Meet the Victim: Police Corruption, Violence, and Political Mobilization

Online Appendices

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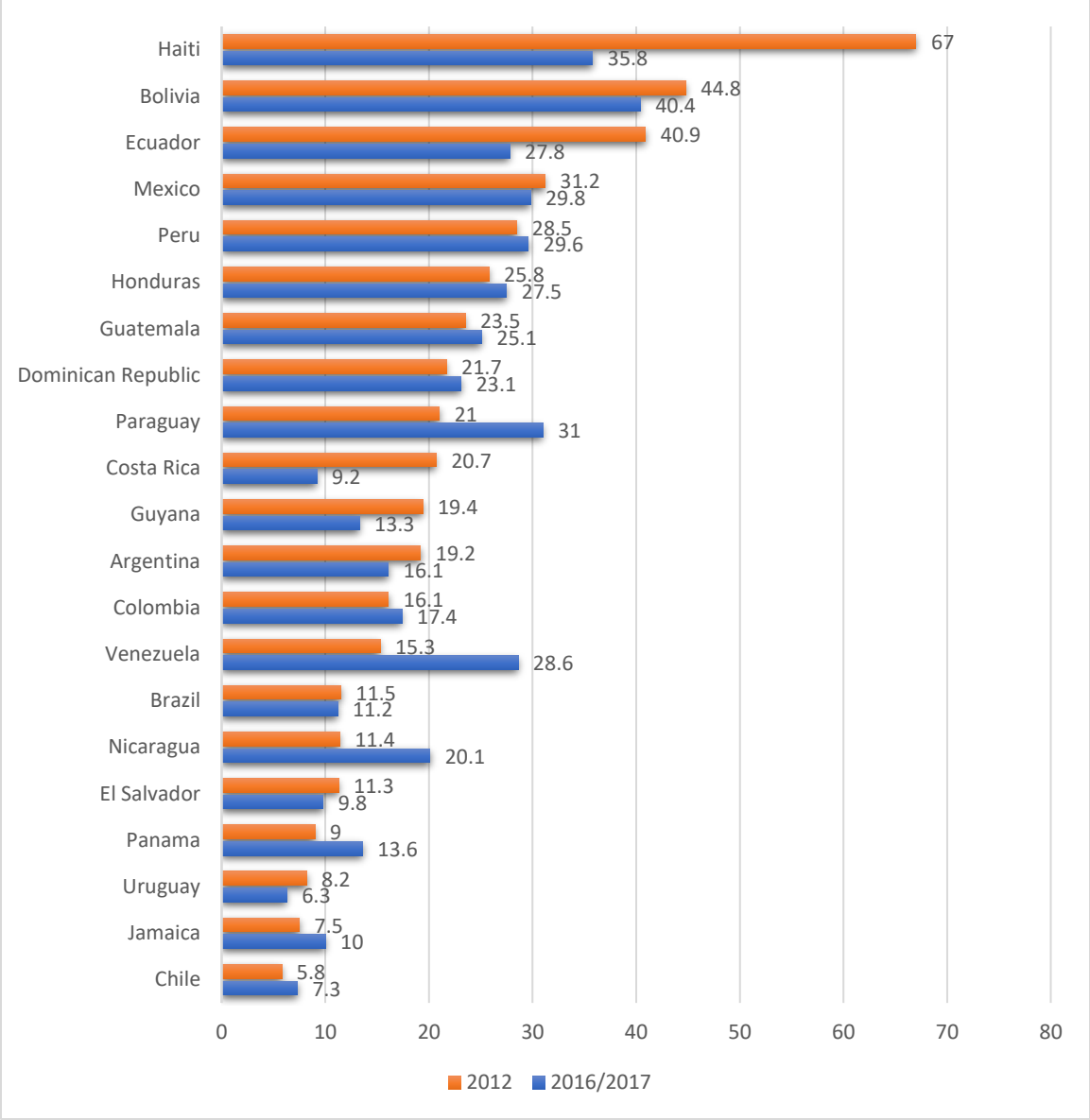
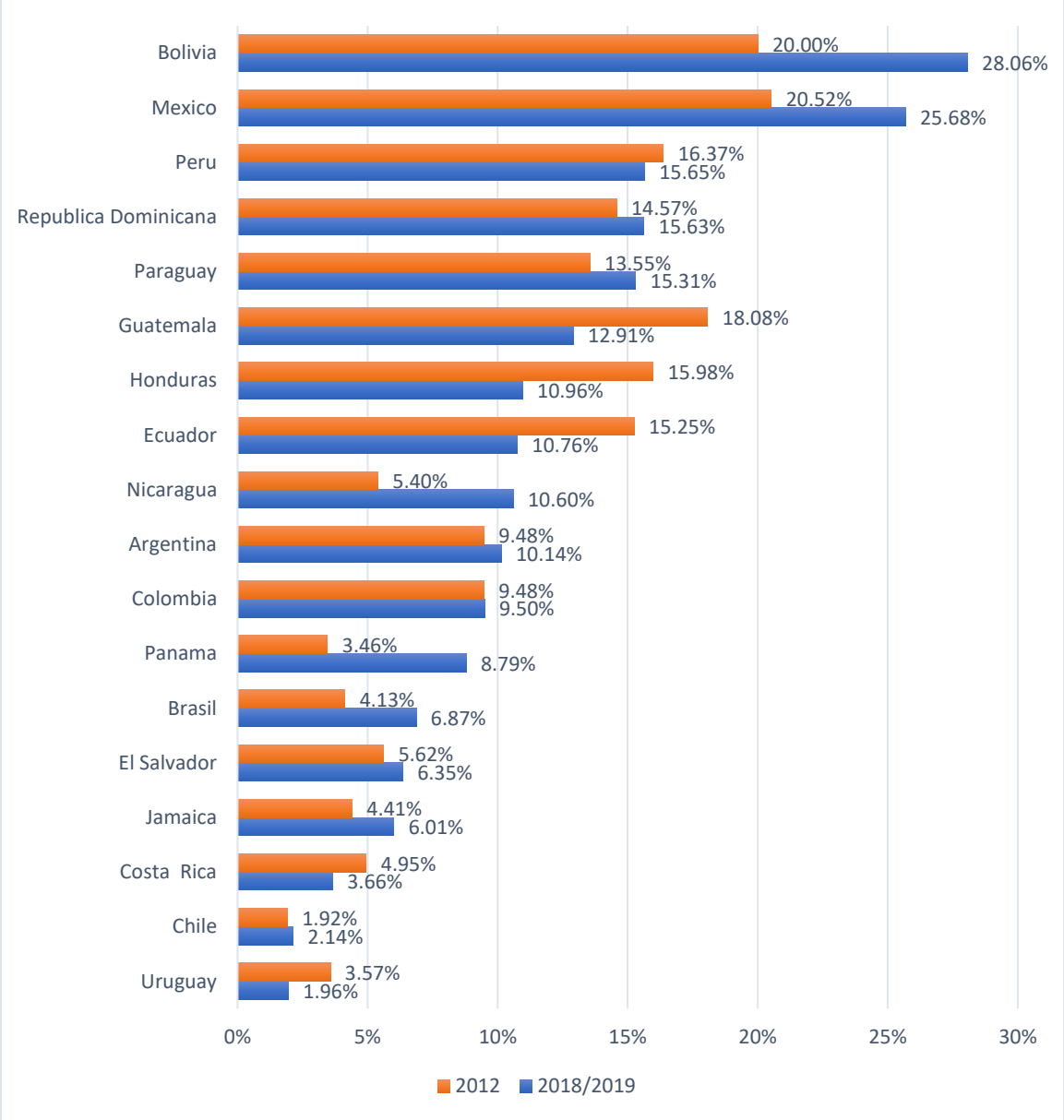
Online Appendix 1. Corruption Victimization*



Source: Americas Barometer, LAPOP 2012 and 2016/2017

* Percentage of respondents that were victims of corruption perpetrated by different state actors. Seven questions from the LAPOP survey regarding requests for payment of bribes to citizens by government agents were used for this graph. Responses were converted to an index and then the percentage of respondents who were victims was calculated.

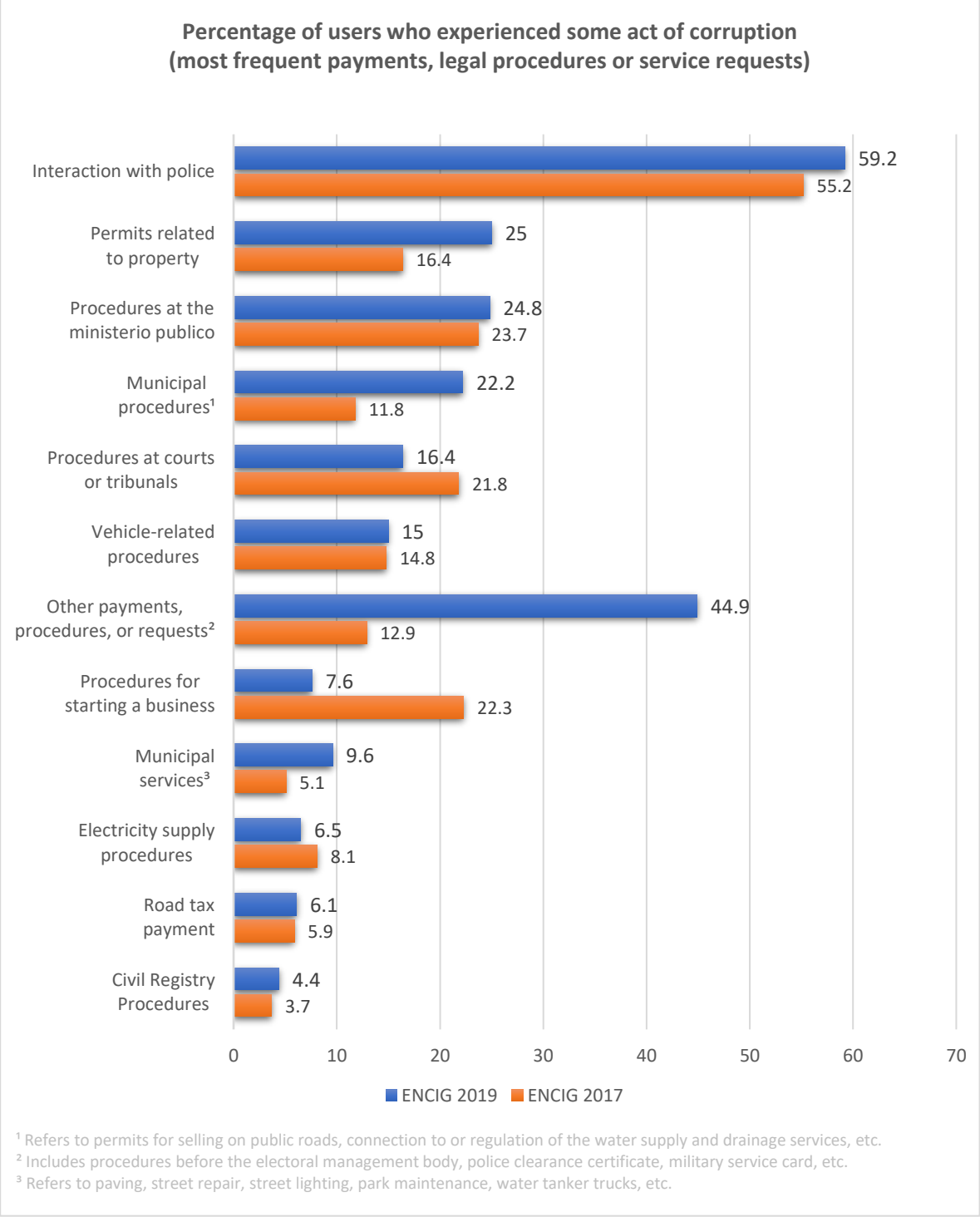
Online Appendix 2. Police corruption experiences*



Source: Americas Barometer, LAPOP 2012 and 2018/2019

* Percentage of respondents who self-reported that the police asked for a bribe. The wording of the survey question was: "Has a police officer asked you for a bribe in the last twelve months?"

Online Appendix 3. Experiences with Corruption in Mexico in 2017 and 2019



Source: ENCIG (2017, 2019)

Online Appendix 4. Description of Variables Employed

Dependent Variable:	Survey Questions employed	Answers
Choice variable	Choice 1: Baseline in the model (did nothing) Choice 2: The respondent chose to participate in meetings or signed petitions. We employ the following question to identify those respondents: Question 27: "I will read a list of activities, for each of them please let me know if you have 1) attended the municipal or delegation meetings councils or 2) signed petitions or documents to protest" Choice 3: The respondent chose to participate in public protests or blockades. We employ the following question to identify those respondents: Question 27: "I will read a list of activities, for each of them please let me know if you 1) have participated in public protests or/and 2) taken or blocked public facilities or public places (streets, roads, monuments, and buildings)." Choice 4: The respondent did both: participated in meetings or signed petitions AND participated in public protests or blockades	Question 27
<u>Key Independent Variables</u>		
Experience with corruption (Police)	Respondents who suffered police corruption after seeking for assistance were asked Question 15: "When you contacted the Police to ask for assistance, did anybody ask for money in return?" Previously, these respondents responded affirmatively to questions 8 and 11. Question 8: "During the latest 12 months, you or anybody at your home has been victim of any crime?" Question 11: "Did you do anything to report this crime?	1—Yes; 0—No
Experience with Corruption (Police) AND corruption helped the victim	Those respondents who fulfill the conditions of the variable "Experience with corruption (Police)" AND Question 14: "did you find helpful to go ask assistance to the Police?"	1—Yes to both questions; 0—otherwise
The Police helped the victim	Question 14: "did you find helpful to go ask assistance to the Police?"	1—Yes; 0—No
Experience with corruption (*Ministerio Público*)	Respondents who suffered corruption from *Ministerio Público* after seeking for assistance were asked Question 15: When you contacted the *Ministerio Público* to ask for assistance, did anybody ask for money in return? Previously, these respondents responded affirmatively to questions 8 and 11. Question 8: "During the latest 12 months, you or anybody at your home has been victim of any crime?" Question 11: "Did you do anything to report this crime?	1—Yes; 0—No
Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*) AND corruption helped the victim	Those respondents who fulfill the conditions of the variable "Experience with corruption (*Ministerio Público*)" AND Question 14: "did you find helpful to go ask assistance to the *Ministerio Público*?"	1—Yes to both questions; 0—otherwise

The *Ministerio Público* helped the victim	Question 14: "did you find helpful to go ask assistance to the Ministerio Publico?"	1—Yes; 0—No
Violent Victim	Question 8: "During the latest 12 months, have you been a victim of any crime?" AND Question 9: "From the following list, you or someone in your home has been a victim of the following crimes?" Answers to this question include the following ways of victimization: domestic violence, rape, kidnapping, robbery by the police, robbery in parks, robbery at home with violence, car robbery with violence, robbery on the street with violence, robbery in private businesses, robbery in an ATM, burning of cars, crimes from gangs, injury with a knife, homicides, extorsion, buillying, shoot out, threatening, and sexual harassment.	1—Yes to Question 8 and the respondent; 0—otherwise
Experience with Corruption (Police)* Violent Victim	Multiplication of the variables: "Experience with Corruption (Police)" and "Violent Victim"	
Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*)* Violent Victim	Multiplication of the variables: "Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*)" and "Violent Victim"	
Non-Violent Victim	Question 8: "During the latest 12 months, have you been a victim of any crime?" AND Question 9: During the latest 12 months, have you been a victim of any crime? It includes the following ways of victimization: robbery at home without violence, car robbery without violence, robbery of information, livestock theft, theft of auto parts, robbery on the street without violence, child pornography, medical malpractice, slander, unfairly accused of robbery, and breach of trust.	1—Yes; 0—No
Experience with Corruption (Police) * Non-violent Victim	Multiplication of the variables: "Experience with Corruption (Police)" and "Non-violent Victim"	
Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*) * Non-violent Victim	Multiplication of the variables: "Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*)" and "Non-violent Victim"	
<u>Control Variables</u>		
Discuss Politics	Question 27: "Now, I will read a list of activities. Have you discussed political topics with other people?"	1—Yes; 0—No
Political Knowledge	Question 35: "According to what you have listened, how many deputies are there in the Mexican Chamber of Deputies?"	1—500; 0--Otherwise
Interpersonal Trust	Question 40: "In general, would you state that it is possible to trust in most people?"	1—Yes; 0—No
Influence over the Government	Question 42: "I will now read the following statements; People, like me, have influence over what the government does?"	Based on a 5-level scale
Membership in Organizations	Question 39: "Please tell me if you are an active member, belonged to, or has never belonged to any of the following organizations: labor union, student organization, professional organization, political party, religious organization, sports organization, cultural organization, parent organization, philanthropic organization, human rights organization, environment organization, neighborhood organization?"	1—Active member in any organization; 0—otherwise
Gender (Male)	Male or female	1—male; 0--female

Education	Question S3: “Until which school year did you study?”	8-level scale based on education levels
Age	Question S2: “What is your age?”	Age

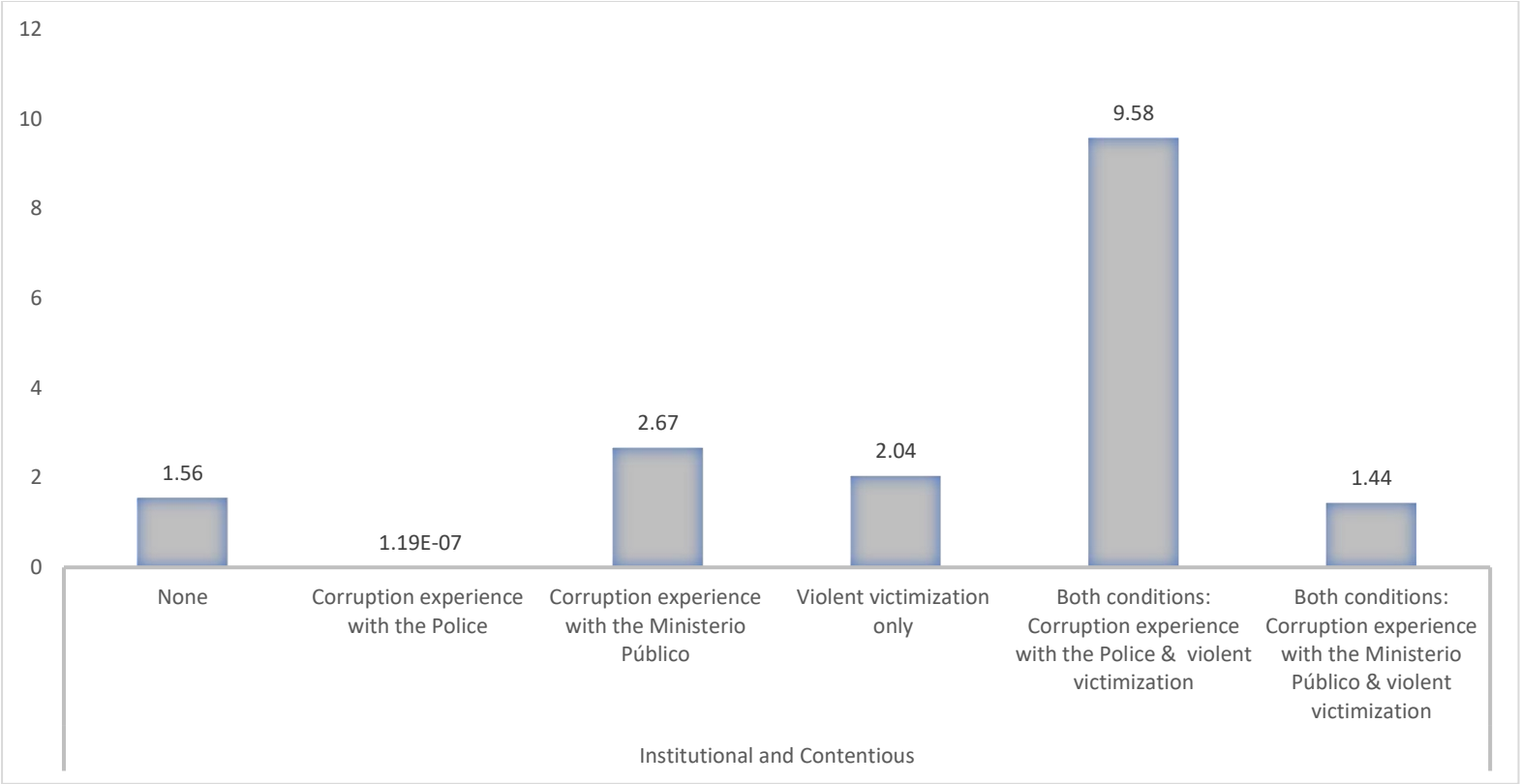
Online Appendix 5. Controlling for the Effect of Solutions for Victims

	Model 1		
VARIABLES	Institutional Means Vs Doing Nothing	Contentious Tactics Vs Doing Nothing	Institutional and Contentious Vs Doing Nothing
Experience with Corruption (Police)	0.09	2.13**ΔΔ	-11.80***
	(1.21)	(0.99)	(0.60)
Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*)	-0.11++	-1.23	-12.99***
	(0.53)	(1.37)	(1.05)
Violent Victim	0.11	0.36**	0.32*
	(0.10)	(0.18)	(0.18)
The Police helped the victim	0.01	0.35	0.01
	(0.30)	(0.47)	(0.54)
The *Ministerio Público* helped the victim	-0.01	0.07	-0.22
	(0.22)	(0.38)	(0.40)
Experience with Corruption (Police) * Violent Victim	-2.44**	-3.24** ΔΔ	13.88***
	(1.22)	(1.30)	(0.93)
Experience with Corruption (Police) * the Police helped the victim	1.34	1.54 ΔΔ	-0.90
	(1.29)	(1.23)	(1.49)
Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*) * Violent Victim	0.72++	0.86	-0.58
	(0.54)	(1.52)	(1.12)
Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*) * the *Ministerio* helped the victim	0.72++	0.90	14.52***
	(0.53)	(1.32)	(0.97)
Control Variables			
Discuss Politics	1.13***	0.67***	1.65***
	(0.07)	(0.14)	(0.15)
Political Knowledge	0.06	0.18	0.53***
	(0.10)	(0.19)	(0.16)
Interpersonal Trust	0.14*	0.11	0.07
	(0.07)	(0.15)	(0.14)
Influence over the Government	0.07**	0.21***	0.19***
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Membership in Organizations	0.63***	0.66***	1.29***
	(0.07)	(0.14)	(0.13)
Gender (male)	0.06	0.38***	0.17
	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.13)

Education	-0.03*	-0.02	0.03
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Age	0.003	-0.002	0.01**
	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Constant	-2.90***	-4.54***	-6.03***
	(0.16)	(0.35)	(0.34)
Observations		10119	
Log pseudolikelihood		-5524.66	

Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, ++ jointly significant at the 1% (when contrasting Institutional Means and Doing Nothing); ΔΔ jointly significant at the 1% (when contrasting Contentious Tactics and Doing Nothing)
The results in this table confirm those reported in Table 1.

Online Appendix 6. Predicted Probabilities of Choosing Contentious Tactics and Institutional Means* (Percentages)



*To calculate these expected probabilities, the values for the control variables are set to their means. We also calculate these predicted probabilities based on the Model Specification 2 of Table 1.

Online Appendix 7. Employing State Fixed Effects

	Model 1			Model 2^^	
VARIABLES	Institutional Means Vs Doing Nothing	Contentious Tactics Vs Doing Nothing	Institutional and Contentious Vs Doing Nothing	Institutional Means Vs Doing Nothing	Contentious Tactics Vs Doing Nothing
Testing Hypothesis 1					
Experience with Corruption (Police)	-0.64	1.59***	1.30**	-0.26	2.87***
	(0.63)	(0.54)	(0.64)	(0.98)	(0.65)
Testing Hypothesis 2					
Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*)	0.74***	-0.06	0.41	0.23++	-0.80
	(0.25)	(0.59)	(0.55)	(0.54)	(1.35)
Testing Hypothesis 3					
Violent Victim	0.10	0.31*	0.27	0.04	0.33*
	(0.0927)	(0.176)	(0.171)	(0.10)	(0.18)
Experience with Corruption (Police)* Violent Victim				-1.45	-2.91**
				(1.44)	(1.28)
Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*)* Violent Victim				0.81++	1.13
				(0.62)	(1.48)
Control Variables					
Discuss Politics	1.15***	0.69***	1.69***	1.10***	0.64***
	(0.07)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.07)	(0.14)
Political Knowledge	0.12	0.18	0.37**	0.10	0.17
	(0.11)	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.11)	(0.20)
Interpersonal Trust	0.16**	0.09	0.06	0.17**	0.10
	(0.08)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.08)	(0.15)
Influence over the Government	0.09***	0.21***	0.20***	0.09***	0.20***
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Membership in Organizations	0.65***	0.64***	1.32***	0.56***	0.63***
	(0.07)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(0.14)
Gender (male)	0.05	0.37***	0.16	0.06	0.38***
	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(0.14)
Education	-0.02	-0.03	0.02	-0.02	-0.03
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.04)
Age	0.005**	-0.003	0.01*	0.004	-0.002

	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.005)
Constant	-3.15***	-4.60***	-6.27***	-3.08***	-4.60***
	(0.20)	(0.43)	(0.43)	(0.21)	(0.43)
Observations	10134			9863	
Log pseudolikelihood	-5322.59			-4120.29	

Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; ++ jointly significant at the 1%

^^ We employ three choices in this regression (institutional means, contentious tactics, and doing nothing) as the estimation does not converge when employing four choices. The results in this table confirm those reported in Table 1.

Online Appendix 8. Employing Robust Standard Errors Clustered by Mexican State

	Model 1			Model 2		
VARIABLES	Institutional Means Vs Doing Nothing	Contentious Tactics Vs Doing Nothing	Institutional and Contentious Vs Doing Nothing	Institutional Means Vs Doing Nothing	Contentious Tactics Vs Doing Nothing	Institutional and Contentious Vs Doing Nothing
Testing Hypothesis 1						
Experience with Corruption (Police)	-0.50	1.73***	1.30**	0.59	3.18***	-11.35***
	(0.57)	(0.63)	(0.53)	(0.52)	(0.54)	(0.66)
Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*)	0.73***	-0.16	0.11	0.26++	-0.92	0.57
	(0.22)	(0.66)	(0.57)	(0.41)	(1.44)	(0.73)
Testing Hypothesis 2						
Violent Victim	0.13	0.34**	0.30**	0.12	0.39**	0.29**
	(0.09)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.09)	(0.16)	(0.15)
Testing Hypothesis 3						
Experience with Corruption (Police)* Violent Victim				-2.04	-3.02**	12.90***
				(1.24)	(1.39)	(1.03)
Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*)* Violent Victim				0.68++	1.12	-0.75
				(0.59)	(1.48)	(1.06)
Control Variables						
Discuss Politics	1.13***	0.69***	1.63***	1.13***	0.68***	1.63***
	(0.12)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.12)	(0.17)	(0.16)
Political Knowledge	0.06	0.20	0.53*	0.06	0.19	0.53*
	(0.11)	(0.18)	(0.32)	(0.11)	(0.17)	(0.32)
Interpersonal Trust	0.15	0.11	0.07	0.15	0.12	0.07
	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.09)
Influence over the Government	0.07*	0.22***	0.18**	0.07*	0.22***	0.18**
	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.08)
Membership in Organizations	0.63***	0.64***	1.29***	0.63***	0.66***	1.28***
	(0.09)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.09)	(0.18)	(0.16)
Gender (male)	0.06	0.36**	0.17	0.06	0.37**	0.17
	(0.07)	(0.16)	(0.12)	(0.07)	(0.16)	(0.12)
Education	-0.03	-0.03	0.04	-0.03	-0.03	0.03
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Age	0.003*	-0.003	0.01**	0.003*	-0.002	0.01*

	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.01)	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.01)
Constant	-2.89***	-4.50***	-6.02***	-2.89***	-4.55***	-5.99***
	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.46)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.47)
Observations	10134			10134		
Log pseudolikelihood	-5550.49			-5544.12		

Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; ++ jointly significant at the 1%

Online Appendix 9. Employing a Multinomial Multilevel Model

	Model 1 ^^		Model 2^^	
VARIABLES	Institutional Means Vs Doing Nothing	Contentious Tactics Vs Doing Nothing	Institutional Means Vs Doing Nothing	Contentious Tactics Vs Doing Nothing
Testing Hypothesis 1				
Experience with Corruption (Police)	-1.07	1.66***	-0.24	3.08***
	(0.77)	(0.56)	(1.10)	(0.71)
Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*)	0.81***	-0.27	0.23++	-1.11
	(0.26)	(0.59)	(0.52)	(1.189)
Testing Hypothesis 2				
Violent Victim	0.07	0.29*	0.05	0.33*
	(0.10)	(0.171)	(0.10)	(0.17)
Testing Hypothesis 3				
Experience with Corruption (Police)* Violent Victim			-1.47	-3.14**
			(1.55)	(1.32)
Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*)* Violent Victim			0.85++	1.36
			(0.60)	(1.36)
Control Variables				
Discuss Politics	1.085***	0.67***	1.09***	0.65***
	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(0.13)
Political Knowledge	0.07	0.24	0.07	0.22
	(0.11)	(0.19)	(0.11)	(0.19)
Interpersonal Trust	0.16**	0.11	0.16**	0.12
	(0.08)	(0.15)	(0.08)	(0.15)
Influence over the Government	0.08***	0.22***	0.08***	0.22***
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Membership in Organizations	0.56***	0.63***	0.56***	0.65***
	(0.07)	(0.14)	(0.07)	(0.14)
Gender (male)	0.07	0.36***	0.07	0.37***
	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(0.13)
Education	-0.03	-0.02	-0.03	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.04)

Age	0.003	-0.001	0.003	-0.001
	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.004)
Constant	-2.91***	-4.53***	-2.92***	-4.58***
	(0.22)	(0.36)	(0.22)	(0.36)
Observations	9863		9863	
Log pseudolikelihood	-4202.30		-4197.82	

Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; ++ jointly significant at the 1%

^^ We employ three choices in this regression (institutional means, contentious tactics, and doing nothing) as the estimation does not converge when employing four choices. The results in this table confirm those reported in Table 1.

Online Appendix 10. Employing Non-Violent Victimhood

VARIABLES	Institutional Means Vs Doing Nothing	Contentious Tactics Vs Doing Nothing	Institutional and Contentious Vs Doing Nothing	Institutional Means Vs Doing Nothing	Contentious Tactics Vs Doing Nothing	Institutional and Contentious Vs Doing Nothing
Testing Hypothesis 1						
Experience with Corruption (Police)	-0.52	1.77***	1.31**	-1.37	0.38	1.78**
	(0.61)	(0.52)	(0.66)	(0.99)	(1.03)	(0.79)
Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*)	0.74***	-0.07	0.14	1.06***++	0.52	0.043
	(0.24)	(0.60)	(0.55)	(0.28)	(0.58)	(0.85)
Testing Hypothesis 2						
Non-violent Victim	0.26**	0.31	0.47**	0.29***	0.25	0.52***
	(0.11)	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.11)	(0.22)	(0.19)
Testing Hypothesis 3						
Experience with Corruption (Police)* Non-Violent Victim				1.77	2.56**	-44.41***
				(1.268)	(1.247)	(0.930)
Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*)* Non-Violent Victim				-1.06*++	-1.60	0.02
				(0.55)	(1.47)	(1.16)
Control Variables						
Discuss Politics	1.13***	0.70***	1.64***	1.13***	0.69***	1.64***
	(0.07)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.07)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Political Knowledge	0.05	0.20	0.52***	0.05	0.19	0.52***
	(0.10)	(0.19)	(0.16)	(0.10)	(0.19)	(0.16)
Interpersonal Trust	0.15**	0.11	0.08	0.15**	0.12	0.08
	(0.07)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.07)	(0.15)	(0.14)
Influence over the Government	0.07**	0.22***	0.18***	0.07**	0.21***	0.18***
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Membership in Organizations	0.63***	0.64***	1.28***	0.63***	0.66***	1.27***
	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(0.14)	(0.13)
Gender (male)	0.06	0.37***	0.18	0.06	0.38***	0.18
	(0.06)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.06)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Education	-0.03*	-0.03	0.03	-0.03*	-0.02	0.03
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Age	0.003	-0.003	0.01**	0.003	-0.002	0.01**
	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Constant	-2.88***	-4.48***	-6.00***	-2.89***	-4.51***	-5.97***

	(0.16)	(0.35)	(0.33)	(0.16)	(0.35)	(0.33)
Observations	10134			10134		
Log pseudolikelihood	-5549.07			-5542.29		

Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; ++ jointly significant at the 1%

Additional Discussion:

First, non-violent crime victimization is positively associated with the likelihood of choosing institutional modes of participation. Second, non-violent crime victimization does not play an inhibitor role for the adoption of contentious participation for those who experienced police corruption. On the contrary, this type of grievance correlates positively with the likelihood of this type of choice for those who experienced police corruption. In sum, non-violent crime victimization seems to produce results that are opposite to those of violent crime victimization. Violent crime victimization makes a difference in determining how citizens decide to participate.

Online Appendix 11. Including Only Respondents Who Did Anything to Report the Crime

	Model 1			Model 2 ^^	
VARIABLES	Institutional Means Vs Doing Nothing	Contentious Tactics Vs Doing Nothing	Institutional and Contentious Vs Doing Nothing	Institutional Means Vs Doing Nothing	Contentious Tactics Vs Doing Nothing
Testing Hypothesis 1					
Experience with Corruption (Police)	-0.65	1.43***	1.27*	-0.46	2.83***
	(0.62)	(0.51)	(0.65)	(1.02)	(0.77)
Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*)	0.66**	-0.50	-0.07	-0.16++	-1.36
	(0.26)	(0.58)	(0.54)	(0.50)	(1.50)
Testing Hypothesis 2					
Violent Victim	-0.21	0.03	-0.65*	-0.36	0.25
	(0.20)	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.23)	(0.38)
Testing Hypothesis 3					
Experience with Corruption (Police)* Violent Victim				-1.15	-2.91**
				(1.46)	(1.36)
Experience with Corruption (*Ministerio Público*)* Violent Victim				1.25**++	1.27
				(0.60)	(1.60)
Control Variables					
Discuss Politics	1.06***	0.04	1.40***	0.85***	-0.11
	(0.21)	(0.33)	(0.38)	(0.21)	(0.33)
Political Knowledge	-0.04	0.49	0.28	0.02	0.45
	(0.27)	(0.43)	(0.41)	(0.28)	(0.42)
Interpersonal Trust	0.18	-0.06	-0.17	0.25	0.003
	(0.21)	(0.36)	(0.40)	(0.22)	(0.37)
Influence over the Government	0.08	0.13	0.08	0.12	0.10
	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.09)	(0.12)
Membership in Organizations	0.40**	0.49	1.79***	0.31	0.54
	(0.21)	(0.32)	(0.37)	(0.21)	(0.33)
Gender (male)	0.28	0.45	-0.05	0.43**	0.53
	(0.20)	(0.33)	(0.35)	(0.21)	(0.35)
Education	-0.03	-0.10	-0.06	-0.03	-0.07
	(0.06)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.06)	(0.10)
Age	0.004	-0.01	0.01	0.002	-0.01

	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Constant	-2.65***	-2.81***	-4.47***	-2.64***	-3.16***
	(0.51)	(0.82)	(1.08)	(0.550)	(0.90)
Observations	915			915	
Log pseudolikelihood	-653.93			-482.02	

Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; ++ jointly significant at the 1%

^^ We employ three choices in this regression (institutional means, contentious tactics, and doing nothing) as the estimation does not converge when employing four choices. The results in this table confirm those reported in Table 1.