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## The Impact of Insecurity on Democracy and Trust in Institutions in Mexico

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LABOR AND POPULATION

# The Impact of Insecurity on Democracy and Trust in Institutions in Mexico

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## Abstract

Using survey data from the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) and Encuesta Nacional Sobre la Inseguridad (ENSI) from Mexico during the period 2004-2010, this paper analyses the impact of insecurity and crime victimization on support and satisfaction with democracy and trust in institutions. With the LAPOP data, perceptions about higher insecurity decrease support and satisfaction with democracy. Perceptions of insecurity and crime victimization have a negative significant effect on trust in institutions, and this finding is robust when using LAPOP and ENSI data. Perceptions of insecurity and crime victimization have a larger negative effect on trust in institutions that directly deal with crime, such as the police and judicial system. Data also shows that those states with higher drug trafficking activity show lower trust in institutions, and that trust in institutions has deteriorated over time at a faster pace in the northeast and northwest regions.

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## **I. Introduction**

Crime in Latin America is very high when compared to other regions of the world and there is evidence that crime rates have increased in the last two decades, making insecurity one of the most important issues pressing the region (Di Tella et al., 2010). While unemployment has been the main problem that people worried about in Latin America (since 1995 when the Latinobarometro survey started), crime became a significant concern in 2008 and its importance became more evident in 2010. The latest report from the Latinobarometro (2010) shows that the percentage of the population who believe that crime is the most important problem has been rising, from 9 percent in 2004 to 27 percent in 2010.<sup>1</sup> The relevance of dealing with crime in Latin America also became obvious with the approach taken by the United States in terms of foreign policy. The current administration of the United States continues to support Mexico's and Colombia efforts to deter drug trafficking, and it has started a partnership with Central America and the Caribbean for new initiatives related to diminishing crime, violence, and drug trade (White House, 2011).

Insecurity in Mexico has risen since President Calderon took office in late 2006. This increase in insecurity is related to Calderon's program to fight drug cartels and diminish drug trafficking in the country. Drug turf wars also contribute to the increase on crime. The homicide rate at the national level (number of homicides per 100 000 habitants) increased from 11 in 2006 to 18 in 2010, which represents a 64 percent increase (Table 1). The total number of homicides related to organized crime (i.e. drug-trafficking) increased by 440 percent between 2007 and 2010 (Table 1). The total of homicides related to organized crime between December of 2006

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Consulta de San Jose carried by the Inter-American Development Bank in October of 2007 crime was considered as a top priority for the Latin American region (Lomborg, 2009).

and December of 2010 adds up to 34,620. This number of deaths is of significant magnitude when compared to the number of combat deaths during the Mexican Revolution in 1910, which adds to 250,000 in a ten year period (Krauze and Heifetz, 1998). The annual average of deaths related to organized crime is equal to 8,655, which represents around 35 percent of the annual average of combat deaths during the Mexican revolution. Thus, addressing crime and violence in Mexico is one of the top priorities for policymakers.

Because dealing with insecurity has become a pressing public policy issue in Latin America, it is important to study the causes and consequences of crime. While there are significant economic consequences of crime, there are also other consequences related to institutional stability (Soares & Naritomi, 2010). Trust, in the political system and institutions, is related to social capital, and social capital is considered an engine for economic growth and development (Knack and Keefer, 1997). Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to analyze, in the Mexican context, the impact of insecurity on support and satisfaction with democracy and trust in institutions.

Focusing on the impact of crime on democracy and trust in institutions is relevant because Latin American countries have experienced a successful process of democratization since the 1980s, but there are some deficiencies in their political systems (Hagopian and Mainwaring, 2005). In the case of Mexico, political transformation and electoral democratization took place with the elections of 2000, and the country seemed to be moving towards establishing a consolidated liberal democracy (Haber et al., 2008). Because Mexico can be considered a young democracy, strengthening democracy and institutions is necessary to ensure future economic development and political stability. Institutions in which citizens can trust are important for improving social and economic conditions in Mexico. If insecurity proves to have

a detrimental effect on trust in institutions, then it will be necessary to pay more attention to violence issues and design policies that deal with the negative effect that crime has on institutional development.

When looking at the impact of insecurity on support for democracy and trust on institutions in Latin America, previous analyses use data from the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) or the Latinobarometro for a specific year (Paras et al., 2010; Paras and Moreno, 2008; Malone, 2009, among others). Most of these studies find that being a victim of crime and feeling insecure have a negative effect on support and satisfaction with democracy and trust in institutions. The empirical approach in this analysis expands on previous work by using a framework of repeated cross sections of surveys during the pre (2004 and 2006) and post (2008 and 2010) periods of high levels of violence in Mexico. This approach allows detangling whether there is a time effect related to satisfaction and support with democracy and trust in institutions in Mexico during this period of time.

This paper also differs from previous work by incorporating a different survey into the analysis, Encuesta Nacional Sobre la Inseguridad (ENSI), which is a nationally representative Mexican survey available for 2004, 2007, 2008, and 2009. Using this data allows analyzing in depth the effect that insecurity has on trust on institutions that deal with crime issues, such as the different police forces. This paper expands on previous work by exploring whether those regions with more drug trafficking activity are likely to show different levels of trust in institutions, and if there is change over time. This paper also expands on previous work by incorporating techniques related to complex survey design.

When using the LAPOP data, results shows that perceptions of insecurity have a robust negative effect on support and satisfaction with democracy. This analysis also shows that perceptions of insecurity and crime victimization have a significant negative effect on trust in institutions, and this finding is robust when using LAPOP and ENSI data. Another important finding, that is robust to using different datasets, is that the negative effect of perceptions of insecurity and crime victimization on trust in the police and the judicial system is of larger magnitude when the effect is compared to other institutions. When using indicators that relate to drug trafficking activity at the state level (distance to border and number of narcos residing in the state), there is evidence that trust in institutions decreases as drug trade activity increases. In relation to time variation, there is evidence that trust in institutions has deteriorated at a faster pace in the northwest and northeast states.

The paper is organized as follows. Section II discusses the literature review providing a brief overview of insecurity in Mexico during the late 2000s and a review of the literature on the impact of insecurity on democracy and trust in institutions. Section III presents the data and methodology. Sections IV and V discuss the results and sensitivity analysis. Section V concludes.

## **II. Literature Review**

### **A. Insecurity in Mexico during the late 2000s**

Official statistics for Mexico show that crime has risen significantly since 2006, where those states that have more illegal drug trade activity show larger increases on crime. The increase on violence during this period has been associated with Calderon's efforts to fight drug

cartels. Fighting organized crime has been a top priority for the government since Calderon took office in December of 2006, where the Mexican government has increased security spending significantly and has mobilized military forces to the Mexican Border States (Beittel, 2009). The increase of crime has also been attributed to the turf wars that resulted from the government actions to deter organized crime, which brought instability into the structure of drug cartels. However, Escalante (2011) notes that in 2008 and 2009 crime has increased to unexpected levels, and he argues that this increase in crime is explained by weak municipal police forces. With a weak local police there is a state of insecurity that spurs violence.

Table 1 shows the intentional homicide rates (homicides per 100,000 habitants) during the late 2000s by state. The percentage change of this indicator between 2006 and 2010 for the border states of Chihuahua, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Sonora, Tamaulipas and Baja California was equal to 472, 350, 250, 160, 100, and 59, respectively (in descending order). Most of these states, with the exception of Baja California, show an average growth of this indicator higher than the percentage change at the national level (64 percent). When looking at the percentage change of homicide rates between 2001 and 2005, there is a stark difference. Table 1 presents the homicide rates by state for 2001 and 2005 and the percentage change, where the national homicide rate decreased by 21 percent during this period. The largest percentage change during the 2001-2005 period was equal to 100 in Tamaulipas, and only seven states show an increase in the homicide rate. Figures 1 and 2 present (heat) maps of Mexico for incidental and organized crime related homicides in the late 2000s, respectively. In these maps, darker colors are assigned to those states with higher increases in homicides. These maps show that the increase on crime seems to be more prominent in certain regions of the country, where several states in the Northwest (Baja California, Baja California Sur, Chihuahua, Sonora, Durango, Sinaloa) and Northeast region

(Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, Tamaulipas) experienced higher increase on intentional and organized crime related homicides. Other states in the Occident region, such as Nayarit and Colima also show higher increases on homicides. Thus, these maps show that the increase on violence seems to be focalized on certain regions in Mexico.<sup>2</sup>

It is important to put the statistics of crime discussed above in context with a country in the region that has experienced high crime rates and drug-trafficking activity: Colombia. Homicide rates (intentional, per 100 thousand individuals) in Colombia in the 2000s show a decreasing trend, where this rate was equal to 66 in 2002, to 37 in 2006 and to 34 in 2010 (Observatorio de Politica y Estrategia en America Latina, 2011). The comparable homicide rate in Mexico in 2010 was almost half the homicide rate in Colombia (equal to 18 at the national level), but it is important to note that this rate has been rising at a period of time where we observe a decrease on crime in Colombia.

Table 2 shows which states that have been affected the most by drug cartel turf wars, and which cartels are fighting among each other for dominance in the specific state (Secretaria de Gobernacion, SEGOB, 2011). According to a report from the SEGOB (2011) the most violent states, where 80 percent of drug trafficking related crimes takes place, are Baja California, Chihuahua, Michoacan, Nuevo Leon, Sinaloa, and Tamaulipas. These states show in general an increasing trend in the total number of homicides related to organized crime between 2007 and 2010, where Chihuahua shows the highest increase (Figure 3). In other states in which there is significant violence related to drug cartel activities, such as Coahuila, Durango, Guerrero,

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<sup>2</sup> Maps were constructed as “heat” maps using the application provided by OpenHeatMap, which can be accessed at <http://www.openheatmap.com/>. Heat maps for intentional homicides percentage change (2006-2010) and for organized crime related homicides percentage change (2007-2010) shown in figures 1 and 2 can be downloaded at <http://www.openheatmap.com/view.html?map=BeetleheadsIntrapialSiwens> and <http://www.openheatmap.com/view.html?map=DecorementPactAssaria>.

Jalisco, Morelos, and Sonora, there is also an increasing trend in homicides related to organized crime (Figure 4).

Official statistics show that Mexico has suffered a significant increase in violence and crime in the late 2000s. While official statistics are important in order to determine the level of insecurity, it is also necessary to look at other surveys on crime victimization and perceptions of insecurity. These surveys give a better picture of the level of insecurity experienced by individuals since many crimes are not officially reported in the developing world, and they will not be included in official statistics. In fact, according to Instituto Ciudadano de Estudios Sobre la Inseguridad (ICESI, 2011a), only 22 percent of crimes are officially reported to the authorities in Mexico. The main reason why individuals fail to report a crime is because they feel it is futile to do so. There are two different surveys that can provide a better picture of insecurity in Mexico: LAPOP and ENSI.

The LAPOP report for 2010 provides evidence that there has been an increase on insecurity in Mexico associated with the rise of drug trafficking related crime (Paras et al., 2011). When looking at the index of perceptions of insecurity across Latin America, Mexico is the 9<sup>th</sup> most insecure country. Peru, Argentina, El Salvador, Venezuela and Belize are the top five countries where perceptions of insecurity are at the highest level (in descending order). Colombia is below Mexico in this ranking, occupying the 15<sup>th</sup> place in the list of most insecure countries in Latin America. During 2010, a 25.9 percent of people were victim of a crime in Mexico, which puts the country in the 6<sup>th</sup> place in relation to crime victimization (after Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela, Bolivia and Argentina, in descending order). Colombia is actually below Mexico, occupying 10<sup>th</sup> place, where 20.5 percent of the population has been victim of a crime in 2010. When looking at the index of perception of insecurity and crime victimization over time for

Mexico, there seems to be an increasing trend. Table 3 shows that the average perception of insecurity increased from 2.2 in 2004 to 2.3 in 2010 (Scale: 1-4; very insecure = 4, very secure =1). According to a t-test (Table 3), there is also a significant increase in the percentage of population that has been a victim of crime between 2004 and 2010, where this percentage jumps from 17 percent to 26 percent.

The latest report provided by ICESI (2011a) from the ENSI data for 2009 also notes that there has been an increase on the perception of insecurity during the 2000s in Mexico. Table 3 shows that the percentage of the population that feels insecure increased from 59 percent in 2007 to 65 percent in 2008 and 2009. In relation to crime victimization, the percentage of the population that was victim of a crime actually decreased from 11.5 in 2008 to 10.1 in 2009. However, if the percentage is taken at the household level we observe a small increase from 13.3 to 13.7 percent.

There are some limitations in relation to the LAPOP and ENSI data. The increase on the percentage of population that has been victim of a crime in the LAPOP data might also be due to a change on which the question was structured in the 2010 survey, where more description was given about what a crime means. With the ENSI data, according to the ICESI (2011a), one of the reasons we might observe a decrease on the percentage of the population who suffered a crime is because Insituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI) carried out the survey in the reference year of 2009, and ICESI had no significant involvement. A decrease in crime victimization in the ENSI data might be also due to a significant increase in the number of questions on the survey. In addition, there were several parts of the country where ENSI data was not collected due to insecurity issues (there were a large number of houses that were not surveyed in the states of Chihuahua, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas). While there are some

limitations with the data, these instruments are the only ones available to carry out studies on the impact of insecurity in Mexico.

In sum, Mexico shows high rates of insecurity and crime during the late 2000s from official statistics and surveys. Mexico's crime rates and insecurity levels are high in comparison to other Latin American countries, and it is evident that there has been an increasing trend in crime and violence in the last couple of years. The increase of insecurity has become an important issue for public policy in Mexico, and it is necessary to study the impact that crime has on factors related to economic development. The rise in crime in Mexico seems to be closely related to an increase on organized crime that is interconnected with illegal drug trade activity. Thus, determining the impact of the increase of insecurity in Mexico can provide insights in relation to the true effects that organized crime has on society.

This analysis focuses on determining the impact of insecurity and crime on democracy and trust in institutions because these factors are relevant for building strong political and institutional systems that increase social capital, and consequently, lead to greater economic growth. According to Coleman (1988) trust in institutions is a form of social capital, which compares to other forms of capital (financial, physical, and human). Social capital is closely related to development because the quality of institutions depends on the degree to which individuals trust and cooperate with each other, where those societies with higher trust are likely to develop strong and efficient institutions (Fukuyama, 2002). Empirically, Knack and Keefer (1997) show that greater trust is associated with higher economic growth. In fact, in the Latin American context, Booth and Bayer (2009) and Klesner (2007) show that trust is associated with political participation. Thus, support for democracy and trust in institutions are necessary in order to promote economic development in the Latin American region.

## **B. The impact of insecurity on democracy and trust in institutions**

From the theoretical standpoint, it is expected that perceptions of high insecurity and crime victimization might have a detrimental effect on support for democracy and trust in institutions. Individuals' perceptions of government effectiveness dealing with social issues are closely related to their experience with their social environment and current institutions, where trust is likely to depend on this experience.

Because democratic institutions in the Latin American region are relatively new, especially in Mexico, studying the effect of insecurity on support and satisfaction with democracy is relevant for the region. Theoretically, the effect of insecurity and crime on support and satisfaction with democracy can be ambiguous in the Latin American context. It could be expected that because there is a history of authoritarian regimes, individuals might be more likely to support stronger leaders that can take authoritarian measures against crime when there is high insecurity. This argument goes along the one proposed by Chinchilla (2002), where she argues that the erosion of legitimacy might justify an authoritarian government (i.e. "mano dura"). The rise on insecurity can also lead individuals to be less satisfied with democracy because they are likely to have high expectations about the outcomes of a democratic system. Under this case, perceptions of high insecurity are likely to have a negative effect on support and satisfaction with democracy.

On the other hand, we could also expect that even if insecurity represents a threat to the well being of society, individuals might rationalize that democracy is a lesser evil than an authoritarian regime. Individuals might expect that while democracy has not fulfilled

expectations, the rise on crime is not necessarily a consequence of democracy. Under this argument, the increase on insecurity might have no effect on support and satisfaction with democracy. The increase on insecurity can even lead to an increase on support for democracy as individuals might feel that democracy is the only way to move forward. Additionally, if individuals do not perceive that democratic institutions are the cause of insecurity, insecurity might have no effect on satisfaction and support for democracy.

When looking at the impact of violence on democracy, it is necessary to make a distinction between perceptions of insecurity and crime victimization. While a victim of crime might be more vulnerable and likely to show high insecurity levels, she is also more likely to have a greater experience dealing with institutions that deal with crime, such as the police and judicial system. Making the distinction is important since only a portion of the population is a victim of crime. On the other hand, the entire population will form perceptions of insecurity based not only on their own experience, but also on the experience of relatives, friends, and community members. Thus, looking at perceptions of insecurity provide us with a broader indicator of insecurity, while crime victimization is narrower.

Another important effect to study is the impact of crime and insecurity on individuals' trust in institutions such as the government, political system, and police. It is expected that if individuals feel highly insecure and/or have been victims of crime, they might be less likely to trust the current institutional system. With high insecurity, individuals are likely to put blame current institutions and regard them as inefficient and corrupt, and consequently, they will trust institutions less. According to Easton's seminal work (1975), if individuals are discontent with the system for long time, they are likely to end up distrusting the system entirely. Because the police is regarded as the authority responsible to ensure order, high crime rates and perceptions

of insecurity affect individual's levels of trust in the police (Weyland, 2003). Furthermore, it is argued that in order for democracy to consolidate, it is necessary that society regards the political system as a legitimate system that relates to other institutions of authority such as the police, judicial system, and government (Diamond 1993, Lipset 1994, Cheibub et al., 1996) High insecurity and violence would lead individuals to see the current system as inefficient, and trust in the authorities will diminish, leading to low social capital (Paras, 2007).

There are several empirical studies on the impact of insecurity and crime on democracy and trust in institutions for Latin American countries, and Table 4 presents a summary of previous work that is closely related to this analysis.<sup>3</sup> Several studies, that include a large set of Latin American countries and use LAPOP or Latinobarometro data for a specific year, show that perceptions of insecurity have a significant negative effect on support for democracy (Cruz 2008, Fernandez and Kuenzi 2010, Salinas and Booth 2011). Crime victimization has a negative effect on satisfaction with democracy in the Latin American region in Fernandez' and Kuenzi (2010) and Cenabou's et al. (2011) work. When looking at studies that focus on Central America, Perez (2003), Cruz (2006), and Malone (2010) also find that perceptions of insecurity have a negative effect on trust in institutions. In relation to crime victimization there is evidence that it increases support for military coups in El Salvador (Perez, 2003) and decreases support for the political and judicial system in Latin American countries (Cruz 2006, Malone 2010).

There are several analyses using LAPOP data for a specific year for Mexico that show similar results to those mentioned above. Some of these studies, such as the ones undertaken by Paras and Moreno (2008) and Paras et al. (2010), take a formal multivariate regression analysis

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<sup>3</sup> There are other studies that focus on a single Latin American country published by LAPOP. Discussion of these papers is not included for purpose of space and to put emphasis on those papers that relate to Mexico.

using data in 2008 and 2010, separately. These studies show that perceptions of insecurity have a significant negative effect on support for democracy and trust in institutions. While crime victimization has an effect on trust in institutions in Paras' and Moreno (2008) analysis, it does not show an effect on the rule of law in Paras' et al (2010). Earlier studies using LAPOP data in 2004 (Buendia and Moreno, 2004) and 2006 (Paras and Coleman, 2006), focus on correlations between variables related to insecurity and trust in institutions. These studies find that corruption has a negative effect on democracy in 2004, and that perceptions of insecurity and crime victimization have a negative effect on trust in institutions in 2006.

This paper differs from previous work in several ways. First, this analysis uses different econometric techniques that have not been used by previous analyses on the topic. This analysis takes a repeated cross section surveys approach using available surveys between 2004 and 2010. Taking this approach allows determining whether the relation of insecurity and crime with democracy and trust in institutions is stable over time. With a repeated cross section we are able to determine whether there are aggregate trends and group differences in trends, test for changing effects, and capture the net effect of social change (Firebaugh, 1997). This study also focuses on the use of adequate estimators for the specific research questions (ordered logit and multinomial logit). Another main contribution of this paper is that it applies statistical models for complex survey data, which has not been done in previous work on this topic.

Second, this analysis does a comprehensive study on how perceptions of insecurity and crime victimization affect the following: 1) support and satisfaction with democracy and 2) trust in institutions. Previous studies focused on only one of these issues and most of them enter perceptions and crime victimization in the same equation. Because crime victimization and

perceptions of insecurity should be highly correlated, it is important to take an empirical approach that deals with that by entering these variables one at the time.<sup>4</sup>

Third, this study uses data from LAPOP and ENSI. One of the benefits of using two different data sources is that it allows testing for the robustness of the relationships of interest. Another benefit of using two data sources is that they complement each other. While data on support and satisfaction with democracy is only provided by LAPOP surveys, ENSI data has more information related to trust in institutions. Furthermore, using ENSI data is beneficial since it is a more comprehensive national survey on insecurity, where the number of observations is significantly higher compared with LAPOP, and ENSI surveys are representative at the national and state level.<sup>5</sup> There are several analyses on the impact of insecurity on trust in democracy and institutions using LAPOP data, but there is no analysis that uses ENSI data.

Fourth, this analysis will also explore whether there is a regional difference and time variation when looking at the impact of insecurity and crime on trust in institutions. Because there has been a significant increase on violence in certain regions of Mexico, it is important to determine whether there is a variation across regions and across time in terms of trust in institutions. This paper expands on previous work by studying whether trust on institutions is associated with drug trafficking activity.

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<sup>4</sup> The correlation coefficient between the insecurity index and the victim dummy is equal to 0.20, and it is statistically significant at the 1 percent level in the LAPOP data. For the ENSI data, the correlation coefficient between the insecurity dummy and the victim dummy is equal to 0.14 and it is statistically significant at the 1 percent level as well. Discussion of these variables is provided in the next section of the paper.

<sup>5</sup> While LAPOP surveys only have around 1,500 observations per year, ENSI surveys have at least 30,000 observations per year.

### III. Data and Methodology

Two repeated cross sections of surveys are constructed separately to estimate the models in this analysis. The main datasets used to construct the repeated cross sections of surveys are 1) LAPOP surveys for 2004, 2006, 2008 and 2010, and 2) ENSI surveys collected in 2005 (ENSI-3), 2008 (ENSI-5), 2009 (ENSI-6), and 2010 (ENSI-7).<sup>6</sup> Because these surveys are designed differently, a description of these two data sources and the main variables used from each source is discussed below.

#### A. LAPOP data

LAPOP surveys are representative at the national level for voting age adults (18 years and older, 29 states out of 32) and have a complex sample design. The sampling design includes stratification and clustering. The sample size for each wave is around 1,500 observations and it is an un-weighted survey since they claim that they did not oversample.<sup>7</sup> The main variables of interest from the LAPOP survey are the following:

Variables related to insecurity

- 1) Perceptions of insecurity index. - Question: in relation to your neighborhood and the probability of being victim of a crime, how secure/insecure do you feel? Scale: 1-4; Very insecure = 4, very secure =1.

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<sup>6</sup> Data for the ENSI-4 wave was not used since it was not representative at the national level. With ENSI surveys, usually the reference year is the previous year in which the survey was collected. Because ENSI surveys tend to be collected in the first six months, then it seems appropriate to consider the previous year as the reference year for the information provided. For example, in ENSI-3, individuals were asked if they were a victim of crime in 2004 and this data was collected in 2005. ENSI-5 was collected in 2008 and refers to 2007, ENSI-6 was collected in 2009 and refers to 2008, and ENSI-7 was collected in 2010 and refers to 2009.

<sup>7</sup> For more discussion on the design of the LAPOP surveys please refer to LAPOP's website (<http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/core-surveys.php>). Note that information about the survey design for LAPOP is underdocumented.

- 2) Crime victimization. - Question: in the last 12 months, have you been a victim of crime?  
Values: 0,1; victim of crime = 1, 0 otherwise.

#### Variables related to democracy

- 1) Support for democracy (democracy index). - Question: democracy has problems, but it is the best form of government. Scale: 1-7; strongly disagree = 1, strongly agree = 7.
- 2) Support for democracy (democracy as the best political system). - Question: with which of the following sentences do you identify yourself, 1) it is the same to have a democratic system than to not have it, 2) democracy is preferable to any other form of government, and 3) in some circumstances an authoritarian government is preferable to a democratic one. This indicator is used with values 1-3 to evaluate the probability of choosing one answer over the most common answer (multinomial logit estimation is used with this dependent variable).
- 3) Satisfaction with democracy. - Question: in general, how satisfied or unsatisfied are you with the form in which democracy functions in Mexico. Rescaled: 1-4; highly satisfied = 4, highly unsatisfied = 1.<sup>8</sup>

#### Variables related to trust in institutions

- 1) Variables related to trust in institutions such as the political system, electoral system, congress, government, courts system, judicial system, police, and army. - Question: to which degree do you trust the following institution .....? Scale: 1-7, nothing=1, a lot=7.

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<sup>8</sup> When it is mentioned that the variable was rescaled, it means that it was converted in the inverse way to keep consistency across the analysis. For example, for the index of satisfaction with democracy in the LAPOP survey the data is structured as highly satisfied equals 1 and highly unsatisfied equals 4, which is rescaled to the inverse with the purpose to have an indicator that will show higher values when there is higher satisfaction with democracy.

The control variables used in the estimations including the LAPOP data are gender (female=1, male=0), civil status (relationship - married or in common law marriage=1, single, separated, divorced, widow/widower =0), have kids (have kids =1, 0 otherwise), race (two dummies: white=1 and mestiza = 1 if individual identify as white or mestiza/o), size of city (1-5, very large-capital=1, rural area=5), education (years of education completed), income level (0-10, no income=0, highest income range=10), age (number of years). Time dummies for the year in which the survey is taken are also included in the estimation.<sup>9</sup> Summary statistics for the repeated cross section sample by year using the LAPOP data are presented in Table 5.

## **B. ENSI data**

ENSI surveys use complex sample design (stratification and clustering).<sup>10</sup> Because ENSI surveys use probability sampling for the target population of individuals 18 years and older, they provide weights for the different waves at the household and individual level.<sup>11</sup> The number of observations for each wave ranges between 30,000 and 60,000. The variables used are similar to those used with the LAPOP data. For this part of the analysis it is not possible to test how perceptions of insecurity and crime victimization affect support and satisfaction with democracy since there are no questions included in the survey on this topic. The control variables are also a little different due to differences in the structure of the survey. A benefit of using ENSI data is

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<sup>9</sup> Other model specifications were explored but not chosen since the fit of the model was maximized with the variables chosen. Other variables explored were education dummies (primary, secondary, higher), urban dummy, income dummies (high level income/ medium level income), civil status dummies (separated, divorced, widow/widower). It is also common to include age squared in this type of regressions, but when the squared term was included the linear and squared term were both insignificant.

<sup>10</sup> For more discussion on the design of the ENSI surveys please refer to ICESI's website ([http://www.icesi.org.mx/estadisticas/estadisticas\\_encuestasNacionales.asp](http://www.icesi.org.mx/estadisticas/estadisticas_encuestasNacionales.asp))

<sup>11</sup> ENSI surveys are representative at the national and state level for the population 18 years and older, and in some waves they are representative at the city level.

that there is more information about trust in institutions, where there are more categories related to the police. The variables used from the ENSI surveys are the following

#### Variables related to insecurity

- 1) Perceptions of insecurity. - Question: do you feel insecure in your state? Values: 0,1; Feel insecure = 1, 0 otherwise.
- 2) Crime victimization. - Question: in the year of ..... (year before the survey is taken), have you been a victim of crime in this state or another state? Values: 0,1; victim of crime=1, 0 otherwise.

#### Variables related to trust in institutions

- 1) Variables related to trust in institutions such as local police, transit police, state police (judicial), federal investigation agency (Agencia Federal de Investigacion, AFI), preventive federal police, federal police, public ministry (ministerio publico), army, and political parties.<sup>12</sup> Rescaled: 1-4; a lot = 4, some = 3, a little = 2, none=1; Rescaled 1-3, a lot = 3, a little = 2, none=1.<sup>13</sup>

The control variables used with the estimations with the ENSI surveys are gender (female=1, male=0), age (number of years), age squared, urban (equal to 1 if live in urban area, 0 otherwise), education dummies (primary, secondary and high school, and high school more), employment status dummies (employed and unemployed; the reference group includes those individuals not

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<sup>12</sup> For the variable related to trust in AFI, the data was adjusted for the last wave since AFI became the ministerial federal police in 2009. It is important to note that this survey specifically asks individuals if they are familiar with the institution/authority for which they need to provide their level of trust. If the individual does not know the institution/authority, then there is no indicator of trust, and this explains why the number of observations varies significantly in the estimations that use trust in institutions as dependent variable.

<sup>13</sup> When looking at trust in institutions, ENSI data uses different scales for different institutions. The scale 1-3 seems to be used the most when it refers more specifically to authorities related to the police forces.

in the labor force).<sup>14</sup> Time dummies for the reference year of the survey are also included in the estimation. Summary statistics for the repeated cross section sample by years using the ENSI data are presented in Table 6.

### C. State level data

Variables included to control for state characteristics are GDP per capita, life expectancy, and state dummies.<sup>15</sup> Other data at the state level is used to explore whether there is a regional variation in the outcome variables. An indicator of proximity to the border was used in order to try to account for regions most affected by drug trafficking activity. Distance between Mexican states and United States border cities with most activity (similar to Dube's et al. 2011, and Garcia-Sanchez' 2011 approach) is calculated using latitudes and longitudes, and distance to the closest border was used as indicator of proximity to the United States.<sup>16</sup> Another indicator used is the number of criminals in the drug trafficking business (narco density) living in the state

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<sup>14</sup> For the education dummies, primary dummy is equal to 1 if the individual completed primary education, secondary and high school dummy is equal to one if the individual completed secondary or high school, and high school more dummy is equal to one if the individual attended school at higher levels. These education dummies are not ideal since they are not able to distinguish between graduating from secondary and high school and attaining a higher degree. The education dummies were used this way because one of the surveys, ENSI-5 wave, had limited data on education. For the employment status dummies, retired, stay home, and incapacitated to work individuals are considered for the not in the labor force category. Those that did not work (besides those not in the labor force) were considered unemployed for the unemployed category, regardless of whether they were actively looking for a job because the survey does not have information on this. In relation to income, there is no data available for the latest wave, ENSI-7, and that is why dummies controlling for income are not included. For robustness, the model will be estimated controlling for income with the remaining ENSI waves.

<sup>15</sup> GDP per capita at the state level constructed using total real GDP (2003 constant prices, from Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, INEGI, 2011) and dividing it by total population (from Consejo Nacional de la Población, CONAPO, 2011). GDP per capita not available for 2010, but it was filled in with linear extrapolation. Life expectancy at the state level obtained from CONAPO (2011). Other variables such as unemployment and infant mortality were considered as controls, but were not included due to high correlations with GDP per capita and life expectancy.

<sup>16</sup> Longitudes and latitudes of states were obtained from Google maps distance calculator (<http://www.daftlogic.com/projects-google-maps-distance-calculator.htm>). Distance to the United States border cities with most activity (classified by Dube et al. 2011) was calculated using the great circle distance formula.

between 1998 and 2001 per 100,000 habitants provided by Resa Nestares (2004).<sup>17</sup> In addition, the number of hectares of marihuana confiscated at the state level provided by Secretaria de la Defensa Nacional (SEDENA, 2011) is used to account for illegal drug trade activity.<sup>18</sup> Finally two dummies that distinguish those states in the regions with more violence, northeast and northwest, are included in the estimations to evaluate regional variation. Summary statistics for variables in each sample are provided in Tables 5 (LAPOP) and 6 (ENSI).

#### **D. Methodology**

The model for the repeated cross-section of surveys is specified as

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + X\beta + T\gamma + D\mu + \varepsilon_{it}$$

Where  $i=1,2,\dots,I_t$ ;  $t = 1,2,\dots,T$ .  $Y_{it}$  represents the value of the dependent variable for the  $i_{th}$  person in the  $t_{th}$  survey,  $\alpha$  is a vector of constants,  $X$  is a  $1 \times q$  vector of variables presumed to affect the dependent variable,  $T$  is a  $1 \times T$  vector of time dummies for the survey years,  $D$  is a  $1 \times D$  vector of state dummies, and  $\varepsilon_{it}$  is a vector of error terms for the  $i_{th}$  person in the  $t_{th}$  survey.<sup>19</sup> The methods of estimation used are ordered logit (ordered categorical dependent variable), for most estimations, and multinomial logit (mutually exclusive categorical dependent variable). Time dummies allow controlling for time effects, while state dummies allow controlling for state characteristics that are time invariant. Cluster-robust standard errors with clustering by

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<sup>17</sup> Resa Nestares (2004) provides an indicators of “narco density” which is equal to the number of individuals that were incriminated for the production, possession, and, traffic of drugs (and other acts related to drug trafficking) that resided between 1998 and 2001 in a specific state per 100,000 habitants.

<sup>18</sup> SEDENA (2011) provides data on the number of hectares of marihuana localized, confiscated, and destroyed by the Mexican army and the air force.

<sup>19</sup> Note that it is not a panel data approach where individuals are followed over time. There is no data on crime victimization in Mexico that takes a dynamic panel approach.

geographic areas that represent the primary sample units (PSUs, clusters) are employed in most of the estimations. Cluster-robust standard errors allow dealing with heteroskedasticity of the error term, where errors are correlated within clusters at the geographic level.

Furthermore, statistical models for complex survey data are used when estimating the model with ENSI data. For the estimations that consider complex survey design in a repeated cross section framework, the weight at the individual level and unique PSUs in each wave are considered. Stratification is not considered for the estimations because there is a problem of a strata with a single PSU when using data from the ENSI-3 wave. Not considering stratification is not a problem since using strata tends to decrease the standard errors. Thus, estimates without considering strata provide larger standard errors, resulting in a more conservative approach for evaluating significance.<sup>20</sup>

In the estimations, following the model noted in equation 1, the dependent variable is an indicator related to support and satisfaction with democracy and trust in institutions. The dependent variables denote higher values when there is higher support and satisfaction with democracy and higher trust in institutions. The independent variables of interest are those related to perceptions of insecurity and crime victimization. The independent variable related to perceptions of insecurity denotes higher values for those individuals who feel more insecure in the LAPOP survey. In the ENSI survey, individuals are asked whether they feel insecure in their state/county, and those who feel insecure are assigned a value of 1. Another independent variable of interest is the crime victimization variable, which takes a value of 1 if the individual has been victim of a crime.

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<sup>20</sup> For more discussion on how to apply statistical models for complex survey designs in a repeated cross section refer to <http://www.stata.com/statalist/archive/2008-10/msg00521.html>. More discussion on repeated cross section is also provided by Firebaugh (1997).

Other independent variables of interest that will be included in the estimation are those that allow testing for regional variation that relates to illegal drug trade activity (distance to border, narco density, and confiscated marihuana). Two dummies for states in the northeast and northwest are introduced also to explore regional variation related to drug trafficking activity. The inclusion of time dummies in the estimation allow determining whether there is variation of the dependent variables associated with time, which is relevant for the Mexican case due to the significant increase on crime and insecurity after 2006. Another indicator included to control for time variation is a year trend variable that takes a value of 0-3, where 0 is denoted for the first wave and 3 for the latest wave. This year trend will be interacted with the border dummy variable to test whether there is a group difference in trends between the border and non border Mexican states.<sup>21</sup> Only data from ENSI surveys is used to test for regional and time variation because these surveys cover a larger geographic area and they are representative and the state level.

#### **IV. Results**

##### **A. LAPOP**

Estimates for determining the impact of perceptions of insecurity and crime victimization in democracy using the LAPOP surveys are shown in Table 7. Estimates shown in columns 1-4 of Table 7 are obtained using an ordered logit estimator since the dependent variables are ordered categorical variables that measure support and satisfaction with democracy. In columns 1 and 2 estimates show that the index of perception of insecurity has a robust significant negative

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<sup>21</sup> This part of the analysis refers to what is proposed by Firebaugh (1997) to detect aggregate social trends with repeated surveys.

effect at the 1 percent level on support and satisfaction with democracy. Estimates show that crime victimization is not statistically significant when using the support for democracy index as dependent variable (column 3, Table 7), but it is negatively significant at the 1 percent level when using the satisfaction with democracy index as dependent variable (column 4, Table 7).

LAPOP survey has a question that allows exploring whether individuals are indifferent with democracy (value equal to 1), see democracy as the best system (value equal to 2) or will justify an authoritarian government in special circumstances (value equal to 3). The multinomial logit is used to estimate a model that has this dependent variable. In Table 7, columns 5 and 6 show the estimates for the first model using the insecurity index as independent variable, and columns 7 and 8 show the estimates for the second model using the victim dummy as independent variable. It is interesting to see that perceptions of insecurity have a positive effect on support for an authoritarian government. This is an interesting result as it shows that in Mexico, people might see that an authoritarian government could be more effective dealing with crime. This relationship might be specific to Mexico's experience since this country has undergone through a process of democratization in the 2000s when the political party Partido Accion Nacional (PAN) won presidential elections for the first time in 2000, and this party also won in the following elections in 2006. The late 2000s has been characterized by high violence, and individuals might be feeling the need to a different approach to fighting crime. Estimates also show that those individuals who were victim of a crime are more likely to be indifferent with democracy.

When estimating the impact of insecurity and crime victimization on trust in institutions, an ordered logit estimator is used. There is a robust negative effect of insecurity on trust in institutions. Table 8 shows the estimates where the indices of trust in institutions are used as

dependent variables and the insecurity index is used as independent variable. These estimates show that as insecurity increases, there is a decrease on trust in the political system, electoral system, congress, government, courts system, judicial system, police, and army. It is interesting to note that when trust in the judicial system and the police are used as dependent variables, the insecurity index seems to have the largest negative effect. This finding proves that as people feel more insecure, they are likely to trust less those institutions that have the responsibility to fight crime.

Estimates in Table 9, which include the victim dummy, are very similar to those in Table 8. Results in Table 9 show that being a victim of a crime has a significant negative effect on trust in the institutions mentioned above. It is interesting to note that the coefficient of the victim dummy is the largest for the models that have trust in the judicial system and the police as well. We also observe that the impact of the victim dummy is also larger when using trust in the courts system as dependent variable. When using trust in the police as dependent variable, the size of the coefficient for the victim dummy is of similar magnitude to the coefficient of the insecurity index shown in Table 8. Nonetheless, the size of the coefficient for the victim dummy is of larger magnitude than the insecurity index when the dependent variables are trust in the political, electoral, judicial, and courts systems, and congress. Individuals who are victims of a crime are more likely to go through the judicial and courts systems, and perhaps they are disappointed with the system based on their experience. Because a large number of crimes go unreported in Mexico, the lower trust in the courts and judicial system can be reflected on victims' perception that these systems are corrupted and inefficient and that reporting a crime to the authorities is futile.

## **B. ENSI**

To further understand the impact of insecurity on trust in institution, data from the ENSI surveys is used because this survey provides more detailed information about perceptions of insecurity, crime victimization, and trust in institutions. The estimations with ENSI data are based on an ordered logit estimator that considers complex design with clusters and weights. Table 10 present the estimates obtained when different variables related to trust in institutions are considered as the dependent variable, and a dummy that relates to insecurity in the state is included in the right hand side. The dummy related to insecurity is equal to one if a person feels insecure in its state of residency. The index of insecurity considered here has a significant negative effect at the 1 percent level in all the estimations in Table 10, where the coefficient for the insecurity index is the largest when trust in the local police is used as dependent variable. Estimates in Table 11 show that being victim of a crime has a significant negative effect at the 1 percent level on trust in all institutions, but the army. In these estimations, the coefficient of the victim dummy is also of larger magnitude in the model that has trust in the local police as dependent variable.

## **V. Sensitivity Analysis**

### **A. Robustness Tests**

To sum up from the results discussed above there are several important findings. First, using LAPOP data, estimations show that perceptions of insecurity have a robust significant negative effect on support and satisfaction with democracy. Crime victimization only has a negative effect on satisfaction with democracy. Results also show that perceptions of insecurity

are associated with support for an authoritarian government under certain circumstances and that being a victim of crime is associated with indifference with democracy. In relation to trust on institutions, LAPOP data shows that perceptions of insecurity and crime victimization have a significant negative effect on trust in institutions, where the effect is of larger magnitude for the judicial system and police. Using ENSI data, there is also evidence that insecurity and crime victimization have a significant negative effect on trust in institutions, where the effect is of larger magnitude on trust in the local police.

The results discussed above are robust to several alternative estimations using LAPOP and ENSI data.<sup>22</sup> First, the index of perception of insecurity and victim dummy are entered together in the estimation, and results are similar to those found before. In these estimations, the insecurity index and the victim dummy keep their significance at least at the 5 percent level in most cases. The only difference is that the victim dummy is no longer significant in the models that use trust in the army as dependent variables using LAPOP and ENSI data. Second, all models were also estimated without state dummies, and previous results are robust in these estimations.<sup>23</sup>

Other estimations were performed to check for robustness using ENSI data.<sup>24</sup> First, dummy variables that control for income are included and results stay the same, but sample size decreases since there is no data on income in the last ENSI wave (ENSI-7). Second, the models

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<sup>22</sup> Estimations not included for purpose of space, but are available upon request.

<sup>23</sup> There has been some discussion on whether it is appropriate to include state/country dummies in ordered logit/probit models because the inclusion of these dummies leads to biased coefficients and standard errors. According to Vince Wiggings' work, this problem can be diminished as the number of observations increases, where a minimum of 50 observations for each group is desirable (see discussion on this at the following link <http://www.stata.com/statalist/archive/2003-09/msg00103.html>). In all the estimations of this paper, there are more than 50 observations for each group (i.e. state). As robustness check, all the models were also estimated without state dummies and results are virtually the same. Results not included for purpose of space, but are available upon request.

<sup>24</sup> Estimations not included for purpose of space, but are available upon request.

were estimated using an insecurity dummy at the county level (how insecure do you feel in your county). These estimates show the same results as those found before when using the insecurity dummy at the state level, the only difference is that the coefficients for the insecurity dummy at the county level tend to be larger. Third, when using a dummy that is equal to 1 if there was a victim in the household, results are the same as those found before with the victim dummy. In these estimations, the coefficients for the victim in the household dummy are smaller than those found with the victim dummy, which is as expected. Fourth, the model was also estimated with an indicator that distinguishes whether the individual was a victim in the state of residency, and results are virtually the same.

## **B. Regional and time variation (with ENSI data)**

It is important to look at time and regional variation in the case of Mexico because some regions are affected more by illegal drug trade that is associated with higher levels of violence and insecurity in the last couple of years. Thus, this paper expands on previous work by determining whether drug trafficking activity affects trust in institutions and how trust in institutions has evolved over time in Mexico. Three different indicators are used to proxy for drug trafficking activity at the state level: proximity to the United States border, number of drug dealers that resided in the state between 1998 and 2001, and number of hectares of marijuana confiscated in the year before the reference year of the survey. Table 12 shows the estimates including distance to the border and narco density separately in the right hand side, and using as dependent variables those indices that relate to trust in the institutions that deal with crime and that have been collected consistently over time (local police, state police, and preventive federal

police).<sup>25</sup> When looking at the estimations that include the indicator of proximity to the border (Table 12, columns 1-3), we observe that distance to the border has a positive significant effect on trust in all the different types of police analyzed here. The positive sign of distance to the border indicates that the closer to the border, the lower the trust on institutions. When including the indicator of narco density in the estimations (Table 12, columns 4-6), we observe that narco density has a significant negative effect on trust on the local, state, and federal police. From these estimates, it can be inferred that greater drug trade activity is associated with lower levels of trust in the police. It is important to note that the negative effect of drug trade activity in these estimations seems to be larger for the local police.

In relation to the impact of confiscation of marihuana on trust in institutions, estimates presented in columns 1-3 of Table 13 show that confiscation of marihuana has a significant positive effect on trust in the local, state, and preventive federal police. This finding is contradictory. In one hand, it is expected that more drug trade activity might lead to less trust on institutions as it was found when using distance to the border and narco density. On the other hand, as the number of marihuana confiscated increases at the state level, then it might be expected that trust on institutions increases as people perceive that authorities are being effective dealing with drug trafficking. One reason that might explain why we find a contradictory sign is because confiscation of hectares of marihuana is more likely to happen in rural areas, and therefore this indicator might not be providing an exact picture of drug trafficking activity.

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<sup>25</sup> In all these estimations the state dummies are not included to avoid issues of multicollinearity. Note that the index of trust in the AFI is not included in this part of the analysis since this institution changed name in the last ENSI survey. A question that distinguishes federal police from the preventive federal police starts in the second wave used in this analysis (ENSI-5).

A better understanding of variation across time can be explored through the use of repeated cross section surveys. A simple way to look at time variation is to look at the significance of the time dummies. In all the estimations mentioned above, time dummies are included and the last year is the reference year for the LAPOP and ENSI samples. When using LAPOP data, in most of the estimations there does not seem to be a clear trend since time dummies are not significant in most cases. When looking at time dummies in the estimations that use ENSI data, in general, estimates show that trust in several institutions has deteriorated over time. Estimates show that in 4 out of 5 cases, trust in the local police shows a negative trend (time dummies are positive indicating that trust was higher in previous years). In all 5 cases, trust in the state police and the preventive federal police has deteriorated over time.

To further explore regional and time variation, we include in the estimations two dummies for those states in the northeast and northwest region, a year trend variable, and an interaction of the year trend with the regional dummies. Estimates including these variables are shown in Table 13. The estimates for the model that has trust in local police as dependent variable (Table 13, column 1) show that the states in the northwest region have higher levels of trust than other regions. In this estimation, the year trend and the interaction terms are negative and statistically significant at least at the 5 percent level. The significance and sign of these terms indicate that trust in the local police has been deteriorating over time for all states, but it has been deteriorating at a higher rate in the northeast and northwest states. When using state and preventive federal police as dependent variables, the interaction terms are negative and statistically significant. This indicates that trust in the state and preventive federal police is deteriorating at a higher rate in the northwest and northeast regions. Results are very similar

when a border dummy is included in the model (instead of the two regional dummies) and interacted with the time trend.<sup>26</sup>

## **VI. Conclusion**

This analysis shows that insecurity has a negative effect on support for democracy and trust in institutions in Mexico. In specific estimates show that perceptions of insecurity have a negative effect on support for democracy and trust in institutions. Crime victimization seems to have a robust negative effect on trust in institutions, but its effect on democracy is not as robust. It is also interesting to note that the detrimental effect of insecurity and crime victimization seems to be the largest for trust in institutions that are closely related to security, such as the judicial system and the police. This analysis also shows that there is a time variation, where trust in several institutions that deal with crime has deteriorated over time. There is also evidence that those states with more drug trafficking activity show deterioration at a faster pace of trust in institutions over time.

This analysis is relevant since it empirically evaluates the social and institutional effects of crime in society. In the Mexican context, this is of special interest today because it is important to design adequate policies that deal with the consequences of crime. Because crime seems to have a large negative effect on trust in institutions responsible for dealing with crime (police and judicial system), the lack of trust in these institutions might complicate dealing with crime in the future. If distrust in the judicial system and the police increases with insecurity, this

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<sup>26</sup> Results not included for purpose of space, but are available upon request.

can lead to less crimes being officially reported to the authorities. If crime is not reported because of distrust in institutions, then diminishing crime will be more difficult.

Because “what is not measured is unknown, and what is unknown cannot be solved” (Lo que no se mide no se conoce, lo que no se conoce no se puede resolver, ICESI, 2011a) it is necessary that policy makers are aware of the effects that crime and insecurity have on support and trust in institutions. From this analysis, a policy recommendation will be to continue relying on victimization surveys in order to have a better understanding of crime. Resources must be allocated to gather data on perceptions of insecurity, crime victimization, and experience with institutions that deal with crime appropriately and in a timely manner. A longitudinal study that provides information about individual’s experience with the police and judicial system will be very valuable in order to determine what policies are adequate for diminishing crime in Mexico.

From this analysis it is also evident that trust in the local police has deteriorated significantly over time, and that the impact of insecurity has a larger negative effect on trust in this institution. This presents a significant challenge to authorities since local police is usually the first filter when dealing with crime. Thus, from this analysis it can be concluded that special efforts to improve the efficiency and reliability of local police forces should be an important policy priority when dealing in Mexico.

It is also necessary to implement programs that focus on diminishing corruption and increasing transparency in the police and judicial system to improve trust. Making the process of officially reporting a crime accessible to all citizens, increasing the effectiveness of the process of solving a crime, and communicating improvements on these institutions to the general public can significantly affect the level of trust. In the case of Mexico, the detrimental effect of

insecurity on trust in institutions overlaps with a period of time in which the government has undertaken a major actions to diminish drug trafficking. Because of these circumstances, a program at the federal level that focuses on improving transparency and communicating to its citizens the actions taken to enhance the effectiveness of the police and judicial systems is likely to help increasing trust in institutions during these difficult times.

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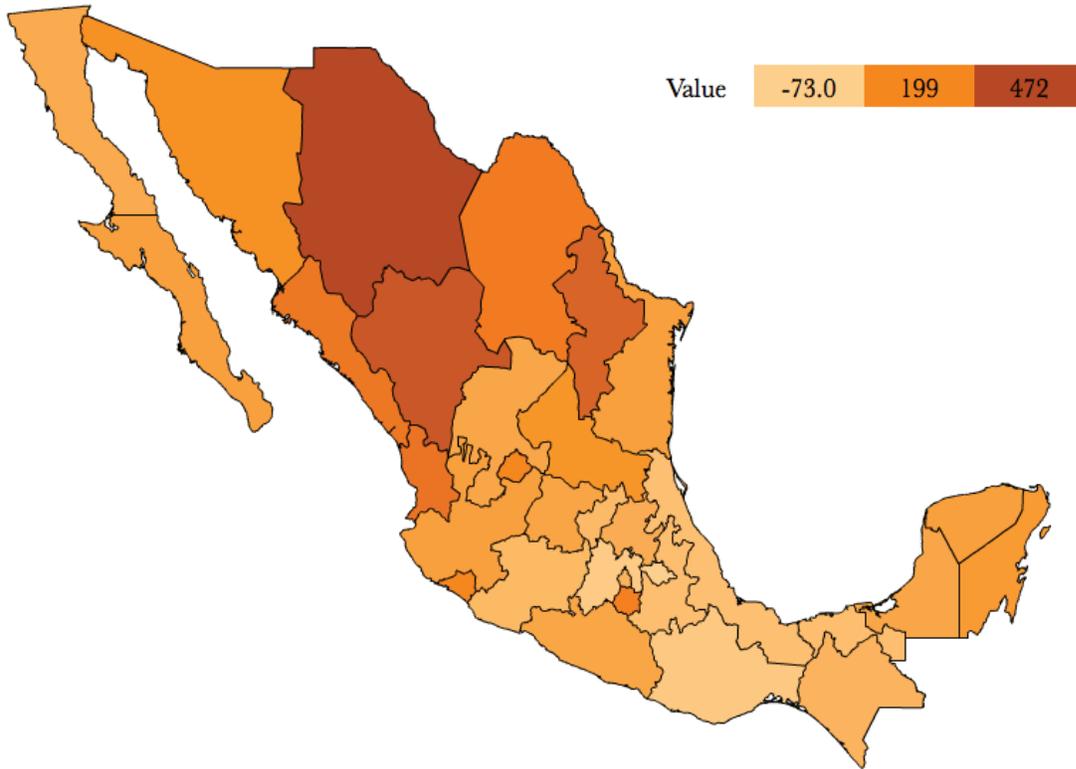
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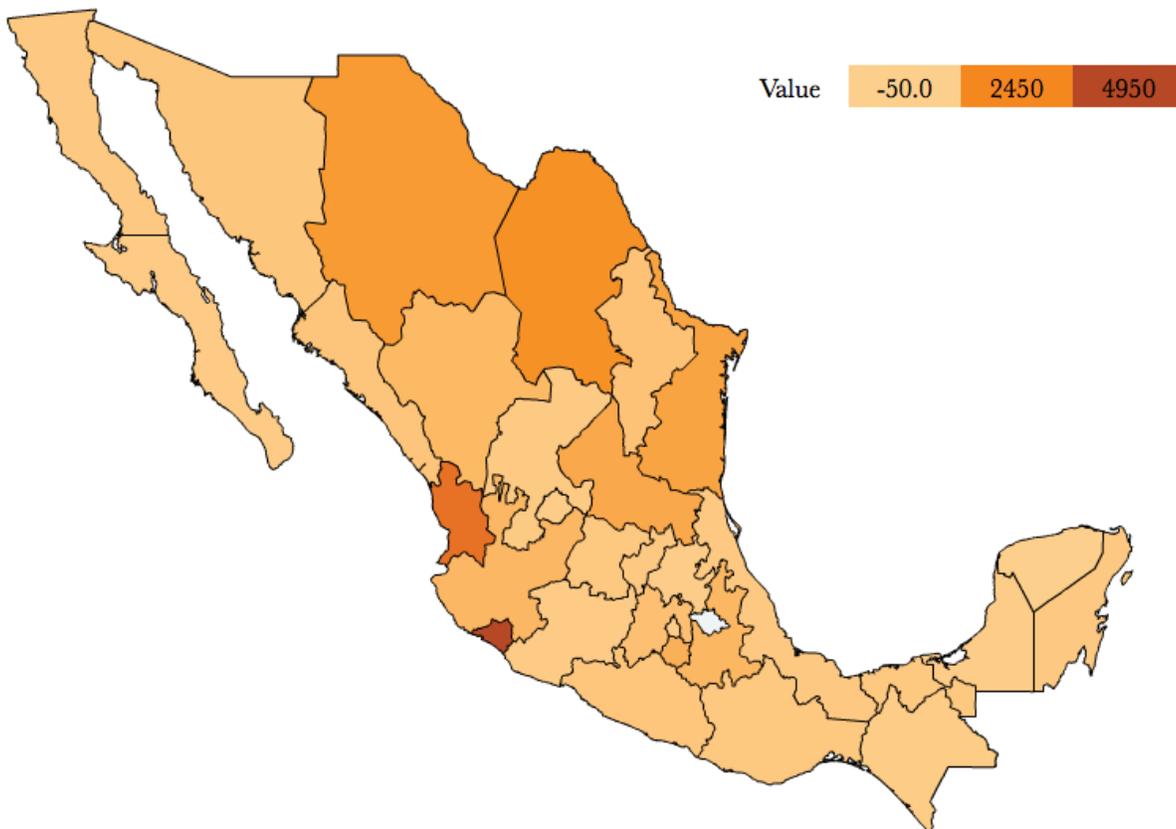
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**Figure 1. Heat map of intentional homicides rate, percentage change 2006-2010**

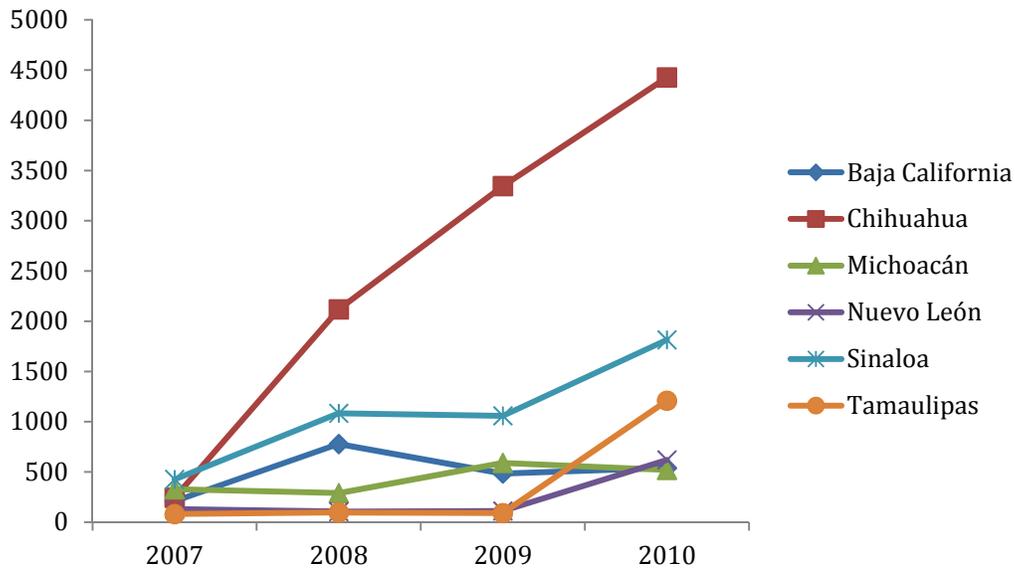


**Figure 2. Heat map of organized crime related homicides, percentage change 2007-2010**



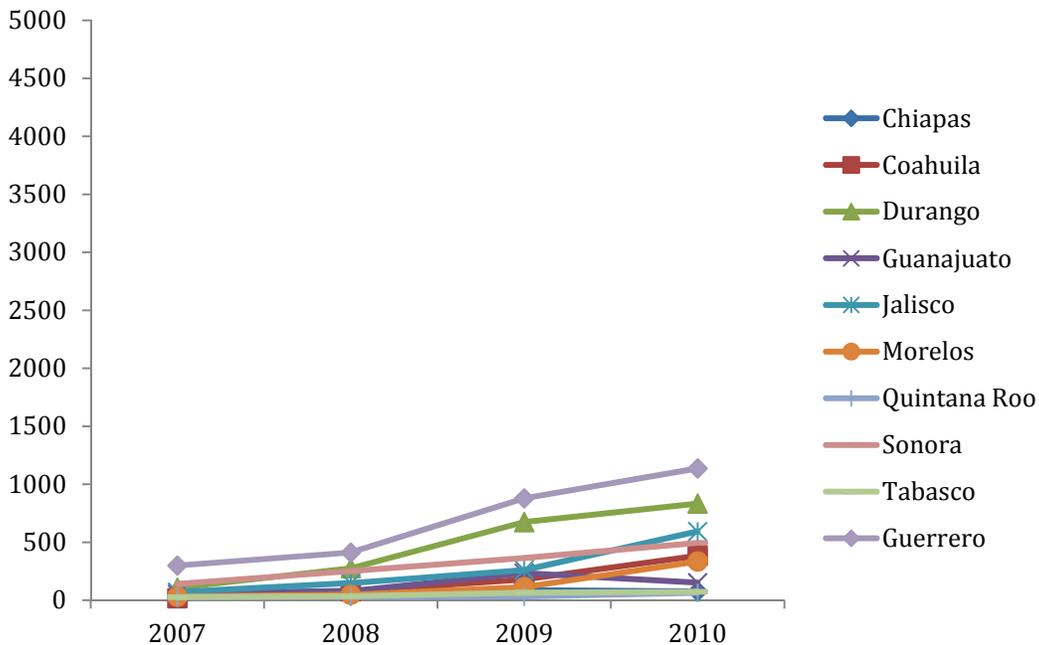
**Figure 3. Homicides related to organized crime 2007-2010 for most violent states\***

\*Figure constructed with Presidencia de la Republica Data (2011) and state categorization provided by SEGOB (2011) - Most violent states where 80% of crimes take place (and significant drug cartel activity)



**Figure 4. Homicides related to organized crime 2007-2010 other states with high violence\***

\*Figure constructed using Presidencia de la Republica Data (2011) and state categorization provided by SEGOB (2011) - States with significant drug cartel activity



**Table 1. Official Crime Statistics 2006-2010 (selected years)**

State	Region <sup>a</sup>	Intentional homicides <sup>b</sup> (per100,000)			Intentional homicides <sup>b</sup> (per100,000)			Org. crime homicides <sup>c</sup> (Total)		
		2001	2005	%change	2006	2010	%change	2007	2010	%change
Aguascalientes	Centronorte	2	2	0	2	6	200	37	46	24
Baja California	Noroeste	18	19	6	17	27	59	209	540	158
Baja California Sur	Noroeste	6	7	17	4	8	100	6	10	67
Campeche	Sureste	7	7	0	4	7	75	11	14	27
Chiapas	Suroeste	5	6	20	8	10	25	57	77	35
Chihuahua	Noroeste	10	8	-20	18	103	472	244	4427	1714
Coahuila	Noreste	31	10	-68	4	14	250	18	384	2033
Colima	Occidente	16	17	6	5	15	200	2	101	4950
Distrito Federal	Centrosur	9	8	-11	7	9	29	182	191	5
Durango	Noroeste	22	12	-45	13	66	408	108	834	672
Guanajuato	Centronorte	5	4	-20	5	9	80	51	152	198
Guerrero	Suroeste	40	24	-40	27	48	78	299	1137	280
Hidalgo	Oriente	6	5	-17	4	6	50	43	52	21
Jalisco	Occidente	8	6	-25	6	12	100	70	593	747
México	Centrosur	22	17	-23	19	8	-58	111	623	461
Michoacán	Occidente	12	11	-8	17	18	6	328	520	59
Morelos	Centrosur	12	10	-17	10	33	230	32	335	947
Nayarit	Occidente	13	10	-23	10	38	280	11	377	3327
Nuevo León	Noreste	4	3	-25	4	18	350	130	620	377
Oaxaca	Suroeste	37	30	-19	30	14	-53	62	167	169
Puebla	Oriente	10	6	-40	8	7	-13	6	51	750
Querétaro	Centronorte	6	4	-33	3	3	0	5	13	160
Quintana Roo	Sureste	27	11	-59	10	22	120	26	64	146
San Luis Potosí	Centronorte	8	7	-13	5	12	140	10	135	1250
Sinaloa	Noroeste	21	23	10	23	85	270	426	1815	326
Sonora	Noroeste	8	11	38	10	26	160	141	495	251
Tabasco	Sureste	9	4	-56	8	7	-13	27	73	170
Tamaulipas	Noreste	6	12	100	11	22	100	80	1209	1411
Tlaxcala	Oriente	35	33	-6	15	4	-73	0	4	-
Veracruz	Oriente	7	6	-14	6	5	-17	75	179	139
Yucatán	Sureste	1	1	0	1	2	100	4	2	-50
Zacatecas	Centronorte	7	4	-43	4	7	75	18	37	106
National		14	11	-21	11	18	64	2829	15277	440

<sup>a</sup> Regions: Northeast = Noreste, Northwest= Noroeste, Occidente = West, Oriente = East, North-Central = Centronorte, South-Central = Centrosur, Southeastern = Sureste, and Southwestern = Suroeste.

<sup>b</sup> Intentional Homicides per 100,000 habitants (rounded up, official statistics). Source: Instituto Ciudadano de Estudio Sobre la Inseguridad (ICESI, 2011b). A homicide in which the death of a person is caused intentionally is considered intentional homicide.

<sup>c</sup> Homicides related to organized crime, total number (collection of these statistics started in 2006). Homicides considered for this category are based on the characteristics of the execution based on place, sex, age, and message. Deaths considered for this category also include deaths that resulted from attacks and confrontation between the authorities and criminal organizations, and between criminal organizations (without the presence of authority). Source: Presidencia de la Republica (2011).

**Table 2. Drug cartel activity 2007-2010**

	Pacifico vs Juarez	Pacifico vs Beltran Leyva	Pacifico vs Golfo- Zetas	Pacifico vs Arellano Felix	Familia vs Golfo- Zetas	Golfo vs Zetas	Familia vs Beltran Leyva	% of total crimes 2010 <sup>a</sup>
<i>Most violent states</i>								
Baja California				X				6.3
Chihuahua	X							30
Michoacán					X			5.4
Nuevo León						X		2.6
Sinaloa	X	X	X					13
Tamaulipas						X		3
<i>Other states with high violence</i>								
Chiapas			X					
Coahuila			X					
Durango	X	X	X					
Guanajuato					X			
Guerrero		X	X		X		X	
Jalisco		X						
Morelos							X	
Quintana Roo			X					
Sonora		X						
Tabasco			X					

X indicates whether which cartel is fighting for control in the specific state

Most violent states are those in which 80% of organized crimes are concentrated

<sup>a</sup> % calculated as of August of 2010 by SEGOB (2011). Source: SEGOB (2011)

**Table 3. Select data from LAPOP and ENSI data**

	LAPOP 2004	LAPOP 2006	LAPOP 2008	LAPOP 2010	t-test 04 & 10
Perception of insecurity index (average) <sup>a</sup>	2.225	2.355	2.198	2.316	-2.819***
% of population victim of a crime	17.346	20.194	16.121	25.928	-5.836***
	ENSI-3 2004	ENSI-5 2007	ENSI-6 2008	ENSI-7 2009	
% of population victim of a crime	11.3	10.8	11.5	10.1	
% of households with crime victim		13	13.1	13.7	
% that feels insecure in its state	54	59	65	65	
% that believes that crime affected life quality a lot	9	10	14	22	

% for ENSI data calculated for the population 18 years and older. Source: LAPOP and ENSI

<sup>a</sup> Index ranges between 4 and 1, where very insecure = 4 and very secure = 1

**Table 4. Empirical Analysis on the relationship between perceptions of insecurity (PI) and crime victimization (CV) on support and satisfaction with democracy and trust in institutions**

Author	Data	Sample	Findings
Fernandez & Kuenzi (2010)	Latinobarometro 2003	17 LAC & 14 AC	PI → (-) on support and satisfaction for democracy in LAC, CV → (-) satisfaction with democracy
Cenabou et al. (2011)	LAPOP 2006	10 LAC	CV → (-) effect on satisfaction with democracy (no effect on support)
Cruz (2008)	LAPOP 2006	21 LAC	PI → (-) effect on support for democracy PI & CV → (-) effect on rule of law
Bateson (2010)	LAPOP 2008	18 LAC	CV → (-) effect on support and trust for democracy
Salinas & Booth (2011)	LAPOP 2008	18 LAC	PI → (-) effect on support for democracy CV → no effect
Maldonado (2010)	LAPOP 2010	23 LAC	PI → (+) effect on government overthrow CV → no effect on government overthrow
Ahmad et al. (2011)	LAPOP 2010	26 LAC	PI & CV → trust in the police
Perez (2003)	Latinobarometro 1996 & 1998	2 CAC	PI → (-) effect on trust in the police and democracy (ELS & GTM) CV → support for military coup (ELS)
Cruz (2006)	LAPOP 1999	3 CAC	CV → (-) effect on support to the political system in all cases, PI → (-) effect only for GTM & ELS (NIC no effect)
Malone (2010)	LAPOP 2008	6 CAC	PI & CV → (-) effect in support for judicial system
Garcia (2011)	LAPOP 2005	COL	People in areas with more drug production have less trust in institutions
Buendia & Moreno (2004)	LAPOP 2004	MEX	Corruption → (-) effect on democracy
Paras & Coleman (2006)	LAPOP 2006	MEX	PI & CV → (-) effect on trust in institutions
Malone (2009)	LAPOP 2008	MEX	PI → (-) effect in support for democracy and rule of law, CV → (-) effect on the rule of law
Paras & Moreno (2008)	LAPOP 2008	MEX	PI & CV → (-) effect on trust in institutions
Paras et al (2010)	LAPOP 2010	MEX	PI → (-) effect on support for democracy PI & CV → NS effect on rule of law

LAC = Latin American countries, CAC = Central American countries, AC = African countries

**Table 5. Summary Statistics – LAPOP data for 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2010**

Variable	2004			2006			2008			2010			All years	
	Obs	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max									
Insecurity index	1545	2.22	0.88	1536	2.36	0.93	1557	2.20	0.89	1553	2.32	0.92	1	4
Victim	1545	0.17	0.38	1545	0.20	0.40	1557	0.16	0.37	1562	0.26	0.44	0	1
Support democracy index	1451	5.19	1.58	1466	5.15	1.66	1488	5.11	1.74	1477	5.01	1.64	1	7
Satisfaction democracy index	1498	2.52	0.65	1479	2.47	0.68	1497	2.53	0.68	1503	2.35	0.74	1	4
Support democracy 2	1424	1.95	0.51	1357	2.00	0.52	1459	2.00	0.50	1438	2.05	0.53	1	3
Trust in the political system	1506	4.79	1.71	1504	5.15	1.68	1527	4.96	1.79	1522	4.96	1.78	1	7
Trust in the electoral system	1527	4.28	1.91	1498	5.04	1.74	1532	4.70	1.91	1532	4.44	1.95	1	7
Trust in the congress	1455	4.11	1.70	1444	4.53	1.66	1457	4.33	1.75	1461	4.24	1.71	1	7
Trust in the government	1510	4.28	1.74	1490	4.53	1.76	1530	4.59	1.79	1530	4.54	1.77	1	7
Trust in the courts system	1438	4.19	1.71	1473	4.12	1.70	1406	4.00	1.75	1452	3.80	1.62	1	7
Trust in the judicial system	1523	4.01	1.69	1512	4.04	1.75	1525	4.05	1.81	1536	3.88	1.70	1	7
Trust in the police	1530	3.55	1.88	1523	3.26	1.86	1554	3.62	1.83	1552	3.18	1.77	1	7
Trust in the army	1501	5.06	1.67	1495	5.35	1.66	1518	5.25	1.78	1513	5.33	1.68	1	7
Female	1556	0.50	0.50	1560	0.51	0.50	1560	0.51	0.50	1562	0.50	0.50	0	1
Relationship	1554	0.70	0.46	1549	0.69	0.46	1546	0.67	0.47	1559	0.63	0.48	0	1
Kids	1556	0.77	0.42	1552	0.76	0.43	1556	0.74	0.44	1547	0.72	0.45	0	1
White	1483	0.19	0.40	1465	0.23	0.42	1458	0.26	0.44	1458	0.17	0.38	0	1
Mestiza	1483	0.69	0.46	1465	0.66	0.47	1458	0.61	0.49	1458	0.73	0.44	0	1
City Size	1556	3.04	1.49	1560	3.05	1.49	1560	3.05	1.49	1562	2.93	1.43	1	5
Education	1555	8.22	4.42	1559	8.57	4.30	1560	8.27	4.47	1559	8.95	4.44	0	18
Income level	1436	4.42	2.28	1283	4.56	2.35	1346	4.58	2.31	1393	4.28	2.48	0	10
Age	1556	39.22	14.97	1558	37.61	14.31	1558	40.84	16.67	1558	39.42	15.78	18	90
GDP per capita	1556	70.43	35.61	1560	75.46	38.36	1560	77.93	39.77	1562	67.76	34.10	31.45	172.48
Life expectancy	1556	74.31	0.73	1560	74.88	0.73	1560	75.18	0.70	1562	75.46	0.70	72.58	76.50

All variables at the individual level obtained from LAPOP (2011). GDP per capita at the state level constructed using total real GDP (2003 constant prices, from Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, INEGI, 2011) and dividing it by total population (from Consejo Nacional de la Población, CONAPO, 2011). GDP per capita not available for 2010, but it was filled in with linear extrapolation. Life expectancy at the state level obtained from CONAPO (2011).

**Table 6. Summary Statistics – ENSI data for 2004, 2007, 2008, and 2009**

Variable	2004			2007			2008			2009			All years	
	Obs	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max									
Victim	57398	0.11	0.32	30670	0.09	0.28	56172	0.11	0.32	60461	0.10	0.30	0	1
Insecure	55610	0.52	0.50	29534	0.57	0.49	54571	0.66	0.47	59456	0.67	0.47	0	1
Trust local police	48310	2.02	0.69	23817	1.98	0.62	37675	1.93	0.62	45133	1.87	0.56	1	3
Trust transit police	39836	1.97	0.69	22887	1.91	0.64	37584	1.88	0.64	44870	1.85	0.58	1	3
Trust state police (jud)	30526	1.96	0.74	18394	1.96	0.64	25553	1.94	0.66	12941	1.94	0.61	1	3
Trust AFI	14466	2.28	0.72	14713	2.18	0.67	19363	2.15	0.68	8600	2.07	0.62	1	3
Trust fed police(prev)	19964	2.32	0.69	15466	2.16	0.65	21635	2.15	0.66	29246	2.10	0.62	1	3
Trust federal police				28413	2.33	1.06	51312	2.26	1.10	57091	2.12	0.98	1	4
Trust public ministry				27796	1.99	0.95	50215	1.97	0.97	56492	2.02	0.93	1	4
Trust army				28726	2.81	1.09	52867	2.94	1.13	58070	2.78	1.11	1	4
Trust political parties				29671	1.59	0.82	54156	1.59	0.84	59473	1.64	0.80	1	4
Urban	57398	0.76	0.43	31088	0.83	0.38	56175	0.76	0.42	60461	0.76	0.42	0	1
Female	57398	0.55	0.50	31088	0.57	0.49	56175	0.55	0.50	60461	0.54	0.50	0	1
Age	57289	40.95	16.12	30780	41.58	16.71	55940	41.73	16.38	60145	41.85	16.62	18	97
Primary	57189	0.22	0.41	30536	0.44	0.50	56175	0.40	0.49	56144	0.22	0.41	0	1
Sec. and high school	57189	0.30	0.46	30536	0.38	0.48	56175	0.38	0.49	56144	0.24	0.43	0	1
High school more	57189	0.22	0.41	30536	0.18	0.39	56175	0.22	0.41	56144	0.39	0.49	0	1
No educ	57189	0.26	0.44	30536	0.00	0.00	56175	0.00	0.00	56144	0.15	0.36	0	1
Employed	57378	0.57	0.49	30691	0.54	0.50	56114	0.64	0.48	60456	0.57	0.50	0	1
Unemployed	57378	0.05	0.21	30691	0.01	0.10	56114	0.01	0.11	60456	0.07	0.25	0	1
Not labor force	57378	0.38	0.49	30691	0.45	0.50	56114	0.35	0.48	60456	0.37	0.48	0	1
GDP per capita	57398	78.36	63.42	31088	79.53	56.99	56175	80.84	55.47	60461	75.83	48.91	32.88	467.60
Life expectancy	57398	74.35	0.73	31088	75.01	0.66	56175	75.26	0.71	60461	75.36	0.67	72.58	76.37
Distance border	57398	750.42	362.12	31088	813.77	323.58	56175	772.67	354.31	60461	761.28	348.04	167.87	1370.17
Narco density (98-01)	57398	53.08	44.03	31088	40.71	37.44	56175	51.61	44.73	60461	50.20	42.98	4.26	143.57
Marihuaha (hec)	57398	1.01	1.62	31088	0.77	1.49	56175	1.19	2.01	60461	0.87	1.83	0	8.09
Noroeste	57398	0.26	0.44	31088	0.15	0.36	56175	0.25	0.43	60461	0.23	0.42	0	1
Noreste	57398	0.09	0.28	31088	0.10	0.29	56175	0.06	0.24	60461	0.09	0.29	0	1
Year trend	57398	0.00	0.00	31088	1.00	0.00	56175	2.00	0.00	60461	3.00	0.00	0	3

All variables at the individual level obtained from ENSI (2011). GDP per capita at the state level constructed using total real GDP (2003 constant prices, INEGI, 2011) and dividing it by total population (from CONAPO, 2011). Life expectancy at the state level obtained from CONAPO (2011). Distance to the border calculated as the distance to the closest major border city, narco density represents the number of criminals involved in drug trafficking with residency in the state, and marihuana is the number of hectares (per 1000) confiscated in the state. Year trend ranges from 0 to 3 for each survey wave (for 2004 equal to 0, for 2009 equal to 3).

**Table 7. Impact of insecurity and crime victimization on democracy – LAPOP data**

	Dem.sup. index (1)	Dem.sat. index (2)	Dem.sup index (3)	Dem.sat. index (4)	Indiff. model 1 (5)	Author. model1 (6)	Indiff. model2 (7)	Author. model 2 (8)
Insecurity ind.	-0.1242*** (0.0353)	-0.3187*** (0.0401)			0.0279 (0.0593)	0.1152** (0.0533)		
Victim			-0.0556 (0.0741)	-0.2319*** (0.0725)			0.3863*** (0.1125)	-0.0762 (0.1219)
Female	0.0637 (0.0511)	0.0855 (0.0557)	0.0436 (0.0512)	0.0259 (0.0551)	0.1068 (0.0878)	-0.1755** (0.0882)	0.1433 (0.0898)	-0.1802** (0.0881)
Relationship	-0.0448 (0.0714)	-0.1381 (0.0848)	-0.0553 (0.0708)	-0.1794** (0.0847)	0.0742 (0.1345)	-0.2692** (0.1247)	0.0765 (0.1343)	-0.2519** (0.1248)
Kids	0.0371 (0.0838)	-0.0261 (0.0955)	0.0371 (0.0839)	-0.026 (0.0943)	-0.1165 (0.1584)	0.1525 (0.1460)	-0.1176 (0.1574)	0.1551 (0.1477)
White	-0.0326 (0.1167)	0.0831 (0.1249)	-0.0335 (0.1168)	0.0476 (0.1215)	-0.1113 (0.1649)	0.038 (0.1961)	-0.0938 (0.1657)	0.0488 (0.1962)
Mestizo	0.0507 (0.1005)	0.0714 (0.1094)	0.056 (0.1010)	0.051 (0.1058)	-0.2865** (0.1448)	-0.2095 (0.1652)	-0.2797* (0.1447)	-0.2124 (0.1651)
City size	0.021 (0.0322)	0.0618* (0.0360)	0.0412 (0.0319)	0.0940*** (0.0348)	0.0487 (0.0514)	-0.002 (0.0520)	0.047 (0.0510)	-0.0266 (0.0522)
Education	0.0297*** (0.0087)	-0.0347*** (0.0094)	0.0327*** (0.0087)	-0.0329*** (0.0094)	-0.0245* (0.0139)	-0.0588*** (0.0135)	-0.0285** (0.0139)	-0.0596*** (0.0135)
Income	0.0918*** (0.0156)	0.0307* (0.0164)	0.0926*** (0.0155)	0.0379** (0.0161)	-0.0438* (0.0239)	-0.0102 (0.0262)	-0.0475** (0.0237)	-0.0149 (0.0263)
Age	0.0122*** (0.0024)	0.0004 (0.0023)	0.0130*** (0.0024)	0.0011 (0.0023)	-0.0100*** (0.0037)	-0.0166*** (0.0034)	-0.0097** (0.0038)	-0.0177*** (0.0034)
GDP per capita	-0.0067 (0.0116)	0.0091 (0.0111)	-0.0086 (0.0115)	0.0076 (0.0109)	-0.0376** (0.0168)	-0.0215* (0.0128)	-0.0369** (0.0169)	-0.0199 (0.0128)
Life expect.	-0.4298 (0.5171)	-1.4763** (0.5939)	-0.2672 (0.5196)	-1.1894** (0.5996)	-0.5799 (0.8010)	-0.3636 (0.8668)	-0.6538 (0.7972)	-0.49 (0.8757)
Year 2004	-0.2723 (0.6286)	-1.3536* (0.7099)	-0.0695 (0.6294)	-1.0143 (0.7173)	-0.2897 (0.9624)	-0.8765 (1.0225)	-0.3409 (0.9555)	-1.0617 (1.0316)
Year 2006	-0.005 (0.3532)	-0.553 (0.3953)	0.0907 (0.3542)	-0.3817 (0.3983)	0.0579 (0.5413)	-0.3639 (0.5562)	0.0315 (0.5373)	-0.4557 (0.5610)
Year 2008	0.0625 (0.2221)	-0.1495 (0.2478)	0.139 (0.2213)	-0.0449 (0.2489)	0.2877 (0.3508)	-0.1995 (0.3363)	0.3053 (0.3482)	-0.2806 (0.3391)
Observations	4896	4950	4900	4958	4747	4747	4749	4749
Log-likelihood	-8490	-4977	-8503	-5029	-3476	-3476	-3470	-3470
Wald Chisq	211	217	190	177	246	246	257	257
R-sq(pseudo)	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03

Coefficients with cluster-robust standard errors in parenthesis. Significance notated at \* p<.1; \*\* p<.05; \*\*\* p<.01. Estimates for cut-off estimates and state dummies and not included for purpose of space. Ordered logit estimates in columns 1-5, and multinomial logit estimates in columns 5-8. Reference group: male, no relationship (single, separated, divorced, widow/widower), no kids, indigenous or other race, and year 2010.

**Table 8. Impact of insecurity on trust on institutions – LAPOP data**

	Political system (1)	Electoral system (2)	Congress (3)	Government (4)	Courts system (5)	Judicial system (6)	Police (7)	Army (8)
Insec. index	-0.1082*** (0.0383)	-0.1843*** (0.0360)	-0.2225*** (0.0330)	-0.2434*** (0.0346)	-0.2192*** (0.0323)	-0.3146*** (0.0361)	-0.3371*** (0.0347)	-0.2088*** (0.0345)
Female	0.1168** (0.0525)	0.0295 (0.0522)	-0.0232 (0.0533)	0.0714 (0.0497)	-0.0466 (0.0542)	0.0364 (0.0510)	0.0887* (0.0484)	-0.2689*** (0.0540)
Relationship	-0.0075 (0.0729)	0.1028 (0.0771)	-0.1007 (0.0690)	-0.0406 (0.0693)	0.0648 (0.0748)	0.0249 (0.0713)	-0.0471 (0.0710)	-0.0548 (0.0738)
Kids	0.0221 (0.0891)	-0.1204 (0.0837)	0.1856** (0.0788)	0.0765 (0.0817)	-0.1446* (0.0856)	0.0292 (0.0829)	0.1029 (0.0824)	0.1597* (0.0908)
White	0.0618 (0.1093)	0.1423 (0.1122)	0.1696 (0.1211)	0.1762 (0.1258)	0.2792** (0.1149)	0.2195* (0.1277)	0.1851 (0.1244)	-0.1575 (0.1192)
Mestizo	-0.0611 (0.0878)	0.0686 (0.0966)	0.1962* (0.1064)	0.0935 (0.1088)	0.0483 (0.0923)	0.1534 (0.1055)	0.1247 (0.1011)	-0.1121 (0.0990)
City size	0.0713* (0.0368)	0.0475 (0.0312)	0.0293 (0.0296)	0.0761** (0.0321)	0.0316 (0.0331)	0.044 (0.0375)	0.1056*** (0.0397)	-0.0108 (0.0307)
Education	0.013 (0.0086)	-0.0192** (0.0085)	-0.0169* (0.0086)	-0.0204** (0.0086)	-0.0264*** (0.0088)	-0.0075 (0.0087)	-0.0111 (0.0085)	-0.0069 (0.0087)
Income	-0.0321** (0.0149)	0.0122 (0.0154)	0.011 (0.0152)	-0.0093 (0.0145)	0.0276* (0.0153)	-0.0138 (0.0150)	0.0002 (0.0157)	0.0121 (0.0146)
Age	0.0076*** (0.0023)	-0.0082*** (0.0022)	-0.0052** (0.0023)	0.0013 (0.0023)	-0.0013 (0.0024)	0.0002 (0.0023)	-0.0018 (0.0022)	-0.0025 (0.0022)
GDP per cap.	-0.0017 (0.0087)	-0.0275*** (0.0093)	-0.0026 (0.0084)	-0.0083 (0.0082)	-0.0015 (0.0093)	-0.0017 (0.0084)	0.0034 (0.0104)	-0.0307*** (0.0079)
Life expect.	-0.2105 (0.4895)	-1.1596** (0.5125)	-0.483 (0.4490)	-1.1779** (0.4924)	-1.3859*** (0.5170)	-0.6109 (0.4955)	-1.0180* (0.5671)	-1.2328*** (0.4358)
Year 2004	-0.4918 (0.5824)	-1.5007** (0.6371)	-0.77 (0.5368)	-1.7254*** (0.5833)	-1.2476** (0.6363)	-0.6392 (0.5928)	-0.8942 (0.6861)	-1.7821*** (0.5205)
Year 2006	0.0978 (0.3177)	0.1365 (0.3479)	0.1353 (0.2931)	-0.5767* (0.3296)	-0.4537 (0.3445)	-0.1926 (0.3305)	-0.6087 (0.3740)	-0.4664 (0.2909)
Year 2008	-0.1125 (0.2041)	0.1233 (0.2237)	-0.0792 (0.1950)	-0.3213 (0.2212)	-0.2568 (0.2170)	-0.1002 (0.2296)	0.0194 (0.2397)	-0.1925 (0.1961)
Observations	5016	5030	4856	5015	4786	5043	5075	4998
Log-lik.	-8936	-9278	-8924	-9192	-8782	-9307	-9276	-8480
Wald Chi sq	203.2	288.1	247.6	284.4	272.3	257.5	351.5	224.2
R-sq(pseudo)	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02

Ordered logit coefficients with cluster-robust standard errors in parenthesis. Significance notated at \* p<.1; \*\* p<.05; \*\*\* p<.01. Estimates for cut-off estimates and state dummies and not included for purpose of space. Reference group: male, no relationship (single, separated, divorced, widow/widower), no kids, indigenous or other race, and year 2010.

**Table 9. Impact of crime victimization on trust on institutions – LAPOP data**

	Political system (1)	Electoral system (2)	Congress (3)	Government (4)	Courts system (5)	Judicial system (6)	Police (7)	Army (8)
Victim	-0.2314*** (0.0690)	-0.2709*** (0.0655)	-0.2369*** (0.0624)	-0.2110*** (0.0695)	-0.3143*** (0.0707)	-0.4259*** (0.0642)	-0.3160*** (0.0658)	-0.1803*** (0.0671)
Female	0.0862 (0.0526)	-0.0128 (0.0519)	-0.0672 (0.0535)	0.0258 (0.0497)	-0.0998* (0.0539)	-0.0275 (0.0507)	0.0288 (0.0486)	-0.3027*** (0.0542)
Relationship	-0.0346 (0.0730)	0.0757 (0.0772)	-0.1211* (0.0686)	-0.0706 (0.0694)	0.0316 (0.0750)	-0.0221 (0.0720)	-0.0958 (0.0726)	-0.0815 (0.0738)
Kids	0.0338 (0.0888)	-0.1132 (0.0844)	0.1803** (0.0779)	0.0709 (0.0815)	-0.1459* (0.0850)	0.0384 (0.0847)	0.1162 (0.0844)	0.1545* (0.0912)
White	0.0578 (0.1090)	0.1274 (0.1121)	0.1373 (0.1201)	0.1617 (0.1255)	0.2562** (0.1163)	0.1922 (0.1296)	0.1694 (0.1262)	-0.1586 (0.1204)
Mestizo	-0.0596 (0.0880)	0.0596 (0.0973)	0.1785* (0.1049)	0.0836 (0.1076)	0.0386 (0.0923)	0.1399 (0.1071)	0.1198 (0.1008)	-0.1052 (0.0992)
City size	0.0817** (0.0361)	0.0630** (0.0313)	0.0514* (0.0302)	0.1029*** (0.0323)	0.0513 (0.0335)	0.0737* (0.0377)	0.1384*** (0.0402)	0.0126 (0.0310)
Education	0.0150* (0.0085)	-0.0172** (0.0085)	-0.0136 (0.0086)	-0.0185** (0.0087)	-0.0230** (0.0089)	-0.0028 (0.0088)	-0.0073 (0.0084)	-0.0039 (0.0087)
Income	-0.0293** (0.0147)	0.0181 (0.0151)	0.0135 (0.0150)	-0.005 (0.0143)	0.0323** (0.0153)	-0.007 (0.0149)	0.0077 (0.0157)	0.0146 (0.0145)
Age	0.0076*** (0.0023)	-0.0080*** (0.0022)	-0.0044** (0.0022)	0.0021 (0.0023)	-0.0007 (0.0024)	0.0009 (0.0023)	-0.0009 (0.0022)	-0.0015 (0.0022)
GDP per cap.	-0.0026 (0.0088)	-0.0294*** (0.0092)	-0.0043 (0.0084)	-0.0096 (0.0082)	-0.0038 (0.0095)	-0.0041 (0.0085)	0.0011 (0.0106)	-0.0313*** (0.0079)
Life expect.	-0.0359 (0.4968)	-0.9946** (0.5049)	-0.2946 (0.4558)	-0.9796** (0.4937)	-1.1526** (0.5185)	-0.3405 (0.4998)	-0.658 (0.5637)	-0.9508** (0.4378)
Year 2004	-0.2985 (0.5896)	-1.3005** (0.6227)	-0.5408 (0.5433)	-1.4751** (0.5831)	-0.9832 (0.6372)	-0.3414 (0.5944)	-0.4653 (0.6807)	-1.4459*** (0.5220)
Year 2006	0.2084 (0.3225)	0.2366 (0.3422)	0.234 (0.2997)	-0.4531 (0.3323)	-0.3149 (0.3468)	-0.0426 (0.3353)	-0.3993 (0.3744)	-0.3166 (0.2935)
Year 2008	-0.0576 (0.2059)	0.1894 (0.2194)	0.0038 (0.1995)	-0.2376 (0.2215)	-0.1821 (0.2176)	-0.0098 (0.2307)	0.1581 (0.2408)	-0.0929 (0.1967)
Observations	5022	5035	4865	5024	4794	5051	5083	5002
Log-lik.	-8950	-9298	-8964	-9233	-8811	-9362	-9342	-8519
Wald Chi sq	209.6	284.1	219.4	249.2	245.3	229.3	267.2	195.4
R-sq(pseudo)	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01

Ordered logit coefficients with cluster-robust standard errors in parenthesis. Significance notated at \* p<.1; \*\* p<.05; \*\*\* p<.01. Estimates for cut-off estimates and state dummies and not included for purpose of space. Reference group: male, no relationship (single, separated, divorced, widow/widower), no kids, indigenous or other race, and year 2010.

**Table 10. Impact of insecurity on trust in institutions – ENSI data**

	Local pol (1)	Transit pol. (2)	State pol (3)	AFI (4)	Fed pol prev (5)	Fed police (6)	Public minist (7)	Army (8)	Pol parties (9)
Insecurity index	-0.6714*** (0.0208)	-0.5624*** (0.0215)	-0.5415*** (0.0270)	-0.3731*** (0.0335)	-0.4357*** (0.0268)	-0.4380*** (0.0201)	-0.5718*** (0.0203)	-0.2771*** (0.0204)	-0.4995*** (0.0206)
Urban	-0.6714*** (0.9792)	-0.2609*** (0.0304)	-0.3270*** (0.0372)	-0.2590*** (0.0487)	-0.1894*** (0.0375)	-0.1102*** (0.0303)	-0.2215*** (0.0301)	-0.0296 (0.0310)	-0.1844*** (0.0306)
Female	-0.6714*** (1.9792)	0.0686*** (0.0233)	0.0253 (0.0306)	-0.1353*** (0.0500)	-0.2028*** (0.0406)	-0.1636*** (0.0224)	0.0076 (0.0222)	-0.3114*** (0.0252)	0.005 (0.0252)
Age	-0.6714*** (2.9792)	-0.0057* (0.0034)	-0.0343*** (0.0044)	-0.0349*** (0.0057)	-0.0255*** (0.0045)	-0.0208*** (0.0029)	-0.0219*** (0.0029)	0.004 (0.0029)	-0.0122*** (0.0030)
Age squared	-0.6714*** (3.9792)	0.0001*** (0.0000)	0.0003*** (0.0000)	0.0002*** (0.0001)	0.0002*** (0.0001)	0.0002*** (0.0000)	0.0002*** (0.0000)	-0.0001* (0.0000)	0.0001*** (0.0000)
Primary	-0.6714*** (4.9792)	-0.0969** (0.0418)	-0.2490*** (0.0613)	-0.2062** (0.0920)	-0.0525 (0.0569)	0.052 (0.0380)	0.0946** (0.0407)	0.0289 (0.0386)	-0.0454 (0.0400)
Sec and high	-0.6714*** (5.9792)	-0.2026*** (0.0439)	-0.4718*** (0.0621)	-0.2521*** (0.0947)	-0.062 (0.0591)	0.0789* (0.0403)	0.0329 (0.0422)	0.1532*** (0.0407)	-0.0946** (0.0426)
More than high	-0.6714*** (6.9792)	-0.2585*** (0.0428)	-0.6757*** (0.0618)	-0.4154*** (0.0897)	-0.1890*** (0.0541)	0.1199*** (0.0390)	0.0153 (0.0416)	0.2262*** (0.0391)	-0.0589 (0.0410)
Work	-0.6714*** (7.9792)	-0.0433* (0.0250)	-0.0523 (0.0328)	-0.1030* (0.0536)	-0.0583 (0.0433)	-0.0137 (0.0236)	0.0071 (0.0230)	-0.0712*** (0.0270)	-0.0024 (0.0275)
No work	-0.6714*** (8.9792)	-0.0783 (0.0546)	-0.0739 (0.0799)	-0.0943 (0.0985)	-0.0425 (0.0740)	-0.0165 (0.0487)	-0.0549 (0.0513)	-0.0359 (0.0508)	-0.0023 (0.0524)
GDP per capita	-0.6714*** (9.9792)	0.0046*** (0.0018)	0.0002 (0.0021)	0.0023 (0.0031)	0.0035 (0.0022)	0.0031 (0.0026)	0.0032 (0.0027)	-0.0086*** (0.0028)	0.0111*** (0.0030)
Life expect.	-0.6714*** (10.9792)	0.9910*** (0.1712)	1.0411*** (0.2161)	0.2987 (0.2842)	0.7772*** (0.2354)	0.1496 (0.8597)	0.341 (0.8955)	-1.9825** (0.9331)	-1.1413 (1.0216)
Year 2004	-0.6714*** (11.9792)	1.1382*** (0.1716)	0.8247*** (0.2112)	0.9688*** (0.2788)	1.4073*** (0.2297)				
Year 2007	-0.6714*** (12.9792)	0.2597*** (0.0601)	0.1752** (0.0741)	0.3002*** (0.0959)	0.3302*** (0.0836)	0.2812 (0.2626)	-0.0876 (0.2726)	-0.5740** (0.2863)	-0.5343* (0.3084)
Year 2008	-0.6714*** (13.9792)	0.0770** (0.0369)	0.068 (0.0496)	0.2473*** (0.0620)	0.2081*** (0.0501)	0.1714 (0.1363)	-0.1184 (0.1409)	0.0258 (0.1467)	-0.4009** (0.1616)
Observations	148000	139460	84659	55431	83426	129371	127212	131749	134916
F value	75.66	77.53	46.51	22.85	42.7	54.77	66.35	63.49	42.74

Coefficients with standard errors in parenthesis. Significance notated at \* p<.1; \*\* p<.05; \*\*\* p<.01. Estimates for state dummies not included for purpose of space. Ordered logit estimates considering clusters and weights (no stratification; svy Stata command). Reference group: no education, not in labor force, and year 2009.

**Table 11. Impact of crime victimization on trust in institutions – ENSI data**

	Local pol (1)	Transit pol. (2)	State pol (3)	AFI (4)	Fed pol prev (5)	Fed police (6)	Public minist (7)	Army (8)	Pol parties (9)
Victim	-0.5107*** (0.0307)	-0.4350*** (0.0299)	-0.4253*** (0.0384)	-0.3502*** (0.0475)	-0.2843*** (0.0389)	-0.2384*** (0.0300)	-0.4278*** (0.0293)	-0.0498 (0.0314)	-0.2794*** (0.0316)
Urban	-0.4812*** (0.0296)	-0.2760*** (0.0300)	-0.3264*** (0.0367)	-0.2646*** (0.0481)	-0.2045*** (0.0373)	-0.1256*** (0.0302)	-0.2410*** (0.0300)	-0.0463 (0.0308)	-0.2011*** (0.0309)
Female	-0.0171 (0.0215)	0.0294 (0.0223)	-0.0106 (0.0292)	-0.1633*** (0.0479)	-0.2312*** (0.0392)	-0.1933*** (0.0215)	-0.0291 (0.0210)	-0.3271*** (0.0245)	-0.0268 (0.0240)
Age	-0.0074** (0.0031)	-0.0092*** (0.0033)	-0.0363*** (0.0044)	-0.0367*** (0.0056)	-0.0272*** (0.0044)	-0.0233*** (0.0028)	-0.0237*** (0.0028)	0.0029 (0.0028)	-0.0151*** (0.0029)
Age squared	0.0001*** (0.0000)	0.0001*** (0.0000)	0.0003*** (0.0000)	0.0002*** (0.0001)	0.0002*** (0.0000)	0.0002*** (0.0000)	0.0002*** (0.0000)	0.00001 (0.0000)	0.0002*** (0.0000)
Primary	-0.1876*** (0.0378)	-0.0998** (0.0416)	-0.2435*** (0.0611)	-0.1935** (0.0909)	-0.0561 (0.0562)	0.0338 (0.0372)	0.0744* (0.0396)	0.0224 (0.0380)	-0.0711* (0.0390)
Sec and high	-0.2160*** (0.0393)	-0.1972*** (0.0434)	-0.4524*** (0.0614)	-0.2343** (0.0931)	-0.067 (0.0579)	0.0644 (0.0393)	0.0234 (0.0412)	0.1423*** (0.0398)	-0.1197*** (0.0416)
More than high	-0.2386*** (0.0394)	-0.2334*** (0.0426)	-0.6427*** (0.0614)	-0.3929*** (0.0891)	-0.1848*** (0.0540)	0.1174*** (0.0384)	0.0273 (0.0409)	0.2165*** (0.0386)	-0.0702* (0.0404)
Work	-0.0411* (0.0232)	-0.0307 (0.0242)	-0.0439 (0.0313)	-0.0950* (0.0511)	-0.0515 (0.0413)	-0.0033 (0.0226)	0.0184 (0.0219)	-0.0666** (0.0262)	0.008 (0.0260)
No work	-0.1800*** (0.0520)	-0.0656 (0.0541)	-0.056 (0.0798)	-0.1051 (0.0966)	-0.045 (0.0726)	-0.0166 (0.0482)	-0.0461 (0.0504)	-0.0356 (0.0504)	-0.002 (0.0514)
GDP per capita	0.0017 (0.0016)	0.0045*** (0.0017)	0.0005 (0.0021)	0.003 (0.0030)	0.003 (0.0022)	0.0032 (0.0026)	0.0025 (0.0027)	-0.0085*** (0.0027)	0.0109*** (0.0030)
Life expect.	0.7821*** (0.1690)	1.0991*** (0.1709)	1.1459*** (0.2149)	0.3497 (0.2823)	0.8653*** (0.2339)	0.3412 (0.8381)	0.8573 (0.8742)	-1.9135** (0.9053)	-0.7996 (1.0100)
Year 2004	1.2090*** (0.1706)	1.3162*** (0.1713)	1.0011*** (0.2097)	1.0586*** (0.2764)	1.5444*** (0.2287)				
Year 2007	0.4676*** (0.0595)	0.3373*** (0.0597)	0.2365*** (0.0738)	0.3184*** (0.0947)	0.3887*** (0.0819)	0.3678 (0.2554)	0.1092 (0.2649)	-0.5363* (0.2773)	-0.406 (0.3031)
Year 2008	0.2891*** (0.0374)	0.1038*** (0.0368)	0.0927* (0.0490)	0.2487*** (0.0616)	0.2344*** (0.0494)	0.2005 (0.1330)	-0.0323 (0.1375)	0.0331 (0.1424)	-0.3409** (0.1596)
Observations	151453	142271	86329	56420	84796	132014	129799	134630	138048
F value	58.62	65.9	41.78	22.53	39.09	43.1	49.21	60.25	31.44

Coefficients with standard errors in parenthesis. Significance notated at \* p<.1; \*\* p<.05; \*\*\* p<.01. Estimates for state dummies not included for purpose of space. Ordered logit estimates considering clusters and weights (no stratification; svy Stata command). Reference group: no education, no labor force, and year 2009.

**Table 12. Impact of crime victimization on trust in institutions, regional and time variation (distance to border and narco density)  
ENSI data**

	Local pol (1)	State pol (2)	Fed pol prev (3)	Local pol (4)	State pol (5)	Fed pol prev (6)
Insecurity ind.	-0.6714*** (0.0208)	-0.5415*** (0.0270)	-0.4357*** (0.0268)	-0.6714*** (0.0208)	-0.5415*** (0.0270)	-0.4357*** (0.0268)
Dist. border	0.0015*** (0.0002)	0.0008*** (0.0003)	0.0007** (0.0003)			
Narco density				-0.0989*** (0.0163)	-0.0525*** (0.0202)	-0.0435** (0.0212)
Year 2004	0.9880*** (0.1710)	0.8247*** (0.2112)	1.4073*** (0.2297)	0.9880*** (0.1710)	0.8247*** (0.2112)	1.4073*** (0.2297)
Year 2007	0.3704*** (0.0597)	0.1752** (0.0741)	0.3302*** (0.0836)	0.3704*** (0.0597)	0.1752** (0.0741)	0.3302*** (0.0836)
Year 2008	0.2508*** (0.0374)	0.068 (0.0496)	0.2081*** (0.0501)	0.2508*** (0.0374)	0.068 (0.0496)	0.2081*** (0.0501)
Observations	148000	84659	83426	148000	84659	83426
Population	1.94E+08	1.13E+08	1.13E+08	1.94E+08	1.13E+08	1.13E+08
F value	75.66	46.51	42.7	75.66	46.51	42.7

Coefficients with standard errors in parenthesis. Significance notated at \* p<.1; \*\* p<.05; \*\*\* p<.01. Estimates for control variables (urban, female, age, age squared, primary, sec and high, more than high, work, no work, GDP per capita, and life expectancy) and state dummies not included for purpose of space. Ordered logit estimates considering clusters and weights (no stratification; svy Stata command). Reference group: no education, no labor force, and year 2009.

**Table 13. Impact of crime victimization on trust in institutions, regional and time variation (marihuana, region, and time trend)  
ENSI data**

	Local pol (1)	State pol (2)	Fed pol prev (4)	Local pol (6)	State pol (7)	Fed pol prev (9)
Insecurity ind.	-0.6699*** (0.0208)	-0.5413*** (0.0270)	-0.4333*** (0.0268)	-0.6681*** (0.0207)	-0.5405*** (0.0270)	-0.4357*** (0.0267)
Marihuana	0.0630*** (0.0171)	0.023 (0.0214)	0.1444*** (0.0216)			
Noreste				0.0438 (0.1384)	0.3438** (0.1592)	-0.0904 (0.1687)
Noroeste				0.2998*** (0.1061)	0.1852 (0.1309)	-0.1826 (0.1334)
Year trend				-0.0781*** (0.0285)	0.042 (0.0356)	0.0465 (0.0393)
Noreste*year trend				-0.1264*** (0.0296)	-0.1421*** (0.0337)	-0.1029*** (0.0354)
Noroeste*year trend				-0.0455** (0.0201)	-0.0669** (0.0268)	-0.1416*** (0.0264)
Year 2004	1.0513*** (0.1733)	0.8567*** (0.2138)	1.6006*** (0.2317)			
Year 2007	0.3811*** (0.0599)	0.1824** (0.0745)	0.3682*** (0.0836)			
Year 2008	0.2485*** (0.0373)	0.0696 (0.0496)	0.2098*** (0.0499)			
Observations	148000	84659	83426	148000	84659	83426
Population	1.9E+08	1.1E+08	1.1E+08	1.9E+08	1.1E+08	1.1E+08
F value	74.2	45.55	44.88	76.06	46.33	42.83

Coefficients with standard errors in parenthesis. Significance notated at \* p<.1; \*\* p<.05; \*\*\* p<.01. Estimates for control variables (urban, female, age, age squared, primary, sec and high, more than high, work, no work, GDP per capita, and life expectancy) and state dummies not included for purpose of space. Ordered logit estimates considering clusters and weights (no stratification; svy Stata command). Reference group: no education, no labor force, and year 2009.