

## APPENDIX: Fear of Nonviolent Organizing in Mexico’s Criminal Conflict

This is the appendix for the publication “Fear of Nonviolent Organizing in Mexico’s Criminal Conflict.” The data for this project was collected by Cassy Dorff with financial support from the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict. For additional information about the survey strategy, IRB specifications and restrictions, or any other matters related to the data collection process please contact Cassy Dorff at [cdorff@unm.edu](mailto:cdorff@unm.edu).

### Robustness check: including oversampled observations

Herein we provide a replication of our models using a modified sample. This sample includes an additional 300 survey interviews from respondents who were identified as living near *or* in regions with active self-defense forces. At the time of the survey, there was no available data nor systematically-reported public information about the location of self-defense forces, which limited any attempt to weight the survey according to a known distribution. In this paper we’ve improved from previous work that utilizes this survey in that we’ve now presented a binary coding to indicate which municipalities had active self-defense forces. While this is useful, it is not a precise measure of the true percent of the population living in regions with self-defense forces, which again limits proper weighting of the sample. We first report all of the summary statistics for the main variables in our analysis using the combined sample.

### Summary statistics, including oversample observations

Table A1: Summary statistics (national + oversample)

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
levels of fear	2.505	1.149	1	4	1280
any fear	0.693	0.461	0	1	1280
moderate fear	0.51	0.5	0	1	1280
intense fear	0.265	0.441	0	1	1280
autodefensas	0.409	0.492	0	1	1270
women	0.504	0.5	0	1	1300
low victimization	0.362	0.481	0	1	1286
high victimization	0.166	0.372	0	1	1272
MPJD knowledge	2.403	1.173	1	5	1290
lightbulbs	8.734	14.439	0	99	1300
education	2.8	0.796	1	4	1300
age	41.799	15.872	18	99	1300

**Cross tabs of main independent variables with levels of fear, including oversample observations**

Table A2: Levels of Fear of Becoming a Victim, by Presence of Autodefensas (national + oversample)

	Autodefensas		Total
	Absent	Present	
no fear	196 (27.30%)	126 (25.71%)	322 (26.66%)
unsure & low fear	177 (24.65%)	91 (18.57%)	268 (22.19%)
moderate fear	179 (24.93%)	117 (23.88%)	296 (24.50%)
high fear	166 (23.12%)	156 (31.84%)	322 (26.66%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>718</b>	<b>490</b>	<b>1,208</b>

Table A3: Levels of Fear of Becoming a Victim, by Gender (national + oversample)

	Gender		Total
	Men	Women	
no fear	207 (34.16%)	115 (19.10%)	322 (26.66%)
unsure & low fear	121 (19.97%)	147 (24.42%)	268 (22.19%)
moderate fear	144 (23.76%)	152 (25.25%)	296 (24.50%)
high fear	134 (22.11%)	188 (31.23%)	322 (26.66%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>606</b>	<b>602</b>	<b>1,208</b>

### **Replication of Table 4 models, including oversample observations**

Next, we report the results for our main model using data from the combined national+oversample design. As Table A4 and the corresponding coefficient plots in Figure A1 show, the results are consistent with the findings in our main paper even with the inclusion of the oversampled regions. We also test whether we find similar results when we exclude our measure of self-defense forces and instead include only a control to indicate whether the respondent lives in an oversampled region. Accordingly, we replace the variable “autodefensas” with a control called “oversample.” The over-sampled municipalities are within the states of Guerrero, Hidalgo, and Michoacán (Table A5). We find that gender is consistently associated with all levels of fear while the results for the oversampled regions predominately correspond to intense fear, rather than lower to medium levels of fear. It is also useful to note that, even with this extremely restricted coding of autodefensas (omitting many municipalities outside of these three states that also hosted autodefensas), we still observe statistically significant and positive relationships between the presence of armed civilian vigilantism and high levels of fear regarding potential victimization following nonviolent organizing.

Table A4: Fear of Becoming a Victim of Organized Crime for Participating in Nonviolent Resistance (national + oversample)

	Levels of Fear (OLS)	Any Fear (logit)	Moderate Fear (logit)	Intense Fear (logit)
<i>autodefensas</i>	0.171** (0.067)	0.150 (0.131)	0.299** (0.120)	0.426*** (0.134)
<i>women</i>	0.338*** (0.065)	0.620*** (0.129)	0.427*** (0.118)	0.473*** (0.134)
<i>low victimization</i>	-0.220*** (0.072)	-0.268* (0.140)	-0.405*** (0.132)	-0.322** (0.153)
<i>high victimization</i>	0.135 (0.093)	0.100 (0.178)	0.201 (0.168)	0.364** (0.184)
<i>MPJD knowledge</i>	0.043 (0.029)	0.056 (0.058)	0.125** (0.052)	0.058 (0.058)
<i>lightbulbs</i>	-0.004* (0.002)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.007 (0.005)	-0.005 (0.005)
<i>education</i>	-0.117** (0.046)	-0.165* (0.090)	-0.175** (0.084)	-0.206** (0.093)
<i>age</i>	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.010** (0.004)	-0.004 (0.004)	0.005 (0.005)
constant	2.657*** (0.197)	1.373*** (0.381)	0.227 (0.348)	-1.140*** (0.401)

Notes: N=1,208. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Figure A1: Coefficient plots of all models in Table A4 (95% CIs)

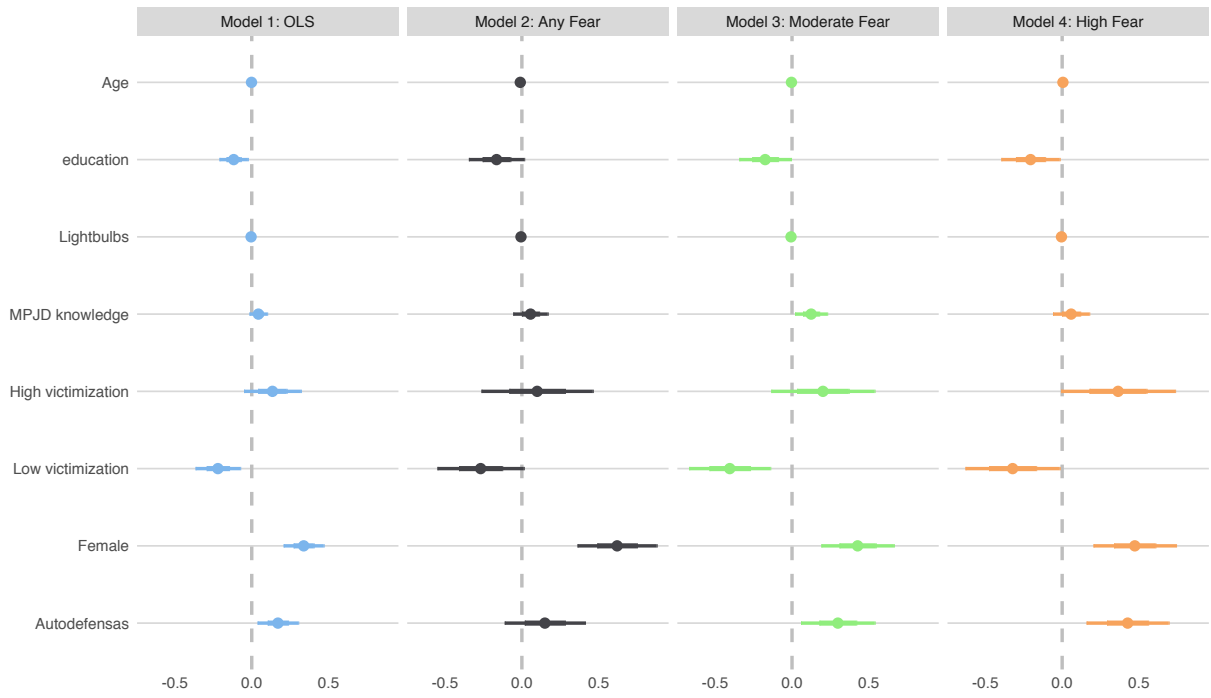


Table A5: results from Table A4 replacing *autodefensas* with *oversample*

	Levels of Fear (OLS)	Any Fear (logit)	Moderate Fear (logit)	Intense Fear (logit)
<i>oversample</i>	0.146* (0.080)	0.052 (0.150)	0.135 (0.138)	0.535*** (0.150)
<i>women</i>	0.344*** (0.065)	0.634*** (0.127)	0.433*** (0.116)	0.477*** (0.132)
<i>low victimization</i>	-0.226*** (0.071)	-0.303** (0.137)	-0.414*** (0.130)	-0.297* (0.151)
<i>high victimization</i>	0.145 (0.092)	0.161 (0.176)	0.214 (0.166)	0.340* (0.183)
<i>MPJD knowledge</i>	0.049* (0.029)	0.057 (0.057)	0.135*** (0.052)	0.078 (0.057)
<i>lightbulbs</i>	-0.004* (0.002)	-0.005 (0.004)	-0.007 (0.004)	-0.005 (0.005)
<i>education</i>	-0.120*** (0.045)	-0.155* (0.089)	-0.172** (0.083)	-0.235** (0.093)
<i>age</i>	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.011** (0.004)	-0.004 (0.004)	0.004 (0.004)
constant	2.694*** (0.193)	1.382*** (0.373)	0.297 (0.341)	-1.012** (0.394)

Notes: N=1,238. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

## A2: Model Specifications without Controls

The following models in Tables A6 and A7 present the association between levels of fear and our key explanatory variables of interest (autodefensas, as well as gender and past victimization) from Table 4 in the manuscript. Results are generally consistent with the findings of our full specifications in the manuscript.

Table A6: Models 1 & 2 from Table 4 with no controls, and with victimization controls

	T4 Model 1	T4 Model 1	T4 Model 1	T4 Model 2	T4 Model 2	T4 Model 2
<i>autodefensas</i>	0.151* (0.084)	0.154* (0.083)	0.165* (0.085)	0.212 (0.164)	0.225 (0.167)	0.256 (0.172)
<i>women</i>		0.427*** (0.071)	0.414*** (0.072)		0.794*** (0.145)	0.784*** (0.147)
<i>low victimization</i>			-0.204*** (0.078)			-0.221 (0.154)
<i>high victimization</i>			0.122 (0.103)			0.047 (0.203)
constant	2.440*** (0.042)	2.226*** (0.055)	2.284*** (0.063)	0.767*** (0.081)	0.398*** (0.103)	0.464*** (0.118)
<i>N</i>	952	952	929	952	952	929

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table A7: Models 3 & 4 from Table 4 with no controls, and with victimization controls

	T4 Model 3	T4 Model 3	T4 Model 3	T4 Model 4	T4 Model 4	T4 Model 4
<i>autodefensas</i>	0.310** (0.148)	0.319** (0.151)	0.361** (0.155)	0.299* (0.168)	0.310* (0.170)	0.283* (0.173)
<i>women</i>		0.528*** (0.131)	0.519*** (0.133)		0.666*** (0.156)	0.621*** (0.157)
<i>low victimization</i>			-0.344** (0.145)			-0.342* (0.175)
<i>high victimization</i>			0.241 (0.190)			0.301 (0.216)
constant	-0.060 (0.076)	-0.325*** (0.101)	-0.248** (0.114)	-1.238*** (0.090)	-1.602*** (0.129)	-1.493*** (0.144)
<i>N</i>	952	952	929	952	952	929

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$



**A3: Model Robustness Check: Alternative (Original) DV Specification** In this section we present results for our main model wherein the DV takes on the maximum categories possible (5). In this model the dependent variable is “as-is” from the survey. The distribution of this variable is shown in the histogram in Figure A2 below. The results reflect a similar finding for our main variable of interests, proximity to autodefensas.

Figure A2: Distribution of Dependent Variable with No Collapsed Categories

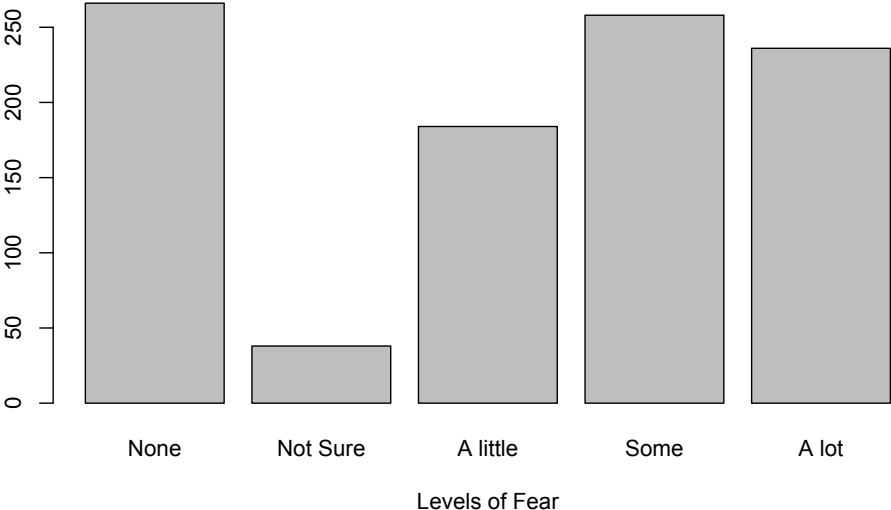


Table A8: Model with Alternative Specification of Original DV

	Model with all DV categories
<i>(Intercept)</i>	2.31*** (0.28)
<i>Autodefensas</i>	0.21* (0.11)
<i>Women</i>	0.57*** (0.10)
<i>Low Victimization</i>	-0.22* (0.11)
<i>High Victimization</i>	0.16 (0.14)
<i>Familiar with MPJD</i>	0.01 (0.04)
<i>Lightbulbs</i>	-0.01** (0.00)
<i>Education</i>	-0.10 (0.07)
<i>Age</i>	-0.00 (0.00)
<i>N</i>	925

Standard errors in parentheses

Signif. codes: p < 0 '\*\*\*' p < 0.001 '\*\*' p < 0.05 '\*'

**A4: Model Comparison: Baseline Fear** In this section we present results for our main model replicated for an alternative DV: fear of violent assault. We specify this model in order to show that the presence of self-defense groups really only seems to drive fear in the context of victimization in conjunction with nonviolent action, not just general fear of abuse in general. For this reason our dependent variable in Table A9 is modeled with the DV “how fearful are you of being assaulted?” The answers can vary from “A lot” to “A little” or “not sure” and “do not know.” The results show that living near autodefensas does not provoke the same levels of fear for assault, and thus there is likely something unique about fear of victimization associated with engaging in nonviolent action, in particular, in proximity to armed civilian organizations.

Table A9: Replication of main model with comparison to alternative fear measures

	Model with fear assault DV
<i>(Intercept)</i>	2.45*
	(0.19)
<i>Autodefensas</i>	-0.09
	(0.08)
<i>Women</i>	0.37*
	(0.07)
<i>Low Victimization</i>	0.09
	(0.07)
<i>High Victimization</i>	0.05
	(0.10)
<i>Knowledge of MPJD</i>	0.07*
	(0.03)
<i>Lightbulbs</i>	-0.00
	(0.00)
<i>Education</i>	0.06
	(0.05)
<i>Age</i>	0.00*
	(0.00)
<i>N</i>	939
<i>R<sup>2</sup></i>	0.05
adj. <i>R<sup>2</sup></i>	0.04
Resid. sd	1.01

Standard errors in parentheses

Signif. codes: p < 0 ‘\*\*\*’ p < 0.001 ‘\*\*’ p < 0.05 ‘\*’

**Gender, Fear, and Social Desirability Bias** As noted in the manuscript, we cannot completely rule out that social desirability bias might drive our results for gender differences. We hope that the information provided in the appendix, however, enables further research on this topic. In Table A8 below we show that men report similar levels of “high” and “low” intensity victimization. We also display two other measures related to questions on fear to explore how gender and fear vary. Figure A2 demonstrates that women report the highest levels of fear more frequently than men, but that men do report experiencing “some” fear. Thus while differences across categories are apparent, differences between a binary conceptualization of this variable (fear vs. no fear) are negligible. In our manuscript, we suggest that future work should try to better link victimization and fear. This would allow us to understand whether women report higher levels of fear because of fear of sexual violence, which men tend to experience less than women in Mexico. Our findings in Figure A3 are suggestive: women report much higher levels of fear towards sexual assault than do men (across all categories). At this time, however, our data does not allow us to connect fear of *specific forms* of victimization with nonviolent organizing.

Table A10: Victimization by Gender

Low Intensity			
Victimization	No	Yes	Total
Male	309	184	493
Women	327	171	498
Total	636	355	991

High Intensity			
Victimization	No	Yes	Total
Male	418	69	487
Women	411	82	493
Total	829	151	980

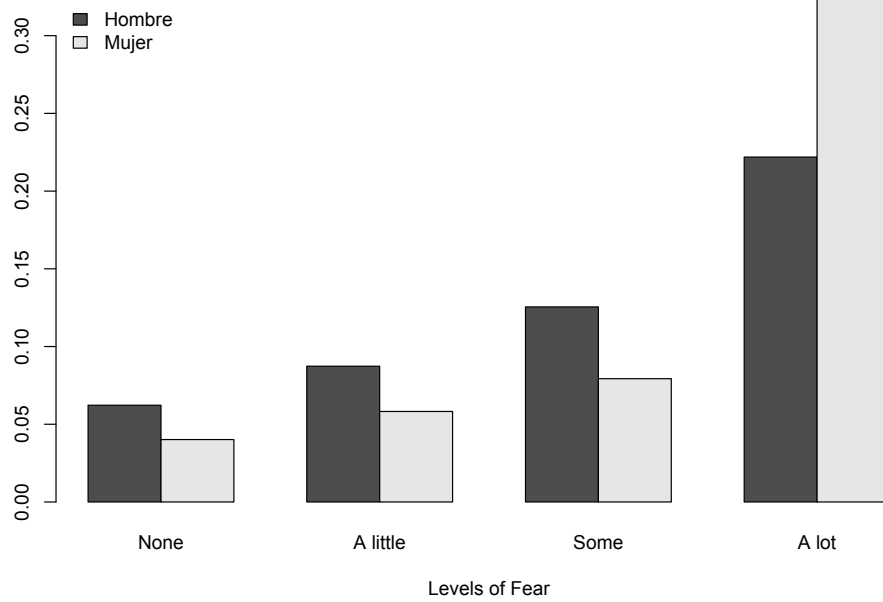


Figure A3: Distribution of fear (of physical assault) across gender

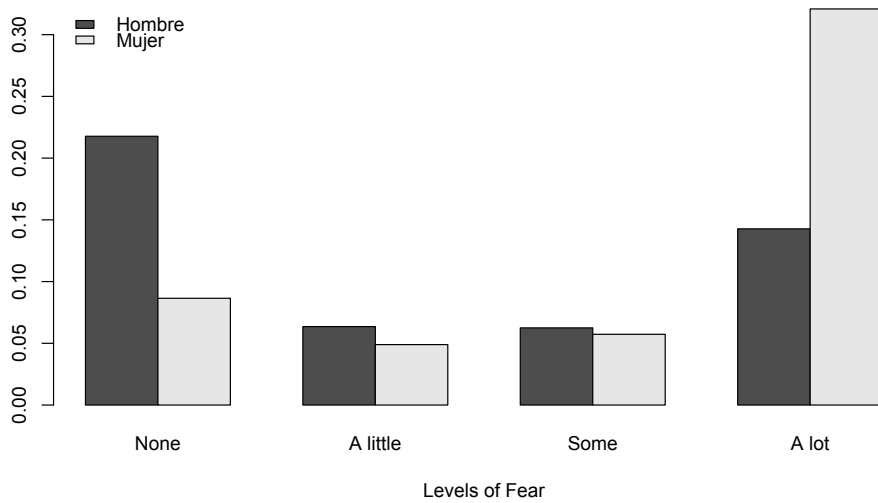


Figure A4: Distribution of fear (of sexual assault) across gender

**Robustness check, alternative specification for Knowledge of MPJD** In all of our models we utilize a control variable “knowledge of the movement for justice with peace and dignity.” This variable is categorical and non-normal. To check to make sure that this is not biasing our estimates, we also run the model with this explanatory variable as a binary variable rather than in its full range of categories. Any non-missing values greater than 0 are coded 1, and zeros (indicating no knowledge) are still coded 0. Our primary results hold. (Our education measure is also categorical, but is normally distributed).

A11: MPJD Variable Specification Check

	Model 1
<i>(Intercept)</i>	2.57* (0.21)
<i>Autodefensas</i>	0.17* (0.08)
<i>Women</i>	0.41* (0.07)
<i>Low Victimization</i>	-0.17* (0.08)
<i>High Victimization</i>	0.14 (0.10)
<i>Knowledge of MPJD</i>	0.01 (0.08)
<i>Lightbulbs</i>	-0.01* (0.00)
<i>Education</i>	-0.08 (0.05)
<i>Age</i>	-0.00 (0.00)
<i>N</i>	929
<i>R<sup>2</sup></i>	0.06
adj. <i>R<sup>2</sup></i>	0.05
Resid. sd	1.10

Standard errors in parentheses

\* indicates significance at  $p < 0.05$