures for the public more generally are not available.

Of far greater concern are the differences between and among the respondents from the neighborhoods within the city where project activities did and did not take place. As table 2 demonstrates, respondents from the areas where project activities were conducted were significantly more likely to be male, have greater income disparity and be less educated. These differences are especially pronounced, however, when we include only those respondents living in the project area neighborhoods from the Consota Commune. There the respondents were more likely to be younger males who were universally poor and with far less education.

**Table 2**  
**The Culture of Lawfulness Respondents**

	<b>No Project Activities</b>	<b>Project Areas</b>	<b>Consota Proj Neighborhoods</b>
<b>Gender:</b>			
Male	32%	38%	44%
Female	68	62	56
<b>Median Age:</b>			
	44 Years	44 Years	41 Years
<b>Socio-economic Level:</b>			
Upper Class	15%	21%	0
Middle Class	43	30	0
Lower Classes	42	50	100%
<b>Education:</b>			
None	15%	14%	16%
Primary	36	43	53
Secondary	25	21	18
Technical or Special	10	9	11
University	14	12	2

Interestingly, while few respondents overall reported having been arrested by police during the previous six month, far more who did came from these Consota commune neighborhoods making comparisons between them, the other project areas and Pereira as whole problematic.

The difficulties of evaluating the impact of the project's individual component activities (interventions) was made even more difficult by the clustering of program activities into only a few of the city's communes and the survey firm's decision to sample from different neighborhoods within commune during the pre and posttest data collection. For example, of the 19 communes in the city, the eight different program activities took place among nearly half (N=9). Four, primary activities, however, occurred in one commune (Centro) while two each took place in the same neighborhoods in the Cuba, Consota and Universidad communes. Obviously, it becomes difficult to sort out individual effects when multiple interventions occur in the same time frame and physical area. The project's activities are listed below with the communes where they occurred:

**Centro**

*Billboard Education Campaign*  
*Megabus Education Campaign*  
*Police Action Plans*  
*Park Reclamation*

**Cuba**

*Billboard Education Campaign*  
*Megabus Education Campaign*

**Consota**

*Billboard Education Campaign*  
*Police Action Plans*

**Universidad**

*Billboard Education Campaign*  
*School COL Program*

**Villavicencio**

*Park Reclamation*

**Villa Santana**

*Most Lawful Neighborhood Contest*

**El Oso**

*Police Action Plans*

**El Poblado**

*Most Lawful Neighborhood Contest*

**Perla de Otun**

*NGO – Youth Prevention Network*

Finally, the problems of comparisons are made worse by the different sampling decisions that produced the pre and posttest samples. While both samples were intended to be appropriately representative of the city as a whole, variation between neighborhoods was considerable. Further, problems of comparison are compounded because of the relatively small samples selected from many of the project activity areas. Unfortunately, prior to the collection of the posttest data, a request was made to oversample those areas where at least extensive project activity occurred, however, as the table shows with one exception – the Consota commune – that was not done. And even in Consota, the differences noted earlier in the composition of the respondents chosen further limit the lessons that can be learned.

**Table 3**  
**Sampling Outcomes by Commune**

<b>Commune</b>	<b>Neighborhood</b>	<b>Surveys Conducted</b>	
		<i>Pretest</i>	<i>Posttest</i>
<b>Centro</b>	Sector Lago Uribe	15	15
	Sector Parque La Libertad	24	8
	Sector Plaze de Bolivar	16	0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>Cuba</b>	Cuba	40	8
	San Fernando	47	24
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Consota</b>	Valencia	8	25
	Eldorado	24	24
	Naranjito	8	0
	Panorama II	0	32
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>Universidad</b>	Popular Modelo	8	15
	Camino de Loas Alamos	8	0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Villaviencio</b>	Corocito	9	8
	Villavicencio	8	24
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Villa Santana</b>	Las Brisas	8	23
<b>El Oso</b>	Santa Fe	0	48
<b>El Poblado</b>	Samaria I	7	25
<b>Peria del Otun</b>	Commune-wide	33	8

## **The Results of the Project**

The findings from the surveys are unmistakable – the Culture of Lawfulness project appears to have had a clear and positive impact on the residents of Pereira. At the project's start the residents of Pereira were largely unfamiliar with the concepts of both rule of law and a culture of lawfulness. In fact, as table 4 shows, no more than one in six respondents reported having heard of either term. Interestingly, while a respondent's age had no bearing on their understanding of either concept, as the table shows gender, education and socio-economic grouping clearly did. Prior contact with the police is associated with knowledge of both concepts as well, however, it is not clear which of these two variables may have influenced the other.

Of those respondents who were familiar with the lawfulness concepts, the media was clearly the primary source of their awareness. Even prior to the project's activities, nearly two-thirds (62%) of those familiar with both lawfulness concepts reported learning of the terms through the media while 16 percent of those knowing about the rule of law and 19 percent who were familiar with a culture of lawfulness gained their understandings from school. By the project's conclusion, however, the importance of the media only increased with more than three of every four (77%) of the now larger group of respondents who were familiar with the rule of law concept and 80% of those knowing about a culture of lawfulness reporting that they had learned of it through the media. Television, in fact, was the most significant source with more than 60 percent reporting that their information had come from it. Still, another 40 percent of those aware of either concept got information from the radio and nearly 12 percent from newspapers. Predictably, all other sources of information about the concepts were diminished with only 10 percent of the posttest respondents advising that they learned of the rule of law through school and three percent from work. Only billboards, one of the project's public education campaign strategies, appears to have had a significant impact with about eight percent of the posttest respondents who were familiar with either concept attributing information to them. Almost none reported learning of the

**Table 4**  
**Knowledge of the Rule of Law and Culture of Lawfulness**

*Respondents Having "Heard of" Each Term*

	<u>Rule of Law</u>		<u>Culture of Lawfulness</u>	
	<i>Pretest</i>	<i>Posttest</i>	<i>Pretest</i>	<i>Posttest</i>
<b>All Respondents:</b>	16%	22%	14%	32%
<b>Gender:</b>				
Male	22%	28%	20%	38%
Female	14	19	12	28
<b>Socio-economic Level:</b>				
Upper Class	24%	40%	23%	46%
Middle Class	19	22	14	32
Lower Classes	11	15	10	27
<b>Age:</b>				
18-25	15%	21%	16%	41%
26-40	16	22	13	32
41-55	20	28	15	33
56 and up	13	16	12	25
<b>Education:</b>				
None	6%	7%	8%	14%
Primary	8	16	7	24
Secondary	21	20	18	33
Tech or Special	25	40	19	59
University	33	51	27	60
<b>Police Contact:</b>				
Yes	25%	37%	16%	56%
No	15	19	14	28

concepts from either a religious organization, a cultural event, local NGOs or the city's Transportation Institute. Not surprisingly, considerable overlap between the concepts of rule of law and culture of lawfulness were observed as well. Indeed, more than 85 percent of those respondents who had heard of the rule of law concept and 58 percent of those aware of a culture of lawfulness also reported knowledge of that concept's counterpart.

Although not offered as an option to explain awareness of the rule of law concepts, increasing numbers of respondents nonetheless noted that during the course of the project they had noticed that their elected leaders – officials such as the Mayor or members of the City Council – were interested in promoting a lawful culture. Indeed, those numbers increased from only eight percent of all respondents at the project's beginning to more than one-in-five (21%) by the posttest period. More significantly, by the project's end more than 60 percent of those reporting having specific familiarity with the ROL and COL concepts reported a belief that their city leaders were supportive of them while 42 percent added that they had actually seen those officials take specific steps to promote a lawful culture. Interestingly, nearly all (82%) of the posttest respondents surveyed in the project neighborhoods from the Centro commune expressed a belief in their leaders' interest to promote a culture of lawfulness while those from the Cuba commune more often (62%) claimed to have seen specific actions leaders had taken to that end. Beyond those neighborhoods, respondents' views were consistent for both males and females and among all ages, income and education levels as well. Not surprisingly, at Table 5 displays, respondents' assessments of other community groups' efforts to promote a culture of lawfulness increased during the project activities as well. Only labor leaders and the business community continued to generate doubts among the respondents interviewed.

**Table 5**  
**Perceptions of Support for a Culture of Lawfulness**  
*Perceptions of those Respondents Familiar with the Concept*

	<b>Helped Promote COL in Pereira</b>	
	<i>Pretest</i>	<i>Posttest</i>
<b>Media *</b>	66%	86%
<b>Schools and Teachers **</b>	66	75
<b>Elected Leaders *</b>	40	61
<b>Civil Society Leaders *</b>	39	55
<b>Religious Leaders **</b>	39	51
<b>Labor Leaders or Businesses</b>	43	42
<b>Observed Leaders Perform Specific Act in Support of COL *</b>	20	42

\* Differences significant at .00    \*\* Differences significant at .01

### **ROL and COL in Pereira**

While the community may perceive their opinion leaders to have increased support for the rule of law, changes in their own views appear to have been far more muted. For example, while more than 86 percent of all respondent groups expressed the posttest view that the rule and a culture of law was good things, nearly 13 percent were not sure; a significant difference from the pretest where all respondents familiar with the concepts were supportive. Even fewer (69%) of the posttest respondents added that they thought that a culture of lawfulness affected their daily lives. The differences in the views expressed here were significant since only slightly more than half (54%) of those respondents from the project neighborhoods of both the Centro and Consota communes, but more than three of four (77%) residents from the Cuba commune neighborhoods saw a culture of lawfulness

having a daily impact. No comparison estimate of how project activities may have influenced these residents' views is possible since the question concerning the impact on daily living was added following the pretest survey.

Perhaps part of the hesitance to report on a positive affect from a lawful culture is the lack of certainty among some respondents of its existence in Pereira. In fact, fewer than half of all groups of posttest respondents familiar with the culture of lawfulness concept agreed either somewhat or completely that such a culture existed in Pereira at the time they were surveyed. Worse yet, a significant reduction in respondents' agreement appears to have coincided with the completion of the project. Where 21 percent had completely agreed at the pretest, only 11 percent continued to feel so after the two years of project activities. Older respondents, as well as those with the least education and lowest socioeconomic status appeared most certain of its status in Pereira while younger, better educated and wealthier ones were least sure. Whether these views can be attributed to a sense of deteriorating conditions or an increased awareness and ability to assess their own communities as a result of the project's focus on the ideals of the rule of law and a culture of lawfulness is not known. However, no meaningful differences in attitudes of those residents from project neighborhoods versus those from non-involved communities were found.

Despite some apparent skepticism among some about the extent that their community is upholding the principles of the rule of law, near universal agreement existed among all respondent groups, both before and after the project activities, that strengthening the rule of law would improve the quality of life and coexistence in Pereira and that the respondents themselves could contribute to its strengthening.

**Table 6**  
**Obligations Felt by Respondents**

*Percent Who "Completely Agree" with Responsibility*

	<b>Report Crimes</b>	
	<i>Pretest</i>	<i>Posttest</i>
<b>All Respondents:</b>	82%	76%
<b>Gender:</b>		
Male **	84	75
Female **	81	76
<b>Socio-economic Level:</b>		
Upper Class	92	88
Middle Class	80	79
Lower Classes *	79	69
<b>Education:</b>		
None	75	71
Primary	80	72
Secondary	81	77
Technical or Special	88	86
University	91	84
<b>Project Activities:</b>		
Centro	93	87
Cuba	76	88
Consota	88	78
No Activities	83	76

\* Differences significant at .00    \*\* Differences significant at .01

### **Respondents' Self Assessments**

Beyond just general support for a culture of lawfulness, the project and its activities appears to have had little effect on the Pereira respondents' attitudes about the

more specific acts that might be required of them to strengthen their community's lawfulness. From table 6, for example, we can see that while the overwhelming majority (82%) of respondents felt that it was their responsibility to report crimes that occur around them to the police, respondents with higher educations and social status, as well as those from the project activity areas of the Cuba and Centro communes, felt especially so. Still, by the project's conclusion some slight weakening in those views of responsibility was observed.

Beyond an expectation that they will report crimes to police, somewhat fewer respondents were committed to the need to take more active steps to promote lawfulness. When asked, for example, if they agreed that they personally have a responsibility to do whatever possible to assist police in solving crimes and prosecuting criminals those in complete agreement decreased to slightly more than two-thirds (68%) of all respondents and continued declining as the project progressed to 61 percent by the posttest survey. While the willingness to support police remains respectable, the trendlines here should be of some concern since it is the young and the lower economic grouping respondents – the very groups most likely to experience crimes – who were the least in agreement. Indeed, only half of those respondents between the ages of 18 and 25 years old expressed such agreement.

As table 7 shows, support for the responsibility to go beyond simply helping police to that of denouncing friends, colleagues and even relatives who engage in crime or corruption weakens further. As before, those respondents from the higher social classes were more willing to embrace this expectation as were those with more advanced levels of education. Interestingly, with the exception of upper income respondents, who were initially less willing to denounce their friends, and those from the project areas of the Centro and Consota communes, attitudes concerning this responsibility changed little during the course of the project.

**Table 7**  
**Obligations Felt by Respondents**

*Percent Who "Completely Agree" with Responsibility*

	<u>Help Police</u>		<u>Denounce Friends</u>	
	<i>Pretest</i>	<i>Posttest</i>	<i>Pretest</i>	<i>Posttest</i>
<b>All Respondents:</b>	68%	61%	60%	58%
<b>Gender:</b>				
Male	75	65	54	58
Female	65	58	62	58
<b>Socio-economic Level:</b>				
Upper Class	80	73	55	70
Middle Class	63	60	59	60
Lower Classes	67	57	62	52
<b>Age:</b>				
18-25 Years	59	50	52	53
26 to 40 Years	66	58	56	57
41 to 55 Years	68	64	69	66
56 and Above	78	66	58	54
<b>Education:</b>				
None	67	60	58	50
Primary	66	56	61	54
Secondary	64	63	56	63
Technical or Special	77	70	65	67
University	72	65	58	64
<b>Project Activity Areas:</b>				
Centro	80	61	53	70
Cuba	61	78	61	53
Consota	72	65	75	59
No Activities	68	60	60	58

Overall, then, the levels of social responsibility expressed by our respondents and measured by our surveys changed little during the project’s activities while the degree of personal obligation to promote lawfulness worsened slightly from a scaled score of 1.65 to 1.76 where lower scores indicate a greater sense of obligation to follow the law. Still, as table 8 shows, in two of the three primary areas where project activities were taking place, respondents’ feelings of personal responsibility and obligation actually improved even as attitudinal scores were growing less positive elsewhere. And in the third project area recall that the respondents were significantly more likely to be males of lower income and education, the very groups already seen to be least accepting of these personal expectations.

**Table 8**  
**Respondents’ Sense of Social Responsibility and Personal Obligation**

*(Lower scores indicate increased commitment)*

	<b><u>Responsibility</u></b>		<b><u>Obligation</u></b>	
	<i>Pretest</i>	<i>Posttest</i>	<i>Pretest</i>	<i>Posttest</i>
<b>All Respondents:</b>	1.21	1.24	1.65	1.76
<b>Project Activity Areas:</b>				
<b>No Activities</b>	1.22	1.21	1.63	1.74
<b>Centro commune</b>	1.16	1.16	1.51	1.49
<b>Cuba commune</b>	1.25	1.16	1.78	1.49
<b>Consota commune</b>	1.06	1.34	1.53	1.76

**Table 9**  
**Scaled Scores for Obedience to the Law**  
*(Higher scores indicate increased commitment)*

	<b>Obedience to the Law</b>	
	<i>Pretest</i>	<i>Posttest</i>
<b>All Respondents:</b>	3.89	4.00
<b>Gender:</b>		
Male	3.84	3.98
Female	3.91	4.00
<b>Socio-economic Level:</b>		
Upper Class	4.03	4.28
Middle Class	3.88	4.11
Lower Classes	3.83	3.79
<b>Education:</b>		
None	3.62	3.79
Primary	3.89	3.86
Secondary	3.88	4.06
Technical or Special	4.03	4.29
University	4.05	4.35
<b>Project Activities:</b>		
Centro	3.70	4.34
Cuba	3.85	4.13
Consota	3.85	3.55
No Activities	3.91	4.03

While some respondents' felt sense of personal obligation may have weakened a bit during the course of the project, their reported obedience to the law did not. As example, respondents' rejection of the idea that they should be allowed to disregard laws they don't like increased significantly from 74 percent disagreeing at the

project's beginning to 78 percent doing so after its activities. Similarly, while 43 percent of respondents began the project period disagreeing that it was pointless to report a lawbreaker if he or she were unlikely to receive punishment, by the posttest 48 percent felt so. In fact, as table 9 shows significant increases were found in the commitment every respondent group except the poor expressed towards lawful behavior by the project's conclusion. Of course, since all respondents selected for the project areas of the Consota commune were from the city's lowest income strata, they too failed to respond positively on the measures of legal obedience.

### **The Justice System in Pereira**

Perhaps the most positive outcome of project's assessment is the transition observed in the respondents' attitudes about the roles of the police and the community in the production of safety. First, there was widespread agreement among all groups of respondents, both pre and posttest, that it is important for citizens to meet regularly with police to discuss matters of safety and concern. This is significant since a key ingredient in the development of a lawful culture is sharing of responsibility between officials (especially the police) and citizens comprising the culture. Indeed, nearly three-fourths of those surveyed (73%) at both project time periods reported that such police/citizen interactions were "very important." That said, fewer than one-in-six respondents added that they or a family member had had such a meeting with police during the previous year. Of those who had met, there was a near even split between those who had only one meeting during the year and those have met "only a few times." Fewer than two percent of all respondents reported that they met with police on a regular basis, at least once a month. Perhaps not surprisingly, higher educated respondents and those with higher socio-economic status were significantly more likely to meet with police than their less educated, less well-off peers. Older respondents, too, were somewhat more likely to have met with police.

Beyond just meeting with police, as the project progressed our sample of Pereira residents became ever more supportive of an active role for the community with many activities typically involved in establishing community safety. As we see from table 10 below, respondents were asked to rate a series of activities, giving their opinions about who should hold the responsibility for their completion – the police, the police and community working together or representatives of the community on their own. The extent of change in how collaborative the responsibility is seen to be is also shown.

**Table 10**  
**Community Responsibilities for Safety Issues**

	<b>% Reporting Shared</b>		
	<b><u>Police/Community Responsibility</u></b>		
	<i>Pretest</i>	<i>Posttest</i>	<i>% Change</i>
<i>Organize community meetings *</i>	53%	65%	+12%
<i>Advise people on home security *</i>	48	61	+13
<i>Advise business on crime prevention *</i>	47	60	+13
<i>Advise people on personal safety *</i>	46	59	+13
<i>Advise schools on crime and safety *</i>	46	58	+12
<i>Help victims of crime *</i>	42	53	+13
<i>Collect crime/criminal information *</i>	37	42	+5
<i>Deal with missing persons *</i>	36	40	+4
<i>Control drugs and prostitution *</i>	35	27	-8
<i>Catch Shoplifters</i>	27	27	0
<i>Deal with domestic violence and fights</i>	19	19	0
<i>Patrol community on foot</i>	16	16	0
<i>Patrol community in cars **</i>	10	13	+3
<i>Deal with public disturbances</i>	14	11	-3
<i>Investigate crimes *</i>	5	9	+4

\* Differences significant at .00    \*\* Differences significant at .01

Clearly, from the table we can see an overall shift in the perceptions of how crimes and order issues in the community are addressed and who shares the responsibility for that action. Not only was there a significant increase in the expectation of a role for the community but, for the non-hazardous activities at least, there was a clear increase in the desire for collaborative action. From table 11 it is clear that considerable variability exists in the depth of the opinions held by the residents of the primary project areas. Most of the differences observed, however, can be linked to the respondents' income and education levels.

**Table 11**  
**Community Responsibilities for Safety Issues**  
*(% Reporting Shared Police/Community Responsibility)*

	<b>Respondents' Posttest Responses</b>			
	<i>All</i>	<i>Centro</i>	<i>Cuba</i>	<i>Consota</i>
<i>Organize community meetings</i>	65%	83	47	56
<i>Advise people on home security</i>	61	74	47	48
<i>Advise business on crime prevention</i>	60	74	56	44
<i>Advise people on personal safety</i>	59	78	62	48
<i>Advise schools on crime and safety</i>	58	78	56	42
<i>Help victims of crime</i>	53	83	41	41
<i>Collect crime/criminal information</i>	42	44	44	33
<i>Deal with missing persons</i>	40	44	34	40
<i>Control drugs and prostitution</i>	27	13	31	27
<i>Catch Shoplifters</i>	27	22	38	42
<i>Deal with domestic violence and fights</i>	19	22	38	17
<i>Patrol community on foot</i>	16	4	34	24
<i>Patrol community in cars</i>	13	4	25	20
<i>Deal with public disturbances</i>	11	0	25	16
<i>Investigate crimes</i>	9	0	25	16

## **Conclusions from the Project Efforts**

The results of the Culture of Lawfulness project in Pereira are both significant and successful. While there are limits to the evaluation – some unavoidable – comparisons of the respondents' views from the beginning of the project to its conclusion suggest that two of the project's three major goals were clearly achieved while the third was at least a partial success.

### **Increasing Residents' Awareness of the ROL and COL Concepts**

At the outset of the evaluation a primary goal of increasing citizens' awareness of the concepts of rule of law and the culture of lawfulness was made clear. To that end, interventions intended to increase citizen knowledge while demonstrating the concepts in action were selected. By all measures, they were successful.

1. First, while only a small portion of Pereira's citizens were familiar with the concepts of Rule of Law (16%) or a Culture of Lawfulness (14%) initially, by project's end that awareness had grown significantly such that nearly 22 percent were familiar with rule of law and 32 percent with a culture of lawfulness.
2. While the increase in awareness was broad-based, younger, more educated and upper income male respondents were most prominent in their awareness. More than half (56%) of those having contact with police in the previous six months reported awareness of the culture of lawfulness concept while one-third (37%) knew of the rule of law.
3. Of those posttest citizens aware of the concepts:
  - Most learned of them through the media, with television being their primary source of information. Still, radio and newspapers played an important information role as well.

- While still significant, the importance of school, work and other visual outlets such as billboards were secondary sources of information.
  - Few respondents received information from their church, cultural events, NGOs or the city's Traffic Institute.
4. Beyond a general awareness, most respondents (60%) added that they believed their city leaders were supportive of the lawfulness concepts with more than 40 percent reporting having seen those leaders take active steps to promote them. Respondents from neighborhoods participating in project activities were even more likely to report their leaders' support or having seen positive actions.
  5. In addition to added confidence in their leaders, following the program activities respondents' views of support for the lawfulness concepts from nearly all sectors of society – schools, civil society and religion – increased significantly. Only labor and the business community was unaffected by the project time period.

### **Individual Involvement in the Creation of a Lawful Culture**

While awareness and an understanding of the concepts of rule of law and a culture of lawfulness are an important first step, personal support for those goals is equally meaningful. A far more difficult goal to attain, however, personalization of both goals requires a deeper understanding and a willingness to engage in self-sacrificing action to advance them. As such, questions always remain about the strength of the intervention being attempted (the project activities), their duration and the countervailing forces they must confront. In addition, given the difficulties in producing such outcomes, establishing realistic goals is important.

The measures employed in this evaluation would suggest that the program and its activities were a qualified success at influencing individual's commitment to

the ROL and COL concepts.

1. At the basic level, of those knowledgeable of the concepts an overwhelming majority of respondents (86%) expressed support for both. While impressive, these results were nonetheless a reduction from the near universal support expressed by those familiar with the concepts at the project's pretest. This change may be at least partially the result of the increased numbers of respondents with awareness and the more realistic understanding some may have developed after participating in project activities. The finding that fewer than half of all respondents agreed at least somewhat that a strong culture of lawfulness actually exists in Pereira at present reinforces this view. Worse yet, the proportion of respondents who strongly agreed with the current state of their city actually declined while the project was underway. Given the support most offered for the concepts, however, these results suggest a more realistic perspective rather than a weakening of interest.
2. While unsure of its status in Pereira, the respondents to our surveys broadly accept the view that strengthening the rule of law will improve the quality of life of their city. Further, nearly 90 percent of posttest respondents agreed at least somewhat that they could personally contribute to that strengthening.
3. Similarly, more than three fourths of respondents expressed acceptance of the notion that it was their responsibility to report crimes they observe to the police and consistent, though reduced, agreement (61%) that they must do all they can to assist police in solving crimes and catching criminals. Still, support for the notion that they must actually denounce friends, colleagues and family members involved in crime and corruption weakens further with only 58 percent still being in agreement. Of greater concern, however, is that the young and lower economic residents who expressed the least support for

these responsibilities. Since they are also disproportionately the victims of crime, their views are a challenge for those seeking to build a lawful culture.

5. Measurements following the two years of project activities showed no little change in the respondents' scaled scores of personal responsibility or obligation to follow the law. Scores reflecting respondents' obedience to the law did improve significantly with particular improvements in two of three primary project activity areas.

### **Police/Community Collaboration in the Creation of a Lawful Culture**

It is with this third goal of the project's activities that perhaps the most significant positive results were realized. A central and widely accepted element of the creation of a lawful society is the need for police and the community to collaborate on its creation. This collaboration has been characterized by a two-wheeled cart with the analogy that unless both wheels are moving in the same direction at the same speed the cart cannot move forward. To assess this project goal, both the pre and posttest surveys asked respondents not only about their willingness to work with police but their views on who has primary responsibility for a variety of police related activities – the police alone, the police and the community, or members of the community alone.

1. During both surveys, nearly three-fourths of respondents (73%) indicated their belief that it is important for the community to meet with police and provide their assistance. Few, however, have done so; almost none on a regular basis. Clearly, more will be required in Pereira for officials to act upon residents' availability.
2. Perhaps most important, however, was the redefinition of responsibilities for the coproduction of safety and lawfulness that occurred as the project progressed. As a result, with few exceptions by the project's conclusion a

significant shift had occurred in the respondents' views about the need for police and citizens to share a role in activities ranging from crime prevention to victim assistance.

Clearly, the results of the project suggest that considerable gains were achieved in the citywide effort to advance the framework for a lawful culture. While much was learned and areas of additional need were identified, one caveat to the evaluation is important. Because the nature of the project called for an evolution of the project activities to be employed, no evaluation controls were in place for the pre and posttest comparisons. As such, while we can report changes that occurred or did not during the course of the project's activities we have no way of establishing that those activities were the cause of those changes. Other, competing explanations may also exist for many of the results described. Further, many of those competing explanations cannot be easily dismissed since accurate demographic or crime and order maintenance information about the city or the project-involved neighborhoods is readily available. As a result, while the results from the project are both promising and exciting considerable caution remains warranted at the project's efforts more forward.